

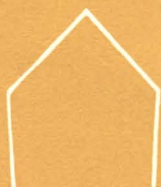
Oleh Martovych

**UKRAINIAN
LIBERATION
MOVEMENT
IN MODERN
TIMES**

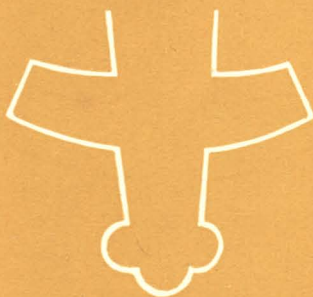
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UKRAINIAN LIBERATION MOVEMENT
IN MODERN TIMES

By

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INTRODUCTION

By

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INTRODUCTION

By John F. Stewart

“But who are the Ukrainians?” This was a very common question after the war, when a large number of Ukrainians were brought to Britain as Prisoners of War who had been fighting against the Russians and had surrendered to the Western Allies. The answer to the question invariably was, “Oh, they are a kind of Russians.” As a matter of fact, few people in Britain knew anything at all about them. And so, the Ukrainians had to begin to make themselves known from the ground upwards. They have unquestionably made their mark with all who have come in contact with them, and have gained universal respect and admiration. But, even so, the course of their history for hundreds of years as described in the following pages will come as a revelation to those who read them, and especially their magnificent struggles against all the might Russia could bring against them since 1917.

Where is Ukraine? The country is not shown very definitely on maps as a rule; it has no marked physical frontiers, no strong natural defences, and this, added to its enormous natural wealth (it is possibly the richest country in the world for its size) has made it the object of the envy and greed of its powerful neighbours on both East and West who have seen to it that Ukraine has had a stormy history. The miracle is that, while it has had so little peace to develop its own way of life, it early in history attained a high culture and civilization, and at a time when its subsequent oppressors, the Russians, had not emerged from being half-savage denizens of the forests.

The area of Ukraine under the early Soviet Government was 216,846 square miles, but, since the war, Russian has added to it parts formerly under Poland and other neighbouring countries, and Ukraine,

which is separately represented at United Nations, is once more an entity. Ukrainians, scattered over different continents, number about 47 millions, while in Ukraine proper they number about 45 millions, but from these must be deducted the huge numbers murdered by the Russians or sent to a slower death in the slave camps.

In spite of all oppression, the Ukrainians have kept themselves as a separate people, with their own language, traditions and culture. Centuries ago Kiev (Kyiv) was the cultural and religious centre of Eastern Europe, and the bastion of Christianity against the savage hordes from the east. The Ukrainians have always been a deeply religious people, and such they are today. As well as for their independence, they have, through the centuries, fought and suffered for their religion, and never more than today, when Moscow is making a determined effort to destroy what is left of the Ukrainian Church, and to replace Christianity by atheism, either by direct massacre, or by putting it under the so-called "Patriarch of Moscow" who is merely an agent appointed by Stalin for the purpose.

In spite of genocide, massacre, torture and deportation, the flame of Ukrainian nationalism burns more fiercely than ever, and nothing will quench it.

Numerically the strongest nation in Europe next the Germans, Ukraine is the natural leader in the liberation fight of the oppressed nations who have banded together under the name "A.B.N." (Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations) to throw of the Russian yoke. At the same time, it claims no priority over little Estonia, which is numerically the smallest. These peoples number 180 millions, their ideals are wholly in keeping with those of the rest of the civilized world, and they form a potential Third Force more powerful than either East or West. They are determined to regain freedom and sovereign independence, and their determination should surely be guided into cooperation with the Western Powers; if it is not, it is disquieting to think of where it may go. They have no desire to be dragged into Russia's wars, no wish to take any part in Russia's dreams of world conquest. The West made the great mistake of not supporting them in 1917 and again after World War II; the latter could have been prevented altogether. There is an opportunity of remedying the error now, but the time is short.

The cooperation of these 180 million people could be made the settlement for good of a peaceful world. All the world is afraid of Russia, and it has good reason, as Russia's history for centuries is a story of conquest and an attempt at world domination — it is nothing new. But it is insufficiently recognized that Russia's strength or evil derives from the control of the natural resources of the non-Russian nations of the U.S.S.R. — Russia proper has few resources and, with those of the oppressed nations taken from her, her claws would be so clipped that her capacity for harm would be negligible.

The world will not be saved from the Russian terror by the of tried "Conferences of Foreign Ministers," or by atom bombs, or by Atlantic Pacts, or by United Europe, or by Federated Europe. It can only be saved by the cooperation of the civilized West with the non-Russian peoples of the U.S.S.R. of whom the corner-stone is Ukraine, whose magnificent struggles are described in the following pages.

Other methods have been tried again and again; try this one.



Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky entering the capital of Ukraine-Kyiv in triumph 1649

„L' Ukraine a toujours aspirè a la libertè.“

Charles Voltaire, Histoire de Charles XII (1731)

INTRODUCTION TO PROBLEM

Three hundred years have now passed since the inception of the modern Ukrainian Liberation Movement. A retrospective analysis of the historical events of this period will show that the ideals of the Ukrainian people have always been the same, whether in the times of the independent Ukrainian statehood or in times of national and social enslavement of the Ukrainian by the invaders. It will point to the fact that the Ukrainians have always been a freedomloving people and that they are have prized the ideals of honour and freedom above everything. It will make clear that the present struggle of the U.P.A. (Ukrainian Insurgent Army) is neither foreign “intrigue“ nor “banditry“, but a continuation of that centuries-old struggle which the Ukrainians have been waging to win their national freedom.

The long struggle of the Ukrainian people against the invaders developed within them the sense of human dignity, chivalry, warfare and a fanatic love of their native land and liberty. They never bowed before the conquerors, but continued to fight even in the most difficult conditions. Since the great rising of the Ukrainian people in 1648 they have been carrying on a heroic and unceasing struggle to rid themselves of the yoke forced upon them by their brutal foreign misrulers, and regain their national rights, liberties and freedom. This struggle has assumed various forms has been carried on everywhere, and the Ukrainians have paid in it an exorbitant price in terms of human lives, suffering and destruction. Indeed, modern Ukrainian history is the history of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement.

In the spring of 1945, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic was formally accepted at the Conference in San Francisco as a member of the United Nations. This could not satisfy the aspirations of the forty million Ukrainians suffering under the Communist yoke, but

it did bring prominently before the public opinion of the world the fact that Ukraine is not the creation of propagandists, not a German "inspiration", but a nation with its own geographical area, its own population and its own history. This history is a tragic story of a great people who have been doomed for years to suffer every form of oppression that the mind of man can create. With it all, the Ukrainians have clung to their own land, language and traditions. Every time there has been an upheaval in Europe, they have responded to it and have sought to secure the right to determine their own national destiny.

The independence of Ukraine and the union of all Ukrainian lands into One National State has been the ideal of the Ukrainian people for centuries. This ideal has its origin in the national memory of the independence of the great and progressive Ukrainian Kievan State of Volodymyr the Great (981—1015) and Yaroslav the Wise (1018 to 1054). It has its traditions in the powerful and independent Ukrainian kingdom of King Daniel (1202—1264) reaching from the Dniipro (Dnieper) to the Carpathian Mountains. This ideal was the highest point in the careers of the Ukrainian Cromwell, Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky (1648—1657) and the great patriot, Hetman Ivan Mazepa (1687—1709), and it almost saw its realization at the time of World War I (1914—1918).

In the period between the First and Second World Wars, the struggle of the Ukrainians for liberation did not cease; it merely went through different phases, depending upon existing circumstances. World War II created favourable circumstances for the strengthening of the Ukrainian struggle for liberation. Manifesting their aspirations for freedom under the German occupation, the Ukrainians created their armed resistance groups in 1942, and by 1943 these were united into a big and powerful Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) under one supreme command. Through its strategical and political activities the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.), supported by the entire Ukrainian people, greatly contributed to the destruction of the German armed forces in Ukraine.

When the Soviet forces re-occupied Ukraine, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army turned against the new powerful invader. To-day, its

struggle for the liberation of Ukraine continues unabated, and thus the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) has entered into its 7th year of existence. This struggle is spreading from Ukraine to other countries, and it has recently received great publicity throughout the world.

The history of every people of the world reveals continuous efforts in seeking national self-determination and freedom. Many a bitter battle has been fought to free a given people from encroachment upon its human, economic and political rights by aggressive and stronger nations. Under the might of Russian aggression, Ukraine and many other European nations became in effect subjugated by Russia. In many ways the operating methods of Russian colonial rule surpass all the indignities forced upon the colonial peoples in the darkest corners of the world.

As under Khmel'nitsky or Mazeppa, so to-day the Ukrainians under the Soviet regime fight for the national and social freedom of individual men and nations. They fight for the destruction of the dungeon — Russia — and for the freedom of all nations now suffering under the Soviet-Russian yoke. The fight against the Soviet-Russian totalitarianism can be successful only through the amalgamation of the strength and power of all the subjugated peoples. Fighting for the formation of a Ukrainian Sovereign Nation, the Ukrainians are at the same time fighting for the construction of other free and truly democratic nations now within the U.S.S.R. All nations enslaved by the U.S.S.R. are in the same circumstances and, therefore, they are all natural allies of the Ukrainian people in this common cause. This circle of natural allies in the Ukrainian fight for freedom automatically widened and strengthened at the end of the Second World War, once the Baltic nations and the "satellite" countries of the Balkans and Central Europe found themselves in the Soviet "sphere of influence."

Comprehension of the importance of a collaboration of different subjugated nationalities, fighting against Soviet Russian imperialism, soon necessitated a closer organization and co-ordination of all anti-Soviet efforts on the part of the oppressed peoples of Eastern Europe and Soviet Asia. This led to the creation of the A.B.N. (Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations), an anti-communist and anti-Soviet organization

which is co-ordinating the struggle for liberation of all the peoples that fell under Soviet Russia's tyranny. The Western world becomes more and more aware of the activities of this well-organized anti-Soviet network of underground movements. In all the territories of the U.S.S.R., from the Baltic Sea to Sinkiang, there exist anti-Soviet movements of native populations which vary according to the local conditions and the intensity of anti-Russian feeling. In Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, in White Ruthenia and Ukraine, in Poland, Czechia, Slovakia, Hungary, Romania, Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia and Bulgaria, in the Caucasus and Turkestan, there were and still are active resistance movements, fighting a deadly battle against the Soviet totalitarian machine.

The principal aim of the A.B.N. is the overthrow of Bolshevism and the establishment of the new order in Central and Eastern Europe and Soviet Asia, based on the principle of self-determination of peoples, on independence and sovereignty of national states within their ethnic borders, and on the idea of social justice and prosperity of the masses.

THE BIRTH OF THE MODERN UKRAINIAN LIBERATION MOVEMENT

In the course of their historical existence the Ukrainian people have known three distinct periods of sovereign and independent statehood. The first period dates back to early days of their history, when Kyiv (Kiev) was the capital of Eastern Europe. Ukraine, under the name of Rus, emerged as an independent nation in the middle of the 9th century and lasted as a great and influential Eastern European power until the first half of the 12th century. After Volodymyr Monomakh's death (1125) several new organisms emerged on the ruins of old Kievan-Rus. The first to gain its emancipation was the city of Polotzk, which even in the time of Volodymyr the Great had had a large autonomy; it gradually became the kernel of the White Ruthenian nation. Novgorod also became a separate political and commercial centre, retaining its republican form of government. It flourished as a great commercial city and a member of the

Hanseatic League (it styled itself Lord Novgorod the Great) until Czar Ivan III destroyed the ancient republican liberties and reduced the haughty city to the rank of a provincial town. Ivan the Terrible devastated Novgorod, and lest the old turbulent spirit of the municipal republic should revive, he massacred no less than 60 000 inhabitants of the Republic, including many women and children. The principality which was to become the nucleus of the Russian nation was not Novgorod with its democratic institutions, but its eastern neighbour Suzdal and Rostov principality, in which the popular assembly played a very insignificant part, and the supreme law was the will of the prince. A strong admixture of Ugro-Finnish elements to that of the Slav was responsible for the birth of the Russian people on this territory.

The end of the 12th century marked the decline of Kyiv as a political and cultural capital of Ukraine after its total destruction brought about by Prince Andrey Bogolubsky of Suzdal in 1169. The political and cultural life of Ukraine removed to western territories, where a new and powerful Ukrainian state emerged. Its rulers succeeded in uniting all Ukrainian principalities, and in expanding the frontiers of their state along the Dnister (Dniester) River to the Black Sea, to the Danube in the south, and to the Dniro River in the east.

The Tartar invasion of Eastern Europe (1240) played a decisive role in the complete estrangement of the Muscovite (Russian) people from Ukraine-Rus. This became evident in their different attitudes to the Tartars. The Princes of Suzdal-Vladymir, who ruled in the territories inhabited by the Russians, humbled themselves before the Tartar hordes, and for 200 years attempted to co-operate with their conquerors. Ukraine resisted the Tartars, and, as a result, Kyiv lay in complete ruins. The Western-Ukrainian State under King Daniel and his successors continued to resist the Tartars, and this role of Ukraine was appreciated in the West. Pope John XXII called Ukraine *a n t e m u r a l e C h r i s t i a n i t a t i s* in recognition of services rendered to Christianity by the fight against the Tartars.

Ukraine existed as an independent nation until the middle of the 14th century (1349). Weakened by the struggle against the Tartars,

Ukraine fell a prey to its neighbours, Poland and Lithuania, when the Western-Ukrainian branch of the Rurik Dynasty died out. Poland occupied one part of Ukraine and Lithuania another. The Ukrainians did not regard the Lithuanian princes, who were Ukrainian in culture, as alien, and Ukraine found in the Lithuanian state the continuance of its own state. Unfortunately, the union of Lithuania and Poland in Lublin (1569) disrupted this process, as all Ukrainian lands were excluded from Lithuania and incorporated directly into Poland.

The aim of Polish policies in Ukraine was to Polonize the Ukrainian nation in order to appropriate permanently, as part of Poland, the rich lands of Ukraine. Ukraine was looked upon as a "land of schismatics and infidels", who should be converted forcibly to the Latin Rite and thus Polonized. In like manner, the Ukrainian townspeople were exposed to daily discrimination by the town administration, which was monopolized by the Poles. Polish landowners, imitating conditions in Poland, introduced into Ukraine serfdom among the peasants, something previously unknown there.

Ukrainian opposition to this process was bitter and continuous, but the successes were few after many of the feudal lords renounced their nationality and were Polonized. The various brotherhoods in cities tried to establish schools and printing presses and to defend the old faith and customs. The Academy of Kyiv, under a series of able leaders, such as the Metropolitan Peter Mohyla, did splendid work in maintaining the Faith. A more effective, if cruder, method of opposition lay in the rise of the Ukrainian Kozaks, the Ukrainians who fled to the east to live their lives in freedom as they desired. These men were prepared to fight against any foe, whether he were Pole, Muscovite, Tartar or Turk. Always eager for adventure, they put to use the rich wealth of the Ukrainian steppes above the Dnipro in places of safety and natural defence, and also preyed upon the Tartars returning home from plundering in Ukraine.

The first organizer of these men, in the middle of the 16th century, was the Ukrainian nobleman Prince Dmytro Vishnevetsky. About 1552 he took the initiative in building a fortress against the Tartars, the Zaporozhian Sich, which played an important part in Ukrainian history. Here could the Kozaks gather in relative security. From

here they carried out their most daring exploits, and dared to set out on longer expeditions which carried them into the harbours of Constantinople and Sinope. Under the brilliant leadership of Hetman Peter Konashevich-Sahaydachny they dealt crushing blows to Muscovite forces in the wars of the Muscovite "Time of Troubles", between 1612—1613, burned Sinope and Trebizond 1614, rescued thousands of Christian Slavs from the Crimean slave mart of Kaffa, 1616, and defeated the powerful Turkish army in the battle of Khotyn, 1621. In its essence the Zaporozhian Sich was the bastion of the Ukrainian Statehood's ideal, and it continued the traditions of Ukrainian independence, maintaining that, although Ukraine at the moment was subjugated, still, it never ceased to aspire to be an independent nation.

Yet the Kozak Host of the Zaporozhian Sich was also a democratic system. In the general gatherings of the Kozaks every man was free to speak his own mind. Any one could rise to prominence if he was able in one way or another to sway the assembly. The general assembly elected a hetman who had all the powers of an army commander, and whose power was absolute in the face of danger. But at the end of his term of office, he was liable to be questioned by the assembly and if he had not used his powers for the good of the Sich, he could be tried by the rough justice of his comrades and receive whatever punishment they desired to inflict. It was a new system which had nothing in common with the system of aristocratic feudalism and the aristocratic republic of Poland, or with the personal autocracy of the Muscovite tsar.

As champion of Christianity against the Tartars and the Turks, the Kozaks became natural champions of Ukraine's independence, and Greek Orthodoxy against Roman Catholic Poland, and supporters of the liberation of the Ukrainian people enslaved by the Polish invaders and exploiters. This brought forth a series of Polish-Ukrainian wars in the first half of the 17th century, and ended in the great revolutionary rising of the Ukrainian people under one of the most outstanding and colourful leaders of the Ukrainian Kozaks, Hetman Bohdan Khmelnitsky. He threw off Polish rule and created a democratic state in 1648 in the greater part of Ukrainian territory. Thus, after

three hundred years, Ukraine again regained its independence and the Second Ukrainian Kozak State came into being.

HETMAN BOHDAN KHMELNITSKY — THE UKRAINIAN CROMWELL

Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky (1648—1657), the new leader of the Ukrainian Kozak Republic, was able to unite around him all classes of the Ukrainian people against the Polish rulers. He soon gathered over 150 000 first-rate fighters and in a series of crushing defeats inflicted upon the Polish armies, he freed Ukraine from Polish domination. With the debacle of the Polish armies, which were driven out of Ukraine, the landlords who kept the Ukrainian people in social and national bondage were also forced to leave. As a result, Ukraine in 1649 was already a nation in which all inhabitants were equal before the law, a development not known anywhere in Europe until the outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789.

But the sudden successes of Hetman Khmelnytsky confronted him with new problems. He had to make Ukraine capable of its own political existence and of defending itself against the still powerful and menacing Poland on the one side and against Muscovy on the other. As a result of the revolution in Ukraine and the separation of the country from Poland, the political structure of Eastern Europe was completely overturned. Poland lost her position of leadership and the supremacy shifted gradually toward Moscow. All this had far-reaching repercussions for Ukraine, which could hold the balance in Polish-Muscovite relations.

Yet then came the most disastrous move of Hetman Khmelnytsky. Unable to stand up against Poland, which was at continuous war with the young Ukrainian state, Khmelnytsky sought support against Poland and Turkey, but without success. He appealed for assistance to Moscow and offered to place Ukraine under the protection of the Tsar on condition that its privileges should be respected. After prolonged negotiations, the Muscovite envoys met Khmelnytsky at Pereyaslav on June 18, 1654. A treaty was concluded here by which Ukraine retained the character of a sovereign nation with the right

even to conduct foreign policy. Thus, the treaty of Pereyaslav created an express alliance between Ukraine and Muscovy, with Ukraine retaining full independence in all internal and external affairs.

Almost immediately after the conclusion of the Treaty of Pereyaslav, Khmelnitsky realized the error of Ukraine's submission to Muscovy. From the very beginning, Moscow began to encroach upon the provisions of this treaty, occupying the country with her armies and curtailing the autonomy of Ukraine. Completely disillusioned, Khmelnitsky began to look for other allies. Sweden seemed the most promising, for it was then at the height of its power. On the eve of his death the hetman-liberator had formed a plan of breaking away from Moscow with the assistance of Charles Gustav X of Sweden (1657). He made plans for a great union of Sweden, Lithuania, Ukraine, Moldavia and Transylvania which could oppose Muscovite, Polish or Turkish aggression, but amid this turbulence he died on July 27, 1657.

Hetman Khmelnitsky was the real founder of the Ukrainian liberation movement and he came nearer to making it successful than anyone between the fall of Kyiv and the modern Ukrainian Republic. Unfortunately, he died too soon, before he had established the new state on a firm basis and won for it international recognition.

PERFIDIOUS NEIGHBOURS

All Ukrainian patriots considered as their foremost duty toward their fatherland the necessity of preserving the Ukrainian statehood, that precious heritage of Hetman Khmelnitsky; but on the other hand Muscovy, which in 1654 recognized Ukraine's independence in all external and internal affairs, began restricting the state rights of Ukraine. This led to endless conflicts and clashes between Muscovy and Ukraine, and almost every Ukrainian hetman following Bohdan Khmelnitsky was forcibly ousted by the Czarist government as a result of this struggle.

Everything depended upon the successors of Hetman Khmelnitsky. It is possible that, if Khmelnitsky's successors had been men

of corresponding energy, ability and political foresight, Ukrainian unity might have been preserved, and Ukraine, with its free and equal military brotherhood of the Kozaks as a strong element in its organization, might have been a flourishing and independent nation in Eastern Europe. Unfortunately, Khmelnitsky's successors were not such men. The differences of interpretation and resentment could not successfully oppose the imperialism of Moscow and Poland which appeared in different forms, even in evoking the internal disagreement which brought Ukraine to the desolation suggestively known in Ukrainian history as "The Ruin".

Khmelnitsky's first successor, Hetman Ivan Vyhovsky (1657—1659) and his friends realized that with a weakened Poland, it might be possible for Ukraine to force upon the Polish King a recognition of Ukraine's rights. He signed with Poland the Treaty of Hadiach (1658) by which Ukraine was made a third member of a Polish federation along with Poland and Lithuania. Then he broke away from Muscovy and waged open war against the Muscovite Czar, severely defeating his troops under Prince Trubetzkoy in the battle of Konotop (1659). Unfortunately, the blind hate of the Polish clergy and aristocratic landowners and Muscovite intrigues destroyed the plans of Hetman Vyhovsky. He was shot down by the Poles.

After a succession of wars and truces, Muscovy and Poland carried out a partition of Ukraine, by concluding the Treaty of Andrusovo in 1667. The Dnipro was recognized as the boundary, with Poland holding the right bank including Kyiv, and Muscovy the left. The peace treaty of Andrusovo was a blow to Ukrainian aspirations for independence, as it legalized the partition by Poland and Muscovy of Ukraine, which had been freed for awhile during Hetman Khmelnitsky's war against Poland. The Ukrainians deeply resented this Muscovite perfidy, which, in violation of the Pereyaslav Treaty of 1654, now gave to Poland half of Ukraine.

It was the reason why Hetman Peter Doroshenko (1665—1676) sought Turkisht alliance in the future wars against Russians and Poles. He manipulated so skilfully that he almost unified Ukraine and almost won complete independence from both Poland and Muscovy.

Unfortunately, Turkish help was not forthcoming, and this brought about his downfall. When he had to surrender to Moscow, he received a long term in Siberia.

Then came the turn of Hetman Ivan Samoylovich (1676—1687). He was obedient to Moscow. However, he was accused by the Tsar of betraying the Russians and was deposed and imprisoned and his son was executed.

The second half of the 17th century is a sad tale of broken promises and of political intrigue. Muscovy and Poland alike repudiated every agreement with the Ukrainians. At times the Turks and the Crimean Tartars, their vassals, took a hand in the game, but they likewise did not carry out any consistent policy and did not try to fulfil the promises which they had made a short time before to the Ukrainian hetmans.

It was in the midst of this chaos that Ivan Mazeppa became hetman after the arrest of Hetman Samoylovich. He renewed with vigour the struggle for Ukraine's independence.

MAZEPPA AND THE MAZEPPISTS

Hetman Ivan Mazeppa was an able ruler and skilful diplomat. It was his ambition to re-unite Ukraine, to secure its independence, and to restore the Ukrainian sovereignty. By his participation in the successful campaign of Peter "the Great" against Azov in 1696, he won Peter's favour and from that time on until his downfall was absolute lord of Ukraine. With an intense interest in education, Orthodoxy, and architecture, he used his great wealth and power to shower benefits upon the Academy of Kyiv, constructed many churches, schools and other buildings in an ornate style known as "Mazeppa baroque". Ordered in the autumn of 1704 to suppress pro-Swedish elements in the part of Ukraine occupied by Poland, Mazeppa for a time made himself supreme there. Profiting by the difficulties of Muscovy in the Great Northern war against Sweden, he concluded a secret military alliance with the latter, and invited King Charles XII of Sweden into Ukraine in the hope of dealing a mortal blow to the armies of Peter I.

The defeat of the Ukrainians and Swedes in the decisive battle at Poltava (1709) decided the fate of Eastern Europe to Muscovy's advantage, but it did not end the struggle for the liberation of Ukraine. On the contrary, it marked the beginning of an active Ukrainian liberation movement under the banners of which there assembled all the finer sons of Ukraine of the 18th century. The revolution of Hetman Mazepa against Tsar Peter I became not only a breaking point in the relations between Ukraine and Muscovy, but also the turning point in the political ideology of the Ukrainians. The break with Moscow became the political program of the hetman himself as well as of all the leaders of Kozak-Ukraine and of the autonomous Zaporozhian Sich, which, under its leader Ataman Kost Hordiyenko, joined Mazepa's struggle for independent Ukraine against the Muscovites.

The followers of Hetman Ivan Mazepa became the first Ukrainian political emigrés. With the defeat of Mazepa they gradually scattered throughout Turkey and all Europe, everywhere propagating the justice of the Ukrainian cause and the idea of the independent Ukrainian State. At every step of their way they were hounded by Tsarist Russian agents, and those who were caught, like Col. Andrew Voynarovsky, who was seized in Hamburg by Tsarist agents, 1716, or Adjutant-General Samuel Hertsik, who was caught in Warsaw, found a lingering death in the Siberian wastes. In Ukraine, a wave of terrible persecution was inaugurated by the Russians against the followers of Hetman Mazepa who were nicknamed "Mazepists", like the Ukrainian patriots of the 20th century who were in turn called "Petlurians", or "Banderians". It actually means those who fight for Ukrainian statehood against bloody Moscow.

In regard to the first Ukrainian political emigrés in the 18th century the primary aim of the vengeful Russians was forcibly to repatriate the Mazepists who escaped to Turkey. Indeed, nothing has changed in "Holy Mother Russia" during the centuries. To-day they want to have repatriated the D.P.'s who escaped from the Soviet-Russian paradise. But contrary to some practices of Western powers after the Second World War, the 18th century predecessors of the present Moscow rulers were unable to prevail upon the Sultan to

rescind the right of political asylum he had given to the first Ukrainian political emigrés, despite all their diplomatic representations through the Russian Embassy in Istanbul.

The Mazeppists represented outside the borders of Ukraine the idea of an independent Ukrainian nation and had behind them the sympathy of the whole Ukrainian people. They continued their struggle against Russia under the leadership of the Ukrainian Government in exile headed by Ivan Mazeppa's successor, Hetman Philip Orlyk, the former Chancellor of Hetman Mazeppa.

At the Kozak Council which elected Philip Orlyk hetman, there was formed and accepted a Constitution of Ukraine, perhaps the first constitution of this kind on the European continent. The constitution of Ukraine foresaw the establishment of permanent legislative and controlling bodies in a Kozak parliament, to which the hetman and his government were to be responsible. In proclaiming the independence of Ukraine from Russia and Poland, the Ukrainian Constitution defined the boundaries of Ukraine as containing that territory which was settled and inhabited by the Ukrainians. It was to include not only the Ukrainian territories under the Muscovite power, but also that part of Ukraine which up to that time had been under Polish rule, and the so-called Slobodian Ukraine, i. e. the territory of the present region of Kharkiv, which belonged to Muscovy, but had been during the seventeenth century colonized by a Ukrainian population.

In the years of his direction of the political inheritance of Hetman Mazeppa, Hetman Philip Orlyk saw to it that Ukraine was protected by a system of alliances and pacts with all the powers interested in checking Russian expansion. In the first place he supported with all his energy the plans of a renewal of the Ukrainian-Swedish alliance. In January, 1711, the Kozak delegates concluded an alliance between Ukraine and the Crimean Khanate which recognized the right of Ukraine to complete independence, and bound the Khanate not to conclude a peace treaty with Russia without the agreement of Ukraine and its Zaporozhian Sich.

The diplomatic work conducted in the south-east, on the Hetman's instructions, by Adjutant-General Samuel Hertsik is especially inter-

esting. He went to the territory of the Kuban Horde, where dwelled the Don Kozak emigrés, the supporters of Ataman Bulavin who was the leader of the Don Kozaks in the rising against Moscow (1707). With them he concluded an understanding as to the further struggle with Russia. With the assistance of the Kuban sultan he succeeded in making connections with the Kazan Tartars and the Bashkirs. Thus, the first forerunner of the present A.B.N. was born 240 years ago. The treaty of alliance with Turkey, concluded at the same time, stipulated that Ukraine to the east and to the west of the Dnipro was to be freed from Russian occupation, and forever henceforth to be recognized as an independent state.

At the same time, however, Hetman Orlyk carried on in all Europe a widespread movement in favour of an independent Ukraine. A memorial in Latin under the heading "A Deduction of the Rights of Ukraine", compiled in March, 1712, was to be the basic document, emphasising to the governments of the European nations the historical and national rights of Ukraine to lead a free and independent life. The Hetman himself issued a Manifesto to the European governments, dated April 5, 1712, in which he attempted to raise the problem of Ukraine.

After the end of the Great Northern War (1721), Hetman Orlyk moved to the city of Salonika, which for twelve years became the headquarters of the Ukrainian liberation movement (1722—1734). From this city Hetman Orlyk and his closest collaborators attempted to take advantage of all the anti-Russian movements in Europe in order to force the discussion of the question in all international political conferences, as the important unsolved problem of Europe then. The formation of an anti-Russian coalition was the basic political conception of the policy of the Ukrainian headquarters in Salonika. In his notes to the states of Western Europe Hetman Orlyk called their attention to the danger threatening Western Europe from Russia. He compared the Russian invasion of the West with the advance of the barbarians against the European countries. In his estimation no country in Europe was safe from Russian invasion from the east. He foresaw that, after Ukraine, the next victims of this invasion would be Russia's neighbours, Sweden, Poland and Turkey.

The diplomatic activity of Hetman Orlyk, the Ukrainian hetman-in-exile, and of other Mazeppists, brought upon them the persecution of the Russian government, and for that reason the family of the hetman was forced to disperse all over the world.

With the death of Hetman Orlyk the first generation of the older Mazeppists became extinct. Their work in Europe for the liberation of Ukraine was, however, continued by their followers under the leadership of the extremely interesting figure in Ukrainian and French history, Hrihor Orlyk, the son of the hetman, and ardent Ukrainian patriot and a Lieutenant-General in the Royal French Army. He made a very dangerous journey to Ukraine in order to resume connections with the Ukrainian independents there and to instigate a revolt against Russia. In a special Memorandum to Cardinal Fleury, Hrihor Orlyk attempted to persuade him to demonstrate to Poland the advantage for Poland of a restoration of the Ukrainian state, first in the Western part of Ukraine, then under Poland, and later, at a proper time, the union of it with Eastern Ukraine which was subjugated by Russia. "France and entire Europe", he wrote, "think lightly of Muscovite expansion, and yet that is the chief factor that may destroy the entire European system." This had been written in the thirties of the 18th century to the Premier of France by a young diplomat, the leader of the Mazeppists of the second generation who devoted his entire life to Ukraine's liberation. "The history of Muscovy", he continued, "teaches us that even in the times of Tsar Ivan Vasilyevich, when the darkest barbarism prevailed in that land, the Muscovite policy aimed to win control over the Baltic, Caspian, and Black Seas. Tsar Peter I sought only to accomplish that which had been dreamed of by his predecessors. *Ut inam falsus vates sim.*"

Only a war could change the situation in Ukraine, and this war broke out. Austria took her stand on Russia's side, and on the opposite were Turkey and France. The action of Russia's enemies was not co-ordinated and the war waged so inertly gave Ukrainians no opportunity to risk a new rising. The Austrian-Turkish Peace (1735) dispelled all Ukrainian hopes of overthrowing Russia's rule in Ukraine, and Hrihor Orlyk entered in active military service of the

French King. In his entire life, personal ideals, and his service in the cause of Ukraine's liberation, the younger Orlyk linked very closely with France. At the beginning of the fifties of the 18th century Hrihor Orlyk became a member of the Privy Council of the King of France known as *S e c r e t d u R o i*, where he conducted a Ukrainian branch of the secret diplomacy of the King of France. Through a certain nobleman, Mokranovsky, Orlyk established contact with the last hetman of Ukraine, Kirilo Razumovsky. Orlyk planned to incite him to rise against Moscow. Some of these reports may have trickled into St. Petersburg, where the authorities began to treat hetman Razumovsky with suspicion.

The Seven Year's War put an end to this leader of the Mazeppists of the second generation. He died suddenly on November 14, 1759, as a result perhaps of an incomplete recuperation from a serious wound received in the battle at Bergen. Such was the end of the extraordinary and colourful life of this Ukrainian patriot of the 18th century.

THE END OF KOZAK' UKRAINE

In 1713 Peter I, the founder of the modern Russian Empire, issued an Ukase, by which his state, formerly known under the name of Muscovy (Moscovia), was renamed Russia (Rossiya), and his subjects became *Ruskiye*. The new name *Rossiya* had been used by the Greeks to designate the ancient Kievan State of the Ukrainian people — *Rus*. By this act Muscovy was attempting to adopt as its own the history and traditions of Kyiv, mother of the cities of *Rus*, and, on the other hand, to deny the existence of the Ukrainian people as an independent nationality. Furthermore, it also was evident that, in doing this, Muscovy was giving notice of her intention to claim those Ukrainian and White Ruthenian territories which still remained under Polish rule; this intention was realized in the three Partitions of Poland (1772—1795), when they were occupied by Moscow.

Tsar Peter I, acting on the advice of his German collaborators, outlined the whole plan of forming a single Russian nation of the Muscovites, Ukrainians and White Ruthenians, not only in the politi-



Ivan Mazepa (1639 - 1709) Hetman of Ukraine

V. Maslutyn: Plaster

cal sense of a state, but also in the cultural and ethnical aspects. The Ukrainians were ordered to be called Little Russians, the Muscovites Great Russians, and White Ruthenians White Russians. For the unity in spirit of the "Russian people" a national Orthodox faith was necessary, and, consequently, he abolished the autonomous Ukrainian Orthodox Church after it had been forced to acknowledge the Patriarch of Moscow as its canonical head instead of that of Constantinople, and decided to destroy the Uniate Church which already had become the Church of almost all the White Ruthenians and a great part of the Ukrainians.

The defeat of Mazeppa marked the beginning of a steady decline in Ukrainian autonomy. Peter I appointed Ivan Skoropadsky hetman of Ukraine (1709—1722). His hetmanship made a transition of Ukraine from a semi-autonomous position in the Russian Empire to one of complete subordination to Russia. Tsar Peter I also employed a method which has frequently been used by the Soviet Government to break the resistance of the recalcitrant Ukrainians: mass deportation to forced labour. Great numbers of Ukrainian Kozaks were sent to dig canals in the vicinity of Peter's new capital, St. Petersburg, and to construct fortifications along Russia's south-eastern frontier.

The final steps in the liquidation of Ukrainian autonomy took place in the reign of Catherine II. She abolished the post of hetman in 1764, followed that up with the destruction of the Kozak centre, the Zaporozhian Sich, in 1775, and finally liquidated all Ukrainian institutions and rights, incorporating Ukraine into the Russian Empire and binding the Ukrainian peasants to the soil (1783).

The curious aftermath of the destruction of the Zaporozhian Sich was the establishment of the Transdanubian Sich on Turkish territory. About half of the Zaporozhian Kozaks succeeded in escaping into Turkey, where the Turks allowed them to settle near the mouth of the Danube and to establish the Sich. They remained there for decades; it was the second group of political emigrés from Ukraine. The last ataman of the Zaporozhian Sich, Petro Kalnyshevsky, was incarcerated in a cell without windows or doors in the Solovetsky Islands in the far north (now a notorious concentration camp in the Soviet-Union) where he lived until 1803 in solitary confinement.

At that period on the Polish side were the revolts of the Haydamaki (1733—1734) and of the Koliï (1768), but these were put down by Russian troops which assisted the Polish landlords to “restore order”. Finally, when Poland was partitioned by Russia, Austria and Prussia (1772), Austria took Eastern Galicia and Northern Bukovina, and thus incorporated this section of Western Ukraine in the Habsburg Empire. Then in 1793, with the Second Partition of Poland, the largest part of Ukraine including territories occupied by Poland was brought into the Russian Empire, and a great part of Ukraine was again united, under new conditions. Russian persecution of Ukrainian and White Ruthenian Catholics of the Eastern Rite followed, and this sometimes rivalled that of the early Christian persecution. As a consequence of all this, Catholicism of the Eastern rite, so dangerous in Tsarist eyes, passed out of existence in Russian occupied lands, and eleven million Ukrainian and White Ruthenian Catholics were forcibly converted to the Russian Orthodox Church. The same methods of Russian Church Policy in Ukraine were repeated 154 years later by the Soviet Government, when the Soviets reconquered Ukraine in the Second World War, and a savage persecution of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, its hierarchy, clergy and the faithful, swept over the land when the forcible conversion of the Ukrainian Catholics to Russian Orthodoxy was put into action (1946).

By the end of the 18th century the Second Ukrainian Kozak State had ceased to exist. With the exception of Eastern Galicia and Bukovina, which went to Austria, and the Carpatho-Ukraine, which was occupied by Hungary, nearly all Ukraine went under Russian control. This was the symbolic ending of old Ukraine, of the old struggle for liberty and independence. Nothing was left to the Ukrainians except the songs sung by despairing serfs. Looking on the reorganized Ukraine, now forcibly turned into typical Russian provinces (“Little Russia”) Russia felt sure that there was no danger, and that the last sparks of the Ukrainian liberties had been quenched. But all that Russia could not imagine suddenly happened. Ukraine awakened like Phoenix from the ashes, and the revival of the Ukrainian spirit had commenced. Under the new conditions the Ukrainian liberation movement revived in the next century.

TARAS SHEVCHENKO

THE BROTHERHOOD OF ST. CYRIL AND METHIDIUS

The 19th century meant for Ukraine, both in the eastern part under Russia and in the western part under Austria, a period of rising nationalism and re-birth of the idea of independence. The Russian armies, returning from the defeat of Napoleon, had brought with them the seeds of modern democratic and republican influences. The liberating slogans of the French Revolution, the effective success of the American Revolution and Napoleonic developments, with which is associated the rebirth of many of the Slavic peoples, revived also the Ukrainian liberation movement. The new trend of romanticism which came to Ukraine from Western Europe brought a literary and cultural revival. This movement originated among the small West-Slavic peoples such as the Czechs, Slovaks, Slovenes, Serbs, Croats and Bulgarians in the course of their struggle against Turkey and Austria. This movement had a political trend which recognized the right of each people to organize its own political life. It propagated the idea of a federated state in which all Slavic peoples should be united on the basis of complete independence and equality. Kyiv, the national capital of Ukraine, was considered by many Slav leaders as the capital of a future Slav federation.

Under these influences the Ukrainian youth began to organize liberal and democratic circles and groups, whose purpose was to arouse Ukraine and to centralize the activities toward national liberation. It is generally known that among the so-called "Decabrist" revolutionaries (1825) there were many Ukrainians and that the so-called "Southern Society" formed by Col. Pestel among the Russian troops in Ukraine was the most active and radical. When the time of the suppression of the Decabrist movement came, the only serious fighting was in Ukraine, where the regular garrison in Chernihiv revolted and was almost wiped out by loyal troops.

At the same time the Ukrainian writers, such as Ivan Kotliarevsky, S. Kochubey, V. Kapnist, V. Lukasevich, and many others openly propagated the Ukrainian national idea. The Ukrainian intelligentsia began to dream of glory and of the traditions which had lived on

from the remote past of the Ukrainian people. The slogan of an independent Ukraine in that period was proclaimed by Taras Shevchenko, the greatest poet of Ukraine, and Mykola Kostomariv, the first modern Ukrainian historian, both of them the spiritual leaders of the so-called "Brotherhood of Saints Cyril and Methodius" in Kyiv. Shevchenko's "Kobzar" and Kostomariv's "The Book of Genesis of the Ukrainian people" not only galvanized the contemporary generation, but left a legacy for all Ukrainians in the future.

Taras Shevchenko forms in Ukrainian modern history a special epoch. He has given by his great poetical works and his "Life", "I am Suffering and Tortured, but I am not Humiliated" to Ukrainian people renewed strength for the fight for freedom. Shevchenko, martyred by Tsarist Russia, fought for the free Ukrainian State and liberation from serfdom; he is the Ukrainian national prophet, hero, and spiritual leader. He sang in his works, "Caucasus" and others, of the struggle against Moscow of all the nations enslaved by Russia, and steeled them to endurance in that struggle. His "Kobzar" is still for every Ukrainian a holy national book. Worship of Shevchenko is in every Ukrainian home; there is no Ukrainian, old or young, who does not know Shevchenko's works, there is no Ukrainian who does not know Shevchenko's "Testament" by heart; it is a second Ukrainian National Anthem. Hardly in any other nation is there a person having such influence on his people as Shevchenko on Ukrainians. That is why Ukrainians are called "Shevchenko's People". In his deeply Christian works he reflected the wishes of the Ukrainian people for their national independence and social justice. Moving forces of Ukrainian history as ideals of the glory, freedom, justice, faith in God are sung by him. "To free brothers and to acquire glory", but not to invade and attempt to exploit foreign countries, is Shevchenko's golden thread of Ukrainian history. He sang of the thousands of thousands of Ukrainian tombs erected in memory of Ukrainian heroes, where our "freedom and our glory lay", and recreated from the tombs the spirit to struggle for freedom. He was the prophet of the great rising of the Ukrainian nation in the twentieth century, for his eternal ideas obtain today in the fight of the Ukrainian people to regain freedom. And, as in the last century, Shevchenko's anti-

Russian works are being circulated underground in Ukraine, which, like its prophet, is "suffering, tortured, but not humiliated".

The political credo of the Brotherhood in brief was: Ukraine should be a free and democratic republic, and should be a member of the Slavic federation on the basis of complete equality with others. The constitution of the Brotherhood provided that all members of the federation were to be democratic. Serfdom was to be abolished and all social classes were to be equal in all free republics before the constitution. Each government would be responsible for compulsory education of all. All class privileges were to be abolished. The death penalty was to be abrogated as well. Religious liberty was to be guaranteed. One of the leading members of the Brotherhood, V. Bilozersky, wrote: "The Christian religion has brought to the world a new moral spirit, which hitherto has been absent. The Saviour has revealed to humanity love, peace, liberty, equality and brotherhood of all the peoples. He also has given them an understanding of how to achieve these great ideals." The importance of Ukraine was emphasized by the members of the Brotherhood. "Ukraine lies in her grave", Kostomarov wrote, "but she is not dead, because her voice, the voice which called all Slavic lands to freedom, has resounded in all the Slavic countries . . . Ukraine will awake . . . and Ukraine will be an independent republic . . . Then all the nations will say, pointing to the place on the map where an independent Ukraine will appear: this is the stone which the builders rejected, and it has become the very corner-stone itself."

The Brotherhood of St. Cyril and Methodius was not merely a society of dreamers. The organization had a really practical aim: to raise their own people from mental marasmus and to liberate Ukraine. Writing his "Testament", Taras Shevchenko the national bard of Ukraine gave the keynote of the movement for Ukrainian liberation:

. . . Bury me and then rise boldly
Break in twain your fetters
And with the foul blood of foemen
Sprinkle well your freedom . . .

The members of the Brotherhood developed a very aggressive activity among the students of Kyiv University. A proclamation issued to the Ukrainian people provided a plan for a republican Ukraine. The second proclamation directed to the Russians and Poles pointed out all the injustice to Ukraine committed by the Russian Tsars and the Polish nobility.

The existence of the Brotherhood could not be kept secret; it was soon detected and sternly suppressed. The greatest poet of Ukraine, Taras Shevchenko, was consigned to primitive army service in a remote part of the empire. As part of his punishment he was forbidden to paint and to write. There he spent ten years. Other members of the society were arrested and exiled. But before that happened, the ideas of the Brotherhood had spread far beyond the borders of Ukraine.

The ideals of national sovereignty that were the very foundation of the Brotherhood are still very much alive to-day among the Ukrainian people. They want to see their country free and independent in a great family of equally free nations. The idea of federation, however, proved to be a political failure. The Ukrainian idealists of a hundred years ago held the misconception that the enemies of the Ukrainian people were merely the Russian Tsars and Polish nobility, and that the peoples themselves could come to an understanding and be able to solve their political differences peaceably. But the Revolution of 1917 taught the Ukrainians another lesson. The Tsars and the nobility had gone and the Russian and Polish peoples were not willing to give freedom to the Ukrainians. The Socialist government of Alexander Kerensky and the Communist dictatorship of Lenin-Stalin did not hesitate to enslave Ukraine again, and newly reborn Poland went to war against the Ukrainian republic.

The hard reality of the present day has convinced the Ukrainian people that they have to correct the ideas of the Ukrainian idealists of 1846. They know that not a federation with other Slavs but the complete political independence of Ukraine is the only true and just solution of the Ukrainian problem.

The rise of Ukrainian nationalism naturally attracted the atten-

tion of the Russian government as a latent danger to the Russian Empire. In 1863 there came the Polish revolt against Russia in which some Ukrainians participated. This fact alarmed and irritated the Russian government, which feared that the movement to restore a free Poland would automatically involve the separation of all Ukraine from Russia. As a result the Russian government decided to renew their efforts to wipe out the last vestiges of a Ukrainian independent movement and to resort to drastic methods in suppressing it. In 1863, Count Valuyev, the Minister of the Interior, issued a statement that "there never was, is not, and cannot be any separate Ukrainian language", and ordered the censors to prevent the publication of Ukrainian books, except verses, stories and plays. As a result of this "Ukaz" there were some years in which no work in Ukrainian appeared at all.

The seventies were the great period of the Narodniki, when the educated youth went to the people, disguised themselves as peasants, and tried to educate their unfortunate brothers. Other Ukrainians tried to place the knowledge of Ukrainian culture on a firmer basis, and formed themselves into a society, the Hromada, which worked vigorously along purely scientific, ethnological, historical and philological lines. They included Prof. V. Antonovich and M. Drahomaniv of the Kyiv University. The latter Socialist and cosmopolitan, author of an intellectualistic theory of social development, was later political emigrant in Switzerland and professor at the University of Sofia.

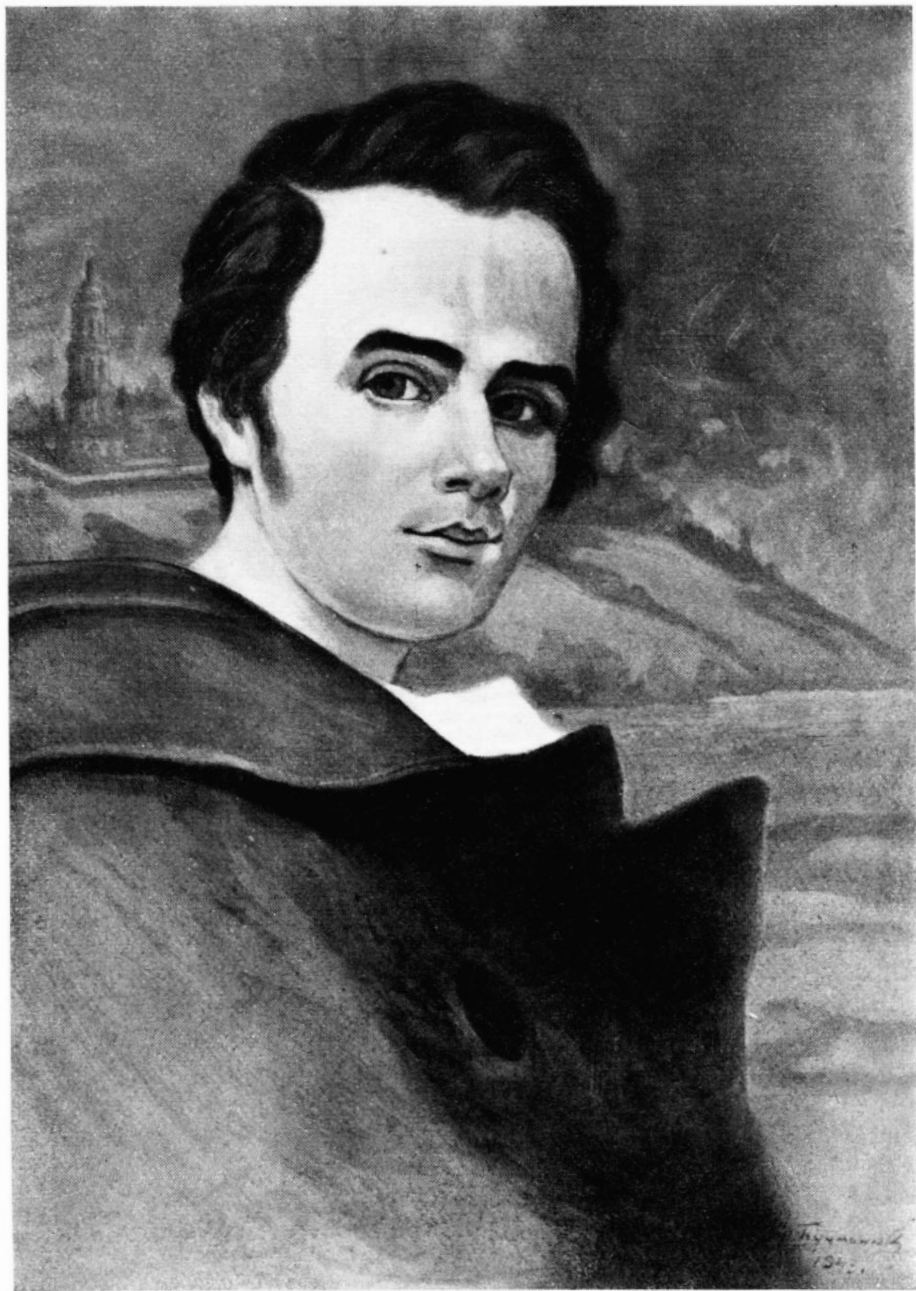
Yet even this scientific work seemed to be dangerous "separatism", as it demanded cultural rights for the Ukrainian people, and mentioned differences between the Russians and the Ukrainians. As a result a governmental commission was appointed to study the dangerous situation that prevailed in "Little Russia" and the commission reported that: "the entire literary activity of the so-called Ukrainophiles must be considered as an attempt on the national unity and wholeness of Russia, only hidden by plausible forms."

As a result, the Tsarist government went still further than in 1863, and issued on May 18, 1876, a blanket prohibition of printing of books, pamphlets or plays in Ukrainian, and forbidding the im-

portation of books printed abroad. Even the printing of musical texts with Ukrainian words was forbidden. This had the effect — probably unforeseen by the Tsarist government, and undesirable from the Russian political standpoint — of shifting the centre of Ukrainian cultural life to Galicia. A Shevchenko Scientific Society was established in Lviv, with the aid of contributions from Ukraine occupied by Russia. A number of Ukrainian authors and scholars, Antonovich, Kulish, Konisky, Nechuy-Levitsky and many others, established headquarters in Galicia. During the last decades of the 19th century there was a noteworthy cultural revival in this part of Ukraine.

It must be emphasized that the political situation of the Ukrainians in Austria was far more favourable than in Russia. The Constitution of 1848 granted the Ukrainians a semi-autonomous status and full support of their religious and economic freedom. Numerous institutions, schools, publishing houses were established, and Ukrainian culture saw an unprecedented development. Among the men who brought about this segment of Ukrainian territory to its cultural heights were Ivan Franko, the second greatest poet of Ukraine, Michael Hrushevsky, the most outstanding Ukrainian historian and later the first President of the Ukrainian Republic and many others. In this progress the Ukrainian Catholic Church played a great part. The head of the Church, the Metropolitan Count Andrey Sheptitsky, a member of a noble family which had furnished several archbishops to the Uniate Church, was a devout and able leader, who was able to accomplish much for his people.

An outstanding Ukrainian woman author and contemporary of Franko was Lesya Ukrainka, the pen name of Larissa Kosacheva, the niece of Michael Drahomaniv, whose cosmopolitan theories were strongly opposed by many Ukrainians. Devoted to the nationalist ideal, she employed subtler, more symbolic forms in calling her people to the struggle for freedom. Some of her poems and plays are devoted to struggles for liberty in other lands and other circumstances. The pity was that she who had the soul of a fighter was precluded by physical weakness from entering more actively into the great conflict.



Taras Shevchenko (1814 - 1861) The greatest poet of Ukraine

Thus by the end of the 19th century and the early years of the 20th century, Galicia became the living centre of the National Ukrainian Renaissance, the veritable Piedmont of Ukraine. Despite the renewed period of Russification of Ukraine, owing to the development in Galicia it was clear that there was a large and steadily growing population in Ukraine which was proud of its language and of its tradition. It was evident that Ukrainian culture again had turned the corner, and that the Ukrainian people was a force to be reckoned with. Ukraine came to life with a dynamic force which surpassed all expectations.

WAR, REVOLUTION, NATIONAL REBIRTH, 1917

The literary and cultural revival of the Ukrainian people closely parallels that of the other Slavic races in Europe. In the 19th century the Ukrainian nationalist movement was stronger in the cultural than in the political field. Ukrainian scholars, poets, writers, reconstructed their country's past and tried to assert the right to express themselves in their native language. But in the 20th century, the Ukrainian nationalist movement rapidly became political and social, and, despite the incessant persecutions and oppressions by the Russians, it gained headway. Economically and politically, socially and financially, the Ukrainians worked steadily for the improvement of their own conditions and for the coming of the time when they could play their own role in world affairs. As a result, the Russian Revolution and the fall of the Russian monarchy in 1917 brought perhaps one of the greatest surprises to the world — the rebirth of Ukraine in the east of Europe.

As far back as 1890 a group of prominent Ukrainians gathered in Kyiv and Kharkiv, contributing to a formation of Ukrainian nationalist ideology; the group crystallized into a Ukrainian Revolutionary Party (R.U.P.), which, at the beginning of the 20th century, pronounced its political platform — an independent Ukrainian state. Among its prominent members was Mykola Mikhnovsky — “father” of modern Ukrainian nationalism and author of “Independent Ukraine”.

The political and cultural persecution of the Ukrainians in Russia was substantially relaxed in the first days after the Revolution of 1905. A number of Ukrainians was elected to the First Duma and a Ukrainian bloc was formed. In the later Duma elections, they were better controlled and almost entirely excluded from the later sessions. A new generation of Ukrainian writers and scholars began to appear and to publish their works. The censorship was lifted and without delay there began a flood of Ukrainian newspapers and journals in all the cities of Ukraine. It was even possible for Prof. Hrushevsky to move from Lviv to Kyiv and to carry on historical research in this old centre of Ukrainian political and cultural life. At that time, the Imperial Academy of Sciences restudied the question of "Little Russian" and officially decided (1906) that Ukrainian formed an independent East Slavonic language.

Before the outbreak of World War I the national ideal of independent Ukraine was universal among the younger generation. In Austria the Ukrainian nationalist movement became a mass movement, in Russia the Revolutionary Ukrainian Party (R.U.P.) and the Ukrainian Organization of Progressives (T.U.P.) were the representatives of this political ideal.

The outbreak of World War I awakened hopes of the Ukrainians. All had rosy dreams that on the ruins of imperial Russia and decayed Austria, there would come into being a new world of free nations. Like the Poles, the Ukrainians under Austrian rule organized a volunteer legion — the "Ukrainski Sichovi Striltsi" (Ukrainian Sich Riflemen) which was to fight against Russia, temporarily on the side of Austria. In Lviv was founded the all-Ukrainian political organization, the League for the Liberation of Ukraine, with the purpose of liberating Ukraine from Russia.

The Ukrainian legion distinguished itself in fighting against the Russian invaders. Mount Makivka in the Carpathians remained a symbol of the struggle of the U.S.S. Until the World War II every year on the third Sunday of August, tens of thousands of Western-Ukrainian youths used to gather from all parts of the country by every means of transportation on Mount Makivka to honour those who on this mount fought and fell for their native land.

In Russia, at the beginning of the War, the Russian Government at once suppressed all Ukrainian activities. The Ukrainian newspapers were forbidden, the leaders of the Ukrainians were arrested and banned, and the Ukrainian political and cultural life was brought to a complete halt. Prof. Hrushevsky was sent to Nizhni Novgorod on the Volga under arrest, being followed into arrest and exile by thousands of the intellectual leaders.

At the same time the Russians invaded Eastern Galicia. Here, too, the Ukrainian life was suppressed by the invaders. The Ukrainian libraries and reading rooms were closed, Ukrainian co-operatives were brought to an end. Tsar Nicholas II visited Lviv and referred to an "indivisible Russia" which would extend as far as the Carpathians.

Exactly as Russia had done in all the territory she had taken from Poland, 1793, or the Soviet Russia did at the time when Western Ukraine had been "liberated" by the Bolsheviks, the Tsarist Russian invaders of 1915 decided to wipe out the Ukrainian Catholic Church. The Metropolitan and head of this church, Count Andrey Sheptitsky, was arrested and sent into Russia and was not allowed to return to his home for years. The clergy and the faithful were forced to return to Orthodoxy. As a result of all this Russian policy in occupied Galicia, the relations between the Ukrainians and the Russians became even worse than they had ever been in the past. Anti-Russian feeling among the Ukrainians was growing from day to day.

The two empires which had divided the territory of Ukraine proved unable to withstand the strain of a prolonged war. The Russian Empire broke down first, when the Tsarist regime was overthrown in March, 1917. The Russian Revolution began as a social upheaval, but in the territories settled by a non-Russian population, it became a series of national revolutions. The Austro-Hungarian Empire collapsed in October and November, 1918, under the double pressure of military defeat, and the aspirations of many of the subject nationalities of the Russian Empire and Austro-Hungary enthusiastically responded to the principles of self-determination of peoples pronounced by President Woodrow Wilson on January 8, 1918.

Through a strange coincidence, the Russian Revolution (1917) began on the anniversary of Shevchenko's death in Petrograd. On the

next day, March 11, 1917, the first regiment of the Tsarist army which passed over to the side of the revolution was the Volhynian Regiment of Guards, composed of Ukrainians. A day later the Tsarist regime fell. This was a definite indication that Russia had entered not only on the road of a social revolution but also upon a no less dangerous national revolution. Among the revolting peoples of the Russian empire, Ukraine occupied the first and leading place.

As soon as the Revolution broke out, Prof. Hrushevsky left Moscow and made his way to Kyiv. There he got in touch with T.U.P. (Organization of Ukrainian Progressives), which had been a secret organization in Russia working for Ukrainian independence. Acting promptly in the first days of the revolution, T.U.P. created a Council composed of representatives of the principal Ukrainian organizations (March 17, 1917), entitled *Ukrainska Centralna Rada* (Ukrainian Central Council), for the purpose of "the establishment of the territorial autonomy of Ukraine and the guarantee of the rights of the national minorities".

On March 22, 1917, the Rada issued a proclamation headed "To the Ukrainian People", in which it urged the Ukrainians to fight for their rights. Events moved rapidly in Ukraine. On March 27—28, a Ukrainian Co-operative Congress was held in Kyiv which passed a resolution demanding Ukrainian autonomy. On April 1, the Rada organized a huge Ukrainian demonstration in Kyiv in which 110,000 Ukrainians participated. Armed Ukrainian troops marched together with students, bourgeoisie, representatives of different organizations and the clergy, under 320 Ukrainian flags and banners. Resolutions demanding autonomy for Ukraine were sent to Petrograd.

Then followed another series of meetings during the next weeks. A teachers' convention was held on Easter day with the purpose of preparing for the Ukrainization of the schools, and then on April 18—21 the all-Ukrainian National Congress was called in order to broaden the government and prepare for elections to determine the personnel of the new administration. It was attended by over 1,500 delegates representing Ukrainian organizations, parties and societies in Ukraine and beyond her frontiers. There were delegations from Moscow and Petrograd, the Baltic and Black Sea fleets, and Ukrainian

representatives of Eastern Galicia. After heated debates, the National Congress agreed on autonomy as the most important point and drafted a plan for the re-organization of the Central Rada. Two-thirds of the members were to represent the cities and provinces as such and one-third the co-operatives and the political parties as organizations. The Rada elected an executive body of between eighteen and thirty-three members to handle its functions while it was not in session. This Body became known as the "Little Rada".

The Ukrainian peasants supported the Central Rada and its policy. The First National Peasant Congress, held in Kyiv, June 10—15, 1917, adopted the resolutions demanding the creation of a Russian federated state with an autonomous Ukraine and the Ukrainization of all self-administrative bodies in Ukraine.

The civil administration and the army control in Ukraine were in the hands of the Russians, who obeyed the orders of the Russian Provisional Government in Petrograd. This government was first under the premiership of Prince Lvov and later of Alexander Kerensky. These men dreamed of maintaining the unity of Russia, and therefore they opposed the Ukrainian Central Council, considering it "separatist", though at this period the Rada, or at least its majority, were far more interested in forming themselves into a government which would become part of a federal Russian republic than in full independence.

At the same time the Ukrainian soldiers in the army began to demand that they be re-organized as Ukrainian regiments with their own commanders, their own flag, and their own units. For the Ukrainian soldiers the revolution became the means of carrying out a national revolution in the army, and the general relaxation of discipline facilitated their actions. Regiments, divisions, and army corps (XXXIV, VI, XXI, X, etc.) which were mainly composed of Ukrainians began to Ukrainize themselves. The soldiers chose Ukrainian officers and introduced the Ukrainian language into their units.

In order to co-ordinate this movement, the more active officers and soldiers decided to summon a Ukrainian Military Convention in Kyiv. The first Ukrainian Military Convention took place on May 18 to 21, 1917, in Kyiv at which there were representatives of approximately one million Ukrainians in the army. The resolutions of the

Convention demanded the continuation of the war against Germany and Austria, and opposed the subversive propaganda of the Bolsheviks, who advised the soldiers to leave the front. They also demanded the creation of a Ukrainian army and navy as a stable basis for the political structure proposed by the Central Rada. Likewise the Convention created a permanent Ukrainian Military Committee. It should be borne in mind that the Ukrainian units at that time were the most disciplined in the Russian army and navy.

Both the All-Ukrainian National Congress and the First Military Convention urged the Rada to begin immediate negotiations with the Russian Provisional Government. On May 26, 1917, a special delegation was chosen by the Central Rada to go to Petrograd to present to the Provisional Government demands for the autonomy of Ukraine, and a re-organization of Russia on a federated basis. This demand was rejected by the Russian Provisional Government. The atmosphere became very tense. To demonstrate its strength and to enforce their demands to the Russian Provisional Government, the Rada called a Second Military Convention to Kyiv which was held on June 18—23, 1917, and at which appeared the delegates of 1,736,000 Ukrainian soldiers from all over the Russian Empire. This was the more remarkable inasmuch as Alexander Kerensky, the Minister of War of the Provisional Government, definitely forbade the holding of the Convention and gave orders that the delegates should not be allowed to go to Kyiv. But no Ukrainian propaganda then could achieve so brilliant a success as this Kerensky attack on the Second Ukrainian Military Convention. From all sections of the front, ranging from Pskov to the Black Sea, from both of the navies Ukrainian soldiers and sailors streamed to their national convention. It was attended by 2,308 delegates. The resolutions adopted by the Convention called the Rada to ignore Petrograd and set up its own government in Ukraine. The delegates decided not to leave Kiev until the Ukrainian Central Rada was transformed into a state organ of a federated Ukraine, despite the will to the contrary of Petrograd.

Feeling that the decisive moment had at last arrived, the Rada entered upon the path of a national revolution against Russia by proclaiming the first official act of the Ukrainian state, the First

Universal, on June 23, 1917. On the second day of the Military Convention, the writer Volodymyr Vynnychenko, as the Vice-President of the Central Rada, read the Universal "to all Ukrainians in Ukraine and outside Ukraine." "Ukrainian people," proclaimed the Universal, "your representatives have expressed their will in this phrase, 'Let Ukraine Be Free!' Because of that fact, we, the Central Rada, are issuing this Universal to our entire nation and declare — From this day on, we ourselves will create our own life!"

The First Universal changed the Ukrainian Rada into a national government of Ukraine. The executive power was taken over by the General Secretariat, as the first Ukrainian ministry under the premiership of Volodymyr Vynnychenko. This produced a deep impression in Petrograd and among the Russians in Ukraine. The Russian bolsheviks in Kyiv attacked the Central Rada for its "bourgeois nationalism and separatism." The All-Russian Congress of Kozaks and the All-Russian Congress of Peasants in Petrograd expressed opposition to the Universal. The Provisional Government issued a long proclamation to the Ukrainian people which only promised what an aroused people already had seized for themselves by referring everything to the future Constitutional Assembly.

On July 2, 1917, the Central Rada held a conference with the representatives of Russian, Jewish, Polish and other parties and organizations. An agreement was reached whereby the Central Rada promised cultural autonomy to the minorities in exchange for their support in the struggle for autonomy against the Provisional Government. After this agreement was reached, the national minorities sent their representatives to the Central Rada. Thus the Rada totalled more than 800 members in July, 1917.

The news of this consolidation of the Ukrainian movement against Russia created a bombshell in Petrograd. Some members of the Provisional Government urged that the Central Rada be dispersed and the members of the General Secretariat be arrested. The others insisted on compromise. In the end the latter group won and a delegation of three socialist ministers, Kerensky, Tsereteli and Tereshchenko, came down to Kyiv for a conference with the Ukrainian Council. This was on the eve of the last offensive of the old Russian army, and

Kerensky and his friends were desirous of smoothing out conditions in Ukraine before the offensive was launched, as Ukrainian units of this army had to play a prominent part in this offensive against German and Austro-Hungarian armies. On July 13, 1917, the Central Rada approved the Agreement with the Provisional Movement, in which the latter recognized the Central Rada and its General Secretariat as the official organs of the Ukrainian people, and permitted the armed forces on Ukrainian soil and at the front to be Ukrainized. At the same time, the more conservative members of the Provisional Government objected even to these negotiations, and as soon as their protests against the agreement with the Ukrainian Council were rejected, they resigned from the cabinet.

The agreement was announced by the Ukrainian government in the Second Universal on July 16, 1917, which still is condemned by the Ukrainian nationalists because it abandoned the demand of separation of Ukraine from Russia. But the Central Rada and the General Secretariat were willing to co-operate loyally with the Provisional Government as the government of a federated state. The Ukrainian forces played a prominent part in the ill-fated Kerensky offensive, notably the 6th, 17th and 41st Ukrainized army corps. The Ukrainized 155th Division lost three-fourths of its men. Its heroism was mentioned in the Russian press and the Russian High Command lauded the Ukrainian units (the 6th corps) in a telegram to the Ukrainian Military Committee. On July 29, the Constitutional Committee of the Central Rada completed the Statute of the Higher Administration of Ukraine and then sent it to the Provisional Government. Here it was badly received, despite the fact that this constitution was very moderate, and the Provisional Government flatly rejected it, sending a series of Instructions to the Council signed by Premier Kerensky which violated the Kyiv agreement.

These hampering tactics of Premier Kerensky and his government in regard to the Ukrainian Central Council, which was endeavouring to co-operate with the Provisional Government against the will of Ukrainian nationalists, brought no profit to either the Ukrainian Central Council or the Provisional Government. It served only to weaken and embarrass the former and brought no benefit to the

latter, for during July the Provisional Government was faced with a revolt of the Bolsheviks under Lenin in Petrograd. Although this was suppressed, it had its own not inconsiderable part in the general breakdown of administration. Day by day the internal chaos in Russia increased. The power of the Russian reactionary movement was increased and subsequently it found expression in the uprising of General Kornilov, the C-I-C of the Russian army, but as he marched on Petrograd his forces were dissolved by Bolshevik propaganda and their remnants easily defeated by Trotsky's Red Guard, which Kerensky had been forced to legalize. In October Kerensky managed, with difficulty, to form another coalition cabinet, but the Bolsheviks were gaining too rapidly in strength for it to succeed. Lenin emerged with a new programme demanding an immediate peace, elimination of the bourgeoisie from government, dictatorship of the soviets, confiscation of large estates and calling of a Constituent Assembly. Kerensky did not know upon whom he could rely and under such circumstances the Bolsheviks seized power in Russia and replaced the Provisional Government with the Soviet of People's Commissars on November 7, 1917. Thus, the thirty-three years of the victorious march of Russian Bolshevism is the result of principal errors made by Kerensky and his Provisional Government during the time between the Revolution and the accession to power of the Bolsheviks. He declined to see the emerging force of the subjugated non-Russian nationalities and to rely upon it, he attempted to "appease" the Bolsheviks to save "Indivisible and Holy Mother Russia" and succeeded in preserving it, by burying democracy in Russia, he decisively helped in coming to power of Lenin and Stalin. "It is better to have Stalin than the dismemberment of Russia" is a widely notorious pronouncement of this politician.

Ukrainian nationalist circles widely criticized the "appeasement policy" of the Ukrainian Central Rada in regard to the Russian Provisional Government. At a time when the Ukrainian Central Rada was supreme in Ukraine, because the Russian government was collapsing and the Russian armies were being annihilated, they argued, it had been better for the Ukrainians to declare their independence then and conclude an immediate peace, relying upon the Ukrainian

armies at the front and in Ukraine. It is doubtful if the Russian Government could have effectively prevented such a development, at any rate, the Ukrainian Central Rada would have been in a much stronger position with the Bolshevik Revolution overthrowing the Provisional Government. An attempt to realize such a policy was made by the Ukrainian nationalist circles under the leadership of Mykola Mikhnovsky as far back as in July, 1917, when the Ukrainian garrison of the Ukrainian capital ("Polubotok" Infantry Regiment of Guards) rose and brought during the night all of Kyiv into its hands. In the morning of the next day the delegation of this regiment came to the Central Rada for further instructions, but was disavowed by it. The regiment was disbanded and sent to the front and with this the rising ended.

The seizure of power by the Bolsheviks in Russia forced the Rada to take definite action, and on November 20, 1917, it issued the Third Universal which emphasized definitely the international position of Ukraine. With this Ukraine formally proclaimed herself a Ukrainian National Republic. The Third Universal envisioned the formation of a federation of equal nations in Russia, and it proposed a radical agrarian reform for the peasants and an eight hour work day for the workers. Likewise it announced cultural autonomy for all the national minorities in the country. Simultaneously the Central Rada set the election for the Ukrainian Constituent Assembly for January 9, 1918, and appointed the first meeting of it for the following January 22.

After the change in Russia, there broke out in Ukraine a conflict between the Russian bolsheviks and all the Russian anti-Bolshevik groups. The Central Rada, remaining neutral in this struggle between Russian factions, took advantage of the situation and with the aid of its loyal armies seized the entire military and administrative power in Ukraine. *With this it must be borne in mind that, at this time, Ukraine was almost the only part of the former Russia where order reigned and personal safety was assured. In all other regions a civil war was being waged, accompanied by thousands of executions.*

The Soviet government, under the leadership of Lenin together with Trotsky, the Commissar for War, and Stalin, the Commissar for

Nationalities, verbally adopted a very liberal attitude toward Ukraine. It recognized the right of Ukraine to self-determination and even to separation from Russia, but, in fact, it differed in no way from the attitude of the Provisional Government or even of the Russian "reactionaries". Side by side with the glowing phrases about the right of Ukraine to separate, the Soviet government presented a demand for the formation of a Soviet government in Ukraine, that is, a full centralization of Russia under the rule of the Communist Party. As a result the Bolsheviks continued their policy of trying to disintegrate the Ukrainian Central Rada and of arousing discontent in all possible quarters. By sending Bolshevik bands, composed of non-Ukrainians, into the country, by spreading incendiary appeals to the people, by fomenting class hatred in every way, they kept the country stirred up and prevented the stabilization of conditions.

The action against the Ukrainian Central Rada, as it was stated by the recently published Soviet History of Ukraine (published 1941 by the Academy of Science of the Ukrainian S.S.R.), had been directed by the Russian Commissar of Nationalities, Joseph Stalin. He induced the Executive Committee of the local Kyiv Soviet, under the leadership of the non-Ukrainian communists Ivanov and Horovitz, to call an All-Ukrainian Convention of Soviets on December 17, 1917. At the same time the Russian Soviet Government sent an ultimatum to the Rada accusing it of "carrying on a two-faced bourgeois policy", demanded that the Rada should stop the passage of anti-Bolshevik military units through Ukraine, support the Bolshevik effort to put down the hostile forces led by the Don-Kozak Ataman Kaledin, and cease disarming Soviet regiments and Red Guards in Ukraine. Unless these demands were accepted within forty-eight hours, the Soviet Government announced it would consider the Rada "in a state of open war against the Soviet regime in Russia and in Ukraine."

The Ukrainian government did not forbid the meeting of the All-Ukrainian Convention of Soviets but it took care that this was not a mere rump convention of the Bolsheviks, as Stalin had planned, but was widely representative of all the leftist elements of Ukraine which were grouped in Soviets. The Convention proved clearly that Bolshevism in Ukraine was an external intrigue of the Russian government

against the independence of Ukraine. Out of the 2,000 delegates only 150 delegates (7.5%, and the majority of these were non-Ukrainian) took a stand against the Central Rada. As a result, the Bolshevik resolutions were voted down and the meeting of Soviets became an enthusiastic demonstration for the independent government of Ukraine. The following resolution was adopted: "The meeting of the Ukrainian Soviets emphasizes its definite decision that the Ukrainian Central Council in its further work stands solidly on guard over the achievement of the revolution, spreading and deepening without halt the revolutionary activity to safeguard the class interests of labouring democracy and calls together without delay the Ukrainian Constituent Assembly, which alone can reveal the true will of all democratic Ukraine. The meeting of the Soviets of Peasants', Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates of Ukraine in this manner expresses to the Ukrainian Central Council its full confidence and promises it its absolute support." The resolution went on to say, "On paper the Soviet of People's Commissars seemingly recognizes the right of a nation to self-determination and even to separation, but only in words. In fact, the government of Commissars brutally attempts to interfere in the activities of the Ukrainian government which executes the will of the legislative organ of the Central Council. What sort of self-determination in this? It is certain the Commissars will permit self-determination only to their own party; all other groups and peoples they, like the Tsarist regime, desire to keep under their domination by force of arms. But the Ukrainian people did not cast off the Tsarist yoke only to take upon themselves the yoke of the Commissars."

This resolution, adopted in December, 1917, expresses with rare nicety the entire policy of Soviet thought in its relations with other peoples. It makes clear the standard technique of bolshevizing a democratic country which, for the first time, was adopted in Ukraine, and later was used in many other countries. Many a European country experienced these methods during the next thirty-three years.

When the Bolsheviks saw that they were unable to control the assembly which they had inspired, the Bolshevik members, some 150 out of 2,000, under the leadership of two Russians, Sergejev (Artem) and Ivanov and a Jewish Communist Horowitz, moved to Kharkiv

and there proclaimed a Ukrainian Soviet Republic and called themselves the Secretaries of the new government. They applied to the Russian Soviet Government for aid and, in order to sovietize Ukraine, the Red Army marched in and opened the Ukrainian Independence War (1917—1921) which lasted for four years and during which the young Ukrainian army was compelled to conduct an unequal struggle against the Red and White Russians, Poles and Rumanians. *As a result of the numerical superiority of the enemies' forces and of the lack of support on the part of the Western World, the Ukrainians fell, after years of desperate fighting, but they saved Europe from bolshevization by their prolonged resistance in this war.*

THE UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE WAR (1917—1921)

The first Red quisling government — the Ukrainian Soviet Government of Kharkiv — was a puppet government in the hands of the Russian Soviet of People's Commissars. It carried out most assiduously the wishes of the Commissars and was for the most part dependent upon support of the Red Army. It applied to the Soviet government for aid and this aid was granted it. In the second half of December, 1917, bands of Kharkiv and Don Basin Red Guards, Red Kozaks, Petrograd and Moscow Red Guardists and Red sailors began the primary military actions against Ukraine. To aid the quisling government of Ukraine the Russian communist armies, under the command of former Tsarist Col. Muravyev, advanced from the north on Kyiv. The way was prepared for them by a swarm of Bolshevik propagandists. The Ukrainian government supporting the freedom of speech tolerated them. They were openly urging the people to betray their country and to rise against their government. In addition, millions of deserting Russian soldiers started to return home, through Ukraine. They were completely Bolshevized and menaced Kyiv from the south. To stop them in their advance on Kyiv, the 34th Ukrainized army corps under the command of General Skoropadsky, left the front-line and occupied the important railway centres in Ukraine, Zhmerinka and Kozyatyn, with the purpose of

disarming the masses of Russian deserters advancing on Kyev. The initiative of Gen. Skoropadsky saved Kyiv.

Contrary to a widespread opinion — emanating from ignorance or calumny — the Ukrainian Central Rada in 1917 and early in 1918 exerted every effort to reach an agreement with France and England and to obtain their help against both the Moscow Soviet Government and German-Austrian pressure. Too many people seem to remember only the Brest-Litovsk Treaty of February 9, 1918, concluded between Germany, Austro-Hungary, Turkey and Bulgaria, on the one hand, and the representatives of the Ukrainian Central Rada on the other. Few knew, however, that England and France entered into official relations with the same Ukrainian Central Rada and granted *de facto* recognition to Ukraine. France and England made strong efforts to keep Ukraine in the war against Germany, the more that the Ukrainian army units were the only armed forces which kept the front against both Germany and Austria. The 21st Ukrainized army corps at Riga front held its positions until the time when the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk was signed and it could move to Ukraine. The French and British sent their representatives from their military headquarters — General Tabouis for the French and General Picton Bagge for the English — to collaborate with the Ukrainian government, but it was impossible for Ukraine to continue the war. The foreign recognition arrived at exactly the moment when the Russian Bolshevik hordes were moving on Kyiv and the Soviet government had arranged an armistice with the Central Powers and was beginning peace conferences at Brest. There was serious danger that Ukraine would not only be completely overrun by the Bolshevik armies, but also that the Central Powers would recognize the domination of the Russian Soviets over Ukraine.

If, at that time, France and England had been willing and able to save Ukraine from the threat of Austro-German invasion and subjugation by Soviet Russia, and to grant the Ukrainian Central Rada effective support, the representatives of the Ukrainian Central Rada would never have become party to the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. Unfortunately, France and England were not willing or able to do that. Moreover, they refused to express themselves definitely as to

what they desired to see set up on the ruins of the Russian Empire. Under these circumstances and under the threat of Soviet-Russian or Austro-German invasion it was difficult for the Ukrainian Central Rada to know on what diplomatic support they could rely, or what policy would be most effective and practical.

The Ukrainian government was thus forced to stop the war against the Central Powers and to make a peace necessary for the defense of the Ukrainian nation. In the first days of January, 1918, the government of Ukraine sent a delegation to Brest Litovsk first in order to prevent the Russian Soviet of People's Commissars from speaking also in the name of Ukraine, and secondly, to make peace in the name of Ukraine. It should be remembered that the first official proposal to end hostilities was made to Germany in November, 1917, by the Soviet government, and this proposal led to the negotiations between the Soviet government and the Central Powers begun on December 3, 1917, in Brest-Litovsk.

The logic of events thus demanded that Ukraine proclaim itself *d e i u r e* independent and free from Russian rule, because only thus could it put forward the right to carry on independent negotiations and to make a separate peace without the approval of Russia.

Accordingly the Ukrainian Central Rada issued, on January 22, 1918, a Fourth Universal in which it declared Ukraine a completely independent-state. The General Secretariat was transformed into a Council of Ministers and was instructed to hasten the completion of peace negotiations with Germany and Austria and to take measures to clear the Bolsheviks out of Ukraine.

The forces at the disposal of the Rada were insufficient for this purpose. The best army corps were at the front a hundred miles away from Kyiv, while the Kyiv garrison, composed of hastily formed reserve regiments, began disintegrating under the influence of the Bolshevik propagandists freely doing their work. The very day the Fourth Universal was issued, a Bolshevik rising in Kyiv took place among the workers of the Arsenal district. For some ten days Kyiv was a victim of prolonged street fighting and bombarding by the approaching troops of Muravyev. The heroic sacrifice of the Ukrainian youth in the battle of Kruty (January 28, 1918) could not

save the Ukrainian capital, and the Rada evacuated the city and withdrew first to Zhitomir and later to Sarny. Kyiv was captured by Muravyev.

Nobody was spared. Adult men and women and even small children were shot or bayoneted by the Red invaders. The first large scale slaughter by Red Russians elicited protests even from the Kyiv Soviet, which passed a resolution to the effect that "those who disgraced with by the murder of unarmed people must be expelled from the socialist army and handed over to a revolutionary court." The capture of Kyiv was marked by an orgy of murder and pillage.

Meanwhile a new diplomatic situation changed the entire balance of military and political force and led to the speedy expulsion of the Bolshevik bands from Kyiv. Democratic Ukraine was too weak to be able to defend herself with her own power against Communist Russia, and therefore she was compelled to ask the aid of Austria and Germany. This aid was sent with all the conflicts and complexities that usually accompany foreign aid. By March 1, 1918, the German and Ukrainian troops had advanced to Kyiv and had restored the Ukrainian Central Rada in Kyiv. The German Marshal Eichhorn was the practical head of the occupation forces, anxious to extract as much food stuffs from Ukraine as possible. Hence, arose difficulties with the Ukrainian government. The Germans began to interfere with the internal affairs of Ukraine. This brought about the conflict with the Central Rada, and the Germans dissolved the Rada on April 28, 1918. On the next day they helped to establish a new government in Ukraine under General Paul Skoropadsky, the former commander of the 34th Ukrainized army corps and the descendant one of the last of the old Hetmans, as Hetman of Ukraine.

Hetman Skoropadsky ruled for about seven months and during this time Ukraine remained relatively peaceful. On the cultural side the Hetman promoted vigorous activity, establishing the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, Ukrainian Universities, schools, theatres and other institutions. On the political side he failed to enlist the support of the masses. Attempts were made to restore the former rights of the landowners and the old order as it had existed prior to 1917. As a result dissatisfaction grew among the masses and more and more

order had to be maintained by the Germans. The Germans did not allow the Hetman to organize a Ukrainian army, and the Hetman's government could not rely upon itself. During all the time of his rule the Bolsheviks were very busy in undermining his regime. The Bolshevik delegates at Kiev, Rakovsky and Dmitry Manuilsky, until recently Ukraine's Delegate at United Nations who were ostensibly drawing up peace terms between Ukraine and Moscow, were spending huge sums of money in Bolshevik propaganda. The local Bolshevik groups were active in promoting acts of underground resistance and terrorism. The commander of the German occupation forces, General Eichhorn, was mortally wounded by a bomb, and ammunition dumps were blown up in Kyiv and Odessa. At the same time many Russian officers assembled in Kyiv and other cities and plotted against the Hetman, having in view the restoration of a united Russia. Under such circumstances Skoropadsky saw that his days were numbered, and in trying to secure the recognition of the victorious Entente, he proclaimed Ukraine as a part of, a future federated Russian state on November 14, 1918.

As an answer to this proclamation, the Ukrainian National State Union, acting underground, called the Ukrainian people to a national rising against the German occupants and Hetman Skoropadsky. The nucleus of this rising was the Sichovi Strilci (Sich Riflemen) regiment at Bila Tserkva under command of Col. Konovalets. The Riflemen defeated Hetman Skoropadsky's forces in the battle of Motovylyvka, near Kiev, but were stopped by the Germans who supported Skoropadsky. But the national rising spread all over Ukraine and soon nearly all Ukraine was in the hands of the Ukrainians. A large part of the German troops were not particularly interested in fighting or in doing anything else except getting home.

The rising in Ukraine lasted about one month. The three parties which led the rising elected from their ranks a Directory of four (Vynnychenko, Petliura, Shvets, and Makarenko) as the supreme ruling power of Ukraine. Petliura was known in Ukrainian circles as an ardent patriot and an able organizer. He developed a considerable talent for leadership and was to be for the following years the dominant figure in the Ukrainian Liberation Movement. Meanwhile the forces of

Petliura increased rapidly, and it soon became evident to the Germans that they would have to come to an understanding with them. This was done at Kozyatyn on December 11, 1918, when the Germans consented to turn over Kiev to the Directory, and three days later, on December 14, 1918, Hetman Skoropadsky laid down his power and Col. Eugen Konovalts, at the head of his army corps, entered Kiev. Petliura and the Directory arrived three days later and the independent Ukrainian National Republic had been once more established. The Germans now were concerned only to evacuate their troops with as little friction as possible, but the Ukrainian forces were unwilling to remain quiet and see the Germans depart with rich booty and copious military supplies, and there was friction in many places.

In the meantime the Austrian Empire had fallen apart also, and the various national segments of which it was composed were attempting to establish themselves on an independent basis. On the 18th of October 1918, a Ukrainian National Council, meeting in the capital city of Galicia, Lviv, proclaimed the formation of a separate Ukrainian state out of all provinces of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. This finally resulted in the formation of the so-called West Ukrainian National Republic. At dawn of November 1 1918, Ukrainian units of the Austrian army in Lviv, directed by the Ukrainian Military Committee, became masters of Lviv and of all Galician Ukraine. From the tower of the Lviv City Hall flew the Ukrainian blue and yellow flag. Answering to the proclamation of President Wilson the Austrian Ukrainians realized their right of self-determination. However, the military forces at the disposal of this new Ukrainian state were unable to withstand the pressure of the better-armed and equipped Polish armies, which pressed into Eastern Galicia and occupied Lviv on November 21, 1918. Thus the Polish-Ukrainian War began in Galicia while Bucovina was occupied by the Rumanians and Carpatho-Ukraine by Czechs.

The loss of Lviv, the most important city in the area, proved a tremendous handicap to the new state, which looked forward very definitely to an ultimate union with the Ukrainian National Republic in Kyiv, and caused an eight months' long war with Poland. The siege of Lviv by the Ukrainian army began, but the Poles were

steadily increasing their armed forces and the Ukrainans failed to capture the city. Later the Poles received several well-trained divisions which had fought under General Haller along with the French on the Western front, and under such conditions the armies of Western Ukraine were forced to retreat to the east and to join the forces of Eastern Ukraine.

At the time of the Polish invasion the Western Ukraine presented a veritable island of order among the waves of disorder following the first World War in this part of Europe. The well organized army of the Western Ukrainians, permeated with the national spirit, had to wage a bitter struggle against Poland in defence of the land of its fathers, just when the Russian Red forces, largely occupied with the revolutionary chaos, marched on Eastern Ukraine from the north-west. Soviet forces at this time were weak, and the concentrated forces of Ukrainians could have easily coped with the Red Russian invasion, if it had not been for the war with the Poles. The fact that Poland began a war with Ukraine in the Western Ukrainian lands is the best proof of the blindness and lack of a clear historic perspective on the part of the Poles. The Poles thus aided the Bolsheviks in rebuilding the empire of Peter I. We see today the sad finale of this Polish policy and Polish shortsightedness, the destruction of the Polish nation. Instead of aiding the Ukrainians in establishing an independent Ukrainian nation, the Poles hampered them in doing so, and as a result they have lost the Ukrainian lands, and, what is more, they have lost their own independence, and Poland has sunk to the rôle of a Russian satellite.

As it was said above, Petliura returned to Kyiv with the Directory on December 19 1918, and he at once set about rebuilding the shattered structure of the state. Conditions were more unfavourable than they had been the year before, having in view the development of the Bolshevik regime and the formation of a strong White Russian movement under General Denikin. When we add to this the outbreak of the war against Poland, we can appreciate the task that faced General Petliura.

The original government organized by the Directory was composed only of members of the three parties represented in the Directory

itself. V. M. Chekhovsky, a well-known Ukrainian Social Democrat, was appointed Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs. The first constructive step of the new government was the formal union with the Republic of Western Ukraine. On January 3, 1919, the Directory voted to accept the Western Ukraine into the state, and on January 22 1919, just on the first anniversary of the Fourth Universal, the Union of the two Ukrainian states was proclaimed. It was then declared that, "From to-day until the end of time there will be One, Undivided, Independent Ukrainian People's Republic".

The Ukrainian United Nation, founded on January 22 1919, in the Square of St. Sophia in Kyiv, became the supreme ideal of the Ukrainian people. It has an immense importance for the formation of the Ukrainian Nation. Both acts proclaimed on January 22, 1918, and on January 22, 1919, in Kyiv, became the basic dogma of the political faith of the modern Ukrainian nationalism. During the period between those two winter days and the present, millions of Ukrainians have sacrificed their lives for the realization of this supreme ideal of the Ukrainian people. The faith in it enabled the revolutionaries of Eastern and Western Ukraine to wage an unceasing struggle against foreign domination of their native country, and for the independence of Ukraine and union of all Ukrainian lands in one Ukrainian state, and the blood shed in this sacred fight has manifested to the whole world that the Ukrainian people have their supreme desire to be a free and united nation in Europe.

That day of happiness on which the Union of the Ukrainian lands was proclaimed, was not unmixed with sorrow, for the bells of St. Sophia had scarcely ceased ringing, when from the north came the sound of Bolshevik cannons. In February 1919 the Bolshevik armies invaded the Ukrainian National Republic without a declaration of war. Meanwhile, in the south, in Odessa, the French troops and the armies of the White Russians under Gen. Denikin were disembarking, and from the West the Poles were advancing. Could the young nation resist all of its enemies with its weak military forces who were armed only with the moral right of self-determination?

No, the Ukrainian United Nation could not endure. It was overthrown by the Red and White Russians, the Poles, the Rumanians,

and the Czechs, even though an independent Ukraine was the most natural solution of the key European problem, the creation of security for the small and medium-sized nations of Europe and in the first instance for Poland, Rumania and Czecho-Slovakia themselves. An independent Ukraine was able to save them from the two imperialisms of Germany and Russia. Had Ukraine been a free and independent strong nation, instead of a colonial *terra-incognita*, Hitler would never have been able to conclude a pact with Stalin in 1939, spreading into the enormous scope of World War II. Hitler more likely would have been hesitant and deterred in his attempts to start this war.

It would be too long a story for this occasion to relate how in the West the Ukrainians carried on a losing battle against Polish domination; how the Peace Conference in Paris elaborated a plan whereby the Ukrainians in East Galicia, on the basis of selfdetermination, were to have Home Rule; how this plan was frustrated by the Polish army of occupation; and how eventually in 1923 East Galicia was handed over to Poland by the Allied Council of Ambassadors on the assumption that Poland would introduce selfgovernment. Long before that date Bucovina had been seized by Rumania while Carphato-Ukraine had become part of Czecho-Slovakia.

The war between the Poles and Ukrainians lasted for over eight months. After the first three weeks the Ukrainian Army and Ukrainian authorities left Lviv, but laid siege to it, and this was lifted only on Easter Sunday, 1919, after the Poles, claiming falsely to the Allies in Paris that they were fighting Bolsheviks, secured war material and permission to use the American-equipped Haller's army against the Ukrainians. This was the end of the fight for Lviv, but the war in Galicia lasted until July 1919. Even leaving Western Ukraine the Ukrainian armies succeeded in inflicting a series of crushing defeats on the advancing Polish armies in the so-called Chortkiv offensive which began on June 6, 1919, and was interrupted in the vicinity of Lviv because of the total lack of ammunition on the Ukrainian side.

After the war against Poland the Ukrainian Galician Army retreated into eastern Ukraine and an armistice with Poland was

concluded. The Ukrainian Galician Army joined the Army of the Ukrainian National Republic which was fighting against the advancing Bolsheviks. After an outbreak of war with Soviet Russia, the Ukrainian forces, after a series of battles in the region of Cherniyhiv and Poltava, were forced to retreat, and the Bolsheviks occupied the Ukrainian capital and nearly all Ukraine. They attempted to annihilate the Ukrainian forces in a series of decisive battles, but failed to succeed in it as the Ukrainian armies offered a stern resistance and fought on every foot of the Ukrainian territory. The vast territories of Ukraine were occupied by the organized Ukrainian guerilla detachments which were under the Supreme Ukrainian Command and fought the Bolsheviks in their rear area. In this situation the arrival of the Ukrainian Galician Army soon brought the decisive change into the general situation of the fighting armies.

By July, 1919, both Ukrainian armies represented a considerable strength which could turn the scale of the developments in Eastern Europe. The Army of the Ukrainian National Republic comprised 12 fighting divisions, the Ukrainian Galician Army 3 army corps with 14 brigades. They numbered 85,000 officers and enlisted men, but to this number at least 15,000 men of the organized Ukrainian guerilla detachments had to be added. The 100,000 strong Ukrainian army with its 34—35,000 infantrymen, 15,000 cavalrymen, 335 guns, 1,100 machine guns, 9 armoured trains, 6 armoured cars, 26 aeroplanes, etc., was at that time a considerable force which could play an important part in the common fight against the rulers of the Kremlin. Unfortunately, it was overlooked by the leaders of the Anti-Bolshevik intervention forces and was not exploited by them. It must be emphasized that, at that time, the Bolsheviks had only 500,000 men on all their fronts, while Denikin's White Army numbered 250,000 men, of whom 150,000 were Cossacks.

After regrouping, the Ukrainian armies launched a co-ordinated offensive on July 20, 1919. A United General Staff of the Supreme Commander was organized under the leadership of Gen.-Lt. Yuna-kiv, former Professor of the Imperial War Academy. The united Ukrainian armies inflicted crushing defeats on the retreating Bol-

shevik armies, rapidly liberated a large part of the Ukrainian territory from them and occupied the capital, Kyiv, on August 31, 1919. There were many reasons for believing that this war would have ended in Ukraine's victory had it not been for another factor: the White Russian Army of General Denikin.

General Denikin also conducted successful operations against the Bolsheviks and approached Moscow. Exhilarated by victory and the possibility of a new restoration of the Russian empire, he attacked Ukraine. Menaced by the Bolsheviks on one side and the Poles on the other, Ukraine was compelled to face a new enemy, largely aided by the Allies. General Denikin's war against Ukraine proved fatal to both sides. Although the Ukrainian armies defeated the armies of Gen. Denikin in Ukraine, and the Ukrainian guerillas systematically destroyed his rear, the Bolsheviks took advantage of this war and began a counter-offensive against the Ukrainians and White Russian armies. Thus the shortsightedness of Gen. Denikin and the Allies decisively improved the critical position of the Bolshevik regime and caused the final victory of Bolshevism in Eastern Europe.

Nevertheless, the successes of the Ukrainians were vital proof of their aspirations for independence, and once again demonstrated to Moscow that it was premature to disregard the principle of national self-determination. The Soviet government was compelled to change its tactics in regard to nationalities, returning to its far-reaching declarations and promises. The Conference of the Russian Communist Party held in December, 1919, decided to make new "advances" to Ukraine. It resolved: "Supporting entirely the principle of national self-determination, the Central Committee has decided to restate that the Russian Communist Party supports the recognition of the independence of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic." And farther: "To help eliminate all obstacles for the free development of Ukrainian culture. If there are some nationalistic tendencies among the Ukrainian masses, due to the centuries of oppression, they should be treated with the greatest tolerance and regard."

At the same time, near the end of 1919, the government of the Ukrainian National Republic under General Simon Petliura became

convinced that the great mission of Ukraine — to be the vanguard of West European civilization against Asiatic Russian Bolshevism — had not obtained the understanding and sympathy of the Allies. Instead of supporting Ukraine in her struggle against the new Russian imperialism and helping her to become a strong factor in the future balance of power in Europe, the Allied Powers wholeheartedly supported Poland and the hopelessly bankrupt White Russian imperialists under General Denikin. They elected General Denikin as a leader in the anti-Bolshevik struggle and afforded him every assistance, tons of war material, medicines, etc. striking the decisive blows on the reborn Ukrainian state by their attitude.

Worst of all were not the offensives of the Bolsheviks or White Russian armies, not the military defeats which were not inflicted, as the Ukrainian armies were victorious on the battle-field, but the state of sickness and disease in Ukraine. From the perspective of history we can assume that that state was the result of the first case of bacteriological warfare in the history of mankind. It was applied by the Bolsheviks and used purposely against the Ukrainians. It is not too much to say that about every third Ukrainian had typhus at that time. In the army it was worse. Against this epidemic the Ukrainian government was quite powerless. The Ukrainians were condemned to death by the fact that the Allies were backing Ukraine's enemy, Gen. Denikin.

"In an interview I had with Petliura", wrote a correspondent of the *N a t i o n* (vol. 109, p. 569) Henry G. Alsbury, "he begged that if only for humanity's sake, the Red Cross would send over the mission to fight typhus. Let me add that right across the river in Rumania are all the medical supplies necessary, as well as plenty of food with which to feed the dying Ukrainian children. The head of the American Red Cross in Cernauti, and also the head in Bucharest, had a first impulse to send supplies here. But two American Red Cross delegates have since come from Paris, who say that they will have to go first to Ukraine to investigate the conditions. One of them told me that the Entente had decided to back Denikin, and would do nothing for the Ukrainians in Petliura's territory. In short, far from being any mission to relieve the terrible suffering, they had been



General Simon Petliura (1879 - 1926) Head of the Ukrainian State

sent merely to report on how near Petliura was to breaking down.“ The *N a t i o n* correspondent then indicts the devious policy followed by the Entente which caused the failure to establish a stable government in Ukraine, led to anarchy, and caused “hundreds of thousands to have perished because of our stupidity“. “All that one can say is that Ukraine is perhaps one of the nearest places imaginable, to the city folk at any rate, to Hell“, wrote Alsberg. “We not only asphyxiated Petliura by terrible blockade, but we actually destroyed him by allowing Denikin to attack his forces. We would let neither Petliura nor the Soviets rule Ukraine. We promoted anarchy through Denikin.“

The misfortunes of the Ukrainians which ended with the famous “square of death“ of the Ukrainian armies by December, 1919, (the Bolsheviks, the Poles, the Rumanians and White Russian armies of Gen. Denikin advancing from four sides of the square, and inside of it the epidemic of typhus and other diseases) have come from the fact that the independent existence of Ukraine was an obstacle to the political aims of all the rival forces contending for supremacy and Ukraine’s neighbours, and at the same time proved an irresistible magnet to the occult powers behind armies which lust for oil and coal and iron and monopolies of food stuffs and raw materials. The combination of these forces destroyed the Ukrainian bid for freedom.

Exhausted by the war on three fronts against the Bolsheviks, Denikin and the Poles, as well as by the epidemic of typhus and other diseases, the Ukrainian army began to disintegrate. By December, 1919, one part of the Ukrainian army, three divisions under General Omelyanovich-Pavlenko, breaking through the Red lines, began operations to the rear of the Soviet Army and made their famous First Winter March as far as the region of Poltava and back to the Ukrainian front. Another part of the Ukrainian army occupied an area near the Polish frontier, and the government of the Ukrainian National Republic began negotiations with Poland.

At this time the growing hostility in the rear of Denikin’s White Russian army came to a head, and this, as much as the power of the Soviets, forced him to retreat and retire from the scene. By

February, 1920, the Whites had completely evacuated Ukraine and there was of Ukrainian territories, only the Crimea left in the hands of the White Russians. Yet the damage had already been done. The Ukrainians were not in a position to take over and organize the territory which Denikin had evacuated, and it passed back into the hands of the Red forces.

Just then Petliura made an important decision. He signed a treaty of peace with the Polish government which recognized the independence of the Ukrainian National Republic. This was the first recognition of Ukraine that had been officially granted since the Conference of Brest-Litovsk, and there were hopes that something might be saved. The Treaty of Warsaw was signed on April 21, 1920, and on the basis of this treaty, Poland promised to help in the re-organisation of the Ukrainian army and support Ukraine in her struggle against Soviet Russia.

Four days later the Polish army, supported by 2 Ukrainian divisions started the march on Kyiv. There was little effective opposition, and on May 6, 1920, a division of the Ukrainian army and its Polish allies entered the city, almost without battle. They even occupied a bridgehead on the east bank of the Dnipro, and it seemed as if it would be possible to begin the work of rebuilding the shattered country.

But among the Ukrainian people this alliance did not create any sympathy or confidence, because there were justifiable reasons for distrusting Poland. Like Russia, Poland had displayed imperialistic designs against Ukraine throughout her history. After the rebirth of the Polish Republic in 1918, she immediately began an imperialistic war against Ukraine, finally winning, due to the active support of the Allies. She then occupied part of Western Ukraine (Galicia).

From historical, political and economic viewpoints, the Polish-Ukrainian alliance was an artificial and unnatural phenomenon. The danger lay in the fact that Poland concluded it only for her own benefit against Russia, and thus she presumably would betray Ukraine after the war, as she had done many times in the past. It was no secret that Polish Marshal Pilsudski nourished imperialistic ambitions, against not only Eastern Galicia but also other Ukrainian territories.

It is clear that Ukraine would have become a buffer state between Poland and Russia and would have served as a springboard for future action against the latter. The Ukrainian state would be under a Polish protectorate. This would have been the result of the Polish-Ukrainian alliance.

Especially the Galician Ukrainians were taken aback by this alliance between Pilsudski and Petliura, with its tacit "disinter-essement" on the part of Petliura in the fate of Galicia. The disappointment increased when the Poles interned the officers and soldiers of the brigades of the Ukrainian Galician army which had passed over to the Poles in May, 1920 with the purpose of fighting on their side against the Bolsheviks, in the detention camp of Tuk-hola in Western Poland.

At the same time the Polish military situation was none too brilliant. The cavalry force of Marshal Budenny succeeded in crossing the Dni-pro and placing itself in the Polish rear. The Poles were immediately forced to retreat and they left Ukraine. The Bolsheviks, elsewhere successful, made an offensive which almost succeeded in capturing Warsaw. Here the Bolsheviks were definitely stopped in the great battle on the Vistula, and the advancing Red Army under Tukhachevsky was defeated and thrown back in a disastrous rout. The Ukrainian Army contributed much to the defeat of the Bolsheviks in Poland, especially on the battlefield of Zamosc and in Galicia. The Poles followed the Bolsheviks as rapidly as they retreated, and by October, 1920, had recovered nearly all the territory that they had held before the advance on Kyiv. Then an armistice was signed and this was followed by the Treaty of Riga, which abrogated the Polish-Ukrainian Treaty of Warsaw and determined the frontiers between Soviet White Ruthenia and Soviet Ukraine until 1939. Again Ukraine was partitioned between Russia and Poland, as was the case after the Treaty of Andrusovo in 1667. This time Poland had not to wait so long for the results of her policies as then.

In this agreement, Ukraine was entirely forgotten. The Ukrainian army was left upon itself, and it carried on a futile and hopeless struggle against the Red armies. But it was impossible to win over

the Soviets who concentrated all their forces on the Ukrainian front, having no other enemy at that time. By November 1920, the Ukrainian army was forced to cross the Polish and Rumanian frontiers where it was interned in the detention camps. Such was the Polish reward to their allies. Petliura was forced into exile with the whole of the government and settled in Paris, where he was murdered by the Bolshevik agent Schwarzbard on May 26, 1926.

For three years (1921—1923) fierce but disorganized conflict continued on Ukrainian soil, with scattered bands of Ukrainian patriots fighting to the last against foreign occupation. The most futile and yet heroic part of the campaign was waged by the *Ukrainska Povstancha Armia* (Ukrainian Insurgent Army) in October—December 1921, under the leadership of Gen. Yurko Tyutyunnyk.

This Insurgent Army actually was not an army, but a group of highly determined men who escaped from Polish and Rumanian detention camps, where the soldiers of Gen. Petliura's army were interned. This army was divided into three groups, numbering never more than 1,500 men.

One of the groups led by Col. Paliy and numbering 380 men crossed the Polish-Ukrainian frontier on October 26, 1921, and until it retreated across the frontier on December 6, the column marched 900 miles, fought to within a few miles of Kyiv, and defeated seven different Russian groups. Casualties were three killed and twenty-three wounded, all of them were carried to the frontier.

The main Ukrainian force led by Col. Stupnytsky, later general of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army and its organizer in 1942, numbering about 1,000 men, was defeated on November 17, 1921, near Bazar in the region of Kyiv. 359 insurgents were taken prisoners and interned in Bazar. On November 21, they were lined up in front of freshly dug graves, and were shot. Thus ended the tragedy of Bazar and the glorious rising of the *Ukrainska Povstancha Armia* in 1921.

An echo of this tragedy occurred in 1929 when Gen. Yurko Tyutyunnyk, who returned later to the Soviet Union for certain purposes was executed in Moscow without a trial.

The second echo of this winter campaign occurred in November,

1941, when the Ukrainians celebrated the sad anniversary of the Bazar tragedy. The Nazi invaders inflicted cruel persecutions, arrests and executions of the Ukrainians celebrating the anniversary. The entire local Ukrainian government in Zhitomir was arrested by the Nazis and shot in "retaliation" for Bazar action. The arrests and executions of the Ukrainian patriots in Kyiv in November—December, 1941, (among them the famous Ukrainian poetess Olena Teliha) had the same source. Soon the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) of 1942, which fought against the Nazis originated not far from the battlefields of Bazar.

In connection with guerilla activities of the Ukrainian people, the first leading centre was discovered by the Bolsheviki in 1922. This was the All-Ukrainian Guerilla Centre at Kyiv. In connection with its activities many Ukrainian patriots were arrested and executed, among them the well-known Ukrainian poet and writer Taras Chuprynka. The name of this Ukrainian patriot was adopted by the actual Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) Gen. Taras Chuprynka.

By 1921, after the end of the civil war, the Soviet control of Ukraine was becoming too strong to permit a continuance of this guerilla activity. Makhno, one of the most picturesque figures among the Ukrainian peasant rebels, and a small band of followers crossed the frontier into Rumania. The insurgent regions of the Kholodny Yar in the region of Kyiv and the "insurgent republic" of Kherson were suppressed by the Soviet army and police troops. On both sides of the border the Ukrainian nationalist movement was compelled to resort mainly to underground methods of struggle. Thus began the Ukrainian underground resistance movement which lasts till this very day and will last until the liberty and freedom of Ukraine have been gained.

Of all the larger peoples of Eastern Europe, the Ukrainians alone were disappointed in the realization of their national aspirations. This was not for lack of desire for freedom. Unfortunately the struggle for Ukrainian national independence was carried on under very unfavourable circumstances, and Ukraine was again partitioned, as it had been in the seventeenth century. This time it was partitioned

among Russia, Poland, Rumania and Czechoslovakia. It might seem that the Ukrainian problem had thus been settled in a way that was to be permanent. But soon it became clear that divided Ukraine was an unfortunate settlement, and the Ukrainian problem became more serious than before. The name of Ukraine began to play an even more important rôle on the map of Europe than it had done before.

UKRAINIAN LIBERATION MOVEMENT 1921—1941

(A) **Under Soviets.** The Ukrainian National Republic fell and its leaders passed into exile. Then there arose the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. It was proclaimed on December 18, 1918, and Kharkiv was designated as the capital. With the defeat of the Ukrainian army, the Ukrainian S.S.R. signed a "treaty" of military and economic alliance with the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic on December 28, 1920. The principal features of the treaty were as follows:

"The Government of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic, on the one hand, and the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, on the other hand, have decided to conclude the present workmen's and peasant's treaty of alliance . . . basing the same upon the principle of the rights of people to self-determination . . . and upon mutual recognition of independence and sovereignty of each of the high contracting parties, and moved to realization of the necessity of uniting their respective forces both for the purpose of defence and economic reconstruction . . ."

On paper all seemed well. For a short time it could seem that the Ukrainian S.S.R. was an independent state. There was a Ukrainian Commissariat for Foreign Affairs and Soviet Ukraine sent its own representatives to foreign countries. Yet, at the same time, the Communists had absolute control over the new state, not through the Russian Soviet government but through the Communist Party, which boasted of being an international organization, and which could discipline the various national Communist parties if they did not obey the decrees issued by the central authority in Moscow.

Then, at the end of 1922 (December 30), there was signed a declaration for the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. This was ratified in 1923 and came into effect in 1924. Under this new system Ukraine transferred all its foreign and most of its domestic affairs to the Government of the Soviet Union. It was abundantly evident that any autonomy in Ukraine was a mere shadow which could be stopped at any time.

The new Soviet Constitution adopted on December 5, 1936, replaced the constitution of 1924. Under the Constitution, 1936, the powers delegated to the Government of the Soviet Union are very broad; they include authority to deal with international relations; war and peace; admission of new republics; changes of boundaries of union republics and regions; military affairs; foreign trade; internal security; national planning, national taxation and finance; banks; industry and trade; agriculture; transportation and communication; money and credit; insurance; criminal and civil law; citizenship; and amnesty acts. This constitution marked the end of the illusory independence that had characterized the position of Ukraine since the organization of the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, the 1936 Constitution provided:

“Art. 17. To every Union Republic is reserved the right freely to secede from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.”

In practice, however, this provision has become a dead letter, as long as the Communist dictatorship remains in power.

The frontiers of the Ukrainian S.S.R. were extended by the annexation of Western Ukraine after the Soviet intervention in Poland in 1939 and by annexation of Northern Bucovina and parts of Bessarabia in 1940. On September 17, 1939, the Soviet army invaded Western Ukraine despite various treaties with Poland, on the ground that the Polish Republic had ceased to exist as an organized state and that the Ukrainian “brethren” in Western Ukraine should be taken into “protection”. The Soviets at once began to re-organize the “liberated” Western Ukraine on the familiar pattern. A “free” election was held on October 22, 1939, for a Popular Council of Western Ukraine, which at its first meeting on October 27, 1939, begged Stalin for incorporation of Western Ukraine into the Ukrainian S.S.R. On

November 1, 1939, the representatives of the Council were invited to Moscow to present this petition and Western Ukraine became a part of the Ukrainian S.S.R.

On June 27, 1940, the Soviet Union presented an ultimatum to Rumania to hand over Northern Bucovina and Bessarabia. The Nazi-Soviet accord still was working smoothly and Rumania graciously consented. The next day the Red Army moved in and awarded to the Ukrainian S.S.R. Northern Bucovina and parts of Bessarabia. The rest of Bessarabia was added to the Moldavian S.S.R. The incorporation of Western Ukraine and Northern Bucovina into the Ukrainian S.S.R. has added close to 10,000,000 to her population of people whose nationalistic biases were strongly anti-Communist and anti-Russian.

The economic history of the Ukrainian S.S.R. can be divided into three periods: (I) War and military communism, 1918 to 1923; (II) the New Economic Policy (N.E.P.), from 1923 to 1928; (III) Building socialism in a single state from 1929. The period from 1918 to 1921 is characterized by the struggle of Ukrainians for an independent State against the Bolsheviks. But the Allies supported White Russian armies, with Poles, Rumanians and others. While stamping out the last embers of guerilla warfare, the Soviet Government, in the early twenties, pursued a policy of extreme brutality whenever there was mass resistance to the Soviets. To carry the class warfare to the village the Soviets organized the committees of poor peasants. Agricultural and industrial production fell to dangerously low levels. During 1921 and 1922 a devastating famine raged in Ukraine and the American Relief Administration did wonderful work in securing food from abroad and in distributing it to the starving population.

The adoption of the N.E.P. (New Economic Policy) with its legalization of private trade and abandonment of the previous policy of requisitioning the peasants' surplus produce, paved the way for recovery from the extreme hardships of the time of Civil War and so-called war communism. The N.E.P. was popular in Ukraine, since it gave a certain liberty to the individual peasants, and there were many people who believed that the worst extremes of war communism were over. At the same time the Soviets pursued a policy of

ostensible leniency toward the Ukrainian nationalists and induced some well-known figures in exile to return to Ukraine. Professor Hruchevsky returned and was appointed president of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kyiv, which became a centre of Ukrainian science and literature. In April 1925, the Kremlin ordered the so-called "Ukrainization" of Ukraine and it was made compulsory for Russians who were appointed to state or Party posts in Ukraine to learn the Ukrainian language, which became the language of schools, courts, newspapers and public business. A Ukrainian army was established, with the official language Ukrainian. But even these actions could not "appease" the incorrigible opponents of Communism — the Ukrainians, and they persisted in refusing to credit the Communist regime with good intentions.

Then came the problem of "building Socialism in a single country". The First Five Year Plan was started in 1928, and many factories and power plants were built in Ukraine. The first steps in the change of character of Ukraine had been taken. The factories needed a large mass of workmen, and the government saw to it that these were recruited from the peasants. In the years 1929—1932, the Soviets declared war against the entire farming class with the slogan of "the annihilation of the kulak as a class". Methods of extreme brutality were employed in this action which meant the annihilation of a colossal mass of the Ukrainian peasants and their families.

While this was going on, Stalin announced his plans for the socialization of agriculture. The collective farms were established throughout Ukraine and the Ukrainian peasants were ordered to give up their lands, to turn over their cattle to the collective farms, and to become "kolkhozniks". This met strong opposition on the part of the Ukrainian peasants who, contrary to the Russians, had a strong instinct for individual land ownership. They were definitely opposed to the Communist idea of forming collective farms, and they were as turbulent in Ukraine as anywhere else in rebelling against collectivization. To break this resistance the Bolsheviks artificially organized a wide-scale famine in Ukraine. Armed detachments commandeered all the grain of the individual landowners. These retaliated by killing their cattle. The collective farms failed to function efficiently and

to secure food for the cities. Climatic conditions were also unfavourable, both in 1931 and in 1932.

The result was the political famine of 1932—1933. Before the eyes of the whole world the Ukrainian population died out in whole villages and regions. More than five million Ukrainians died the terrible death by famine at that time. No one in the Kremlin raised a finger to save the Ukrainian people. On the contrary, Stalin refused the assistance which was organized in Western Ukraine under the leadership of Metropolitan Sheptitsky. The Soviets declared that there was no starvation in Ukraine. Early in 1933 Ukraine was declared “out of bounds“ for foreign correspondents, so that there could be no widely circulated accounts of the great tragedy that was taking place there. While no official statistics about this tragedy have been published, there are two points of statistical evidence showing how the population growth of Ukraine was retarded. The proportion of the Ukrainian population in the Soviet population, according to the census of 1939, was 17.5 per cent. According to the census of 1897 this proportion was 19.3 per cent and according to the census of 1926 it was 19.7 per cent. This shows that despite the natural growth of Ukrainians their number has decreased between 1926 and 1939.

Under such conditions the Ukrainian peasants gave up the struggle for individual landholdings and entered the collective farms. The same results were achieved also by the enforced deportation of millions of the Ukrainians, who were sent to remote areas of the Soviet Union. Long columns of trains kept taking “kulaks“ with their families to the far north, or to Siberia. Many peasants, having no wish to join the local collective farms, left their own homes and possessions and ran away to the cities and industrial centres and thus avoided the Soviet concentration camps.

The following years witnessed the continued development of industry and the progress of collectivization. Several changes in Soviet agrarian legislation and in the regulations governing collective farms made the new system somewhat more tolerable. The peasant was allowed to keep his own garden and raise his own chickens, pigs and domestic animals. At the same time every step was taken to break the national spirit and there was a continuation of purges to wipe

out the slightest survival of any of the old traditional feelings. Steps were taken too to handle the Ukrainian cultural problem in a new way so as to wipe out the earlier success of Ukrainization. According to Stalin, Ukrainian culture could be henceforth Ukrainian only in language but Socialist in essence. In other words, the Ukrainians could only repeat in Ukrainian the ideas of the Kremlin and nothing else.

There was strong opposition to this in Ukraine, and much talk of Ukrainian "counter-revolution" and nationalism during this time. Opposition to the Soviet regime was prolonged and stubborn. There were fewer Communists in Ukraine in proportion to population than there were in Russia and there were distinctly fewer Communists among the Ukrainians than there were among other nationalities in the world. Ukraine would never have been Sovietized if it had not been for intervention from Russia.

The history of Ukraine under Soviet rule is filled with complaints from Communist sources about the persistence of the nationalist spirit among the Ukrainian people. Even the Communist Party in Ukraine was not free from such complaints and accusations, and is the best proof that the Ukrainian national movement had gained these people. One after another the different Ukrainian Communists of rank were themselves accused of Ukrainian nationalism and liquidated or deported.

The leading figures in the first years of Soviet rule in Ukraine were Christian Rakovsky, a cosmopolitan Rumanian Jew who acted as Prime Minister, Gregor Petrovsky, who was President of Soviet Ukraine as Kalinin had been in Russia, Mykola Skrypnyk, who was Commissar for Internal Affairs and later Commissar for National Education and Vice-Premier, Professor Volodymyr Zatonsky and Dmytro Manuilsky. Out of them only D. Manuilsky survived the party "purges" in Ukraine. The other men came to an unfortunate end. Rakovsky received a twenty year prison sentence after one of the mass treason and sabotage trials in 1938, Petrovsky disappeared during the period of the purge in 1938 and was never heard of again, Skrypnyk committed suicide and Zatonsky was executed in 1937.

The impulse to assert national independence frequently cropped up among Ukrainian Communists as a result of the pressure of nationalistic thinking of the Ukrainian masses, and, therefore, the Communist Party in Ukraine was subjected to more frequent and violent "purges" than the same organization in Russia. The first national opposition in the Communist Party in Ukraine was led by O. Shumsky, who was Commissar for Education, and M. Volobuyev, economist and famous journalist. The opposition of Shumsky (1926) was in defence of the Ukrainian national position in the Communist Party, and the opposition of Volobuyev (1928) was in exposing the "colonization" tendencies of Soviet economic policy in Ukraine.

Another rebel in the Communist Party in Ukraine was the popular writer Mykola Khvylovy. Active in various literary organizations and very popular in Ukraine, Khvylovy vindicated the right of Ukraine to maintain cultural contacts with the West. Moscow became truly alarmed when Khvylovy issued his "Literary Manifesto" in which he called upon the Ukrainian writers not to imitate Russian literary trends and not to seek inspiration in Russian culture, because, as he said, it lacked healthy elements. Instead, he recommended they should guide themselves by the psychology and literary styles of Western Europe. "Turn our backs to Moscow and our faces to Western Europe", was the rallying cry of Khvylovy's Manifesto, and eventually the cause of his downfall and tragic end, as the expression of such sentences was almost equivalent to expressing hope that Ukraine could free itself from Russian domination. One cannot be surprised that, in 1929, Stalin himself made the following reference to Khvylovy:

„If we had nothing else but these discussions about Khvylovy, which have become so wide and heated in Ukraine, there would be sufficient cause for profound alarm.“

Khvylovy committed suicide in May, 1933, probably because he foresaw arrest and execution as a nationalist. He was not the only Ukrainian writer who perished in the unequal struggle with the powerful Soviet state.

The attack of the Communist Party and its agencies on Ukrainian culture began in the early thirties and grew to tremendous dimensions.

But before silencing the Ukrainian scholars, writers and artists, the occupational administration had to subdue their supporters in the masses of Ukrainian workers, peasants and intelligentsia. Faced with a mood of widespread discontent among the Ukrainians that might have flared up in general rising if it had been given leadership and organization, the Soviet authorities began systematically to break up and exterminate the ranks of genuine or suspected Ukrainian nationalists. This action of exterminating the Ukrainian people can be compared in its colossal proportions only with the Nazi system of annihilating the Jews. In the years 1930—1939 the Bolsheviks annihilated the entire Ukrainian intellectual class: scholars, writers, artists, military men and thousands and tens of thousands of thinking people who formed the highest stratum. In 1930, forty-five Ukrainian intellectuals were tried in Kharkiv for association with the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine (S.V.U.) — an underground organisation which was preparing a rising against Moscow. All were condemned to slave labour, including Sergey Yefremiv, the Vice President of the Academy of Sciences, Volodymyr Chekhivsky, head of the Ukrainian Autocephalic Orthodox Church, Andrew Nikovsky, former Minister of the Ukrainian National Republic, Professor Hermayze and many others. This gave the Soviets a formal excuse for making mass arrests among all those classes of Ukrainians who were conscious of their separate national identity. A whole series of trials took place then against, for instance, groups of Ukrainian agricultural experts, forest experts, etc. Mass arrests and executions of the members of S.U.M. (Ukrainian Youth Association) — another underground organisation in the struggle against Moscow throughout Ukraine were reported. Soon after the Bolsheviks deposed Prof. Hrushevsky from his place in the Academy of Sciences and deported him to a place near Moscow, where he was deprived of all possibilities of study. He died in 1934. In 1931 the authorities discovered a new liberation centre known as “The Nationalist Centre” and in connection with this they arrested Vsevolod Holubovich and many political leaders who had returned to Ukraine during the era of Ukrainization, and after the usual trial condemned them to death. In the beginning of 1933 the O.G.P.U. (political police) discovered an-

other organization — the Ukrainian Military Organization (U.V.O.), and among the prominent individuals who were shot in connection with this case was Yuri Kotsiubinsky, Vice-President of the Council of People's Commissars.

At a plenary session of the Communist Party of Ukraine, held in November 1933, Postishev, who had succeeded Kaganovich as Stalin's chief deputy in Ukraine, and Kossior, who at the same time occupied the post of Secretary of the Communist Party in Ukraine, charged that there existed several anti-Soviet organizations in Ukraine and that a purge was in order. First the Communist Party of Ukraine was purged, followed by the drastic purges in the whole Soviet apparatus in Ukraine, including administration, schools, economic institution and the Red Army. The extent of the purge can be judged from the statement of Postishev, then "iron commissar" in Ukraine. Within a few months in 1933, 27,000 members of the Party out of a total membership of 125,000 had been expelled from the Party. In the Komsomol 1,300 members were also expelled. Some 240 secretaries of regional committees of the Party, 250 heads of the executive regional committees, over 1,000 officials of the Commissariat of Education, about 2,000 co-operative workers and 300 professors of various educational institutions were relieved of their posts and punished.

The next victim of Postishev was Mykola Skrypnyk, one of the oldest Bolsheviks, co-worker and friend of Lenin, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, head of the Council of Nationalities of the U.S.S.R., and Vice-Premier of the Ukrainian S.S.R., one of the most zealous partisans of Communism in Ukraine, but an advocate of Ukrainian culture. In July 1933, he committed suicide in apparent protest at Stalin's destruction of Ukrainians and culture characteristic of national Communism.

A ruthless terror followed immediately. Among seventy-nine authors and scientists executed by Soviet firing squads in December 1934 were such talented men as Hryhory Kosynka, Kost Buroviy, Oleksa Vlyzko, Dmytro Falkivsky, etc. The great Ukrainian dramatist, Mykola Kulish, the novelists Valerian Pidmohylny, Borys Antonenko-Davydovych, Volodymyr Gzhytsky, the poet and professor of Ukrainian literature in Kyiv, Mykola Zerov, Poets Pavlo

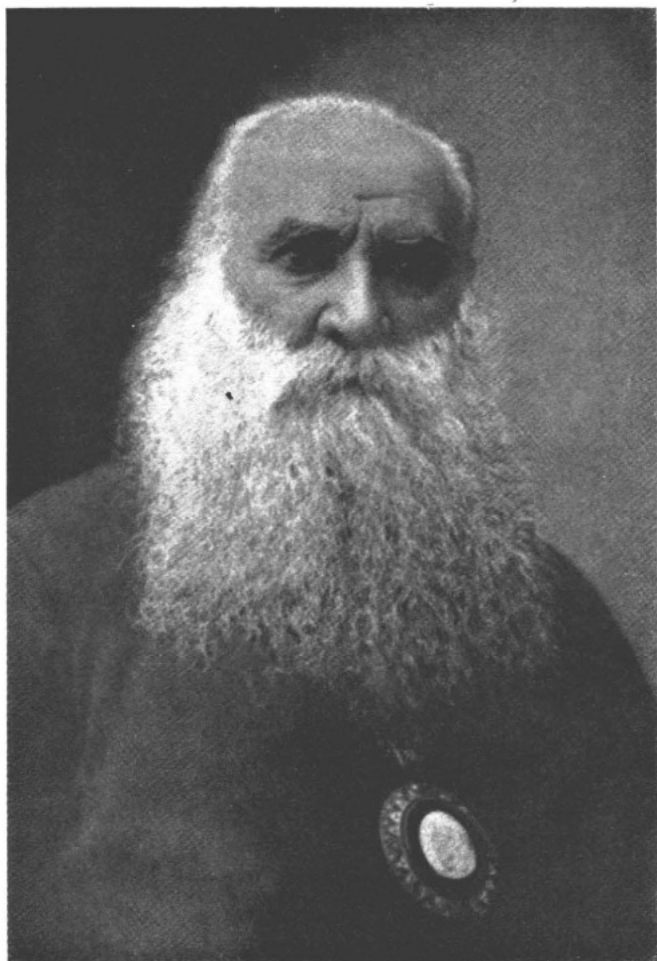
Filipovich, Mychaylo Dray-Khmara, Evhen Pluzhnyk, satirist Ostap Vyshnya, and hundreds of others were exiled. The verdict of exile was a sentence of slow and agonizing death. Thus perished many scientists — Professors Doroshkevych, well-known geographer, Stephen Rudnytsky, M. Slabchenok, V. Hantsov, the artists Padalka, Bochuk, Les Kurbas, Army officers Tytunnyk, Dubovy and hundreds of others. This list is as endless as is Ukrainian tragedy. Among all these tortured leaders of Ukrainian art, literature and science, there were many great names and men of undoubted talent.

During the next few years the purges continued. In 1937 Moscow sent to Ukraine Lazar Kaganovich, another “iron commissar“, with the purpose of liquidating the Ukrainian opposition. Under his pressure another prominent Ukrainian Communist, Panas Lubchenko, President of the Council of the People’s Commissars of Ukraine (Prime Minister), who boasted once that Ukrainian nationalists had been eliminated by the firm policy of the Communist party, being apparently suspected of “nationalism“ himself, committed suicide rather than face a trial in which the result was a foregone conclusion. The well-known “old Bolshevik“ Chubar, who for years (1925—1933) was Prime Minister, was liquidated for reasons never made clear. Still another Prime Minister, Bondarenko, successor of Lubchenko, vanished mysteriously from the scene as he was ordered to Moscow. Thus all Prime Ministers of the Ukrainian S.S.R. from Rakovsky to Bondarenko were liquidated by the Soviets. During this period (1921—1938) several Ukrainian Communists of prominence were executed or deported. Among them were Shumsky, Volobuyev, Kotsiubinsky, Porayko, Zatonky, Petrovsky, Balitsky (Commissar for Internal Affairs), even Postishev and Kossior, the men who showed the greatest energy in stamping out the Ukrainian nationalism which was fighting in Ukraine. In February 1938, Moscow finally designated a Chekist, Korotchenko, to be premier of the Ukrainian SSR. He was supported by such devoted Stalinists as Nikita Khrushchev, a Russian acting as Secretary-General of the Communist Party of Ukraine, and Dmitri Manuilsky, later Soviet-Ukraine’s Foreign Minister and an old agent of the Komintern. A “Ukrainian“ named Hrechukha was appointed “Kalinin“ of the Soviet Ukraine.

The Yezhov terror in 1937—1938 was further continuation of the wave of extermination of the Ukrainian people. That bloody wave rolled across Ukraine and left behind it many hundreds of thousands of Ukrainian families with someone missing . . . In pursuance of its totalitarian policies, the Soviet government used genocide as an instrument in the coercion of the defenceless Ukrainian population. Genocide is an old Muscovite specialty often practised by the Tsars and Bolsheviks. In spite of the unconditional surrender of Novgorod the Tsar Ivan IV the Terrible ordered the population to be murdered, drowned, or transferred to the suburbs of Moscow. In the monastery of St. Cyril has been preserved a list of those Novgorodians for whom the Tsar requested the prayers of the Church, the total being 1,505. The respective reference in this document is: "Remember, O Lord, the souls of thy Novgorodian servants to the number of 1,505 persons." According to the Novgorodian annalists as many as 1,500 persons were sometimes put to death in a single day. Perhaps the discrepancy is to be explained by supposing that the pious tsar did not consider all his victims as servants of the Lord whose souls deserved the prayers of the faithful. It must be emphasized here that the Novgorodians were the nucleus of the fourth Eastern Slavic nation, who by their language and their Hanseatic mentality differed completely from the Muscovites.

Genocide was often used as an instrument in the coercion of defenceless populations, were they conquered or Russia's own. The famous Oprichnina of Ivan the Terrible, a model for N.K.V.D. or Hitler's S.S. organization, liquidated the whole Muscovite aristocracy opposed to Tsarist tyranny. Peter I ordered the murder of the whole population, including women and children, of Baturyn, the capital of the Ukrainian Hetman Ivan Mazeppa, 1708. Catherine II ordered ten thousand Crimean Tartars to be drowned in the Black Sea. Field-Marshal Suvorov, in liquidating the Polish revolutionaries, murdered the entire population of Praga, the suburb of Warsaw, to cite from many other examples.

Little by little the world has come to know that. The case of the Katyn Wood, where some ten thousand Polish officers were massacred by the N.K.V.D. is well-known all over the world. Yet almost un-



Vassyl Lypkivsky

*Metropolitan of the Ukrainian Autocephalic Orthodox Church
from 1919 - 1930*

Persecuted, tortured and imprisoned by Bolshevists

known is the mass murder of ten thousand Ukrainian men and women in the city of Vinnitsia in Ukraine. Their mass graves were excavated by the Nazis in 1943 and had been inspected by French, Swiss, Swedish and Italian doctors as well as by university professors and newspapermen, but none to date has dared tell the world of this indescribable outrage against humanity. In the December 1948 issue of the Socialist Herald, a paper which appears in New York City, is an article by Dr. George Alexandrov, entitled, "I was at Vinnitsia." The author tells of that moment in 1943 when he witnessed the excavation of mass graves in the "Park of Culture and Rest" in the city of Vinnitsia. Dr. Alexandrov himself declares that he has not yet recovered from the sight of thousands of corpses, hands bound behind their backs; men, women and children slaughtered, or, in many instances, buried alive by the N.K.V.D. "There could be no question", writes Dr. Alexandrov, "of the fact that confronting him was an instance of deliberate mass destruction of the Ukrainian people." The tragedy occurred somewhere in the years 1937—1938 and the majority of victims were Ukrainian peasants and workers deemed dangerous to the Soviet regime.

Such was the background of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement during the twenties and thirties of the 20th century. The history of the Ukrainian people during this period is one of the most terrible in the chronicle of man's oppression of man throughout the ages. The Ukrainian people experienced a continuous terror. Even from behind the veil that has been thrown over the unfortunate country and its people, enough has leaked out to show the price in death and deportation that the Ukrainian people have paid during this period. There were millions who died in the famine of 1921. There were the millions more who perished in the artificial famine of 1932/33. There were the countless intellectuals, writers, and officials who were executed or committed suicide. There were millions who were deported as dangerous nationalists, in order that their places might be taken by reliable Communists. There were the millions labelled "bandits," "fascists," "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists," who have fought a heroic fight and who preferred to die like men in the tradition of the Kosaks rather than submit to certain destruction like a flock of sheep, and

these manifestations have not been merely anti-Soviet and anti-Russian. They have always a further object: the creation of an independent Ukrainian nation. In a word, there was a Ukrainian liberation movement. Inspired by the heroic days of the Ukrainian War of Independence, it grew steadily stronger, taking on different forms, but maintaining the selfsame objective.

Between the two wars there are several chapters in the development of the Ukrainian liberation movement. Of necessity it took the form of underground conspiracy or armed fighting against the occupants. After the period of mass anti-Bolshevik risings in Ukraine (1921—1924) under the leadership of the All-Ukrainian Guerilla Committee (“Vsepovstankom”), which was active up to 1923, the Ukrainian Liberation Movement assumed the form of secret political organizations. In this manner there came into being the Brotherhood for Ukrainian Statehood (B.U.D.) which was active in the twenties, the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine (S.V.U.), headed by Sergey Yefremiv, which found its end in the well-known Soviet political trial in Kharkiv (1930), the Association of Ukrainian Youth (S.U.M.) which collaborated closely with the former, the Ukrainian National Centre, headed by Vsevolod Holubovych, which was active in 1932—1933, and Ukrainian Military Organization (U.V.O.) which was discovered in Ukraine in 1933 and was transformed into the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (O.U.N.), headed by Col. Eugene Konovalts from abroad. Thus, in Ukraine, during the twenty years, 1921—1942, conspiracies have occurred at frequent intervals, and there have been numerous risings. Revolutionary underground action against the Soviets ranged from sabotage to the assassination of party or governmental figures, organized mutinies in the Red Army, or it took the form of a fight to preserve and cultivate the cultural, national and religious traditions of Ukraine. Sometimes it took the form of resistance to the Red attempts at forced collectivization.

The greatest resistance to the Soviet regime came from the Ukrainian peasant, and his opposition to forced collectivization threatened the very existence of the Communist state. The basic difference between the Ukrainians and Russians found its reflection in their attitude towards collectivization. The Ukrainians are active individualists,

while the Russians hold that the individual should serve the state blindly. In public life the Russian, favouring absolute rule, is inclined to communism, whereas the Ukrainian places the highest value on freedom, private ownership and husbandry, even if it be on the tiniest bit of land. These differences are as old as the respective peoples are themselves. According to Siegmund of Herberstein (1486—1566), an Austrian envoy who visited Moscow at that period, no sovereign in Europe was obeyed like the grand-prince of Muscovy who adopted the airs and methods of a Tatar khan.

The Communist system in Russia had its predecessors in the “mir” and “obshchina” of Tsarist days, communities where land was held in common and apportioned by lot. In Ukraine, however, such communities were entirely unknown. Yet it is no wonder that collectivization proceeded quite rapidly in Russia, whereas in Ukraine it was only at the cost of millions of lives that the Bolsheviks succeeded in forcing the Ukrainian peasants to collectivization. To force it upon the reluctant Ukrainian peasants the Soviets officially instigated and fostered famine along with mass executions and mass resettlement. “President” Kalinin, in his speech in 1933, referred to these methods as follows: “The collective farmers this year have passed through a good school. For some, this school was quite ruthless.” The “some”, to whom he callously refers, amounted “only” to several millions.

It is interesting to note that in their attempts to destroy the Ukrainian Liberation Movement the Russians devoted special attention to the Ukrainian Autocephalic Orthodox Church, and persecuted it at every step. During the period of so-called Ukrainization between 1923 and 1929, the Ukrainian Autocephalic Orthodox Church gained correspondingly. With the end of that period, the church, like the other Ukrainian institutions, became the object of savage persecution at the hands of the Reds. The entire Ukrainian Orthodox hierarchy, with the Metropolitan Vassyl Lypkivsky at the head, and clergy, was wiped out either by execution or banishment to Siberia, the church itself was ordered to dissolve. The churches were demolished, or converted into storehouses for grain, stables, barns, townhalls in the villages and anti-God museums in the cities. Among these were buildings of great historical and artistic value. There is no trace to-day of the “Golden

Roofed“ Cloister of St. Michael from the 11th century, of the Holy Trinity Church of 1184, of the Church of the Assumption on the Podol built in the 12th century, of the Cathedral of St. Nicholas erected by Hetman Ivan Mazepa in 1690, the Bratsky Monastery on the Podol from the 17th century, etc. Amid all this destruction the Ukrainians felt most acutely the demolition of the “Golden Roofed“ St. Michael’s Cloister. It was one of the oldest as well as one of the most imposing edifices of Kyiv. In Kyiv alone no less than forty churches have been demolished by the Soviets. The faithful were terrorized to such a degree that very few of them dared to practise religion openly. By 1934 the Ukrainian Autocephalic Orthodox Church had ceased openly to exist; what remained of it went underground.

Some Ukrainians in the Ukrainian S.S.R. aimed at making the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic truly national in spirit and in essence. Many Ukrainian Communists sincerely thought that Ukrainian autonomy would be maintained, and that a Ukrainian Communist Party, a Ukrainian economic organization, and a Ukrainian Red Army would be allowed to exist, independent of Moscow. Soon they were disillusioned. No one of them could understand that the measures taken by the totalitarian state in the 20th century go further than any of the old-fashioned despots in the past. The modern ideological state cannot tolerate diversity, and, therefore, it was clear that there never was, is not, and never will be a distinct Ukrainian Communist Party, or a distinct economic organization, or even a distinct Ukrainian culture within the Soviet Union. Everything in such a modern ideological state must be standardized, everything must run strictly according to ideological pattern. In consequence, the Ukrainian Communists and anti-Communists alike carried on the desperate struggle to protect the national culture against the standardizing tendencies of the Moscow Russian Communists. Ukrainian opposition groups appeared in the Communist Party in Ukraine and demanded the formulation of a National Communist Programme. Thereupon, to the Central Committee of the Kominform in Moscow the existence of these opposition groups was clearly indicative of anti-Soviet activities, both in the cities and in the villages, and

chauvinism was growing in Ukraine. The leaders of the opposition (Shumsky, Maxymovich, Khvylovy, Volobuyev) disappeared from Ukraine.

The experience of men like Khvylovy and many other Ukrainian Communists like Skrypnyk who sincerely worked for the preservation of local traditions, along with a general unified Communist philosophy must ultimately cause the world to pause and study the phenomenon that it presents. Every project for the co-operation of the rest of the world with the Soviet Union sooner or later must face this question fairly and on the final solution of it will depend the fate of humanity during the next century.

Mykola Khvylovy, born 1893, one of the most talented prose writers of the Soviet Union, had been far to the left, and had counted himself one of the first Ukrainian proletarian writers. As the pressure on the independent Ukrainian culture grew, he sought and in vain, to establish in Ukrainian literature a reliance and contact with Western culture, in contrast to the ever increasing dependence upon Moscow. This was interpreted as a Fascist plan for the development of Ukraine. The Soviet critics wrote about Khvylovy's novel "Wood Snipes" in the following way:

"Khvylovy carries his heroes on a literary horse to prove that Soviet Ukraine is not Soviet, that the dictatorship of the proletariat is not the dictatorship of the proletariat, that the national policy is only deceit; that the Ukrainian people is exclusively a benighted, unfree people, that a rebirth is coming, that finally the party itself is an organization of hypocrites. Khvylovy in a very talented way sets forth these ideas in "Wood Snipes", and having made such analysis of our reality proves that the one hope, which can enkindle millions, brings to the height of a pathos for the struggle for Ukraine, for the people's national rebirth, for the rebirth of the nation. The only means of safety is nationalism. It is necessary to see to it that Thermidor develops to the creation of a powerful Ukrainian national state. And there is no doubt that if a Ukrainian Communist does not do it, a Russian Communist will do it, for he will act against him, against the Ukrainian, in order to hand over to his own Fascist "single indivisible" Russia. In the minds of the

heroes of Khvylovy the questions are either for a Russian or a Ukrainian Fascism. There is no third course."

It is no wonder then that the pan-Russian Communists made Khvylovy's life unbearable until his tragic end. To us Khvylovy is a symbol of the cultural life of the Ukrainian people under the Red rule of Moscow. In the fictitious Ukrainian Soviet Republic the Ukrainian people do not possess any possibilities of developing their culture freely and in harmony with their freedomloving traditions.

Perhaps nothing illustrates better the desperate struggle of Ukrainians in defence of their culture than the following passage from a Soviet source. Written by I. Kulik for the "Literature of Peoples of the Soviet Union" and published by V.O.K.S. in 1934, it sets forth the ideas that were then prevailing.

"The Ukrainian Soviet literature arose, grew and developed in the throes of bitter class struggle. Its young and as yet frail forces had to blaze their path through the barriers that were raised by the Ukrainian nationalist bourgeoisie, by kulakdom and its ideologists in the domain of literary theory and literary policy, headed by the school of the academician Sergey Yefremiv. Preaching the united national front they withheld recognition from all forces, which, opposing this front, sought to strengthen the proletarian dictatorship and to cement the brotherly alliance with the republics of the Soviet Union. These chauvinists further enjoyed active support of these elements which represented the nationalist deviation in the ranks of the Communist Party. Not without reason did Skrypnyk (the head of the nationalist deviation in the ranks of the Communist Party of Ukraine, who worked hand in hand with the Imperialist interventionists) even in 1929 write of the "diminished" role of literary work. His object was to make out a case for prerevolutionary Ukrainian literature (which, according to Skrypnyk and Yefremiv, supposedly represented the united front of the creative forces of our people), as though it had been stronger, more influential and effective than the contemporary Soviet literature of Ukraine. The reactionary roots of these arguments are quite apparent. The ideology of bourgeois nationalism reflected, after all is said and done, the aim of the Ukrainian kulak to fence off his farmyard from the proletarian revolution. It was a reflection

of the hopes of the Ukrainian bourgeoisie for unhindered and independent exploitation of the workers and peasants of Ukraine. Quite in accord with this kulak program was another slogan that was launched later by the Ukrainian nationalist (Khvylovy), that of "orientation on Europe". This slogan, if carried out, would have meant the transformation of Soviet Ukraine into a colony of foreign imperialism. Nationalism in Ukraine is a major danger for the Soviet empire.

After 1934 there was scarcely a trace of the legal opposition in Soviet Ukraine, and practically all the struggle was waged by revolutionary-underground methods. The reason for this became even more clear when one considered the merciless methods used by the Soviet government in stamping out all forms of opposition to Stalin's regime. Even the men who "purged" the others fell victims to the tremendous "purges" of the Communist ranks during the thirties. The reasons for this high rate of political casualties have been unknown and can never be fully cleared up until an authoritative history of the purges is written. We think that in order to establish the regime which is justly called Stalinist, there was necessary the extermination of the Old Bolshevik Party and its old cadres.

Such is the history of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement during the first twenty years of Soviet occupation in Ukraine. In the light of this history, however, the reader may feel sure that the Ukrainians courageously fought the Soviet regime, whether in the revolutionary underground or with legal methods. In this gigantic struggle between freedom and slavery represented by the totalitarian rule of Communism, the Ukrainians chose freedom and stood on its side. The Soviet leaders were well aware of it and truly appreciated Ukraine — this danger spot of their empire. Stalin himself became perturbed by it, and remarked that nationalism in Ukraine is a major danger for the Soviet empire. According to this statement Kossior declared (1933) (1933) that "Ukrainian nationalism is our chief danger". Postishev lamented that it was difficult "to harmonize Bolshevism with Ukrainian nationalism" and "in the end", "he said", nationalism always won". After that, three years later, Lubchenko was compelled to say that "once more the Ukrainian nationalists are advancing in close formation". Then, in January 1937, Lazar Kaganovich, Stalin's

brother-in-law, was sent to Ukraine as an "iron commissar". He found that "many Ukrainian communists who were nationalists in disguise still remained" and this time the chief culprit was Lubchenko himself. In the next year, another expert chekist named Izrael Leplewski was sent to Ukraine and discovered that "Ukrainian nationalists had obtained the leading posts in all enterprises and in institutions, the Academy of Science, technical organizations and cooperative societies". Latterly, all Ukrainian nationalists have been represented as "Trotzkyists" and hirelings of "Fascist powers". This circumstance is largely responsible for the illusion widely prevalent outside the Soviet Union that the national movement in Ukraine was originated by Germany.

It is difficult to draw up a balance sheet in detail and to weigh the gains and the losses of the Ukrainian liberation movement. At any rate the Bolsheviki did not succeed in breaking the national spirit of the Ukrainians during these years and in educating the new generation to be janissaries of Stalin's regime. But through the very existence of the Ukrainian liberation movement, in spite of all the cruel and ruthless persecutions, the Ukrainian nation proved that it never had been or would be reconciled to Russian occupants.

Even those Ukrainians who at first supported Communism, and worked for a Communist Ukraine, realised that no nationalism would be permitted by Moscow: the old Ukrainian Bolshevik Mykola Skrypnyk, was among the millions who either committed suicide or were shot or deported by Moscow. But Ukrainian nationalism, in even greater strength, has been revived by the famous Insurgent Army, (U.P.A.), and is nationwide.

(B) *Western Ukraine*. By the summer of 1919 Polish military control had been extended over the whole of Western Ukraine, and so was accomplished the dismemberment of the Ukrainian National Republic. Finally the Treaty of Riga between Poland and Ukrainian S.S.R. secured from the latter the recognition of Polish control. The occupation of the Poles was finally sanctioned by the Council of Allied Ambassadors on March 15, 1923, on the understanding that Poland would give Eastern Galicia a large measure of autonomy. But Poland never fulfilled its promise.

The Ukrainian people acknowledged neither the international decision in regard to Western Ukraine, nor the unilateral decisions of the Polish government. Therefore the Ukrainians of Galicia did not take part in the elections for the Polish Parliament of 1922, and they boycotted the draft into the Polish army and the Polish census of the population.

To hasten a favourable decision for itself of the Galician situation, the Polish Parliament decided (1922) to give Galicia a restricted autonomy and to establish a Ukrainian university. But in fact, the Poles had been unwilling to concede any rights to the Ukrainians. They refused to carry out the laws of 1922 and the Ukrainians retorted with the establishment of an Underground Ukrainian University at Lviv with Faculties in Arts, Science, Theology, Medicine, Engineering, Law, and Commerce. The University existed from 1921 till 1925. Its diplomas and certificates were recognized abroad, in Germany, Austria, and Czecho-Slovakia, and thousands of the Ukrainian youths passed through this University in the catacombs.

From year to year the Ukrainian liberation movement changed its form as various measures were put into effect by the Polish government to break down the Ukrainians. The legal opposition represented by the Ukrainian legal political parties (the Ukrainian National-Democratic Union, the Ukrainian Radical-Socialist Party, and the Ukrainian Socialist-Democratic Party) advocated the policy of obtaining maximum rights for the Ukrainians within the Polish state, and at the same time stressed the right of all Ukrainians to unite themselves in a sovereign and democratic Ukraine within Ukrainian ethnographic boundaries. The underground fight represented by the U.V.O. (Ukrainian Military Organization) and by the O.U.N. (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists), organized sabotage and surprise attacks on the individual Polish officials who were held responsible for oppressive acts of the Government. Such an attack was the execution of the Polish Minister of Interior Pieracki in Warsaw, 1934. Brutal reprisals were inflicted, relatively indiscriminately, on the Ukrainian population by Polish troops and police, especially in the fall of 1930. Libraries and co-operatives were destroyed, Boy Scout organizations with Ukrainian membership were dissolved, and

Ukrainian High Schools were closed. This “pacification“, as it was officially and euphemistically termed, was quite widely reported in the American press at that time. Ukrainian institutions of every kind were closed and concentration camps were established. The country was on the verge of a real revolt. Several thousand Ukrainians were in prisons or in concentration camps, and the majority of arrested Ukrainians remained in jail for a long time without any charge being preferred against them, while the police hunted for evidence.

The cultural and economic methods of suppression were demonstrated in the Polish campaign to abolish Ukrainian schools, churches, co-operatives and cultural and sports organizations. For example, the “Ukrainian Encyclopaedia“ estimated that there were only 134 Ukrainian schools left in Western Ukraine in 1930. In 1924 there were 2,417 and under Austria-Hungary there were 3,414 primary schools. In the summer of 1938 alone, the Polish government destroyed at least 112 Orthodox churches belonging to Ukrainians, on the pretext that they had once been Catholic (in actual fact, Catholic of Eastern Rite). Such an act, which drew the protest of the Ukrainian Catholic Metropolitan of Lviv, Msgr. Sheptytsky, only succeeded in antagonizing both the Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox faithful against the Poles, and in bringing the two religious groups of the Ukrainian people closer together.

Ukrainian National-Liberation and anti-Communist thought were greatly influenced in the 1920s and 1930s by the works of Dr. Dmytro Doncow. During these years his writings were secretly circulated even in the Ukraine occupied by the Soviets, and, at the time of the Ukrainian Revolution and war in 1917—1918, he firmly demanded that there should be an independent Ukraine, for which he was denounced and attacked by Lenin.

At that time, also, the historical and sociological works of Wiacheslaw Lypinsky had a notable influence in the directing of Ukrainian political thought.

The Ukrainian resistance in Poland was always considerable. With the founding of the Ukrainian Military Organization (U.V.O.) by Col. Eugen Konovalets in 1920 to continue the Ukrainian National

Revolution in all Ukrainian territories, Poland began her long and fruitless campaign to wipe out all Ukrainian nationalists through mass trials, long imprisonment in jails and concentration camps, (Bereza Kartuska) and even torture.

The Ukrainian Press Service of New York estimated that, after 1921, 914 political trials of Ukrainian patriots were held, and that 65% were against persons accused of activity in behalf of the U.V.O. and O.U.N. Of a total of 3,777 persons tried, 2,510 were found guilty, 17 were sentenced to death, 27 were sentenced to life imprisonment, and the others to a total of 5,870, years imprisonment. In 1939 alone, however, the arrests, convictions and years of imprisonment meted out surpassed the totals of all those from 1921 to 1938. For example, in August alone, the month before the Nazi invasion, 111 Ukrainians were tried on political charges and 75 were found guilty. These were given sentences totalling 132½ years imprisonment. Most were charged with membership in the O.U.N. Trials of Ukrainian priests, usually on charges of registering names of their parishioners in the Ukrainian instead of the Polish spelling, or speaking at Ukrainian ceremonies, are not included in the above figure.

“Ukrainians must be burned out with white-hot steel, and for every act of Ukrainian revolutionary organizations, Poland must continue to punish the entire population upon the principle of collective responsibility“, the Polish Minister of Interior Pieracki said during the “pacification“ in 1930.

It must not be thought that the Ukrainians have done nothing but revolt. Even during the years of oppression, the Ukrainians continued to consolidate their position in the state. They tried to build up a life of their own, and created completely-managed organizations for assisting education, spreading Ukrainian culture, encouraging agriculture and co-operative and sport societies. By 1939 the Western Ukrainians were in a much better position than they had been before, and they constituted a variety of a “state within a state“. Thus the number of co-operatives belonging to the Ukrainian Auditing Association at Lviv was only 1,029 at the start of 1925 and grew to 4,337 by 1934. The number of Ukrainians under Polish rule, accor-

ding to the Polish census of 1931 was 6,103,000 (but in actual fact 8,000,000) but they were not only not permitted to unite politically, but even Unions of co-operatives and Auditing Associations had to operate separately for Galicia and for Volhynia.

It goes without saying that the policy of avoiding a clearcut settlement of the Ukrainian question, the policy of oppression towards Ukrainian and other minorities, the policy of Polish greatness, reacted badly on the general position of Poland and undermined her own strength, and, when the time of the Hitler—Stalin Axis came into being the Polish state could not resist the joint occupation by the Molotov—Ribbentrop Pact. In consequence, about two fifths of the territory under the rule of Poland came under Soviet rule. Poland has lost the Ukrainian White Ruthenian and Lithuanian lands once and for all, and, what is more, has lost her own independence and has sunk to the rôle of a Russian satellite. The Russian Bolsheviks have helped the Poles to settle their accounts with the Ukrainians and the Kremlin has made up the bill. Such is the sad finale of age-old Polish-Ukrainian relations.

It is significant that in spite of the constant struggle of the Ukrainians against Polish oppression, the Western Ukrainians remained bitterly and steadfastly anti-Communist, and considered themselves champions of Ukrainian independence and unification of all Ukrainian lands into one Ukrainian sovereign state. There was hardly another country in Europe where anti-communist feelings were stronger than in the semi-proletarian Western Ukraine.

The fall of Poland and the Soviet occupation of Western Ukraine created new conditions for the Ukrainian Liberation Movement. Thousands of Ukrainian revolutionaries poured out from Polish prisons and gathered on both sides of the Curzon line. (The Soviet-German demarcation line roughly following the old Curzon line, left the Germans a slice of Ukrainian territory containing about one million Ukrainians). Those who remained in Soviet-Ukraine regrouped their kinsmen and worked out plans for the development of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement in the whole of this enlarged Soviet-Ukraine. It was possible, as many members of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement were transferred to Central and Eastern

Ukraine having volunteered to work in factories and mines of the Ukrainian regions. Both groups kept in contact with one another, and together prepared suitable operations, in preparation for a final and decisive struggle for the freedom of Ukraine.

Thus, in the new situation, the sole standard bearer of the idea of independent Ukraine was the revolutionary underground organization — O.U.N. (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists), which alone did not lay down its arms. All legal Ukrainian political parties which previously functioned in Poland were dissolved under the new Soviet conditions, which do not tolerate any legal political struggle, as evidenced by the fate which befell the Ukrainian Communists. Under new conditions, the O.U.N., now more than ever before, extended its activities over all Ukraine, thus becoming the most dangerous opponent of the Soviet regime. Ukrainian nationalism, which was so viciously combated by the Bolsheviks throughout their long period of rule in Ukraine, and which seemed to have been completely extinguished in the years between 1934 and 1937, re-emerged in the form of wide-spread political action of the O.U.N.

The O.U.N. emerged from the U.V.O. which, in 1929, summoned the First Congress of Ukrainian Nationalism, at which the Ukrainian Military Organization (U.V.O.) was transformed into the political-revolutionary Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (O.U.N.) headed again by Col. Eugene Konovalts. It accepted a regular plan of action based on firm ideological foundations and aiming at the political, spiritual and social liberation of the Ukrainian people from foreign misrule. The O.U.N. was a strongly disciplined revolutionary anti-Soviet and anti-Polish force which created a number of illegal groups, armed as far as possible, and utilized those methods which had been tried out successfully in the great revolutionary movements of the past. Unfortunately, the leader of this organization, Col. Konovalts, was murdered by the Red agent Valyukh in Rotterdam in 1938, who handed him a bomb which exploded, killing him. He was succeeded by his Chief of Staff during the War of Independence, Col. Andrej Melnyk.

In 1940, certain differences appeared between the revolutionary groups led by Col. Melnyk and Stepan Bandera, the regional head of

the O.U.N. in Western Ukraine, whom the Polish court had sentenced to life imprisonment, but who in 1939 was released from prison in consequence of war. Bandera and his followers demanded from Col. Melnyk who himself was not in Ukraine, the removal of several of the top leaders of the O.U.N. who were also abroad, and the active prosecution of the revolutionary fight against the occupants. When Col. Melnyk refused the demands of Bandera, the latter convoked the Second Congress of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, which elected him the head of the Revolutionary O.U.N. In the resolution of the Conference of this group made public in March, 1941, there is stated:

“The Organization of the Ukrainian Nationalists is fighting for a sovereign, independent Ukrainian State, for the freedom of the Moscow-enslaved peoples of Eastern Europe and Asia, for a new and just order on the ruins of the Muscovite empire, the U.S.S.R. The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists is continuing with all the power at its command the revolutionary fight for the liberation of Ukraine, regardless of any territorial changes which may occur in Eastern Europe. . . . The only road to the attainment of our aims is a Ukrainian revolution in the Muscovite empire, the U.S.S.R., together with a fight for their liberation by the other Moscow-enslaved peoples, under the war-cry: Freedom for the People, Freedom for the Individual.”

The Ukrainian Nationalists remained loyal to the directives expressed in this resolution. When the conditions changed and the Germans began advancing in Ukraine, dreaming of enslaving it and turning it into a German colony, the Ukrainian Nationalists began fighting the Nazi aggressors with all the power at their command. This fact cannot be emphasized too much here, for Soviet agents, just as their Tsarist predecessors, are unceasing in their insidious attempts to represent the Ukrainian Liberation Movement as an invention of the Germans. Contrary to this propaganda, the Ukrainian Liberation Movement has never been and never will be dependent upon any foreign power, and, moreover, it has never served the interests of any foreign power. On the other hand, it must be stated here that the Germans have never supported the Ukrainian Liberation Movement. As early as 1940, the Reds and the Nazis worked hand in hand to destroy the Ukrainian Liberation Movement. The Nazis promised the Reds to repatriate the Ukrainian nationalists

who found themselves to the west of the Curzon line, and this agreement was not implemented only because the war interfered; both the Nazis and the Reds concentrated their attention upon O.U.N., exchanged intelligence concerning it, and co-operated with one another in discrediting the Ukrainian Liberation Movement abroad, and in spreading dissension within it. In doing that, they did considerable damage to the Movement.

Bukovina and Bessarabia. Under Rumania in Bukovina, which was formerly an Austrian province, and in Bessarabia, which was formerly Russian, there were about one million Ukrainians. Here, too, the Allies, faced with accomplished facts, recognized them as parts of the Rumanian state, although the Ukrainians of Northern Bukovina proclaimed, on November 3, 1918, the Northern Bukovina a part of the Ukrainian state in accordance with the right of self-determination. In May 1919, the Rumanian troops aided the Poles in their campaign against Western-Ukraine and occupied some portions of it. The sad finale of this shortsightedness on the part of the Rumanians is the actual status of Rumania being a satellite of Russia.

In Rumania, the Ukrainians were treated worse than elsewhere. They were not even regarded as worthy of serious notice. From the concessions granted to other minorities they were excluded, for the reason that "there were no Ukrainians in Rumania". But, in 1940, the year after the occupation of Western Ukraine, the Northern Bukovina with its considerable Ukrainian population, was, like Bessarabia, taken from Rumania by threat of invasion under the pretext . . . of "liberation" of the "non-existing" Ukrainians. It was apparently Stalin's desire to bring all the Ukrainians and all the Ukrainians lands under his rule.

Carpatho-Ukraine. In Central Europe the Carpathian mountains extend in a wide arc north of the Danube River. In the north-east elbow of these mountains, and on their south-west slope, lies a territory which is known by various names: Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia, Carpatho-Russia and Carpatho-Ukraine. It is not a large country, a little less than 5,000 square miles, with 800,000 population.

The history of this little country is not very eventful. It was part of the Kievan Rus and the Galician kingdom, but after 1387 the country shared the fate of the Hungarian state. Until 1914, in terms of economics, politics, and the culture of Western Europe the country lay in silent obscurity. With the break-up of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the dismemberment of Hungary in 1918, the National Assembly of Carpatho-Ukraine in Husť decided (1919) to unite Carpatho-Ukraine with Western Ukraine and then together enter a United Independent Ukrainian Republic. However, by May, 1919, menaced by external enemies, the situation had changed, and a Central National Committee at Uzhorod passed a resolution favouring union with Czecho-Slovakia on condition of receiving autonomy. The Peace Conference at Paris made its final decision in the same sense a month later, on June 16, 1919.

Under Czech rule the Carpatho-Ukrainians enjoyed full civil liberties, and great improvements were made in education and agrarian reform. In the economic field, Carpatho-Ukraine made marked progress, but in the political field the Czech authorities pursued a policy of playing off Russian against Ukrainian influences. Furthermore, the Czech government hesitated to grant Carpatho-Ukraine the autonomy and the Diet that had been promised to the population by the Treaty of St. Germain, and in 1928 re-organized the country as the province of Podkarpatska Rus (Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia). After the signing of a treaty of alliance between Czecho-Slovakia and the Soviet Union in 1933, the Czechs gradually lessened any support to the Ukrainians. All this accentuated the growing national feeling which began to manifest itself against Czech control.

The result was evident in the crisis of September 1938. After the dismemberment of Czecho-Slovakia at Munich, Carpatho-Ukraine acquired sudden political importance, and it was granted autonomy. A Ukrainian Cabinet, headed by the Monsignor Augustin Voloshyn took office on October 26, 1938.

This marked a new period of hope, not only for the Ukrainians of Carpatho-Ukraine, but also for the Ukrainians throughout the world. Far-reaching plans were entertained. Carpatho-Ukraine became the Piedmont and the Mecca of all Ukraindom, and Msgr.



Colonel Eugen Konovalets (1891 - 1938) Head of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement

Voloshyn, the Premier of Carpatho-Ukrainian government, was then believed to be the leader of the entire Ukrainian nation. It was commonly believed that the existence of the autonomous Ukrainian State in the Carpathians would foment discontent in Western-Ukraine under Poland, arouse a revolt there, and allow the Ukrainians of Western-Ukraine and Carpatho-Ukraine to unite.

In spite of the fact that by the Vienna arrangement between Ribbentrop—Ciano (November 2, 1938) a considerable part of Carpatho-Ukraine, with the capital Uzhorod, was handed over to Hungary, the new administration began with enthusiasm to organize the State as a Ukrainian national unit. Ukrainians from all sections of the dismembered country flocked to Hust, the new capital of Carpatho-Ukraine, and worked hard and steadily to make the new State successful. Throughout the winter of 1938/39 progress went on. A small Ukrainian army, with the name Carpathian Sich, was formed with the purpose of fighting armed Magyar and Polish bands which began to filter across the boundaries, and terrorize outlying Carpatho-Ukrainian settlements. It succeeded in driving them out beyond the boundaries, and the situation gradually improved. On February 12, 1939, elections were held in Carpatho-Ukraine, and the Ukrainian independence group won an overwhelming victory in the elections (90% of votes).

Then in March, 1939, came the great disillusionment and the end of another of the unsuccessful Ukrainian attempts to win liberty for at least one part of the Ukrainian territory. The newly-elected Szym (Diet) of Carpatho-Ukraine met for its constitutional session on March 14, 1939, but suddenly fighting broke out between the Sich and Czech troops and police. On the next day, when the Germans marched into Prague, and Czecho-Slovakia completely dissolved, Carpatho-Ukraine proclaimed its independence under the presidency of Msgr. Voloshyn. But Hungarian troops, with the approval of Germany and Italy, marched into the country, overcame a short but gallant resistance by the Sich, and captured the capital, Hust, on March 16, 1939.

The advancing Hungarian army, well-armed by the Germans, met with severe opposition from the little army of Carpatho-Ukraine and

from the armed peasants in the Carpathian mountains. Fanatical Sich members fought and died, battling the Hungarian invaders on the slopes and valleys of their country. As late as May, 1939, the country had been "pacified" and brought under full Hungarian control. Voloshyn and his Cabinet fled to Rumania.

Under Magyar rule the region was known as "Carpathia" and the Hungarian government did everything in its power to bring conditions back to what they had been in 1918. Ukrainian schools and institutions were closed and a new era of oppression opened for the Carpatho-Ukrainian people.

When the Soviet-German war began in 1941, the surviving Carpatho-Ukrainians formed a nucleus of the Czecho-Slovak brigade which fought against the Germans. 80% of this brigade was composed of the Carpatho-Ukrainians.

The fall of Carpatho-Ukraine proves that it had been used as a trump-card in the larger game of Nazi power politics. In the beginning Hitler favoured the creation of this small autonomous Ukrainian State as a potential threat both to Poland and to the Soviet-Union. But at the time of the complete break-up of Czecho-Slovakia, the Nazi dictator changed his mind, because he had already decided to come to the temporary agreement with Stalin that found expression in the Soviet-German Pact of August 23, 1939. The incident with Carpatho-Ukraine gives a clue to the date when Hitler and Stalin reached a preliminary understanding.

When the Hungarian invasion began, Voloshyn appealed to Berlin for military aid, but he was betrayed by Hitler. He was told that "everything has changed" and was advised to give up the struggle. The Nazi Minister in Hust, the capital of Carpatho-Ukraine, arrogantly demanded its capitulation to the Hungarians. The Ukrainians replied that there was no such word as capitulation in their dictionary. So, where the well-armed and strong Czech armies allowed the Nazis to occupy Czechia without firing a shot, the Carpatho-Ukrainians were fighting, and the Hitler's satellite Hungarian army encountered much opposition in trying to capture Carpatho-Ukraine.

Just as in 1917 the Ukrainians were the first to war against the imperialism of totalitarian Red Bolshevism, so they were the first

to fire the opening shots against the imperialism of Hitler's totalitarian Germany. These shots were fired before the outbreak of World War II by the fanatical Ukrainians in Carpatho-Ukraine when opposing the German-Hungarian invasion of this country.

UKRAINIAN LIBERATION MOVEMENT UNDER THE GERMAN OCCUPATION (1941—1944)

The outbreak of the German-Soviet war on June 22, 1941, not only initiated a new phase in the struggle of the Ukrainian people for their national freedom and independence, but also led to a new tragedy and, perhaps, the greatest in the Ukrainian martyrdom. When the lightning attack of the Germans came upon the Soviet-Union, there was no reason for rejoicing. Ukraine fell between anvil and hammer. The Soviet troops were repeatedly defeated by the Germans, and left behind them a completely devastated Ukrainian land. Thousands of the Ukrainian people, peasants, workers and intellectuals, men and women, old and young, were deliberately put to death by the retreating Bolsheviks. The prisons of Lviv, Sambir, Stryj, Zolochiv, Stanyslav, Ternopil, Dubno, Rivne, Lutsk, Berdychiv, Uman, Kiev, were literally filled with the corpses of murdered Ukrainians. These unfortunates were systematically machine-gunned in the prison yards and cells without any trial, for the sole reason that they were Ukrainians, and as such deemed dangerous to the Soviet regime. The same scenes were repeated in the prisons of Dniepropetrovsk, Nikopol, Kryvyi Rih, Kharkiv, Poltava, etc., as well as in the cities and towns of Belorussia and Baltic lands. In Lviv alone there were murdered more than 10,000 Ukrainians.

Nazi prospects were brightest when Hitler attacked the Soviet Union. He massed so much man-power and fire-power that he threatened the quick destruction of the Red armies. In the first weeks of the German-Soviet war the German armies made rapid progress, as tanks, infantry, and motorized troops in the centre drove forty miles a day into the heart of the Soviet Union. They overran the Baltic States in the north, encircled Bialystok and Minsk in the centre, and penetrated the deep defences of the Stalin line, besieged

Odessa on the Black Sea and pushed to Kiev in Ukraine. Soviet regiments surrendered to the German armies without even a pretence of opposition. This could be explained only by the strong anti-communist and anti-Russian feelings prevailing among the enslaved nations of the Soviet Union. Especially the Ukrainians deserted from the Red armies by hundreds of thousands as they expected to take part in the liberation of their country. Before the German armies reached the Dnieper River they had already captured entire divisions and army corps. In the battle of Kyiv alone (September 1941) the Germans took 675,000 prisoners. They found on the battlefield the corpse of Gen. Col. Kryvonos and the corpses of 17 officers of his General Staff who were shot by the N.K.V.D. expedition from Moscow, as they were suspected of being "Ukrainian nationalists", willing to surrender the entire army group to the Germans. Before the war Gen. Col. Kryvonos was Commander-in-Chief of the Kyiv Special Military Region. There is no doubt that the military situation of the Soviet Union was at those times very critical, and the Soviet Union stood facing its downfall. Hitler's "amazingly awkward eastern policy", as it was characterized by Arvid Fredborg in his book "Behind the Steel Wall", saved the Soviet Union from its final debacle.

It would be a mistake to think that the initial successes of the German armies were solely due to the superior strategy and tactics of their commanders or to the preponderance of their forces. It was the Red army men themselves who surrendered voluntarily to the Germans and offered their services to the German armies in order to fight Stalin and his regime. But the Germans came not as "liberators" but as conquerors. They made no effort to consult the wishes of the subjugated peoples of the Soviet Union and establish the national independent states in Eastern Europe. The Germans did not want allies in Eastern Europe, but slaves. Hitler, religiously following his plans for the total destruction of the "inferior" Slavic peoples, flatly rejected all plans to draw the Ukrainian people and the peoples of the Soviet territories into the struggle against the Bolsheviks, and sent all volunteers to the prisoner camps to die of hunger and misery. Thus, by his reactionary policy in Eastern Europe, he placed trump-

cards in Stalin's hand, and the Russians were not slow to exploit his mistakes, which led to the final defeat of the German armies in the Great Campaign in Eastern Europe.

The treatment of Ukrainians as well as other nationalities was but another manifestation of the cleavage between the Nazis, the fanatic ruling group on the one hand, and the Wehrmacht on the other. A different policy had been planned for Eastern Europe by the Wehrmacht. It had aimed at recreating the Baltic States as well as setting up an independent Ukraine. But, on the eve of the German attack on the Soviet Union, the supreme leadership of the Nazi party disapproved these plans. The Nazi leadership, drunk with power and success, chose to follow a policy of unilateral conquest, domination and enslavement. In Eastern Europe the Nazis sought only for "quislings" who would consent, as German collaborators, to push their peoples into a definitely subordinate position as subject races. The Nazis were planning enslavement of all Eastern European peoples, despite their struggle against Russian Communism.

In the first stage of the German-Soviet war, the Nazis, however, created the impression that one of the main objectives of their struggle against the Russians was the liberation of all the enslaved peoples under the yoke of Stalin. Many peoples took the Nazis at their word. For the same reason the civilian people of the Baltic countries, White Ruthenia and Ukraine were friendly to the invading German troops, and greeted them as liberators. But, almost from the very outset, the Nazis showed they had come as conquerors. Here a great service to the cause of revealing the German plans, at the very outset of their military penetration of Eastern Europe, was done by the Lithuanian and Ukrainian Liberation forces.

When the Germans struck at the Soviet Union, both forces took advantage of the confusion and demoralization in the Red Army, seized control of many places, and proclaimed the re-establishment of the independence of their countries. This act immediately aroused the Germans against them. The arrest of the Lithuanian Premier and the liquidation of the Ukrainian government made clear, all propaganda notwithstanding, that the Germans had no intention of bestowing freedom upon the Lithuanian and Ukrainian peoples, and

that they had plans to transform these countries into colonies of the German "Lebensraum".

Thus the Ukrainians found themselves between Scylla and Charybdis. When the war began and the Bolsheviks retreated from Ukraine, the Ukrainians thought that the time had come for them to act. They were the first of all the European peoples to fight Bolshevism in 1917—1921, they fought against them between the two wars, and they could not stop fighting the Russian Bolsheviks, their most hated enemies and oppressors, when the chance came to see the Bolsheviks rolling back from Ukraine. In many localities (e. g. Buchach, Tovmach, Borshchiv, etc.), even before the arrival of the German armies, the Ukrainian underground forces attacked smaller forces of the Red Army and dispersed them. Even in Lviv, the largest city of Western Ukraine, the Ukrainian underground forces attempted to seize the prisons in order to deliver many political prisoners who had been arrested by the Soviets. This attempt was partially successful, as the Ukrainian underground forces set free the female prisoners of the big prison at Zamarstyniv, the suburb of Lviv. However, the action of the Ukrainian underground forces in Lviv caused an unbelievable panic of Soviet troops in this city. In three days (June 24—26), street-fighting was carried on, and Soviet tanks bombarded the churches of the city, naively believing them to be the centres of the revolt. On June 27, Soviet front troops barely succeeded in restoring order. But on the night of June 30 the Ukrainian underground forces took possession of the radio station. On the next day, the Ukrainian battalion of the German army entered Lviv. The Underground forces of O.U.N. (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists), under the leadership of Stepan Bandera, proclaimed the independence of Ukraine by radio. At the same time a National Assembly was called and a Provisional Ukrainian Government was established with Mr. Yaroslav Stetzko as its Prime Minister. The President of the Revolutionary Parliament of the new Ukrainian State was the venerable Dr. Kost Levitsky, the Premier of the Western Ukrainian Republic in 1918. This proclamation, behind which stood the Organization of the Ukrainian Nationalists (O.U.N.), was a clear challenge to the German government to declare its policy, all the more as the Germans,

in their first appeals, promised the Ukrainians heaven and earth, trying to win their favour. Nevertheless the Ukrainian nationalist circles had no illusion as to the real plans of Germany with regard to Ukraine, as, in this respect, the experience of 1918, as well as the German attitude to Carpatho-Ukrainian independence in 1939, served as a lesson. Therefore, in the Resolutions of the Second Congress of the O.U.N. which took place before the war started there was declared:

“The Ukrainian liberation efforts are completely and basically sincere and independent of any given combination of powers on the international scene. Under no circumstances will Ukrainian nationalism enter upon any compromise with the occupants of Ukrainian territories. It does however, see possibilities of co-operation, but only with those nations which respect the ideal of Ukrainian statehood and sovereignty.”

The Declaration of Independence (June 30, 1941) surprised the Germans, and forced them to declare their policy in respect to Ukraine and other Eastern European nations. Had the Germans been willing to co-operate with the Ukrainian and other enslaved peoples, and not to interfere with their internal problems, they could have found co-operation and support on a wide scale in Ukraine, White Ruthenia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, etc. The Ukraine alone would have been able to raise an army of 3—4 million men and to mobilize immense resources for the fight against the Bolsheviks. But the Germans did not want co-operation and support in Eastern Europe. They entered the paths of a policy which could hardly have been more detrimental and catastrophic, and, therefore, were condemned to the punishment of the most drastic failure in history.

The reaction of Gestapo to the Ukrainian proclamation of June 30, 1941, came very swiftly. Their first step was the arrest of several members of the Ukrainian government, including Premier Stetzko and the O.U.N. leader Bandera, who were deported to the notorious Nazi concentration camp, Sachsenhausen, in Germany, where they spent almost four years. Many other prominent Ukrainian nationalists were shot or imprisoned. This first act of oppression by the Nazi invaders initiated the bloody period of German occupation of Ukraine.

Immediately after this act followed the dismemberment of Ukraine. On August 1, 1941, the Germans detached Western Ukraine (Galicia) from Ukraine and assigned it to the General Government. Bukovina and Bessarabia were given back to Rumania, but, in order to satisfy his Rumanian allies, Hitler donated the Odessa District as "Transnistria Provincia" to Rumania too. Other parts of Ukraine were transformed into the "Reichskommissariat Ukraine" under the direction of "Reichskommissar" Erich Koch, one of the most fanatical Nazi leaders, who succeeded in whipping up among the Ukrainians a real hatred for Germany. His policy was rounded off by the following despicable features: all-out terror against the Ukrainian population; forced deportation of the people for slave labour to Germany; closing of Ukrainian schools, theatres and scientific institutions; destruction of the population by dissemination of contagious diseases; pillage of Ukrainian villages; extermination of Ukrainian intelligentsia; extermination of the Ukrainian prisoners of war; extermination of Ukrainian nationalists; persecution of religious life in Ukraine. Thus, this representative of the German "super-race" in Eastern Europe is responsible for all the bestialities of the Nazis in Ukraine, and there is no wonder that the Ukrainians nicknamed Erich Koch "Hangman of Ukraine".

In one of his instructions to the *Guleter*s in Ukraine, dated August 25, 1943, Koch, among other things, forbade them to reveal any "false sentiments" with regard to the Ukrainians.

"If there will be a shortage of foodstuffs in Europe", read the instruction of Koch, "and if war conditions will require that someone has to suffer from hunger, it will certainly not be the German people. Confronted by a choice of whether it will be our countrymen in Germany who will have nothing to eat, or the Ukrainians, we will know whom to kill. There is no need to give the land to the population in Ukraine; it must be reserved for the Germans."... "Stalin understood only too well that in order to squeeze out anything from the Ukrainians, he had to create the kolkhozes. Thanks to the creation of these collective farms, Stalin could exploit Ukraine better than Czarist Russia."

Keeping in step with the Nazi policy that the Ukrainians be kept on the level of semi-enslaved people, Koch advocated a stern regime for the Ukrainians. "A four-grade school should suffice for the



Count Andrey Sheptytsky (1865 - 1944) Metropolitan of the Ukrainian Catholic Church

Ukrainians. There the Ukrainians will learn how to read, write and count, which will be sufficient. In no measure should we try to educate the enlightened cadres of the Ukrainians; even to-day we have already great competition on their part." Koch was fanatical in preaching the "superiority" of the German race. He was complaining: "The Germans in the Reich fare much worse than the Ukrainians, whose women look well-fed and walk with heavy breasts."

From the very beginning of the German occupation of Ukraine the Germans treated the Ukrainians most brutally. In the so-called "12 Instructions" (12 Gebote für das Verhalten der Deutschen im Osten und die Behandlung der Ukrainer) the Germans gave definite proof of their incredible arrogance. According to these, looting of Ukrainian property, forcible deportations of Ukrainians as slave labourers to Germany, mass executions of peasants, workers and intelligentsia, became a common everyday practice. The exploitation of the Ukrainian peasants assumed inhuman forms. They were brought to ruin by extremely high „contingents“, confiscation of livestock, and, finally, by destruction of whole farms. Still worse was the exploitation of the Ukrainian workers who were forced to work for ridiculous wages without clothes, shoes, etc., as the German race-principle reserved all Ukrainians products "only for Germans" (nur für Deutsche). The Ukrainian scholars and intelligentsia were not only deprived of their salaries by the Germans, but the Germans tried to exterminate them by all possible means: by deporting them to Germany for forced labour, or even by simply shooting them down. The Germans closed all secondary schools, universities and institutes, as well as the Ukrainian Academy of Science in Kyiv and the Scientific Society of Taras Shevchenko in Lviv. They aimed at the entire extermination of Ukrainian culture, and stopped all Ukrainian cultural life, closing cultural establishments and theatres, robbing museums and libraries (Kyiv, Lviv, Kharkiv). The Nazis forbade reference to the history and political aspirations of the Ukrainian people. By devious methods they destroyed the religious way in Ukraine, creating dissidences and sects in the church, and spreading immorality throughout Ukraine. In one word, the Nazis did not shrink from applying most

cruel and barbaric methods which will forever remain as shame in the history of mankind.

Terror and mass assassinations were widely applied. The Germans organized the mass shootings of the political prisoners (at Rivne, Kremyanets, Kyiv, Dnipropetrovsk, Chortkiv, Lviv, etc.) and of prominent Ukrainian intellectuals taken as hostages (at Drohobycz several times, Stanyslaviv, Kovel, Kremyanets, Kryvyi Rih, Kremyanchuk, etc.). The extension of this terror may be illustrated by a letter, or rather a protest, of the Ukrainian Bishop Platon, one of the representatives of the Ukrainian Autocephalic Orthodox Church, to his Metropolitan. It will show that the Ukrainians have to claim more than one Lidice in the history of their subjugation by the Nazi barbarians. Here we quote it in extenso:

His Grace the Lord POLYCARP,
Metropolitan Administrator of the
St. Ukrainian Autocephalic Ortho-
dox Church in Lutsk.

Bishop of Rivne,
Administrator Vicar General
Diocese Rivne-Kremyanets.

July 20, 1943.

No. 432.

My Lord Metropolitan,

We have the honour to bring to your notice, with deep sorrow, that, according to reports, on July 14, 1944, a terrible hitherto unheard of slaughter of the Ukrainian and Czech population took place in the village of Malyn, distr. Ostrih, prov. Dubno. The people were driven by force into the wooden local church and burnt alive. Those who could find no room in the church were driven into the former village-hall and into barns and burnt too. Altogether about 850 persons were burnt alive. All this was done by the Gestapo, assisted by Uzbeks and Poles. Shrieks of agonized people in the fire were heard at about three miles from this place. The parish priest succeeded in escaping. We are awaiting him to get precise information concerning this terrible event. News about these facts was communicated to us by Rev. Vassyl Tchervinskyi of the village of Sukhivtsi, distr. Klevan, on July 19, 1943.

A similar incident took place in the village of Hubkiv, distr. Ludvypil, prov. of Kostopil, on July 2, 1943. The parish priest Kornytskyi and the parochial sacristan Petriv were tortured to death, and then thrown with corpses of other tortured people as well as with living ones into the local church and burnt. A similar incident also took place in the villages of Velkyi Selyscha, the same district; this fact was reported by our dean of the district, Mezhyrittcha, prov. of Rivne.

Considering that in the 20th century these methods of "pacification" of the population applied by the authorities are incompatible not only with Christian ethics and morals but also are contrary to common human morals, and that they are recalling the period of cruel persecutions of Christians at times of the Emperor Maximian who had burnt 20,000 Christians in a temple in Nicomacdia in 302, I have the honour to appeal to you, My Lord, as to the head of the Ukrainian Autocephalic Church, to inform the Commissioner-General of these infamous facts of devilish extermination of the population by the German police, assisted by non-Christian Uzbeks and Polish dissidents, and to enter a sharp protest in the name of the Episcopate of the Ukrainian Autocephalic Church against the inhuman dealing with the Ukrainian and Czech Orthodox population.

With Saint Prayers for you, and filial devotion,
We remain,

(Signed) Platon,
Bishop of Rivne.

The sad story of three of many retaliatory actions by German occupation forces in Ukraine is told in this document. Three Ukrainian villages were destroyed by the German Gestapo and its helpers, and their entire population, men, women and children, were tortured or burnt alive. There was no selection of those to be murdered as it was in Lidice, because the retaliatory actions in Ukraine were more radical than those in Czecho-Slovakia. All people suspected of sympathy for the Ukrainian Resistance Movement were massacred in this or other ways without any regard as to age or sex. Thus, within the time of German occupation in Ukraine the Ukrainians had to refer to many a "Lidice" of their own.

It would be difficult to imagine anything more reprehensible than the silencing, in the civilized world, of all these massacres the Ukrainians had to endure at the time of German occupation, as well as those they endure at present. The freedom-loving people in the West are silent about them; they would say that they know little or nothing about them; they are not willing to reconstruct them, and sometimes even deny that such massacres had existed. There are good reasons for this silencing of the Ukrainian tragedy in the world. All the oppressors of Ukraine have always taken care that many a Ukrainian "Lidice" remains unknown to the world; they have always taken care that the Ukrainian Struggle for Freedom is silenced or distorted to the world.

An underground pamphlet by I. M. Kovalenko, entitled "The Aims and Methods of German Imperialistic Policy in the Occupied Territories" which widely circulated among the Ukrainian people in 1943, gave a vivid description of the German terror in Ukraine. There we read:

"Ancient Rome trembled when it was confronted with the terror of the barbarous Teutons, the ancestors of present invaders of Ukraine. The Ukrainians also have experienced all sorts of invasions by barbarous hordes which not infrequently have transformed the fertile lands of Ukraine into deserts, and before which the populace had to hide in forests in order to survive. To-day the Ukrainian people, upon whom the Muscovite Bolsheviks have perpetrated crimes of great magnitude, are again subjected to the terror of the German invader. The latter, by arrests and executions, attempts to destroy the Ukrainian people with the same eagerness as does Bolshevik Russia. Both German and Russian imperialists have acted, as if in accord, completely to eradicate the Ukrainian people from the earth. The despised Red Star for twenty years has bathed in a bloody sea the Ukrainian peasant, worker and intellectual. Now the German swastika tears apart with its teeth the body of the Ukrainian people. Words to inscribe on the newly-dug graves of the best sons of Ukraine, which the German invader creates every day on the Ukrainian land, come hard. ONLY BY DECLARING AN IMPLACABLE WAR AGAINST THE BLOOD-THIRSTY GERMAN INVADER WILL WE BE ABLE TO AVENGE THE DEATH OF OUR BROTHERS."

And this war was declared! The Ukrainians fought the Nazis with the same vigour as they are fighting the Soviets to-day. Although the enemies of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement want the world to believe that the Ukrainian insurgents are German-inspired "bandits", the world must find out the truth that the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) started building its strength in the war against Nazi-Germany. Long before the time when Prime Minister Winston Churchill announced that "any man or state which fights against Nazism will have our aid", the Ukrainians entered the fight against the Nazi invaders of their country, but they received no aid from anybody. At the peak of German military power, the Ukrainians started the fight against the occupants of Ukraine which is going on up to this very day.

At the beginning of the German-Soviet war, 1941, it was impossible for the Ukrainians to wage an open warfare against the Germans. Before the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) came into

being in the fall of 1942, the Ukrainian Underground needed time for the preparation of the armed resistance. During that time it directed the struggle of the Ukrainian people against the Nazi invaders by other methods. The O.U.N. (Organization of the Ukrainian Nationalists) led the Ukrainian people in the fight, knowing that no aid would come from any quarter, and that the Ukrainians had to rely only on their own forces.

The imprisonment of the members of the Ukrainian Government (three of whom were murdered by the Gestapo) and the leaders of the O.U.N. did not prove to be the deadly blow to the Ukrainian resistance the Germans hoped. Soon the forces of the O.U.N. were re-organized, and their underground leadership issued directives along which the planned resistance against Nazi occupation had to be guided. The directives forecast: (1) The military and political organization of the Ukrainian masses and their re-orientation to face the new and equally cruel totalitarian invader; (2) The organization of the network of revolutionary forces in Eastern (Soviet) Ukraine and their instruction as to the art of anti-German sabotage, disobeying German directives and preparing the populace for self-defence against the brutalities of the Gestapo; (3) The organization of the campaign against the recruiting of slave-labourers for work in German industry and agriculture; (4) The organization of the action against sending of grain contingents to Germany, and teaching the population how to hide foodstuffs, clothing and other goods from German raiding parties; (5) The organization of a propaganda and information campaign as to the ultimate aims of the Nazis and Bolsheviks in Ukraine; (6) The organization of the underground training schools for military and political leaders; (7) The collection of arms, ammunition and other military equipment for the use of future Ukrainian armed forces; (8) The clearing of Ukrainian territory of Soviet secret agents, who, under various aliases, were able to penetrate the German auxiliary and even the Gestapo itself, and aided the Germans in their anti-Ukrainian campaign. (From the instruction of the Temporary Leader of the O.U.N., Maxym Ruban, of October, 1941.)

Such resistance prepared the Ukrainians psychologically for the fight against the German occupants. Naturally, the Germans too were quick to realize the methods and tactics used by the Ukrainian Underground, and soon started their retaliatory actions, by instituting a White Terror in the whole of Ukraine. Mass anti-German sentiment grew from day to day. The self-defence measures led to the organization of the guerilla detachments in the forests and marshes of the Northern Volhynia and Polessia. Whoever felt unsafe in his village took to the forest; very soon the Ukrainian forests were full of young people who escaped from slave labour contingents or who were marked by the Gestapo for their participation in Ukrainian Underground. Finally, to the forests went the political leaders, officers, soldiers, men and women of different social groups, etc. Of necessity, these people, for their own defence, had to organize some semi-military detachments, which from the beginning had to fight on two fronts against the German police forces and their helpers, and against the Bolshevik partisans.

The first Ukrainian guerilla detachments appeared in Polessia, the Northern part of Western Ukraine, as early as in 1941. They were an instinctive Ukrainian answer to the German terror-measures and the cruelties which were committed upon the Ukrainian people. To distinguish themselves from the Red partisans, the Ukrainian guerillas called themselves "Ukrainian insurgents". They fought simultaneously against the Germans, resisting enormous food requisitions and deportations for slave labour to Germany, and against Red partisans who appeared in Ukraine, parachuted from Soviet airplanes.

In the fall of 1942, a member of the O.U.N., OSTAP, began setting up armed groups for the fight against the German occupants. At the close of 1942, a large insurgent force arose in Ukraine under Ukrainian nationalist leadership, when officers and soldiers of the Ukrainian battalion of the German Army passed with arms and ammunitions to the insurgents. At the same time, the Mobilization Order issued by the Temporary Leader of the O.U.N., Maxym Ruban, calling the members of O.U.N. to join the guerilla detachments, was entirely successful. Some ten thousand armed Ukrainian patriots went to the forests of Northern Volhynia and Polessia and joined the

Ukrainian guerilla detachments to form the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.). Soon the High Command of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) was formed and Major (later Colonel) Roman Klachivsky (Klym Savur) was appointed Supreme Commander of the U.P.A. His Chief of Staff was Gen. Anathol Stupnytsky (Honcharenko), former officer of the Ukrainian Army under Gen. Petliura (1917—1921). Both officers fell in the fight against the Bolsheviks. Later, Gen. Stupnytsky, the hero of an anti-Bolshevist rising in 1921, was chiefly responsible for the development of the military strength of the U.P.A. He and his collaborators indefatigably worked on the organization of the U.P.A., on its training and supplies, and on leading its operations.

By Spring of 1943, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) extended the scope of its actions. It steadily grew in numbers, augmented by Ukrainian policemen of Volhynia and Polessia, who with their arms passed to the U.P.A., by former Soviet prisoners of war, and Red army deserters. Besides, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) was able to enlist Georgians, Azerbaijanians, Tartars, Turkestanians, Cossacks and others into a national formation of the enslaved peoples within the U.P.A. At that time the U.P.A. was able to stage its first raids against the Germans, aiming at the liquidation of the Nazi administration. In a month, after a series of major battles fought in the vicinities of Sarny, Stelyn and Volodymyrets, the U.P.A. was completely successful. The entire Nazi administration was destroyed and the Red partisans were driven beyond the Pripet River. In the ensuing months fierce battles continued and the forces of the U.P.A. extended the scope of their actions to Southern Volhynia. In Kremianets, Dubno, Kovel, Lutsk and Kivertsi the U.P.A. by direct attack, broke into the city prisons and liberated thousands of Ukrainian political prisoners, who immediately joined the ranks of the U.P.A. Unfortunately, the attack of the U.P.A. on the prison in Rivne, the capital of the "Reichskommissariat Ukraine" was not successful and all Ukrainian political prisoners, to the number of 500 persons, were shot in retaliation.

The troops of the U.P.A. did not restrict themselves to defence. They attacked and disarmed detachments of the German army and

police, captured war materials and food from German convoys, set free workers being transported as forced labour in Germany. The U.P.A. detachments organized ambushes on principal roads and some prominent Nazis fell into their hands. In May, 1943, Victor Lutze, Comander-in-Chief of the Nazi S.A. was killed on the highway Kowel—Brest Litovsk from an ambush of the U.P.A. along this road.

By summer, 1943, the anti-German struggle of the U.P.A. was in full swing. At this time, operating chiefly in Volhynia (group U.P.A.-North) the U.P.A. centred its attention upon the highway and railway line, Berlin—Kovel—Kyiv, one of the principal lines of German communication in this area. In consequence, the transportation of food to Germany was paralyzed, people transported for slave labour to Germany were released, the German supply and ammunition trains were blown up. The Germans adopted such measures as continuous guarding along the railroads, cutting down woods along the tracks, and finally the application of inhuman reprisals against the Ukrainian population. Yet these measures were of no avail, since the Ukrainians were determined to fight the cruel occupants, and the fight against Nazi-Germany was wholeheartedly approved by the Ukrainian people, who consequently gave full support to the U.P.A.

Owing to this, the U.P.A. was able to occupy the vast territories of Ukraine. Whole districts and regions in Ukraine were under the control of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) and the German administration was replaced by a Ukrainian one. The Germans were forced to retire to the large towns, protected by strong garrisons. The rest of the country was exclusively dominated by the U.P.A. and administered by Ukrainian authorities. The population recognized the rule of the U.P.A. and obeyed its orders. In fact this was a state within a state, acting independently from the occupational regime. Under the protection of the U.P.A., agriculture and industry were developing normally, agrarian commissions appointed by the High Command of the U.P.A. were dividing up large estates among poor peasants, schools and cultural institutions operated normally, forest administration was acting independently from the occupational regime. Thousands upon thousands of young Ukrainian men and women joined the U.P.A. and were trained in the large training camps,

which included Officers and N.C.O. Schools, military hospitals and Red Cross organizations, equipment and ammunition depôts as well as repair shops, mills and factories which were working at full pressure for the benefit of U.P.A. The U.P.A. has by this time developed a good press service of its own, with many organs and publications, not excluding humorous and satirical magazines. In hundreds of thousands of pamphlets, underground newspapers and magazines, printed in all native languages of the peoples of Eastern Europe, the U.P.A. explained the struggle of the Ukrainian people against both Hitler and Stalin for their national independence and sovereignty. Thus, the U.P.A. was able to accomplish what was impossible for the underground forces in Western Europe, i. e. to clear vast portions of the Ukrainian territory from the enemy forces, and to administer them under its own control. These were the so-called "U.P.A.-republics" which existed in various parts of Ukraine till the middle of 1949.

At the end of summer, 1943, the U.P.A. had extended its activities to the provinces of Central Ukraine, along the Dniipro River, including the provinces of Chernyhiv, Kyiv, Zhitomir, Vinnitsia and Kamianets Podilsky. Sudden raids of U.P.A. in these territories succeeded in exterminating outposts of the German occupational regime and destroying raiding groups of Soviet partisans. A big success of the U.P.A. was the destruction of a German police school near Zhitomir.

At this time, when the activities of the U.P.A. were in full swing in the North-Western and Central Ukraine, the Southern part of Western Ukraine, i. e. Galicia, was still not in open war with Germans, being a base for supplies, food, armament and recruiting for the U.P.A. But soon the conditions altered and the population of Galicia entered in an uncompromising fight against the Germans.

The chief reason was the advance of the raiding Soviet Partisans under Gen. Kovpak in this territory. The Soviet Partisans of Gen. Kovpak assembled near Lake Kniaz in Byelorussia, whence they passed the Pripet River and raided the territory of Ukraine occupied by the U.P.A. It is interesting to note that the Germans did not fight them, for they were apparently contented that the activities of the Soviet

Partisans were chiefly directed against the U.P.A. Pushed back by the detachments of the U.P.A., Soviet Partisans of Gen. Kovpak turned to Galicia, with the purpose of reaching the Carpathians. As the Germans did not fight them, the population of Galicia organized the "Self-Defence" and stood to arms. The U.P.A. detachments from Volhynia and Polesia hastened to aid them in their fight against Soviet Partisans. Finally, the Soviet Partisan group of Gen. Kovpak was surrounded in the Carpathians by the detachments of U.P.A. and completely destroyed. Only 700 Soviet Partisans were able to escape from this encirclement and to fight their way back to the Soviet Lines. Thus the U.P.A.-Group West was born in the Carpathians in fight against the Soviet Partisans of Gen. Kovpak.

Another reason for the birth of the U.P.A. in the Carpathians was the ruthless terror of the German Gestapo in Galicia. In one day, as a retaliation for the execution of a high German Gestapo officer in Lviv, there were shot in Lviv 28 Ukrainians, in Czortkiv 52, and in Drohobycz 20. A barbaric massacre of the Ukrainians began. Thousands of Ukrainian men and women were executed at random by the Gestapo without trial. The reasons for this appalling wholesale murder of the Ukrainian population, according to the German official proclamations, were „assistance to the bandits“, „the sheltering of Jews“, „assassination of the representatives of the German government“, „participation in the resistance movement“, „adherence to the Bandera movement“, etc. Mass shootings had taken place in all urban places of Galicia. In one Sub-carpathian town alone Drohobycz, alone there were executed publicly 366 Ukrainians between October 1943 and June 1944. The Ukrainian youth were put into a concentration camp in Dubyna near Skole under the pretext of being unwilling to go for slave labour to Germany.

The signal for the anti-Nazi open warfare in Galicia was given by the assault of the Ukrainian underground forces in the concentration camp in Dubyna in August 1943. All political prisoners were freed, the guard was killed and the camp destroyed. Soon most of the Carpathian and Sub-carpathian region was occupied by the U.P.A. The woody terrain, forests and mountains were extremely well suited to the guerilla warfare waged by it.

By Spring 1944, when the Soviet counter-offensive began to roll near to Western-Ukraine, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) consisted already of 4 large groups: (1) U.P.A.-North, operating in Polessia and northern Volhynia; (2) U.P.A.-West, in Eastern Galicia and in the province of Kholm; (3) U.P.A.-South, in Northern Bucovina and in the provinces of Kamianets Podilsky and Vinnitsia; and (4) U.P.A.-East, in the wood sectors north of Kyiv and Zhitomir, in the area of Bazar, the battle-field of the famous Ukrainian anti-Bolshevik rising in 1921. These four groups comprised about 200,000 armed Ukrainian insurgents, which were united under one command, the Supreme Command of the U.P.A. Besides, the Ukrainian Resistance Movement organized the underground combat groups in the Donets Basin, Dnipropetrovsk, Dniprodzerzynsk, Kryvyi Rih, Odessa, Kreminchuk, Kyiv, Uman and other towns of Ukraine and the peninsula of Crimea. The Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) controlled an area of more than 200,000 square miles with a population of more than 15,000,000 habitants. Not for a moment did the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) permit the Nazi invader to feel himself master of Ukraine .

Three times during the German occupation of Ukraine the Nazi Germans launched their offensives against the U.P.A., aiming at its extermination. The entire campaign was fierce and bitter. The enemy used aeroplanes, artillery and tanks, followed closely by infantry. Several Nazi attacks against the U.P.A. were repulsed with heavy losses for the enemy, e. g. the attack of one German division against the "Black Forest" in the province of Stanyslaviv, (May 1944), the attack of two German divisions against the positions of mountain Lopata in July 1944, or the attack of a mixed German-Hungarian division in Volhynia, July 1943. Counter attacks of shock troops of U.P.A., launched at several points, frustrated temporary enemy successes at other points. At least, the Nazi offensives were broken and the Germans were defeated.

This was the way in which the U.P.A. became the third military and political force in Eastern Europe and soon became the champion of all revolutionary forces representing not only the resistance movement of Ukraine, but of all the subjugated peoples of Eastern Europe,

the Caucasus and Central Asia. As a result of the well-planned and directed propaganda of the Supreme Command of U.P.A., the German military units composed of former German war prisoners taken on the Eastern front began to disintegrate and filter into the ranks of U.P.A. A constantly increasing number of these, of White Ruthenians, Georgians, Armenians, Turkestanians, Tartars and Cossacks led to the organization of separate national legions of these peoples within the U.P.A. The net result of this process was a closer organization and co-ordination of all anti-Soviet and anti-German efforts on the part of the oppressed peoples of Eastern Europe.

The major step toward this goal was the First Conference of the Oppressed Peoples of Eastern Europe and Asia, which was convoked on November 21—22, 1944, at the request of the representatives of national revolutionary organizations of oppressed peoples within the U.P.A. Thirty nine delegates, representing twelve peoples of Eastern Europe and Asia took part in the Conference. Azerbaijan sent six delegates, the Baskhirs one, White Ruthenians two, Armenia four, Georgia six, Kabardinia one, Ukraine five, the Turkestanians six, (Uzbeks five, the Kazakhs one), the Ossetins two, the Tartars four, the Cherkes one, the Chuvashes one. In addition, ten persons participated as honorary guests from other nationalities.

On the eve of the Conference, a German police battalion attacked the locality at which the meeting was scheduled and which was under the special guard of U.P.A. detachments. The delegates of the Conference took part in the battle. The battalion was totally crushed.

The Conference drew up a platform of common aims of the oppressed nationalities and resolved that a Central Committee composed of representatives of oppressed nations of Eastern Europe and Soviet-dominated Asia be organized immediately to co-ordinate the revolutionary activities of separate nations. The Conference adopted a common slogan: "Freedom to peoples, freedom to the individual" under which the oppressed peoples would fight for their liberation. Thus, the Antibolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.) was born in the atmosphere of the Ukrainian struggle against two occupants, Germans and Russians.

The Resolutions of the Conference called for an implacable fight against both Nazi Germany and Communist Russia. Stating that both the Germans and the Russians were engaged in the policy of conquest and exploitation of weaker peoples, the Conference said that only the complete defeat of Germans and Russians would open the road to freedom and the peaceful life in Eastern Europe.

With these objectives in mind the Control Committee of A.B.N. began inspired propaganda work, directed against the soldiers of the German and Red armies, calling on them to desert and fight for the freedom of their own peoples.

The results of these activities were evident in the defeat of Germany in 1945. On all the territories of the U.S.S.R., from the Baltic Sea to Turkestan, there was an anti-Soviet Movement of the oppressed peoples. In Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, White Ruthenia and in the Caucasus this Movement took the form of an armed resistance. In these territories there were and still are active underground armies fighting a deadly war against the Soviet totalitarian machine.

The propaganda of the U.P.A. succeeded in estranging the Allies of the Germans too. Hungarian, Slovak, Roumanian, French, Belgian and other troops stationed in Ukraine were used in the expeditions against the Ukrainians. Gradually, however, the Commands of these troops agreed with the Supreme Command of U.P.A. in observing neutrality during the Ukraino-German hostilities.

The Germans reacted violently with their propaganda against U.P.A., stating in their leaflets that U.P.A. was led by "Bolshevik Emissaries". They tried to demonstrate to the Ukrainians that their resistance and their fighting were of no use, and hoped by propaganda to weaken, corrupt and break the fighting morale of the Ukrainian people. "Everybody who knows the gangsters", proclaimed the German Commissioner-General of Volhynia and Podolia to the peaceful and working population of Ukraine in July 1943, "and does not denounce them to the German authorities, will be severely punished. To save yourselves, your children, your country and your countrymen from disaster, report any gangster or Bandera partisan to the German authorities; the German police will protect you against their vengeance". They issued thousands of proclamations to the

Ukrainian people in which they called on the Ukrainians "to be prudent" and to cease waging guerilla warfare against the "powerful German state" and asked them to join the Germans in fight against the "common" enemy. However, the Germans had soon to realize that their propaganda had had no effect upon the Ukrainians, as the U.P.A. had been too deeply rooted among them.

It is interesting to note that the Nazi propaganda against the Ukrainian liberation movement went hand in hand with the Soviet drive in calumniating and slandering the U.P.A. and the O.U.N. The Ukrainian Liberation Movement was branded a Bolshevik or a German "agency" by both adversaries, depending upon which was issuing the proclamation. Thus, the Germans called the O.U.N. and U.P.A. "the agents of the blood-thirsty Stalin and his Jewish companions", "instrument of Jewish Bolshevism", "the hangman of the Ukrainian people, etc. The Soviets, on the other hand, branded the Ukrainian liberation fighters as the "German-Ukrainian nationalists", "lackeys of Hitler", "hirelings of Gestapo", etc. Forgetting their own crimes committed against the Ukrainian people, both occupants of Ukraine accused the O.U.N. and U.P.A. of having committed the most barbarous crimes against the Ukrainian population. Even such an unscrupulous pacificator of the Polish Warsaw rising as S.S.-Obergruppenführer and Police General Von dem Bach — then "plenipotentiary of the Reichsführer (Hitler) — in combating bands in Ukraine, issued proclamations in which he branded the U.P.A. "murderers of peace-loving men and women", and called for "just punishment", though the Ukrainian people could tell of atrocious crimes, tortures and murders committed by his troops in Ukraine. On the other hand, "Foreign Minister" of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, D. Manuilsky, speaking at the Conference of teachers of Western Ukraine in Lviv on January 6, 1945, complained that the Ukrainian insurgents were applying terroristic methods against the Bolsheviks, and called on the "sacred hand of Soviet power to cut off the heads of the criminal beasts", ignoring that the organs of this "power" had slaughtered the Ukrainian population in thousands without difference as to the age, sex, etc. showing that no laws, no morals, no rights ever affected them in treatment of their ideological adversaries.

How shameful the Bolshevik propaganda against the Ukrainian Liberation Movement was can be seen from another "statement" of "Minister" Manuilsky' at the same Conference. Manuilsky said literally: "The Germans did arrest Bandera — after previous understanding with him to this effect — but only in order to create around his name a halo of a martyr". Manuilsky knew well that not only Stepan Bandera had been arrested by the Germans and put in the Nazi concentration camp at Sachsenhausen, where he spent nearly four years, but that thousands of other prominent Ukrainian nationalists had been arrested, put into concentration camps or shot down. Among others, two brothers of Stepan Bandera — Bohdan and Wasyl Bandera — had been arrested too, and murdered in the concentration camp at Oswiecim (Auschwitz). If we seriously take the statement of comrade "Minister", we have to believe that both of Bandera's brothers were murdered by Gestapo, "after previous understanding with Stepan Bandera to this effect". It is clear that such propaganda was too stupid to have any influence upon the masses of the Ukrainian people and could hardly be believed by them.

As a matter of fact, the O.U.N. and U.P.A. did not neglect counter-propaganda activities among the Ukrainian population as well as among the German and Soviet armies in Ukraine. The Ukrainian Liberation Movement developed quite a good propaganda service of its own, and Ukrainian free press organs appeared illegally during all the time of the German occupation in Ukraine. Besides, there were a considerable amount of illegal broadcasting and widespread whispering propaganda. In 1944 there were 20 underground newspapers in Ukraine, and six of them appeared regularly since 1941. The free Ukrainian press shared in creating public opinion, passing on true information and expressing the free mind. The papers were printed in the underground printing shops which were established throughout Ukraine from the Carpathian mountains to the Donets Basin. At the head of the Ukrainian independent press stood "Visnyk" (Messenger), the printed organ of the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council, published quarterly, with a circulation of 5000 copies. The oldest organ of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement was "Idea i Chyn" (Idea and Action) published monthly, with a circulation of 20,000. It was

speaking for the O.U.N. and had many affiliated publications, amounting to 300, with a circulation of over 100,000. "Povstanets" (Insurgent) and the magazine: "Do Zbroyi" (To Arms) were organs of the Press of the U.P.A. Two periodicals: "Za Samostiynu Ukrainu" (For an Independent Ukraine), organ of the O.U.N. in Eastern Ukraine, and "Za Ukrainsku Derzhavu" (For an Ukrainian State), organ of the O.U.N. in Western Ukraine gave strong support to the national fight for independence. Weekly "Bulletin" and semi-weekly "Information News" were passing on true information, basing it on the B.B.C. broadcasting. To these should be added "Ukrainsky Perets" (Ukrainian Pepper), a humorous magazine with witty cartoons and coloured caricatures, anti-Hitlerite and anti-Stalinite at the same time. Besides, the Ukrainian Liberation Movement issued hundreds of thousands of leaflets, booklets, periodicals, books, etc. in Ukrainian and other languages, including Russian, Turkish, Georgian, Armenian, etc. with their specific alphabets. The Supreme Command of the U.P.A. published manuals of military instruction, among them a book "Practical manual of Guerilla Warfare", by Cpt. Bereza, is worth considering, with its 346 pages.

The propaganda of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement was entirely successful, as it answered the desires of the Ukrainian population for an independent state, and they supported it in its fight against the occupational regimes. "The Ukrainian insurgents, together with the entire Ukrainian people, do not want German slavery or Bolshevik Siberia. Nor do they want Hitler's 'New Europe' nor Stalin's prison, the U.S.S.R." "We want to live in free friendly countries without the terroristic dictatorship of Hitler and Stalin" was clearly stated in a leaflet to the „Brethren-Red Army men“.

Despite all their hatred of Nazism, the Bolsheviks soon realised all the dangers for them from the situation in Ukraine. They realized the critical importance of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement, and started fighting it with all their might as early as 1943. Doing that, they did not disdain the help of the stupid German "master race". The Soviet agents behind the German lines were ordered not to fear the Gestapo, but to help it in its efforts to destroy the Ukrainian Liberation Movement upon all occasions. Thus, engaged in their fight

against the German occupants, the Ukrainians experienced a very strange and unbelievable coalition of the Brown and Red Fascists against the Ukrainian Liberation Movement. Consequently, in their anti-Ukrainian campaign the Nazis relied chiefly upon the collaboration of the Soviet N.K.V.D., who remained with subversive purposes in the area of the German occupation or were parachuted with this aim. Those people were able to penetrate not only the German occupational administration, but even the Gestapo itself. Such facts are well-known to millions of Ukrainians: e. g. one of the outstanding Ukrainian nationalists, Dmytro Myron-Orlyk, underground leader of Central Ukraine, was killed in the streets of Kiev by such an N.K.V.D. agent in Gestapo service.

Realizing that the U.P.A. is in the way to become the "third force" in Eastern Europe, the Soviets began to give the development of the situation in Ukraine their special attention. As early as 1943 a special detachment was formed within the All-Union Partisan Staff in Moscow which began studying the increase of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement under the German occupation, and soon started making efforts to destroy it internally. Soviet agents began infiltrating into the U.P.A. in order to secure complete intelligence as to the actual strength, armament and supply bases of the U.P.A., as well as its connection with the Ukrainian population. It was not an easy task for the U.P.A. counter-intelligence to combat this infiltration, as the Soviet agents who were working among the U.P.A. detachments with subversive purposes were excellently trained, and could disguise themselves as Ukrainians or other nationals fleeing from German war-prisoner camps or German-sponsored national legions. Their admittance to the U.P.A. was not barred, as the U.P.A. suffered from the lack of experienced military commanders.

Nevertheless, we must say here that the young Ukrainian counter-intelligence service, under the direction of Commander Mitla, and after his death under the direction of Commander Michael, was entirely successful, and passed its test with honours. Most of the Soviet agents operating in the U.P.A. area could be duly unmasked and "liquidated", the Soviet term. The thorough knowledge of Soviet method helped the Ukrainians in their task, and the application of

tested counter-measures secured success, despite the fact that Soviet methods surpassed imagination in finesse and refinement. Here is a terrifying story of a Soviet agent within the U.P.A. which could hardly be believed in the West, although it is true and not exaggerated.

It is the story of N.K.V.D. Major Chkheidze, who was parachuted into the area under the control of the U.P.A. Halted by the U.P.A., he said that he was fleeing from one German war-prison in Poland, and gave a very exact description of the situation of the camp and the conditions within it. He named prominent war prisoners held in this camp, and said that he was a former Soviet intelligence officer of Georgian nationality, who sympathized with the U.P.A. struggle. Asking admittance to the U.P.A., he gave very elaborate information about the Soviet army, and especially about Soviet intelligence and counter-intelligence. Finally, he was enrolled in the U.P.A. and assigned to the counter-intelligence corps. Here he showed himself an able officer, and because of claiming an "anti-Bolshevik" attitude he was given the task of fighting the Soviet agents within the U.P.A. During a short time he was able to discover some Soviet agents in the area who were put before the court-martial and who confessed their activities. They were sentenced to death. Consequently, Commander Chapayev, as Major Chkheidze was called in the U.P.A., asked the court to allow him to execute personally the "spies and enemies of the Ukrainian and Georgian people". He was allowed, and hanged the unhappy people by his own hand. After a time Chkheidze-Chapayev himself was discovered as a major Soviet agent and court-martialled by the U.P.A. During the proceedings before the court-martial Chkheidze stated that he had been ordered by the All-Union Partisan Staff in Moscow to discover minor or ineffective Soviet agents within the ranks of the U.P.A. and to execute them personally in order to gain the full confidence of the U.P.A. Supreme Command. He acted according to his instructions, and "discovered" Soviet agents whose names, addresses and other clues had been given him in Moscow. Yet- Comrade Chkheidze was not able to gain the desired confidence by Soviet methods, as the counter-intelligence officers of the U.P.A. were well acquainted with them, and held Chkheidze under strict observation despite his "merits" in discover-

ing Soviet agents and his "eagerness" for their "just" punishment. Consequently, one false step in his career proved fatal for him and brought about his immediate arrest.

Among others, the U.P.A. counter-intelligence officers succeeded in finding out and arresting one of the most outstanding Soviet agents behind the German lines — Comrade Puch, with his accomplices. In his disguise as a German S.S. officer, Ruch succeeded in killing the Vice-Governor of Galicia, Dr. Bauer, in the streets of Lviv. The assassination of Dr. Bauer was one more illustration of Soviet methods in their fight against the Nazis. Dr. Bauer was one of the most reasonable and humane of the German officials in Galicia. The Soviets did not like such men in the occupational administration, as they preferred sadistic hangmen like Reichskommissar Koch and his "General-Commissioners".

Such was the way the U.P.A. became the third military and political power in Eastern Europe. By spring 1944, German military and police reports put its strength from 200,000—500,000 although its own information gave a more conservative estimate of a total at about 200,000. Its regime performed nearly all the functions of normal administration. The U.P.A. had its own postal system and radio communications. Its propaganda published its own newspapers, magazines and books. Its organisation controlled schools, collected taxes, issued currencies, operated industries, maintained farms and directed the forest administration. The U.P.A. base became the main-spring of the broadest mass mobilization and mass effort in Ukrainian history. Besides, it represents not only the resistance of the Ukrainian people, but also of the other peoples of Eastern Europe, the Caucasus and Central Asia, as it was able to organize national legions of those peoples within the U.P.A. In all its wide scope of activities the U.P.A. won the devoted support of the Ukrainian people and particularly of the Ukrainian youths, tens of thousands of whom have died in this little-publicised struggle of the Ukrainian nationalists against Hitler. And if the world has heard little of these achievements, it is not entirely the fault of the Ukrainians.

While it is true that the Germans failed to destroy the forces of the U.P.A., or to stop their increase, their growth kept step with the

growth of the O.U.N. as the sole important political organization during the German occupation and now. None the less, as early as in 1944, it became evident that the leadership of the Ukrainian struggle for liberation could not rest in the hands of only one political organization. During 1943, the ranks of the U.P.A. were swollen with Ukrainian peasants, workers, and intelligentsia who were not members of the O.U.N. Thus the U.P.A., which originated from the O.U.N. battle groups, obtained in the meantime the whole-hearted support of the entire Ukrainian nation. This was the way the general consolidation came about, and the whole Ukrainian people participated in the struggle. In this situation the necessity arose to give an outward expression of this internal consolidation by forming a Supreme political body, in which all forces and elements of the Ukrainian nation taking part in the struggle would be represented. Faced by the very grave danger of the Soviet re-occupation of Ukraine (and nobody within the ranks of the O.U.N.-U.P.A. doubted it would come), the Supreme Command of the U.P.A. initiated the creation of a united underground supreme political body, all-national and non-partisan in nature. As early as 1943, by the initiative of the Supreme Command of the U.P.A., an Initiative Commission for the Convocation of the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council was formed. Prominent Ukrainian revolutionaries, without difference as to adherence to the O.U.N., became members of the Commission, which started its work in November, 1943.

Seven months were occupied in the negotiations of the members of the Commission with the representatives of the Ukrainian political parties and centres. There were many difficulties in conducting this work. The old Ukrainian political parties in Western Ukraine, the Ukrainian National Democratic Union (U.N.D.O.), the Ukrainian Social-Radical Party (U.S.R.P.) and the Ukrainian Social Democratic Workers' Party (U.S.D.R.P.) did not exist at that time, as their political activities were impossible either in Soviet or Nazi domination, and they dissolved themselves as early as 1939. There were only the leaders and members of these parties in the country who had not been deported or arrested by the Soviets or by the Nazis. Many ordinary members of these parties and their organizations were

fighters in the U.P.A. or supported its activities with all their heart. There were Ukrainian monarchists and supporters of the Hetman Paul Skoropadsky, and there were Ukrainian republicans and supporters of the Ukrainian National Republic and its President, Andrew Livitsky, both groups belonging to the category of the political emigres from Eastern Ukraine. There was a right wing of the O.U.N. under the leadership of Colonel Andrew Melnyk, strictly opposed to the O.U.N. under the leadership of Stepan Bandera with its own underground organization, which, in Western Ukraine, acted under the leadership of the late Dr. Oleh Kandyba-Olzhych, a prominent Ukrainian writer. Contrary to the opinion of his superiors, Dr. Kandyba-Olzhych followed a distinct anti-German line and desired strict co-operation with the U.P.A. and O.U.N. Many of his followers were officers in the U.P.A. where they did a prominent work, e. g. First-Lt. Pol. Commander of the First Officer School of the U.P.A. Unfortunately, the Nazis succeeded in arresting Dr. Kandyba-Olzhych with many other members of his underground. They murdered him at the concentration camp at Sachsenhausen in 1944.

The members of the Initiative Commission for the Convocation of the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council negotiated with many representatives of all these groups. In their negotiations they asked recognition of the principle that the Ukrainian United Sovereign State be established in consequence of the revolutionary-liberating fight against both occupants of Ukraine, Nazi-Germans and Soviet-Russians. They asked recognition of the U.P.A. as the Ukrainian Liberation Army. They asked whole-hearted support for the cause of the Ukrainian revolutionary fight and participation in the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council as equals with equals. In their opinion the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council had to be an Underground Parliament and Government of Ukraine, opposed to the quisling government of Khrushchov-Manuilsky and Co., and sole governing political leadership of the Ukrainian people during the time of the revolutionary-liberating fight against the occupants, and until the liberation of Ukraine: establishment of the Ukrainian United Sovereign State and the convocation of the Constituent Assembly

which would decide the political, social, economic and cultural organization of the newly-born Ukrainian state.

None the less there were difficulties in accepting this platform by many Ukrainian political leaders of those times. Many of them preferred not to speak openly about the fight against the German occupants, fearing German reprisals, or considering that only the Soviets were enemy No. 1 of the Ukrainian nation. Others rejected the principle of the revolutionary-liberating fight because of the immense sacrifices demanded by it. At least the Commission could select the political leaders from different political groups who fully accepted the above platform and agreed as to the participation in the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council. The members of the Commission could start the preparatory work for the convocation of the Council, selecting places of meeting and discussing with the U.P.A. commanders the precautions for its security.

The Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council came into existence on the eve of Soviet re-occupation of Ukraine in July 1944, when its meeting was summoned on territory under the control of the U.P.A., and was attended by representatives of various political groups from all over Ukraine who accepted the platform of the Initiative Commission. The representatives of both Ukrainian Churches, the Ukrainian Autocephalic Orthodox Church and the Ukrainian Catholic Church, gave them the blessing of Holy Mother Church to the meeting. From 36 elected members, who represented all Ukrainian lands, religions, and political groups from Left to Right, 20 political leaders appeared, and after some days of deliberation formed the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council on July 12, 1944. For reasons of conspiracy all documents of the First Meeting of the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council are dated June 1944.

The first Session of the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council (Ukrainska Holovna Vyzolna Rada — U.H.V.R.) lasted 8 days, from July 7 to July 14, 1944. During this time much work was done. First, the Constitution of the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council (S.U.L.C.) was elaborated and accepted. According to this Constitution, the S.U.L.C. is the supreme organ of the State power of the Ukrainian people for the duration of its struggle for freedom

and sovereignty. "This power emanates from the will of the Ukrainian people, demonstrated by the revolutionary-liberating struggle of all its active forces." (Art. I, 2.)

The aims and purpose of the S.U.L.C., as expressed in its Constitution (Art. I, 3) are: (1) to consolidate all patriotic social-political forces of the Ukrainian people for the national liberation struggle against all enemies of the Ukrainian people, and for a Sovereign United Ukrainian State; (2) to unify and co-ordinate the political actions by different political groups and centres; (3) to direct the national Ukrainian struggle for liberation by charting the ideological principles and programme of the struggle; (4) to represent the Ukrainian people and its struggle for the Sovereign United Ukrainian State in the homeland and abroad.

According to Art. I, 8, of the Constitution, the organs of the S.U.L.C. are: (a) Grand Assembly of the S.U.L.C.; (b) Presidium of the S.U.L.C. with the President at the head; (c) General Secretariat with the Chairman at the head; (d) General Court with the General Judge at the head; (e) General Control Board with the General Controller at the head. When it deems necessary also Conferences of the S.U.L.C. may be convened by the President. (Art. I, 9). Besides, within its framework, commissions, committees and bureaux for different purposes may be appointed and work. (Art. I, 10.)

The Grand Assembly of the S.U.L.C. is the only legislative organ which has power to (a) enact laws; (b) consider and decide basic political problems, to establish the basic principles of liberation policies, to formulate the programme of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement and to chart the tactics of the struggle for liberation; (c) supervise activities of all organs of the S.U.L.C.; (d) issue directives for the Ukrainian Liberation Movement and all its branches; (e) elect the President and 7 members of the Presidium, the Chairman of the General Secretariat, the General Judge and the General Controller; (f) take the oath from the President; (g) elect new members of the S.U.L.C. and confirm new members of the S.U.L.C. elected by the Presidium of the intervals between the sessions and by the Foreign Delegation of the S.U.L.C.; (h) expel members of the S.U.L.C. (Art. II, 2.)

Sessions of the Grand Assembly of the S.U.L.C. are convened by the President at least once a year. (Art. II, 3.) The Grand Assembly passes laws and decisions by majority vote with not less than a half of the members present. (Art. II, 6, 7.)

The President stands at the head of the S.U.L.C. and represents it in its relations. (Art. III, 1.) The President has power to (a) convene the Grand Assembly and the Conferences of the S.U.L.C.; (b) conduct proceedings in the Grand Assembly and in the Conferences; (c) confirm the Secretaries-General appointed by the Chairman of the General-Secretariat; (d) confirm two members of the General Court appointed by the General Judge; (e) confirm two members of the General Control Board appointed by the General Controller; (f) confirm the members of the Foreign Delegation appointed by the Chairman of the General Secretariat on the recommendation of the Secretary-General of Foreign Affairs; (g) remove the Secretaries-General from their offices on the motion of the Chairman of the General Secretariat; (h) take the oath from the members of the Presidium, from the Chairman of the General Secretariat, from the Secretaries-General, from the members of the General Court and the General Chairman of the General-Secretariat (Art. IC, 12).

The Presidium of the S.U.L.C. consist of the President, three Vice-Presidents, a Secretary of the Presidium and three members of the Presidium (Art. III, 5). It is accountable to the Grand Assembly for all activities in the intervals between the sessions of the Grand Assembly.

The executive and administrative organ of the S.U.L.C. is the General Secretariat (Art. IV, 1). It is the underground government of Ukraine and is responsible to the Grand Assembly (Presidium) and accountable to it. The General Secretariat consists of the Chairman of the General Secretariat and the Secretaries-General. The Chairman of the General Secretariat is appointed by the Grand Assembly (Presidium), the Secretaries-General are appointed by the Chairman. At present the General Secretariat consists of the Chairman and six members of the General Secretariat: (1) Secretary-General of the Interior; (2) Secretary-General of Foreign Affairs; (3) Secretary-General of Defence and the Commander-in-Chief of

the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.); (4) Secretary-General of Finance and National Economy; (5—6) two Secretaries-General without portfolio. The General Secretariat issues decisions and orders on the basis and in pursuance of the revolutionary laws and supervises their execution. It issues decree-laws based on powers granted to it by the Grand Assembly, collegially, by majority vote (Art. IV, 2—10).

The General Court consists of the General Judge and two members. The occasion and procedure for their participation are determined by revolutionary law (Art. V, 1—5).

The General Control Board consists of the General Controller and two members. It has the power to audit the financial and economic activities of the S.U.L.C. (Art. VI, 1—4).

In case of the President's inability to discharge the duties of his office, or in case the office of President becomes vacant due to his death, the Board of three members of Presidium has to act as President until the Grand Assembly is convened and the President elected (Art. III, 12).

In case of the General Secretariat Chairman's inability to discharge the duties of his office, or in case the office of Chairman becomes vacant due to his death, resignation, or some other cause, the President with the Presidium, the General Judge, the General Controller and the Secretaries General shall appoint the Temporary Chairman of the General-Secretariat Art. IC, 12).

According to its Constitution, the centre of the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council (S.U.L.C.-U.H.V.R.) always must be in Ukraine and only its delegations are permitted to go outside the borders of Ukraine. Until this time only one delegation was permitted to leave Ukraine and to go abroad. This delegation is called the Foreign Representation of the S.U.L.C. At present this delegations is headed by a Vice-President of the S.U.L.C. and consists of 12 members. Within its framework the Secretary-General of Foreign Affairs represents the S.U.L.C. abroad and exercises other functions delegated to him by the Ukrainian Liberation Movement.

Such is the structure of the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council (U.V.H.R.) which came into being on the eve of Soviet re-

occupation of Ukraine. We purposely give the details of this structure, which enabled the Ukrainian underground government to act, even under conditions of Soviet domination, to oppose the totalitarian Soviet regime in Ukraine, and to gain all-national support by the Ukrainian people for the liberation struggle. The best proof that this statement is no exaggeration is the fact that the leadership of this government has been offering stern opposition to the powerful Soviet Union for five and a half years, since the end of military operations in Europe, and that the excellently-trained detachments of the Soviet political police (N.K.V.D.-M.V.D.-M.G.B.) are not capable of coping with it. Under the leadership of the Supreme Movement it is now spreading all over Ukraine and beyond the borders of Ukraine, appearing from time to time in Poland, Czechia, Slovakia, Serbia, Rumania and Byelorussia. In its fight of long duration, the Ukrainian Liberation Movement was able to develop the best methods of fighting, and formulate the most convincing ideology of the struggle. This fact places the Ukrainian Liberation Movement in a prominent position among similar movements of the past and present.

The aims and purposes of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement are openly expressed in the Proclamation (Universal) of the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council to the Ukrainian People. Some extracts of this Proclamation are quoted below.

UKRAINIAN PEOPLE

... It is not in the cause of your freedom that the imperialistic aggrandizers are waging this bloody and cruel war. For you they bring only ruin, enslavement and death. You did not allow yourselves to become enslaved but demonstrated an unyielding determination to live in independent statehood in your native land. On guard over your freedom you have set up — from the Carpathian peaks beyond the Don to the Caucasus — armed cadres of your sons, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army.

... In order to unite all national-liberation elements of the Ukrainian people, in order to direct their struggle for freedom from one common centre, in order to represent their political will before the world... the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council has been brought into being...

... The Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council is the supreme and sole governing organ of the Ukrainian people during the time of their revolutionary struggle, and to the time of the establishment of a government of a Ukrainian Independent and Sovereign State...

...The Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council swears before you, Ukrainian people, that:

It will fight to make you the sole master of your soil.

For a just social order without oppression and exploitation.

For the destruction of serfdom.

For free enterprise of the peasant on his own land.

For free enterprise for the worker.

For wide initiative of the working people in all branches of the economic order.

For the widest possible development of the Ukrainian national culture.

...The Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council greets the struggle of enslaved peoples for their liberation. The Ukrainian people desire to live with them, particularly with their neighbours, in neighbourly friendship, and to collaborate with them in the struggle against common enemies...

...Our liberation struggle demands heroism and bloody sacrifices, and above all unshakable faith in our own truth...

...The heroic struggle of your ancestors and the memory of their knightly deaths in the cause of Ukrainian statehood is a dictate to you.

We, therefore, call upon you: Rise and fight for your freedom and for your nation. Unite yourselves in your struggle and strengthen your spirit.

SUPREME UKRAINIAN LIBERATION COUNCIL.

Headquarters, June, 1944.

In addition to the Constitution and to the above Proclamation, the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council, at its first Session, worked out a political programme for the entire Ukrainian Liberation Movement. The programme envisages a democratic process of installing government in a free Ukraine, i. e. the Constitution of the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council will remain in force until the Ukrainian Constituent Assembly is able to be elected to draft a new Constitution and to appoint a Government of the Sovereign United Ukrainian State. Thus, the programme of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement reserves for the Ukrainian people the right to choose their own form of government, the form of social-economic order, and the form of local government in the Ukrainian Constituent Assembly which is to be convened after the overthrowing of Russian Bolshevism and its rule in Ukraine.

“The only way to liberation of the Ukrainian people”, states the programme, “is the national-liberating and anti-imperialistic revolution of the whole Ukrainian nation in a common front with other

enslaved nations“. This can only be reached by the revolutionary-liberating struggle of the widest popular masses, by the deepening of the revolutionary process among Ukrainian masses, aiming at its full-scale development in a national rising. Three hundred years ago such a revolutionary process among Ukrainian masses led to the victorious rising of the Ukrainian people against the Polish rule, and the leader of the rising, Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky, was able to establish a Ukrainian Kozak Republic (1648). According to this principle, the revolutionary process has to permeate all ways of life, and to oppose to the hostile goals and efforts of Nazism and Bolshevism the ideals of national-political, social-economical and spiritual-cultural revolution.

This conception of liberty through revolution was represented by the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (O.U.N.) from the very beginning of its existence, and realized without any deviation, and consistently in all situations. The basic element in this conception is the stress laid upon the struggle of the whole nation. The degree of ripeness for the national-liberating revolution depends, in the first place, on the degree it is possible to permeate the popular masses with the ideals and aims of the liberating revolution and its principles of national-political, social-economical and spiritual-cultural freedom for the peoples, as well as to develop the revolutionary sentiment based on the enthusiasm of the masses for the cause of liberation, and their willingness to fight actively against the oppressors.

Consequently, the political programme of the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council emphasizes the fact that the Ukrainian Liberation Movement fights for the national and social freedom of individuals and of nations. Its watchword is: “Freedom of the individual, Freedom of Nations.“ To-day, under the Soviet regime, the Ukrainian Liberation Movement fights for the destruction of the Russian Empire — and for the eventual freedom of all nations now enslaved by Soviet Russia. The fight against Bolshevik totalitarianism can be successful only in alliance with other subjugated peoples of the Soviet Empire. Fighting for the formation of a Sovereign United Ukrainian State, the Ukrainian Liberation Movement is at the same time fighting for other free and truly democratic nations now engulfed within the

boundaries of the U.S.S.R. Thus, one of the principal aims of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement, clearly envisaged by the political programme elaborated at the First Session of the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council, is the new political order in Central and Eastern Europe and Soviet Asia, based on the principle of self-determination of peoples, on independence and sovereignty of national states within their ethnic borders, and on the idea of social justice and prosperity of the masses.

The realisation of these aims entails: (a) the partition of the U.S. S.R. into national states established on their ethnic territories; (b) the restitution of national sovereignty to the "satellites" of the U.S.S.R. Furthermore, the realization of these aims calls for: (1) complete democratization of state and social life of nations liberated from the Bolshevik yoke; (2) free choice of form of government and of social and economic structures; (3) assurance of "Four Freedoms" for liberated nations; (4) assurance of free spiritual and cultural development for the peoples in question.

Such a solution alone can settle the rightful and just demands of all the nations concerned, can bring order to Central and Eastern Europe and Soviet Asia, and aid in keeping a lasting peace for the entire world. Otherwise, the entire political and economic structure of Europe and the world will again be based on fragile foundations, producing unrest among the peoples and disrupting the economic and political security of the world.

Fighting for the elimination of the totalitarian regimes from Ukraine, and, especially for the overthrow of the totalitarian Stalinite government, as well as for the extermination of Stalinite satraps, and for progressive order in the whole of Central and Eastern Europe and Soviet Asia, the Ukrainian Liberation Movement clearly realizes that a just social-economic order, covering the interest of the masses of the population, has a first-rate importance for the realization of its aims in future. The historical experience of our times shows that the unstable political order, shaky social-economic system and low-living standards of the population, undermine the structure of any state and society. Therefore, the political programme of the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council stresses that the Ukrainian Liberation

Movement fights for a Ukrainian State without exploiters and exploited, for a full participation of all citizens in civilian liberties, and in which all efforts of the government will be directed toward the raising of living standards. Economic democracy is clearly envisaged in this programme. "The present Communist system", states the programme, "alien to Ukrainian tradition and repugnant to the spirit of the Ukrainian people, is to be replaced by a just social order without oppression and exploitation, with a wide initiative of the working people in all branches of national economy". According to the programme, co-operatives, which have proved themselves very popular in Ukraine and have played a great part in the Ukrainian struggle for economic independence from the occupying powers, are to be fostered and aided by the State and enjoy its special protection. In any case, a democratic Ukraine will be able to cope more adequately with the problems of social, political and cultural needs for the benefit of her people than could any imaginable nation ruling her by force.

At its First Session, the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council chose the members of the General Secretariat and delegated to the Chairman of the General Secretariat, General Taras CHUPRYNKA* the responsibility for all operations of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.). He was appointed Supreme Commander of the U.P.A., and is still holding this post. In addition the S.U.L.C. accepted and confirmed the oath of the soldier of the U.P.A which is quoted below.

"I, a soldier of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, having arms in my hands, swear solemnly upon my honour and conscience before the Great Ukrainian People and before the Holy Ukrainian Land, before the memory of those sons who died fighting, and before the supreme leadership of the Ukrainian people;

"To fight for the full liberation of all Ukrainian lands and of the Ukrainian people from the yoke of the invaders, and to achieve an independent Ukrainian state. In this struggle I will spare neither blood nor life, but will fight to the last breath for full victory over all enemies of Ukraine;

"I promise to be brave and intrepid in the fight, and will show no mercy to the enemies of the Ukrainian lands;

*) Since this was written General Taras Chuprynka has been killed in action against the Russians. His place as Commander-in-Chief of U.P.A. has already been filled.

"I promise to be honest, disciplined, and a revolutionary soldier. I will obey all orders of my superiors;

"I will safeguard all military and state secrets;

"I will be a faithful comrade-in-arms in the fight and in military life, with all those who are fighting beside me;

"If I break or renounce this oath, I am to be punished by the severe laws of the Ukrainian National Revolution and by personal infamy.

(The original text of the oath appeared in a U.P.A. underground paper, *Povstanets* (The Insurgent), No. 1. The English text in "Ukrainian Resistance" was published by the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, New York, 1949.)

With the creation of the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council, all power which was vested in the U.P.A. was now transferred to this Council. The U.P.A. itself submitted to the Council. Similarly, the O.U.N. as a political organization recognized the supremacy of the Council. It is understandable, however, that owing to its strength and prestige, the O.U.N. plays an important part within the Council.

Several months after the creation of the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council momentous events took place in Ukraine. The Germans retreated from the rest of the Ukrainian lands. New Soviet occupants followed. Notwithstanding the serious losses suffered by the Ukrainians in the war against the Nazi occupants of Ukraine, the Ukrainian Liberation Movement, without an interval, began the struggle against the Soviet occupants. And this struggle is being carried on even to-day.

The Ukrainian Liberation Movement versus the Kremlin (1944-1950)

By Spring, 1944, after the collapse of the German front in Ukraine, the German commanders in Ukraine hastened to make contacts with the troops of the U.P.A., and proposed an anti-Bolshevist collaboration with them. But any negotiations with the Germans were interdicted by the Supreme U.P.A. Command. By autumn, 1944, when nearly all of the territory of Ukraine was occupied by the Soviet army, the German policy entirely changed; the German press was full of praises of the U.P.A. for their anti-Bolshevist successes, and the U.P.A. fighters were now called "Ukrainian fighters for freedom", although some months before the same press had

called them "Ukrainian national brigands." The leader of the German-sponsored Russian "Vlassov-Army", in his interview given to International pressmen, which was printed in "Völkischer Beobachter" on December 7, 1944, confirmed the importance and the strength of the U.P.A., and stressed the efforts of this army in its fight against the Bolsheviks. But it was already too late.

When the Soviet armies began launching their offensives against the Germans, and the latter began rolling back from Ukraine, the U.P.A. utilized the German retreat to gather as many weapons as possible for its own use. The troops of the U.P.A. attacked and disarmed the retiring detachments of the German and Hungarian army and police, capturing weapons, fighting vehicles, clothing, foot-wear, and other war material and seizing ordnance stores of arms and ammunition. When the Soviet war machine began to roll over the territory occupied by the U.P.A., the latter could meet the new enemy fully prepared for the struggle and well-armed.

It must be emphasized that, at this time, the U.P.A. detachments did not fight against the Red Army which, in its area, consisted chiefly of Ukrainians (i. e. the armies of the 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th Ukrainian front). They only defended themselves, preferring to circulate among the Red soldiers, and to distribute leaflets which were prepared by hundreds of thousands, and which summoned the soldiers of the Red Army to fight against Hitler and Stalin. The activity of the U.P.A. also was directed against the restoration of Soviet military and civilian authorities. The U.P.A. systematically opposed the mobilization of Ukrainians into the Red Army. It routed the N.K.V.D. units by sudden raids on administration centres which caused heavy personnel losses for the new occupants. This action was levelled against the local Red spies and collaborators, as well as agents of the N.K.V.D. among the local population. Simultaneously, the U.P.A. opposed the restoration of the collective farms and the sending out of Ukrainian wheat and other foodstuffs, as well as the deportation of the Ukrainian population into semi-slave labour camps in Donbas (Donets Basin) or farther North and East.

At that time, when the Soviet war machine was engaged in the fight against the Nazis, the Soviets could not organize a serious mili-

tary action against the U.P.A. Several times the Soviet government presented an ultimatum to the U.P.A., ordering the Ukrainian insurgents to surrender, and promising amnesty. Soon the Soviets realized that the only thing which could crush the U.P.A. would be for the Soviet Government to exile the whole of the Western Ukrainian population to Siberia, and to replace them with Russians. By spring and summer, 1945, the Soviets began their famous deportations of the Ukrainian population to Siberia and Kazakhstan. The U.P.A. was forced to resort to arms. At this time its activities reached the proportions of war. To counter the activity of the U.P.A., the Soviets organized and launched their first great offensive against the U.P.A., which was personally led by "Premier" Khrushchov and "Ukrainian" Minister of the N.K.V.D., Gen. Lt. Ryassny. This offensive, called the Khrushchov—Ryassny offensive, lasted from Spring to Autumn of 1945. It was a series of attacks and pushes and was a hard kind of fighting to the U.P.A. The Soviets used aeroplanes, artillery, and tanks, and blocked villages, roads and forests. They tried to encircle the groups of the Ukrainian insurgents and to annihilate them. The latter defended themselves by mining roads, railway tracks, natural cross-roads and even stream beds. Several battles were fought by the Ukrainian insurgents in the forests of the Sub-carpathian region and in the Carpathian Mountains.

The great offensive led by Khrushchov—Ryassny could not break the resistance of the U.P.A. The battalions and companies of the U.P.A. withdrew to the Carpathian Mountains and from there continued their fight against the Communist oppressors. Small groups of fighters remained in the country. Having hid in the underground bunkers and shelters, they made sudden raids on the administrative centres and N.K.V.D. posts, or ambushed military transportation facilities, columns or convoys. Railway trains were destroyed by exploding the road bed or removing trackage. Before an attack, all telephone communications were usually destroyed.

By October 1945 this offensive against U.P.A. ended. The Bolsheviks were taken aback by the strength of the U.P.A. and by the support given it by the Ukrainian population. They were surprised by the slight success of the general amnesty they proclaimed in the country,

and at the insignificant success of their big action against the U.P.A. But mostly they were surprised at the behaviour of the units of the Red army which were used in this action, and this behaviour was the chief reason for suddenly halting the action in autumn, 1945.

When the Soviets planned their action against the U.P.A., they decided to attract to it the units of the Red Army which were on the move from West to East after Germany's defeat. In connection with this, the Soviets developed a special plan of march through the Western Ukraine. The most reliable troops lodged for a long time throughout the country with the task of helping the "interior" police troops (N.K.V.D.—N.K.G.B.) to break the resistance of the Ukrainian population. In executing this plan, however, the Soviet have succeeded not at all. The U.P.A. opposed not only with passionate armed defence, but also developed an uncommonly strong political campaign which began to influence the Red Army's troops garrisoned in Ukraine. The freedom-loving, revolutionary, progressive slogans of the U.P.A. programme, which disclosed all the falsity and evil of the Bolshevist Totalitarian Dictatorship, found a lively echo among the Red Army's soldiers who had just returned from the front. They, themselves, saw in Europe quite another reality from the Soviet one, and now attentively listened to the voice of the U.P.A. The Red Army's soldiers, and very often whole Red Army detachments were not willing to take part in huntings and terroristic actions directed against the U.P.A. and the Ukrainian population, and whenever they were obliged to take part in such actions, they, very often, did it only outwardly, endeavouring not to meet the U.P.A. formations, not to fight them, and even very often aided the U.P.A. with information and weapons.

The Soviets, dismayed by these facts, were obliged to withdraw the Red Army troops from any direct actions against the U.P.A. and have never used them since that time. They had to withdraw the demoralized troops of the Red Army from Ukraine and to replace them with more disciplined and trustworthy troops. From all parts of the Soviet Union they brought fresh divisions of the M.V.D.—M.G.B. security police into Western Ukraine. The best units of the M.V.D.—M.G.B. troops were selected in the Far East region, Siberia, the Leningrad area, and, having passed a special training, were thrown

into the fight against the U.P.A. At least 15 divisions of the M.V.D.—M.G.B. troops were concentrated in the Sub-carpathian area and in Volhynia with the purpose of annihilation of the U.P.A. These units were composed of fanatical young Bolsheviks, who were told that they were going to fight the “remnants” of German “fascists”, SS-men, members of the most hated “Vlassov Army” and other criminal elements which were hiding in the Carpathian Mountains. They were asked to fight the “people’s enemies” without any respect to sex, age, etc. Most barbarous methods were permitted: pillaging the country, murdering the population, and ravishing the girls. There were special units from Siberia which consisted of men ill with Siberian syphilis. They were designed to spread this kind of syphilis among the Ukrainian population, and for this purpose they were allowed to rape even the minor girls to infect them with this frightful disease.

The “Ukrainian” Minister of the Interior, Gen. Lt. Ryassny, took responsibility for carrying out a new action, and Gen. Col. Moskalenko was appointed chief commander of the M.V.D.—M.G.B. troops designed for it. The second big action against the U.P.A. began in the middle of December, 1945, and lasted till the end of June, 1946. It was called Ryassny—Moskalenkov offensive.

Meanwhile, the Ukrainian Liberation Movement made preparations for the “electoral” campaign for the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. which was to be held on February 10, 1946. In order to show the Ukrainian people that the Ukrainian Liberation Movement had not been liquidated by the action of Khrushchov—Ryassny in 1945, the battalions of the U.P.A. made a sudden raid on the provincial centre of Stanislav (120,000 inhabitants) in the Sub-carpathian area on October 31, 1945, and seized it, doing much harm to the Soviet occupiers. This attack was conducted by 5 U.P.A. battalions at night, caused panic among the Bolsheviks, and brought great satisfaction to the Ukrainian population.

Knowing the character of Soviet “elections”, the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council (U.H.V.R.) decided to boycott the elections to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., and summoned the Ukrainian people not to take part in these elections. The Ukrainian Liberation

Movement started an “anti-electoral“ campaign with the result that the Ukrainians of the Western Ukraine did not go to vote.

The Soviet “electoral“ campaign has nothing in common with a democratic electoral campaign. As there is, in the U.S.S.R., only one official party, the Soviet “electoral“ campaign is only a planned manoeuvre of the official Communist Party to strengthen and fortify its psychological pressure on the masses of the population and to terrorize them both psychologically and physically. The official electoral propaganda campaign has the task of terrifying, hypnotizing and mobilizing the masses of the population, and, in this way, make them flexible, dumb, and obedient instruments in the hands of the official party clique.

As it is not allowed to put forward a non-official candidate so anti-electoral propaganda is not allowed. Such propaganda was possible only in the form of an active, persistent and organized mass struggle, including the armed resistance of the U.P.A. It had to defend the citizens against the terrorism of state police and special troops which had the task of forcing them to participate in the elections. Thus, the boycott of the Soviet elections proclaimed by the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council soon was transformed into a wide and very persistent fight of the Ukrainian people against the Soviet occupiers.

This fight had begun in the middle of December, 1945, and assumed very large proportions. The M.V.D.—M.G.B. troops of Ryassny—Moskalenko were already concentrated in the Western Ukraine, and on a given signal they began the fight on December 18, 1945.

For a month before the beginning of this action an “order“ of Gen. Lt. Ryassny was distributed in the country. It is reproduced here in full. Of course, there were not many people in Ukraine so naive that they were deluded by this song of the N.K.V.D. siren.

ORDER

of People’s Commissar of Internal Affairs of the Ukrainian SSR
15th November, 1945. City of Kiev

A great number of partisans have recently come voluntarily to the organs of N.K.V.D., and have said that they could not

arrive before the 20th of July this year, which has been fixed as the last term by the government of the Ukrainian S.S.R.

One of the chief reasons that the people could not arrive on time, they state, was the fact that, although they wanted to break with the partisans and apply to the organs of the Soviet administration, they were not able to do that because the conditions of their actual abode were such that they were not allowed to go out.

In addition to the partisans, a great number of Red Army deserters are arriving to join the organs of N.K.V.D.

Upon these statements

I Order

all members of partisan bands who have left their partisan activities and who could not arrive only because of the above mentioned conditions, as well as those who have avoided mobilization into the Red Army, will not be subject to any reprisals and will be directed immediately to their places of residence.

People's Commissar of Internal Affairs
of the Ukrainian S.S.R.

(Signed) Gen. Lt. V. Ryassnyi.

After the 18th of December, 1945, military detachments of the interior police, troops of M.V.D.—M.G.B., and special selected troops of the Red Army continued garrisoning in every locality of the Western Ukraine, and even in every village and in the smallest hamlets of several huts. The number of garrisoned military troops ranged from 10 men in the smallest hamlets to 300—500 men in larger localities. The only job of those police-military troops was to spread violence and terror. In the woods and forests incessant searches for the Ukrainian insurgents took place. The prisons were being filled up with more and more prisoners, often arrested for only suspicion of an anti-official attitude, and under such conditions, the Ukrainian anti-electoral campaign was carried on successfully by means of: (a) conspiratorial talks and small conspiratorial meetings; (b) clandestine spreading of proclamations, short written instructions and calls;

(c) whispered propaganda; (d) posting in visible places of manifestos and appeals of the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council and of the U.P.A.; (e) open mass meetings, speeches and open distributing of manifestos and appeals under the protection of the detachments of the U.P.A.; (f) breaking up of official meetings and changing them into anti-official ones.

During the time of the "electoral campaign" one and a half thousand battles and combats against Red troops were fought by the U.P.A. 5,000 officers and soldiers of the U.P.A. were killed and wounded in action. The Bolsheviks lost, at least, 15,000 men killed and wounded, but the Ukrainian people did not go to vote!

In a majority of the villages, especially in the western provinces of Ukraine nobody went to the elections at all. Because of that many terroristic acts of violence occurred. The soldiers of garrisoned military police troops maltreated the people to compel them to go into electoral halls and throw into urns the electoral bulletins. They shot at the fleeing people and killed many Ukrainians. They set on fire the houses of the opponents. Finally, they themselves threw as many electoral bulletins as they wanted into the urns. We are in possession of many protocols about thousands of cases of maltreatment, many hundreds of murders perpetrated against the Ukrainian people who were not willing to take part in the "elections".

The Ukrainian people used the day of "elections" as a unanimous demonstration against the Soviet totalitarian dictatorship. They showed that they were not willing to take part in these elections because they were striving for liberty and freedom in their own independent state.* The Ukrainians boycotted the elections under a slogan of protestation against the suppression of Ukraine and other subjugated peoples, and against the reign of terror and violence. In an anti-election appeal we read: "Communists lie all over the world that the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic is a free and independent nation. We shall retort to this common lie with a general boycott of elections. We are obliged to tell the world that we are against the dictatorship and tyranny. Long live true democracy! Long live free elections in a Ukrainian United Independent State!"

The Soviets falsified the election returns, stating that 99 per cent

of the voters participated in the elections. In the district of Voynyliv, prov. Stanislav, 10,672 persons were eligible to vote. Of this number only 176 voted voluntarily, 599 were forced to vote, and 9,897 did not vote at all. Nevertheless, the Soviets trumpeted a great "election victory" in this district and reported a 99,8 per cent vote in this area.

One of the principal actions of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement which took place after the "elections", was the opposition to the forced re-union of the Ukrainian Catholic Church with the Russian Orthodox-Church as announced by Moscow on March 17, 1946. Ukrainian Catholics in Western Ukraine were being deported, imprisoned, subjected to forced labour, or killed, if they refused to join the Orthodox Church. In connection with this persecution a proclamation of the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council stated: "Neither the Red divisions which were against the U.P.A. nor the bloody terror of the Russian-Gestapo-N.K.V.D. could break the Ukrainian resistance. We are convinced that Russian orthodoxy under the leadership of Russian police N.K.V.D. will not subjugate the spirit of the Ukrainian resistance. Suppression of religion, and the introduction of Orthodoxy by means of force will only strengthen the front of our struggle and will widen its perspective . . ." Of course, the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council issued orders forbidding the forced apostasy and asking the priests and faithful to oppose the Bolshevik pogrom against the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

This pogrom began as early as 1945 when the Catholic Church was denounced in the press in Kyiv and Lviv and other Ukrainian cities. The Pope's Christmas message on "True and False Democracy" was bitterly attacked, and the Pope was labelled an "abettor of fascism". In April, 1945, an article entitled "With Cross and Knife" by Volodymyr Rosovych appeared in the Soviet-Ukrainian papers in Lviv and Kyiv. The article attacked the late Metropolitan Sheptytsky as the "servant of re-actionary Rome". He asserted that the Ukrainian Catholic Church and its clergy, in league with the Vatican, were supporting the Ukrainian Liberation Movement against the Soviet system, and therefore could not be tolerated.

Following these verbal sallies actual physical attacks began. We reproduce here eye-witness reports printed in the publication, "For

An Independent State“, (Nos. 9—10), which appears clandestinely somewhere in Ukraine: “On April 11, 1945, a special detachment of N.K.V.D. troops surrounded the St. George Cathedral in Lviv. After a thorough search, according to the best methods of N.K.V.D., the following were arrested: Metropolitan Joseph Slipy, Bishop Nicetas Budka; Bishop Nicholas Charnetsky; the prelates, Rev. O. Kovalsky and Rev. L. Kunitsky; Reverends Gorchynsky, Beley, Sampara, Rector of the Theological Seminary, Rev. Bilyk, Director of a Catholic School and Rev. Hodunka, who after brutal tortures died a few days after his arrest. The students of the Theological Seminary were rounded up and put in a camp on Pieracki street. All the professors of the Theological Seminary were herded into a meeting organized by the N.K.V.D. and informed that the Ukrainian Catholic Church had ceased to exist, that its Metropolitan had been arrested, and St. George Cathedral would be taken over by the Orthodox bishop appointed by the Soviet authorities. During the search the N.K.V.D. men conducted themselves in a brutal manner and took gold and silver objects, liturgical wine, etc.”

These raids were carried on throughout the Western Ukraine. All Ukrainian Catholic bishops were arrested. In Stanislav, the N.K.V.D. arrested Bishop Gregory Khomyshyn and his auxiliary Bishop Latishevsky. In Peremyshl, which nominally does not belong to the Ukrainian S.S.R. but rather to Poland of Bierut & Co. the N.K.V.D. arrested Bishop Josaphat Kocylovsky, together with his auxiliary, Bishop Gregory Lakota. Of these Ukrainian Catholic prelates at least two, namely, Bishop Khomyshyn and Kotsylovsky were reported dead in Soviet dungeons, while others are working under the strict supervision of the N.K.V.D. in the Vorkuta coal mines in the Soviet Sub-Arctic region. In the fall of 1947 the last Catholic Bishop of Ukraine, Bishop Theodore Romzha of Carpatho-Ukraine met his tragic death in an “accident“ with a Soviet army tank.

After the pogrom against the Ukrainian Catholic hierarchy, the Russians went on to liquidate the lesser clergy. But out of a total of 3,600 Ukrainian Catholic priests only 42 had submitted to the apostasy by the end of June, 1945. Finally on March 8th, 1946, a “Synod“ convened at Lviv. It was headed by those Ukrainian priests

who had submitted to the apostasy, and it "officially" proclaimed the "reunion" of the Ukrainian Catholic Church with the Russian Orthodox Church. The Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council stated that this "synod" was illegal and its decisions invalid, because, according to Canon Law, only a bishop had the right to convene such ecclesiastic meetings. There are reports that among 216 "priests" attending this "Synod" the majority were Russian N.K.V.D. agents disguised as Catholic priests.

In connection with this pogrom of the Ukrainian Catholic Church the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council submitted to the Holy See a memorandum in regard to the persecution of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Ukraine asking the Holy See: (1) To designate an exarch for the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Western parts of Ukraine until all Bishops and priests should be released from Soviet prisons; (2) To make every effort for the liberation of Ukrainian Bishops and priests from Soviet prisons; (3) To take a canonical stand in regard to the so-called "reunion" of the Ukrainian Catholic Church with the Russian Orthodox Church; (4) To ask the United Nations to send a Mixed Commission to investigate the "voluntary" transference of the Ukrainian Catholic Church to the Russian Orthodox Church; and (5) To nominate a Field Bishop for the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.).

Here we must point out that the mock trial of Cardinal Mindszenty, in which the venerable prelate was condemned to life imprisonment on trumped-up charges by Stalin's communist puppets now in power in Budapest, was an exact replica of the so-called "purge" trials long in operation in Soviet Russia. Only after tortures and druggings, which are commonplace practices under Soviet Russia's "judicial system," was Cardinal Mindszenty allowed to appear before the court as a morally and physically broken man. The trials against the Ukrainian Catholic bishops were announced by the Soviets, but the bishops themselves did not appear before the court because no tortures and druggings could break their spirit, and they did not confess to the crimes they had not committed. We can only be surprised at the fact that the whole world remained calm and silent when the Bolsheviks imprisoned all the Ukrainian Catholic Bishops because they had refused to apostate their faith, and when the Ukrai-

nian clergy and the faithful were persecuted and arrested because they had refused to be separated from their true mother church. The *New York Times* of August 5, 1949, printed a letter by the Most Rev. Ivan Buchko, D. D., Apostolic Visitor for the Ukrainians in Western Europe, about the the large-scale persecution of clergy and laity in Ukraine by the Soviet authorities. The letter, sent from Rome and dated July 20, 1949, reads:

“For some time I have been reading editorials of *The New York Times* and other American newspapers that reach me about the persecution of the Catholic Church and her hierarchy by the Soviets and their satellites. I am surprised and deeply regret that nothing has been mentioned of the liquidation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Western Ukraine and Carpatho-Ukraine, which has been persecuted for so long.

“The tragic fate of Cardinal Mindszenty and of Archbishop Stepinac is well-known, as well as the recent persecution of Archbishop Joseph Beran of Prague. But hardly anything is known of the fact that the entire Ukrainian Catholic hierarchy has been completely liquidated. Some bishops are dead, others are still suffering in the Soviet camps, where they are assigned to hard labour.

“The cruel hand of the Soviets fell upon them during the night of April 11, 1945. All of them had long been singled out as church leaders and patriots, firmly believing in the cause of Ukrainian national independence. All were arrested on the same night and within a short time — hundreds of priests and faithful as well. Convenient tools were soon found, who “dissolved“ the Ukrainian Catholic Church as such and made it a part of the Russian Orthodox Church under the leadership of the Kremlin-dominated Patriarch of Moscow. “His Holiness, Pope Pius, in his famous encyclical, *Orientalis Omnes*, called the attention of the world to the martyrdom of the Ukrainian Catholic Church under the Soviet regime and appealed to all Christians to pray for the Ukrainian Catholics.

“The Ukrainian Catholic Church was the first, but not the last, to fall a victim of the Muscovite war against Rome. Nonetheless, according to reports that still reach us here, the religious spirit of

the Ukrainians and their national fervour burn brighter than ever before."

Under the protection of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement the free Ukrainian Catholic Church continues to exist in the Western Ukraine. The Ukrainian Catholic Church went underground, and in this way fulfils the religious needs of the Ukrainian population. Moreover, it has widened the scope of its activities and spread all over Ukraine.

Meanwhile the big Ryassny-Moskalenko offensive was rolling over the Sub-carpathian area with the purpose of totally annihilating the U.P.A. But even then, it was a hard task to fight it. By Spring, 1946, all the big forests of the Western Ukraine, such as the Tsumansky forest near Kovel, the Yaniv, and the Black forest near Stanislav, were burnt down in order to deprive the Ukrainian insurgents of their natural bases. In this case the devastation was immense. In order to infect the populations, the Soviets sold serums of typhus and other bacteria on the black market where the medicines for the U.P.A. were bought, despite the fact that bacteriological warfare was outlawed by international treaties, and even the Hitlerites did not use such methods in combating the U.P.A.

On May 3, 1946, Gen. Col. Moskalenko, one colonel, and two majors were shot in an armoured car near the railway station of Tiaziv, prov. Stanislav, by a U.P.A. sub-detachment of "Avengers." Secret collaborators had informed the U.P.A. detachment of the exact time of the departure of the Commander-in-Chief of the anti-U.P.A. movement and his staff officers from Stanislav for Stryj. The armoured car was hit from ambush at close range by missiles from an insurgent "bazooka". The U.P.A. sub-detachment was attacked by the convoy of the N.K.V.D. general and was forced to withdraw to the nearest forest. This incident was reported only by the illegal magazine of the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council, "Samostiynist" (Independence), in the summer 1946 issue p. 159.

About the end of June, 1946, the garrisons of the M.V.D.-M.G.B. troops withdrew from the country. As usual the Soviets announced their "great victory" over the "remnants" of "Ukrainian-German nationalists and proclaimed the "definite liquidation" of the "Ukrai-

nian partisan bands." But the Soviet leader responsible for this action, Gen. Lt. Ryassny, got neither the Kutuzov nor the Suvorov medal for this "victory." He was relieved of his post as Minister of the Interior of the Ukrainian S.S.R. and replaced by Gen. Kruhlov, former Minister of the Interior of the U.S.S.R. This was the best proof that the Ryassny "victory" was no victory at all. The M.V.D.-M.G.B. detachments "succeeded" in killing many Ukrainian civilians, and in devastating the country, but it was a very hypothetical "victory." It caused only an unlimited hatred of the Ukrainian people for the Soviet-Muscovite methods of combating the U.P.A. and these methods were worthy of their masters. All the horrors of the times of Ivan the Terrible or Peter the Great were revived in the Western Ukraine.

The Ukrainian Liberation Movement has survived the terrible offensive of the Ryassny-Moskalenko forces and has shown to Ukraine and to the world that there are limits of terror. It has shown that determined people are able to withstand the pressure of overwhelming enemy forces who know no pardon. It has shown the world that such people are even able to win their fight, as they know what they are fighting for.

The significance of the survival of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement is immense. By its survival the Ukrainian Liberation Movement has shown that an underground revolutionary-political fight against the Soviet colossus is possible. Its armed groups not only protected the Ukrainian population before the terror of the Soviet secret police, but it also paralyzed all efforts of the oppressors to carry out their occupation policies. By the solidarity, sacrifices and fanatic heroism of these fighters, the Ukrainian Liberation Movement gained the admiration of the whole Ukrainian people and even of its opponents, and succeeded in calling the whole Ukrainian people to the struggle against the bloody usurpers.

Nevertheless, the Ukrainian Liberation Movement became aware that it had to change from a mass underground to an individual conspiracy. It had to replace the breadth of the movement with depth, the extensiveness with intensity, the quantity with quality. The Ukrainian Liberation Movement had to become a body with clock, work precision. It had to liquidate all second-rate sectors and to

replace them with the intensification of the political, economic, and propaganda sectors of the struggle. Then, it had to widen its activities over the Eastern Ukraine and to embrace the people of the eastern provinces of Ukraine in that struggle. It had also to go out beyond the borders of Ukraine and to summon others of the subjugated peoples, especially in the "satellite" countries, to the struggle against the Bolshevik occupants, showing them the Ukrainian experience in this uneven fight. We are able to see that the Ukrainian Liberation Movement has done this work splendidly.

The Ukrainian Liberation Movement re-organized its forces according to the principles mentioned above in the second half of 1946. Preparations for this re-organization were made as early as 1945, soon after the war's end, as we can see it from the "Instructions of the Central Chairmanship of the O.U.N. in connection with the conclusion of World War II." The large insurgent units (battalions) were the units of the territorial network. Many of them were ordered to go to the eastern provinces of Ukraine to build an underground network there. Instead, disorganized units were disbanded and their fighters were used to strengthen small units of armed Ukrainian insurgents, each with its own area of activity to which it was usually confined. The detachments were divided into "sub-detachments" and all got their numbers and names. The dislocation of the detachments and sub-detachments was planned by the Supreme Command in such manner that they could easily be mobilized for special actions in case of emergency. At the same time, the mobilization order to the affiliated "Youth Organization" was issued, and young boys and girls between 16—18 years of age joined the armed detachments to complete them to full strength, and also to get their training, both political-ideological and military. At last the Propaganda and Information Centre had been organized and its chief job was to re-organize the material base for the continuation of propaganda activities. All over the Western Ukraine the armed groups of Ukrainian insurgents had a difficult task to acquire all kind of typing materials wherever it was possible. Some of them succeeded in capturing valuable material which were brought by underground channels to the Propaganda and Information Centre.

It is clear that the Soviets were to be much surprised at the vitality of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement, in the second half of 1946. Having publicly announced their "total" victory over the U.P.A. they were dismayed at the reactivating of its forces. Their disappointment was complete when they learned that there had appeared clandestinely printed magazines of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement with articles by well-known underground writers such as Poltava, Hornovy, Kuzhil and many others. Having destroyed the chief base of the Ukrainian underground propaganda during the times of the Ryassnyi—Moskalenko offensive they could hardly expect such a regeneration in so short a time. As a matter of fact there had appeared the clandestine magazine of the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council ("The Independence") (Issue for 1946 contained an excellent article "Shame of the XXth century" describing the Bolshevik methods of combating the Ukrainian Liberation Movement during the time of the Ryassnyi—Moskalenko offensive) and the ideological magazine of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (O.U.N.): "Ideya i chyn" ("Idea and Action") No. 10 for 1946 with many interesting articles, among them the article of Poltava, the leading underground writer under the heading "The ideological principles of the Ukrainian nationalism") not to quote many others and thousands of leaflets which found their way all over the Soviet-Union.

In the fall of 1946, the Ukrainian Liberation Movement began to fight the forced collectivization of agriculture, as practised in the Western Ukraine, and this became its principal activity in Ukraine during the following years.

To this day in the West there persists the belief that the collectivization of agriculture, as practised in the Soviet Union, despite the inhuman methods used for its enforcement, is an economical measure calculated to increase production. Actually, however, in the Western Ukraine and other subjugated countries, collectivization is a political action, and is enforced in spite of the fact that it is ruinous economically. Lenin himself has said that if the peasants are allowed to keep their land, they will continue endlessly to produce capitalist elements who, from the countryside, will penetrate into the towns,

trade, industry and the administration. In short, the existence of a peasant class based on private property enables capitalism to reproduce itself perpetually, making Communism impossible in the long run.

In order to ensure the existence of their regime, the Communists instituted collectivization of agriculture. Needless to say, they met with a desperate resistance on the part of the peasants, and millions of peasants either perished in the Soviet sponsored famine of 1932/33, or were deported to forced labour in the Arctic regions.

The collectivization of Ukraine's agriculture proved most eloquently that the kolkhozes were nothing to boast of with regard to productivity of labour, or economy of production. The Bolshevik system needed the kolkhozes only in order to ruin the individual farmers as a class. As is well-known, farmers all over the world are the staunchest patriots and the most stubborn fighters for individual freedom and private initiative. Only by means of kolkhozes was it possible to reduce the Ukrainian farmers to the level of slave-labourers, and their real income to the level demanded by the exploitation current in the Soviet Union.

Immediately after the re-occupation of the Western Ukraine the Soviets were making haste to prepare the ground for collectivization. Their success was almost nil, for the Ukrainian Liberation Movement has frustrated all their attempts. The Soviets were, therefore, eager to make the Western Ukraine ripe for collectivization. They decided that the best method to achieve this end was to make the life of the individual farmers as nearly intolerable as possible. These measures were calculated to ruin the farmers and to make them willing to abandon their land. All the farmers who were not partisans of the new order were declared "kulaks" and "enemies of the people" and burdened with exorbitant taxes, with deportation and imprisonment threatened if they were not paid. The individual farmers had to pay an income tax which was three to four times higher than that which the kolkhoz farmers had to pay on their private incomes. Individual farmers owning horses, moreover, had to pay a heavy tax in order to compel them to sell the animals sooner or later. The kolkhozes, however, pay no taxes at all in their first years.

The individual farmers are, moreover, burdened with oppressive statute labour. They must cut lumber, cart fire-wood and timber out of the forests, mend roads and do public transport service. The farmers failing to comply with all these obligations risk sentence to hard labour coupled with the confiscation of all their property.

The individual farmers must deliver to the state a certain amount of various products every year: grain, hay, milk, meat, wool, potatoes, flax, sugar beets, etc. The state pays ridiculously low prices for these products. But fodder and fertilizers, on the other hand, are reserved exclusively for the kolkhozes.

It is evident that under these circumstances to be an individual farmer in the U.S.S.R. is far from pleasant. Under these conditions the individual farmers have only one choice if they wish to avoid deportation to Siberia. This choice is to join a kolkhoz "of their own will".

So long as the Ukrainian Liberation Movement continues strong will the realization of the Soviet programme continue to meet the greatest difficulties. The Ukrainian insurgents, although they come from every class of the population, a great proportion are the sons of farmers, enjoy the complete and unstinted support of the whole Ukrainian peasantry in combating the hated and unpopular kolkhoz system.

Owing to the vigorous resistance, the Soviets risked their first venture in collectivization only as late as the fall of 1946, when they thought the Ukrainian Liberation Movement had already been destroyed by means of the Ryassny—Moskalenko offensive. They organized some fifty kolkhozes in the Western Ukraine and provided them with an armed guard from the N.K.V.D. troops.

Summoned by the Ukrainian Liberation Movement, the farmers all over the country re-acted to the rumours of imminent collectivization with large scale sabotage. They were selling their livestock, keeping only one cow each. Grain was being hidden in the woods and pigsties were erected in the most unlikely places, as was done during the German occupation. The farmers hid their animals or slaughtered them clandestinely.

Counter-propaganda against collectivization brought on riots in



U.P.A. Platoon K. - 1947



U.P.A. Company „Mestnyk I” • Easter in the Carpathians - 1947

various parts of the country. The existing tractors were demolished on all these occasions for fear of subsequent collectivization. In various places the Communists agitating for collectivization among the farmers were either killed or ill-treated.

The Ukrainian Liberation Movement did not confine itself to the distributing of many leaflets among the farmers explaining the consequences of their joining the kolkhozes. One night in November, 1946, armed groups of Ukrainian insurgents suddenly attacked the M.T.S. (agricultural machinery stations) — the backbone of the kolkhoz system, and demolished them. Again they attacked the kolkhoz estates and burned them. Both these attacks were made simultaneously in the whole country and the Soviets got a hard blow, frustrating their attempts to collectivize farming in the Western Ukraine.

Of course, the Soviets did not give up their efforts to enforce collectivization. In spring, 1947, they organized new kolkhozes and brought more armed guards from the M.V.D.—M.G.B. troops. But the struggle against forced collectivization lasted the whole year and the Soviets could not boast of great success. Even in 1949, in Kyiv station broadcast the following figures from a report of the Secretary General of the Ukrainian Communist Party, N. S. Khrushchov, on the progress of agricultural collectivization in the West-Ukrainian provinces: Volhynia — 80 per cent of collectivized land, Drohobych — 79 per cent, Ternopil — 34 per cent, Lviv — 34 per cent, and Stanislav — 17 per cent. By his report Khrushchov has indirectly confirmed the success of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement in vigorously opposing the collectivization. We must not forget, in this place, that many kolkhozes of Khrushchov's report exist only on paper, inasmuch as the Soviets are masters in exaggerating their "successes".

The Soviets soon realized that as long as the Ukrainian Liberation Movement exists, their drive for enforced collectivization will not succeed. They began, therefore, studying the Ukrainian Liberation Movement in order to find out the best measures for combating it. A centre aiming at the liquidation of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement was organized under the jurisdiction of the All-union Ministry of the State Security (M.G.B.). It is significant that this "internal"

Soviet-Ukrainian problem was put under the control of an All-Union authority in Moscow, and this is one proof more that the Ukrainian Liberation Movement had become a "grave danger".

The anti-collectivization struggle of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement in 1947 gave it a big chance to spread all over Ukraine. In Eastern Ukraine climatic conditions were unfavourable to crops both in 1946 and in 1947. The meagre harvest of 1946, combined with the usual requisitions of grain and other foodstuffs, caused widespread starvation among the Ukrainian kolkhozniks of Eastern Ukraine. On the contrary, climatic conditions in Western Ukraine were extraordinarily good and the harvest there was above average. In the spring and summer of 1947 the Western Ukraine was, therefore, crowded with groups of starved kolkhozniks from as far as Kharkiv province and Voronezh province who had been attracted by rumours that the Western Ukraine abounded in food and other goods. As the peasant in the U.S.S.R. lives mainly on the proceeds of his little private garden lot of 0.25—1 hectare, the crowds of the kolkhozniks came into the Western Ukraine to beg for grain and other foodstuffs. The Soviets persecuted them in all possible ways, but their drive to the Western Ukraine was unchecked. It is estimated that more than one million kolkhozniks visited the Western Ukraine, taking away at least 200,000 quintals of grain and other foodstuffs.

This was a big opportunity for the Ukrainian Liberation Movement. It issued a proclamation to the "Brethren of the Eastern Ukraine" asking them "whether they know why they are starving although they are the owners of the richest soil in the world". The proclamation explained the aims of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement and called the Ukrainian kolkhozniks to the common struggle against the Bolsheviks. It stressed that the West Ukrainians have plenty of food and other goods because they systematically oppose the kolkhoz system and fight against Bolshevism as the most ruthless exploiter of the Ukrainian people. It asked the kolkhozniks of the Eastern Ukraine to follow their example and to fight against the barbarous Bolshevik system for an independent Ukraine. It is evident that this leaflet propaganda was not the only measure taken to influence the guests from the Eastern Ukraine. The West Ukrainian

population was asked to aid the brethren of the Eastern Ukraine in all possible ways and to assist them at every step. The slogan: "A Quarter of Grain to the Starving Brethren from the East!" was stuck up everywhere, and, besides, the Ukrainian insurgents often held meetings with the kolkhozniks to explain to them the hypocrisy of the Bolshevik system and to advise them how to fight it at home. The success of this propaganda can be judged from the press statements from the Eastern Ukraine showing how the kolkhozniks became resisters against the Bolshevik system, hiding foodstuffs and sabotaging the orders of the Communist party. Of course, the rumours about the Ukrainian armed resistance in the Western Ukraine spread throughout the Soviet Union.

In the fall of 1947, the Ukrainian Liberation Movement started an important school action. In the civilized world the mission of schools is to supply the pupils with a certain amount of objective information and to teach them to observe the phenomena of life impartially and objectively. Not so with the Soviet school. The first and paramount mission of the Soviet school is to produce loyal Communists. "The task of the Soviet school is to foster in the pupils a love for our social and political system which is infinitely more perfect than all previous systems", wrote A. Voznesenski, the Minister for Education, in "Prawda", November 17, 1948. "This task cannot be carried out otherwise than in connection with the teaching of all subjects".

It is an open question whether the teachers in the West are fully able to envisage what their colleagues behind the "iron curtain" must feel when forced to teach their trusting pupils arrant lies, and an ideology of hate. The latest directives from Moscow require, for instance, that Russian culture and Russian achievements be regarded as the first and oldest in the world and that Western culture be regarded only as a derivative of the Russian one. The origin of the Ukrainian state must be explained "from the point of view of present Soviet historiography", i. e. intentionally falsified. In the same way in all courses in Ukrainian literature and history, it is necessary to emphasize the national peculiarity, originality and greatness of Russian thinkers, writers and scholars and their great influence on the Ukrain-

ian people. The pupils must be acquainted with the Soviet system and convinced of its immeasurable superiority to the bourgeois ways. All this the Ukrainian teachers are compelled to inculcate in the defenceless children, contrary to their own better knowledge that Ukrainian culture was already highly developed at a time when Russia was still a vast wood, peopled by wandering tribes of nomadic barbarians. However, the tasks of the unhappy teachers are not confined to teaching in the schools. They must be "enlighteners of the people" in the broadest sense. In school and out of school the teacher has to be not only a champion of Communism but an active fighter against his own people, Western culture, etc. "The sacred duty of the Soviet teacher is to be the engineer of the growing mind, to combat the efforts of the dregs of capitalism, political neutrality, ideological slackness, bourgeois objectivism, bourgeois Ukrainian nationalism, and religious relics to poison the mind of our youth", wrote a Soviet school dignitary. Everything Western is poisonous and degenerate, everything Russian vigorous and excellent. Every day and every hour the consciousness of the power of the Soviet State must be drummed into the minds of the young people. Not for a minute may the words of Lenin be forgotten that "a school outside of life and politics is a lie and a hypocrisy".

In order to oppose the danger of such an "education" for young Ukrainian people, the Ukrainian Liberation Movement decided to start its own school action. It issued directives to the Ukrainian teachers requiring that Ukrainian culture and its achievements be regarded as the principal aim of education. The detailed instructions of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement asked the teachers to teach Ukrainian literature, Ukrainian history, and geography from the point of view of Ukrainian nationalism. They forbade any anti-religious activity in the school, as Ukrainian religious feelings are predominant in everyday life. The pupils had to be acquainted with the achievements of Western culture and the relation of Ukrainian culture with Western culture had to be stressed. Finally, the pupils had to know what is meant by Soviet exploitation, what the situation of the peasant and workers in the U.S.S.R. is as compared with that in capitalistic countries, and what the essence of Russian im-

perialism is. Simultaneously with the directives to the Ukrainian teachers, the Ukrainian Liberation Movement issued a proclamation to the young Ukrainian people asking them to facilitate the difficult task of their teachers.

In connection with this, it is interesting to note that as early as 1945 almost 6,000 teachers were brought by the Soviets from Eastern into the Western Ukraine with the aim of liquidating the nationalistic tendencies in the teaching of history and literature, and of heightening the standard of ideological and political training. The West teachers were said to be under the influence of Ukrainian nationalism. Most of the arriving teachers were young girls, often members of Komsomol (Communist Youth Organization) and they were, without doubt, under the strong influence of Bolshevik propaganda denouncing the Ukrainian insurgents as "bandits", "murderers", "fascists" and the like. The fear of the "Ukrainian-German nationalist" was so great that the girls refused to take food and to speak to the people in the villages of the Western Ukraine. But the Soviets could not secure satisfactory living conditions for them. The lodgings assigned to them were insufficient and out of repair, food was short and of inferior quality and as they got salaries from 130 to 240 roubles a month, they were not able to buy anything at a time when 1 kg. of butter on the black market cost nearly 300 roubles.

The Ukrainian Liberation Movement soon made use of the chance their arrival gave them to spread its ideas among the Eastern Ukrainian populations, and to make these teachers factors in a planned fight for Ukrainian independence all over Ukraine. It ordered its members and sympathizers to observe the girls in their everyday lives and to support with food and clothing those who, without any doubt, were good Ukrainians. Moreover, it ordered its members propagandize these girls with ideas of Ukrainian nationalism. The girls had a chance to see at close quarters the Ukrainian insurgents in their fight against the Soviets and observe the fanatic heroism of the Ukrainian boys and girls fighting against the Soviets. Soon they became acquainted with the aims of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement and understood the situation as it developed in the Western Ukraine. In many cases they became enthusiastic followers of the Ukrainian Liberation Mo-

vement and contributed much to the spreading of its ideas in the Eastern Ukraine. According to the reports from the country, 75 percent of them are following the directives of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement as regards the teaching in the schools. Many have been arrested and deported by the Soviets, and others have become active fighters for the Ukrainian cause. In November, 1948, one of the girl teachers, a former Komsomol member from the Eastern Ukraine, Tamara Lutsenko, was killed in the streets of a Sub-Carpathian town while executing an order of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement aiming at the assassination of an agent-provocateur. She mortally wounded him, but in his last spasm he succeeded in shooting her down with his Tommy-gun.

Simultaneously with its school action, the Ukrainian Liberation Movement opposed the conscription of Ukrainian youth into F.Z.U. schools which are the most ruthless slave labour for minors. F.Z.U. schools are chiefly located in Russia. The minors are uniformed and are subject to strong military discipline. They attend schools which are, in fact, factories producing war material.

Among other activities, the Ukrainian Liberation Movement carries out a strong propaganda campaign among the veterans of the war. In many of the towns in the Western Ukraine and in the whole of the Soviet Union, disabled war veterans can be seen sitting and begging at every other street corner. Those who have lost both legs propel themselves in boxes which move, not on wheels, but on old discarded ball bearings. These people always wear their orders and medals and abuse the government openly. The Ukrainian Liberation Movement issued a special leaflet directed to them in order to strengthen their anti-Soviet feelings and it considers them a significant factor in the anti-Bolshevist struggle of the Ukrainian people.

Among the chief activities of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement were the U.P.A. raids in Eastern and Central Europe. The operations of the U.P.A. in the territories of Central Europe have echoed in the press of Western Europe and the United States, because many foreign correspondents in Czecho-Slovakia or in Poland indirectly reported on them.

The first raids of the U.P.A. in Central Europe began as early as

1945. In the summer of 1945 U.P.A. made extensive propaganda raids into the territory of Carpatho-Ukraine, Hungary, Rumania, Slovakia, White Ruthenia and Lithuania. The success of the operations was great. They had excellent propaganda results for the fight against the Bolsheviks, fostered the opposition against them, and consolidated the population for the fight against the common foe. At the same time they showed the true fighting spirit of the military personnel waging war for an Independent Ukrainian State.

U.P.A. raids into Slovakia became especially notorious. In their march through Eastern Slovakia, the Ukrainian insurgents crossed the districts Stropkov, Giraltovce, Prešov, Sabinov, Bardsyov, Snina and Humenne. In all settlements where they passed, they called together the local population and arranged discussion evenings about current topics. They distributed leaflets in Slovak language and registered a considerable number of volunteers who wished to join the U.P.A. forces.

On August 28, 1945, in the village of Diapalovce, the commander of the raiding group, 1st Lt. Andrienko, split the raiding group into three parts after having received instructions from the home country. One part of the raiding group went into Carpatho-Ukraine, the other into south-eastern Poland, and the third group, under 2nd Lt. Myron, turned south.

When this group approached Prešov and was on the move near the mountain Simonka (1,005 m.), the Czech authorities brought in heavy concentrations to surround the woods. All the roads were full of moving troops, heavy equipment and dispatchers. But in spite of all this, the raiders peacefully passed through the villages: Cervence, Huviz and Lysecsek towards the West. In many villages the Ukrainian insurgents (they were members of the First Insurgent Officer School and mostly students of universities or of high schools) gave vocal concerts. They took leave of the hospitable Slovak territory by having an evening of dancing which was well attended by the local population in Tepelovce, 8 km. from the Slovak-Polish boundary.

U.P.A. raids deep into Slovakian territory in spring of 1946 became world famous. The raid was well prepared. Participating troops

were aware of the importance of the operation. The raid was preceded by a sudden attack of the Insurgent battalion of Cpt. Didyk on the railway station and town of Lupkiv in south-eastern Poland. The Polish garrison fled in panic into the Slovak territory and was disarmed and interned by the Czecho-Slovak authorities. The fact became known all over the world and the correspondents of different Anglo-Saxon press organs went on the spot to gather reliable information. The first reports on the U.P.A. appeared in the world press. The U.P.A. was described by these correspondents as a force of 20,000 Ukrainians fighting against Red Army detachments, well clothed and armed, well fed and wearing national insignia on their caps. Further information on it was added by Homer Biggart, a *New York Herald-Tribune* reporter, in an April 18, 1946, dispatch. He detailed the U.P.A. activities and stressed the fact that the insurgents behave well toward the civilian populace, and leave churches unscathed even when they have to destroy whole villages. He pointed out that because they strive for an independent Ukraine they are both anti-Russian and anti-Polish.

The raid of the U.P.A. in Slovakia, in spring and summer of 1946, was one march of triumph. Everywhere the raiders met with enthusiasm and the Slovaks were delighted that the pay-off for their local Communist bosses had become a reality. The raiding detachments passed the Ukrainian-Slovak boundary in complete secrecy so as not to alert Polish and Czecho-Slovakian forces. Abundant literature was distributed in this raid, which embraced nearly all the districts of eastern Slovakia.

Another battle of the U.P.A. developed in Slovakia in the spring and summer of 1947. In May 1947 the Czecho-Slovakia government proclaimed a state of war emergency in entire Slovakia. As in a time of war people were forbidden to move freely between populated areas. In the evening one was not allowed to leave his house. The military detachments of the Slovaks which had been sent against the U.P.A. went over to the side of the Ukrainians without offering battle. Young people began to join the ranks of the U.P.A. A detachment of the U.P.A. forced out of Slovakia by the Czech armed forces retreated in separate fragments across Moravia and Czechia. Small

groups of Ukrainian insurgents appeared in the Sadzava woods. The routes of some detachments of the U.P.A. led obviously towards Bavaria, where they expected to surrender their arms to the Americans. Some of them even crossed the Danube south of Lake Balaton in Hungary and reached the Yugoslav territory to join "chetniks" and "krusaris".

The same story was repeated in spring and summer 1948. The Czecho-Slovakian Ministries for War and for Interior had published a joint communiqué which said: "Czech army and police troops are fighting heavily against U.P.A. units who hold position and fortifications of World War II in Slovakia". It goes on to say that after several days fighting police troops had taken a bunker whose defenders (three U.P.A. soliders and a Red Cross nurse) had fought to their last breath with daggers and bayonets after they had exhausted their ammunition.

The battle of the U.P.A. on the territory of Slovakia reverberated several times in the Czech parliament. During the first phase of the U.P.A. raid in 1947, the Czech Vice-Minister of Military Affairs, Gen. Ferencik, gave the names of the detachments of the U.P.A. and explained to the members of the Parliament the political background of the U.P.A. During the second phase of the raid which took place on the territory of Czechia itself, the Minister of Military Affairs, Gen. Svoboda, addressed the Parliament regarding the battles with the U.P.A. detachments. He gave the exact number of casualties on both the Ukrainian and Czech sides, and described the U.P.A. as "an excellently trained and perfectly organized military force. Its armed equipment was good", he said.

"Tvorba", the organ of the Communist Party in Czecho-Slovakia wrote in June 1948 that "small but exceedingly well-equipped and well-disciplined U.P.A. units have again broken into Czecho-Slovakia", and that it is "most alarming that numerous Czech and Slovak rebels have joined them and begun to liquidate Communists and People's Democrats". It sharply reproached the Soviet-Polish-Czech high command in Slovakia for its failure to liquidate the U.P.A. which, "by its activities, is said to have turned the military forces of the above mentioned three powers into a laughing-stock. The very ex-

istence of the U.P.A. is encouraging the anti-Communist elements in all the East-European countries“. “Tworba“ blamed the united high command for failing to issue constructive slogans to counteract the ideas of the U.P.A. and command the sympathies of the Czechs and Slovaks.

An echo of the U.P.A. raids in Czecho-Slovakia was the trial of the members of the U.P.A. which took place in the capital of Slovakia, Bratislava, Beginning on November 19, it ended on November 29, 1949, with the death sentence on the four Ukrainian defendants. On the first day of the trial the presiding judge, Dr. Karol Berdna began to refer to the defendants as “bandits“ and “killers“. To the astonishment of the court, Ivan Klish, one of the defendants, rose to protest immediately after the reading of the charges. “We are soldiers of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army“, the defendant declared. “As such, we swore to obey the orders of the command of our armed forces; therefore, we strongly protest against the court’s reference to us as ‘bandits’ and ‘killers’.“ He went on to demand that they should be referred to as “soldiers of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army“, and stated that if their army uniforms and insignia were not returned, they would not answer the questions put by the court. The defiant attitude of the defendants in spite of their long struggle against both the Nazis and the Bolsheviks, and the tortures they suffered in the Communist prisons of Czecho-Slovakia, appeared to nonplus the court. A recess was called and after several hours of deliberation the court ruled that their uniforms be returned. For the remainder of the proceedings, the Ukrainian underground was referred to as the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. The trial was much publicized in the Czecho-Slovak press.

Details of the U.P.A. raids in the eastern Ukraine are known from first-hand reports by participants in these raids. The first raid under the command of Col. Eney of the U.P.A.-North was organized in autumn 1946. It started in Northern Volhynia, which is the operation base of the U.P.A.-North, and finished near the River Dnieper in the region on Kyiv. The raiding group travelled more than 400 kilometres and had 21 encounters on the way. It was divided into small raiding detachments which worked simultaneously, executing the orders of their commander and his staff. While raiding in eastern Ukraine the

raiding units often changed their field of operations in order to carry out a given task, to secure supplies, or to evade discovery and prevent encirclement. Strict discipline on the march was maintained. Marches were generally at night, by routes known only to the local population. Small insurgent units synchronized their moves over a large terrain, marching 30—45 miles daily. Everywhere the raiding units found full support by the eastern Ukrainian population, which supplied them with food and gave them shelter.

Another raid under the command of Major Khmara was organized in the spring of 1947. It was organized by the U.P.A.-South. The raiding detachments crossed Bukovina, Moldavia, Bessarabia and reached Odessa. The raid covered more than 1,000 kilometres and was made in about 100 days. The raiding detachment made connections with many local insurgent groups in Moldavia and Bessarabia and got the full support of the villagers, who were glad that the raiding detachment demolished the granaries and distributed grain among the population.

As early as 1945, the U.P.A. made several raids in Poland. It made connection with W.I.N. (Freedom and Independence), a Polish underground army in Central Poland, and with N.S.Z. (National Armed Forces), a Polish underground army in Western Poland. The Ukrainian insurgents went as far as Wroclaw (Breslau) and established liaison with W.R.N. (Liberty, Equality, Independence), another Polish underground organization. The Ukrainian insurgents established not only contacts with the Polish underground, but also concluded an Agreement of Mutual Support and Assistance. According to this Agreement, which was concluded on May 18, 1946, the combined Polish-Ukrainian underground forces attacked the town of Hrubieszow on May 27/28, 1946, causing heavy casualties to the N.K.V.D. troops and Polish militia.

With the assistance of the Polish underground, the Ukrainian insurgents raided the Bialowieza wilderness (1945, the battalion of "Wolves" under the command of Major Chernyk), and Central and Western Poland (1946), and eastern Prussia (1947 — detachment under the command of Cpt. Prirva). The enforced colonization of East Prussia, mainly with the Ukrainians from the Ukrainian terri-

tories West of the Curzon Line provided the U.P.A. with an opportunity to extend its activities to the Baltic Sea and to make connections with well-organized and strong Lithuanian Liberation Movement. The aim of the last raid was to visit the Ukrainian population in Eastern Prussia, to organize an underground network covering this province and the Danzig area and to establish contacts with the Lithuanian Resistance Movement (B.D.P.S. — National Democratic Resistance Movement). The contacts were established and the Ukrainian insurgents could learn the strength and the perfect underground organization of B.D.P.S.

At the same time the West group of the U.P.A. was concentrating all its efforts on preventing the Red Polish government from forcibly transferring the Ukrainian population from the territories West of the Curzon Line into the Soviet Union. In accordance with the Soviet-Polish Treaty of August 16, 1945, the Polish-Soviet state boundary was established. The Red Polish authorities announced officially that all Ukrainians had to leave Poland and move to the Soviet Union. It must be emphasized that this transfer action was carried on by the Red Poles with great terror and violence. The Red Polish Security troops (U.B.) and the Red Polish Army under Soviet command destroyed whole Ukrainian villages, setting fire to them, plundering, and murdering the inhabitants. On January 24, 1946, at 9.00 a. m. units of the Red Polish Army surrounded the village of ZAWADKA MOROCHIWSKA. These units were from the first battalion of the 34th regiment stationed in Sanok. The H.Q. of the regiment under the command of Col. Pluto was in the village of Mokre. The Red Polish soldiers murdered 56 persons who were in the village and set fire to the buildings. The soldiers committed many atrocities, torturing their victims before killing them. Not even children and infants were spared, nor did the aged escape a fearful fate. Stomachs of the children were cut open, and their eyes pierced, and women suffered the loss of their breasts and tongues which were cut off by the sadists. Several persons were thrown into flames. The whole village was completely plundered. The Red Polish troops seized 17 horses, 34 cows, and other stock. On March 28, 1946, the same village was again seized by the same battalion of the Red Polish



U.P.A. group, lining up for food



U.P.A. group „Roman“ - 1950

Army. The battalion commander addressed the people gathered in the village square near the schoolhouse and declared that he would have everyone shot who refused to leave for the U.S.S.R. Then he chose 11 men and ordered them shot before the eyes of the crowd. The third assault on the same village was made on April 13, 1946, and further inhabitants were shot while fleeing to the woods. Finally, on April 30, 1946, the whole population of this village was forcibly evicted and brought to the railway station at Zahiria to be transported to the U.S.S.R. Such was the sad story of one Ukrainian village in this area, and such was the story of many other villages West of the Curzon Line.

It is evident that the U.P.A. was forced to stand in defence of murdered and plundered people. Reinforcements came from Ukraine and the fighting became fierce in this area. On March 29, 1947, one of the leading Red Polish generals, Vice-Minister of War, Gen. Walter Swierszczewski fell in the fight with the Ukrainian insurgents. He inspected the Red Polish troops in the area of the Soviet-Polish frontier and was killed from the ambush near the town of Baligrod. The killing of Gen. Swierszczewski was an indication that the activities of the U.P.A. had increased to such proportions that they began to be dangerous to the Soviet Union and its satellites.

In this place it is important to note that Gen. Walter-Swierszczewski was the fourth prominent enemy leader killed in the fight with the U.P.A. The first was SA commander Lutze, the second was Soviet Marshal Vatutin who was mortally wounded by an U.P.A.-ambush in Northern Volhynia in 1944, and the third was Gen. Col. Moskalenko who was killed in 1946.

The assassination of Gen. Swierszczewski forced the Soviet Union, Poland and Czecho-Slovakia to conclude a tripartite pact on May 12, 1947, aiming at mutual aid in the destruction of the U.P.A.-West which operated there. Important forces were brought into action against the Ukrainian insurgents, but they could not break the resistance of the U.P.A. The Supreme Command of the U.P.A. elaborated its own plan and accordingly divided the U.P.A. West into small detachments. The main forces of the U.P.A.-West broke the encirclement and passed into the Ukraine to continue their fight

against Communist oppression. Other detachments were ordered to raid Czecho-Slovakia, Hungary and the Balkans with the purpose of mobilizing the forces of the other subjugated peoples to the common fight against Bolshevism. The complete removal of the Ukrainian population either to the Soviet Union, or to Eastern Prussia finally forced the rest of the U.P.A. detachments to abandon South-Eastern Poland and to transfer their action to Poland or Slovakia, where they found a sympathetic element among the populations. On the territory West of the Curzon Line there were left only small detachments for special purposes which passed there the winter 1949, and by summer 1949 forced their way across Poland and Czecho-Slovakia into the U.S. Zone of Germany.

On the occasion of the 5th Anniversary of the U.P.A., Gen. Taras Chuprynka, the Commander-in-Chief of the U.P.A., issued an order we give here in full.

Fighters and Commanders of the U.P.A.!
Members of the Ukrainian Revolutionary Underground

Five years have passed since the period when the members of the O.U.N.OSTAP began setting up armed groups for the struggle against the occupiers of Ukraine. These small groups, fighting simultaneously against the Nazi-Germans and the Red Partisans, have set new a standard of a liberating revolutionary movement — the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.). In a few months this movement spread to the whole of Polessia, Volhynia, Galicia and Pravoberezhzha. The whole of 1943 as well as the first half of 1944 are marked by the struggle of the U.P.A. on two fronts. On the anti-Nazi front the U.P.A. stopped the mass deportation of the Ukrainian population for slave labour in Germany and made impossible the economic plundering of the people. On the anti-Bolshevist front the U.P.A. prevented infiltration of Red partisan units into Ukrainian territory. It was the U.P.A. that in a series of victorious battles defeated the hordes of the Stalinite Huns that were sweeping in from the North-East to conquer Europe.

By the second half of 1944, all Ukrainian territories had already come under the Bolshevik occupation. The new period of the U.P.A. struggle for the “to be or not to be“ of the Ukrainian people began.

The first attempt to annihilate the Ukrainian people by throwing them into the first lines of the imperialistic war failed. Following the call of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement, under the protection of the U.P.A., the Ukrainian male population was able to avoid extermination. The occupiers too failed in forcibly deporting the Ukrainian population to the new slave labour projects in the U.S.S.R. Watching the political-military successes of the U.P.A., and the growing sympathy of the Ukrainian population for it, the occupier has not yet dared to carry out the full economic plunder of the population by forcing the farmers into Stalinite collective farms.

The Ukrainian insurgent has, with arms in his hands, protected the Western ranges of the Ukrainian territories against the flood of Polish imperialistic gangs in 1944, and later rose in defence of the population of these ranges. For two years the U.P.A. waged an unequal struggle against the Bolsheviks and their Polish hirelings on the Western ranges of the Ukrainian territories; and the Ukrainian insurgent remained there even when the last Ukrainian was taken away by force and the whole zone became an uninhabited desert.

Audacious commanders and fighters of the U.P.A. have written on their banners a series of feats of arms that will be entered in golden letters in the annals of the Ukrainian army. The punishing hand of the fighter of the U.P.A. has reached prominent representatives of the occupiers such as the Chief of Staff of SA Lutze, the C-i-C of the "1st Ukrainian Front" Marshal Vatutin, or Deputy Minister of War Gen. Swierszczewski. Repeatedly the units of the U.P.A. stormed the enemy administration centres, forced their way into the province centres, and in long-range raids ranged in their own and foreign territories. They have harassed the enemies by ambushes and invasions and prevented them in realizing their plans of exterminating the Ukrainian people. The names of Hrehot-Rizun, Jastrub, Jasen, Storchan, Prut, Konyk, Peremoha, Khryn, have spread the glory of the Ukrainian arms beyond the borders of Ukraine.

But in the field of politics the U.P.A. also achieved great results. Acting on the slogan: "Liberty to peoples, freedom to the individual" it organized, as early as 1944, national units of Azerbaijanians, Georgians, Turkestanians and other peoples subjugated by Moscow, for

the struggle to overthrow the Kremlin and to establish independent states of all these nations in the East. On its initiative, the Conference of the Enslaved Nations was called in November 1943. On the initiative of the U.P.A. all Ukrainian independent parties united and established the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council that, since 1944, directs the all-out struggle at home and abroad for the Ukrainian Independent United State. The U.P.A. raids in Poland and in Slovakia filled the ranks with the new allies from among the Poles and Slovaks.

The successes achieved by the U.P.A. have surpassed the goals set for it by the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council and the whole Ukrainian nation. These successes have been achieved by the U.P.A. under conditions not experienced by mankind until now. Fighters and Commanders of the U.P.A.!

You who to-day fight in the armed units against the Bolsheviks and you who have swelled the ranks of the liberating-revolutionary underground! Be aware that the five years of the heroic struggle of the U.P.A. and of the liberating-revolutionary underground is the most heroic period of Ukrainian history. The history of mankind does not know such an heroic epoch. New Ukrainian generations will be taught upon the heroism of the U.P.A. and of the liberating-revolutionary underground. The U.P.A. fighter, the Ukrainian revolutionary, will replace the manly Spartan in the history of mankind. Be, therefore, conscious of the great epoch in which you live and do not put to shame the glory of the Ukrainian insurgent as did not those who already have died in the fight.

On to-day's festive day of the U.P.A., proudly look upon the past five years, and remember with veneration all those who, by sacrificing their lives, have forged the New-Epoch. On to-day's festive day look with pride at the future that will crown the New Liberation War with Victory!

Long live the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council!

Eternal Glory to the Heroes who have devoted their lives to Ukraine!

(Signed) Gen. Taras CHUPRYNKA
Commander-in-Chief
Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.)

(This order is translated from the Ukrainian original which was reprinted in the pamphlet of the U.P.A. Group "BUG" published in October of 1947. Commander Ostap, mentioned in the order, a leading figure in the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) was reported killed in November, 1948, in a battle with the Soviet M.V.D. troops near Torchyn in the province of Volhynia.)

On September 25, 1947, in order to offset efforts of various Ukrainian political group abroad claiming a preferred status in the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) Taras Chuprynka issued a declaration, published in the Bulletin of the Central Propaganda and Information Centre, in which he emphasizes that the U.P.A. is not associated with any political party, although the O.U.N. headed by Stepan Bandera was most active in its formation. Gen. Chuprynka declared that the soldiers of the U.P.A. were soldiers only, who fight as Ukrainians, and the Political authority of the U.P.A. is the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council, which has a membership of varied political directions.

The last big action of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement in Ukraine, about which we know from the original U.P.A. reports, is the action against large-scale deportations of the Ukrainians which took place in October, 1947, and in March-April, 1949. Deportation is one of the most efficient methods in the practice of genocide by Soviet Russia. It was legally established in February, 1930, at which time the Council of People's Commissars authorized the local Soviets to "take all necessary steps in the fight with the kulaks, including the confiscation of their property and their deportation from the region or district." Millions of Ukrainians were affected by this measure. In his latest book, "The Rape of Poland", St. Mikolajcyk estimates the number of Ukrainians deported to the various parts of the Soviet Union at 10,000,000 people.

In order to understand U.P.A. anti-deportation measures, it is necessary to discuss the characteristics of the deportation and its techniques. First of all the people are entered on the deportation lists. Then the villages are surrounded and the people are arrested and taken to the assembly places and to the railway stations where the cattle trains are waiting on them weeks in advance. The people who

in various ways evaded arrest are safe until the next deportation. The whole action takes twenty-four hours. No information is given to the deportees about the destination.

Having this in view, the Ukrainian Liberation Movement with all its affiliations realises the necessity of intensive intelligence work for successful anti-deportation measures. Long before planned deportation systematic observations by security service (S.B.) are made on railway stations; information is disseminated and exchanged by various affiliations of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement. Besides, intensive intelligence work preceding the deportation is carried out by U.P.A. collaborators and informers within the rank and file of Soviet administration.

The Ukrainian Resistance Movement divides the measures to be adopted against deportation into offensive action and passive defence measures. The tasks of offensive action are as follows: (a) Demolition of bridges, roads, and railway tracks; (b) Destruction of wire communications; (c) Terrorization of Soviet collaborators and locally recruited Soviet auxiliary personnel; (d) Surprise raids connected with freeing of deportees and ambushing on trains, columns, convoys, assembly and resting places, etc. Passive measures are designed to enable people threatened to evade deportation by warning them and hiding them in the underground shelters prepared weeks in advance, by giving them shelter in the woods and forests, etc. In June 1948 the Ukrainian Liberation Movement issued an instruction telling the people how to behave in case of a large-scale deportation.

A report by Hanson W. Baldwin in *The New York Times* (May 15, 1949) disclosed that two divisions of Soviet troops in Ukraine and two in the Caucasus were aiding local police to combat anti-Communist guerillas. From a Ukrainian source we know that the "guerillas" made raids from mountain and forest hideouts to resist the large-scale deportation which took place in the spring of 1949. It is highly significant that the actions of the Ukrainian insurgents still require military counter-measures by the Soviets.

The activities of the U.P.A., despite the determined efforts of the Soviet Union and her subservient satellites to liquidate them, are still formidable and strongly detrimental to Communism. The U.P.A.

is constantly developing new guerilla techniques, its detachments often change their field of operations in order to carry out a given task, to secure supplies, or to evade discovery and prevent encirclements.

Strict discipline on the march is maintained. Marches are generally at night, by routes known only to the local population. The insurgents have their bases in heavily wooded areas and from these bases they make their raids and before the Soviets can strike back they have returned to the forest. In these bases they not only have hiding holes but deep bunkers have been painstakingly built, 4—10 meters underground, with store-rooms, first aid stations and shelters. Special troops of M.V.D.—M.G.B. have made the greatest efforts to drive the U.P.A. out of these nests, but they have not succeeded. The insurgents have a splendid news and communication system. What happens today somewhere in the country is known tomorrow in the distant headquarters in the forest bases around the Carpathians. The collectives go up in flames with all their supplies and machines and the transports of the deportees are frequently attacked and the labour slaves set free. The Russian police is not in complete control, even on its own territory.

An account of U.P.A. activities confirmed by Czech sources was published in the newspapers of the North American Newspapers Alliance by the staff writer of the Alliance — Leonard J. Schweitzer. According to him a fortified Soviet M.V.D. post at Mukachiv, a small city in Carpatho-Ukraine was stormed and captured by anti-communist Ukrainian insurgent troops the night of September 16-17, 1950. The insurgents were members of the U.P.A. and withdrew to their hideout in the Carpathian Mountains with two captives and the files of the office, after killing the rest of the small garrison and setting fire to the building. The two prisoners — a major Uralow, the M.V.D. area commander, and his aide, Capt. Govdakov — were executed later by order of a U.P.A. court-martial for “crimes committed against the Ukrainian people“.

The Soviet authorities themselves were repeatedly forced to admit the existence of the U.P.A. In a recent report by L. G. Melnikov, Stalin’s “gauleiter“ in Ukraine and Khrushchev’s successor in his post,

we read: "Socialist transformation of agriculture in Western Ukraine has been taking place amid a bitter struggle against the "kulaks" and their agents the remnants of Ukrainian nationalists." Russians could hardly officially be franker. Even Joseph Stalin himself is signaling the presence of trouble inside his police state. An official edict, dated Nov. 16, 1950 announced a new medal to go to police for "bravery and self-sacrifice in liquidating bandit groups" and for skillful organization of work of the militia in "maintaining public order". Apparently all is not quiet behind the Iron Curtain and the chief source of trouble is the U.P.A.

On March, 24, 1950, the Soviet official TASS carried a statement by Comrade Korniyets, vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian S.S.R. in which he boasted that "the armed opposition in Western Ukraine has been liquidated". Now we know what was behind this announcement. On Oct. 21, 1950, all world agencies brought sad news about the death in battle of Lt. Gen. Roman Shukhevych who was better known as Gen. Taras Chuprynka. On March 5, 1950 Gen. Shukevych—Chuprynka — a legendary hero who led the Ukrainian Insurgent Army against both Nazis and Bolsheviks since 1943, had fallen in battle in Ukrainian when his headquarters in the village of Bilohorscha near Lviv (capital of the Western Ukraine) was overrun by the Russian M.G.B. troops. The Soviet boaster speaking about "the liquidation of the armed opposition" had this fact in mind.

In the announcement of the "Associated Press" from Oct. 21, 1950, we read: "For the past six years thousands of M.G.B. troops have been hunting down the Ukrainian commander, while regular battles were being waged between the Russian troops and police forces on the one hand, and the Ukrainian underground fighters on the other." It is true. Thousands of M.V.D. and M.G.B. troops relentlessly pursued him through the various sections of Ukraine for six long years before they finally were able to locate the headquarters of Gen. Shukevych-Chuprynka under the very nose of M.G.B. bloodhounds in Lviv and attack it, killing the Commander in battle. Yet before it happened Gen. Shukevych-Chuprynka consecrated for the cause of Ukrainian freedom his entire family: his parents who were deported by the Bol-



M. Cheresniavsky: Plaster

General Taras Chuprynka (1907 - 1950) Commander-in-Chief of the U. P. A.

sheviks, his wife and his three children who were arrested and disappeared.

Gen. Shukhevych-Chuprynka was an able leader and as such he will enter Ukrainian history. As a revolutionary, underground leader Gen. Shukhevych-Chuprynka was outstanding for his abilities as an organizer of an anti-Soviet fight and a military and political leader of an underground army. Gen. Shukhevych-Chuprynka had a natural gift for combining the military and the political aims of the liberation struggle of an enslaved people and for balancing them against each other. And we must say that under his leadership the U.P.A. waged an entirely successful political struggle against the Kremlin. The scope of this struggle can be measured by the number of Ukrainian underground publications printed or mimeographed in Ukraine by the U.P.A. and its affiliated organizations. The number of more than 130 underground publications in Ukraine only for the year 1950 will enable one to see the significance of the Ukrainian political struggle against hind the Iron Curtain and have got personal experience of the Red regime can realize the importance of this fact.

Comrade Korniyets softened his statement from March 24, 1950, by his remarks about the collectivization in Western Ukraine which as he said "is very slow in this area" and "is proceeding under the difficult conditions of the class-struggle against the "kulaks" and the staunch opposition of the nationalist elements". Comrade Korniyets is right. In spite of the death of Gen. Shukhevych-Chuprynka, the struggle is going on. The Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council has appointed Col. Vasyl Koval as the new commander of the U.P.A. The Soviet-political police is not quite capable of coping with the mass movement which exists nowhere and everywhere. The U.P.A. has no atomic weapons, it has few weapons at all, but it has strong ideas which are able to move the people. In the field of ideology the U.P.A. prevails over the forces of the Soviet-Union. Aiming at the liberation of Ukraine, the U.P.A., as the broad popular movement of the Ukrainian people, it struggles for the full liberation of the Ukrainians i. e. for their national-political, social-economical and cultural-spiritual liberation. Accordingly, the Ukrainian Liberation Movement elaborated the programme of the liberation which corresponds

to most common wishes of the Ukrainian people. The ideas contained in this programme please the broadest masses of the Ukrainian people and move them to struggle for their realization. At the present stage of the struggle the U.P.A. activities aim at saturating all ways of the Ukrainian life with Ukrainian ideology and at opposing it to hostile goals and efforts of the Soviet occupants. The leaders of the U.P.A. know that the ripeness of the masses for the revolution will depend, in the first place, on the degree of permeating the broadest masses with revolutionary ideas, on the enthusiasm of masses for the cause of liberation and, finally, on their willingness to fight actively for their realization.

Thus, at the present stage of the Ukrainian liberation struggle, the fight of the U.P.A. is carried on more with ideas than with arms. And it is evident that under such conditions the Soviet regime has a very difficult task to achieve. In the field of ideology the arms of the Soviet regime are much more of inferior quality than those of its opponents — the Ukrainian insurgents. The only way in which the Soviet regime has been able to combat the inimical solidarity of the Ukrainian people has been through the use of the unbridled terror campaigns involving unheard — of atrocities and of the spy-system which permeates all levels of life in the Soviet-Union. The other branches of the Soviet power are only the derivative products of the terror and spy-system and have little importance, if any.

It is an extremely difficult task to break up the Ukrainian people with terror. The Ukrainian people have demonstrated in the past their vitality and will to live. They have survived harrowing experiences: the ferocious Tartar invasion of the 13th century, preceded and followed by centuries of invasions by other nomadic hordes from Asia; the triangular wars between the Poles, Turks, and Russians that turned the fertile lands of Ukraine into a sort of a no man's land; the Soviet-made famine in 1933, etc. But the leaders of the U.P.A. considered another consequence of the terror which they had experienced in their anti-Soviet struggle. This is the fact that the terror has its limits.

The dynamic law of terror has its fatal inverse. If its rhythm is broken, if the opponents are cool and determined and respond to ter-

roristic measures of the enemy by terror of their own, then the current of the terror can reverse, and with the same impetus sweep back through the whole monstrous structure of a totalitarian dictatorship. A positive and unmistakable victory achieved by the v e r y e x i s t - e n c e of an armed opposition within the Soviet System can start a reverse process within this structure that would astound many professional believers in its strength.

These are the principles which enable the U.P.A. to exist and to fight against Soviet supremacy in the technical field. Therefore, at the present stage of the liberation struggle the U.P.A. follows these tactics:

(a) It prevents the enemy from blunting the morale of the Ukrainian people and supports its faith in the cause of liberation;

(b) It spreads the revolutionary ideas to gain new followers among the Ukrainian people and other enslaved peoples of Central and Eastern Europe with the aim of mobilizing them into the anti-Soviet struggle;

(c) It concentrates on the struggle along political and propaganda actions and avoids military actions, thus saving the main revolutionary forces of the U.P.A. from annihilation by superior enemy forces;

(d) It resists deportation, economic plundering and collectivization;

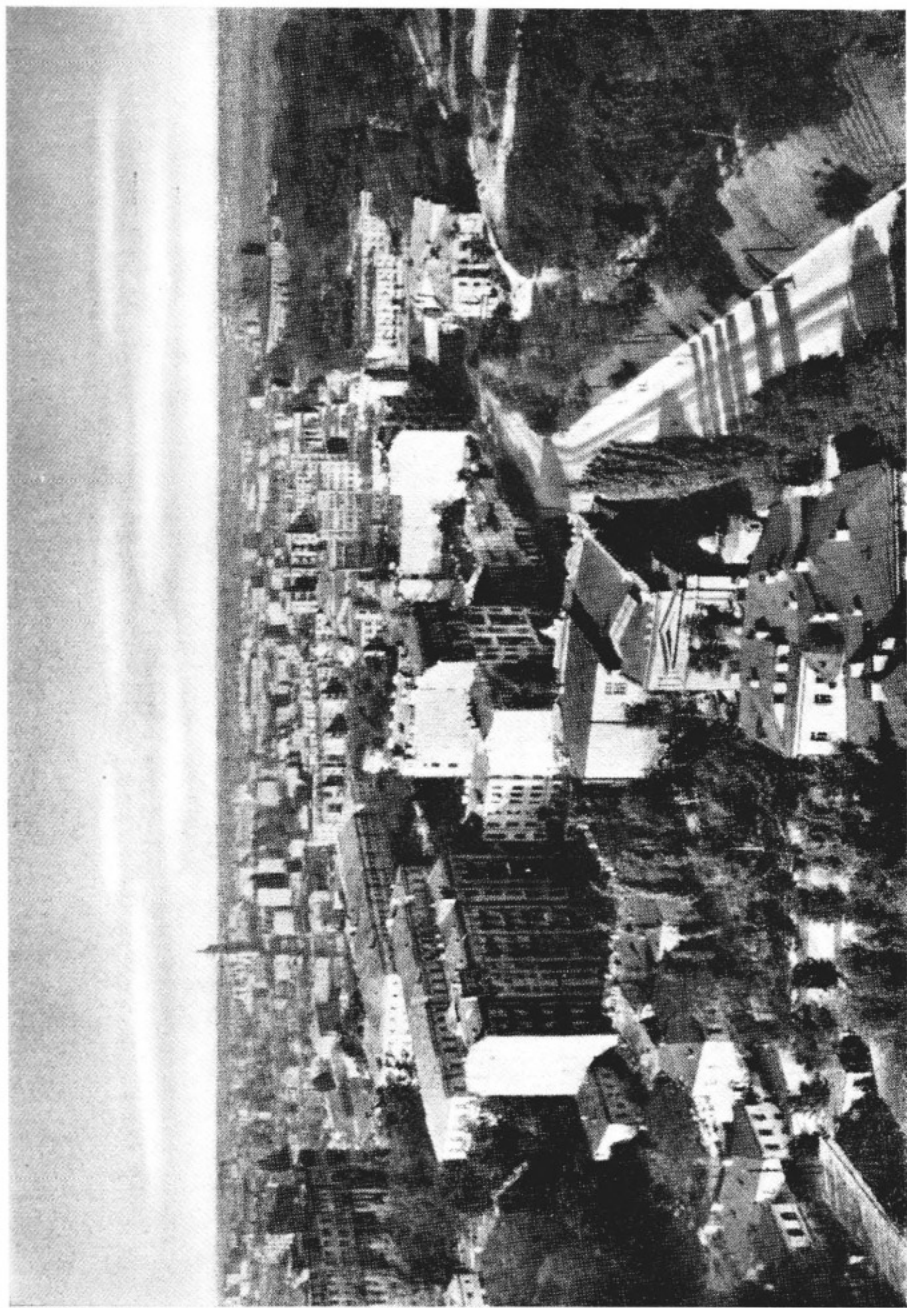
(e) It terrorizes the most hated representatives of the Soviet occupational forces and their collaborators from among the local population. (From Gen. Chuprynka's Instruction for the year 1949).

The latest Bolshevist policy in the field of collectivization is aimed at destroying small collective farms, the remnants of the peasant property and the traditional Ukrainian village in order to create enormous collective farms and peasant towns. Several small farms are united in one big grain factory. This amalgamation is to enable the Bolsheviks to centralize the administration and to use big agricultural machinery. At the same time, peasants are to leave their villages and find accommodations in "agrarian towns", more, or less in barracks. By collecting the peasants in barracks the Bolsheviks hope

to better control the Ukrainians and to carry out successfully the process of "communization" and Russification of the Ukrainian people.

If the Bolsheviks decided upon this policy, serious political reasons must have forced them to it. We think that since U.P.A. is difficult to prevent from spreading its influence all over Ukraine, the Politburo apparently decided that it was safer to break up the eastern Ukraine's historic villages and force the Ukrainian peasants into new and more easily controllable communal settlements. And we know that the U.P.A. will resist such development. On his Sunday broadcast of Jan. 21, 1951, Drew Pearson, noted commentator declared: "Moscow, exclusive: — Here is one of the most hopeful development inside Russia. The American Embassy has just cabled word of riots in the Russian Ukraine. The uprising is so serious that two divisions of the Red Army have been sent to Ukraine to quell the partisans now on the rampage in the Carpathians and around the Polissian and Volhynian marshes. In the eastern Ukraine, Moscow is moving thousands of people from their historic villages into big communal centres."

The Ukrainian Liberation Movement is entering another phase of its action. The goal of the fight remains unchanged: AN INDEPENDENT UNITED UKRAINE. And the fight is not hopeless, for the Ukrainian people have their valuable allies — the other peoples subjugated by the Soviets. The desperate peoples of Central and Eastern Europe and Asia are fighting not only their own battle, they are fighting Soviet Russia for "Liberty to People and Freedom to Individual". And they are fighting Soviet Russia, more and more, the implacable enemy of the entire Western civilization!



Kyiv - Capital of Ukraine - general view

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ERRATA:

Page	Line	Should read:
11	2 its 7th year its 9th year
14	24 Faith national spirit
40	5 Provisional Movement Provisional Government
44	22 in this is this
48	8 disagreeed disagreed
61	15 Taras Chuprynka Hryhor Chuprynka
72	7 Genocide is an This Genocide is an
72	8 Novgorod the Tsar Novgorod —, 1570, the Tsar
72	36 Het Yet
77	9 of he world of the world
77	13 of he Soviet of the Soviet
84	11 occupation by the Molotov— Ribbentrop Pact occupation by German and Russian armies
88	2 Kiefan Rus Kievan Rus
105	16 the middle of 1949 the middle of 1946
112	4 Press of the U.P.A. Press Division of the U.P.A.
115	7 Ruch Puch
141	14 Central Chairmanshife Central Chairmanship
141	15 The large insurgent units (battalions) were the units of the territorial network The large insurgent units (bat- talions) were disbanded and their fighters were used to strengthen the units of territor- ial underground network
141	17 Instead, disorganized Instead of disorganized
164	20 in Ukrainian in Ukraine
165	16 against hind the Iron Curtain against Bolshevism and only those, who have been behind the Iron Curtain
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