

Peter J. Potichnyj

MY JOURNEY

PART III

LITOPYS UPA

SERIES “EVENTS AND PEOPLE”

BOOK 4, PART III

ЛІТОПИС УКРАЇНСЬКОЇ ПОВСТАНСЬКОЇ АРМІЇ
Серія “Події і люди”
Книга 4, частина III

Петро Й. ПОТІЧНИЙ

МОЯ ДОРОГА

частина III

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MY JOURNEY

Part III

A short memoir by Peter-Joseph Potichnyj, describing his life in Canada (1964-2012), his employment at McMaster University, various academic travels and undertakings and his family.

Петро Й. Потічний, “Моя дорога”, Частина 3. Короткий спомин Петра–Йосифа Потічного описує його життя в Канаді (1964–2012), його працю в МакМастерському університеті, різні академічні заходи і подорожі та його родину.

ВІДПОВІДАЛЬНИЙ РЕДАКТОР
Петро Й. ПОТІЧНИЙ

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**70th Anniversary
of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA)
1942 -2012**

**70-річчя постанови
Української Повстанської Армії
1942 – 2012**



**In memory of
Maria Fitio 2.II.1927 – 8.VII.2010
Resting in Holy Sepulchre Cemetery
Hamilton, Ontario, Canada**



MCMMASTER UNIVERSITY

When I came to McMaster University in 1964 it was in a state of very rapid expansion. The University was incorporated in 1887 and had its beginnings as early as 1830 as an outgrowth of educational work by the Baptists. Unlike many other educational establishments, it was generously endowed by Senator William McMaster (1811-1887), hence its name, and at first was situated in Toronto before relocating to Hamilton in 1930. In 1957, the University became a non-denominational private institution. However, the McMaster Divinity College, a theological school, continued to maintain its connection with the Baptists. The present day structure is the result of reorganizations in 1968-69 and 1974. It was then that the Faculties of Business, Engineering, Health Sciences, Humanities, Science and Social Sciences were created, each under the leadership of a dean.



Campus map of McMaster University. Present view

The reorganization also affected the Department of Political Economy which I had joined in 1964. It was divided into three departments, namely, Politics (later Political Science), Economics and Commerce, which began to expand rapidly. When I joined the department, it had consisted of three faculty members – D. Novak, J. E. Kersell and J. D. Hoffman. The last-named left in 1965 but was replaced in the same year by T. A. Smith who had

arrived from the United States. In 1966, six new faculty members were added – G. R. Davy, D. J. Grady, W. E. Lyons, J. Melling (the first year on temporary basis), K. H. Pringsheim, and T. C. Truman. In 1967, eight new faculty members were hired. These included, G. B. Breckenridge, R. B. Cunningham, H. J. Jacek, Jr. C. Lumsden, H. Massey, T. M. Mongar and G. R. Winham. Massey and Lumsden were hired as visiting faculty. In 1968, five new members joined the department, namely, W. M. Chandler, H. H. Lentner, T. J. Lewis, R. R. March, J. M. Silverman. In 1969, an additional five faculty members were added, among them, R. E. Agger, S. J. Frankel, M. N. Goldstein, W. D. K. Kernaghan as visiting faculty, and M. M. Smith Lenglet.



Henry G. Thode.
President 1961-1972



Arthur N. Bourns.
President 1972-1980

As an additional “calming element” the philosopher G. P. Grant was also brought into the department as an Associate member. In 1970, W. D. G. Gagne, E. M. Koehler and P. C. Newman were hired, with the latter two on a temporary basis only. In 1971, H. Aster, J. E. Burke, F. P. Gingras and J. H. Nichols were hired but the last-named stayed with us only one year. In 1972, only J. W. Seaman was hired. In 1973, A. Bromke and N. Sidoruk joined the department, the latter on a temporary basis but who, however, remained with us for five years. In 1974, two individuals were hired – Dr. Stefania Szlek-Miller and G. Szablowski. Szlek-Miller served in a temporary capacity for five years, eventually receiving a permanent appointment, while Szablowski was a visitor for only one year. A further cohort of new

members was appointed in 1977: M. M. Atkinson, W. D. Coleman, S. McInnes, K. R. Nossal and M. Stein. In 1981, H. M. Brotz came on board as an Associate member. After that date the hiring frenzy slowed down. M. Sproule-Jones arrived in 1983, and B. A. Carroll in 1985, with R. E. Howard joining the department as an Associate member that same year. C. A. B. Yates was hired in 1987, and 1988 saw the arrival of G. R. Underhill (who left after four years). In 1989, R. Adams and J. J. Rice joined as Associate members, while D. M. Wells arrived as a regular member of the department. In 1990, R. W. Stubbs was hired, followed by T. Porter in 1992 and J. Ajzenstat in 1993. J. O'Connor also arrived in 1993 as an Associate member.

I am indebted for the above listing to Prof. Byron Spencer of the Economics Department, because the Administration of McMaster University, for their own reasons, refused to release this public information. What is even more surprising, the Political Science Department had no available information of its own history.

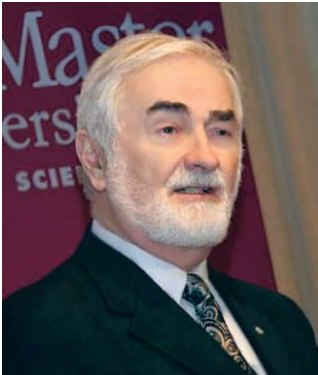


McMaster University in West Hamilton

The majority of the new faculty members in my new department were, with few exceptions, mostly young people from US institutions, a considerable amount of which could be categorized as “ABD” (All But Doctorates). Some of these individuals, as it soon turned out, were quite difficult, unreliable and aggressive. It soon became evident, therefore, that conflicts were inevitable.



Alvin A. Lee.
President 1980-1990



Peter J. George.
President 1995-2010

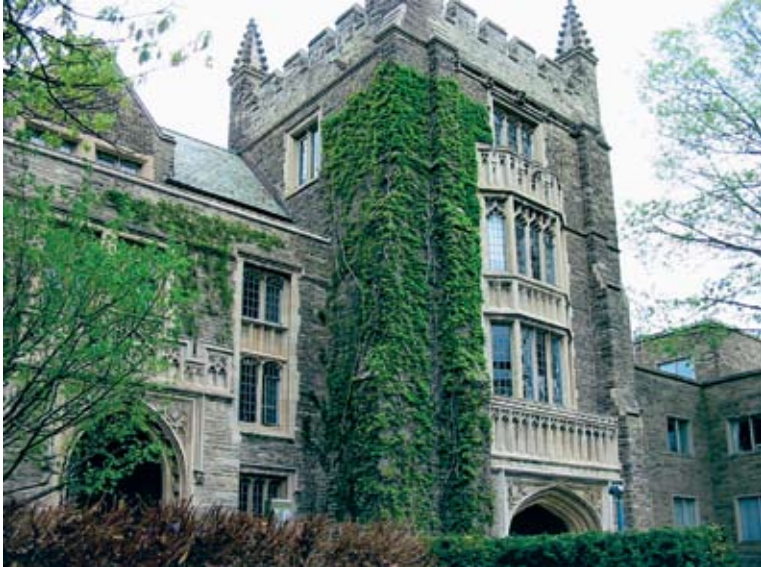


Patrick Deane.
President 2010-present

The initial disagreement began over attempts to draw a silly distinction between political science and political studies. All of the Americans insisted on using the term political science, with an emphasis on statistical data. The older members of the department felt that the term political studies was more appropriate. I, who went through David Truman classes at Columbia University, was somewhere in between. My view was that it did not matter what you call yourself, but rather what you do. Being interested in the Soviet Union, all I wanted to do was to approach my studies from the broad historical-cultural perspective (so-called area studies); I felt that although narrow statistical data can enlighten scholarship, it is incapable of offering important insights into the complex political system. Besides, I wanted to protect my right to approach my studies as I saw fit. We finally agreed unanimously to call ourselves the Department of Political Science, but the conflict persisted. I suspect, therefore, that other considerations rather than the name were underlying the conflict.

In 1965, Dr. Grant Davy was imported from the University of Alberta as the first chairman of the department. He lasted a few months and then, probably concluding that this churner is not going to produce much butter, promptly resigned and returned to Alberta. But before leaving, he found a replacement in Australia in the person of Dr. Tom Truman (1966-67). Whereas Dr. Davy was unwilling to crack the whip, Dr. Truman was

completely unable to control and bring order to departmental affairs. To put it mildly, he was not a leader. Moreover, he sided with the American graduate students who were bent on total control of the department. Soon our undergraduate students were brought into this fracas and life became almost unbearable.



University Hall

Conflict within a university is often vicious and quite personal because it is fought by highly educated and able people, some of whom can easily rationalize putting aside any moral principles. It was no different in this case.

The leaders of this “movement” were T. Mongar and D. Grady, who also happened to enjoy the chairman’s blessing. Although Mr. Mongar was a “prickly” personality, he had some scholarly potential and was interested in “pure” Marxism as opposed to Bolshevism. On the other hand, Mr. Grady’s claims of having obtained a Ph.D. from Princeton University were unsubstantiated. The chairman of the department, unfortunately, never bothered to check this claim and Mr. Grady was able to pass himself off as one of Princeton’s shining stars. He was married to a beautiful, smart Chinese woman by the name of Lolan, who was also pursuing a Ph. D. degree and was quite embarrassed by her husband’s antics.

Lolan Grady was a serious scholar and even though she disappeared from our horizon, I am certain that she achieved her goal.

Especially annoying was the inaction of the university's higher administration who, with the chairman's advice, was hoping that the conflict would blow over without their involvement. At the same time, new personnel were being appointed by the chairman with the hope of overwhelming the opposition by numbers. The young, inexperienced, new appointees were not necessarily strong candidates in every case. This only made the aggressors bolder. All kinds of leaflets were produced and character assassinations of the "opposition" became the norm. On one occasion, in order to intimidate me, a knife was wedged into the door of my office. Because of my background this rather amused me, but it also convinced me that neutrality didn't work and I joined the opposition.

I received tenure after completing my doctorate and was promoted to the rank of Assistant Professor in 1966. Thus I did not have to worry about my own position at the university. My dissertation was on the development and functioning of Soviet Agricultural Trade Unions. To me the topic was important because I could engage in research that I hoped would lead to a clearer understanding of the policies of the Communist Party with respect to the peasantry. Although the facts of the horrible famine-genocide of 1932-33 in Ukraine were familiar to me, I did not delve into this matter at all. The dissertation was approved, successfully defended and recommended for publication. In 1972, the University of Toronto Press published it under the title "**The Soviet Agricultural Trade Unions 1917-70.**" It was the only book on this topic in the Western world – very original and quite boring. In fact, I do not tire of repeating to all and sundry that, in addition to history and politics, it has also made an important contribution to medical science as a non-addictive remedy for insomnia.

The fracas in the department, however, began to seriously interfere with my work. Thus I approached the Chairman of the History Department, Dr. Ezio Cappadocia, and requested an office in his department so that I could at least have peace in preparing my lectures. He agreed and from that time on I had an additional office, away from my own department where I could work happily. This little scheme was kept secret and, except for a few historians, was known only by a couple of people in the Economics Department such as Dr. Craig McIvor and Prof. Jack Graham.



Main library and Student centre

Things went from bad to worse and in the summer of 1967, our department shared the front page of *The Globe and Mail* with the Six Day War in the Middle East. The Israelis were able to contend with the combined Arab armies in a much shorter time than it took the McMaster administration to deal with its Political Science Department. At McMaster, this became known as “The Grady Affair”. But slowly the mills of rationality began to grind and as a first step, Prof. Truman was prevailed to resign the chairmanship and John Melling, the Dean of the Extension Department, became Acting Chairman for a year (1967-68). Shortly thereafter, Prof. T. Mongar left and Mr. Grady transferred to the University of Guelph, probably with a glowing recommendation from McMaster. His tenure at Guelph was brief.

The new Chairman, Prof. H. H. Lentner, was also imported from the United States (1968-73). In addition, an attempt was made to recruit more senior members for the department and in 1969 three full professors joined our faculty. They were R. E. Agger, M. N. Goldstein and S. J. Frankel. The first two individuals were Americans and the third individual was a Canadian who came on board as the Dean of Social Science.

Prof. Derry Novak took over as Acting Chairman in 1973 for a year. He did this reluctantly and was happy to make room for Prof.

Adam Bromke in 1974, who came from Carleton University. He served in this capacity for 6 years and in 1980 was replaced by Prof. Michael Stein who served for three years, until 1983. The next Chairman was Prof. Henry Jacek (1983-86), who was succeeded by Dr. Michael Atkinson for a term of six years (1986-1992). Because I retired in 1995, my last Chairman was Kim Richard Nossal (1992-96), a rather insecure individual and therefore, quite aggressive. I was especially happy to say goodbye to him. He probably had similar feelings about me. Other chairmen usually left me alone as my scholarly activities were judged to be good, my involvement in departmental duties were on the whole satisfactory and my teaching quite acceptable.



A picture of me distributed by the university's students

The undergraduate student evaluations usually resulted in a grade of B+ or A-. Although the graduate students were sometimes unhappy, they only complained quietly behind my back. One year I forced them to study in detail the upper echelons of the CPSU, the Politburo, the Central Committee and the Revision Committee. Each student had to write a paper on a special grouping of persons, their nationality, background and the bureaucratic experience, and especially on their role and potential influence in the system of power. This required substantial readings in various biographical handbooks, photocopying and pasting of biographies, etc. The students issued a leaflet with a

sign, "You want to know what is going on in the Kremlin? Bring your own scissors!" On another occasion, they hung up my smiling portrait with a sign: "Why is this man smiling? Is he amused by the workings of the Anglo-Saxon mind?" This was in reference to my giving them a very hard time about their unwillingness or inability to interpret the Soviet ideological twists and turns, and once or twice in some desperation I blamed it on the Anglo-Saxon mind as all my graduate students that year, with one exception, were from England. I never

paid much attention to these oblique criticisms, because I felt that if they were unhappy with what I was doing they could go elsewhere with my full blessings. No one ever did.

My approaches to both undergraduate and graduate seminars were somewhat unorthodox. For the first three weeks (some 9 hours) of a yearly seminar I would make presentations to the class indicating what was expected, and invited serious criticisms of my performance from the students. No one could decline this procedure, and any attempt to curry favor by praising my performance was strongly and verbally discouraged and good, serious criticism was praised. At first, the students found this extremely difficult but slowly got used to it. When the time came for student presentations, the designated presenter would be critically appraised by all members of the seminar, and if the report stimulated a good discussion it received a high mark. All questions and remarks were considered as serious and required good answers or good rebuttals. The students were asked to grade the report as well, by passing their marks to me privately without identifying themselves. Their appraisal of the report was almost always much more critical than my own.



McMaster Stadium

It is interesting that when a group of students is forced to a) learn concrete information, b) compare, contrast and analyze new data and c) evaluate other presentations – either oral or written – they develop a “critical intelligence” and stand out above the “herd”. Thus, already in the third year of their studies certain students could be predicted to do well in graduate school or in any profession they decided to choose upon graduation. Some students were especially good and some like Sheila Batchelor and Stefania Szlek were a good case for this view.

As part of the graduate seminar agenda, one member was asked to prepare the minutes of the seminar and the presentations were always written and distributed prior to the next seminar. This provided the students with additional notes that could be used to pursue the matter further on their own. The seminars were always very interesting, and debates, although involved, were always friendly. The graduate seminar was quite often held in my house and was accompanied by a good meal with wine. My wife Tamara was famous for excellent cooking and especially for good Ukrainian pastry dubbed by students as “Viennese.”

Although a good number of students enrolled in my courses, only three decided to write their M. A. thesis under my supervision, namely, Stefania Szlek-Miller, George Hanas and Vladimir Bilandzic. Stefania Szlek-Miller completed her doctoral studies at the University of Toronto and Vladimir Bilandzic at the University of Belgrade. Others opted for the so-called “Course Option” which did not require writing the thesis. For those who planned to continue onto a Ph. D. level, I always recommended a “Thesis Option”. I also supervised a number of Ph. D. students at the Ukrainian Free University in Munich, Germany, where I was also a professor. One student, Wayne Petrozzi, who received his M. A. at McMaster, and whose doctoral supervisor at the University of Toronto died unexpectedly, had to modify his Ph. D. dissertation considerably in order to defend it at the UFU. Other members of his committee included Dr. Bohdan Osadczyk-Korab, Free University of Berlin, and Dr. Howard Aster from McMaster University.

Beginning in 1974, or after 8 years of upheaval, the situation in the department had stabilized considerably although the remnants of the conflict were not completely eradicated. The situation was calm enough, however, to allow for normal scholarly work to proceed without hindrance.

MY SPECIALIZATION

I was hired by McMaster as a specialist in Soviet affairs and I took this obligation seriously. There were three urgent tasks to attend to. The first was to develop courses in this field in the Department of Political Economy and later in Political Science. The second was to supplement the library's resources. And the third task was to survey the faculty and courses in other departments of the university, for their contents in the field of East European studies. To my delight it proved quite easy to accomplish all three tasks. In the first two years, I taught two courses on the Politics of the USSR, a lecture course in the 2nd year and the seminar in the 4th year. After I completed my



On Red Square in Moscow

doctoral studies and was appointed with tenure also to the Graduate School, I began to offer a seminar for graduate students.

Dr. William Ready, who arrived as the Head Librarian, was especially happy to support the acquisition of new materials for the university's collection, which he aimed to develop into a good research library in the shortest possible time. As the lack of money was not a problem, I devoted a great deal of my time and effort selecting books and journals focused not only on the study of the Soviet Union but Eastern Europe as a whole, which was defined not geographically but politically. My priority was to cover the field by materials in English, but soon I came to the conclusion that many of the reference sources I needed could be obtained only in the original languages. I did not hesitate to recommend them for purchase even though my students could not easily use them.

Some four years into this practice, I was criticized by my colleagues in the department for this approach, but by then subscriptions to various journals were on the books, various



The Kremlin's Big Gun which could not shoot



The Kremlin's Big Bell
that did not toll



At the Mausoleum.
Making certain that Lenin is safely
under lock and key

references on the shelves and any attempt to discontinue their purchase was much easier to oppose than to begin subscriptions anew. But even then, the lack of attention on the part of my colleagues with respect to buying books, resulted each year in a surplus of unspent funds allotted for book purchasing. This allowed me the pleasure, at the end of each fiscal year, to spend these funds. Besides, Dr. Ready was in my corner on this issue and I was able to use the unspent money not only of my department, but of other departments as well.

The third task also proved quite easy. To my sheer delight, I discovered that newly appointed faculty in the departments of history, geography, sociology, as well as those existing in the departments of Russian, and political economy and commerce, were interested in some degree of cooperation.

THE INTERDEPARTMENTAL COMMITTEE ON COMMUNIST AND EAST EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

The year 1967 – the anniversary of the 1917 Russian Revolution – became a very convenient starting point and without too much difficulty, I was able to organize a seminar on that topic with invited outside speakers. The seminar was quite successful and as a consequence, faculty members from various departments were ready to organize an Interdepartmental Committee on Communist and East European Affairs. From the beginning, it was agreed that no attempt would be made to establish an institute on its basis and that our activity would be limited to annual conferences with the aim of publishing the conference papers. I was elected chairman of the committee, and



Polish-Ukrainian conference.
Also seen are J. Pelenski and
B. Osadczuk

with a great deal of enthusiasm started to organize funding and speakers for future conferences.

Over the years, some 25 faculty members participated in the activities of the ICCEEA. The work of the committee was noted and highly regarded in the scholarly community at large and eventually 15 volumes of conference proceedings were published. It was even more gratifying, to me, that I was able to organize 5 conferences devoted directly to Ukraine (The Contemporary Ukraine, 1974; Poland and Ukraine: Past and Present, 1977; Ukraine and Russia in their Historical Encounter, 1981; Jewish-Ukrainian Relations in Historical Perspective, 1983; and The Culture of Kievan Rus', 1987). In addition, Ukrainian economic, cultural and language affairs, as well as political dissent, were all analyzed in a comparative framework, and these proceedings were also published. A brochure compiled and edited by Howard Aster under the title "**The Interdepartmental Committee on Communist and East European Affairs: A Twenty-Five Year History,**" provides an ample description of the committee's academic activities.

Though my ambition was to cover Ukraine's relations with all of its neighbors, there were other topics that deserved attention and were supported by the resources of the ICCEEA. My additional



With Elena Bonner at one of the conferences

interest led to an article on the struggle of the Crimean Tartars for their return to Crimea, their homeland ("*The Struggle of the Crimean Tatars*"– published also in Turkish in **EMEL**, No.99, 1977), in which I expressed my view that Ukrainians were obliged to help these people in all possible ways. I helped the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies (CIUS, University of Alberta) to organize the conference on German-Ukrainian

Relations in Historical Perspective in Garmisch-Partenkirchen (also contributing to it an article on “*The Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and German Authorities*”). Furthermore, I co-authored a book with Grey Hodnett on Ukraine and Czechoslovakia (“**The Ukraine and the Czechoslovak Crisis**”), and together with Eugene Shtendera I co-edited the book titled “**Political Thought of the Ukrainian Underground 1943-1951.**” Belarus, Romania, Hungary, Turkey, the Balkans (with the exception of Yugoslavia) and the Caucasian nations (although one conference was partially devoted to this topic) I simply had no time and no expertise to cover.



Russian-Ukrainian conference at McMaster

Beginning in 1974, I also began a cumulative guide to officials and notables in the USSR called “**Current Soviet Leaders/Les Leaders Sovietiques Contemporains.**” The original text was prepared in German by Dr. Borys Lewytskyj of Munich, Germany and translated into English at first by Mr. Don Smith and later by Prof. C. G. Chapple of the German Department at McMaster. Other members of the Editorial Board were Prof. Grey Hodnett of York University, Prof. Bohdan Harasymiw of the University of Calgary, and from 1977 Prof. Sidney Aster of the University of Toronto. Prof. Howard Aster was not only a member of the Editorial Board from the beginning, but also as the owner of the Mosaic Press of

Oakville, Ontario, a publisher of the guide. Very able assistants also included the late Inger Gunby and Marlene Moore.



At the Ukrainian – German conference
in Garmisch-Partenkirchen.
S. Horak, M. Lupul, J. Armstrong

The guide covered the period of January 1974 to December 1978 and was published semi-annually in February and July. It was partially supported by the Canada Council and by subscriptions. The work on the guide provided me with detailed information on the Soviet leadership and thus equipped me to be a better teacher in my field of expertise. Although the guide was well received by the scholarly community, it required resources that we did not have and regretfully after four years we had to discontinue its publication.

YUGOSLAVIA

Of all the countries of Eastern Europe only Yugoslavia succeeded in retaining a semblance of sovereignty from the Soviet Union. Josef Broz Tito was not the paragon of a democratic leader, but as a ruler in charge of a fractious Balkan country dependent on economic and political relations with the West, he understood that his rule had to differ from that which was imposed on most of his neighbors. His anti-German guerilla war, which was fought quite effectively also against his internal foes and largely without support from the USSR, also gave him a strong position in the country. Moreover, his main ideologue, Milovan Djilas, articulated a doctrine which some scholars dubbed as national Communism. This topic was of special interest to me, because I was working on the Ukrainian National Communist volume by S. Mazlakh and V. Shakhrai "**Do Khvyli**," which was published in Saratov in 1919, with devastating but witty criticism of Lenin's policies in Ukraine.

The book was eventually translated and published by me in English in 1970 by the University of Michigan Press under the title “**On the Current Situation in the Ukraine.**”

By pure chance, I met the Yugoslav Consul General in Toronto, Mr. Cholovski, and he prevailed upon me to invite him to give a talk on Yugoslavia at McMaster. His lecture was quite interesting and afterwards I learned that he was of Macedonian origin and also a Macedonian nationalist. When Mr. Cholovski learned from me that we also had a visit by the Bulgarian ambassador who hinted broadly that McMaster would do well to start a Bulgarian language program, he began urging me to prevent this from happening. It was, of course, no secret to me that the Bulgarians claimed that the Macedonians were simply misguided Bulgarians and that no separate Macedonian nation or language existed. There was no danger whatsoever that Bulgarian would be taught at McMaster, but I did not tell this to Mr. Cholovski. Besides, I really did not like the Bulgarian ambassador, who in his dark glasses evoked the image of a fat Mafioso. During the seminar, one of my students asked him about the Marxist notion of the “withering of the state” and how it applied to Bulgaria. The ambassador remained silent for some time and then in a very thick accent replied: “Oh yes, our state is dying every day.” The result of all this was that when the time came, Mr. Cholovski did all he could to facilitate my contacts in Yugoslavia.



Ljubljana Castle

With the arrival to McMaster of Robert Agger, who had personal contacts in Slovenia, the idea arose that it might be useful for interested students to spend some time in that country. Since I had reasonable facility in South Slavic languages, I agreed to lead the Summer School. Following negotiations with the Extension Department at McMaster, we agreed to choose Visoka Sola za Politicne Vede (School of Political Science), a Communist party school in Ljubljana, Slovenia as our base of operations in Yugoslavia.

The choice of the party school was fortunate, because it gave us a great deal of freedom in our activities. We pursued our own curriculum, organized our trips around Yugoslavia with the help of the school administration and were not interfered with in any fashion whatsoever. In addition, I had unofficial access to all kinds of secret public surveys carried out for the Communist Party of Yugoslavia by the scholars of the school. We were watched rather carefully, however, and on some occasions, especially when the lectures were held outside, we noticed the presence of “auditors” behind bushes. Once, I decided to flush them out and to their great embarrassment, simply appeared in their midst when they least expected it. Afterwards, they were more careful and less visible but continued to observe us.

There were also some tense moments, as when one of the young Croatian nationalists (Mr. Sladojevic-Sola), who came with



Dusan Bilandzic

our group to Yugoslavia and probably under the influence of alcohol and deep Croatian patriotism, delivered himself of a fiery speech against Tito and his wife Jovanka from the balcony of the university. This created an uproar among the Slovenian students and I immediately sent him out of the country, so that when the authorities came to investigate, he was no longer available for their probing. To make certain that Mr. Sladojevic-Sola

made it across the frontier to Trieste, I sent Mr. Mike Hacimovic, another of our students, to accompany him. Their quick departure put an end to the story and all sides were happy with the outcome.

Our students, both graduate and undergraduate (we had two sections), were extremely well behaved and studious, and some of them achieved important academic careers in their own countries. For example, Dr. Joachim Kersten, who received his M. A. degree at McMaster, is now a well known specialist who teaches at the Hochschule der Polizei in Germany.

For me, the travels around the country provided huge opportunities to learn not only about the life of the people, but also to learn first hand about the political structure of the ruling elite. Most of the academics were members of the party and were quite willing to enlighten me on the workings of the regime. The system was quite authoritarian, but in comparison with the Soviet regime, it was quite enlightened and liberal.



Kalamegdan fortress in Belgrade

Finally, in Belgrade I was able to meet a rather highly placed member of the Savez Komunista Jugoslavije (The Communist Party of Yugoslavia), Dr. Dusan Bilandzic, who also held the rank of Colonel in the Yugoslav armed forces. He was Croatian by nationality, married to a Serbian and worked in the Presidium of the Communist Party in Belgrade. As a young student, Dr. Bilandzic belonged to the Croatian Party of Frankovce, which at the conclusion of WW II decided to join Tito.



On Avala in Belgrade

Dr. Dusan Bilandzic was very bright, but also had an open mind on all the issues facing his country and also the future geopolitical changes facing Europe and the world. We spent many hours discussing the eventual fall of the USSR, as well as the rise of independent countries on its ruins and in the surrounding areas including Yugoslavia. As a loyal subject, he was convinced that nothing would happen until the Soviet Union was no more. Any attempt to do it prematurely he considered as very dangerous, and knowing my former underground activities he advised me to be patient. I supplied Dr. Bilandzic with various Ukrainian underground publications and he reciprocated

with some very interesting party policy materials. I should add that I shared this material only with Dr. Borys Lewytzkyj and nobody else. But these discussions and readings helped me to better understand the Communist systems, and I can only hope that this knowledge was conveyed through me to my students.

Another aspect of this relationship was that Dr. Bilandzic's son Vladimir came to McMaster to pursue an M. A. in Political Science and, as I indicated earlier, wrote for me an excellent M. A. thesis on the Yugoslav federal system. He later completed his Ph. D. at the University of Belgrade and continues to pursue his academic career in Europe. Dr. Vladimir Bilandzic's M. A. thesis inspired me to produce a monograph of my own, titled **"Rozvytok iugoslavs'koho federalizmu"** (The Development of Yugoslav Federalism). It was written in Ukrainian in the hope that some of the Yugoslav institutions and political practices would become better known in Ukraine and the USSR. As an aside, the federal system of the USSR was of great interest to me as well. As a result, I produced a lengthy study dealing with the Union Republics' representation in Moscow

(*"Permanent Representation of Union Republics in Moscow"*) that appeared in the "**Encyclopedia of Soviet Law**," which was edited by F. J. M. Felbrugge in the Netherlands. There was an amusing episode when I presented the first draft of this article for discussion at the American Political Science Association in Washington, D. C. The discussion was quite involved, lengthy and took place during lunch hour. Hungry and bored to tears, I suggested that "the longer we talk the less we eat"; my comment caused the chairman of the panel to explode in anger, but it was rather well received by the large gathering of scholars present at the session. Shortly thereafter, we all went to lunch.



Dubrovnik, Croatia

These journeys into Yugoslavia and all of its component parts were especially useful as builders of patriotism, especially in our Canadian students. I was visibly impressed by how their appreciation of their own country evolved after visiting Yugoslavia.

My last foray into former Yugoslavia took place during the armed conflict which occurred in Bosnia and Herzegovina between April 1992 and December 1995.

I was asked by Ms. Sofia Skoric, who at that time was in charge of the Petro Jacyk Centre at the University of Toronto, if I would be willing to visit Serbia and Republika Srpska as an independent observer. She must have acted on the request of



Ukrainian Church in Prnjavor, Bosnia

Serbian authorities, because Prof. R. P. Magocsi from the University of Toronto was also invited. I agreed to Ms. Skoric's request and all the necessary entrance requirements were cleared with Belgrade. From Belgrade the observer group was taken to Bijelina, where it was impressed upon us that the military force was composed of Bosnian Serbs and had nothing to do with the Yugoslavia that Serbia proper and Montenegro were known as, at that time.

Anybody who had more than elementary knowledge of the country and its people, and knew the language, had no difficulty recognizing the true facts on the ground.

Republika Srpska, although largely populated by Serbs, was simply an attempt, with the help of the Yugoslav army, to unite that piece of territory to Serbia proper and put an end to the multi-ethnic Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina in which Muslim Bosnians – with 44 percent of the population – were the dominant force. Serbs and Croats made up 31 and 17 percent of the population, respectively. Croats also attempted to secure some real estate for themselves, and eventually turned on the Bosnians as well.

Afterwards, we were flown to Prishtina in Kosovo and also visited Peć, the "Serbian Jerusalem," populated by a large number of Serbian Orthodox monasteries. It was here that the patriotic monks tried to enlighten us about the just Serbian cause. The wine that they served was of superb quality and made it very easy to listen to their quite often jaundiced arguments.

Upon our return to Belgrade, we were shown the so-called "Museum of Croatian Atrocities" which was a gruesome photographic display of mutilated bodies consisting of the God fearing Orthodox Serbs.



Mostar Bridge before destruction

The original villain was, of course, the Pope of Rome and his portrait was prominently displayed at the entrance. It was here that I started asking uncomfortable questions and intimated that in this conflict probably all sides were to blame. For my argument, I pointed to the photograph of the ruined church which was obviously not Orthodox in structure, location or geographical orientation. The woman in charge admitted that it was a Roman Catholic Church, but added that it was used to fire on the Serbian forces and therefore had to be destroyed. I retorted that in that case this image would probably be better suited for a similar museum on the Croatian side. This enraged the woman, who immediately reported me to the authorities as an enemy of the Serbs.

A very nice, beautiful, intelligent and highly educated girl was dispatched to talk to me about this matter. I told her that the manner in which the museum was organized and managed was not terribly persuasive, especially to objective observers. The end result of our conversation was that without saying that I was right she nevertheless apologized for the pushy woman at the museum. Upon my return to Toronto, I mentioned this to Sofia Skoric. I was never approached on this matter again and never asked to offer my opinion to anyone.



Icon in Serbian monastery of Peć,
Kosovo

From Belgrade we were taken to Novi Sad to showcase for us the support that various minority cultures received in Serbia. We visited the Hungarian and the Ukrainian-Rusyn clubs where small, but interesting programs were presented to us. Just prior to entering the Ukrainian-Rusyn club, an amusing conversation took place between me and Prof. R. P. Magocsi. He insisted that no Ukrainians, and only Rusyns, were to be found in the region and that I was simply mistaken. We were, of course, welcomed by the chair who was Ukrainian. Later on, Prof. R. P. Magocsi apologized to me for his exaggerated Rusyn nationalism.

Regretfully, that was my last visit to Serbia and its neighbors; I hold regrets because I was, and still am, completely enthralled by the beauty of these countries and the generosity of their people.

OTHER EAST EUROPEAN DIPLOMATS

To expose our students to various political points of view, I also invited other East European ambassadors to McMaster. Two such diplomats, namely the Polish ambassador, who visited us twice, and Mr. Yakovlev, the Soviet ambassador, proved the most interesting.

The Polish ambassador, who had a small physique but was extremely energetic and argumentative, presented himself rather well. He was accompanied by the First Secretary, who had an ironic expression which was augmented by thick eye glasses. As the ambassador began to leave the university president's office, he found himself, to his surprise, in the wall closet. I had mistakenly opened the closet door thinking that this was the proper exit.

Dr. Harry Thode, McMaster's President, was mortified. The First Secretary made a supreme effort not to laugh, and I had to offer profuse apologies. Soon after that meeting on campus, the First Secretary, probably in gratitude, sent me a huge box of numerous, assorted Polish alcoholic drinks.

The visit by Alexander Yakovlev, who for a decade served as Soviet ambassador to Canada, was also very interesting. However, the substantial nature of the man himself was not revealed during his visit to our university. It was said about Mr. Yakovlev that, because of his political views, he was destined for Siberia but the closest place resembling it was Canada, hence his appointment as ambassador to this country. I knew about Alexander Yakovlev from Columbia University, where I preceded him by several years.



Alexander N. Yakovlev,
Soviet Ambassador to Canada

Ambassador Yakovlev was rather demure in his behavior and conversations. He walked slowly with the help of a cane (having sustained a severe wound during the German siege of Leningrad), ate very little and abstained from alcohol. No substantial topic of conversation was raised.

The fellow who accompanied Mr. Yakovlev, however, spoke continuously, loudly and annoyingly, and most of this prattle concentrated on the ambassador's wartime exploits. As the meat dish was being served, this flatterer began to reenact Mr. Yakovlev's skilled machine gun proficiency against the Germans, – sounds and all – reporting that many enemies were bloodily dispatched. No one, especially the ladies who were present, touched their food at this point, and polite conversation at the table almost ceased completely. The only person who enjoyed the dinner was the story teller himself. It was indeed surprising that the ambassador did not interrupt this coxer. I respected Mr. Yakovlev for his views

in the field of human rights, but my impression of the man on that particular occasion was rather negative. This was the Soviet ambassador's first and last visit to McMaster.

CHINA

I was bitten by an Asian bug already while serving in the USMC during the Korean conflict. While at Columbia University, I audited a few courses on China and East Asia, but never had an opportunity to seriously study the countries of the region. China was of most interest to me not only for its ancient culture and civilization, but also because at that time it was the Soviet Union's principal antagonist. Needless to say, anybody who was opposed to the Kremlin masters was, by definition, my friend.



With Borys Lewytzkyj at Mao's Mausoleum

I was not alone in this thinking. Quite a few of my friends in the Ukrainian community had similar views. Dr. Borys Lewytzkyj of Munich, Dr. Vsevolod Holubnychy of New York and his wife Lydia, Roman Paladijchuk of Toronto, and scores of others thought as I did. They organized a group to promote Ukrainian-Chinese contacts and even published a newspaper (in Canada,

the Ukrainian Society for the Study of Asian Problems published *"The Bulletin,"* Nr. 1, 1971, in connection with the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and Canada) which began to propagate these ideas. Although not a member of the group, I was keenly interested in their ideas, not to mention the fact that I knew them all personally.

By the end of the 1970s, the internal changes in China began to show some promise. Having gone through its so-called "Cultural Revolution," the country was slowly coming out of political isolation and opening up to foreign, and especially western, ideas. It was at this time that I was approached by people in contact with the Chinese Embassy in Ottawa, to see if I would be inclined towards accepting a Chinese student into our graduate program who was willing to work in the field of Sino-Soviet relations. As it turned out, the prospective student in question was one of the junior Chinese diplomats in Ottawa, namely Mr. Jian Hua Cui. I readily agreed to this historic arrangement, as Mr. Cui was one of the first Chinese diplomats to study in one of our Canadian universities. Mr. Cui turned out to be an outstanding student who wrote for me an M. A. thesis on the Sino-Soviet clash over the islands situated at the confluence of the Amur and Ussuri rivers. The thesis was immediately published and received positive reviews in various scholarly journals.

Upon graduation, Mr. Jian Hua Cui returned to China as a member of the Soviet and East European Institute of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences in Beijing, thus establishing a personal link between scholars in China and other scholars who, like me, were interested in the USSR. He was also a native of Heilongjiang, the Manchurian province, where in the Provincial University in Harbin, Russian studies had a long history. At one time, the city of Harbin had a sizeable group of immigrants from Russia with a strong contingent of Ukrainians who led a very well organized life in their own community organizations such as the Ukrainian People



Roman Paladijchuk

Home, their own Ukrainian Orthodox Church and a number of newspapers. During the Japanese occupation, in the vassal state of Manchukuo, the first **Japanese – Ukrainian Dictionary** was published here.



Zheng Shupu and Cui Jian Hua at the CUAF in Toronto



A former Ukrainian Church
now serving as the Chinese
Orthodox Church in Harbin

When I visited there in 1979, and in later years, the Ukrainian People Home was serving as a high school and the church, the only Orthodox Church in Harbin, was functioning as the Chinese Orthodox Church (the huge Russian Orthodox cathedral, the largest Orthodox Church in Asia, was razed to the ground). Of the large colony of Ukrainians, only four elderly members remained – one man, Mr. Shandor, who lived separately, and three women in the home for the aged. One of these elderly individuals smoked incessantly and used rather salty expletives.

It was also at Heilongjiang University that on January 20, 1985, I was presented with the Diploma of Advisory Professor. This recognition, as well as the association with the Academy of Social Sciences, provided me with various benefits pertaining to travel and accommodation in various parts of China. It was also at Heilongjiang University that on my strong recommendation, Dr. A. Lee, the then President of McMaster, received Honorary Professorship in 1989. As an aside, it was during this trip to Heilongjiang that an elderly passenger passed away on the plane. Dr. Lee arrived quite healthy and delivered a good talk, stressing the need for greater contacts between various world universities. This fact helped facilitate the influx of various Chinese scholars to Canada, some of whom studied Ukrainian subjects.



Former Ukrainian Home now a high school in Harbin

It was through the efforts of this Ukrainian group, mentioned above, and Mr. Jian Hua Cui that a group visit to China was arranged. The individuals selected included, Dr. Bohdan Bociurkiw from Carleton University, me from McMaster and Dr. Borys Lewytzkyj from Munich, Germany, or two Canadians and one German. In reality, we were three Ukrainians who, as students of the Soviet Union, were invited to give the Chinese some notion of what was going on in this field in western scholarship.

We visited Beijing (The Academy of Social Sciences), Harbin (University of Heilongjiang), Shanghai (Fudan University), Nanjing (Nanjing University), Wusi and Hangchow, the latter two for recreational purposes.



With Master paper-cutter –
Potichnyj, Bociurkiw, Lewytzkyj

Our lectures and seminars with the Soviet specialists were interspersed with visits to various cultural and historical places, such as the Great Wall, Ming Tombs, Beijing Opera, etc. The Chinese spoke little; they were mostly interested in our views and how the Soviet Union was understood in the West. But in private discussions their critical appraisal of the USSR was quite clear.

As always, some humorous incidents occurred during our excursions. On one visit to a school, just when the children were coming out, Mrs. Vera Bociurkiw, who accompanied her husband to China and was full of motherly feelings, opened her arms and started moving towards the children in order to give some of them a hug. But for the kids, a white woman, with red hair, and richly made up, gave them a huge scare and they took off in the opposite direction in a cloud of dust. The embarrassed Chinese had to herd them back and Mrs. Bociurkiw finally hugged a kid who, by all appearances, was not terribly happy with her affection.

I also had an interesting encounter with Chinese children, mostly girls, in Nanjing. They were singing and dancing for me outside on the university grounds, when I approached one of them and, pointing to her nose, asked what it was. She replied “hsiao pitze” (small nose). I then pointed to my nose, and to the embarrassed amusement of the surrounding adults she replied “ta pitze” (big or



With Bao Suhong, a student of Ukrainian

long nose). The Europeans in China are known as “long noses.” Later during lunch, I asked one of the Chinese colleagues what is the stereotypical name for the Russians. He replied that the Chinese referred to them as “apes or monkeys” (yuan hou, or hou). When I asked why, he explained that it probably had to do with the abundance of hair on Russians’ lower arms. I then pointed out that my arms are also covered with hair, but he assured me that I was the “long nose” after all. Was this a bit of open stereotyping on his part? Of course, but it made my day.

In private conversations, I discovered that Chinese scholars were quite interested in the nationalities question in the USSR and especially in Ukrainians. They were especially unhappy that they had no opportunity to study Ukrainian history, language and culture, and asked for my advice on how to remedy the situation. My answer was simple – go to universities in western countries where such opportunities were readily available. Slowly, with the help of Mr. Jian Hua Cui, we concluded that Canada may be one such country, and I agreed to look into a possibility of sponsoring some of their scholars to visit McMaster University.

The Chinese were also very interested in Canadian universities in general, and wanted to send their students for education to our country. I suggested to them that one way of doing so would be



With girls at Nanjing University



In Beijing with the former First Secretary of the Chinese Embassy in Canada

to establish university to university contacts and, as a first step, to invite high university administrators for that purpose. They readily accepted my suggestion and, as was already mentioned, in 1985 the President of McMaster University, Dr. Alvin A. Lee, travelled to Heilongjiang and was made Honorary Professor of the University. Three years later, Advisory Professorship was conferred on Dr. Les King, our Vice-President, by the East China Normal University in Shanghai. This by no means was a novel idea and quite a few of our universities developed such contacts.



Within the Imperial Palace in Beijing

Shortly thereafter, and as a result of my additional visits to China, I was able to bring to McMaster or to Canada a number of scholars and students who were interested in Ukrainian studies. The first person was Prof. Shen Yun (she chose not to return to China), soon followed by Prof. Zheng Shupu, and Prof. Jiang Chang Bin, all from Heilongjiang University (the latter eventually transferred to the Party School in Beijing). They were subsequently followed by Prof. Lu Dong, from Wuhan, the student Xiong Ching (who also remained in Canada), and later by Prof. Zhao Yunzhong and Zu Din from East China University in Shanghai.

These visits, which lasted approximately one year, each proved extremely beneficial. Soon afterwards, Prof. Zheng Shupu published the first ever “**Ukrainian-Chinese Dictionary**,” followed by the “**Short Chinese-Ukrainian and Ukrainian-Chinese Dictionary**.” The latter was produced in cooperation with the Ukrainian Language Institute at the National Academy of Sciences in Kyiv, when Ukraine became independent. Prof. Lu Dong published the



With Prof. Lu Dong

“Ukrainian-Chinese Conversationalist.”

Prof. Jiang Chang Bin organized and became the Head of the Committee for Ukrainian Studies in Beijing, and Prof. Zhao Yunzhong published the first history of Ukraine in China (**“Ukraine: Difficult Steps in History”**). He started working on a biography of the Hetman Ivan

Mazepa but unfortunately because of death he did not complete it.

At the same time, I was visiting China almost every year and had an opportunity to see all parts of the country, except for Tibet. I was not allowed to go there, because it was explained to me that due to the high plateau my heart would be in danger. In my opinion, it was the political situation in Tibet, rather than my heart, that prevented me from visiting that region. All the other areas of the country were open to me and I travelled the land East, West, North and South, and all at the expense of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences. At first I had an escort or two, but evidently the expenses

were quite hefty, and since I was deemed a friendly, open scholar, eventually I was simply placed on a plane in one location and picked up by some designated person in another.

As I travelled around the country my circle of friends increased. Slowly, I discovered that there were individuals



Terra cotta soldiers of Xian

in the country who were interested, and even well acquainted, with Ukrainian culture. Most of these people acquired this knowledge on their own or through their studies of the English, German or Russian languages. In Beijing, I visited Ke Pao Chuan, who translated the writings of Taras Shevchenko and was genuinely pleased to meet a Canadian who was interested in his work. In other places, I discovered translations of Lesia Ukrainka, Ivan Franko, and a number of individuals who pumped me on the history of the Cossack revolutions of the 16th and 17th centuries in Ukraine.



At the “Dragon head” in Wusi

As my circle of friends became larger, I learned that even the recent events in the USSR, as pertaining to Ukraine, were also receiving attention in China. On one occasion, I was presented with two books in Chinese translation. One such book, **“Our Soviet Ukraine,”** was written by the First Secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine, Petro Shelest. It was deemed “nationalistic” and condemned by the leaders in Moscow. The other publication was Ivan Dziuba’s **“Internationalism or Russification”** which, as the Chinese source explained to me, unmasked Moscow’s leaders as the new Russian Tsars. Eventually, more articles dealing with Ukrainian or nationality problems were disclosed to me, as having appeared in various specialist journals and publications that were not available for public consumption. (Eventually even my articles on Ukraine appeared there in Chinese translation). This was music to my ears as I was trying, as much as I could, to present similar ideas in my lectures.



The Caves of the Thousand Buddhas in Bazaklik, Xinjiang



Reception for me at Turfan

My lectures were usually delivered either in English or in Russian (once in Polish), and on one occasion, I had to struggle in my kitchen German. But sometimes nothing worked. In Urumqi (Urumchi) in the Xinjiang (Sinkiang) – Uighur Autonomous Region, I was to talk to the scholars of Soviet Central Asia. Not a single one of them knew English or Russian, and I had no knowledge of any of the Central Asian languages. The director of the institute spoke some Russian, and we managed to communicate, but he was not up to translating my lecture. We looked at each other for a while and then went to an amazingly tasty dinner. Afterwards, I was turned loose – at first in Urumqi, and later I was taken to the Turfan Oasis, located in the huge desert below sea level, in the Turfan Depression.

Thus, I could fulfill my second task, namely to observe the treatment of the minority nationalities in China. In the Turfan Oasis, few women were to be seen anywhere but I remember hordes of naked kids in the local water hole that I envied beyond belief, but my displaced sense of dignity prevented me from joining them. The heat was unbearable and the trip to Turfan and back was nothing short of travelling through hell. Goodbye Turfan and may you forever flourish in peace and prosperity.



Urumqi Bazaar

Another memorable visit was to the Urumqi Museum. The ethnographic section had a very interesting exhibition of all ethnic populations of the region and the so-called Ili section (the region of the Ili River) had a number of items that were quite familiar to me. It consisted of various embroidered male and female shirts, towels and leather coats that were labeled as Russian. This was patently false and I immediately pointed out this fact to the curator, saying that they are misleading the museum's visitors. He was astonished at my criticism, and with the help of the Soviet Encyclopedia, which luckily they had on the premises, I was able to prove to him that the items in question belonged to the migrants from the Poltava region in Ukraine. He promised to make corrections. I hope he did.



With the directors of the Institute in Urumqi

The evening's entertainment consisted of an opera depicting the existence and functioning of the famous Silk Road. The only Chinese character was some passing merchant, who was on the stage for maybe a couple of minutes. The rest of the performance emphasized the beauty and wealth of the local Uighur people. The theatre was packed with Chinese soldiers, and when I asked the director who they were, he replied under his breath: "Organy, organy – vse organy" or to put it properly, the Chinese internal police forces. The city, and not only the theatre, was indeed saturated with the "organy." There was also a huge number of

sheep travelling in all directions on the city streets. While going to the local bazaar, I got caught in one such parade, but the sheep, bless them, were more interested in the leading ram and simply purposely flowed around me to their destination.

I also visited the local university and its two libraries, one Chinese and one Uighur, and a beautiful, newly built local mosque, where I was respectfully received by the leading cleric wearing a turban, with a long, white beard and flowing kaftan. He tried to convey to me that Uighurs were very happy in China, but did so rather unconvincingly. It is entirely possible that the translation is what left me with such an impression, but I rather

doubt it. However, not knowing the local language or culture, I was at a very great disadvantage.

In the neighborhood of the city, but some distance from it, I also visited a cave full of desecrated images of Buddha. This was the visible impact of the so-called "Cultural Revolution" which left its mark even here in Xinjiang (Sinkiang).

Later on I spoke to a number of Huiveibins, as the young people who took part in this movement, were known. They regretted their wanton destruction of the ancient cultural heritage, but praised the movement as a vehicle for young people to travel freely and an opportunity to know their country better.

But, as it usually happens to me, I was not spared some funny, if not somewhat embarrassing, moments. The hotel usually stopped functioning immediately after the evening meal. Not even water was available in the washroom, let alone hot water. However, a large hot water thermos bottle for tea was available. Thus, with nothing to do, I settled in to watch the World Cup Soccer



Muslim cleric



The Mosque in Urumqi



Uighur family in Turfan

Tournament which was being telecast on the small TV set in my room. In the morning I was to return to Beijing. Almost as soon as I fell asleep, a real boisterous party started in the adjoining room. Clearly, a lot of drinking was taking place and the people were shouting, singing and laughing at the top of their lungs. Moslems were not supposed to be drinking, but then again I was in China, and in Sinkiang region, no less. Sleeping was out of the question.

I should have joined them, had a couple of drinks, calmed them by my presence, and gone to sleep. Instead, I decided to communicate my displeasure to my neighbors more vigorously, but chose a rather inappropriate method. Because pajamas always bother me, I usually sleep completely naked. I got up and slammed the door to the bathroom with as much force as I was able to muster. The walls shook, but this didn't have any effect on the partying crowd. Since the bathroom door would open towards the direction of the room, I thought that the second slam would be more effective if I closed the door from inside the bathroom. Without bothering to put the light on, I pulled the door shut with tremendous force. There was no impact on my neighbors, but to my surprise and horror, I could not open the door from inside the bathroom. The door hinge that controlled the locking mechanism was located on the outside, and when I smashed the door closed, it fell out. Locked naked in the cold bathroom in desperation, I started feeling my way around and, luckily for me, I found a piece of iron tube under the bath tub (try to do this in the Western world). Using this crude implement, I started hitting the walls, pipes and the floor while also shouting for help. After a while, the partying subsided and there was a rush into the corridor. Soon the door to my room was open, and after the light was switched on, the door was opening and a sea of faces looked curiously into the bathroom. There, although fuming inside, but with a broad smile on my face and modestly covering my private parts with my hands, I was bowing and thanking my rescuers in both Chinese and Uighur - hsie, hsie and rakhman, rakhman.

No further problems in Urumqi, but when I came back to Beijing, I decided to relate the story in detail to the leadership of the Academy. They knew about it already, of course, but I felt it best to bring the whole event out into the open. We had a nice, polite, typically Chinese laugh about it. My closing remark to my hosts was that, in all circumstances, one should at all costs avoid being angry with the subjects of Allah.



One of many mangled translations into English



With Prof. Jiang Chang Bin and his wife Guo Haoye

The other two locations in China to which I travelled in order to observe the national minorities were, Hohhot in the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region, and the most beautiful part of China, Guilin and the Li River cruise in the Kwangsi-Chuang Autonomous Region. In Hohhot, I was told that their local Social Academy of Science was studying various small peoples of Siberia and the Far East; here I was shown a number of so-called “Internal” (closed) Journals devoted to such studies. I was accompanied to both of these regions by Mr. Cui Jian Hua, my former student. He was extremely helpful and tried and succeeded in making my visits very pleasant.



On a camel in Inner Mongolia

Inner Mongolia, not unlike Sinkiang, was full of bilingual signs in Mongolian and Chinese.



With Jian Hua Cui in the yurt



On a horse

The visit to the unplowed steppe, the ride on the small, sturdy horses and camels, and the sleep in the yurt all made a great impression on me. In my honor, a pot-belly pig was slaughtered. The pig probably anticipated its unhappy end because it tried to escape into the field. But to no avail, it was caught and slaughtered in the foulest fashion, with a short knife to its heart. The meal, however, was quite good and the sordid business of killing was conveniently relegated to the back of the mind.



Sacrificial pig

I also visited an old Mongolian woman, in a little hut on the steppe, who treated me to some very good tea and a drink of kumis (mare's milk); she praised the wonderful life that she led in modern China. Then I strolled over to a large mound and, to my complete astonishment, found a swastika at the religious monument located there.

I was very familiar with this symbol from WWII, except that the one in Inner Mongolia was not black but gold. Afterwards, in a discussion that followed, I was told that there were actually two swastikas, the male and the female, and that to do any good, both had to be represented at the same time. But at the monument, I only saw a single male swastika – the aggressive Nazi version, yet of a golden color.



Golden Swastika in Inner Mongolia

I was told that Inner Mongolia is represented on the Chinese flag as one of the stars, rather than by a riding horseman. It was also explained to me that a horseman and his mount should be facing west rather than east, as sometimes happens by mistake. When I thought about how, at one time, the Mongols conquered China, I felt that the rider and his horse should rather be facing south, but kept the thought to myself.

In the center of Hohhot, there is a huge mound over the grave of a Chinese princess who married a Mongol ruler of that region. This marriage is carefully pointed out as a significant, historical tie of the land to China. It now serves as one of the high elevations from which to see the city. As is usually my fate, here again I misspoke myself into a slight political incorrectness. Standing on the mound, I asked in which direction was China. The scholar-guide who accompanied us jumped up, and in a very determined tone emphasized that we were in China. I rephrased my question by inquiring “in which direction is Beijing?”

I was told not to wander the city after dark, but I disobeyed and went to the local Opera House to see a play. What surprised me was how the audience was making a running commentary on the stage action. I could not understand what the interpretations were all about, but saw various heated arguments breaking out in the audience. No such display of commentary occurred either in Beijing or Shanghai, where I also attended several opera

performances. The people were very friendly and offered me a local delicacy to nibble on.



Burial mound of imported Chinese wife near Hohhot

In Guilin, on the other hand, where I was not asked to perform or lecture, there were no visible signs that it was a national minority area. The Yao people could only be recognized by their colorful clothing, and I had no opportunity to talk to any of them. The trip down the Li River was extremely interesting and relaxing. It is the land of mysterious mountains so often represented in traditional Chinese paintings. The people are mostly Buddhist by religion and, as in other regions of China, very friendly to foreigners. All over the river there were numerous bamboo rafts full of cormorants that were catching fish.

Among the more remarkable experiences in China was my lecture at the Military Academy in Nanjing. In 1988, I travelled there from Shanghai, where I was made Honorary Professor of East China Normal University. After my seminar in Shanghai ended, Vice Rector Zhao Yunzhong gave a small speech, presented me with the diploma, the gathering of the professors politely applauded, we all drank some liquor and I was ready to meet the military.



Prof. Zhao Yunzhong, Vice Rector of East China University in Shanghai, presents me with the Diploma of Honorary Professor



With Major Tang and Captain Fong

In Nanjing, I was met by two officers, a Major Tang and Captain Fong, who delivered me to the hotel. It was from there that I was brought to the Academy two days in a row to deliver my lectures on recent developments in the Soviet Union.

One lecture was in English and the other, on the second day, in Russian. No translation was required, as all cadets spoke either one or the other language. It was hinted to me that the cadets were preparing for either diplomatic work or liaison functions with foreign military forces, and probably also for various intelligence tasks.



With teachers at the International Relations University of the PLA

It was particularly interesting that they were fully informed about my service in the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and were plying me with questions about our guerilla tactics, and – being a Ukrainian patriot – when did I intend to return to Ukraine. When I replied that I have settled in Canada and became a Canadian citizen, at least one of the cadets questioned my Ukrainian patriotism. I replied that I do not see any conflict in being a patriot of both Ukraine and Canada.

It was only during my lunch with the commanding officer of the academy and his political officer – also a general – that my involvement in the Korean War came to the surface. Both of these military personnel were colonels during the hostilities and the



Lecturing at the International Relations University of the PLA



With the generals at the International Relations University of the PLA

political commissar was wounded in the head. We had a friendly conversation and I mentioned amidst the overall laughter, that maybe it was me who shot him. I then asked the general why was the wave attack tactic employed by the Chinese forces, which must have cost them unusually large casualties. To this the general replied curtly that it was necessary to do so.

In their spare time, the two officers who were assigned to me took me to the magnificent Memorial for Sun Yatsen. The blue and white memorial made a fantastic impression on me. Only emperors, while still alive, usually built such memorials for themselves. A comparison to Mao's mausoleum in Beijing definitely did not favor the Great Helmsman. Furthermore, he lies in state covered by a red flag and the reflection from the glass makes his face red as if he were slightly ashamed by it all. I said so to some of my Chinese friends and they wholeheartedly agreed with me. They felt that keeping the corpse on public display was definitely not in harmony with Chinese traditions or in good taste.

Most of my visits to China were duly reported by me to the Canadian ambassador in Beijing, who always received me with a great deal of interest and respect. Virtually on every occasion, I was conveyed to the embassy in his official car.

The events in Ukraine were of great interest to the Chinese. However, unlike in Moscow, they had no knowledge of the country and, moreover, had no contacts with the newly established government of Ukraine. In various conversations with me, Prof. Jiang Chang Bin asked me if I had some contacts in Kyiv, and if I would be willing to help. I replied in affirmative, especially since the Ambassador-Designate to Ukraine was Mr. Zhang Zhen, his close friend and one of the Secretaries in the Chinese Embassy in Moscow.

On one occasion upon my stop in Kyiv, on the return trip home from Beijing, I stopped by the very small office of Ukraine's Foreign Affairs Ministry (it was not yet housed in the huge former headquarters of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine) and spoke to Mr. Bugayevsky, whom I had previously met in Canada. I told him that the Chinese are extremely interested in establishing an embassy in Kyiv, and discovered from him that Ukraine is willing to reciprocate in a positive fashion. I never again spoke to anyone at the Ukrainian Foreign Office, and do not know what ensued on the diplomatic level between the two countries; I do not think my involvement was very important to that process. Soon,

however, in 1992 to be precise, Mr. Zhang Zhen became the Chinese Ambassador in Kyiv and established his offices in the Hotel Rus'.

Whenever I was in Kyiv at that time – sometimes I was there several times a year – I kept in touch with Mr. Zhang. He felt quite isolated and kept asking for contacts. I suggested to him that he should start making friends within the scholarly community, especially since government officials seem to be friendly but aloof. I provided Ambassador Zhang with several names and helped him to organize several dinner parties. The guests were not aware that I suggested their names to the ambassador, and were pleasantly astonished that they were important enough for a good dinner party with the Chinese. I always tried to select interesting persons of various views, carefully avoiding “sovki” and especially ukrainophobes.



With late Zhao Yunzhong and wife Zu Din

At meetings with the ambassador, I also pushed the idea that one way of learning about each other would be through conferences. Soon this came to fruition, and the first conference on “Ukraine – China: The Paths of Cooperation” was organized in Kyiv in 1993, and the second conference on “China – Ukraine: The Paths to Cooperation” was organized in 1995, in Beijing. The materials of both proceedings were subsequently published. I participated

in both conferences, and gave a presentation in Ukrainian during the second conference. The topic of my talk was “Is a Democratic Ukraine Possible?” My presentation was translated into Chinese by Ms. Bao Suhong, who had spent several years studying in Kyiv on the stipend that I was able to secure for her and for Ms. Jiangyu Feng through Mr. Ivan Dziuba, who was then the Minister of Culture, and from our group in Canada. Ms. Bao’s Ukrainian was exceptionally good.

Prior to the conference, I had a very long talk with the Ukrainian Ambassador to China, Mr. Mykhailo B. Reznik. He was very happy that the conference was taking place but, not knowing Chinese, he proposed to deliver his speech in Russian. I pointed out to him that this might be misunderstood, especially as the Chinese ambassador at the first conference in Kyiv delivered his speech in Chinese. The ambassador spoke in Ukrainian. Everything went according to protocol, but then when his turn came to speak, Dr. Mykola Zhulynskyi, an important member of the Ukrainian delegation, delivered his remarks in Russian. I was thoroughly disgusted, as Dr. Zhulynskyi’s use of Russian lowered the tone of the discussions; and I told him so to his face. I was especially



On the Great Wall

displeased, because by trying to develop Chinese interest in Ukraine, it was necessary to alert them to the fact that it would be to everybody's benefit to learn the Ukrainian language. Dr. Zhulynskyi mumbled something in his own defense, but I was too livid to listen.

Another embarrassing moment came when, as is the Chinese custom, they took all the members of the delegation to a souvenir shop to purchase for them all kinds of trinkets by way of gifts. The behavior

of these people was very poor – they were arguing with the Chinese store personnel and practically fighting with each other for more desirable items. One person who stood aside from all this was Dr. Liubomyr Pyrih. The Chinese leader supervising the delegation ventured into the gift shop, approached me and said, “He is a European

isn't he?” “Yes”, I said, “but who are the others in your opinion?” “They are Soviets”, he replied.

This description was underscored when we all went to the Great Wall. One member of the delegation, a woman economist, got separated from the group, which compelled us to wait for her on the bus. Finally, two Chinese men appeared with a hysterical female who was making loud noises, and whose face was smeared with tears and mascara; once the men had delivered her to us, they quickly departed. She immediately launched into accusations that we left her there alone on purpose, and that she was in danger of being lost forever. Everybody was trying to calm her down, but she would have none of it. Finally, I had had enough of her tantrum. I told her that she stood out in the crowd like a sore thumb, that she could not become lost even if she wanted to, and that her behavior was simply childish. This calmed her down, but I must have incurred her total hatred. This scenario reminded me about how Soviet visitors



With Mr. Reznik,
Ukraine's Ambassador to China

to the West, wherever they went, were always herded like a bunch of sheep. We always explained this behavior by the KGB's need to control the group, but now I knew better – they were kept together also to provide a badly lacking sense of security and self-respect.



With Chinese Ambassador to Ukraine Zhang Zhen

When they were ready to depart, I had to escort the delegation of Ukrainian scholars to the airport. The President of the Chinese Association of Ukrainianists had to attend another function and I, as the Honorary President of the CAU, was charged with officially saying goodbye to the Ukrainian delegation, a rather amusing turn of events.

The Chinese tour of Ukraine was quite different. Their delegation was composed of two persons, Prof. Jiang Chang Bin and Ms. Bao Suhong. I was asked by the Ukrainian government to accompany them throughout Ukraine. The tour was placed under the auspices of the “Ukraina Society,” and this organization was responsible for all accommodations, transportation and any incidental expenses. We visited Kharkiv, Poltava, Kremenchuk, Kyiv, Simferopil, Yalta, Alushta and Sevastopol in Crimea, Ternopil and Lviv. We usually flew in a military plane and landed in military airports, with the exception of Kyiv, Lviv and Simferopil. The Chinese asked very few questions, but it appeared to me that nothing important escaped their attention. In Kharkiv they were

interested in Ukrainian tanks, although we never visited any factory, and spent most of our time at a local wedding that was taking place in the hotel (a rather poor one) in which we stayed.



With faculty at Wuhan. On the left Lu Dong and He Runchang

I remember the issue with the tanks quite well, because some years later, after he was no longer ambassador, Mr. Zhang Zhen and Ms. Bao Suhong attended the World Congress of Ukrainianists, which took place in Kharkiv. But rather than spending time with scholars, they went on a tour of military factories. Prof. Yaroslav Isayevych, who was then the Congress Chairman, complained to me bitterly about this, especially since the Organizing Committee was responsible for the expenses of the Chinese “participants.” I advised him not to pay them a cent. I am not aware of what actually took place, but back in Kyiv, Mr. Zhang was very satisfied with his visit to Kharkiv, and we celebrated his excursion to the World Congress with a splendid dinner composed of some twenty exclusive Chinese dishes and a huge selection of drinks. I did not mention the tanks to him. Not my type of business.

My association with China naturally evoked a lot of interest in the intelligence community both in Canada and the USA. I was visited on several occasions by members of the RCMP intelligence

division. These conversations were always very friendly and I always fully related my experiences in China. There was no need to hide anything, and besides, I made it a point of visiting our Canadian Embassy in Beijing, (usually the car from the embassy would pick me up) by having lunch there with the ambassador or taking a walk in the municipal rose garden for a thorough debriefing by him. The Chinese also probably used me to transmit their side of the story, because on several occasions, I would be seated at lunch adjacent to an invited guest from the Council of State, who would fill my ear with all appropriate news and items.



With students at Wuhan University

The Americans were also highly interested, and I was finally invited to give a lecture at the CIA building in Langley, Virginia. By then, my good friend Dr. Grey Hodnett, who at one time was professor at York University in Toronto, and with whom I had collaborated on various scholarly projects in the past, was an analyst at the CIA. It was he who officially invited me to give a presentation. I agreed. Later on I found out that, because I was a Canadian citizen, the invitation was cleared with the RCMP, unbeknownst to me.

Afterwards, I was taken to the EOB (Executive Office Building) to speak to Prof. Michel Oksenberg, who was then an academic adviser

on China at the National Security Council. He was extremely tired and was yawning often and loudly. A very short conversation with him impressed me that I was talking to the man whose ideas about China were similar to mine. We both agreed that it was important to establish good relations with China and not only as a counterweight to the Soviet Union although, naturally, I was favoring



Appointed by Jiang Chang Bin,
the Honorary Chairman of the Chinese
Association of Ukrainianists

that idea. He did not pump me for any details and, in all honesty, I am not certain, to this day, why he wanted to talk to me. Perhaps simply for him to confirm that others saw China as he did. The conversation lasted maybe fifteen – twenty minutes, and afterwards I departed to enjoy a good meal with my friends.



With Jiangyu Feng,
a student of Ukrainian and her son Jiangyu Mao (Mao Mao)

The last time I visited China was in 1995. I knew that I would probably not return, since I was retiring from my active academic life, and personally had no means to travel without the support of academia. I said so to my Chinese friends, and this resulted in heart rendering goodbyes. It was indeed a sad day for me. I continue to correspond with some of my Chinese colleagues, but slowly our once-close relations are cooling off. There remains one exception, Mr. Jian Hua Cui and his wife Ying Way Yeung. I guess this is as it should be.

China and the Chinese made a huge impression on me. I wish them all a good, prosperous future. Chinese democracy, however, is altogether a different story.

LITOPYS UPA

At present, the Litopys UPA already consists of four series and nearly 100 volumes of published documents and materials on the Ukrainian liberation struggle of WWII and after. More volumes are being prepared and what is more important, a considerable amount of the editing work is being done by younger researchers and scholars, many of whom live in Ukraine. The “Litopys UPA” Publishing House was and is, however, a Canadian institution, although it also maintains an office in the city of Lviv in Ukraine.



With Deputy
Prime Minister for
Humanitarian Policy
Dr. M. Zhulynskyi
during a meeting to
discuss the
“Litopys UPA”.
From left, Mykola
Kulyk, Administrator,
Ivan Lyko, Secretary,
M. Zhulynskyi,
P. J. Potichnyj,
Editor-in-Chief

The initiative for collecting and publishing documents belongs to the veterans of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) who, as a result of their raids to Western Europe in 1947-48 and as couriers later on, brought with them a large number of relevant documents from Ukraine. These documents were deposited in the Archive of the Foreign Representation of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council in New York and were later made available for our project. The Archive of the Misiia UPA in Munich, Germany was also donated to the Litopys UPA by Dr. Daria Rebet.



With Dutch generals who were freed by the UPA
from the Germans at a celebration in Kyiv

At a meeting on September 2, 1973 near Detroit, a decision was made to start the publication, and I was one of the four members of the Editorial Board who, together with Dr. M. Ripeckyj, M. Fedak and D. Mirshuk, was charged with the task of finding an editor and to secure funds for the publication. In 1975, Mr. Ievhen Shtendera, who was employed by the National Library in Ottawa, agreed to be the Responsible Editor and I accepted the position of Co-Editor. When he left in 1998, I became the sole editor of the publication. (The history of the Publishing House, in much greater detail, is described in vol. 42 (Basic series) of the Litopys UPA. See: Petro J. Potichnyj, **Litopys UPA – Istoriia: Dokumenty i materialy**. 2005).



100 volumes of the Litopys UPA

The project, overall, happened to be good and was generally accepted at first by Ukrainians and eventually by the scholarly community as a whole. The Ukrainian diaspora community came to our aid by way of subscribing to our publications, but also as individual benefactors, such as Mr. Roman Dubyniak from the United Kingdom (UK), Messrs. Volodymyr Makar, Teodor Besz from Canada, and Borys Halahan from the USA, who contributed generously to this project. We were also extremely fortunate to attract to this enterprise highly dedicated individuals, such as: Mr. Mykola Kulyk,

who, by devoting all of his waking time to the project, was able to collect enough funds over the years to ensure the continuing appearance of every new volume; Dr. Modest Ripeckyj, who directed the Publishing House for many years, and Dr. Ihor Homziak, who eventually took charge of our office in Lviv, Ukraine.

It must be added, that no one in the leading positions of the Publishing House is financially compensated for their work. Everything is being done *pro bono* and only our workers in the Lviv office are paid modest wages. Of course, the technical work and printing also must be paid for. For me, the work is extremely onerous, but also satisfying, because it allows me a continuing in-depth study of the movement to which I once belonged. Furthermore, rather than gather dust in some archive, various materials and documents that are being published here, benefit scholarship.

We have also succeeded, quite well, in distributing our publications not only in Ukraine, but also in the world at large. For example, an entire set of the "Litopys UPA" was presented by Ukrainian students to Pope John-Paul II during one of his public

audiences in the Vatican. My son Eugene was especially pleased for having been photographed with the Pontiff during the presentation. The Pope graciously accepted the massive gift, and knowing the Ukrainian language, he even spent some time looking through some of the volumes. His stewards, who had the task of carrying the books to the library, were probably less satisfied with this unusual gift.



Pope John-Paul II accepts the Litopys UPA from Eugene Potichnyj

Not everybody is satisfied with our efforts. Some feel that we should provide special analysis of historical events such as, the Polish-Ukrainian conflict in Volyn and Galicia, or the relationship of the Ukrainian underground vis-a-vis the Jewish questions during WWII. Some have even accused us of hiding documents that may shed a bad light on Ukrainians in such situations. These are spurious accusations. We publish all documents pertaining to a particular region that come from underground sources, whether or not they place the Ukrainian Liberation Struggle in a favorable light. Also, the Soviet, German, Czechoslovak, and Polish Communist sources of that

period are provided without alteration. It is up to historians to interpret the data. On the other hand, we cannot be blamed for the paucity of underground documents on the theme “The UPA and the Jews.” Many documents that we have published do mention Jews in friendly but also conflictive situations with the Ukrainian underground.

The Publishing House “Litopys UPA” also undertook to establish an archive at the University of Toronto. All of the materials and



The Litopys UPA presented to the
Chinese Association of Ukrainianists

documents which are obtained are deposited there and are accessible to researchers. The archive contains the microfilm of the entire archive of the Internal Forces of the Ukrainian Okruha, which encompasses some 150,000 pages of documents for the period 1944-1954, which I had the good fortune to obtain immediately after Ukraine gained its independence in 1991. The other part of the archive consists of paper documents and materials, primarily from the Ukrainian underground but also of Soviet, Polish, German and Czechoslovak provenance. The entire archive is titled “The Peter J. Potichnyj

Collection on Insurgency and Counter-Insurgency in Ukraine,” and is visited even by researchers from Ukraine and other European countries.

The original archive of the Internal Forces was relocated to Moscow, but eventually, at the insistence of the Ukrainian government, a microfilm copy (probably edited) was returned to Kyiv. It was at that time that I was able to purchase a copy and with the help of Mr. Francois A. Mathys, the Canadian ambassador, to transfer it to the University of Toronto. As a result, the archive of the Soviet Internal Forces in Ukraine is now located in Moscow, Kyiv and Toronto.

Even before Ukraine's independence was proclaimed, we at the Litopys UPA made various preparations to extend our activities to that country, especially by way of distributing our publications, but also, more importantly, to gain access to the former Soviet archives and to find institutions and scholars with whom we could cooperate.

We were quite fortunate to establish relations with the Institute of Ukrainian Archeography of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, and slowly also with various state archives, including the Archive of State Security, in which the largest number of the liberation movement documents was deposited. As a result, we were able to initiate a "New Series" of publications that was based primarily on Soviet sources or underground documents that were deposited in the formerly Soviet archives.



With Pavlo Sokhan in Kyiv

Two persons in Kyiv were especially interested in our collaboration. They included Prof. Pavlo S. Sokhan, Director of the Institute of Archeography and Dr. Hennadii Boriak, second in command. However, subsequently, such archivist-scholars as Volodymyr Lozytskyi and the late Anatolii Kentii, both from the TsDAHOU archive, also joined us in discovering and publishing Soviet documents dealing with counter-insurgency and the Ukrainian Liberation Movement. By the year 2012, some 18 volumes of documents had been published in the "New Series" which was established exclusively for this purpose.

Now an entire group of younger scholars has joined us in our enterprise and most of the publications (but not only) in the “Library Series” and the “People and Events” series have appeared because of their effort and dedication.

SCHOLARLY ASSOCIATIONS

Academic life in North America entails not only research and teaching at the university, but also membership in various scholarly associations that provide opportunities at their annual meetings for the presentation of written papers, discussions and the general exchange of views. I belonged to a number of such associations, including: American Political Science Association, Canadian Political Science Association, Academy of Political Science, Academy of Political and Social Science, Canadian Association of Slavists, American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, Shevchenko Scientific Society, International Committee for Soviet and East European Studies, Chinese Association of Ukrainianists, International Association of Ukrainianists, Deutsche Gesellschaft für Osteuropakunde, Polish Institute of America, Ukrainian Free Academy of Arts and Sciences and others.



At the AAASS in New Orleans. John Reshetar in center

The Canadian Association of Slavists (CAS) had a substantial number of scholars interested in Ukrainian studies, primarily in cultural fields, but also in history, economics and politics. I served this organization in the capacity of Secretary Treasurer (and the editor of the **CAS Bulletin**), but also as Vice President and eventually as President. This automatically made me an *ex officio* representative to the Canada Council, and later the Humanities and Social Science Council of Canada – the agencies responsible for financial support of various scholarly associations in the field of humanities and social sciences. These responsibilities were interesting, as they allowed me to closely follow the development of Ukrainian and East European studies not only in Canada, North America, but also in Western Europe. I was also terribly overworked. At one time, to the surprise of many, I flew to Ottawa for a meeting that took place one week earlier.



Part of the Ukrainian contingent at AAASS in Honolulu

At the beginning of the 1970s, various scholarly associations in Western countries created the International Committee for Soviet and East European Studies (ICSEES). Officially it was established in Banff in 1974. The ICSEES was to serve as a coordinating

center, and one of its tasks was to organize conferences. The first president was the late Prof. Adam Bromke from Carleton University and, from 1974, also from McMaster. I became the secretary of the preparatory committee for ICSEES and was intimately involved in organizing and running some of the international conferences. The First International Slavic Conference, "Banff 74," was held in Canada. Six years later, in 1980, the Second World Congress for Soviet and East European Studies was held in Garmisch-Partenkirchen, Germany, and the Third Congress took place in 1985, in Washington, D. C., followed by the Fourth Congress at Harrogate in England. The organization continues to exist and its Eighth Congress was held in Stockholm, Sweden in 2010.

Naturally, I was fully engaged in organizing and overseeing the First Conference, because it was held at the Banff Centre in Canada. This was also the first time that a Soviet group of scholars under the leadership of Academician Narochitskii came to the conference. Our side was extremely nervous about their presence, and went out of its way to accommodate the Soviet scholars. I remember that when the late Andrii Bandera organized an exhibit on Soviet Concentration Camps, which was located together with all of the other exhibits, the Committee members removed it, at night, without even mentioning it to me. But in their haste, they placed it right next to the entrance of the dining hall, thus making the exhibit even more visible. Luckily, there was no attempt to destroy it or we would have had a serious confrontation with Mr. Andrii Bandera and his people, especially as there were plenty of eager Ukrainians in nearby Calgary and Edmonton.

To make certain that no attempt to disrupt the conference would be made by Mr. Bandera – due to the relocation of the exhibit – I went to talk to him. He assured me that he was thoroughly satisfied, since now more people would be able to see it. Mr. Bandera only wanted to know who made the change; I did not tell him that it was a bunch of scholars on the Organizing Committee itself who were huffing and puffing for half the night, but rather explained it by the need for additional space to display books, which was a patent lie. He only laughed.

The hopes that somehow the Soviets and, along with them, East Europeans would join the organization, did not materialize. They even boycotted the Second Congress, and at the Forth Congress in England the participants were largely former dissidents from the USSR. It did not matter; by then the USSR was on its last legs.



Betty's Tea House, Harrogate, UK

The other less serious incident involved the Bulgarian participants. By mistake, their leader was located in a room that was reserved for somebody else, and without wasting any time, he moved in with his shapely companion, supposedly a secretary known better as “*secretute*.” Not knowing about it, I brought the rightful guest to the room and upon opening the door, all four of us were quite surprised. The Bulgarian and his secretary were in the process of duly “comparing” their conference presentations in bed. I apologized profusely, gave him the correct room number, and asked him to move there within a reasonable period of time. I avoided him after that for the entire conference.

The most amusing event took place when Prof. A. Bromke, three other members of the Committee and I went for an outing to Lake Louise in a rented car. We enjoyed ourselves, had a good lunch with plenty of wine and took a slow walk along the edge of the lake. On such occasions, time flies rapidly and it was soon time to return for an important session. It was then, as the designated driver, that I discovered the car keys were missing. Everybody was stunned, and A. Bromke, thoroughly irritated, turned to me and loudly commanded: “Go through your pockets systematically!!!,” even though I did it about five times without his command. We called for

another car and the situation was saved. I was actually quite happy that somebody else was driving. We all had too much to drink.



With Professors Sochor and Tokes in Washington, D. C.

Additional tasks in connection with the conferences included making sure that the conference papers were published. I was roped in with Jane Shapiro-Zacek into editing two volumes from the Banff conference ("**Change and Adaptation in Soviet and East European Politics**" and "**From the Cold War to Détente**," Praeger, 1976), a volume from the Garmisch-Partenkirchen conference ("**Politics and Participation under Communist Rule**," Praeger, 1983), and one volume from the Washington, D. C. conference, edited by me ("**The Soviet Union Party and Society**". Cambridge University Press, 1988).

The Fourth Congress was held at Harrogate in the U.K., where I acted as a session chair, but by then I was not interested in doing the onerous job of editing. Moreover, by 1989-90, I was at the Bundesinstitut für Osteuropäische und Internationale Studien in Koeln, Germany, and was preoccupied with the fall of the Berlin wall and reunification of Germany, as well as the upheavals in Poland, and the changes in the USSR which eventually resulted in Ukrainian independence.

My last Congress was in Warsaw in August of 1995. The subsequent Congresses in Tampere, Berlin and Stockholm I simply did not attend. In 1995, I retired from McMaster, but continued my association for one more year with the Ukrainian Free University in Munich. After that I only attended those academic conferences which offered some interesting discussions, such as Ukrainian-Slovak relations, in Slovakia (2010), the Jewish-Ukrainian Encounter, in Jerusalem (2010), and in 2011 at Potsdam near Berlin, and the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, which was held in Los Angeles, California. Also as Vice President of the Danyliw Foundation, I make an effort to attend the annual Danyliw Seminar at the University of Ottawa under the direction of Prof. Dominique Arel.

One of the conferences that I really enjoyed was held in Slovakia in 2009. I spoke on the march of my UPA unit through Czechoslovakia in 1947, to the gathering of Slovak scholars interested in Ukrainian affairs under the auspices of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, at its magnificent location in the Tatras.

In addition, Dr. Michal Smigel from the University of Mateja Bela in Banska Bystrica, was kind enough to take me to Rozemberok and Verner. Verner was one location where we had a bloody encounter with Czechoslovak troops.



In Rozemberok with Dr. Michal Smigel on the right

The last conference on Jewish-Ukrainian relations was organized jointly with the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, and the participants were located at the Hotel Adlon in Berlin and the Cecilienhof (where Churchill, Stalin and Truman met) in Potsdam. In connection with the conference, on June 29, 2011, a Commemoration Ceremony was held to mark the 70th anniversary of the invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941. This date is deeply imbedded in my mind, as it was on June 22, 1941, that fleeing Russians murdered my father in Salina near Dobromyl.



In Vernar. The place of bloody battle

Dr. Norbert Lammert, President of the German Bundestag, gave the Keynote Address, and Ms. Maryna Stavnichuk, Advisor to the President of Ukraine, also spoke. She even mentioned favorably the UPA in her talk. Later on, at the wine table, I profoundly thanked her for the speech and noted that the sentiments that she expressed should also be presented to President Yanukovich, as he seems to be following an opposite line. With a pleasant smile she told me that I was probably mistaken. We had a good conversation and it was nice that the Ukrainian government did not overlook this important conference, which dealt with various drastic questions that touched the lives of both Jews and Ukrainians during WWII.

The UJE conference was extremely well organized by Ms. Alti Rodal and her husband Barel. But thanks should go, first of all, to Mr. James C. Temerty of Toronto, who undertook to finance this endeavor. I was displeased only by the presentation of Prof. J. P. Himka, who maintained, quite incorrectly, in my opinion, that the UPA “systematically” killed Jews in 1943 and 1944. One should not exclude the possibility that in the underground especially in war conditions illegal actions could have taken place and some Jews were killed. But such actions were not sanctioned by the UPA High Command or the UHVR. Most likely the victims were killed as members of the Soviet partisans, or as functionaries of the Soviet government, or its agents, but not as Jews. Furthermore, Ukrainians or other nationalities in the same categories were also not spared, nor was there any mercy shown towards the members of the Ukrainian underground who fell into Soviet hands.



With Patriarch Filaret at the UPA cemetery in Oakville, Ontario

The UJE initiative resulted in the historic visit in April, 2012 of leaders of the Ukrainian Council of Churches and Religious Organizations (UCCRO) to Canada. The goal was to promote mutual understanding between the Ukrainian and Jewish people. In this

connection another historic event took place. His Holiness Filaret, Primate of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Kyiv Patriarchate, Patriarch of Kyiv and All Rus-Ukraine on April 21, consecrated the UPA monument at the St. Volodymyr Cemetery in Oakville and lead prayers on the graves of former insurgents.

The last two conferences were much less pleasant. In Los Angeles, I had to comment on papers by Professors Hunczak, Shapoval and Wrobel that dealt with Polish-Ukrainian relations. What struck me was that not much progress was made in this field from the time of the conference at McMaster some years earlier.

The Danyliw Seminar in Ottawa was also a disappointment to me, because several participants attempted to equate the Ukrainian Liberation Movement of World War II with German collaboration. Moreover, most of these individuals did not refer to the rich source material accumulated in the volumes of the Litopys UPA.

FAMILY REUNIFICATION

The murder of my father by the Russians in 1941, the destruction of the village Pawlokoma by the Poles in 1945, the murder of my grandmother, the deportation of Ukrainians in Akcja Wisla in 1947, and my march to the West, all contributed to the dispersal of our family. My mother and two brothers found themselves in the formerly German lands of East Prussia now known as “the recovered lands” of Poland.

I knew of their whereabouts already at the end of 1947, but the political situation of the Cold War did not permit our meeting, let alone reunification. In addition, I was either in Korea or studying at the university, and even if it had been possible, I could not afford to do anything along those lines. They were in no better situation. Having been trapped on a State Farm, they were all consigned to heavy manual labor.

After having served their stint in the Polish army, my brothers married and started to raise their families. In time, Andrii had three children, Zenon, and two girls, Alexandra (Lesia) and Iryna (Irka). Volodymyr had four kids, namely two boys, Iurii and Petro, and two girls, Katherine (Katrusia) and Daria (Darka). My mother lived with Volodymyr and his family. The two servant girls went their own way. Sofia (Zosia) was repatriated to Ukraine (from the village of Kotiv), and Maria (Marysia) was deported to East Prussia, but soon married a Belarusian fellow and separated from our family.



With my mother, my brothers and wives

Thus, it was only when I obtained my position at McMaster University that I could seriously contemplate the reunification of the family. Luckily by that time, the political situation in the Soviet sphere of interests also underwent significant modification. It all started with N. S. Khrushchev's famous "Secret Speech" which condemned Stalin and Stalinism. The situation in Poland also changed when power was transferred to W. Gomolka. He was replaced by E. Gierek in 1967, and I jumped at this opportunity to start the process of inviting my mother for a visit in Canada.

My mother came for a visit in 1968. She stayed with us for a few months and then decided to return to Poland to inform my brothers about the life on this side of the Atlantic. Evidently, as result of her report and recommendation, in 1972 my brother Andrii arrived for a visit. At first he stayed with us, but later moved to Toronto where he found temporary work with Mr. Paladijchuk. Upon returning to Poland, he decided that it would be wise to move his family to Canada. By then, his family consisted of his wife Antonina and three children, Zenon and two girls, Alexandra and Iryna. Bringing them over was not an easy task, as the Canadian immigration authorities were not very open to admitting immigrants from Eastern Europe.

But after 3 years of bureaucratic struggles, on November 5, 1975, my brother and his family found themselves in Canada. At first in Hamilton and later in Toronto, where he and his wife found jobs and the kids entered school.



Annual celebration of the triple birthday. From right Volodymyr and Andrii

Somewhat later, on March 27, 1976, my mother came over and settled with my brother's family in Toronto. After further battles with bureaucracy, in 1977-78 my brother Volodymyr, his wife Anastazia, and four kids, namely two boys Iurii and Petro, and two girls Katherine and Daria, also arrived in Canada and settled in Toronto.

Thus after 30 years of separation the family reconstituted itself in Canada. This was a good move. The children all completed higher education and are now productive members of Canadian society. In addition, they all began their own families. Thus, the Potichnyj clan has grown considerably and at the time of this writing, the children and grand children taken together, consists of some 42 persons.

But one task remained unfinished. It was the story of the arrest and murder of my father as a "Ukrainian nationalist" by the Soviet NKVD in Salina on June 22, 1941. I considered documenting this fact for my family as an important undertaking that could not be avoided. As soon as the Soviet Union began to fall apart in 1989, and I received permission to travel to Ukraine, I immediately undertook to obtain any or all documents pertaining to the criminal case of my father. With the help of many people, such as Mr. Ievhen Hryniv of the Lviv "Memorial", Mr. Volodymyr Kmetyk, the Director of the

Lviv Oblast TV-Radio Company, Mr. Ruslan Pyrih, the “Minister” for archives in Kyiv, and others, I was able to locate File Nr. 059778, which contained most of the documents pertaining to my father that were located in the Oblast KGB archive in Lviv, and stored under *Fond P-1927* in the building of former prison known locally as the Loncki jail. Mr. Kmetyk was also kind enough to personally take me to Salina, the location where my father was executed by the Russians.

Although I was glad to discover the documents, it was very difficult for me to comprehend that when my father was executed, most of the papers of the case were evacuated to Russia before the German invasion, and were later returned to Western Ukraine.

The case was opened against two individuals, my father and Mr. Ivan Dzivik, and both were accused of the same crime, anti-Soviet activities. But on June 22, 1941, Mr. I. Dzivik was released from jail while my father was executed. The



Prison photograph of my father

The materials of the case show that he was a secret informant for the Polish police in the years leading to WWII, and prior to his release by the Soviets he was probably recruited as their informant. It appears that just before the outbreak of the German-Soviet War, Mr. Dzivik denounced some 25 individuals, including his two brothers, to the Soviets. All of them were arrested and incarcerated in Nyzhankovychi, from which all escaped when the war began. He continued his nefarious activities under the Germans as well. Mr. Dzivik denounced the same 25 people, including his two brothers, for anti-German activities and probably to hide his cooperation with the Soviets. When they were incarcerated in Rzeszow jail, he was placed in the cell with them, probably to obtain further incriminating information. It was there that he was attacked and severely beaten and died shortly thereafter. All those denounced by him were released from jail by the Germans.

It should be added that on April 3, 1957, my father was officially “rehabilitated” by the Soviets as an individual who was accused and executed on the basis of insufficient evidence.

Thus, it was some 70 years after his execution, 54 years after his rehabilitation by the Soviets, and 22 years after I started my search, that I was able to obtain the documents and to publish the book under the title “**Sprava bat’ka**” (My Father’s Case), Ancaster-Lviv, 2011.

This publication of some 224 pages, containing most of the recovered documents, was published with the financial support of our entire family in Canada and the Taras Shevchenko Foundation of Canada. With all the personal and bureaucratic difficulties aside, this publication served as a type of memorial for an individual who was not only proven innocent, but was also denied a decent burial. I hope that the book provides a proper closing of this case.



Family in Canada in 2009

Thus far, the book has received a great deal of praise for its novel approach of allowing the documents to tell the story, with only explanatory interventions by the author. I should add here that I am extremely thankful to Dr. Ihor Homziak in Lviv for overseeing all stages of its publication. My only hope is that this “case study” will be emulated by others, so that the history of Russian Communist atrocities in Ukraine will receive its proper place and not be forgotten.

PAVLOKOMA

The murder of the Ukrainian inhabitants of my village by the Polish Armia Krajowa in March 1945 continued to haunt me all through my life. When, after the fall of the Soviet Union, the opportunity presented itself, I travelled to the village to pay my respect to the 366 innocent people that were massacred there by the Polish chauvinists.



Main monument at the cemetery

I discovered that the cemetery in which most of the victims were buried in three mass graves, (many were buried individually or in groups in other parts of the village) had become a refuse dump for the village. Only some of the grave monuments from the period before the massacre were still standing, but even they were on the verge of disappearing due to neglect. There was no fence and the neighboring cows were grazing among the few remaining tombstones.

The beautiful Ukrainian Catholic Church was razed in 1965, and the brick from the church was used to build a village drinking hall. The remnants of the church bell tower remained as the last visible witness, but it was also slowly giving in to the elements. Something had to be done, and several of us who hailed from Pavlokoma banded together to preserve the memory of our ancestors.



One of the three mass graves in
Pavlokoma

In Canada, we established The Pavlokoma Foundation whose purpose was to undertake the preservation of the cemetery. Mr. Zenon Potichnyj, my nephew, became the head of the foundation, while Mrs. Stefania Kohut, my cousin Mr. Bohdan Fedak and I became members of the executive. In Poland, Mr. Ivan Fedak (no relation) began gathering information from various levels of government on how to proceed with the restoration of the cemetery. To help with this effort, I published a book about Pavlokoma under the title **“Pavlokoma 1441-1945: History of the Village.”** This helped to cement the former

Pavlokoma inhabitants scattered throughout the world, and their children, into a unified community. As a result, we raised some funds for the restoration efforts and placed further pressure on Polish and Ukrainian authorities.

I have particularly fond recollections of the Pavlokoma book presentation in Lviv. Mr. Vasyl Kuibida, the then mayor of the city, provided the facilities and also spoke at the gathering. The presentation was well attended by, among others, a large contingent of former Pavlokoma inhabitants now residing in Ukraine. All of them were presented with a copy of the book. For me it was a very moving experience.

In Ukraine, another of our cousins, Mr. Volodymyr Fedak, (and also his brother Omelian) did all he could to organize the remnants of the former Pavlokoma dwellers and made efforts to acquire support for the restoration of the Pavlokoma cemetery by the Lviv Oblast and the National Government in Kyiv.

The resistance to our efforts in Poland was fierce. All kinds of obstacles were thrown in our path, especially on the village and local administrative level. But we persisted and with Poland aspiring to be a member of the European Union, the authorities could not operate in opposition to the practices prevailing in this field in the West and we were successful.

Slowly we were able to fence the cemetery, clean it up and install three iron crosses there in commemoration of the three mass graves. Mr. Dionizy Radon, a local Pole, who as a child witnessed the massacre, undertook to keep the cemetery in order. Finally, on May 13, 2006, the presidents of Ukraine (Viktor Yushchenko), and the Republic of Poland (Lech Kaczynski), attended the ceremony of unveiling a memorial inscribed with the names of the 366 victims. At the ceremony, I was not allowed to say a few words from the survivors of the killing. But my short statement in both Polish and Ukrainian was widely publicized in the Polish and Ukrainian media, thus achieving its purpose. I was permitted, however, to present my book on Pavlokoma to both presidents. Today the cemetery is listed as a tourist attraction.



The bell tower in Pavlokoma



The refurbished bell tower

Moreover, quite recently, the bell-tower of the church was also refurbished and now proudly marks the location where Pavlokoma's church once stood. A commemorative plaque is being contemplated for the ruined church.

Despite my difficult memories of Poland and some Poles, I do not hold any grudges against the Polish people at large, and especially not against the intellectual elite. Of all the nations under Soviet control, the Poles, more than any other Eastern Europeans, were able to successfully hold their own in historical studies, and in literature and culture. There were of course plenty of "yes men" who supported the party line, but they were not able to completely overwhelm the independent thinkers and activists.



With Adam Michnik and Stefania Szlek-Miller

One such activist was Adam Michnik. I met him briefly for the first time in 1976-77, in Paris, at one of the conferences on dissent in Eastern Europe, and was immediately impressed by his intellect and drive. As soon as I was able to, in November 1989, I invited him to speak at the conference organized by me and George Danyliw for the Ukrainian People's Home in Toronto. Later on, when Adam Michnik became the Editor-in-Chief and publisher of **Gazeta Wyborcza**, I went to see him in Warsaw and had very insightful

conversations with him. Mr. Michnik was also kind enough to arrange for my visit with Jacek Kuron, his old friend and another of my favorite individuals. Both of them were uniquely talented people who would stand out in any society. Adam Michnik later played an important role in the so-called "Orange Revolution" in Ukraine. As an aside, we were all so taken in by the events of that time, that the color "Orange" was prominently displayed everywhere. This affected even the smallest kids who associated this color with the leading man of that time. I remember my little granddaughter Alexa, who insisted that she would eat the cucumber salad, which she called "momo," only if it was sprinkled with French orange sauce which she called "Yushchenko." Mr. Yushchenko, however, did not live up to this reputation.

One year prior to Ukraine's independence, a meeting was held in Warsaw and the Jablonna castle nearby on May 3-6, 1990, between Polish and Ukrainian parliamentarians. I was then in Warsaw and was included in this gathering. This was perhaps the first time since WWI that Ukrainians and Poles talked to each other on that level. The discussions were very open and extended to visiting various ministries in small groups, where the Polish side informed the Ukrainians what actions it had undertaken, up to that time, to bring Poland out from under the Soviet cloud. Later on in Jablonna, the activities consisted mostly of drinking and, as is the Ukrainian and Polish custom, a lot of loud singing late into the night. Those were, indeed, heady times.

Then, and much later, I also went to see Dr. Ryszard Torzecki, the author of several books on Polish-Ukrainian-German affairs. He and his wife were very kind to receive and host me in their apartment. I did not realize that he was quite ill and that his presence among us was destined to be short.

The other persons who made an impression on me were, Dr. Andrzej Paczkowski, who supplied me free of charge with the newly acquired Moscow archive documents from the "Papka Stalina," and Dr. Grzegorz Motyka, a specialist on the Ukrainian underground. Among the others, I would like to mention, namely, Ievhen Misylo (Eugeniusz Misilo), who has done an important, very critical and lasting work on various aspects of Polish-Ukrainian relations, as well as Petro Tyma and Iza Chruslinska.



Petro Tyma



Iza Chruslinska

Among the various publications which they produced, two were very close to my heart, especially as I was interviewed for both of them. One such work, **“Wiele Twarzy Ukrainy” (Many Faces of Ukraine)**, dealt with the Polish-Ukrainian relations, and the second publication, **“Dialoghy porozuminnia” (Dialogues of Understanding)**, focused on various aspects of Jewish-Ukrainian relations.

I should also state that, despite my very critical review of past Polish-Ukrainian relations, Ms. Jadwiga Nowakowska, a Polish television journalist, requested an interview with me in 2006, just prior to the opening of the Pavlokoma memorial by the two presidents. Later on, it was televised in prime time under the title “Przeżyli, żeby powiedzieć prawdę” (They Lived to Tell the Truth). Ms. Nowakowska’s polished exterior and pleasant behavior could not hide, however, her extremely high intelligence and her critical but objective view of life. The interview was set in a small forest near Warsaw, where I was taken by her team which, in jest, I dubbed the “Polish Taliban.”

Somewhat later, I had an interview with Agnieszka Arnold, famous for her reports of the Jedwabne massacre of Jews (“Śąsiedzi”), who came to see me in Canada. I think she was preparing a report on the Ukrainian underground. She was especially enthusiastic about her meeting with Danylo Shumuk, a famous dissident and a member of the UPA, who was by then living out his last days in Ukraine.



Jadwiga Nowakowska



Agnieszka Arnold



Interview with Dr. M. Smigel

Ms. Arnold thought, however, that her conversations with Gen. Vasyl Kuk, the last Commander of the UPA, were totally worthless because, according to her, "he was lying." She and I spent an entire day in an intense conversation. The film that Ms. Arnold made was evidently shown on Polish TV, but I never saw it and do not know its contents.

The Czech TV decided to produce a film about the UPA. They gave it a rather popular title "Banderovci." Among others, they decided to interview me as well, and sent Dr. Michal Smigel to Hamilton to talk to me. He also went to Toronto to talk with other former UPA soldiers. The film is not perfect in some historical details but, on the whole, is quite interesting and objective.

VIDNOVA

The first issue of the journal "Vidnova" was launched in 1984, after a great deal of preparation that took nearly two years. It was devoted to culture, society and politics in Ukraine and the Ukrainian diaspora communities. It was conceived as a competitor to "Suchasnist," which was predominantly a literary journal.

The *spiritus movens* behind this project, and eventually the Editor-in-Chief, was Prof. Jaroslaw Pelenski from the University of Iowa. The co-editors were Prof. Yaroslav Bilinsky from the University of Delaware, Prof. Bohdan Osadczuk-Korab from the Free University of Berlin and me. The Editorial Board was originally composed of 11 individuals (later this number expanded), mostly from various academic institutions but also others. These included three women (Prof. Martha Bohachevsky-Chomiak, former dissident Ms. Raisa Moroz, and Ms. Roksolana Saiuk), two Poles (Jakub Karpinski and Wlodzimierz Odojewski), Prof. Roman Szporluk from the University of Michigan, Prof. Dmytro Zlepko, from the Ukrainian Free University, Prof. Teofil Kis from the University of Ottawa, and Messrs. Borys Shneider, Ievhen Zyblykevych and Vasyl' Hryshko.

The funds to launch the journal were derived from a special CIA fund, the source of financial support, at that time, for most of the important publications on Eastern Europe and the USSR, such as the Polish "Kultura" in Paris, several Russian ("Kontinent") and other journals and books. The journal was published in Germany and Prof. Osadczuk-Korab, as a German citizen, became the official publisher.

In order to obtain financial support, an organization had to be created with letters patent, an official location, bank account, etc. The Director of the Committee became Dr. Jaroslaw Pelenski. I agreed to become a member of the Executive. The location of the organization was in Philadelphia at the Lypynsky Institute, which was headed by Prof. Pelenski. Soon, however, it transpired that as a Canadian citizen, I was not eligible to be on the Executive and had to resign. Thus, I was not and could not be privy to financial arrangements in connection with the project. But my association with the journal "Vidnova" continued until its demise in 1987, when the last issue of the journal was published. Over the years, I contributed several articles on China, Russia and several book reviews. My work was entirely *pro bono* and I think that only Prof. Pelenski, his wife and the technical work on the journal were being compensated. This was definitely the case when he took a two-year leave of absence from the University of Iowa to oversee publication of the journal. But because I never dealt with this side of the matter, I cannot really say.



Jaroslaw Pelenski

The journal was an important source of information on Ukraine, the USSR and Eastern Europe in general, and was quite well received. The issue of Polish-Ukrainian relations was central as far as editorial policy was concerned. This was not surprising as both Prof. J. Pelenski and Prof. B. Osadczuk-Korab were fully devoted to this theme. My own interests also focused on Ukraine and Poland. Other aspects, such as Russian-Ukrainian relations, religious matters, especially the status of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic



Roman Szporluk



Bohdan Osadcuk



The last issue of Vidnova

Church, transformations in China, and the question of feminism in Ukrainian society, were also discussed and analyzed.

In my opinion, the biggest obstacle to the journal's continued existence was Prof. Pelenski's health. A dominant, ambitious but also a very cautious figure, Prof. Pelenski came down with serious heart problems and could not devote the necessary time to the journal. As a result, there was nobody else ready or willing to replace him. Cohesiveness among the editorial team was also lacking. In June 2011, when I visited Prof. B. Osadcuk-Korab in Berlin, he told me that in his opinion, the fall of the journal was entirely the fault of Prof. Pelenski, whom he described as highly self-centered and, in addition, totally dominated by his late wife Christina. I should add here that a similar opinion was expressed by Prof. Pelenski, but he attributed the demise of the journal to the negative attitude of, above all, Prof. Osadcuk-Korab. In his opinion, however, the end of the journal was mainly the lack of money.

Thus, precisely at the time when the Soviet Union was breaking up into its component parts, and when these events required serious attention and analysis, the journal went out of existence. Luckily, the journal "Suchasnist," which was viewed

by our editorial board as a competitor, continued to appear. It survived the fall of the Soviet Union and later was published in an independent Ukraine. I contributed to its pages as well.

As an aside, I should mention that during my visit, we discussed with Prof. Osadczyk-Korab not only the conference which I was attending, but also a variety of other matters, among them, Ukrainian-Polish relations, which both of us found highly interesting.

One of the topics included the contemporary political leadership in Ukraine under the helm of President Yanukovych. Both of us assessed his activities rather critically. Then, at the break of serious conversation, my friend mentioned Ms. Hanna Herman, a close collaborator of Yanukovych, who, he said, impressed him as an intelligent “woman with large teats”. I was speechless and looked somewhat surprised because, probably for emphasis, he added “absolutely humongous teats.” We both roared with laughter, but he was seated in a flimsy plastic chair and when he also moved his rather corpulent body, the chair broke to pieces and he landed on the floor. His immediate comment was, “see how nicely I landed? It’s years of skiing that helped me here.”

Unfortunately, Prof. Osadczyk-Korab no longer had full use of his legs and it took me at least fifteen minutes to put him back into another chair. My parting shot to him was “do not talk about Hanna Herman while sitting in a lousy chair.” He asked me for my memoirs and, upon returning to the hotel, I dispatched them to him by courier. Prof. Osadczyk informed me that he is dictating his memoirs as well, but was not able to say when they will be published. His impressive library (some 30,000 volumes) has been promised to the Ukrainian Free University. Professor Osadczyk passed away at age 91, near Krakow, on October 19, 2011, during his visit to Poland and his death was commented



Yaroslav Bilinsky

upon at length in most of the Polish media. His contribution to Polish-Ukrainian understanding was momentous, for which he was decorated with the Commander Cross of the Order of Merit, and subsequently with the highest Polish decoration – the Order of the White Eagle. Ukraine decorated Prof. Osadczuk with the Order of Yaroslav the Wise. He will be missed.

UKRAINIAN FREE UNIVERSITY



Crest of the Ukrainian Free University

The Ukrainian Free University (UFU) was established in Vienna January 17, 1921. It was organized by Ukrainian academicians, some of whom had held chairs at universities in the Russian and Austro-Hungarian Empires. The university was transferred in the fall of 1921 to Prague, Czechoslovakia, where it was granted full academic accreditation and financial support.

After the Second World War, the university moved to Munich, Germany, and on September 16, 1950, the Ministerial decree of the Free State of Bavaria guaranteed degree granting privileges. The university became a recognized Western European scholarly centre, specializing in the study of Ukraine within the USSR and of Ukrainians in the Diaspora. It is now a highly specialized, European Union graduate school that grants M. A. and Ph. D. degrees. The three faculties, namely, the Faculty of Ukrainian Studies, the Faculty of Philosophy, and the Faculty of Government and Political Economy, continue to focus on Ukraine. The university functions primarily in Ukrainian but English, German and other languages also have their place in the curriculum. Most of the faculty members simultaneously hold permanent academic positions at European Union, American, Canadian and Ukrainian institutions of higher learning.

I was associated with the university from late 1970s (the rector at that time was Dr. Wolodymyr Janiw, a survivor of a German concentration camp) which association was officially recognized by McMaster University, and I periodically offered various courses, usually during the summer semester. When I retired from McMaster

in 1995, I was offered the deanship of its Faculty of Government and Political Economy, a position which I reluctantly accepted. I served in this capacity for one academic year, 1995-96.



Dr. Honoris Causa for President Kuchma of Ukraine



With Profs. T. Ciuciura and Z. Sokoluk

It was not one of my best choices. The administrative tasks were quite onerous and the students, especially those from Ukraine or other East European countries, were quite undisciplined; their stay in Germany was viewed by many as some kind of relaxed vacation and they needed very close supervision. The dean of the Faculty of Philosophy was Dr. Jaroslav Rozumnyj from the University of Manitoba who, not unlike me, was there for a year. We worked together rather well.



Holy Mount Andex Monastery where its “miraculous” beers cured my kidney stones

The rector was Dr. Myroslav Labunka, formerly a history professor at La Salle University in Philadelphia. He held a high opinion of himself, but was not a very good administrator. He also faced great pressure from the German Federal and Bavarian authorities who insisted that, because Ukraine had gained its independence, financial support from the German source should be either substantially cut or discontinued. Despite my and Prof. Rozumnyj’s advice to be as accommodating as possible with the German authorities in order to gain time, Prof. Labunka proceeded in a rather aggressive manner, which in the long run led to the complete withdrawal of both Federal and Bavarian support for the university.



As Dean at UFU. At left, Prof. B. Osadczyk, Pro-Rector,
and Prof. W. Janiw, Rector, center

The university survives on the funds provided by its US Foundation as well as sources allocated from student tuitions. I hope that the university will be able to continue its good work and that the government of Ukraine will eventually provide assistance for its future development.

GENEVA AND KOELN

In 1976, I took my sabbatical leave and decided to engage in research on labor problems in the USSR at the ILO library in Geneva. The library was a depository for labor publications from around the world, including the Soviet Union. Moreover, it was completely automatized and before any serious search was to be undertaken, one had only to ask for a printout of the library holdings in any number of fields. My first week was spent collecting detailed bibliographies pertaining to all aspects of the Soviet labor force. What I discovered, to my amazement, was that the earlier Soviet history was much better covered in various ILO publications than the latter history. The more recent period was full of propagandistic literature, quite boring and unreliable. This was disappointing,



Jet d'Eau in Geneva

because I had covered most of the early materials while doing research on my Ph. D. dissertation at the Yale University Library. Nevertheless, the multiple bibliographies, even if somewhat repetitious, were useful as a guide to what I needed to see.

There were two aspects of my stay in Geneva worth mentioning. The first, a pleasant one, was that the ILO and the library were staffed by a large contingent of Asians, mostly Indians, who were friendly and extremely accommodating. One had a feeling that they had very little to do, and therefore all of my requests provided some relief from boredom. I made a number of friendly acquaintances among the Asians, and we attended all kinds

of free lunches or “happy hour” gatherings which were provided by various delegations to the ILO. Moreover, although most of them were vegetarians, the Asians did not abstain from alcohol. This is entirely proper, in my opinion, as the drinks, after all, were not concocted out of meat.

The second aspect of my visit was much less pleasant. The apartment that was assigned to me was overrun by hordes of small, red ants that were extremely aggressive and hostile. The first night I hardly slept and to keep them in check, I flooded the floor of the apartment every morning and night and placed the legs of the bed into containers full of water. This cut down on the number of ants that managed to crawl into my bed, but it did not stop their persistence entirely. Because of their color and nasty habits, I called them “Bolsheviks” which upset my newly acquired Indian friends. They were all rather pro-Russian.

After some three weeks of this struggle, I decided to take a vacation and went to Munich for a visit with Dr. Borys Lewytzkyj. It was there that I received the news from my wife Tamara that her mother, my mother-in-law, had died. I immediately returned to Geneva and flew back home. My sabbatical at the ILO ended on that sad note.

In Koeln, I worked for a year at the Federal Institute for East-European and International Studies. It was a thoroughly pleasant experience. I travelled there in 1989 on the recommendation of Prof. Gerhard Simon, whom I met at Harvard. Germany was undergoing profound changes and the Federal Republic was getting ready to absorb the GDR. I marveled and was thoroughly impressed at the efficiency with which the West German society was being readied for this historic reunification.

My duties at the institute were to observe and study the situation in the USSR, and especially in Ukraine. There was a weekly seminar that one could attend if an interesting topic was discussed. But the most appealing aspect of the institute was its library, which was supervised by Mr. W. Mardak, a Ukrainian from Bukovyna. It was there that I produced a number of studies on Ukraine that are mentioned elsewhere in this book.



Inside the Koeln Cathedral

No less important was the generosity of the institute's leadership to provide additional financial resources for travel to Ukraine, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Austria, and on one occasion, to Italy. The final trip, in a rented car, was with my wife Tamara.

On our return journey, we ended up in the Beskid Mountains, in Southeastern Poland, where we visited the village of Drevnyk. My wife, after a short stay there, had emigrated from Drevnyk, formerly a Ukrainian village, with her parents. The village is now totally destroyed. I was interested in the general area as well, because on our path to Western Europe in 1947, my UPA unit fought several hard battles here with Polish Communist troops. From there we travelled to Krakow, where I gave a lecture at the Jagellonian University, and to Częstochowa, to visit the icon of the Black Madonna, which found itself there after a long and tortuous journey from ancient Ukraine, and is now considered the Holy Protectress of Poland.

It is with great pleasure that I remember the hospitality of Nadia and Gerhard Simons. Nadia spoke good Ukrainian, Russian and Finnish, and was interested in Finland, Russia and Ukraine. They were superb hosts. It was in their house that I had a humorous encounter with an important Russian visitor, who could not comprehend why I thought that the Soviet Union was on its last legs. We consumed quite a bit of alcohol that evening, yet it was not the liquor that clouded his mind but rather the lack of critical thinking. My arguments were interspersed with his boisterous laughter. He must have sobered up shortly thereafter, but I never had an opportunity to meet him again

PRAGMATICS OF DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

Canada recognized Ukraine's independence in December 1991, established diplomatic relations in January 1992 and opened its embassy in Kyiv in April 1992. Very shortly thereafter, Prof. Howard Aster, The Hon. John Roberts, P. C., and I made contact with our Department of External Relations and proposed that a teaching seminar for Ukrainian legislators be organized in Kyiv to acquaint them with the electoral laws and practices of Canada. We named our project "Pragmatics of Democratic Society." Our proposal was accepted, funded and we started preparatory work on organizing the seminar.

Eventually this project was planned in five parts: 1. The Campaigns and Elections – Campaign College; 2. The Verkhovna Rada's delegation to Canada to observe the Canadian federal elections; 3. The third part was to be a seminar on the media, elections,

journalism & democracy; 4. The fourth part consisted of the short term placement of a Canadian legal expert in Ukraine; 5. And finally, we wanted to mount a television production titled “Election Night in Ukraine.” The fifth project was not executed due to objections from Ottawa. The first four parts were successfully organized.

With Canadian
Ambassador
F. Mathys



The preparatory work in Canada was relatively easy, in spite of some bureaucratic twists and turns, and negotiations with other institutions interested in our project – e. g. The Niagara Institute proceeded smoothly. Negotiations with Ukrainian organizations, however, were difficult, and complicated. There were many problems to resolve and these required several visits and an extensive round of correspondence and telephone calls.

After several visits to Ukraine, including one together with Prof. Howard Aster and Mr. Edgar Cowan from the Niagara Institute, we were able to negotiate a reasonable agreement. I had to travel to Kyiv to carry on the negotiations with Mr. Oleksander Yemets', (now deceased), of the Reforms and Order Party, Mr. Volodymyr Kampo (now a Constitutional Court judge), Mr. Vasyl Durdynets', the then Vice-Speaker of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, Mr. Oleksander Moroz, the leader of the Socialist Party, and numerous other individuals, to persuade them to support our initiative. Each of them was amenable to our project but, as is usually the case in Ukraine, they were not willing to put much effort into the enterprise.

An amusing episode occurred during our visit to Mr. Moroz. He seated me and Prof. Aster facing the window while remaining in

the shadows, and proceeded to interrogate us about the project. I was somewhat put off by such treatment, and knowing that he was elected from the Korets region in Volyn, I asked him point blank why doesn't he do something about the sorry state of the huge Jewish cemetery in his electoral district, which became the site for the collection of garbage and a pasture for local cows. It so happened, that Prof. Aster's father hailed from Korets and we visited the locality prior to our meeting with Mr. Moroz. He mumbled something that the problem will be solved. Eventually, the problem was remedied by the Jewish diaspora. We also met and had discussions with Dr. Mykola Zhulynskyi , who in 1992-94 was the Vice-Premier for Humanitarian Policy.

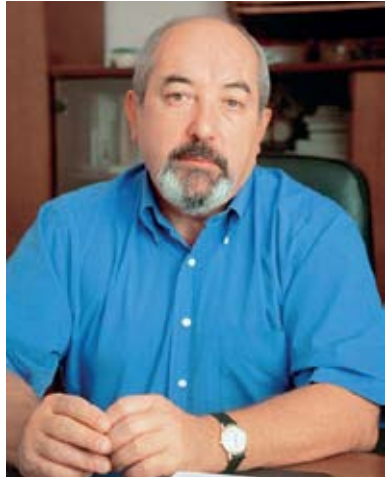


With Howard
Aster at McMaster

At the last moment, some circles, who were opposed to our project and as a step to limit participation, managed to organize a separate conference. But this did not stop us. Most importantly, however, without the work on our behalf of Mr. Volodymyr Kmetyk, who was then the director of The Halychyna Film Studio in Lviv, we probably would not have succeeded. He had close relations with Mr. Zynovii Kulyk, the First Vice-President of Derzhhteleradio Ukrainy (Ukraine State Radio and Television) who was well connected

with people in power, and it was he who was able to ensure the success of our undertaking.

At the same time, we started organizing a Canadian contingent comprised of members from various political parties, as well as the Chief Electoral Officer – “Elections Canada,” Mr. Jean-Pierre Kingsley; Mr. Ron Gould, Assistant Chief Electoral Officer – “Elections Canada;” Messrs. Allan Holman, CBC Radio News; Gerald Caplan (NDP); Marcel Côté (PC); and Martin Goldfarb (Liberals); The Hon. John Roberts, James Coutts, John Laschinger, and Mark Starowicz. Howard Aster, The Hon. John Roberts and I provided



Zynovii Kulyk

insights not only on the national campaigns, strategic research, the platform and the basic issues, but also the position and strategy of each party, the role of the leaders, campaign research, polling, communications, etc. The Ukrainian lecturers were: Nebozhenko, Lavrynovych, Bilous, Vydrin, Pashkov and Tomenko.



Some of the seminar participants



With Volodymyr
Kmetyk

The first seminar (which took place on November 30 – December 1, 1992) was a huge success in its own right, and the Ukrainian participants from almost all existing parties expressed their gratitude to us, and indirectly to our political leadership in Canada as well. In addition, the seminar also bolstered the activities of the newly established embassy and its ambassador, Mr. Francois Mathys, who was fully cooperative and supportive of our effort. Mr. Volodymyr Kmetyk, who provided logistics for the seminar from the Ukrainian side, did a remarkable job. Without his input and his organizational skills, the goals of the seminar would have been that much more difficult to achieve.

The second part of the endeavor, a visit by Ukrainian party representatives on a Study Tour of Canada, which was organized for October 21-30, 1993, was also very successful. Four members of the Verkhovna Rada arrived at the time when federal elections were being held in Canada. As a result, these parliamentarians had the opportunity to visit electoral districts, converse with election officials and observe the electoral process at the polling booth. In addition, they received information, briefings, campaign materials and election law materials from all of the major parties. This was a lead-up to the Parliamentary elections in Ukraine, which were scheduled for March 1994. The visitors were: Mr. Ivan Mussiyyenko, Socialist Party, Mr. Anatoly Tolstoukhov, Ukrainian Labor Congress Party, Mr. Oleksander Piskun, RUKH, and Mr. Oleksander Vorobyov, Party of the Democratic Rebirth of Ukraine.



Reception at the Canadian Embassy

The third part of the initiative focused on the media as a catalyst for democratization. The seminar “Media, Elections, Journalism and Democracy” was held in Kyiv January 26 – January 31, 1994. It was composed mostly of speakers from Canada. The Canadian participants were of high caliber. Mr. Arnold Amber combined election night expertise and journalistic experience. Mr. Edward Ayers, Q. C. and a well known expert on election law and broadcasting law also agreed to come. And finally, Ms. Gloria Bishop of CBC Radio, and Mr. Gordon Barthos of *The Toronto Star* also joined the team.

Mr. V. Kmetyk and Mr. Z. Kulyk were principal participants on the Ukrainian side, and they provided a wide range of services, accommodation and facilities at no cost to the project.

As always, we could not avoid some humorous misunderstandings. The Q. C. initials following Mr. Ayers’ name meant to Ukrainians that he was a very close adviser to the Queen and they treated him almost as royalty. His hotel accommodation was very spacious and he was moved from place to place in a special car. His wife was given special tours in Kyiv and her every little whim was immediately satisfied. On one occasion, while returning from an evening theatre performance in a street bus (everybody wanted to feel close to the people), Mrs. Ayers was accosted by a drunkard who grabbed her hand and wanted to kiss her. We were all somewhat concerned but she simply laughed it off.



Luncheon at the Embassy

The fourth and fifth aspects of the project were not mounted because some Ottawa politicians felt that these initiatives would represent too much concentration of such efforts in the hands of the same people. The result was that other projects, those that were organized in Western Canada, replaced our efforts.

UKRAINE

It is probably clear to everyone that my biggest passion in life (aside from my wife and family) was Ukraine. I am unabashedly a Ukrainian nationalist. To put it in proper perspective, I am also a strong Canadian patriot, and supporter of Israel and future Kurdistan. Quite naturally, I would prefer that Ukraine, Kurdistan and Israel be like Canada, but this is hard to imagine if one accounts for their neighborhood. Ukraine's past, present and future were always foremost in my mind. So, when the opportunity arose to visit Ukraine in 1989, I embraced it with enthusiasm. In the 20-plus years since then, I have never missed the opportunity to go there, sometimes two or three times per year.

As a result of these visits to Ukraine and the contacts that they provide with the people at all levels of society, I am quite well informed about the problems that this new country faces in the world.



Welcomed in Ukraine, in 1989



With Rev. Dr. Petro Khomyn in Toronto

One of the difficult challenges that must be overcome is the lack of a properly educated and fully dedicated political elite, for whom the national interest and genuine desire to improve the lot of the people would be the foremost goal. As it stands at present the elite is provincial at best; it lacks proper vision and is corrupt to the core. The society at large is not much better – a result of centuries' long, tyrannical and corrupt Imperial and Soviet Russian rule. It will take several generations to change and improve the attitude of the people – including their vision – as well as the regime and its view of the world.

I arrived in Ukraine in 1989, 42 years after I left it, and exactly ten years following my first visit to China. The occasion was a group trip for a number of Canadian-Ukrainians. We were able to visit Kyiv, Lviv, Pereiaslav and Kaniv, where the grave of poet Taras Shevchenko is located.

I was asked to give a lecture at the University of Lviv on “Methodology of Comparative Politics” and I did so with the help of overhead projections.



In the office of Prof. Yukhnovsky prior to the lecture

The university auditorium was packed with faculty and students and my lecture was extremely well received. However, our western approaches to the study of politics were then still completely unknown in the USSR, and the ensuing questions and discussions from the audience, not surprisingly, were all couched in the words of the Soviet version of Marxist ideology. I had great fun and was especially pleased to be able to classify graphically and show, despite their ideological differences, how close the Bolsheviks and the Nazis were in their organizational structure and politics, especially in the area of human rights and individual freedoms. Surprisingly, on this I was not challenged.



Lecture at Lviv University

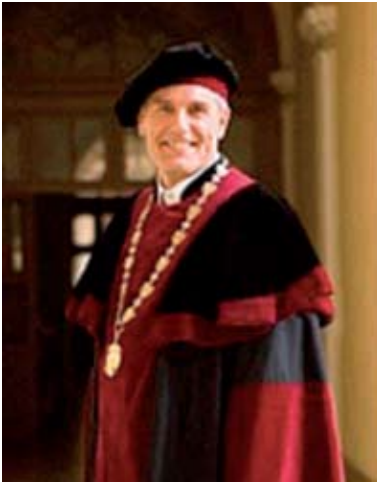
The most emotional visit for me took place in 1990, when the World Congress of Ukrainianists met in Kyiv. I travelled there from Koeln, where I was spending a year at the Bundesinstitut für Osteuropäische und Internationale Studien. The meetings were satisfactory, but for me nothing could top the performance of the Ukrainian National Anthem in the Kyiv Opera. The song was not heard – in fact was forbidden – for at least 70 years. The crowd went wild and I had to make an effort to stem the tears that were welling up in my eyes.



At Mr. Iwaszykiw's reception in Kyiv. From left, Mr. Iwaszykiw, Gen. Muliava, Ms. Bao Suhong and Prof. Jiang Chang Bin

Three years after I was made an Honorary Professor in China, in April 2001 a similar honor was granted to me in Ukraine. The Lviv Polytechnic National University bestowed on me the same distinction in Lviv, the city where I went to school and where, still as a teenager, for a short period of time, I participated in anti-German activities. The same university, on my recommendation, conferred the title of Doctor Honoris Causa to Peter J. George, President of McMaster University. This led to several academic exchanges with students and faculty visiting McMaster. Two of the rectors, the late Dr. Yuri Rudavskyi and Dr. Yuri Bobalo, also visited our university. I certainly hope that such exchanges continue into the future.

In the ensuing years I was able to meet a large number of very interesting people in society at large, and in the government circles, especially when Ukraine became a sovereign state. I had a standing pass for the sessions of the Verkhovna Rada (the Parliament) and attended it whenever I could. I even visited the home of President Yushchenko, brought with me several volumes of the "Litopys UPA," enjoyed a very pleasant lunch with his wife Kateryna Chumachenko, and even played with their lovely children. Mr. Viktor Yushchenko was not at home, and therefore I had no opportunity to ask him a number of questions pertaining to his various policies or lack of them. I



Yuri Bobalo, Rector of the Lviv Polytechnic National University



I was awarded Honorary Professor.
From left: Yuri Rudavskiy,
Rector of the Lviv Polytechnic and
Peter George, President of
McMaster University



The Order of Merit III Class

was joined at lunch by Mr. Oleh Rybachuk, a close adviser to the President, who regaled me with various initiatives that he was about to launch to bring Ukraine closer to Europe. He was responsible for European integration in Yushchenko's cabinet. Nothing or very little came of his plans. What struck me as very unusual was that Mr. Rybachuk insisted that we converse in English.

I met President Yushchenko in Toronto, when in the beautiful surroundings of the Old Mill Restaurant he bestowed on me the Order of Merit III class. In response, I told him that the Publishing House "Litopys UPA" was willing to donate a complete set of all of our publications which had appeared to date, to the Presidential Library in Kyiv. He not only graciously accepted our gift, but ordered the embassy personnel to pack it for him for the plane on which he returned home. By this gesture, President Yushchenko modified a decision of his bureaucrats in Kyiv, who, when on one occasion we presented them with a set of our publications, refused it by dubbing it a "provocation."



The Order of Merit III Class is presented to me by President Yushchenko

The biggest impression on me in Kyiv, however, was made by two individuals. One was Mr. Ivan Dziuba, the author of "Internationalism or Russification", and Ms. Solomiia Pavlychko,

who was the leading intellectual light. (She died shortly thereafter). In fact, the most interesting discussion of all time in Kyiv, took place in Ms. Pavlychko's apartment, in the presence of Ivan Dziuba, Mykola Zhulynskyi, Roman Szporluk, and maybe one or two other individuals that I do not recall. We were talking about the future of Ukraine and were rather skeptically sober about the rapid transformation of the country into a fully democratic state. Sadly, as the next two decades have shown, we were not too far from predicting the true path of development.



With Ivan Dziuba and Mykola Zhulynskyi

It was during my visits to Ukraine that I discovered the location of my father's "criminal" record and later, after years of insistent requests to various authorities, I was able to obtain most of the documents from his file and started preparing them for publication. The book "Sprava bat'ka" was published in Ukrainian in 2011. As I mentioned earlier my father was arrested in 1940, charged with anti-Soviet activities, – the accusations of which were never proven – and was one of the thousands who were summarily executed by the NKVD in June 1941, at the beginning of German-Soviet war. He was rehabilitated in 1957. It was this kind of regular, atrocious, regime behavior that gave rise to a cynical joke, which

states that Christians in the West, after death, can expect their rewards in heaven, but in the Russian controlled world, they can only hope for a posthumous rehabilitation.

END REMARKS

I was destined to live during the most difficult and most remarkable part of the 20th century, when the world experienced various wars and genocides, but also glory and technological progress the likes of which humanity probably never saw before. Here and there I briefly touched on some of these events, but only to the extent that they involved me personally. This story, therefore, is of value mostly to me and my immediate family, and a few of my friends. I tried not to preach and only described those events of my life, both important and trivial, that I vividly remembered, because at the outset, I decided not to consult any materials or documentary sources that might otherwise embellish the narrative.

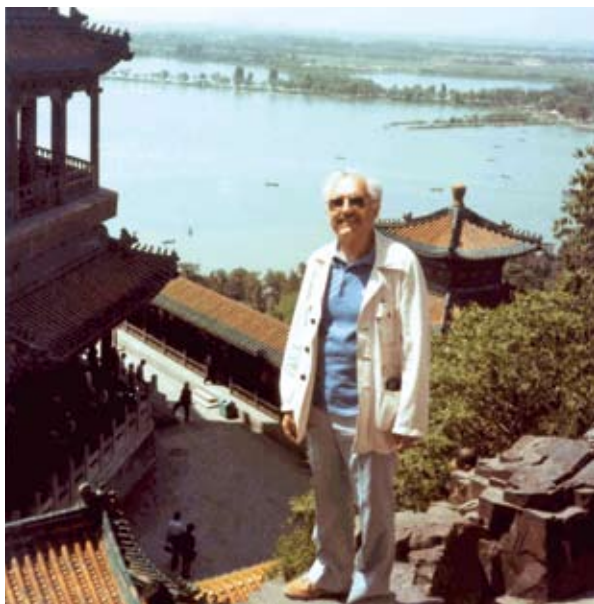
Most of my life I was preoccupied with, and participated in, the Ukrainian liberation struggle and proud of it. This never caused me to disrespect any other peoples, unless it was clear to me that they oppressed and exploited others. But even then, I usually blamed the political and cultural elites and not the ordinary individuals. Ukraine has a long way to go to become a mature and proud member of the democratic world, but I have no doubt that this destiny will be achieved for the benefit not only of its people, but humanity as a whole.

I am now in my 82nd year, reasonably healthy and very satisfied with my family and my life. Could I have accomplished more? Probably, but it is too late to cry over spilt wine. Besides, there is not much time left to start new undertakings or to harbor big plans. Thus, in the remaining years, I shall be satisfied with observing the growth and development of my grandchildren. They are an organic part of Canada, but thanks to my children, my grandchildren are also familiar with the Ukrainian language and traditions. My hope is that in their life they will serve as an important and useful link between Canada and Ukraine.

I wish to thank all who helped me with the editorial work on this book – Ariana, Alexander and Adriana, Dr. Osyp Danko, Dr. Ihor Homziak but especially Professors Douglas Davidson and Byron Spencer. My wife Tamara is an exceedingly patient person who also relieved me of all household chores, and to her go my profoundest thanks.



Potichnyj, Xiong Ching, He Runchang in Wuhan



At the Summer Residence in Beijing



Family in Canada in 2010



Pastries, wine and conversation. From left, Prof. Gerhard Teuscher, German, Prof. John Weaver, History, Prof. Douglas Davidson, Biology, Prof. Peter J. Potichnyj, Politics

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ABBREVIATIONS

AAASS – American Association
for the Advancement of Slavic
Studies

ABD – All But Doctorates

CAS – Canadian Association of
Slavists

CAU – Chinese Association of
Ukrainianists

CBC – Canadian Broadcasting
Corporation

CIA – Central Intelligence Agency
(USA)

CIUS – Canadian Institute of
Ukrainian Studies

CPSU – Communist Party of the
Soviet Union

CUAF – Canadian Ukrainian Art
Foundation

D. C. – District of Columbia

Dr. – Doctor

e. g. – *exempli gratia* (for example)

EOB – Executive Office Building

etc. – *et cetera* (and other things)

GDR – German Democratic
Republic

Gen. – General

ICCEEA – Interdepartmental
Committee on Communist and
East European Affairs

ICSEES – International Committee
for Soviet and East European
Studies

ILO – International Labour
Organization

KGB – Komitet Gosudarstvennoi
Bezopasnosti (Committee for
State Security of the USSR)

M. A. – Master of Arts

Messrs. – Messieurs

Mr. – Mister

Mrs. – Missis

Ms. – Miss

NDP – New Democratic Party of
Canada

NKVD – Narodnyi Komisariat
Vnutrennikh Del (The People's
Commissariat for Internal Affairs
of the USSR)

P. C. – Parliament of Canada

Ph.D. – Doctor of Philosophy

PLA – People's Liberation Army
(China)

Prof. – Professor

Q. C. – Queen's Counsel

RCMP – Royal Canadian Mounted
Police

TsDAHOU – Tsentral'nyi Derzhavnyi
Arkhib Hromads'kykh Obiednan'
Ukrainy (Central State Archives
of Public Organizations of
Ukraine)

TV – television

UCCRO – Ukrainian Council
of Churches and Religious
Organizations

UFU – Ukrainian Free University

UFU – Ukrainian Free University

UHVR – Ukrains'ka Holovna
Vyzvol'na Rada (Ukrainian
Supreme Liberation Council)

UJE – Ukrainian-Jewish Encounter

UK (U. K.) – United Kingdom

UPA – Ukrains'ka Povstans'ka
Armia (The Ukrainian Insurgent
Army)

USA – United States of America

USMC – United States Marine
Corps

USSR – Union of Soviet Socialist
Republics

WWI – World War, First

WWII – World War, Second

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LITOPYS UPA – CHRONICLE OF THE UKRAINIAN INSURGENT ARMY

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**LITOPYS UKRAINSKOI POVSTANSKOI ARMII
(CHRONICLE OF THE UKRAINIAN INSURGENT ARMY)**

Peter J. POTICHNYJ, Editor-in-Chief

**A Serial Publication of Documents, Materials, and Scholarly Works
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**Volume 6. THE UPA IN LIGHT OF GERMAN DOCUMENTS, 1942-
1945; BOOK ONE: 1942-JULY 1944.** This publication contains analyses,

memoranda, accounts, and reports as well as translations of Ukrainian documents intended for political and military bodies, and police institutions. Toronto, 1983. Hardcover: 256 pp. Illustrations and maps.

Volume 7. THE UPA IN LIGHT OF GERMAN DOCUMENTS, 1942-1945; BOOK TWO: AUGUST 1944-1945 (SEQUEL TO VOLUME 6). Toronto, 1983. Hardcover: 272 pp. Illustrations and maps.

Volume 8. THE SUPREME UKRAINIAN LIBERATION COUNCIL; DOCUMENTS, OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS, MATERIALS; BOOK ONE: 1944-1945. This volume features the documents that were issued at the First Grand Assembly of the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council (UHVR), as well as a reprint of *Visnyk*, the press organ of the Presidium of the UHVR (no. 4 (7), August 1945) and articles and materials on the Ukrainian liberation movement, dated 1944-45. Toronto, 1980. Hardcover: 320 pp. Illustrations, maps, charts, and diagrams.

Volume 9. THE SUPREME UKRAINIAN LIBERATION COUNCIL; BOOK TWO: 1946-1948. This book features the UHVR journal *Samostiinist* (Independence) and the UHVR bulletin *Information Bureau of the UHVR*, as well as other materials. Toronto, 1982. Hardcover: 520 pp. Illustrations, maps, charts, and diagrams.

Volume 10. THE SUPREME UKRAINIAN LIBERATION COUNCIL; BOOK THREE: 1949-1952. This volume is a compendium of documents, official announcements, publications, and materials issued by the UHVR in Ukraine, including issues nos. 4-6 and 9 of the UHVR bulletin *Information Bureau of the UHVR*. Toronto, 1984. Hardcover: 424 pp. Illustrations.

Volume 11. THE TERNOPIL REGION: A LIST OF HEROES OF THE UKRAINIAN REVOLUTION FALLEN IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE RUSSIAN BOLSHEVIK OCCUPYING POWER BETWEEN MARCH 13, 1944, AND DECEMBER 31, 1948. This underground publication consists of biographies of 725 individuals who were killed in the Ternopil region. Also included are new data on the deaths of approximately 100 unidentified insurgents who also perished here. Toronto, 1985. Hardcover: xxxii, 248 pp. Illustrations.

Volume 12. THE UPA'S 3RD PODILLIA MILITARY REGION «LYSONIA.» This volume includes brief descriptions of the «Lysonia» UPA detachment's skirmishes from November 1943 to August 1945, which were issued by the Military Group Command, as well as a collection of underground songs entitled *Povstanskyi Stiah* (The Insurgent Flag) published in 1947 on the UPA's fifth anniversary, and other documents and materials pertaining to this UPA unit. Toronto, 1989. Hardcover: 352 pp. Illustrations.

Volume 13. THE PEREMYSHL REGION—THE PEREMYSHL BATTALION; BOOK ONE: THE JOURNAL OF THE UPA COMPANY COMMANDED BY «BURLAKA» (SECOND LIEUTENANT VOLODYMYR SHCHYHELSKY). This volume features the journal of this company («Udarnyky» 4, code number 94a) which was kept by Warrant Officer «Burkun,» and an epilogue by Bohdan Huk («Skala»), encompassing the period from October 1946 to 24 October 1947. Also included are various

documents pertaining to the company, namely, a soldiers' register, inventory documents, etc. Toronto, 1986. Hardcover: 370 pp. Illustrations.

Volume 14. THE PEREMYSHL REGION—THE PEREMYSHL BATTALION; BOOK TWO: PERSONAL JOURNALS AND DOCUMENTS. This volume contains the journals of Company Commander «Krylach» (Yaroslav Kotsiolok) covering the years 1944 and 1947, which were continued after his death by Company Commander «Burlaka» (Volodymyr Shchyhelsky) as well as the journal of «Krylach's» company (kept by Warrant Officer «Orest») and documents issued by both of these companies. Toronto, 1987. Hardcover: 262 pp. Illustrations.

Volume 15. KOSTIANTYN HIMMELRAIKH. MEMOIRS OF THE COMMANDER OF THE «UPA-EAST» SPECIAL TASK UNIT. The author, a native of Kyiv, recounts his experiences beginning with the outbreak of the war in 1941, continuing with his release from the UPA, and ending with the author's preparations to depart for the West in 1945: his mobilization into the Red Army, German captivity, occupied Kyiv, the underground activity of the OUN(M), commander of an UPA unit (OUN-(M)) in the Carpathian Mountains, UPA officers' school, activity in the Podillia region, and his stint as commander of the «UPA-East» Special Task Unit. Toronto, 1987. Hardcover: 266 pp. Illustrations.

Volume 16. UNDERGROUND JOURNALS FROM UKRAINE BEYOND THE CURZON LINE, 1945-1947. This compilation includes reprints of the following underground periodicals: *Tyzhnevi Visti* (The Weekly News), *Lisovyk* (The Forest Dweller), *Informatyvni Visti* (Information News), *Informator* (The Informer), and *Peremoha* (Victory). Every issue of these periodicals is supplemented by an English-language summary. The book also contains an article on the history of the underground's publishing activity in Zakerzonnia, Ukrainian ethnic territory that was ceded to Poland as a result of the Yalta agreements. Also included are the official indictments against Olena Lebedovych. Toronto, 1987. Hardcover: 608 pp. Illustrations.

Volume 17. ENGLISH-LANGUAGE PUBLICATIONS OF THE UKRAINIAN UNDERGROUND, 1946-1947. This volume contains reprints of various underground publications: *The New Lidice*, *The Displacement of Bishop Josaphat Kotsylovsky*, *Elections in the U.S.S.R.*, *The New Famine Catastrophe in Ukraine*, *The Spectre of Fascism*, *To the Brotherly Czech and Slovak Nations*. Toronto, 1988. Hardcover: 192 pp. Illustrations.

Volume 18. THE UPA'S CARPATHIAN GROUP «HOVERLIA»; BOOK ONE: DOCUMENTS, REPORTS OF OPERATIONS AND OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS. This volume includes a reprint of the underground publication *Shliakh peremohy* (Path of Victory) issued by the group command, UPA tactical sector command reports, and reports issued by commanders of UPA detachments and sub-units, as well as reports of the 24th UPA Tactical Sector «Makivka». Toronto, 1990. Hardcover: 328 pp. Illustrations.

Volume 19. THE UPA'S CARPATHIAN GROUP «HOVERLIA»; BOOK TWO: MEMOIRS, ARTICLES AND PUBLICATIONS OF AN HISTORICAL NATURE. This volume is a collection of essays and memoirs published by

the Ukrainian underground. Almost all of the memoirs were written by UPA officers and soldiers while still in Ukraine or immediately after their arrival in the West. Toronto, 1992. Hardcover: 357 pp. Illustrations.

Volume 20. AN INDEX TO LITOPYS UPA; BOOK ONE: VOLUMES 1-19. This volume features lists of pseudonyms, surnames, geographic names, institutions, alphabetical listings of authors, publications, and other data on the first 19 volumes of *Litopys UPA*. Toronto, 1994. Hardcover: 528 pp. Illustrations.

Volume 21. THE UPA IN LIGHT OF GERMAN DOCUMENTS, 1941-1943; BOOK THREE: JUNE 1941-MAY 1943. This book includes reports, memoranda, and translations of Ukrainian-language documents intended for German political bodies and police agencies. Toronto, 1991. Hardcover: 271 pp. Illustrations.

Volume 22. THE UPA IN LIGHT OF POLISH DOCUMENTS; BOOK ONE: THE MILITARY COURT OF OPERATION GROUP «WISLA.» This volume contains the verdicts, reports, and correspondence of the Military Court of the Operation Group «Wisla» between May and September 1947. Toronto, 1992. Hardcover: 627 pp. Illustrations.

Volume 23. UPA MEDICAL SERVICES: DOCUMENTS, MATERIALS AND MEMOIRS. The majority of the materials in this volume consist of memoirs written by nurses, medical assistants, physicians, and other personnel of the UPA Medical Service and the Ukrainian Red Cross (UChKh). Also included are underground documents and biographies of Red Cross personnel. Toronto-Lviv, 1992. Hardcover: 480 pp. Illustrations.

Volume 24. IDEA AND ACTION: THE JOURNAL OF THE OUN LEADERSHIP, 1942-1946. This publication includes a reprint of *Ideia i chyn* (Idea and Deed), the leading political and informational journal of the OUN Leadership on Ukrainian territory from 1942 to 1946. The journal published important information on the UPA's struggle, German and Russian occupation policies, and the evolution of Ukrainian political thought. Toronto, 1995. Hardcover: 592 pp. Illustrations.

Volume 25. SONGS OF THE UPA. A COLLECTION OF SONGS THEMATICALLY LINKED TO THE UPA STRUGGLE. This is a compendium of songs that were sung by UPA soldiers, melodies that were later composed in prisons and concentration camps, as well as traditional arrangements and popular compositions. The volume contains the texts of songs and their variations, as well as data on each song, including its author(s) and information on the hero or event depicted in each composition. The collection features over 600 songs or variants thereof. Toronto-Lviv, 1997. Hardcover: XXIV, 556 pp. Notes.

Volume 26. THE SUPREME UKRAINIAN LIBERATION COUNCIL. DOCUMENTS, OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS, MATERIALS. BOOK FOUR: DOCUMENTS AND PERSONAL ACCOUNTS. This volume includes the minutes of the First Grand Assembly of the UHVR, a speech delivered at this conclave, and various other documents, including excerpts from the correspondence of UHVR president Kyrylo Osmak, documents on

the negotiations with the Polish underground, Hungary and Romania, investigative procedures carried out against Mykola and Petro Duzhy, and other materials. Also included are the reminiscences of UHVR members and other individuals, which focus on the creation and activities of the UHVR. Toronto-Lviv, 2001. Hardcover: 658 pp. Illustrations.

Volume 27. Roman Petrenko. FOR UKRAINE, FOR HER FREEDOM: MEMOIRS. The author, a native of the Volyn region, describes his life from the outbreak of World War II in 1939 to his departure to the West in 1945. The author was a member of the OUN in the Sarny district (in the underground since January 1942) and eventually headed the economic section of the headquarters of the «Zahrava» UPA Military Okruha, which became known as the UPA General Headquarters from the summer of 1943 (later renamed the UPA-North Regional Military Command led by Commander Dmytro Kliachkovsky). From the summer of 1944 he was an officer assigned to special tasks within the UHVR's General Secretariat of Foreign Affairs headed by Mykola Lebed. Toronto-Lviv, 1997. Hardcover: 279 pp. Illustrations and maps.

Volume 28. Maria Savchyn. THOUSANDS OF ROADS: MEMOIRS. The author describes her experiences beginning with the outbreak of the war (membership in the underground from 1944 to 1953) and ending with her immigration to the West in 1954. In 1945 the author married Vasyl Halasa, deputy head of the OUN in Zakerzonnia, who in 1947 became a member of the Main Centre of Propaganda in the Carpathian Mountains. In 1948 he was appointed OUN leader for North-Western Ukraine. The author was by her husband's side wherever duty called, and accompanied him throughout Zakerzonnia, the Carpathians, and Volyn, and was with him in the KGB prison in Kyiv. Toronto-Lviv, 1995. Hardcover: 600 pp. Illustrations.

Volume 29. Ivan Harasymiv («Pali»). FROM YOUTHFUL DREAMS TO THE RANKS OF THE UPA. This publication highlights the author's experiences in the non-commissioned officers' training program at the UPA officers' school in the Carpathian Mountains, as well as his stint as squadron leader of «Udarnyky 1» Company (code number 94). The volume also contains an account of the author's combat activity in the Carpathians and the Lemko region from the fall of 1943 to the fall of 1947. These memoirs offer an interesting and vivid account of the daily lives of insurgents and their commanders, as well as the difficult conditions and challenges facing the Ukrainian population in these territories. Toronto-Lviv, 1999. Hardcover: 336 pp. Illustrations.

Volume 30. Stepan Khrin (Stepan Stebelsky). THROUGH THE LAUGHTER OF IRON: MEMOIRS. This publication contains two memoirs by Stepan Stebelsky («Khrin»), commander of the UPA 24th Tactical Sector «Makivka», namely, *Through the Laughter of Iron* (Kriz smikh zaliza) and *Winter in the Bunker* (Zymoju v bunkri), as well as an account by Oleksa Konopadsky («Ostroverkh») entitled «The Memoir of Platoon Leader 'Ostroverkh'» (*Spomyny Chotovoho «Ostroverkha»*). Both authors describe their UPA activities in the Lemko and Drohobych regions in 1944-1949. Toronto-Lviv, 2000. Hardcover: 552 pp. Illustrations.

Volume 31. THE UPA IN THE LVIV AND YAROSLAV REGIONS. MEMOIRS AND DOCUMENTS OF UPA SOLDIERS IN TACTICAL SECTOR «ROZTOCHCHIA» 1943-1947. This book features the memoirs of «Soia,» «Spartak,» «Zenon Semeniv,» and other members of the UPA company commanded by «Bryl.» Also included are the combat activity reports of «Bryl» and «Hamaliia» (commanders of the «Pereiaslav» Company I and «Pereiaslav» Company II, respectively) of the «Roztochchia» UPA Tactical Sector. Toronto-Lviv, 2000. Hardcover: 324 pp. Illustrations, charts, and diagrams.

Volume 32. UPA MEDICAL SERVICES: DOCUMENTS, MATERIALS AND MEMOIRS. BOOK TWO. The majority of the book features the memoirs of nurses, medical assistants, physicians, and other personnel of the UPA Medical Service and the Ukrainian Red Cross (UChKh). Toronto-Lviv, 2001. Hardcover: 581 pp. Illustrations.

Volume 33. THE UPA 26TH TACTICAL SECTOR «LEMKO»: THE LEMKIVSHCHYNA AND PEREMYSHL REGIONS (DOCUMENTS AND MATERIALS). This publication features documents and materials on the history and activity of the UPA Tactical Sector «Lemko» for the years 1944-1947. These include combat activity reports, orders, directives, and instructions, information on UPA raids as well as documents of the Col. «Konyk» Non-Commissioned Officers' School. Toronto-Lviv, 2001. Hardcover: 900 pp. Illustrations, maps, organizational charts, and diagrams.

Volume 34. THE LEMKIVSHCHYNA AND PEREMYSHL REGIONS – THE «KHOLODNY YAR,» «BESKYD,» AND «VERKHOVYNA» NADRAIONS: POLITICAL REPORTS. This volume reveals the organizational structure of the underground network in the Lemko and Peremyshl regions, the distribution of cadres in the underground network, as well as political and informational field reports for the years 1944-1947. Toronto-Lviv, 2001. Hardcover: 974 pp. Illustrations and organizational charts.

Volume 35. AN INDEX TO LITOPYS UPA; BOOK TWO: VOLUMES 21-34, VOLUMES 1-3 (NEW SERIES), AND VOLUMES 1-3 («LIBRARY SERIES»). This volume contains pseudonyms, surnames, geographic names, institutions, alphabetical lists of authors, published materials, and other data on the volumes of the *Litopys UPA* Main and New Series, as well as on the book edited by Yevhen Misylo, *Povstanski mohyly* (The Graves of Insurgents), Vol. 1, Toronto-Lviv, 2002. Hardcover: 870 pp.

Volume 36. THE BOOK OF THE FALLEN MEMBERS OF THE OUN AND UPA OF THE LVIV REGION. This volume contains short biographies, obtained from Soviet archives, of OUN and UPA members who perished in the line of duty in the Lviv region. Toronto-Lviv, 2002. Hardcover: 1,058 pp. Illustrations.

Volume 37. Ivan Lyko. ON THE EDGE OF A DREAM AND REALITY: MEMOIRS OF A REVOLUTIONARY, 1945-1955. This book features the memoirs of Ivan Lyko («Skala,» «Bohdan») entitled *At the Edge of a Dream and Reality* (Na hrani mrii i diisnosti), and the memoirs of Mykola Terefenko («Medvid») entitled *At the Edge of Two Worlds* (Na hrani dvokh svitiv). Both authors describe their experiences in the underground in the Lemko region,

as well as their incarceration in Polish prisons. Toronto-Lviv, 2002. Hardcover: 644 pp. Illustrations.

Volume 38. *Peter J. Potichnyj*. THE ARCHITECTURE OF RESISTANCE: HIDEOUTS AND BUNKERS OF THE UPA IN SOVIET DOCUMENTS. The publication includes diagrams and descriptions of various UPA hideouts and bunkers, as well as an overview of Soviet army units as well as units of the Interior Troops of the NKVD, which were engaged in the Soviet counter-insurgency struggle. These materials encompass the Archive of the Interior Troops of the Ukrainian Military District for the years 1944-1954, now stored in the Peter J. Potichnyj Collection on Insurgency and Counter-Insurgency in Ukraine at the University of Toronto. Toronto-Lviv, 2002. Hardcover: 430 pp. Illustrations and diagrams.

Volume 39. THE UPA 28TH TACTICAL SECTOR «DANYLIV»: THE Kholm AND PIDLIASHSHIA REGIONS (DOCUMENTS AND MATERIALS). This volume features accounts, descriptions, and documents pertaining to UPA activity in the Kholm and Pidliashshia regions for the years 1945-1948. These include combat activity reports of the UPA Kholm Tactical Sector, journals of UPA companies, minutes of meetings between representatives of the UPA and the «WiN» (Freedom and Independence) Polish resistance, a report on a meeting with a British correspondent, etc. The majority of these documents are now part of the Peter J. Potichnyj Collection on Insurgency and Counter-Insurgency in Ukraine at the University of Toronto. Toronto-Lviv, 2003. Hardcover: 1,058 pp. Illustrations.

Volume 40. THE UPA 27TH TACTICAL SECTOR «BASTION»: THE LIUBACHIV, YAROSLAV AND TOMASHIV REGIONS. (DOCUMENTS AND MATERIALS). This book consists of accounts, descriptions, and documents pertaining to UPA activities in 1945-1948. These include the combat activity reports of the Tactical Sector's Command, journals of the sub-units of the UPA's «Mesnyky» Battalion, as well as reports, accounts, and descriptions issued by the leaders of the 2nd OUN Okruha «Baturyn», inventory reports, etc. The majority of these documents are now part of the Peter J. Potichnyj Collection on Insurgency and Counter-Insurgency in Ukraine at the University of Toronto. Toronto-Lviv, 2004. Hardcover: 600 pp. Illustrations.

Volume 41. KYRYLO OSMak—PRESIDENT OF THE SUPREME UKRAINIAN LIBERATION COUNCIL (UHVR). This volume contains documents and materials about Kyrylo Osmak, president of the UHVR, including his life, academic activity, and death. Toronto-Lviv, 2004. Hardcover: 880 pp.

Volume 42. *Peter J. Potichnyj*. LITOPYS UPA—A HISTORY: DOCUMENTS AND MATERIALS. The UPA soldiers who launched a raid into Western Europe in 1947-1949 considered it their duty to leave for posterity a lasting record of the Ukrainian liberation struggle during and after the Second World War. This came to fruition in 1974, when the Litopys UPA Publishing Company was founded. This volume features documents and materials on the day-to-day challenges faced by the Litopys UPA Publishing Company

from the early years of its existence through its thirty-year-long history, including short biographies of the editorial board members, the company's administrative personnel, editors, authors, compilers, and sponsors. Toronto-Lviv, 2005. Hardcover: 658 pp. Illustrations.

Volumes 43-44. THE STRUGGLE AGAINST AGENTURA: PROTOCOLS OF INTERROGATION OF THE OUN SB IN THE TERNOPIL REGION. 1946-1948. These volumes contain interrogation reports of individuals suspected of collaborating with the Soviet state security organs, which are based on the activity of the OUN's Security Service (SB) in Ternopil oblast. The materials are taken from an underground archive that was discovered in 2004 in the village of Ozerna, Zboriv raion, Ternopil oblast, and buried in the yard of a house belonging to (now deceased) Sofron Kutny. At the very least, they are helpful for studying the organization, scope, and activities of the underground structure of one oblast in the years 1946-1948, when the pressure exerted by the Soviet state security organs on the Ukrainian underground was very intense. In addition, these reports clearly reflect the cruel, inhumane, and brutal manner in which the Soviet punitive agencies spun their imperialistic web of evil through terror and violence on the territory of Western Ukraine. Details of each volume follow:

Volume 43 (Book One): This volume contains 85 of 193 extant interrogation reports covering 13 raions of Ternopil oblast, namely: Berezhany, Bilobozhnytsia, Borshchiv, Buchach, Velyki Birky, Velyky Hlybochok, Velyki Dederkaly, Vyshnivets, Zalishchyky, Zalizhnyi, Zbarazh, and Zboriv. Toronto-Lviv, 2006. Hardcover: 1,332 pp. Illustrations and diagrams.

Volume 44 (Book Two): This volume, the sequel to Volume 43, contains the OUN Security Service's 108 subsequent interrogation reports covering the following raions: Zoloty Potik, Zolotnyky, Kozova, Kozliv, Koropets, Kremenets, Lanivtsi, Mykulyntsi, Nove Selo, Pidvolochysk, Pidhaitsi, Pochaiv, Probizhna, Skala Podilska, Skalat, Terebovlia, Tovste, Chortkiv, Shumsk, as well as the Rohatyn raion of Stanislaviv oblast. Also included are TOS Protocols, Protocols of Death, the Letter of Underground Operatives to the Far East, a Report of One Event, a list of MVD and MGB functionaries, and a list of SB interrogators. An introduction to both books is included in vol. 43. Toronto-Lviv, 2006. Hardcover: 1,286 pp.

Volume 45. GENERAL ROMAN SHUKHEVYCH-»TARAS CHUPRYNKA,» SUPREME COMMANDER OF THE UPA. This book contains reminiscences about Gen. Roman Shukhevych-Taras Chuprynka, his life, underground activity, and death. Toronto-Lviv, 2006. Hardcover: 572 pp. Illustrations.

Volume 46. THE STRUGGLE AGAINST AGENTURA: PROTOCOLS OF INTERROGATION OF THE OUN SB IN THE TERNOPIL REGION, 1946-1948. BOOK THREE. This publication is an important supplement and sequel to Volumes 43-44, and includes OUN SB interrogation reports covering five raions of Ternopil oblast, namely: Velyki Dederkaly, Vyshnivets, Zbarazh, Zolotnyky, and Kremenets. The featured materials consist of documents based on two underground archives that were unearthed in the vicinity of the villages

of Plikhiv and Krasnopushcha in Berezhany raion, and the village of Petrykiv in Ternopil raion. Toronto-Lviv, 2007. Hardcover: 896 pp. Illustrations.

Volume 47. THE UKRAINIAN UNDERGROUND POST. This publication, devoted to the Ukrainian Underground Post, contains brief descriptions of philatelic materials from The Peter J. Potichnyi Collection on Insurgency and Counter-Insurgency in Ukraine as well as articles about the history and activities of the UUP. Toronto-Lviv, 2009. Hardcover: 328 pp. Illustrations.

Volume 48. THE UPA IN LIGHT OF SLOVAK AND CZECH DOCUMENTS: 1945-1948. BOOK 1. THE UPA RAIDS IN THE ARMY AND STATE SECURITY DOCUMENTS OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA (1945-1946). The two main themes of the book pertain to the propaganda raids of the UPA in North-Eastern Slovakia (August-September 1945 and in April 1946), and the counter-measures undertaken by the Czechoslovak Army and the State Security. The book also contains documents of the Czechoslovak-USSR and the Czechoslovak-Polish cooperation against the UPA, information about the Ukrainian population in South-Eastern Poland («Zakerzonnia»), and the reaction of the Czechoslovak population to the UPA. Toronto-Lviv, 2010. Hardcover: 864 pp. Illustrations.

Volume 49. THE TERNOPIL REGION: «NEWS FROM THE FIELD» AND «NEWS FROM THE TERNOPIL REGION», 1943-1950. BOOK ONE (1943 – 1947). The book contains underground information about the activities of the OUN and UPA and about the socio-political situation in Ternopil oblast and neighbouring regions. Toronto-Lviv, 2010. Hardcover: 832 pp. Illustrations.

Volume 50. THE TERNOPIL REGION: «NEWS FROM THE FIELD» AND «NEWS FROM THE TERNOPIL REGION», 1943-1950. BOOK TWO (1948 – 1950). This book is a continuation of volume 49 and features additional documentation on the OUN Underground for the years 1948-1950 regarding the socio-political and economic situation in the Ternopil Region. Toronto-Lviv, 2010. Hardcover: 1240 pp. Illustrations.

Forthcoming volumes of the Main Series:

– **The UPA in Light of Slovak and Czech Documents: 1945-1948. Book 2.**

LITOPYS UPA – NEW SERIES

The following volumes of Litopys UPA are part of the «New,» or so-called «Kyiv Series,» which were published in cooperation with the Institute of Ukrainian Archeography of Ukraine's National Academy of Sciences, the State Committee on Archives of Ukraine, and the Central State Archive of Civic Associations of Ukraine (TsDAHO Ukrainy).

Volume 1. PUBLICATIONS OF THE UPA SUPREME COMMAND. This volume features the following insurgent publications: *Do zbroi* (To Arms!), no. 16, 1943; *Povstanets* (The Insurgent), nos. 1-6, 1944-1945; *Ukrainskyi perets* (Ukrainian Pepper), nos. 1-3, 1943-1945; and *Boiovyi Pravylnyk Pikhoty* (Infantry Combat Manual). Kyiv-Toronto, 1995. Hardcover: 482 pp. Illustrations.

Volume 2. VOLYN AND POLISSIA: THE UPA AND ITS REAR LINE 1943-1944. DOCUMENTS AND MATERIALS. This book contains documents issued by the UPA-North General Headquarters (subsequently known as the UPA-North Regional Military Command), as well as documents that were issued by the «Zahrava,» «Bohun,» «Turiv,» and «Tiutiunnyk» UPA Military Okruhas. Kyiv-Toronto, 1999. Hardcover: 724 pp. Illustrations.

Volume 3. THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE UPA AND THE NATIONALIST UNDERGROUND: INSTRUCTIONAL DOCUMENTS OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF UKRAINE. 1943-1959. This volume is the most complete collection of documents issued by the Central Committee of the CP(B)U, namely: resolutions of party congresses, Politburo plenums, and the party secretariat, all of which are supplemented by informational memoranda, communications, and reference notes. The volume also contains letters, stenograms of meetings, and public speeches of the members of the CC CP(B)U. Kyiv-Toronto, 2001. Hardcover: 652 pp. Illustrations.

Volume 4. THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE UPA AND THE NATIONALIST UNDERGROUND: INFORMATIONAL DOCUMENTS OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY (BOLSHEVIK) OF UKRAINE, PARTY OBKOMS, NKVD-MVD, MGB-KGB (1943-1959). BOOK ONE: 1943-1945. This volume contains documents that trace the history of the Stalinist regime's struggle against the Ukrainian national-liberation movement in 1943-1945. These materials served an informational purpose and appear in the form of reports. Kyiv-Toronto, 2002. Hardcover: 597 pp.

Volume 5. THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE UPA AND THE NATIONALIST UNDERGROUND: INFORMATIONAL DOCUMENTS OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY (BOLSHEVIK) OF UKRAINE, PARTY OBKOMS, NKVD-MVD, MGB-KGB (1943-1959). BOOK TWO: 1946-1947. This volume contains documents that trace the history of the Stalinist regime's struggle against the Ukrainian national-liberation movement in 1946-1947. These materials served an informational purpose and appear in the form of reports. Kyiv-Toronto, 2002. Hardcover: 574 pp.

Volume 6. THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE UPA AND THE NATIONALIST UNDERGROUND: INFORMATIONAL DOCUMENTS OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY (BOLSHEVIK) OF UKRAINE, PARTY OBKOMS, NKVD-MVD, MGB-KGB (1943-1959). BOOK THREE: 1948. This volume contains documents that trace the history of the Stalinist regime's struggle against the Ukrainian national-liberation movement in 1948. These materials served an informational purpose and appear in the form of reports. Kyiv-Toronto, 2003. Hardcover: 523 pp.

Volume 7. THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE UPA AND THE NATIONALIST UNDERGROUND: INFORMATIONAL DOCUMENTS OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY (BOLSHEVIK) OF UKRAINE, PARTY OBKOMS, NKVD-MVD, MGB-KGB (1943-1959). BOOK FOUR: 1949-1959. This volume contains documents that trace the history of the Stalinist regime's struggle against the Ukrainian national-liberation movement

in 1949-1959. These materials served an informational purpose and appear in the form of reports. Kyiv-Toronto, 2003. Hardcover: 716 pp.

Volume 8. VOLYN, POLISSIA, PODILLIA: THE UPA AND ITS REAR LINE 1944-1946. DOCUMENTS AND MATERIALS. This volume contains documents pertaining to the UPA-North and UPA-South leaderships, the OUN Regional Command (Holovna Voienna Okruha: HVO) of the PZUZ (North-Western Ukrainian Lands) and the Revolutionary People's Liberation Organization (Narodno-Vyzvolna Revolutsiina Orhanizatsiia: NVRO), as well as the «Zahrava,» «Bohun,» and «Tiutiunnyk» Military Okruhas (VOs), and the units «33» (PZK «Moskva») and «44» (PSK «Odesa»). Kyiv-Toronto, 2006. Hardcover: 1,620 pp. Illustrations.

Volume 9. THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE INSURGENT MOVEMENT AND NATIONALIST UNDERGROUND: INTERROGATION PROTOCOLS OF OUN AND UPA LEADERS ARRESTED BY THE SOVIET STATE SECURITY ORGANS. 1944-1945. This book consists of archival documents of interrogations conducted by the Soviet punitive organs. Among the OUN and UPA leaders who were arrested and interrogated are Mykhailo Stepaniak, Yevhen Basiuk, Mykola Haiduk, Yaroslav Bilynsky, Artemizia Halytska, Oleksandr Lutsky, Yurii Stelmashchuk, Petro Duzhy, Mykola Duzhy, Volodymyr Pavlyk, Omelian Poliovy, Fedir Vorobets, Dmytro Vitovsky, Vasyl Levkovych. Kyiv-Toronto, 2007. Hardcover: 972 pp. Illustrations.

Volume 10. THE LIFE AND STRUGGLE OF GENERAL «TARAS CHUPRYNKA» (1907-1950). DOCUMENTS AND MATERIALS. This volume features documents and materials compiled between 1907 and 2005, which reflect the milestones in the life and activities of Gen. Roman Shukhevych («Taras Chuprynka»), the leader of the Ukrainian revolutionary liberation movement in 1943-1950, and serve as a lasting tribute to his memory. In addition to documents stored at the Specialized State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine, this volume also includes documents from the State Historical Archive of Ukraine in Lviv and, partially, the Central State Archive of the Highest Organs of Government and Administration of Ukraine (TsDAVO Ukrainy), as well as materials that have already appeared in the *Litopys UPA* series (Toronto) and other publications. Kyiv-Toronto, 2007. Hardcover: 832 pp. Illustrations.

Volume 11. THE OUN(B) NETWORK AND THE UPA REAR LINE SERVICES ON THE TERRITORY OF THE MILITARY OKRUHAS (VO) «ZAHRAVA,» «TURIV,» «BOHUN» (AUGUST 1942-DECEMBER 1943). This volume contains 353 previously unpublished documents pertaining to various territorial OUN(B) cells and UPA Rear Line Services in Volyn and southern Polissia, dating from August 1942 to December 1943. These documents shed light on the activities of the Krai leadership of the OUN(B) in the okruhas and raions of the PZUZ (August 1942-September 1943), as well as of the UPA Rear Line Services in the okruhas, nadraions, raions, kushches, subraions, and stanytsias (villages or groups of villages) of the PZUZ (September-December 1943). Kyiv-Toronto, 2007. Hardcover: 848 pp. Illustrations.

Volume 12. MILITARY OKRUHA «BUH». DOCUMENTS AND MATERIALS, 1943 – 1952. BOOK 1. The compilation contains documents of the UPA Military Okruha «Buh» Command and various subordinate units, its press publications, as well as the reports and information documents of the OUN leadership of Lviv region. Kyiv- Toronto, 2009. Hardcover: 800 pp. Illustrations.

Volume 13. MILITARY OKRUHA «BUH». DOCUMENTS AND MATERIALS, 1943 – 1952. BOOK 2. The compilation contains documents of the UPA Military Okruha «Buh» Command and various subordinate units, its press publications, as well as the reports and information documents of the OUN leadership of Lviv region. Kyiv- Toronto, 2009. Hardcover: 1232 pp. Illustrations.

Volume 14. THE UPA AND THE REAR LINE IN NORTH-WESTERN UKRAINIAN LANDS, 1943-1945. NEW DOCUMENTS. The volume contains 266 new, earlier unknown documents of the UPA command (UPA-North), and of its rear line structures that were active in the North-Western, Central, and North-Eastern Volyn and Southern Polissia in 1943-1945. Kyiv-Toronto, 2010. Hardcover: 640 pp. Illustrations.

Volume 15. THE STRUGGLE AGAINST INSURGENT MOVEMENT AND THE NATIONALIST UNDERGROUND: INTERROGATION PROTOCOLS OF OUN AND UPA LEADERS ARRESTED BY THE SOVIET STATE SECURITY ORGANS. 1945-1954. BOOK 2. This publication, which is a continuation of volume 9 of the New Series of «Litopys UPA», includes 143 documents of archival criminal cases which are housed in the State Archive of the State Security Service of Ukraine. These documents provide information on the following leaders of the OUN and the UPA who were arrested and sentenced by Soviet authorities: Mykola Kharytonovych Pavlovych, Ivan Ivanovych Pavlovych-Babynets', Petro Oleksandrovych Lykhovskiy, Viktor Stepanovych Kharkiv, Hryhorii Ivanovych Goliash, Iulian Mykolaiovych Matviiv, and Stepan Iosypovych Koval'. As a major scholarly contribution, the featured material will serve as an historical source for the study of the Ukrainian national liberation movement of the 1940s and 1950s. Kyiv-Toronto, 2011. Hardcover: 840 pp. Illustrations.

Volume 16. VOLYN' AND POLISSIA IN THE UNKNOWN CORRESPONDENCE OF THE OUN AND THE UPA. 1945-1954. This volume contains 281 business letters as well as fragments spanning the period 1944–1954, which were declassified by the Security Service of Ukraine in the last three years. The authors of the letters are both leaders of the UPA and the armed underground of the OUN(B) (Roman Shukhevych, Vasyl' Kuk) as well as krai-level functionaries (Mykola Kozak, Vasyl' Halasa, et al.). The content of most of these documents pertains to the Ukrainian regions of Volyn' and southern Polissia. This body of business correspondence reveals various little known, and mostly tragic, events that occurred during the national liberation struggle in Volyn' and Polissia in 1944–1954. The letters discuss the struggle of the Soviet secret services against the Ukrainian insurgent movement, the uncompromising steadfastness of the leaders of

the OUN underground, and the heroic self-sacrifice of the last remaining insurgents. Examples are cited of the genuine and untainted patriotism of individuals who devoted their entire lives to the struggle for an independent Ukrainian state. The featured documents fill the lacunae in the set of sources on the history of the OUN and the UPA during the postwar period, and will thus be of inestimable value to the study of modern Ukrainian history. Kyiv-Toronto, 2011. Hardcover: 1024 pp. Illustrations.

Volume 17. OSYD DIAKIV – «HORNOVYI». DOCUMENTS AND MATERIALS. This book is devoted to the life and activities of Osyd Diakiv «Hornovyi», one of the leading ideologists of the underground in Ukraine, member of the OUN Leadership, Vice-Chairman of the General Secretariat of the UHVR, and Lieutenant Colonel of the UPA responsible for political education. The main corpus of the book contains his creative heritage and correspondence. Documents about his schooling, arrest and incarceration by the Soviets, the circumstances surrounding his death, as well as memoirs of the persons with whom he worked very closely are also included here. Most of the documents and materials are being published for the first time. The book presents the most complete description of the life and activities of O. Diakiv, and highlights the main ideas of his published works. Kyiv-Toronto, 2011. Hardcover: 1016 pp. Illustrations.

Volume 18. OUN AND UPA ACTIVITIES ON THE TERRITORY OF EAST-CENTRAL AND SOUTHERN UKRAINE. The book includes documents and materials of the Ukrainian resistance movement as they relate to the underground activity of the OUN(B) and UPA on the territory of the central, eastern and southern oblasts of Ukraine during 1942-1952. The sources shed light on one of the lesser known pages of Ukrainian history of the mid-20th century and serve as a natural supplement to the documental heritage of the independence movement in Western Ukraine. Kyiv-Toronto, 2011. Hardcover: 1160 pp. Illustrations.

Forthcoming volumes of the New Series:

– **The OUN Okruha in Bukovyna: 1943-1951. Documents and Materials.**

– **Yaroslav Starukh. Documents and Materials.**

– **The UPA's Military Region «Lysonia». Documents and Materials. 1943–1952.**

– **The Struggle against the Insurgent Movement and Nationalist Underground: Interrogation Protocols of OUN and UPA leaders Arrested by the Soviet State Security Organs. 1946-1952. Book Three.**

LITOPYS UPA – LIBRARY SERIES

Volume 1. Yuri Stupnytsky. MY PAST LIFE. In these memoirs the author, who hails from the Volyn region, describes his family life and experiences starting from his youth in the late 1930s and ending with his release from imprisonment

in the mid-1950s. Both he and his father, Col. Leonid Stupnytsky, Chief-of-Staff of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, joined the UPA in 1943. The author was trained in the «Druzhynnyky» UPA Officers' Training School. Following his arrest in 1944, he spent many years incarcerated in Soviet prisons and concentration camps. Toronto-Kyiv, 2000. Softcover: 128 pp. Illustrations and maps.

Volume 2. *Volodymyr Viatrovych. UPA RAIDS THROUGH CZECHOSLOVAKIA.* This monograph focuses on one of the lesser known aspects of the Ukrainian national-liberation movement of the 1940s and 1950s, namely, the UPA raids in Czechoslovakia. The author reveals the scope of the national-liberation struggle in Ukraine and its impact on events in postwar Europe, without which a correct and objective interpretation of the social processes during this period is not possible. Toronto-Lviv, 2001. Softcover: 208 pp. Illustrations and maps.

Volume 3. *Yaroslav Hrytsai-«Chornota,» Paraskevia Hrytsai. THE WOUNDS WOULD NOT HEAL.* This book features the memoirs of UPA Commander «Chornota,» which describe UPA events that took place in the Zakerzonnia region in 1943-1945, as well as his incarceration in Soviet prisons and Siberian concentration camps. The memoirs were prepared for publication by the author's wife Paraskevia (née Rotko) who for many years compiled, supplemented, and systematized her husband's recollections. Toronto-Lviv, 2001. Hardcover: 332 pp. Illustrations.

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Part III