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### MRP AND THE WEST UKRAINE

I shall not dwell on the legal side of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, it having been competently appraised by previous speakers. I would like to draw the attention of the esteemed audience to the effect the Pact (in particular its Secret Supplementary Protocol of Aug. 23, 1939) had on the destiny of the Ukrainian people, the peculiarity of whose position on the eve of the developments of 1939 was in its being under power of four adjacent states (Hungary, Poland, Rumania, and the USSR).

The natural aspiration of the Ukrainian people to unity was made use of by the Soviet historical science and propaganda to justify the aggressive military actions of 1939 against Poland, thus substituting the fake motive for the authentic one as expounded in the secret documents.

The way passed by our peoples — victims of MRP — since 1939 has been tragic. But it may happen that it will be this Conference that will prove to be the focal point of a new path where the said peoples will stop being an object of manipulation by aggressive forces and become a subject of history.

According to Items 1 and 2 of the Secret Supplementary Protocol of Aug. 23, 1939, signed in Moscow by Ribbentrop and Molotov, the West-Ukrainian territories turned out to be in the sphere of interest of the USSR. The events of Sept. 1939 served to implement these agreements: the West Ukraine was annexed by the USSR.

It stands to reason that the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact did not envisage the reunification of the Ukraine. The notions like “liberation”, “reunification” can be met nowhere in the secret documents. But to make up for it they are crammed with terminology of states-aggressors, e. g. “spheres of interest”, “interests of the sides”, “political transformations”, etc.

That is why we appraise the developments of Sept. 1939 as occupation of the West-Ukrainian territories, occupied by Poland in 1919, resulting from a deal of two against the third. On newly seized territories, Ukrainian from time immemorial, the Soviet authorities proceeded with the genocide against our people, started in the East Ukraine after the Oct. 1917 developments (I mean the Soviet period).

Genocide revealed itself in mass deportations to Siberia, shootings and persecutions of indigenous population already before the war with Germany. The scope of the bloody orgy is still little known. At present the public of the Ukraine is carrying out research into terror in villages, towns and regions. As reported by the researcher I. S. Parsadanov in his paper “Deportation of Population of the West Ukraine and West Byelorrussia in 1939—1941”, during the period of Nov. 1939 — Nov. 1940, there were forcibly displaced from these territories 312 800 households or 1 173 170 people, i. e. approx. 10 per cent of the population.

Today we may say with assurance that this was a premeditated attempt upon the very existence of the Ukrainian people. Yes, the Pact brought about the conciliarism, but it resulted also in national calamity.

One of the consequences of terror against our people was the widespread guerilla movement in the 40s in the Ukraine, incurring in its turn tens of thousands of victims, and involving re-stocking of the Soviet concentration camps with hundreds of thousands of political prisoners.

At present the situation of the Ukrainian nation is highly dramatic. Resulting from the policy of russification and merciless centralization of administration, the Ukraine is virtually left without a chance not only to manage its own economy, but also to effect independent educational or cultural policy. As shown by the discussion in the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, it is the centralized management of culture that is in store for us in the future, too.

For the last decades such big cities like Harkiv, the population of which numbers over one million, Zaporozhswia, Dnipropetrivsk, Donetsk, and others have been virtually russianized. Enormous efforts of the whole nation are needed to heal the aftermath of the destruction wrought to our nation as an integral organism.

For a long time the official propaganda has been thrusting on our people the allegation that the military campaign of 1939 had liberated the West-Ukrainian population. The bloody practice of ruling our lands discredited these false allegations, whereas the plan of deportation to Siberia of the whole Ukrainian people was admitted by N. Khrushchev in his report on personality cult and its aftermath at the CPSU XX Congress, as elaborated by the Stalin clique on the eve of the war with Germany; it also revealed the imperial motives of the military action of the USSR against Poland. Soviet historians refer to the decision of the People's Assembly of Representatives of the West Ukraine of Oct. 1939, which had expressed a wish to join the USSR. With the Soviet troops stationed in the West Ukraine there could not have been any alternative, any other opinion challenging the first one. And I am not able to remember a single case of people, the land of whom had been trodden by a Soviet soldier, having decided otherwise.

In our opinion, subjoining of the part of the West-Ukrainian territory to the East Ukraine was a concomitant result of political schemes and military action of two aggressors. It was put into effect ignoring the opinions and eliminating the participation of the Ukrainian people.

The outstanding Ukrainian writer and film director, world-famous Aleksandr Dovzhenko remarked as early as in 1939, that 1939 was the year when fortunes of our people were decided in the absence of our people. As said jokingly by the Ukrainian composer Stanislav Ludkovich, "Nas vyzvolili i na tse nema radi" (Нас визволили і на це нема ради). The translation goes roughly as follows, "We were liberated with there being nothing we could do".

All this speaks of the incompetence of the Pact, since it affected the third party who not only did not sign it but was totally unaware of its being contemplated and put into practice. This is not to say that our people were devoid of thought of reunification.

The West Ukrainians have always been considering a unified national State, since the territory of Halychyna, West Volhynia, Northern Bukovina have been Ukrainian soil from times immemorial — once part of Kievan Rus, later belonging to Halicko-Volhyniani Principality. Further on the fate of these lands was utterly dramatic. In the 14th century they found themselves under the rule of Poland, in the 18th century — under Austria. And when on the ruins of Austria-Hungary there arose the ZUNR (West Ukrainian People's Republic) and on the ruins of Russian Empire — UNR (Ukrainian People's Republic), one of the first large-scale political moves of two independent Ukrainian States was their reunification into one Ukrainian State, juridically legalized on Jan. 22, 1919 under the name

Akt Zluky (Reunification). Starting from 1989, the people of the Ukraine is celebrating this day as the Day of National Independence and Conciliarism.

For a long time our people has been the object of manipulation of strong neighbours, some of them conquering us, some of them dividing us, some of them giving us away as a present, often on behalf of the people but always in its absence and without its consent. I think the time is drawing closer when the Ukrainian people will become a subject instead of an object of history.

Today the right of the Ukraine to a conciliatory State is based on international documents, and in particular on the Statute of the UNO, on the Universal Declaration of the Human Rights of a People, on the Declaration of Granting Independence to Colonial Countries and People, on the International Pacts on human rights from 1966, etc.

Thus, denouncing the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, the Lviv regional organization of NRU (People's Movement of the Ukraine) underlines the Pact's juridical incompetence as regards the West Ukraine, and gives it a negative political as well as moral appraisal.

To conclude, I would like to point out that there are different interpretations of our Declaration from the juridical point of view of the invalidity of the Pact. Therefore I am suggesting to include the following addition to Item 4 of the Draft Resolution:

"Declaring MRP and Secret Protocols null and void, the Conference is at the same time declaring the right of the Ukraine to conciliation of all the Ukrainian lands as based on international documents dealing with the rights of nations to self-determination, in particular on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Declaration of Granting Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, as well as others".

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### 1939. AASTA 23. AUGUSTI SALAJANE LISAPROKOLL

Molotovi-Ribbentropi pakt on saanud kvalifitseeritud õigusliku hinnangu. Lisatagu vaid, et 1939. aasta 23. augustil Ribbentropi ja Molotovi poolt allakirjutatud salajase lisaprotokoll 2. ja 3. punkti kohaselt jäid Lääne-Ukraina alad NSV Liidu huvisfääri. 1939. aasta septembris alanud sündmused realiseerisid selle kokkuleppe: NSV Liit annekteeris Lääne-Ukraina.

Pakt ei näinud ette Ukraina taasühendamist, salaprotokollis apelleeriti agressorriikide terminoloogiaga, nagu «mõjusfäärid», «poolte huvid», «poliitilised ümberkujundused». Hõivatud Ukraina aladel jätkasid Nõukogude võimud genotsiidi ukraina rahva vastu, mida Ida-Ukrainas oli alustatud pärast 1917. aasta oktoobrisündmusi.

Genotsiid tõi kaasa umbkaudu 10% rahvastiku deporteerimise Siberisse, massilised mahalaskmised ja venestamise. Lääne-Ukraina alade ühendamine Ida-Ukrainaga oli kahe agressori poliitiliste kombinatsioonide ja sõjaliste aktsioonide kõrvaltulemus. Niisugune ühendamine toimus ukraina rahva arvamust arvestamata ja ilma tema osavõtuta. Rahvas oli täielikus teadmatuses paktiga plaanitsetavast.

Arvatavasti jõutakse lähemal ajal selleni, et ukraina rahvast saab naabrite manipuleerimisobjekti asemel rahvusvahelise õiguse ja ajaloo subjekt.

## СЕКРЕТНЫЙ ДОПОЛНИТЕЛЬНЫЙ ПРОТОКОЛ ОТ 23 АВГУСТА 1939 ГОДА

Пакт Молотова—Риббентропа получил квалифицированную правовую оценку. Добавляю лишь, что согласно 2-му и 3-му пунктам секретного дополнительного протокола, подписанного Риббентропом и Молотовым 23 августа 1939 г., западноукраинские земли оказались в сфере интересов СССР. Развернувшиеся в сентябре 1939 г. события реализовали это соглашение: Западная Украина была аннексирована СССР.

Пакт не предусматривал воссоединения Украины, секретный протокол насыщен терминологией государств-агрессоров, например, «сферы влияния», «интересы сторон», «политические преобразования». На захваченных землях Украины советские власти продолжили геноцид против украинского народа, начатый на Восточной Украине после октябрьских событий 1917 г.

Геноцид проявился в депортации около 10% населения в Сибирь, в массовых расстрелах, в политике русификации. Присоединение части западноукраинских земель к Восточной Украине было побочным результатом политических комбинаций и военных акций двух агрессоров. Оно осуществилось без учета мнения и участия украинского народа. Народ был в полном неведении о замыслах пакта.

Думается, что приближаются времена, когда украинский народ вместо объекта манипуляций соседей станет субъектом международного права и истории.