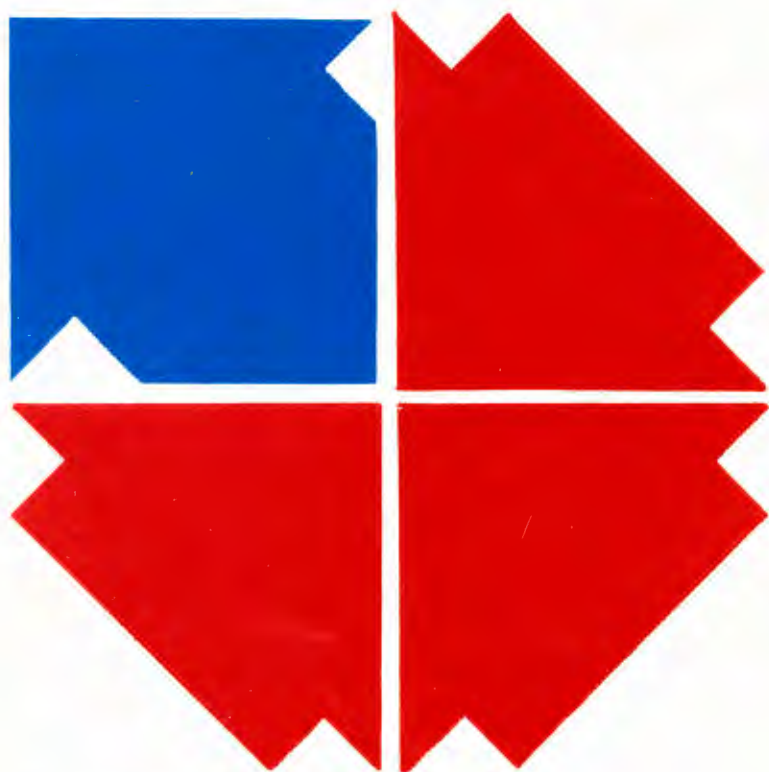


DISSENT in UKRAINE

THE UKRAINIAN
HERALD

ISSUE 6



INTRODUCTION BY
YAROSLAV BILINSKY

AN UNDERGROUND JOURNAL
FROM SOVIET UKRAINE

THE UKRAINIAN HERALD

ISSUE 6

DISSENT IN UKRAINE

Teofil Popowych

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THE UKRAINIAN HERALD
ISSUE 6
DISSENT IN UKRAINE

An Underground Journal from Soviet Ukraine

Introduction by
YAROSLAV BILINSKY

Translated from the Ukrainian and Edited by
LESYA JONES and BOHDAN YASEN

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Soviet Ukraine in March 1972

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ABBREVIATIONS

A.S.S.R.	Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic
AS Ukr.S.S.R.	Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian S.S.R.
CC	Central Committee
CPSU	Communist Party of the Soviet Union
CPU	Communist Party of Ukraine
Komsomol	Communist Youth League
OUN	Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists
R.S.F.S.R.	Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic
S.S.R.	Soviet Socialist Republic
UkrCC	Criminal Code of the Ukrainian S.S.R.
UkrCCP	Code of Criminal Procedures of the UkrainianS.S.R.
Ukr.S.S.R.	Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic

INTRODUCTION

by

Yaroslav Bilinsky

This is the sixth issue of the underground *Ukrainian Herald*, offered in a meticulous and generously annotated translation by Lesya Jones and Bohdan Yasen.

Unlike the—unsucessfully—suppressed all-Soviet Union *Chronicle of Current Events*, which may be more familiar to Western readers, the *Ukrainian Herald* contains a mixture of news, brief documents, and entire pamphlets that have been circulating underground in Soviet Ukraine. This seems to invite a rearrangement of the contents, which the translators-editors have wisely avoided. Though a neater, more logical layout would have demanded less of the reader, the original arrangement carries greater authority: dissent in Soviet Ukraine is, alas, neither neat nor logical, at least not by contemporary Western standards. It simply is: a cry of the anguished soul, an existential phenomenon that cannot be fully explained nor elegantly categorized.

The reader who is interested in things Ukrainian will find this particular volume a rich harvest of facts and insights. There is Vyacheslav Chornovil's lengthy but spirited point-by-point critique of a pamphlet by "Bohdan Stenchuk." An apparently pseudonymous official hack writer, "Stenchuk" attempted to refute Ivan Dzyuba's well-known treatise *Internationalism or Russification?*, but he appears to have gotten the worse in the argument. Besides numerous thumbsketches of persons who were

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arrested in 1972 and earlier, besides the collection of materials pertaining to the 1968 investigation and the 1970 trial of historian Valentyn Moroz (pp. 88-111) and the 1971 arrest of microbiologist Nina Strokata-Karavanska, the wife of repeatedly persecuted Svyatoslav Karavansky (pp. 141-48), the volume offers priceless data on the Russification of higher and elementary-secondary education in Ukraine.

The reasons for this process are complex. Many "practical" Ukrainians definitely like to impart to their children a better chance at obtaining a career through higher education. They send them to Russian-language elementary and secondary schools so as to enable them to pass college entrance examinations in Russian language and literature and in their chosen specialties that are also administered in Russian. On the other hand, the conclusion of the anonymous Ukrainian patriot who has carefully described the state of the Ukrainian language in the elementary-secondary schools of Kiev, the capital of Ukraine, also deserves a hearing. He writes: "This is not a spontaneous process [sending Ukrainian children to Russian-language schools], as the authorities attempt to explain it. It is consciously directed and stimulated by the continued Russification of the pre-school establishments, higher educational institutes, state institutions and cultural life" (p. 76).

By 1965 the inroads of Russian in Ukrainian colleges and universities were so great that in August of that year, as Chornovil tells us, Yu. M. Dadenkov, the Minister of Higher Education of the Ukrainian S.S.R., issued a secret letter of instruction, attempting to institute a more balanced policy in establishments under the jurisdiction of his ministry (pp. 37-38). But Dadenkov's corrective was never applied, because his instructions were immediately countermanded by Moscow. It was also late in the summer of 1965 that Moscow ordered the first wave of arrests of Ukrainian intellectuals.

The material on schooling and higher education is invaluable because full public official data on elementary-secondary schools in Soviet Ukraine have not been made available since 1956-57, and on higher education since 1961. To obtain more recent figures on the number of Ukrainian students enrolled in

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1970-71 at the higher educational establishments of the Ukrainian S.S.R., one literally has to recalculate a table which gives the number of Ukrainian women students only. (Hiding nationality statistics behind sex statistics is an innovative Soviet presentation.) In that academic year the number of Ukrainian students in Ukraine was but 59.9 per cent (with Ukrainians comprising 74.9 per cent of the republic's total population in 1970), while Russians numbered as many as 32.9 per cent of the student body (compared with 19.4 per cent of the total [See *Narodnoye obrazovaniye, nauka i kultura v SSSR*, Moscow, 1971, p. 197.]) This tends to confirm Chornovil's argument about the Russification of colleges and universities in Soviet Ukraine. One could argue with Chornovil that the Russians in the Ukrainian S.S.R. are more urbanized and hence educationally more mobile, but this, in turn, raises the more serious question why this should be so, more than fifty years after the October Revolution and after all the socio-economic progress that has been made in Soviet Ukraine. Is this lag a spontaneous one or is it rather a matter of deliberate policy?

This issue also contains, among others, a brief, movingly poignant article entitled "Anton Oliynyk—In Memoriam." In 1947 Oliynyk, a 19- or 20-year-old member of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), was arrested by the secret police, tried, and sentenced to 25 years of strict-regime labor camps. He managed to escape from the Far North in 1955, was recaptured in Ukraine and sentenced again to 25 years, part of which was to be served in the dreaded Vladimir Prison. In 1965 he escaped for a second time and again was recaptured in his native Ukraine. Though under contemporary Soviet law the maximum sentence for escape would have been an additional three-year term, Anton Oliynyk was tried this time not for escaping, but for allegedly participating in mass murders as an OUN member during and immediately after World War II. He was convicted of those "crimes," sentenced to death, and executed in Rivne in June 1966. There is an outside possibility, of course, that incriminating evidence that had not been available to a Soviet court in 1947 may have surfaced in 1966, but that is remote indeed. When the war ended, Oliynyk had been only 16 years old! The truth remains that a Stalinist court gave him 25

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years in labor camp and a court under Brezhnev ordered him to be shot for crimes that he had allegedly committed more than twenty years before, as a teenager. It is also rather ominous for contemporary Soviet justice to hear KGB personnel boast, as mentioned in the obituary article: "We'll catch him and he'll be shot—you will never see him alive again." And this happened in 1965, not in 1936, *i.e.*, at the height of Stalin's purges, when such judicial murder would have been a most natural and normal occurrence.

There is no hiding the truth: this passionate book may irritate some groups in the West. They will ask: "Who are those people to insist on their little personal and parochial ethnic rights in an era of ever more promising world-wide detente, when sacrifices for the good of all of mankind are being called for, from all of us? Has not the Soviet Union changed for the better, irreversibly?" Perhaps it is impossible for anyone who has not lived under the Soviet regime to plumb the depth of emotional and intellectual revulsion it has generated in some of its citizens: perhaps not a majority, perhaps not even a very sizeable minority, but a considerable number none the less. The alert Western reader cannot help noticing that many of the authors in this volume could easily have stepped out of the pages of Solzhenitsyn's *Gulag Archipelago* and that some others have advocated the very same human rights for which Academician Sakharov has become famous in the West and notorious in Soviet official circles. The Ukrainian nationalist dissidents will also be fully understood by many dissident Soviet Jews. The Ukrainian dissenters share a common fount of experience with the Russian nationalist Solzhenitsyn, and to a lesser degree with Sakharov, the scrupulously fair, truly internationalist champion of human rights. (In June 1974, *e.g.*, Sakharov publicly defended the imprisoned Valentyn Moroz.) For what united Chornovil, Moroz, Solzhenitsyn, and Sakharov is not a roseate vision of the future—after all, Soviet citizens have been fed utopias ever since 1917—but a truly passionate concern for their fellow citizens living here and now, for individuals of flesh and blood, not for people in the abstract. As irritating and disturbing as it may be, this is a challenge that cannot be ignored by men and women of good will, whoever and wherever they be.

PREFACE

The face of dissent in the Soviet Union has become more familiar to us in the West in the past decade through the works of the uncensored dissident literature that have found their way here and the increased activity of Western journalists in the U.S.S.R. The acquaintance, however, has for the most part been inadequate, perhaps even superficial, for, with the exception of the struggle of Soviet Jews for the right to emigrate, it has focused on the activities of the Moscow-centered all-Union human rights movement, and has all but by-passed those movements which seek to combine advocacy of human rights with that of the much-abused rights of the nationalities of the Soviet Union.

Although there exists a strong community of interests and cooperation among Soviet dissidents of different nationalities, based on their common crusade for human and civil rights in the entire U.S.S.R., dissident movements in the national republics and among the ethnic groups of the Soviet Union have emerged in direct response to the type of repressions and persecutions exerted upon them by Moscow and have been shaped by their own exigencies.

Thus, Jews in the Soviet Union are united in their desire to preserve their Jewish identity, or, this being denied them, to emigrate to Israel; Crimean Tatars are united by the movement

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for the right to return to their homeland, the Crimea; the Volga Germans—by their struggle for the right to emigrate to Germany; the Lithuanians, Latvians, and Estonians—by each peoples' desire to preserve their national identities.

What unites Ukrainian dissidents, irrespective of their ideology, is their opposition to, as Valentyn Moroz calls it, the "mincing-machine of Russification." They see in this Moscow-directed nationality policy, which penetrates every aspect of Ukrainian life and culture, an imminent threat to Ukraine's existence as a nation. This danger of national extinction—borne out by the alarming statistics of each succeeding census, which show decreases in the percentage of the Ukrainian population that considers Ukrainian its native language—adds the extra dimension to the Ukrainian dissident movement that delineates the relationship between the overlapping but distinct interests of Ukrainian and Russian dissidents. Unlike Russian dissent, which is predominantly intellectual, limited for the most part to Moscow and Leningrad, and generally concerned with the democratization of life in the Soviet Union, the Ukrainian movement couples civil rights with national rights and engages people of various occupations from all regions of Eastern and Western Ukraine. Thus, among the numerous petitions in defense of the victims of the 1965 wave of arrests in Ukraine was the "Appeal of the 139," addressed to Brezhnev, Kosygin, and Podgorny, and signed by writers, artists, scientists, engineers, doctors, lawyers, teachers, students, and manual workers, whose ages ranged from seventeen to seventy. A similar stratification applies to the 1972 wave, during which hundreds of people were arrested for "nationalist activity."

The *Chronicle of Current Events*, the Russian-language underground journal which began to appear in April 1968, includes information on repression in all the republics. But an editorial in its Ukrainian counterpart, the *Ukrainian Herald*, in Issue No. 5, declared that Ukrainians were disappointed that even the most democratic Russian dissident group "nowhere defined its attitude towards the nationalities question in the U.S.S.R. or towards the rights of the non-Russian nations and the guarantees of those rights." It praised the *Chronicle* for its objectivity, but

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criticized it for limited coverage of nationality dissent. It also pointed out that "the meagre reports from the republics are inserted as additions to the detailed descriptions of events in Russia, particularly in Moscow, which in itself gives an inaccurate idea of the situation in the U.S.S.R."

The appearance of the *Ukrainian Herald* in January 1970, with its emphasis on coverage of "violations of national sovereignty (facts relating to chauvinism and Ukrainophobia), attempts to disinform the citizenry, the situation of Ukrainian political prisoners in prisons and camps," testifies to the distinctive needs and objectives of Ukrainian dissenters. This defense of national and human rights in the form of systematic dissemination of information on repressions in Ukraine was opportune not only because arrests and trials of Ukrainian dissidents have been notorious for their secrecy, but because Soviet authorities seemingly apply different standards to the cases of non-Russian and Russian dissidents in meting out justice and interpreting what constitutes "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda." For Ukrainian dissidents, even the possession of some of the more uncompromising works of Taras Shevchenko (1814-1861) and tribute to the great national poet of Ukraine have been judged to fall under that particular article of the Criminal Code, with all the attendant consequences. Reports on arrests and reprisals following the annual spontaneous May 22 festivities in honor of Shevchenko figure prominently in the *Herald*.

After the 1966 trials in Ukraine, most of which were held *in camera* and which began in late January with the Moroz-Ivashchenko trial, it became known that secret political trials had continued in Ukraine even after the death of Stalin in 1953. These trials involved both single and group cases, sometimes minors, and not infrequently resulted in the death penalty. Yet, it was the limited publicity and breaches of legality during the Sinyavsky-Daniel trial in Moscow on February 10-14, 1966, which first elicited widespread protests and criticism, both in the U.S.S.R. and in the West.

The disparity in the treatment of Ukrainian and Russian dissidents has generated alarm. For in order to weaken opposition, Soviet authorities have expelled some of the leading Rus-

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sian dissidents, or permitted them to emigrate; Ukrainian national dissent has been fought exclusively with harassment, repression, and imprisonment of activists. The one Ukrainian dissident that has been allowed to leave the U.S.S.R., mathematician Leonid Plyushch, probably owes this consideration to the fact that he was identified more with the all-Union civil rights movement rather than with Ukrainian national dissent. As a result of this policy many prominent Russian dissidents (Pavel Litvinov, Vladimir Maksimov, Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, Natalya Gorbanevskaya, and others) are today in the West, but *all* the major Ukrainian dissident writers—Valentyn Moroz, Yevhen Sverstyuk, Ivan Svitlychny, Ihor Kalynets, Vyacheslav Chornovil, Svyatoslav Karavansky, and many others—are serving draconian terms which in some cases may amount to death sentences because of poor health and the absence of proper medical attention.

Furthermore, Ukrainian dissidents have been expatriated to prisons and labor camps located outside the Ukraine, usually in the Russian S.F.S.R., in which they are represented in numbers grossly disproportionate to the general population figures, and, by some accounts, constitute an overwhelming majority among the political prisoners.

This additional penalty imposed on non-Russians entails considerable hardships for the prisoners' families, which have to travel over thousands of miles for visits. These visits are often cancelled under the slightest pretext, for example, if the prisoner and his family are not able or on principle refuse to speak Russian. Their correspondence is held up for months and they suffer terribly from the severe northern climate, to which they are unaccustomed.

The recurrent grievance of Ukrainian political prisoners over not being permitted to serve their sentences in their own country has been expressed incisively by Valentyn Moroz:

Ukraine, according to its Constitution, is also a sovereign state and even maintains a mission in the United Nations Organization. Her courts sentence thousands of Ukrainian citizens, and send them abroad—a procedure unheard of in history. Perhaps Ukraine, like the principality of Monaco,

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lacks space for camps? Room was, however, found for seven million Russian settlers; yet there is not enough room for Ukrainian political prisoners in their own land. Thousands of Ukrainians have been transported to the East and swallowed up by the gray unknown.

(A Report from the Beria Reservation)

That nationality dissenters are treated with inordinately harsher methods of repression can be illustrated, for example, by the parallel cases of the two historians Amalrik and Moroz, both persecuted primarily for their writings. The Russian historian Andrei Amalrik, the author of *Will the Soviet Union Survive until 1984?*, was sentenced to a three-year term in labor camps in 1970, and again to a three-year term in 1973 (the second sentence was amended by a higher court to three years in exile). Subsequently, he was put under pressure to emigrate and in June 1976 received an exit visa. The Ukrainian historian Valentyn Moroz served a four-year term in labor camp and prison from 1965 to 1969, then in 1970 was sentenced to another six years in prison, three years in special-regime labor camp, and five years' exile, a total of fourteen years. In May 1976, days before he was to have completed the prison phase of his sentence, Moroz was taken to the Serbsky Institute of Forensic Psychiatry in Moscow, a step which in the past has meant indefinite imprisonment in a psychiatric institution. Moroz was declared sane by the institute's psychiatric panel (this unprecedented action was no doubt the result of a flurry of protests in the West), but must still serve out the remaining eight years of his sentence.

The harsh treatment of Ukrainian writers and artists must be interpreted as nothing less than an expedient Stalinist approach to liquidating the leading Ukrainian creative intelligentsia and thereby accelerating the destruction of Ukrainian culture. Ukrainians and other nationalist dissenters oppose the obliteration of their native languages and cultures all the more bitterly because it is being carried out in the name of internationalism and through Russification. They point out that the new "international" or Soviet culture which is supposed to evolve upon the merging of all the national cultures of the U.S.S.R. will be

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exclusively Russian "culture." This resistance of Ukrainian and other national dissenters—to Russification under the guise of internationalism, to the Kremlin's grand design of creating (by force) a new Soviet "nation"—is the key to understanding the special intensity of repression aimed in their direction. And considering that Ukraine—with its population of 50 million people (second only to that of the Russian S.F.S.R.), and its vast natural resources—constitutes the only viable potential threat to the Kremlin's plans, the reasons for the Soviet regime's extraordinary sensitivity to Ukrainian dissent become obvious.

The assault against Ukrainian culture, language, and history, carried out as official policy by the Soviet government, has been aided and abetted by the chauvinism prevailing among the considerable Russian and Russianized segment of the population of Ukraine. Russians in the mold of the poet and political prisoner Vladimir Bukovsky, who has repeatedly spoken out in defense of the national and cultural rights of the non-Russian nationalities in the U.S.S.R., are few and far between. More common are those like the chauvinist who in 1964 dealt a devastating blow to Ukrainian scholarship and culture. That year, three days prior to the 150th anniversary celebrations commemorating Shevchenko's birth, V. Pogruzhalsky, a librarian working in the Marxism-Leninism section of the State Library of the Academy of Sciences, set fire to this largest library in Ukraine, limiting his thirty fires exclusively to the Ukrainian collection, among which were priceless and irreplaceable treasures of the historical past of Ukraine. When the press failed to mention the arson and Pogruzhalsky remained free, one of the earliest *samvydav* documents, *On the Trial of Pogruzhalsky*, appeared and circulated widely.

Such is the setting which nourishes dissent in Ukraine. Its essence, then, is in the instinct of national survival, of national preservation. But no longer is it the same force that generated the armed struggle for independence in Western Ukraine in the 1940's and 50's. That era is a thing of the past—to those of the older generation who were a part of it or who witnessed its heroism it is but a memory, to the younger generation it is either unknown or distorted by the special brand of vilification

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the Soviet propaganda apparatus reserves for "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism." National survival, defined in the light of the harsh realities of the present, means the preservation of Ukrainian language, culture, customs, arts, literature, historical ties, religious traditions. This is the battleground on which the assaults of the present regime against the Ukrainian identity are being waged. This is the field where Ukrainian patriots who care about the future existence of a Ukrainian nation are making their stand.

Dissent in Ukraine would have remained a voice crying in the wilderness if it had not been for the *samvydav*, the underground network of uncensored publications (in Russian, *samizdat*). The *samvydav* captured the fleeting essence of dissent, focused it and reflected it onto paper, thus making possible the dissident movement and the spread of its message to all corners of Ukraine and out beyond the borders of the U.S.S.R. And the fullest reflection of Ukrainian dissent is to be found in the *samvydav's* major journal, the *Ukrainian Herald*.

So this is what the reader will find in this collection, the *Ukrainian Herald*, Issue No. 6, which appeared in March 1972: the essence of dissent in Ukraine in the late 1960's and the 1970's. This publication, the English translation of Issue No. 6, has appropriately been titled *The Ukrainian Herald, Issue 6: Dissent in Ukraine*. Presented here are the many aspects of dissent: the dissemination of information on arrests, repressions, illegal searches, on protests against Russification, and on actions in the defense of those whose civil rights have been violated for political reasons, among them Nina Strokata-Karavanska and Valentyn Moroz; Moroz's own "Instead of a Last Word," in which he threw down the gauntlet at the feet of the state; the intellectual dissent of Vyacheslav Chornovil as he polemicizes with a literary servant of the regime over the issue of Russification; descriptions of the experiences of Ukrainian political prisoners in the concentration camps of Siberia and the Far North. Of great importance is the introductory "Assignment of the *Ukrainian Herald*," the journal's credo, in which its editors defend the legality and constitutionality of their publication and pledge themselves to objectivity.

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More than just a reflection of dissent, the *samvydav* and the *Ukrainian Herald* are also its catalyst. Leonid Plyushch, the Ukrainian mathematician and dissident who spent over three years in a psychiatric prison-hospital before being allowed to emigrate to the West in 1976, explained that until he had read a *samvydav* copy of Ivan Dzyuba's *Internationalism or Russification?* he had been a cosmopolitan who had considered Russification a desirable and progressive phenomenon. It is hoped that this translation of the *Ukrainian Herald*, Issue No. 6, into English will affect the way wide circles in the West, private persons as well as government types, view present-day dissent in Ukraine, much in the same way the Ukrainian original affected its readers in Ukraine. It is hoped that more people here will become less distant to the problem of human and national rights in Ukraine and in the rest of the Soviet Union, and will be moved to ask themselves the question, "What might I be able to do?"

This publication, *The Ukrainian Herald, Issue 6: Dissent in Ukraine*, has been truly enhanced by the introduction contributed by Yaroslav Bilinsky, Ph.D., Professor of Political Science at the University of Delaware, author of *The Second Soviet Republic: The Ukraine After World War II* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1964), and one of the foremost experts on the Soviet Union in the United States.

A note on the translation: all transliterations involving Ukrainian words, expressions, proper and place names have been rendered into English in their Ukrainian forms, rather than the Russian ones, as is the usual practice in the West. The only exceptions to this rule are the entrenched "Kiev" (for the Ukrainian capital—Kyiv) and "Odessa" (for the major Ukrainian port—Odesa).

LESYA JONES

BOHDAN YASEN

THE ASSIGNMENT OF THE *UKRAINIAN HERALD*

The appearance of such an uncensored publication in Ukraine has long been overdue. There exist many problems of general interest and concern to wide circles of the Ukrainian public that are not covered by the official press. And when, under the pressure of circumstances, the press does occasionally address these problems, it resorts to deliberate falsifications.

The *Herald* will include, without generalization, information about violations of the freedom of speech and other democratic freedoms guaranteed by the Constitution,¹ repressions in Ukraine through the courts and outside the courts, violations of national sovereignty (facts relating to chauvinism² and Ukrainophobia), attempts to disinform the citizenry, the situation of Ukrainian political prisoners in prisons and camps,³ various protest actions, and the like.

The *Ukrainian Herald* will review or reproduce in their entirety articles of public interest, documents, literary works and other materials which have already been circulated in the *samvydav*.⁴

The *Ukrainian Herald* is in no way an anti-Soviet or an anti-communist publication. Its contents and objectives are entirely legal and constitutional.⁵ The *Ukrainian Herald* does not consider it to be an anti-Soviet activity to criticize individual per-

The Assignment of the Ukrainian Herald

sons, agencies or institutions, including the highest, for committing legal errors in the resolution of internal policy problems, or for violating the democratic rights of individuals and nations. On the contrary, it regards such criticism to be a right guaranteed by the principles of socialist democracy and the Constitution, as well as the honorable duty of every conscientious citizen.

The abnormal circumstances under which the *Ukrainian Herald* appears are explained exclusively by the fact that violations of constitutional guarantees and illegal persecutions of civically active persons occur frequently in our society.

The *Herald* is not an organ of any particular organization, group, program, or other organizational unit, and will, therefore, reproduce *samvydav* materials which express various points of view.

The task of the *Herald* is to present only objective information about concealed processes and phenomena in Ukrainian civic life. For this reason the *Ukrainian Herald* will not include any material which was specially written for it and which has not been previously circulated. It will not reproduce documents which are anti-Soviet (as a rule anonymous), that is, those which oppose the democratically elected soviets [councils] as a form of citizens' participation in governing the country; nor will it publish documents which are anti-communist, that is, those which reject communist ideology, as such, in its entirety.

The *Ukrainian Herald* will be able to function only with the active support of the public, which will not only insure its distribution but will also publicize and suitably react to every anti-democratic and anti-Ukrainian act and every instance of illegal persecution of individuals for their convictions.

The *Herald* guarantees an unbiased approach to its material. Errors and inaccuracies, which are unavoidable because of the circumstances of publication, will be corrected in future issues.

ARRESTS AND [HOUSE] SEARCHES

On January 12 of this year there was a wave of mass arrests and [house] searches throughout Ukraine, as well as the Baltic Republics, in Moscow and Leningrad.

To date, the official press has mentioned only three individuals who have been arrested. The KGB wants to implicate them in the case of Yaroslav Dobosh,⁶ a Belgian student accused of spying on the territory of the U.S.S.R. They are Ivan Svitlychny, Yevhen Sverstyuk, and Vyacheslav Chornovil. Now the names of others who were arrested, as well as of those who were searched, have become known.

Arrests in Kiev:

1. Leonid Plyushch:⁷ age 33, research scientist at the Institute of Cybernetics; author of numerous scientific publications. Beginning with 1965 he was constantly persecuted for his convictions and was periodically unemployed.
2. Zinoviy Antonyuk:⁸ age 40; senior research scientist at the Institute of Petrochemistry, Candidate of Chemical Sciences, and graduate of the Lviv Polytechnical Institute; previously persecuted for his convictions.

Arrests and [House] Searches

3. Volodymyr Rokytsky:⁹ age 28; worked at a cement factory after being expelled from the University [of Kiev] for his convictions.
4. Kovalenko:¹⁰ age 50; English teacher in the town of Boyarka, Kiev-Svyatoshynsk District.
5. Oleksander Serhiyenko:¹¹ age 40; recently employed as an engineer-restorer at the Museum of National Architecture. He was expelled from medical school while in his third year and constantly persecuted for his participation in civic life; was often unemployed. Serhiyenko's father was persecuted and died in Stalin's camps. His mother, Oksana Meshko, spent ten years in prison for refusing to renounce her husband.¹² O. Serhiyenko's son is less than a year old.
6. Mykola Plakhotnyuk¹³: age 36; physician at the Children's Tuberculosis Clinic in Deverka, himself afflicted with tuberculosis. He was fired from his position as senior researcher at the medical school for his defense of Ivan Sokulsky and friends,¹⁴ who were arrested in Dnipropetrovsk.
7. Vasyl Stus:¹⁵ age 36; poet and literary critic. He was dismissed from his post-graduate research position at the Taras Shevchenko Institute of Literature of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukr.S.S.R. for protesting against the 1965 arrests; worked as a stoker, as a laborer on subway construction, with an expedition of the Institute of Archaeology, as an archaeological engineer and as a technical information engineer. He is the author of several unpublished poetry collections and many essays of literary criticism.
8. Ivan Svitlychny:¹⁶ age 42; literary critic, scholar and translator. Since his arrest in 1965 he has not been able to find employment anywhere.
9. Yevhen Sverstyuk:¹⁷ age 43; literary critic and scholar; worked as a proofreader for a botanical journal after his dismissal from the Institute of Psychology. He was not allowed to defend his dissertation; author of many publications on psychology and literary criticism.

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10. Leonid Seleznenko:¹⁸ age 38; research scientist in petro-chemistry and Candidate of Chemical Sciences; was persecuted for his convictions.

11. Danylo Shumuk:¹⁹ age 50; born in Volyn; a member of the Komsomol and an active participant in the Communist movement until 1939; served time in Polish and German prisons and concentration camps; joined the OUN movement during the war. In 1945 he was sentenced to ten years, then [received] an additional sentence; released several years ago. He worked as a laborer near Kiev. He has written his memoirs.

12. Mykola Kholodny:²⁰ age 30; poet; was constantly persecuted for his poetry and statements; recently wrote a treatise (approximately three hundred pages) on the development of the Ukrainian language.

13. A Jewish girl was also arrested, but so far, it has not been possible to identify her.

Searches were conducted in the homes of the following:

1. Ivan Dzyuba:²¹ a well-known literary critic, constantly persecuted for his book *Internationalism or Russification?* At first only detained, he is now summoned almost every day for questioning and allowed to go home only for the night.

2. Zinoviya Franko: Candidate of Philology; granddaughter of Ivan Franko.²² Several years ago she was dismissed from the O. Potebnya Linguistic Institute of the AS Ukr.S.S.R. and was unemployed. She was detained for twenty days but after agreeing to give evidence sought by the KGB, is now also permitted to return home for the night.²³

3. Viktor Nekrasov:²⁴ Russian writer; protested against [the practice of] persecuting [people] for [their] convictions.

4. Ksehar, treasurer at the Museum of National Architecture. He wrote a statement to the KGB that he had been ordered at one time to spy on Ye. Sverstyuk, V. Stus, and sculptor I. M. Honchar. Some believe that he became tired of

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being an informer, while others think that this is only a clever ruse.

5. Vadym Sysyatel, composer and conductor.
6. Oksana Meshko, mother of O. Serhiyenko.
7. Ahrypyna Lysak, Ukrainian language and literature teacher.
8. Nadiya Svitlychna,²⁵ sister of Ivan Svitlychny; philologist. She has been constantly unemployed. The archives of Alla Horska were confiscated from her.

Arrests in Lviv:

1. Vyacheslav Chornovil:²⁶ age 35; journalist. He has already been sentenced to three years for his book *Lykho z rozumu* [*Woe from Intellect*] in which he defended those who were arrested in 1965; worked as a laborer on a railway station.
2. Mykhaylo Osadchy:²⁷ age 35; poet, journalist, Candidate of Philology. He was arrested in 1965 and sentenced to two and one-half years in prison. He is the author of numerous poetry collections and other literary works.
3. Ivan Hel:²⁸ age 28; arrested in 1965 and sentenced to three years in prison; worked as a laborer in Sambir.
4. Iryna Stasiv-Kalynets:²⁹ age 32; poetess. She graduated from the University of Lviv and worked as a teacher, but because of her protests against the arrests was periodically unemployed. She is the author of several unpublished collections of poetry.
5. Stefaniya Shabatura:³⁰ age 32; artist; created many artistic tapestries; protested against the arrest of V. Moroz.

Searches were conducted in the homes of the following:

1. Lyudmyla Sheremetyeva, a staff member of the Museum of Ethnography.
2. Lyubov Popadyuk, lecturer of German at the University of Lviv. The home of her parents was also searched.

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3. Stefaniya Hulyk, the mother of an infant. A case has been concocted against her and she is being summoned for questioning.
4. Hryhoriy Chubay, a poet and worker. He was confined for three days in an isolation cell and is now being summoned for interrogation.
5. Atena Volytska, an engineer.

Additional searches were later carried out in the homes of the following:

1. Bohdan Horyn, of the town of Khodoriv. He had been arrested in 1965 and sentenced to four years' deprivation of freedom.
2. Yaroslav Kendzyor, a trade union official. Searches were also carried out in the homes of his parents and of his wife's parents.

Arrests in the Ivano-Frankivsk Region:

1. Vasyl Romanyuk:³¹ age 50; a priest. He protested against the arrest of V. Moroz. ([From] the village of Kosmach, Kosiv District.)
2. Taras Melnychuk:³² age 30; a poet. ([From] the village of Utoropy, Kosiv District.)

The age of some of those who were arrested requires verification.

The searches at the homes of the persons mentioned were thorough and lasted almost twenty-four hours or longer. Six to eight KGB agents participated in each search. Many [homes] were searched repeatedly from two to four times. Private archives, books, correspondence, personal works, etc. were confiscated. Dozens of persons are now being summoned for interrogations.

There are reasons to believe that the KGB used the arrest of the Belgian student Yaroslav Dobosh as a pretext to settle accounts with those individuals whom they consider to be the most active in community life.

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Moreover, a student at the University of Kiev, Hanna Kotsur, a Ukrainian from Czechoslovakia, has been giving provocative testimony against those who have been arrested and interrogated.

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WHAT BOHDAN STENCHUK DEFENDS AND HOW HE DOES IT:

Sixty-Six Questions and Comments To an "Internationalist."³³

(Continued from the previous issue.)³⁴

- 38.** As a national egoist, I. Dzyuba attacks the Party policy in the sphere of education, especially the law "On strengthening ties between school and life" (1958),³⁵ the effect of which he sees as "the sluices opened for the Russification of the school system. With 'voluntariness' and the 'will' of the parents, of course. But pardon me, neither the one nor the other apply here," writes Dzyuba.

Dzyuba's casuistic acrobatics may lead some readers to think that perhaps he is indeed "exposing" the destruction of national language education by "Russifying bullies." In fact, however, that same solution to the question—"the parents decide to which school, with its language of instruction, to send their children"—was expressed long before the new law by the October 1922 Plenum of the CC of the CP(B)U,³⁶ which also determined that "the language of instruction in the schools is to be introduced in accordance with the expressed will of the people." Dzyuba calls the given point a "cloud-

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ing," a "gross antipedagogic turn" and a "pre-determined political policy." But we should be permitted to remind the "theoretician" that this point existed prior to the "rout" of Ukrainianization,³⁷ which according to Dzyuba began in 1932.

(B. Stenchuk, pp. 101-102)

First of all, in addition to allowing parents to decide to which language school to send their children, the law of 1958, which Khrushchev's successors for some reason did not call voluntary and which they did not repeal as they did his *radnarhosps*,³⁸ permits them also to decide whether children who attend Russian-language schools should study as *a regular subject* the language of the sovereign state on whose territory they live and whose bread they eat. Now teachers jest bitterly that parents and their children will soon be deciding whether or not they should study algebra and geometry.

Secondly, the CPSU or the CPU (like trade unions, the Red Cross, the DTSAAF [Voluntary Association to Assist the Army, the Air Force and Navy], or the Society for the Preservation of Nature, etc.) are not state organizations but voluntary associations of like-minded individuals, whose resolutions and recommendations, until such time as they are adopted by the sessions or executive committees of local soviets and [finally] by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, do not have the force of law and are binding only upon the members of these voluntary organizations. Therefore, how can you equate a resolution of the 1922 Plenum of the CC of the CP(B)U—which was never published and which you exhumed from the Party archives—with a law ratified by the Supreme Soviet?

But read carefully even this resolution. It refers to "the will of the people," that is, to society and not to individual parents. The discrepancy is obvious. In the 1920's Moldavians and Greeks in Southern Ukraine expressed a wish for their own native schools, and their wish was granted. (Today, Greeks and Moldavians in Ukraine study in . . . Russian-language schools, and Ukrainians in Moldavia . . . also in Russian-language schools: "Internation-

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alism in action!") During the period when the Party and the government conducted a Ukrainianization of the economic and administrative apparatus, of higher educational institutes and of cultural life, the Ukrainian population also expressed a desire for native-language schools, and this desire was satisfied. But today, having banished the Ukrainian language from the administration,³⁹ having Russified the higher educational institutes,⁴⁰ as well as to a considerable extent the culture, the authorities have suddenly resorted to a democratic procedure unheard of in our country: they referred a question of state importance directly to individual parents! As if they did not know in advance what parents would decide under such circumstances. Let them first promote Ukrainianization of the entire state and economic life and of the higher educational institutes, and then ask for the "opinion of parents." Besides, such liberal procedures do not exist everywhere and for everybody. . . . Ukrainians who live in the R.S.F.S.R. en masse (in Kuban,⁴¹ for example) for some reason do not have the right to express a preference for native language schools. . . . They are no doubt obstructed by some "national egoists."

39. I. Dzyuba beats the drums that "there are no (at least in Ukraine) administrative or economic bodies, or organs of government that function in the native language." At the same time even such a publication as the Ukrainian-language *Life and Word*⁴² (Toronto, Canada), which is anything but "Russifying," in publishing a report (with some assertions⁴³ with which, by the way, we do not agree) of a delegation of the Communist Party of Canada on its visit to Ukraine, wrote that "never before has official policy so fostered the all-sided development of the national culture" and that "we learned that the debates regarding the role of the Ukrainian language, its meaning for the Ukrainian people, and its future, were summed up and conclusions were drawn on the basis of the position of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which affirms the priority of the Ukrainian language in Ukraine."

(B. Stenchuk, pp. 102-103)

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Our affairs are in a sorry state if, in order to prove that our administrative life functions in Ukrainian, you have to refer all the way to Toronto, to the organ of the Communist Party of Canada [CPC]. . . . For once at least try to believe your own eyes and ears instead of newspaper truths. Don't even go to Kharkiv or Donetsk but walk out onto the main boulevard of the capital of Ukraine [Kiev]. Go from signboard to signboard; visit various establishments and you will hear in what language the officials and business administrators will answer you if you address them in Ukrainian. And peer also into their files to see how matters stand with the state language of the Republic—and only then proceed to “beat the drums.” Khreshchatyk,⁴⁴ after all, is a bit closer than Toronto.

But let us return to the delegation of the CPC which came to Ukraine in 1967 with the express purpose of learning how we settled the nationality problem. From the *Report* you quote it appears that our official representatives informed the members of the delegation about certain debates concerning the role and future status of the Ukrainian language. This in itself was an official admission that a national problem exists. But what kind of debates they were, and what conclusions were drawn from them, is perhaps known only to the individuals who informed the CPC delegation. There was not the slightest hint about them in the press. It is only known (not from the press) that in the fall of 1965 the Minister of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education in the Ukr.S.S.R. took a number of steps toward the Ukrainianization of the higher educational institutes in Ukraine (I will discuss the address by Dadenkov presently), but that these measures were stopped at the very outset upon, it is said, a directive from Moscow. There were several fine, although very general, phrases about the Ukrainian language in the speeches of Ukrainian leaders, but no perceptible or practical steps have yet been taken. Such was the extent of all those “conclusions.”

Since you decided to cite the opinions of the CPC delegation, let's be objective and quote some of their other conclusions. Indeed, they said many fine things about meetings, banquets, etc., but they also said the following (I quote from the report of delegation member [Bill] Herasym):

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... It is obvious that the nationalities policy has not been as successfully dealt with, as for example, the economic policy. Several times I was surprised by the question: "Why do you raise this issue?" And this was asked at a time when this problem is the cause of many international disturbances and has in recent times affected Ukraine and the Soviet Union: speeches at the Congress⁴⁵ of the Writers' Union of Ukraine, recent secret trials and semi-closed [court] proceedings in Ukraine indeed have a bearing on this issue.

Our delegation was also startled by the ideas of various important officials. The view predominates: our national problem has been solved. Another: the future of a nation does not depend on language. Language is of secondary importance, while technology and the building of socialism⁴⁶ are of primary importance. Although much was said about Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism, it was never defined.⁴⁷ We were left with the impression that some people use this term in order to avoid discussing the problem instead of getting to the root of it.

Although we were left with some negative impressions and although we did not receive answers to all our questions, we left Ukraine with a good feeling. It is undeniable that efforts have been made to eliminate shortcomings and various discrepancies. As Petro Shelest declared during one of the discussions: "Yes, we still have problems, but we are struggling" (obviously to resolve them—V. Ch.).⁴⁸

In order to relax a bit from serious discussion, let me recount to you several comic incidents relating to the visit of the delegation of the CPC to Ukraine.

At the Lviv television plant the "national problem" was quickly "solved" prior to the arrival of the delegation: all non-Ukrainian employees were ordered to disappear or to keep silent. And the manager of the plant, Petrovsky, greatly astonished his workers by speaking rather good Ukrainian for the first time in many years.

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A village near Lviv, which the Canadian communists were to visit, was ordered to repair immediately the broken fence around its church (!).

And at the Lviv Polytechnical Institute the authorities outdid themselves: they removed from corridor walls portraits of Russian writers and hung as many as two portraits of Shevchenko on one wall.

Would that delegations studying the nationalities problem visit us more frequently. At least we would get our fences fixed. . . .

40. "The press, schools, and theater are only partially Ukrainian," Dzyuba writes, "and then only formally, with the Ukrainian percentage, especially with regard to schools, decreasing during the recent period in favor of the Russian." Facts, however, don't bear this out. If in the 1968-69 school year there were in the Ukr.S.S.R. 5,505 schools with instruction in Russian, there were 23,036 Ukrainian-language schools (according to data supported by the Ministry of Education of the Ukr. S.S.R.).

(B. Stenchuk, p. 108)

What "else" do your statistics indicate? After all, you do not compare the 1968-69 year statistics with previous years, nor do you show an increase or a percentage decrease of Ukrainian-language schools. But let us look at your statistics more closely (for some reason not published anywhere and obtained by you from some official in the Ministry). If, for the sake of simplifying calculation, we exclude schools of other nationalities (Polish, Hungarian, etc.), of which there are now very few left in Ukraine, then on the basis of your calculations approximately 20 per cent of the schools in Ukraine are Russian-language schools. But this figure is considerably higher than the percentage of Russians in Ukraine. It follows that some fraction of these Russian-language schools was created for Ukrainians. If you had been less cunning, if you had not cited the number of schools but the *number of students* studying in Russian-language schools and in so-called Russian sections in Ukrainian-language schools (we have such a paradox!), then a truer picture of the Russifi-

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cation of the Ukrainian school system would have emerged, for in the large cities Russian-language schools are bursting with multiple classes, while Ukrainian-language schools often find it difficult to fill a single class. It's a pity that such data are no less secret among us than the formula for the hydrogen bomb. But do consult that same official in the Ministry and prove to me that I am mistaken.

41. The essence of the matter, however, lies not in this. Even before the Revolution V. I. Lenin wrote in the article "Cultural National Autonomy": "As long as different nations live in a single state, they are bound to one another by thousands and millions of economic, legal and social bonds. . . . If the various nations living in a single state are bound by economic ties, then any attempt to separate them permanently in 'cultural,' particularly educational, matters would be absurd and reactionary. On the contrary, efforts should be made to *unite* the nations in educational matters, so that the schools become a preparation for what is actually realized in real life. . . . One cannot be a democrat and at the same time advocate the principles of segregating the schools according to nationality." (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XIX, pp. 444-45.)

(B. Stenchuk, pp. 103-104)

By manipulating Lenin's thought in such a way, you have really bared your chauvinistic teeth! You admitted that you are striving to liquidate all non-Russian language schools in order not to "segregate the schools according to nationality" within the boundaries of a single state (in fact, you forget that Ukraine is a sovereign state, according to its Constitution, and that these words can also be interpreted as a demand to liquidate all Russian-language schools in Ukraine just as was done with Ukrainian-language schools in the Russian S.F.S.R.!).

If it was previously possible to think that you misunderstood some of Lenin's ideas (for example, about "the united action of the Great Russian and Ukrainian proletariat"), I now have all the evidence to contend that you distort Lenin's ideas deliber-

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ately and maliciously. You quote out of context a phrase addressed to the Austrian Social Democrats and Federalists, who favored the establishment of "cultural and national autonomy" of the proletariat (and not the territorial autonomy of the entire population) within the boundaries of a bourgeois state. Besides, you ignore everything Lenin wrote about the building of language (including educational questions) in the sovereign Soviet republics after the victory of the socialist revolution.

Even your Stalin, during the first years after Lenin's death, and before he took his mask off, grasped what you are not able to comprehend:

Lenin never said that the policy of the development of national culture *under conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat* (original italics—V. Ch.) is a reactionary policy. On the contrary, Lenin was always in favor of *helping* the nations of the U.S.S.R. to develop their national culture. It was under the leadership of Lenin and no one else that a resolution on the national question was drafted and adopted at the 10th Party Congress [1921], which states explicitly that: "The task of the Party consists in *helping* the toiling masses of the non-Great Russian nations to catch up with Central Russia, which had gone ahead; to help them (a) to develop and consolidate the Soviet statehood in forms compatible with their national and social conditions; (b) to develop and strengthen their courts, administration, economic and government organs, which would function in their native language and be composed of local people familiar with the customs, traditions, and psychology of the population; (c) to develop their press and *schools* (my italics—V. Ch.), theater, clubs, and cultural and educational institutions in general in their native language; (d) to set and develop an extensive network of courses and *schools of general as well as professional and technical character in their native language* (my italics—V. Ch.)."

Is it not clear that Lenin was completely and totally in favor of a policy of developing national culture *under*

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conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat?

Is it not clear that in his struggle with the policy of national culture under a bourgeois system, Lenin attacked the bourgeois *content* of bourgeois culture and not its form? It would be absurd to attribute to Lenin the view which considered socialist culture as *nationless* and devoid of any national form. The Federalists did, in fact, attribute at one time this absurdity to Lenin. Is it possible that our esteemed deviators have indeed followed in the footsteps of the Federalists?

What remains of the arguments of our deviators, after all that has been said?

Nothing except juggling with the flag of internationalism and slander against Lenin.

(**Stalin**, *Works*, Vol. XII, pp. 361-63)

Thus, judgment has been pronounced upon you by the person dearest to you: you belong among the deviators who renounced Marxism and followed in the footsteps of the Federalists, "juggling with the flag of internationalism and slandering Lenin."

- 42.** In 1913 (again 1913—V. Ch.) only fifteen magazines and one newspaper were published in Ukraine in the Ukrainian language. Special scientific and technical literature was not published in Ukrainian. Now, books in all spheres of science and engineering are being published in the Ukrainian language. The number of books published in Ukraine in 1913 amounted to 10 million copies, but in 1928 it rose to 37 million, and in 1937 . . . it reached 76,900,000. Of these, 65 million were in the Ukrainian language. During the 1918-1968 period of Soviet rule there were 24,823 titles of books published in the Republic, with a total of 3,403,506,000 copies, of which 2,574,611,000 were in the Ukrainian language.

(**B. Stenchuk**, p. 105)

What a lot of figures (millions, billions) to boggle the mind. But let's look at them soberly.

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If we rely on comparative figures, then we must admit that Nicholas II was, by comparison with Alexander III, a great Ukrainophile. The year 1913, as compared with 1863 (the year of Valuyev's circular⁴⁹), showed a great percentage growth of Ukrainian books and press.

According to your data, during the years of Soviet rule in Ukraine, 75 per cent of books were published in Ukrainian (for some reason you omit data for Western Ukraine prior to reunification⁵⁰). This percentage does not correspond to the proportion of the population of Ukrainian nationality (bear in mind that prior to the war the population of Ukraine was much more homogeneous). In juxtaposing the number of books published in Ukrainian and Russian during a one-year period, you limit yourself, for some reason, to 1937. Why don't you give the figures for 1967 or 1968? They don't sound right, do they?

With all these figures at your disposal, why don't you show how many books "from all spheres of science and engineering" are being published in Ukrainian?

I. Dzyuba, on the other hand, supplies data which are very disagreeable to you (more precisely, agreeable to you as a chauvinist, but quite unsuitable for your pamphlet), basing them on the subject plans of the scientific and technical publishing houses of Ukraine for 1966.⁵¹ Why don't you explain his data?

- 43.** A vast amount of literature is being published in the languages of Soviet peoples. In 1913 in the Soviet Union (if one views the Soviet Union the same way Shulgin and Meisner do, then the U.S.S.R. indeed existed already in 1913, as you write—V. Ch.) there were 23,805 titles of books published in the Russian language, and the figure rose to 45,312 in 1958, an increase of 90 per cent. In 1913 there were 1,575 titles of books in languages of other peoples of the country, while in 1958 there were 16,628, an increase of 1,055 per cent. During the same years the number of newspapers in Russian increased from 775 to 5,141 (an increase of 663 per cent), while those in the languages of the Soviet peoples [increased] from 59 to 2,521 (an increase of 4,278 per

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cent).

We ask I. Dzyuba: where do you find a policy of "Russification" here?!

(**B. Stenchuk**, p. 105)

Don't you see where? Even in the figures which you give, despite the cunning in giving the number of titles and not the size and edition (as if a slim propaganda brochure in the Yakut language in an edition of, say, 500 or 1,000 copies were comparable to a weighty Russian tome in an edition of 300,000!). Again you hark back to Nicholas II and impress the reader with percentages. The percentages are, in fact, grandiose and "striking" (1,055 per cent!, 4,278 per cent!!!), but they are not difficult to arrive at if one begins counting almost from zero.

Let's look at the ratio of Russian and non-Russian (or, "national," as you now write, since the Russian language is obviously already considered "international") publications. Even according to the titles for 1958 (by the way, why are your figures so outdated?) almost 73 per cent of books and 68 per cent of newspapers were published in Russian, while in the languages of other nationalities, 27 per cent and 32 per cent respectively. But, according to the 1959 census, Russians comprised 54.6 per cent of the population.

Now do you see the policy of Russification?

- 44.** In our country everything is being done so that Ukrainians who live beyond the borders of the Republic are not "deprived of the Ukrainian press," as Dzyuba asserts, but enjoy its use on a wide scale. We have Book-by-Post stores, which send mail-ordered books to every corner of the U.S.S.R. Subscriptions for publications are taken from citizens of any of the republics. The book-trading company Ukrayinska Knyha, in agreement with local agencies, sells Ukrainian books in all of the republics.

(**B. Stenchuk**, pp. 105-106)

As for your data on the sale of Ukrainian books in other republics, you must have borrowed them once more from some

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newspaper published in Toronto or Rio de Janeiro. In truth, if you travel for thousands of miles across Kuban, Siberia, or Northern Kazakhstan, where millions of Ukrainians live, you will not find a single book in Ukrainian in bookstores anywhere. All you could find there, and this very seldom, would be books of Ukrainian publishing houses, published in Russian.

Book-by-Post stores exist indeed. And in Ukraine subscriptions are accepted from all. And people are not questioned from which republic they came. Moreover, in Moscow there is even a specialized bookstore, Ukrayinska Knyha, and in Krasnodar in Kuban one of the bookstores has set up a tiny corner for Ukrainian books.

But if we are genuine internationalists and solicitous about equality of rights, then we must take immediate steps to make sure that Russians who reside in Ukraine could without impediments use the Book-by-Post service in order to receive books from the Russian S.F.S.R., and that they be permitted, during visits to their homeland or through friends, to subscribe to publications from Russian bookstores. Only then would there be equality. But as it is, it is being said: there is not a single specialized Russian bookstore in all of Ukraine!

- 45.** Does he want a percentage quota to be introduced in Ukraine in the higher educational institutions, research establishments, etc., for citizens of various nationalities, as was the case during the czarist regime? After all, everything has been done in our Republic to insure that persons taking examinations for higher and secondary educational establishments may do so in the language in which they studied in school, thereby putting everyone on an equal basis.

(**B. Stenchuk**, p. 108)

Are we to believe that a graduate of an Armenian school can come to Ukraine and write entrance examinations to the University of Kiev or Odessa in his native language? But no, only graduates of Russian schools have this advantage. They can come to Kiev, Lviv, Kharkiv, or Odessa (and they come en masse to "Russia's lovely South") from Kostroma or Ryazan,

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knowing that they will not only write entrance examinations in Russian but will also attend lectures conducted in Russian. Graduates of Ukrainian-language schools who go to Ryazan or Kostroma don't have the advantage of writing exams and listening to lectures in Ukrainian; and only very few students succeed in passing entrance examinations which are entirely in Russian in subjects which they studied in Ukrainian (mathematics, history, geography, etc.). Such obvious privileges for Russian graduates, who do not have to compete in their own republic, and who, in addition, have advantages in entering higher educational institutes of other Union republics, seriously impede non-Russian youth in obtaining higher education. We are dealing with indisputable facts of national discrimination in the system of higher education in the non-Russian republics of the U.S.S.R. It is this outrageous practice which forces parents to send their children to Russian-language schools ("why should my child suffer later?"). The school law of 1958 is conducive to their decisions.

So that you don't accuse me of national deviation for such conclusions, I will support them with a document which you will probably not dare call slanderous and nationally deviant: an instructive address by the Minister of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education of the Ukr.S.S.R., Yu. M. Dadenkov, delivered at a conference of deans of higher educational institutes in August 1965, [entitled] "On the Language of Instruction in the Higher Educational Institutes of the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education of the Ukr.S.S.R." I will summarize the address for the sake of conciseness, and the more important passages I will quote verbatim.

In the *fifty higher educational institutes* of the Ministry (there are higher education institutes which are not under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of the Republic) there are only 317,529 students, of whom 177,051 are Ukrainians, that is, 55 per cent (since according to the 1959 census Ukrainians comprise 76.8 per cent of the population of the Ukr.S.S.R., this is indisputable evidence of the national discrimination mentioned earlier). These higher educational institutes employ 18,132 staff instructors, of whom 8,932 are Ukrainians (less than 50 per cent!!).

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The publishing houses of the Universities of Kiev, Lviv, and Kharkiv published 2,297 titles of scientific and educational literature during 1960-64, of which 795 titles were in Ukrainian, that is, 36 per cent. Textbooks and handbooks in the technical sciences, highly specialized sciences, natural sciences, and educational literature for general and technical departments are published in Russian only.

An analysis of the situation in the universities of the Republic follows: 75,207 students, of whom 45,954 are Ukrainians, that is, 61 per cent (I remind you that Ukrainians comprise 76.8 per cent of the population), were enrolled in the eight universities of the Republic. The faculties of the universities consisted of 4,400 persons, of whom 2,475 (56 per cent) were Ukrainians. Only 1,497 lecture in Ukrainian (here and elsewhere only the percentage of lecturers and not the percentage of lectures delivered in Ukrainian is indicated).

At the University of Kharkiv, in particular, out of 777 lecturers only 104 (13 per cent) lecture in Ukrainian. At the University of Odessa, where Ukrainian students comprise 55 per cent, out of 537 lecturers only 53 (10 per cent) lecture in Ukrainian.

At the University of Uzhhorod, where Ukrainian students comprise 71 per cent, out of 362 lecturers only 158 (43 per cent) lecture in Ukrainian.

Data on the institutes of the Republic: the Kiev Institute of National Economy—"the only higher educational institute in Ukraine which trains specialists of this type for the state planning organs of the Ukr.S.S.R., whose work is, in accordance with the Constitution of the Ukr.S.S.R., conducted (ought to be conducted!—V. Ch.) in Ukrainian"—consisted in 1965 of 78 per cent Ukrainian students. During the last five years, 90 per cent of the graduates received appointments solely in the territory of the Ukr.S.S.R. Yet only 18 out of 335 instructors there, or 5 per cent, lecture in Ukrainian.

The Kharkiv Institute of Law is "the sole special higher educational institute in Ukraine which trains specialists for the legal organs of the Ukr.S.S.R." The majority of graduates (85 per cent) remain to practice in Ukraine. But the entire instruction-

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al process is conducted in Russian. "Such a state is absolutely irregular. We must realize that this is incompatible with the Constitution of the Ukr.S.S.R. and the legal code of the Ukr.S.S.R., which guarantee the use of Ukrainian in judicial proceedings."⁵²

Thirty-six higher technical educational institutes are under the jurisdiction of the Ministry. Bilingual (Ukrainian and Russian) lectures are given only in six of them (the interrelation between the languages is not indicated). Russian reigns supreme in the remaining thirty. "The use of Russian as the language of instruction in the higher technical educational institutes is to a great extent attributed to the fact that the best textbooks and manuals in the general technical sciences and the specialized disciplines are written in Russian" (if only that were the sole reason . . . —V. Ch.).

In 1964 only 21 per cent of the graduates of the higher technical educational institutes of the Ukr.S.S.R. received appointments outside the territory of Ukraine.

Further on in the address, the Lviv Technical Institute of Forestry is cited as an example of a positive solution to the problem. The institute has 2,449 students, of whom 1,240 are Ukrainians, that is, 50 per cent (note that the percentage of the Ukrainian population in Western Ukraine is considerably higher than the Republic's average—V. Ch.). Out of 165 staff instructors, 83 are Ukrainians, but 105, that is, 70 per cent, give their courses "with" Ukrainian language (that "with" is somewhat cryptic).

This higher educational institute is contrasted with the Poltava Engineering and Construction Institute (rector Dotsenko) in which are enrolled 3,782 students, of whom 3,368 (91 per cent) are Ukrainians. Of the 194 instructors, the majority are also Ukrainians—137 (70 per cent). Yet no lectures at all are delivered in Ukrainian.

The Lviv Polytechnical Institute, which has over 20,000 students, of whom 65 per cent are Ukrainians, is cited as a positive example. The faculty consists of "approximately 1,200 instructors, of whom over 60 per cent are Ukrainians. Lectures in

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Ukrainian are delivered by 357, that is by 30 per cent of the instructors." (A positive example indeed!)

In the Kiev Polytechnical Institute, on the other hand, which has approximately the same number of faculty and students, of whom about the same percentage are Ukrainians, no lectures at all are delivered in Ukrainian.

In the Ukrainian Engineering Institute of Water Transport (in the city of Rivne) the entire curriculum is in Russian.

The Ukrainian Correspondence Institute of Polygraphy is likewise totally Russified.

The University of Kiev and the Ukrainian Polygraphic Institute train journalists for the Ukrainian press, yet such secondary subjects as social science, foreign literature, logic, and introduction to the study of literature are taught in Russian.

At the Kiev University's Department of Philology certain social sciences, such as, for example, scientific communism, are also taught in Russian.

"Almost 70 per cent of the total number of subjects in the curricula of all the eight universities⁵³ in Ukraine are not supplied with Ukrainian textbooks."

"In many of the higher educational institutes the ideological and educational instruction is being conducted only or mainly in Russian."

"The sessions of the academic councils, the defense of candidates' and doctoral⁵⁴ theses are conducted in Russian. . . . The same can be said about the organization of various student meetings, the planning of lectures, discussions, addresses, and interviews with eminent and interesting persons."

"As far as official and mass communications, documentation processes, and correspondence are concerned, we must strictly adhere to the language of the Ukrainian people; this is our national and constitutional duty."

The Ministry outlined a complete *series of measures* which were set forth in the address by Dadenkov and which were

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distributed to the rectors of the higher educational institutes in the form of an instructional letter (and now quietly repose at the very bottom of the rectors' safes).

These measures I will now enumerate in an abridged form and present without elaboration only their constructive aspects.

1. "*Gradually convert the educational process predominantly to the Ukrainian language*, taking into consideration the concrete circumstances in each type of higher educational institute as well as in individual institutes." It is recommended that each measure be primarily enforced at the universities and at the institutes of economy, law, industry, and art.

2. "*Demand that the social sciences be taught in Ukrainian* in all the higher educational institutes."

3. "Guarantee the graduates and the students an equal right in the use of Ukrainian or Russian in every form of academic activity, irrespective of the language of instruction in the particular higher educational institute." "Introduce at the higher educational institutes in courses and in academic groups or systems, wherever needed, the study of the Ukrainian language as an elective."

4. "Demand that all instructors who know Ukrainian well lecture in Ukrainian." "Organize courses of the Ukrainian language for those instructors who do not know Ukrainian."

5. "Propose to the publishing houses of the Kiev, Kharkiv, and Lviv Universities; to the publisher Radyanska Shkola and to the other state publishers—Budivelnik, Tekhnika, Urozhay, etc.—that they publish textbooks and manuals for use in the higher educational institutes primarily in Ukrainian, and that the scientific and scholarly annals of the higher educational institutes and their inter-institute symposia be, as a rule, likewise published in Ukrainian."

6. ". . . Accept as graduate students into higher educational institutes predominantly those who know, are studying, or are willing to learn (???—V. Ch.) Ukrainian." "Provide all members of the higher educational institutes with the opportunity of passing the Candidate's minimum exam in all disciplines in Ukrainian."

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7. "Recommend to the [scientific] councils, the departments of all the higher educational institutes, that in compiling, reviewing, and confirming academic plans and curricula, they make specific provision for qualifying graduates to work in Ukraine. . . ."

8. "Propose to the higher educational institutes of the Republic that they conduct all official business in Ukrainian—sessions of the councils, faculty and student meetings, scientific sessions and conferences—and that they also transact all other business in Ukrainian."

9. ". . . Mass political, cultural, and educational instruction at the higher educational institutes . . . must be conducted (predominantly) in Ukrainian. . . ."

10. "In implementing the above-mentioned measures, the higher educational institutes should proceed with the overall, important task of continually reinforcing the international upbringing of youth and the development of deep friendship with the Russian people and the other fraternal nations of the U.S.S.R. They should encourage the study of Russian, which has become the language of international unity and cooperation among the nations of the U.S.S.R., and the continued assimilation of Russian culture (and why not Estonian or Tadzhik?—V. Ch.), while at the same time encouraging the study of Ukrainian culture."

This interesting "nationally deviant" document appeared almost five years ago. Years have passed, yet not one of the proposed "measures" has been implemented, except the tenth. Instead, the Russification of the higher educational institutes has even been intensified.

The question arises: Why was this document drawn up? For propaganda? No. It was so revealing that from the start it was permitted only for official use, and from the very beginning it was hidden under seven locks.

It is obvious that the CPU and the government of Ukraine (it would be naive to suppose that such an important step, which in fact inaugurated the Ukrainianization of the entire life in the Ukrainian S.S.R., could have been taken by Minister Dadenkov

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on his own initiative) had sincerely intended to restore Lenin's norms to education and perhaps later to the entire national life and cultural development of the Ukr.S.S.R. But they say that letters containing "the opinions of parents" (of the Russian and the Russified—or rather "internationalized"—section of the population) were sent to the CC CPSU. Moscow frowned in disapproval and the "sovereign" state organs of Ukraine directed all their strength to implementing the tenth measure, burying as deeply as they could the "seditious" document.

Such, Mr. Bohdan Stenchuk, are the equal rights and "equal status" of the graduates and students of various nationalities in the higher educational institutes in the Ukr.S.S.R.

- 46.** In your opinion, a true and proper picture of whose interests are being served by the policy in the sphere of education, culture, and science in the U.S.S.R. can be obtained by citing statistics as to the number of pupils and students that attended school previously and the number today in the various Soviet republics.

(Next follows a comparative table of the number of students in elementary schools, in secondary schools, and in higher educational institutes in the U.S.S.R. and eight republics during the 1914-15 and the 1967-68 school years—V. Ch.).⁶⁵

The Party, therefore, is most assiduously paying attention to the development of the formerly backward border areas . . . and this is correct, this is fully carrying out Lenin's behests.

(**B. Stenchuk**, pp. 108-109)

Once again you hark back to Nicholas III! But surely there are also scientific principles of calculation aside from propaganda. Therefore, let us look at the number of students in the higher educational institutes and the number of pupils in the secondary specialized institutes per ten thousand in each republic.⁶⁶

Having made the most precise calculations on the basis of your figures, we see that of the eight republics cited only tiny Armenia has more students and pupils in higher educational institutes, per ten thousand people of the population, than Russia, whereas

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all the other republics to which "most assiduous attention" has been paid were left far behind the Russian S.F.S.R. in the following order: the Uzbek S.S.R., the Kirghiz S.S.R., the Ukrainian S.S.R., the Tadjik S.S.R., the Turkmenian S.S.R., the Byelorussian S.S.R. (the last has been even more assiduously taken care of than Ukraine . . .).

Consequently, there are fewer higher educational institutes and secondary specialized educational institutes in Ukraine than there should be according to the calculated average norms. Moreover, as we have seen in the address of Minister Dadenkov, as a result of the discrimination in admission and in the instructional processes, only half of the students in Ukrainian higher educational institutes are Ukrainians. And yet you dare to call this "fully carrying out Lenin's behests!" Do not play the clown, my dear Sir!

47. Roughly every seventh scientific worker⁵⁷ in the U.S.S.R. (every eighth of these is a Doctor [of Science] and every seventh a Candidate of Science) is engaged in the Ukrainian S.S.R. Where is the "dramatic lagging" of Ukraine in "the brains sphere"?

(**B. Stenchuk**, p. 111)

Once again it's in your figures, because the population of Ukraine comprises a fifth of the population of the U.S.S.R., and not a seventh or an eighth; moreover, according to the report of Minister Dadenkov, barely half of the scientists and scholars in Ukraine are Ukrainians, and only an insignificant percentage use Ukrainian.

48. "Another factor that reduces the attraction of Ukrainian culture to many millions of readers," he writes, "is the artificial impoverishment of its past achievements and traditions, in essence, the pillage of the cultural history of Ukraine." Very pompously said! And here's his proof: "What other nation on earth," Dzyuba asks, "can boast of a situation where its greatest savants in the sphere of social sciences—M. Hrushevsky⁵⁸ and M. Dragomanov—world renowned and recognized persons, are

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unknown in their own country? The name of the former is still under a ban, while the secret ban on the latter has only recently been removed, but the books of both are equally not published⁵⁹ and can't be acquired."

We have dealt with M. Hrushevsky above. By the way, our community, especially the scientific, marked the jubilee of M. Hrushevsky as a man of learning on quite a broad scale in 1966. . . . It is generally known, however, that no one ever excluded Drahomanov from the history of Ukrainian culture and that there is quite a large body of literature about him. . . .

(B. Stenchuk, pp. 112-113)

"How about the books of Ukrainian historians Antonovych, Maksymovych, Bodyansky, Kostomarov, Lazarevsky . . . where are they?" Dzyuba wails. Perhaps the Ukrainian nation has really been "robbed" and deprived of its high culture of the past? Let us examine the facts.

First of all [about], M. Kostomarov. . . . It is not true that this comrade-in-arms of Taras Shevchenko has been forgotten. Apart from pre-revolutionary publications about Kostomarov we need only recall the list of Soviet researchers, which will convince anyone of the extent to which I. Dzyuba is a dishonest or simply a poorly informed individual. (Hold the thief!—V. Ch.)

. . . There is quite a large bibliography about Maksymovych. (In a footnote are mentioned titles of several articles about Maksymovych or articles in which Maksymovych is merely mentioned—V. Ch.) The trouble is that Dzyuba probably does not know about it or else doesn't want to mention it.

The same can be said of Dzyuba's knowledge of the works of Yosyp Bodyansky—Slavist philologist, historian and writer—to whom both Ukrainian and Russian literary critics pay due respect (a footnote refers to two articles about Y. Bodyansky—V. Ch.).

It is doubtful whether I. Dzyuba is familiar with the

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works of historian O. Lazarevsky, who corrected bourgeois-nationalist concepts. . . . We have a great deal of literature about him as well, and the researchers call him "an outstanding historian of Ukraine" (a footnote mentions two articles about Lazarevsky—V. Ch.).

As to the name and legacy of V. Antonovych . . . he must be dealt with separately. Antonovych is known for his ultra-nationalist world outlook. . . . Antonovych's books, (four titles are given—V. Ch.) are in the Central Scientific Library of the AS Ukr.S.S.R. and available to those who wish to become acquainted with them.

(B. Stenchuk, pp. 114-117)

"And how about the works of Ukrainian social scientists, sociologists, and economists M. Pavlyk, S. Podolynsky, F. Vovk, O. Terletsky, M. Ziber (who was so highly esteemed by K. Marx) and many others?"—I. Dzyuba asks rhetorically. If it has come to this, we'll have to enlighten Dzyuba about them as well. The Ukrainian writer, journalist and public figure M. Pavlyk is well known to every educated person not only in Ukraine but throughout the U.S.S.R. and far beyond its borders. . . .

Neither has O. Terletsky, the journalist, literary critic, and comrade-in-arms and political follower of Franko and Pavlyk, been forgotten by the Ukrainian people. . . . The same applies to S. Podolynsky, the progressive Ukrainian man of learning, who was one of the first to popularize in Ukraine the economic teachings of Marx.

Thus we are convinced that it is I. Dzyuba himself who is "pillaging" the cultural history of Ukraine by distorting the Soviet public's attitude towards it.

(B. Stenchuk, pp. 117-119)

You must take your readers for great simpletons. Why, it is obvious even from your quotations, not to mention from the context of Dzyuba's book, that Ivan Dzyuba was not concerned whether this or that writer's name appears in print today. He was not concerned about the evaluation or even about the

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specialized research in which contemporary critics interpret the works of Ukrainian scholars of the past, categorizing some of them as progressive and prominent and others as reactionary and bourgeois-nationalist. At issue is the republication of the works themselves of prominent Ukrainian scholars, which are masterpieces of Ukrainian scholarship and which have long since become bibliographic rarities. Thus, having copied from the *Ukrayinska Radyanska Entsyklopediya* [Soviet Ukrainian Encyclopaedia] a scanty bibliography and having spiced your arguments with abusive references to Ivan Dzyuba, you have failed to convince anybody about anything.

But "let us," even as you have proposed, "examine the facts." The anniversary of the great Ukrainian historian and scholar of world renown, Mykhaylo Hrushevsky, was indeed "marked" by two or three miniature, semi-abusive articles in periodicals (and this occurred a year after Dzyuba wrote his book—perhaps even as a result of it).

But since the death of the persecuted scholar not a single line written by him has been published, although already more than one generation of our historians feeds on his genius.

During the last few years, after a long interval, Drahomanov's name began to reappear, but his works have not been published since the 1920's and even then only a fraction managed to get reprinted. A two-volume edition of his writings is projected for 1970,⁶⁰ but this would only be a drop in the bucket. It is not certain, however, whether Drahomanov will not share the fate of the eminent historian of the Zaporozka Sich,⁶¹ academician Yavornytsky, the publication of whose works was likewise projected several years ago but which never materialized.

Not a single work of M. Kostomarov has been published since 1931. In fact, none of his scholarly writings have appeared during the Soviet regime. Only in 1967 (two years after Ivan Dzyuba compiled his indictment and sent it to the CC of the CPU) a two-volume collection of his belles-lettres was published.⁶² But the historian Kostomarov is accessible today only to the readers of some academic libraries and to such "poorly informed individuals" as I. Dzyuba, and not to the general

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public. This is how matters stand with a "comrade-in-arms of Taras Shevchenko. . . ."

There exists indeed a small bibliography about Maksymovych, which you diligently copied from the *Soviet Ukrainian Encyclopaedia*, but the scholar Maksymovych is unavailable except for an anthology of songs he compiled, which was published in photocopy in 1962.⁶³

"The same can be said" about Y. Bodyansky, to whom, as you have pointed out, "due respect" is being paid; and perhaps that is why none of his works have appeared since 1905 (the last was *Nashi ukrayinski kazky zaporozhtsya Iska Materynky* [Our Ukrainian Tales of Zaporozhets Isko Materynka], published by Ivan Franko).

Is it enough to call O. Lazarevsky "an outstanding historian of Ukraine"? Yet even he, the most acceptable to you of all the pre-revolutionary historians, is not appearing in print at all.

You advise the reader to familiarize himself with the four works of V. Antonovych (a meagre portion of his writings) in the Central Scientific Library of the AS Ukr.S.S.R. Apparently the "vigilant eye" has not as yet penetrated there and condemned them as "ideologically harmful," but a historical pamphlet by Antonovych was "removed" from my private library in 1965, and after nine months of inspection it was confiscated as anti-Soviet, although the anti-Soviet Antonovych died in 1906. . . . (The logic of the "security guards" in Lviv was likewise curious: they confiscated [works by] Antonovych because he was the teacher of M. Hrushevsky—"the leader of the Ukrainian counterrevolution!"—whose jubilee you celebrated . . . yet the works by that very "leader of the Ukrainian counterrevolution" were left undisturbed and remain on my library shelf!)

It is true that much is being written about M. Pavlyk. He is even the subject of numerous dissertations. But for a few exceptions, only his belles-lettres (in which he did not excel) are being published, while as a scholar and journalist he is unavailable.

Perhaps O. Terletsky is "as yet not forgotten by the Ukrainian people," but someone is indeed interested that he perma-

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nently become so, since his work was last published by Ivan Franko in *Literaturno-Naukovy Visnyk*⁶⁴ in 1903.

"The same applies to the progressive Ukrainian man of learning who was one of the first to popularize the economic teachings of K. Marx in Ukraine, S. Podolynsky," about whom little has been written and whose works have not been republished since they first appeared one hundred years ago.

So you see, "having examined the facts," it is not difficult to conclude who is the "poorly informed individual" (not withstanding such a solid scholarly base as the *Soviet Ukrainian Encyclopaedia*) and who the "pillager."

49. "I do not speak," writes a vexed Dzyuba, "of the complete concealment of documents and personages of the national-political struggle of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. In order to slavishly appease anti-scientific chauvinist concepts, all this has been relegated to 'zoological nationalism'." And no wonder! Evidently Dzyuba would like to see the writings of the above-mentioned chiefs of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism published, in order to disseminate the nationalist ideology today. The wish is very clear indeed!

(B. Stenchuk, p. 121)

If one remains unsatisfied with scanty citations and consults the original, one discovers that among the "chiefs of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism" there appear, by your grace, not only Ivan Nechuy-Levytsky and Borys Hrinchenko, but also Ivan Franko, since I. Dzyuba includes them as well among the "personages of the nationalist-political struggle of the late 19th and early 20th centuries" and recommends that their still unpublished works or articles which were expurgated during publication—*Lysty z Ukrayiny Naddnipryanskoyi* [Letters from the Dnipro Ukraine] by B. Hrinchenko, *Ukrayina irredenta*, and *Shcho take postup?* [What is Progress?] by Ivan Franko—be published. "The wish is very clear indeed" that you would like to banish from Ukrainian literature Borys Hrinchenko, Ivan Nechuy-Levytsky, Ivan Franko. . . .

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- 50.** "Great apertures have been made, and still gape, in Ukrainian letters and arts of pre-Soviet times," Dzyuba continues in piling up his accusations. . . . We'll try to figure out what he's up to in that field as well. . . .

I. Dzyuba correctly says that "great apertures gape," only it's not in our literature but in his own knowledge of it and of the achievements of the recent past.

(**B. Stenchuk**, pp. 121-122)

Having made such a categorical pronouncement, you attempt to "figure out" things by resorting to incredible distortions, disregarding at times even the latest opinions of literary scholars. For some reason you contrapose the neoclassicists P. Fylypovych⁶⁵ ("white") and Dray-Khmara⁶⁶ ("black"), who were in fact in ideological and artistic agreement. Moreover, you appraise the writings of V. Pidmohylny⁶⁷ absolutely negatively. You declare that M. Yohansen's⁶⁸ works are being published and that Ivan Dzyuba is ignorant of that fact; to prove it you name a tiny collection of poems for children⁶⁹ which was published only three years after the appearance of Dzyuba's book. The same applies to Geo Shkurupiy,⁷⁰ whose selected poems were published only in 1968, etc.

You do not explain Dzyuba's statement as to why the numerous writers of the pre- and post-revolutionary period—the majority of whom died in Stalin's concentration camps⁷¹ and who have the right to be read today—have not been published or have been published in such small editions that they remain unknown to the majority of the Ukrainian public.

- 51.** But I. Dzyuba, our knight not without fear or beyond reproach (How witty!—V. Ch.), bawls that even the encyclopaedist Zerov⁷² has been in essence obliterated. How is that? His books and collections of articles were and are being published in our republic.

(**B. Stenchuk**, p. 126)

From the time of the tragic death of the poet and scholar in one of Stalin's [concentration] camps until the appearance of Dzyuba's book, Mykola Zerov in fact "was obliterated." His *Selected Works*,⁷³ which include poems and translations, appeared

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later. But please tell us to what "collections of articles" you are referring. No one has published these "collections" since the mid-1920's, unless perhaps in the West. As a brilliant literary scholar, Mykola Zerov is, in fact, still unknown to contemporary readers.

- 52.** V. Koryak,⁷⁴ the Ukrainian Soviet critic and historian of literature, is also known to all who are interested, except to I. Dzyuba, of course. . . . "Ukrainian literature has traveled many roads from Shevchenko to Shapoval," said V. Koryak. "The bourgeois poets dumped the Ukrainian literary word, Ukrainian literature, into an abyss from which there was no way out, and all the other representatives of Ukrainian bourgeois letters—Oles, Vynnychenko, Chuprynka—automatically took to politics. At the present time none of these representatives *can call themselves representatives of Ukrainian national culture*" (our emphasis—B.S.).

(**B. Stenchuk**, pp. 127-128)

It looks as if not "all who are interested" can get to know V. Koryak (also a victim of Stalin's final solution to "Ukrainianization,"), for despite his orthodoxy, numerous "ideologically harmful" elements were also discerned in his writings, and nothing at all of his is being published. And only occasionally are passages from his writings—characterized by vulgar sociologisms—extracted, because they are in complete harmony with the present political trends.

And you have taken quite a step backward, Mr. Bohdan Stenchuk, if, contrary to contemporary literary scholarship, you do not consider Oles (and for that matter V. Vynnychenko) as representatives of Ukrainian national culture. . . .

- 53.** I. Dzyuba writes in his book: "While in Soviet Russia Bunin has long since been recognized and published, in Soviet Ukraine we cannot even speak of Vynnychenko, who was incomparably 'more left' in pre-revolutionary times." We are not going to enter into polemics with Dzyuba regarding Bunin's works. We will say that

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Vynnychenko was not merely a writer, but the ideologist of the bourgeois-nationalist counterrevolution, whose ideas he reflected in his writings.

(B. Stenchuk, p. 128)

It is a pity that you do not want to enter into polemics with Ivan Dzyuba concerning Vynnychenko and Bunin, for Vynnychenko was indeed "more left" than Bunin, and not only during the "pre-revolutionary" times, as Dzyuba writes, but also as an expatriate. If all "nationalism," irrespective of its caliber, did not evoke in you blind fear and hatred, you would comprehend that Vynnychenko remained to the end loyal to the ideas of socialism, unlike Bunin, who was always hostile to them. During Stalin's despotism Vynnychenko even wrote open letters to Stalin, expressing his concern for the fate of socialism and the Ukrainian nation, for which he was censured by the rightist circles of Ukrainian émigrés (Donstov,⁷⁵ for example).

So that you don't accuse me of prejudice toward Bunin, let me quote the above-mentioned Russian emigrant D. Meisner, who can sooner be accused of understatement than hyperbole:

Recently, yet another collection of selected works of I. A. Bunin, who died in exile, was published in the Soviet country, with a remarkable introduction by the Soviet writer Paustovsky, in which he expressed maximum recognition and respect for Bunin. In his preface the author handled Bunin's mistakes and delusions, his loves and hates, with the greatest understanding and tolerance.

. . . It would be only fair to say that the Soviet country revealed itself to be more understanding and discerning than was Bunin himself in that controversy which for many years divided Soviet Russia (for the gentleman whose work is being published in Moscow, the term Soviet Union does not exist—V. Ch.) and the émigrés.

At one of the émigré meetings in Paris, which I attended and which was often recalled by its participants with emotion, Bunin formulated his attitude toward the Russian Revolution in very unjust, bitter, and, as it often

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happens when emotions and passions override reason, superficial terms.

Irreconcilable and blind words used to be uttered by Bunin during the first year of exile, when hate was stronger than love itself. . . . This famous writer remained to the very end of his life partially irreconcilable. From here (his "passions of character"—V. Ch.) stem this great love and this often blind hate, which are justly recalled by those who write frankly about Bunin.

(D. Meisner, *Mirazhi i deystvitelnost. Zapiski emigranta* [Mirages and Reality: Notes of an Emigré], Moscow, 1960, p. 211.)

Understand me correctly. The point is not whether Russians should publish Bunin, who is an eminent writer, but rather that you and your confreres learn from the "elder brother" how to treat with "maximum recognition and respect" (at least after death) those who have enriched Ukrainian culture and who could be presented to the civilized world with pride, and that you learn from your mentors, the Russians, to look upon their errors with "tolerance."

[In the succeeding pages Vyacheslav Chornovil cites parallel passages from the *Soviet Ukrainian Encyclopaedia* which indicate that Bohdan Stenchuk did not obtain his information from the original sources but plagiarized much of it practically verbatim from the *Encyclopaedia. Editors*]

54. I. Dzyuba has relegated M. Maksymovych, the eminent Ukrainian natural scientist, philosopher, historian, folklorist, and writer, to the list of "forgotten" men. Defending the friendship of the Ukrainian and Russian peoples and the close unity and collaboration of the two fraternal cultures, M. Maksym-

Maksymovych Mykhaylo . . . the eminent Ukrainian natural scientist, philosopher, historian, folklorist and writer. M. defended the friendship of the Ukrainian and Russian peoples and the close unity and collaboration of the two fraternal cultures . . . combated the attempts of P. Kulish to falsify the works of M. Hohol, T.

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ovych combated the attempts of P. O. Kulish to falsify the works of M. V. Hohol, T. H. Shevchenko, and H. F. Kvitka-Osnovyanenko, and sharply demolished the so-called theory of the aristocratic origin of the Kozaks, which was advanced by the bourgeois historian V. Antonovych.

(**B. Stenchuk**, pp. 114-115)

Defending the class interests of the Ukrainian bourgeoisie, he presented the process of history in a false manner and in his writings on the history of the Ukrainian Kozaks upheld and developed the bourgeois-nationalist "theory" about the Ukrainian nation being "non-class" and "non-bourgeois," and took a hostile stand to popular revolutionary actions, calling them "ruinous riots." Counter to historic reality, Antonovych rejected the unity of the Ukrainian and Russian peoples, in all sorts of ways counterposed the Ukrainians and the Russians, and denied the progressive significance of their joint struggle against domestic and foreign enslavers. Antonovych's bourgeois-nationalist concepts were used and transformed into the basic

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(**Soviet Ukrainian
Encyclopaedia [SUE]**,

Vol. VIII, pp. 414-415)

In defending the class interests of the Ukrainian bourgeoisie, he presented the process of history in a false manner. His reactionary concepts were most clearly revealed in his writings on the history of the Ukrainian Kozaks, in which he developed the bourgeois-nationalist theory of the Ukrainian nation as "non-class" and "non-bourgeois" and took a hostile stand to popular revolutionary actions, calling them "ruinous riots." Counter to historic reality, Antonovych rejected the unity of the Ukrainian and Russian peoples, in all sorts of ways counterposed the Ukrainians to the Russians, and denied the progressive significance of their joint struggle against domestic and foreign enslavers. Antonovych's bourgeois-nationalist concepts were used and transformed into the basic

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principles of the ideology of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism by his pupil M. Hrushevsky.

(**Stenchuk**, pp. 116-117)

Pavlyk called for the unity of the workers of various nationalities and pointed to the necessity of organizing the workers for the emancipation movement. He was a tireless champion of the friendship and equality of peoples, and in particular of Ukrainians and Russians. "We consider nationalism, which would try to fence us away from such union with enlightened peoples, to be a harmful tendency," Pavlyk wrote.

(**B. Stenchuk**, p. 117)

This "vovk"⁷⁶ in the realm of anthropology in his article under the heading *Ukrainian People in the Past and Present* (1916) advanced the profoundly incorrect and erroneous assertion that according to their anthropological type Ukrainians differ sharply from Russians, and underestimated the mutuality of the Ukrainian and Russian cultures.

(**B. Stenchuk**, p. 119)

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(**SUE**, Vol. I, p. 128)

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(**SUE**, Vol. X, p. 448)

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(**SUE**, Vol. II, p. 520)

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P. F. Symyrenko was a businessman, a sugar refinery owner, one of the technical directors of the Yakhnenko Brothers and Symyrenko Company, who became acquainted with T. H. Shevchenko in 1859 and loaned him 1,100 roubles to print the *Kobzar*.⁷⁷ That loan enabled T. Shevchenko to turn down the usurious terms offered him by the St. Petersburg book publisher D. Yu. Kozhanchikov (for a honorarium of 1,000 roubles the publisher would have had sole publishing rights to his [Shevchenko's] works).

(B. Stenchuk, p. 121)

"Symyrenko Platon Fedorovich . . . Ukrainian businessman and sugar refinery owner . . . one of the technical directors of the Yakhnenko Brothers and Symyrenko Company. Having become acquainted with T. H. Shevchenko in 1859, S. loaned him 1,100 roubles to print the *Kobzar*. That loan enabled Shevchenko to turn down the usurious terms offered him by the St. Petersburg book publisher D. Yu. Kozhanchikov (for a honorarium of 1,000 roubles the publisher would have had sole publishing rights to his [Shevchenko's] works).

(SUE, Vol. XIII, p. 124)

See also:

B. Stenchuk, pp. 115-116,

B. Stenchuk, pp. 118-119,

B. Stenchuk, p. 118,

SUE, Vol. VII, p. 550,
(on O. M. Lazarevsky);

SUE, Vol. V, pp. 280-281,
(on M. Ziber);

SUE, Vol. XIV, p. 358,
(on O. Terletsky).
etc., etc.

He had a nature quite repulsive,
He'd twist his conscience for a profit.
To print he sent what wasn't his.
And without shame or fear of God
The eighth commandment he forgetting,
Set out to deal in stolen goods.

(Ivan Kotlyarevsky⁷⁸)

And to think that I was at first surprised and envious of your encyclopaedic mind and turn of phrase! In the good old days

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one was slapped and challenged to a duel for such "borrowings"; today, one is taken to court. But I do not think that any one of the editors of the *Encyclopaedia* (M. Bazhan, for example) would dare to take such a step, fearing that you may arm yourself with some pre-Stalinist edition of the *Great Soviet Encyclopaedia* and write a pamphlet entitled *What M. Bazhan Defends and How He Does It*.

55. "I. Dzyuba is . . . simply a poorly informed individual" (B. Stenchuk, p. 114). "The same may be said of Dzyuba's 'knowledge' of what he deals with . . ." (p. 117). "If it has come to this we'll have to enlighten Dzyuba about that as well" (p. 117). "Dzyuba, evidently through ignorance . . ." (p. 119). "Any decent researcher would die of shame if he piled up all the things that I. Dzyuba writes" (p. 121). "'Great apertures gape,' only it's not in our literature but in his knowledge of it" (p. 122). "Dzyuba exposes his incompetence when he speaks . . ." (p. 125). "See how Dzyuba parades his erudition!" (p. 129). "But enough of this. These notes aren't meant to be a course for the elimination of I. Dzyuba's cultural backwardness" (p. 131). "That's why it is apropos to stress the exceptional theoretical and literary-artistic ignorance of I. Dzyuba . . ." (pp. 131-132).

I think that Dzyuba's "ignorance" can be explained by the fact that when subscriptions to the *Soviet Ukrainian Encyclopaedia* were being taken, he was again unemployed and therefore unable to afford this reputable publication, which would have enabled him, as it did you, to become erudite and competent, a "decent researcher" and capable of "enlightening" others. . . .

56. He strives to prove . . . that free and open discussion of the national question and national policy is supposedly suppressed and persecuted in the U.S.S.R. . . . That's just an empty phrase. Facts speak otherwise.

(B. Stenchuk, p. 136)

On this point you are absolutely right. I, for example, discussed our national policy openly not only in the prosecutor's office and at my trial but even in jail with the other prisoners, and was not afraid of anybody.

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57. In 1963, for example (before I. Dzyuba wrote his opus), an all-Union coordinating conference of sociologists on the national question was held in the city of Frunze, which *subjected to just criticism* (our italics—B. S.) the serious shortcomings in the scientific elaboration of a number of problems regarding the development of international relations during *the transition from socialism to communism* (our italics—V. Ch.).

(B. Stenchuk, pp. 136-37)

As you can see it was not the practical aspects of the national structure, nor errors in the decision making that were criticized, but merely “shortcomings in the scientific elaboration.” For in fact such theoreticians of your “internationalism” as Abilov, Desheriyev, Kaltakhchin and Malanchuk⁷⁹ are obviously incapable of keeping up with the practical aspects; they cannot update Lenin to “the needs of the present day”; therefore, why not criticize them and make them more effective and pliable?

58. Proposing to replace so-called Russification by Ukrainianization, Dzyuba is in fact calling for the replacement of one bourgeois form of building national interrelations by another, one which is no less reactionary.

(B. Stenchuk, p. 140)

You got so carried away that you did not notice how aptly you called the continued Russification of Ukraine a bourgeois and reactionary form of building national interrelations.

59. The very rich and melodious Ukrainian language does not stand in need of compulsory expansion among the population, as the nationalists demand, because any sort of compulsion towards any language can only evoke ill will toward it. That's what V. I. Lenin bequeathed to us.

(B. Stenchuk, p. 141)

Obviously it is only because the Russian language is not “very rich and melodious” that it requires “compulsory expansion among the population” by the chauvinists, who forget that “any

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sort of compulsion towards any language can only evoke ill will toward it. That's what V. I. Lenin bequeathed to us."

60. V. I. Lenin demanded that all public servants in Ukraine should *know* how to speak the Ukrainian language, and this was a necessary measure because in many Soviet offices the people employed there had been brought up under compulsory Russification, with disdain for the national languages. Lenin did not direct, however, that all public servants in Ukraine should speak exclusively in Ukrainian or any other language. Where several languages are being used in each republic and where there is no state language, an instruction providing some special privileges for one of the languages would be a violation of the principles of socialist democracy and the equal rights of the socialist nations and their languages. . . .

(B. Stenchuk, pp. 142-143)

First of all, tell us under what policy the civil servants were brought up who are working *today* in many offices in Ukraine and who do not know Ukrainian at all and who do not know how to converse in it. If you do not believe me, let us both visit Ukrainian institutions in the large cities of Ukraine (except perhaps in Halychyna [Galicia]); better still, examine the 1970 census.

Secondly, you obviously distorted Lenin, who made considerably greater demands than that all public servants in Ukraine merely *know* how to speak Ukrainian (I have already cited Lenin's and even Stalin's ideas on the subject and I. Dzyuba quotes them more extensively).

Obviously, no one is insisting that public servants speak Ukrainian at home or in the street (when not conducting official business, let them speak Esperanto if they wish), or that they answer in Ukrainian when addressed by visitors in Russian or Hebrew.

Actually we do not have an official state language for the entire U.S.S.R. (although in practice such a language exists indeed), but each republic, according to its constitution, is

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guaranteed its own state language, and that language is not Russian (except for the R.S.F.S.R.), but Georgian in Georgia, Ukrainian in Ukraine, etc. . . .⁸⁰ Surely you are aware of this? What is the point of this talk about "special privilege"? It is as absurd as if a German, having settled in Paris, were indignant that French had "special privileges" because it was used by the administration, in the press, in school, in the higher educational institutes, etc., and objected that, as a German, his feelings of internationalism were being slighted. Surely he would be answered: "Learn our language or return home to Germany!"

The authorities in Ukraine are so concerned about "equal rights" for the arriving Russians⁸¹ that they have even pushed out the native (state!) language to the villages so that it would not have any "special privileges."

61. The culture of Soviet Ukraine, national in form and socialist in content, could not but draw nearer to the fraternal national cultures of the peoples of the U.S.S.R., to the Russian culture, which is one of the most advanced in the world, for the benefit of mutual enrichment and the attainment of a still higher ascendance.

(B. Stenchuk, p. 143)

Please leave alone for a moment the "higher ascendance" and answer the question concerning the "mutual enrichment" which I. Dzyuba has already raised: How does Russian culture draw nearer to the culture of Estonia or Armenia? And how can one interpret your words that Russian culture is "one of the most advanced in the world"? If you are referring to its socialist content, then the culture of the Chukchi or the Zakhals⁸² is equally advanced, and Ukrainian culture should likewise draw nearer to their culture for mutual enrichment; but if you are referring to the wealth of heritage and tradition, then why shouldn't Ukrainian culture draw nearer to the culture of France, for example, which is significantly richer than Russian culture and has considerably older traditions?

62. . . . The direction that is now being fought for by I. Dzyuba projects compulsory Ukrainianization and the establishment of some form of closed borders between

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Russia, Ukraine, and other republics. . . . At the very least this would be tantamount to "fencing off a homestead" on an all-Ukrainian scale. But everyone knows (probably from the encyclopaedia—V. Ch.), except Dzyuba perhaps, that homestead dwellers in Ukraine are now gradually moving into large towns and villages.

(B. Stenchuk, pp. 144-145)

The "closed borders" which I. Dzyuba allegedly advocates are a fabrication of your terrified fantasy. Dzyuba does not propose anything of the sort. But let us suppose, just for a moment, that a "separate independent Ukraine" did exist, the possibility of which was admitted by V. I. Lenin. If one describes it as a homestead, then what would one call the "separate socialist" countries like Poland, Czechoslovakia, or Romania, which are smaller than Ukraine? Or are you planning to move them into a large village?

If one can refer to Ukraine, a large European nation, as a homestead, then one could (using your logic) also refer to the U.S.S.R. as a homestead, since our borders (even with the socialist countries) are extremely well "closed." (Even now I can anticipate your outcry, accusing me of wishing to open our borders to imperialist espionage, bourgeois ideology, etc., whereas I am merely following your point to its logical conclusion.)

- 63.** . . . Any artificial separation of one nation from another with language boundaries within the bounds of a single Union would lead to national hostility and feelings of national exceptionalism, which the bourgeois nationalists want to see so much, and which is unacceptable to Marxist-Leninists.

(B. Stenchuk, p. 145)

Obviously, the Czechs and the Slovaks have not as yet been pulled up to "true" Marxism-Leninism, because there exist between the two republics fairly well-defined language boundaries and there are no national hostilities and feelings of national exceptionalism; whereas in our Baltic and Transcaucasian re-

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publics, despite the absence of language boundaries, one must always explain to the inhabitants that one is not a Russian if one wants to be treated better than the Russians. (I know this from personal experience.) What is this? Still “vestiges of the past,” or already the fruits of your “internationalism” and aspirations to raze the language boundaries?

- 64.** To the internationalization of the economic, political, and cultural life of the Soviet nations and nationalities, he counterposes the policy of “sound social and economic competition between self-standing republics (in place of the present leveling and deprivation of individuality).” . . . Socialism knows only one type of competition: in the sphere of labor.

(**B. Stenchuk**, p. 151)

In that case it is necessary to establish once and for all that Yugoslavia is not a socialist country as was once said by your “father and mentor,” Stalin, since it is precisely there that social and economic competition among union republics is practiced.

- 65.** Opposing the single community of Soviet nations and nationalities, he hollers that . . . it is necessary to return to “national army formations”. . . . He doesn’t even want to know . . . that the armed forces are subordinated to a single Union command, and that due to this a reliable defense against foreign aggression is assured.

(**B. Stenchuk**, p. 152)

As if the existence of national army formations, which, in fact, would also be subject to a single Union command (such centralization of the army being imperative), would weaken the effectiveness of the defense against foreign aggression!

But why is it that even under a single Union command and in the absence of national army formations, the citizens of the Ukrainian S.S.R. are not allowed to serve in the territory of their own republic, and why is political education among them not conducted in Ukrainian? The army has, in fact, become one of the most active instruments of Russification.

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As for the idea of "national army formations," which you condemn so categorically, it did not originate with I. Dzyuba but with Lenin. During the 1920's such formations did exist: there were several Ukrainian divisions, as well as divisions and regiments of other nations. There were also national army formations during the Great Patriotic War: Georgian, Armenian, and others (some of which survived until the early 1950's).

When it was expedient to give the republics a semblance of greater "sovereignty" in order to send at least some of them to the United Nations, Stalin made legislative plans for the creation of national army formations in the republics.

Comrades, Deputies!

. . . Until now the Union republics participated in the general cause of creating, organizing, and arming the Red Army. Our army was being formed as an all-Union army and separate army formations of the republics did not exist. Now we propose the creation of national army formations in the republics, which would form integral parts of the Red Army. In this connection there arises a need to form People's Commissariats of Defense in the Union republics. . . . The proposed transformation of the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs and the People's Commissariat of Defense is *a new step forward toward the solution of the national question* in the Soviet Union. This transformation is in direct accord with the principles of our Leninist-Stalinist national policy. The implementation of such a measure at this time indicates that the Soviet nation has reached a new summit in its development and is transformed into a more complex and full-blooded organism. . . .

(From the address of V. M. Molotov to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. on February 1, 1944)

So you see, even Stalin (via Molotov) "recognized" a mere twenty-five years ago that the creation of national army formations was "a new step forward." The fact that this new step forward met with the same fate as the Ukrainianization of

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higher educational institutes in the Ukrainian S.S.R., projected by the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education in 1965, is another matter.

66. "If one were to draw an analogy between the twaddle of the nationalist sheets and what I. Dzyuba preaches, you would have to say that the apple has not rolled far from the apple tree" (Stenchuk, p. 18). "I. Dzyuba in reality propagates national distrust and with malicious sarcasm opposes all-sided exchange among the fraternal Soviet peoples" (p. 22). "I. Dzyuba, who is exposed as a falsifier, in attacking the national policy of the CPSU is guided by the same arguments as those advanced by the bourgeois-nationalist ideologists" (pp. 64-65). "Copying the methods of the yellow press, I. Dzyuba strives to prove that there exists hatred of Ukrainianism in Ukraine today. . . . I. Dzyuba accuses practically the entire Russian people of cannibalism" (p. 133). "He accuses the Communist Party of Ukraine and the Government of the Ukr.S.S.R. of supposedly permitting Ukrainophobia to flourish in the Republic. Such statements could be made only by a clown or a political provocateur who would probably be prepared to organize pogroms and fratricidal butchery in Ukraine" (p. 133). "He does not hesitate to attack the CPSU in a hostile manner and pour abuse on it" (p. 139). "In general, he doesn't talk in a favorable way of communism anywhere in the book, but only makes fun of communist ideas" (p. 153). "Because he constantly attacks existing 'party institutions' which are centered in Moscow, from which he constantly insists on separation, that last [point] may be interpreted in any political manner" (p. 154). "Bourgeois nationalists, including Dzyuba, are promoting the idea that the Soviet Union and the peoples that inhabit it need different rights and different liberties than those which we enjoy; they want bourgeois, nationalist rights and liberties for us" (p. 157). ". . . To distort and twist national matters and national sentiments, and in this way to exploit them as a means of struggle for a change in the state system of the U.S.S.R. . . . Dzyuba advances this idea between the lines" (p. 158). "It is not an accident that modern nationalists, including I. Dzyuba, resort to Marxist-Leninist documents and terminology to mask their

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ideas and purposes" (pp. 164-165). "Dzyuba strives to bring to life the bankrupt ideas of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism, he echoes the anti-Soviet line of modern anti-communists" (p. 157). Etc., etc.

"How it reeks of humanity!" And after all this, I. Dzyuba has not been placed on a rack, shot, or immured for twenty-five years?

No, no matter what anyone may say, our punitive organs have become much more democratic, loyal, and even incomprehensibly lenient toward such dangerous enemies than they were during the times of Yagoda, Yezhov, and Beria. At that time only one tenth of this would have sufficed for a person's liquidation. Poltoratsky, Khinkulev, and other fellow literary informers would not have needed so many damning words to achieve tangible results.

Their laurels, Bohdan Stenchuk, are causing your insomnia!

But aside from an increased honorarium from the publisher to a "solid researcher," no other reward lies in store for you, except, perhaps, public contempt!

* * *

After these observations were already written, I accidentally discovered several interesting things.

First of all, sensible people were found who allegedly did not send your "serious research" abroad, in order to avoid public embarrassment. Instead, they distributed your pamphlet among some Party organizations, to mobilize them against the "hydra of nationalism." (They did it in line with the principle, "Here's something for you, wretch, something not fit for people.")

Secondly, I heard something which I refuse to believe and which I consider obvious calumny. It is alleged that you do not exist as a person. Allegedly there is no Bohdan Stenchuk, an individual with arms, legs, a head, and a brain. Allegedly this [Bohdan Stenchuk] is not even a pseudonym of a particular individual but a name which a whole group of people thought up for themselves because of its homonymy with a certain fine

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English word* (inasmuch as the Ukrainian émigrés for whom you wrote know English well).

But I do not believe it. I do not believe that such serious political accusations in such a categorical tone could have been written by a NOBODY, a thing that is not responsible for its words, a thing of which it is not possible to ask for an explanation. Obviously all this is—wicked enemy fabrication.

For this reason I would appreciate it very much that, even if you don't answer me, you at least give a sign of your existence. I am sending these notes to the Association for Cultural Relations with Ukrainians Abroad, which published your work.

But it would be best if we could meet and discuss things over a cup of coffee. There is much to be said, after all, for live contact. . . . And if you read Poltoratsky, don't believe that I will come to meet you with a knife, in order to inflict "physical injuries."⁸⁸

I ASK ONCE MORE: DO NOT BELIEVE FOOLS!!!

Vyacheslav Chornovil
March 1970

* Stench [this note appeared in the original].

FACTS ARE EVIDENCE

We have not read Dzyuba's book *Internationalism or Russification?*, but L. Dmyterko's article in *Literaturna Ukrayina*⁸⁴ and B. Stenchuk's pamphlet accuse Dzyuba of twisting facts, of revisionism, and so forth.

We do not know if they have been recorded anywhere in historical documents, but in our memories there are many facts which we would rather forget.

The historic fact of the reunification of Western Ukraine with Soviet Ukraine is known to all, but here are some details of the event, as related by the participants in the reunification.

As soon as the Red Army divisions arrived, they would surround a village, call out the activists on their lists, load them on trains and send them off to Siberia. Tens of thousands were deported. They took the literate and the illiterate, peasants, townspeople, the intelligentsia, anyone who at any time, anywhere had expressed doubts as to the necessity for reunification.

The expatriation of Ukrainians to Siberia generated a certain resistance and strengthened the activities of the so-called *Banderivitsi*,⁸⁵ with whom the "easterners"⁸⁶ are being frightened today.

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At the beginning of the war, the Ukrainians "reunited" in Siberia were permitted to join the army and to fight against the invader.

Inasmuch as these Ukrainians had been under Polish jurisdiction, they enlisted in the Polish army and together with the Soviet Army they advanced as far as Berlin.

After the war they were not permitted to return to their villages in Ukraine from which they had been exiled to Siberia; therefore, they either remained in Poland or filled the ranks of the *Banderivtsi*.

After the war the Ukrainians reunited in Siberia were "rehabilitated" and permitted to resettle to Saratov Region (not to Ukraine but to Saratov Region!).

A second fact: In the higher and secondary educational institutes in Ukraine, instruction is conducted solely in Russian. Graduates enter industry and civil service, where they conduct all their work in Russian. That is the reason why Ukrainian is not heard in the cities.

Here is an example: One of the institutes of the AS Ukr.S.S.R. conducts all its work in Russian. A firm law exists there: all dissertations must be written in Russian. A thesis written in Ukrainian will not be accepted, since writing it in Ukrainian is an unmistakable sign of "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism." Out of one hundred staff members of the institute, one or two (from Western Ukraine) speak in their native Ukrainian among themselves, for which they are branded "Bandera" or "Banderaite."

Such is the process of "internationalism"!

The Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian S.S.R., through its publishing house Naukova Dumka, publishes works on mathematics, physics, chemistry, and other sciences only in Russian. For "domestic use" it publishes in Ukrainian books on the Ukrainian language, literature, and history.

Let us look at the catalog of publications for 1970. "Physics, mathematics, and technical literature" are planned entirely in

Facts Are Evidence

Russian. It is true, however, that in 1969 out of 132 scientific works 129 were published in Russian and three in Ukrainian, that is 98 per cent in Russian and 2 per cent in Ukrainian. One of these three was the *Mathematical Lectures of Theophan Prokopovych*,⁸⁷ which he delivered at the Kiev Academy in 1708. Thus, 250 years ago at a higher educational institute in Kiev lectures were delivered in Ukrainian.⁸⁸

Other publishing houses in Ukraine, those dealing with architecture and the like, also publish in Russian.

The *Reference Book* published in Moscow in 1961 on *Problems of the Organization and Methodology of Scientific and Technical Information and Propaganda* attests to the dreadful state of the publication of scientific materials in Ukrainian. According to that book's table entitled "Proportion of Scientific, Technical, and Informational Material Published in the Languages of the Union Republics," the Lithuanian Republic ranks first in the number of books published in the national language. In 1960 this republic, with a population of 2.3 million, published 1,174 publisher's sheets, of which 1,057, or 90 per cent, were in Lithuanian.

Other Union republics follow. The last on the table is the Ukrainian Republic, which, with a population of 42 million, published 510 publisher's sheets, of which 102 were in Ukrainian, that is, 20 per cent. Thus 90 per cent [for Lithuania] and 20 per cent [for Ukraine]!

These scientific publications are used as textbooks in the institutes and become the chief instrument in establishing the system of Russian [language] instruction.

This very fact, that teaching in the higher and secondary educational establishments is conducted in Russian, *forces* Ukrainian parents to prepare their children in advance for entrance into these establishments. They enroll their children in Russian-language schools because it has been well established that graduates of the village secondary schools, who are taught in Ukrainian, do not do as well on entrance examinations to higher educational institutes.

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According to statistics of the municipal department for 1966, out of 160,411 pupils in Kiev, 128,118, or 77 per cent, attended Russian-language schools, although, according to the census, national minorities in Kiev comprised only 40 per cent. Therefore, 37 per cent of Ukrainian pupils attend Russian-language schools.

In 1966 there were 207 general education schools in Kiev; of these, 150 were Russian-language schools, with a total of 128,112 pupils, and 57 were Ukrainian-language schools, with a total of 38,299 pupils.

Of the mixed schools 50 were Ukrainian (Ukrainian plus Russian sections) and . . .⁸⁹ Russian (Russian plus Ukrainian sections).

That mixed schools are even allowed to exist is in itself intolerable. In such schools one hears a mixture [of Ukrainian and Russian] instead of a pure native language. During recess and outside classes both teachers and students converse in this repulsive mixture. This same situation exists in all the large cities in Ukraine.

A third fact: The more than five million Ukrainian workers living in the U.S.S.R. outside the borders of Ukraine under the rights of national minorities do not in fact enjoy such rights. It is known that on the instruction of V. I. Lenin and the solicitude of the first People's Commissar of Education of the U.S.S.R., A. Z. Lunacharsky, thousands of schools with instruction in Ukrainian were opened for these Ukrainians. There were 746 such schools in Kuban alone.

In 1937, by the decree of Stalin and Kaganovich, all these schools were closed and the patriots of such schools were punished for being nationalists and enemies of the people. And to the question as to why these Ukrainian schools are not reopened today, the Ministry of Education of the U.S.S.R. replies: "There are no petitions." But who could be so brave as to file petitions for their reinstatement?

Russians in Ukraine enjoy all aspects of culture in their native language: schools, newspapers, literature, theaters, clubs.

Facts Are Evidence

and cinema. Ukrainians in the U.S.S.R. who live beyond the borders of Ukraine have nothing in their native language. Is this internationalism?

In neighboring democratic countries like Poland, Czechoslovakia, Romania, and Bulgaria, where one finds only an insignificant number of Ukrainians, there are Ukrainian schools, newspapers, and magazines. This is just as natural as it is natural to breathe. The governments of these republics create circumstances conducive to the development of national minorities.

It is perfectly natural that the government of the Ukrainian S.S.R. should express paternal solicitude for the development of Ukrainian culture in those areas where Ukrainians live under the rights of national minorities; and it is of primary importance that it carry out on a major scale a program of enlightenment among the masses of Ukrainian workers through the press and individual appearances of our cultural leaders, in order to impress upon every citizen the fact that a nation vanishes if its native language vanishes.

Yet another fact: A Ukrainian engineer specializing in radio electronics worked as such while serving in the army. Upon demobilization he began working as an engineer-supervisor in the radio electronics department at an institute of the Academy of Sciences [of the Ukr.S.S.R.]. Under his supervision were two technicians. They constructed apparatus for factories and were commended for their work. At the end of the year the engineer wrote his annual report in Ukrainian. The director of the institute demanded that he write it in Russian. The engineer refused and as a result was released "because of staff reduction." The engineer appealed his release. In the courtroom the director argued that the department was superfluous and that the engineer and his technicians were unqualified. Other engineers of the institute testified that the department was needed, that the instruments it produced were successfully used in factories and that the dismissed engineer and his technicians were qualified employees. The court rejected the appeal for reinstatement and upheld the grounds for release. The engineer and the technicians joined the ranks of the unemployed. The engineer remained

Facts Are Evidence

unemployed for two years. Finally he found work but was again dismissed because the report of the institute branded him “an obstinate nationalist.”

According to V. I. Lenin, “It is imperative to institute the strictest regulations with regard to the use of national languages. . . . There is no doubt that with the unification of the railroad service and the fiscal and other systems serving as the justification, under our present apparatus many abuses of a truly Russian character will take place.” (December 31, 1922)

The 12th Congress of the RCP(B) [the Russian Communist Party (of Bolsheviks)] in April 1923 approved Lenin’s proposition “to demand that special laws be instituted to secure the use of the native language in all state institutions.”

In 1927 the government of the Ukrainian S.S.R. passed a law protecting the development of Ukrainian culture and the equal rights of languages. This law,⁹⁰ which was signed by the loyal Leninists Hryhoriy Petrovsky and Vlas Chubar⁹¹ and which provides for the compulsory use of Ukrainian in all educational and government institutions, has never been repealed.

“Until such a time as science and scholarship are promulgated in the Ukrainian language, until it becomes the instrument for the enlightenment of the [Ukrainian] people—until then all our writings in this language will be for naught.” (M. Kostomarov, *One Does Not Feed a Nightingale Fables*.)

“Love of one’s native land, awareness of its riches, its characteristics, and its history—these finer sentiments toward one’s native places are the source of the genuine patriotism of the Soviet people.” (M. I. Kalinin)

We call on all honorable people to implement firmly Lenin’s teachings about the blossoming of Ukrainian culture.

N.N.

UNDER CHAUVINIST PRESSURE

(On the State of Instruction in the Ukrainian
Language in the Schools of the Capital of Ukraine)

Complete statistics on all economic and demographic phenomena are unfortunately not accessible to us; they have not become nationwide property as they ought to be in a truly socialist society. Persons who compile data on the number of pupils in Ukrainian- and Russian-language schools in the capital of Ukraine are regarded almost as spies who are interested in secret bases, and practically dealt with as such. . . .

But even the data collected here in terms of districts and individual schools in Kiev, as well as some general observations, will enable the reader to conclude whether rational internationalism or unbridled Russification reigns supreme in the present Ukrainian school system.

1. Shortage of teachers

At the beginning of the 1969-70 school year many schools in Kiev did not teach the Ukrainian language even as a subject, attributing this intolerable situation to the shortage of Ukrainian-language teachers.

Instruction in the Ukrainian language is in a particularly deplorable state in the largest industrial district of Darnytsya-Dniprovsk, and in the city's central district—Leninsk. Ukrainian language and literature are not taught at all in many of the schools in these and other districts of the capital.

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In order to avoid violating the school program, the teaching of Ukrainian was added to the schedules of instructors of various subjects in day and evening schools. These teachers, in violation of the existing pedagogical norm, were assigned teaching loads of up to forty-two hours per week. Such measures, however, were of little avail: Ukrainian-language and literature teachers were still lacking.

Toward the end of November 1969 the Municipal Department of Public Education introduced a petition before the City Council, requesting permission to complete the staffing of schools with teachers from the suburbs who did not have municipal residence permits for Kiev but who lived in the Kiev Region within a radius of fifty to seventy kilometers from the capital. Such means of supplying personnel for various firms has been practiced in Kiev for over a decade. Generally, these firms pay lower wages, and their employees are denied residence permits, dormitory rights, and other privileges available to Kievites. Nevertheless, the City Council refused to admit into Kiev Ukrainian-language teachers from the suburbs. As a result, the schools remained unstaffed with Ukrainian-language teachers until the end of that school year.

The situation during the 1970-71 school year did not improve much. An insignificant number of Ukrainian-language teachers was recruited from the graduates of the Philology Department at the University of Kiev. (This was the first time that graduate philologists were assigned to Kiev, although the lack of teachers had been felt for many years.) But this half-measure did not solve the problem.

2. The situation in "Ukrainian" schools

None of the schools in Kiev where teaching is conducted in Ukrainian adhere to any uniform linguistic discipline; the entire instructional process takes place in violation of the generally accepted pedagogical norms. It happens not infrequently that the regional school board assigns to Ukrainian schools to teach major subjects (mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology) teachers who have absolutely no command of Ukrainian and who make no effort to master it, although they have been teaching in Ukrainian schools for many years.

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Minor subjects, such as drawing, painting, singing, and handicrafts are, as a rule, taught in Russian. Ideological training and physical education, Pioneer and Komsomol work are conducted in Russian. All extracurricular instruction and the entire educational training process occurring in groups during the extended schoolday are also conducted exclusively in Russian. Even the announcements on bulletin boards, photomontages, and other forms of visual aids, not to mention the school files, are very frequently in Russian.

While on duty and during recess, the teachers converse among themselves and with their pupils in Russian. The linguistic erudition of even the language teachers is extremely limited.

Some "Ukrainian" schools have remained Ukrainian only on their signboards. Thus, the republican Shevchenko Arts School (Podilsky District, 2 Konstantynivka Street, with 350 pupils [enrolled]) is officially designated [as a school] "with Ukrainian as the language of instruction," when in fact all specialized subjects, as well as mathematics, draftsmanship, social sciences, physical education and others are taught in Russian. Out of 35 teachers only two lecture in Ukrainian. The situation in other "Ukrainian" schools is not very much different.

3. Some statistics

Not only nonexistent "Stenchuks" but even Party and Soviet leaders, in their struggle against "bourgeois nationalists," cite distorted statistics on the state of the school system in Ukraine. In their data they fail to distinguish between the situation in the cities and in the villages: in the villages the schools are still generally Ukrainian. Nor do they give their statistics according to regions (in Western Ukraine the situation is slightly more positive). All these factors influence the indicators for the entire Republic. Moreover, they fail to indicate how the several million Ukrainians who live in the Russian S.F.S.R. are provided with education in Ukrainian.

Their major distortion is that they cite the number of Ukrainian and Russian schools, while failing to indicate the number of pupils in these schools. They are concealing the fact that the percentage of pupils in Russian-language schools far

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exceeds the percentage of Russians who have settled in Ukraine, and that a considerable number of Russian-language schools has been created for Ukrainians.

Data on Kiev's central Lenin District

UKRAINIAN SCHOOLS

<i>School No.</i>	<i>Type of School</i>	<i>No. of Pupils</i>	<i>Address</i>	<i>Comments</i>
1. 117	Ukrainian-English Secondary	350	Engels St.	Named after Lesya Ukrayinka
2. 92	Secondary	350	Lenin St.	Named after Ivan Franko
3. 87	Secondary	330	Gorky St.	
4. 132	Secondary	130	Darwin St.	
5. 58	Secondary	200	Lenin St.	No. of pupils per class less than the required norm.

Total: 5 schools, 1,360 pupils.

RUSSIAN SCHOOLS

<i>School No.</i>	<i>Type of School</i>	<i>No. of Pupils</i>	<i>Address</i>	<i>Comments</i>
1. 57	Russian English Secondary	1600	Lenin St.	Newly built; attended by children or grandchildren of Shelest, Shcherbytsky, Drozdenko, Paton, and others of the elite.
2. 86	Secondary	1000	Kruhlo-universytetska St.	
3. 58	Secondary	900	Lenin St.	4 or more parallel classes; in each, 40 or more pupils. It is displacing the Ivan Franko Ukrainian school.
4. 48	Secondary	1000	Sverdlov St.	
5. 79	Secondary	1000	S. Rustavelli St.	Formerly the Karpenko-Kary Institute of Theatre Arts.
6. 33	Secondary	1000	Volodymyrska St.	

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7.	78	Secondary	1200	Besarabka St.	Attended by children and grandchildren of the elite (Podgorny, and others).
8.	147	Secondary	1000	Engels St.	
9.	?	Secondary	300		
10.	?	Secondary	800		
11.	?	Secondary	800		

Total: 11 schools, 10,600 pupils.

There are sixteen secondary schools in the central district of Kiev, attended by 11,960 pupils. Ukrainian schools comprise 31.3 per cent of the school total, but [represent] only 11.4 per cent of the total of pupils.

Ukrainian schools are housed in small, old buildings. The number of students per class does not correspond to the established norm; it is substantially lower. There are some parallel classes. In the younger and first grades there is a shortage of pupils. The micro-districts lack kindergartens in which the Ukrainian language is used.

For these reasons Ukrainian-language schools have not been able to compete with the neighboring, newly-built Russian-language schools. Unable to fulfill the requisite quota during fall registration, they disappear quietly and systematically.

Let us take, for example, the Ukrainian-English School No. 132 in the Lenin District (2 Darwin Street, T. Bilychenko—principal). This school was established in 1966 on the basis of a Russian school. All the kindergartens in the district, with the exception of two on Kröpyvnytsky and Darwin Streets, are Russian. Two Ukrainian kindergartens could not supply the school with the necessary number of pupils, and after four years the school declined. Toward the end of the 1969-70 school year only 132 pupils remained, and even they generally commuted from all parts of the city.

The question arose whether the continued existence of School No. 132 was justified. The district school board found the "solution"; No. 132 was consolidated with the neighboring Russian-language School No. 147 and transferred into its building. Its own building was transformed into a Pioneer palace (where all instruction is also conducted in Russian), but

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the signboard "Ukrainian-English School No. 132" was retained.

Taking advantage of the situation, the principal of the Russian-language school, Urilov, quickly dismissed the first grades of the newly-admitted pupils, announcing that both schools were closing, although he was well aware that the decision called merely for consolidation. As a result of his action, the Ukrainian school lacked the first grade. Urilov retired. His action was debated at a tumultuous teachers' meeting and it was only much later and with great difficulty that the first grade was filled.

Thus, under a joint "Ukrainian" signboard, there appeared two schools: a Russian-language school with 350 pupils and a Ukrainian one with 150 pupils (without the seventh grade, whose eighteen pupils had to be transferred to another Ukrainian school). The two schools shared not only the signboard but also the laboratories, study halls, gymnasiums, and even teachers of various subjects. What this means for the pedagogical process and what prospects it opens for the Ukrainian school is not difficult to surmise.

The agenda of a Lenin District teachers' meeting on January 1971 included a speech by the head of the local committee of School No. 132 regarding an urgent problem: how to supply the first grade with pupils. But the district school board did not permit discussion of such an acute problem. The speech was cancelled and the principal of School No. 132 was promised that all the kindergartens in the district would be changed to Ukrainian. Of course no one is in a rush to carry out that promise. . . .

Schools of the Kurenivka branch of the Podilsk District Department of Education

UKRAINIAN SCHOOLS

	<i>School No.</i>	<i>Type of School</i>	<i>No. of Pupils</i>	<i>Address</i>
1.	34	8-grade	830	Vitryani Hory
2.	156	10-grade	1000	Zapadynka
3.	16	10-grade	1200	Vyshhorodska
4.	8	10-grade	1120	Vyshhorodska
5.	123	10-grade	850	Kopylivska

Total: 5 schools, 5,000 pupils.

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RUSSIAN SCHOOLS

	<i>School No.</i>	<i>Type of School</i>	<i>No. of Pupils</i>	<i>Address</i>
1.	193	Secondary	1545	Vitryani Hory
2.	2	8-grade	600	Kopylivska
3.	114	Secondary	1000	
4.	118	Secondary	1000	Frunze
5.	14	Secondary	800	Frunze

Total: 5 schools, 4,945 pupils.

With regard to the number of schools and the number of pupils in the Ukrainian- and Russian-language schools, there is an approximately even distribution. But the reader is reminded that the inhabitants of Kurenivka are almost exclusively Ukrainians, who have lived there for a very long time and who converse among themselves in Ukrainian, though poorly (for at work they are "expected" to speak Russian with their supervisors).

In the past, these were the gardeners, the peasants; now, they are the working class.

Kurenivka is a major industrial district. The contingent of workers has swelled because the village population of the suburbs and of Kiev Region is becoming urbanized. Ukrainian parents, being well aware of the material advantages of "Russian" schools in terms of privileges and rights, as well as of the significant advantages upon graduation, readily send their children to Russian-language schools. Three of the five Russian-language schools are new. They were built in accordance with the most advanced architectural projects, complete with laboratories, gymnasiums, and cafeterias. They are equipped with video-tape machines and staffed with laboratory assistants and film technicians. Russian-language schools get the most qualified mathematics and physics teachers. The new Russian-language schools are more generously subsidized by the district fiscal departments. Russian schools are located in proximity to Ukrainian-language schools and successfully supplant them by luring away their pupils from year to year.

Russian-language schools are overcrowded. School No. 193 in Vitryani Hory has more than 1,500 pupils, with 40 or more pupils in each class, with several parallel classes, especially in the first grades, which were admitted in the 1969-70 school

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year. All these factors show the direction of the development of education in Kurenivka, one of the most "Ukrainian" districts of the city.

The state of instruction in the Ukrainian language in the Ukrainian schools of Kurenivka is very grim. Let us take, for example, School No. 125 (Kopylivska Street, S. L. Trygolov—principal). Although it is officially designated as a Ukrainian-German school, lessons in drawing, handicrafts, physical education, and all extracurricular activities are conducted in Russian. Two instructors of German, K. Dyriyeva (a Party organizer) and T. Afonina, have been teaching in *this* school for over a decade, but have as yet not bothered to learn Ukrainian. They teach German in Russian. Teachers converse in Russian not only among themselves but also with the pupils during recess, while on duty in the corridors, and so forth. School files, announcements, portraits, placards, etc. are in Russian. The students also speak mostly in Russian among themselves.

Such is the state of the Ukrainian language in all "Ukrainian" schools in Kurenivka, and for that matter, in all Kiev.

4. Some conclusions

On the basis of the facts cited, and knowing that the situation of the Ukrainian language is even worse in the schools of the Donbas, the industrial Dnipro [Dnieper] area, Kharkiv, Odessa and elsewhere, one can conclude that the process of Russification of the Ukrainian school system is not slackening or ceasing. On the contrary, it is steadily progressing.

This is not a spontaneous process, as the authorities attempt to explain it. It is consciously directed and stimulated by the continued Russification of pre-school establishments, higher educational institutes, state institutions, and cultural life.

It might perhaps be possible to change the situation through extensive publicity, by informing the public about the actual state of affairs, through organized protests against the chauvinistic anti-Leninist trend in the Ukrainian school system. The school question should be raised together with a demand for the Ukrainianization of all cultural, educational, administrative, and economic life in Ukraine.

ON THE STATE OF THE UKRAINIAN LANGUAGE IN THE CRIMEAN⁹² PEDAGOGICAL INSTITUTE

VIII. General Observations and Recommendations⁹³

The results of state examinations indicate that the pedagogical system in the Department of History and Philology is satisfactorily organized. There are, nevertheless, reasons for raising questions and for voicing sharp criticisms regarding its inadequacies. If we glance at the 1968 report of the former chairman of the State Examining Committee to see which of his suggestions have been carried out, we come to some negative conclusions: not one of the first three of his four recommendations has been implemented. We will not quote them fully but will summarize.

They converge and aim at improving the state of the Ukrainian language, dividing the Department of Ukrainian Language and Literature—that abnormal symbiosis unique to Ukraine—into two departments, and introducing the teaching of the history of the Ukrainian S.S.R.

In spite of the previous treatment of such recommendations, we still feel encouraged to make our own, but this time more bluntly (for better results!).

1. The Department of Ukrainian Language and Literature, consisting of ten faculty members, should be divided into two departments: the Department of Ukrainian Language and

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Methods of Its Instruction, and the Department of Literature. As a result of such division the members of each department would be able to concentrate on their own fields and programs and probe into the most painfully urgent problems, thereby also having a positive effect on their students. Under the present system, P. Kyrychok, the chairman of the department, is in a dilemma: Should he concentrate on developing criteria for analyzing the styles of literary works? Should he focus his attention on the controversial questions relating to the contemporary literary process? Or should he aim instead at developing and perfecting methods for teaching the Ukrainian language and drilling his students in grammar, under conditions in which Russian reigns supreme?

2. It is imperative that in the Ukrainian division all subjects be taught in Ukrainian, because under the existing conditions, whereby all subjects in the Ukrainian division are taught in Russian, the general level and erudition of future specialists are limited, the assimilation of the native language continues, and its functional and communicative possibilities are reduced to zero.

3. It is indispensable that the Ministry stipulate three examinations in its teaching program for the Contemporary Ukrainian Literary Language course:

1. Introduction, vocabulary, phonetics (the fourth semester),
2. Morphology (the sixth semester),
3. Syntax (the seventh semester),

and, in addition, two tests during semesters 3 and 5. The present teaching program stipulates two examinations during semesters 3 and 5 and two tests during semesters 4 and 5. The proposed program would have a positive effect on the students. Final examinations at the end of a course or semester tend to discipline and encourage students. One would, in short, be emulating the successful program of the Russian-language course, which at present consists of three examinations during semesters 4, 6, and 8 and two tests during semesters 3 and 5.

4. Graduates have an extremely vague and limited knowledge of Ukrainian history. For example, in answering a ques-

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tion on the "fifty years of the Communist Party of Ukraine," a student was totally ignorant about the history of the creation of the Communist Party of Ukraine and the role of V. I. Lenin; she was not able to name a single Bolshevik-Leninist in Ukraine, nor did she have any idea about the CPU or the Borotbists.⁹⁴

Students are not at all familiar with such journals as *Komunist Ukrayiny* [Communist of Ukraine], *Ukrayinsky istorychny zhurnal* [Ukrainian Historical Journal], and *Arkhiv Ukrayiny* [Archives of Ukraine]. It is therefore essential that instructors draw their students' attention to interesting articles and controversial issues which appear in these journals.

The situation has reached the realm of anecdotes. During the state examination a student was examined on the struggle with bourgeois nationalism. The examiner posed an additional question: "Name the most inveterate nationalist in Ukraine." Seeing that the student remained silent, he started hinting "Hru. . . ." The student replied, "Hrushetsky." An absolute silence ensued. The chairman of the State Examining Committee pointed out that Hrushevsky and Hrushetsky were personalities of diametrically opposed ideologies and that Hrushetsky had nothing in common with Hrushevsky (that it was, after all, not a matter of the common root of the name) or with Ukrainian nationalism; on the contrary, he headed the Party control committee of the CC CPU.

Another incident followed. An instructor from the Russian Literature Department, who was on the examining committee, additionally asked a student, who was being examined on the innovative investigations in contemporary Ukrainian literature, to "name a representative of the ideologically detrimental trend in contemporary Ukrainian literature" (a typical sort of question!). Since the student remained silent, the instructor said, "Well, how is it that you don't know? [The answer is] Drach."⁹⁵ Another minute of silence ensued, during which the examiners, members of the State Examining Committee, and the student kept wondering why Drach was a bane on our literature. Finally, becoming conscious of her error, the instructor admitted: "Yes, I have made a mistake: not Drach, but Dzyuba." And without

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discussing why Dzyuba was a bane on our literature they went on to the next question.

Another student wrote his term paper on the history of the Zaporozhka Sich. When asked what sources he had consulted, he named Holubovsky. What about Yavornytsky? He had not even heard of him.

5. The Ukrainian language and the teaching of Ukrainian history at the Institute are in a precarious state. It is, after all, not a matter of imposing, let us say, a language or inculcating it by force. It is a matter of merely putting it on the same level with the status of the Russian language and physical education, a realization of that which has been suggested by life and not by some speculations of intellectuals. At this point old problems may rear their ugly heads: "Where can one find willing instructors . . . ?" Precisely, for even historians who have not become Russified consent to lecture in Ukrainian only reluctantly.

Coercion of the individual ought, after all, not be permitted! That is indeed true, yet within a few years an identical crisis will arise in secondary schools—no teachers to teach history in Ukrainian. And this is not mere speculation, but an imminent prospect. Moreover, if we keep in mind that streams of history graduates of pedagogical institutes, like the Crimean, continue to acquire only a dim knowledge of Ukrainian language and history, we can surely envisage their success in transmitting knowledge of Ukrainian language and history to their students in secondary schools.

Fifty per cent of the graduates of the Department of History, who are educated under conditions which were described, are Ukrainians. And should they, after a few years of indoctrination, "consciously" refuse to teach history in Ukrainian schools in Ukrainian, their refusal will be interpreted as a spontaneous phenomenon, a fact of life.

Chairman of the State Examining Committee,
Crimean Pedagogical Institute,
Candidate of Philology V. N. Skrypka
June 27, 1969.

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Postscript

After the rector of the Institute read the *General Observations and Recommendations*, the following dialogue took place:

[Rector:] "As to all that you have written, what business is it of yours?"

[Skrypka:] "Others before me also considered it their business, but not one of their recommendations has been accepted."

[Rector:] "And will never be accepted, because they are impractical. After all, why should we divide the Department of Ukrainian Language and Literature, which, as it is, is superfluous for a mere 24 students?"

[Skrypka:] "And why not? If it will have a positive effect on the educational process, then it would be worthwhile even for 24 students. Moreover, is 24 a fixed quota? Aren't you even enrolling another group as in the Russian division?"

[Rector:] "No. It does not depend on us. . . . Moreover, what is the status of the Ukrainian language anyway? Why, life itself indicates. . . ."

* * *

What indeed does "life indicate"? It indicates that in the Departments of History, Geography, and other departments of the Institute, graduates of Ukrainian-language schools are not permitted to write their papers in Ukrainian. They are compelled to write them in Russian. As a result, they are not able to compete successfully with graduates of Russian-language schools—who are used to writing their papers in Russian—and are, therefore, eliminated. This year, for example, Halya Roz-zuvan, who comes from the village of Danylo-Ivaniv, applied to the Department of History to become a correspondence student, but was obliged to withdraw her application because she was not permitted to write her paper in Ukrainian. She did not write it in Russian either because she felt herself to be insufficiently qualified or because she was outraged by such obvious and brutal discrimination.

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This incident may lead to alternative reactions:

1. She may decide to bone up on her Russian language and literature and try her luck next year. Moreover, after her experience she may encourage her friends to do the same and urge them to suppress their knowledge of Ukrainian language and literature. And when she becomes a kindergarten teacher she will train her children accordingly, preparing them for that which will be "useful in life" . . .—obviously not the knowledge of Ukrainian language and literature.

2. On the other hand, it is equally possible that her feelings of patriotism may be aroused, in which case she will be accused of nationalism, insufficient internationalism . . . and undergo the usual investigations and trials.

That's what "life indicates." It indicates that an infringement of citizens' rights is in progress. At this stage it is still possible to arrest it before it is too late.

June 2, 1969

P.P.S.

A year later, F. Perekhoda, the rector of the Crimean Pedagogical Institute, was promoted, while Vasył Skrypka, the senior scholar at the Institute of Folklore and Ethnography, was demoted to the post of assistant researcher. Another reason for his demotion was the fact that in writing his work, *Chumak and Kozak Songs*, he did not adhere to the "prescribed views" but became too much enamored with the works of "bourgeois nationalists" (Drahomanov and Kostomarov).

WHOSE MOTHER IS DEARER?

We have not succeeded in ridding ourselves of this alphabetical war for the past hundred years. . . .

Perhaps somewhere in the world the concept of two-tonguedness is understood, but only as the forked tongue of a serpent. Two native tongues for one people⁹⁶—this concept is not comprehended by anyone anywhere. Yet we've grown so accustomed to this phenomenon that we even fail to notice the evolvment of a tendency toward stifling the development of our native language and national thought, a tendency toward including an obligatory share of Russian songs in Ukrainian concerts, Russian words in Ukrainian texts, Russian names on the pages of our culture. A tendency toward forcing upon us a notion of our total dependency and subordination.

It is well known that from the time of Taras Shevchenko to the time of Lesya Ukrayinka and Mykhaylo Kotsyubynsky the Ukrainian literary language developed considerably; it grew richer and more refined as a result of intensively drawing upon dialects and historical sources. During the first decade after the Revolution, our national culture, our publishing, translation, and lexicography revived to such an extent that people even became accustomed to thinking about a new era of cultural development and to work with all their might, instead of cultivating an obligatory love for everything Russian, and making this their occupation.

An atmosphere of self-respect existed then, and, above all, of rebirth. It is known that the rebirth was stifled in the

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1930's, and that gradually the vogue of speaking and writing either entirely in Russian, or else in Russian but using Ukrainian words, took root. Development was permitted only insofar as it meant drawing closer to the Russian. This culminated in the so-called "bilingual" dictionary, which completely satisfied the bureaucratic machine but which educated people have dubbed the "Russian-Russian" dictionary.

Naturally, no one in the Russian S.F.S.R. took an interest in it, just as no one there takes an interest in the other concoctions brewed exclusively for the domestic use of national minorities. The cultural provinces of Moscow contribute absolutely nothing to Russian culture but merely promise to provide the humus upon which in some distant glorious future it will blossom. . . .

And in the meantime, we are obliged to nourish this humus and to call it a blossoming. Funds and personnel are allocated to this end.

Yet, along with the parasites, genuine scholars invariably also appear; they win favorable reputations and authority and could even point the development [of national culture] in a [positive] direction.

In Ukraine there are philologists, literary scholars, poets and, in particular, translators capable of working in the best tradition of European culture. In order to function properly they need at the least one condition: that no one interfere with their work. It is precisely this condition that has never existed in Ukraine. Someone is always hovering over Ukrainians, lest they become too interested in their own history ("at the expense of Russian history"), lest they cultivate "an unhealthy interest" in their proto-origins, lest they become too fond of their native language and become too concerned about its purity and evolution. Let it stand, they say, like a half-ruined church. As it manages to survive, so let it survive, for we have freedom here. But don't you dare try restore it yourselves, and may God protect you from the idea of allowing people to enter it and to pray.

The 24th Congress [of the CPSU] took place under the slogan of intensifying the leadership role of the Party in all spheres of life. Language received considerable attention. One could ex-

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pect that, at this level, they would have worked out the means of introducing the Ukrainian language in higher and secondary Ukrainian schools, in Ukrainian institutions, and so on. But no. The main topic here turned out to be increased surveillance of the progress of publishers and periodicals in combatting "the trend to archaisms" and the use of rare words and neologisms.⁹⁷

In reality, this is nothing else but a campaign against the differences that exist between the Ukrainian and Russian languages.

The measuring stick in this is the average citizen, who has an average command of everyday Ukrainian, though he speaks more frequently in Russian in order to adapt himself to conditions that have developed far from spontaneously. If he does not know, then it follows that people generally do not know or understand that word. This means that the lowest common denominator becomes the criterion.

True, there is an Institute of Philology. Its scholars should know and should be able to explain what it means to have a living language, a literary language, a language which draws upon living sources from among the country's other national riches. But the Institute of Philology at the Academy of Sciences of the Ukr.S.S.R., with academician Bilodid in the forefront, has always been the chief instrument in leveling the Ukrainian literary language. It is the Institute itself which keeps a sharp lookout for deviations in the development of the language from the predetermined course. Control over the language used by contemporary authors, however, has dwindled to a minimum because only a few writers today know the Ukrainian language well.

The lexicon of Lesya Ukrayinka and Kotsyubynsky is today a luxury, the heights of the classics. Our better translators have set their orientation upon these heights. The translator must "mobilize" and activate his native language to the level of the lexicon of the French, German, or English author (who also uses words which are incomprehensible or unfamiliar to his average countryman). A good translator is constantly improving his language and expanding its boundaries. But the censors

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chase him back within the boundaries set by regulations, back into the cave. The translator strives to reach the same level in the works of foreign talents, but mediocrities in his own country judge him by their own standards of the "universally understood."

The contemporary translator is in a difficult position. He is being forced out in favor of the hireling. M. Lukash, such a rare talent, has been psychologically traumatized and driven out of the ranks of the working. Depression, neglect, and apathy are forcing their way into literature. The mediocrities fish in murky waters. The translations of Maksym Rylsky are today avoided by the Dnipro publishing house. Oleksander Dovzhenko would have asked: "Who has allowed you to go into the company of nations downtrodden, ridiculous, irresolute, and with a forked tongue, an ugly mixture of two languages instead of a single pure native tongue?"

But the Institute of Philology continues "to develop." It has consolidated the two "archaic" departments—Dialectology and History of the Ukrainian Language—and, in their place, created two new departments—Russian Language and Culture of Language. One can easily predict the fate of the departments which were to investigate the sources of the Ukrainian language from the fact that they have been merged into one and placed under the directorship of I. Bilodid.

It would be superfluous to discuss the state of the Russian language in Kiev, its role in Ukraine, and its contribution, within the framework of the newly created department, to the development of the true Russian language. As for the Department of Culture of Language, this bureaucratic creation will continue to be the source of anecdotes about the quibbling among scholars as to whether it is permissible to use the word "chekaty," or only "zhdaty," "trymaty" or only "derzhaty."⁹⁸ Moreover, in the September issue of *Literaturna Ukrayina* an article appeared entitled "The Little Blue Book of the Institute of Philology." It gives a good picture of the linguistic culture of this institute that has become a parable.

While the Ukrainian language in Ukraine continues to be squeezed out everywhere by the force of controlled inertia, by

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the careful selection of leading cadres, armed with ancient labels, by the stifling of Ukrainian culture, the stone-age primitives continue to wage alphabetical battles, in order to draw attention away.

Perhaps the authorities are not in the least concerned about the nadir to which the Ukrainian language is now sinking in schools, in the press, and on radio.

Mediocrity here is condemned in general rather than in concrete terms. Controls are not implemented for the sake of high linguistic standards but rather for the purpose of regulating and putting these standards under pressure, so that, by chance, we don't begin to speak like human beings, in a full voice.

Well, the Dnipro publishing house can be stopped or even disbanded. But can they stop the Dnipro?!

THE CASE OF VALENTYN MOROZ⁹⁹

To Petro Shelest,¹⁰⁰ First Secretary of the CC CPU

From Political Prisoner Valentyn Moroz

STATEMENT

There is an elementary political wisdom imperative for every social force that wishes to stay on the surface of life and not fall under the wheels of history. It must solve the eternal problem of survival: it must throw its ballast overboard and rid itself of the tendencies which keep dragging it under; it must absorb the new trends proposed by life.

It is not even a political, but a biological fact of life. The organism eliminates products of decay—everything that reduces its chances of survival and deprives it of perspective. Dinosaurs became extinct because they failed to rid themselves of biological hereditary traits which became a ballast and dragged them under. Mammals survived because they made this necessary adjustment.

The question of life and death for a political organism is how to free itself from the forces of the past that masquerade as friends and defenders of the existing order, but are, in reality, a time bomb; sooner or later they will destroy the one who failed to throw them out.

The KGB is preparing a new campaign. Again the false words “In the name of the Ukrainian S.S.R. . . .” will resound. This is a lie. The interests of the political organism called the Ukrainian

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S.S.R. do not demand a new act of lawlessness. In the *Report from the Beria Reservation* there is not a single word against Soviet rule or Communist ideology. The document is directed against violations of legality. It cites crimes. And still the document has been declared not only "anti-Soviet" but even "subversive." It is finally clear: I was not tried for anti-Soviet activities; on the contrary, the violators of the law carry out reprisals against those who expose their crimes.

The document clearly states that it is specifically directed against those who compromise (and thus undermine) socialist order; yet, the document has been labeled subversive. He who has been robbed is proclaimed a thief!

The forces that have instigated this reprisal have outlived their time; they would have liked to eternalize the Stalinist era. But they cannot destroy me physically today as they recently destroyed millions of Ukrainians. They have only half their teeth left, and, without doubt, the inexorable march of history will also pulverize the rest. But, for now, they still bite. They drape themselves with the interests of socialism. And what is most important, regrettably, they are still successful in covering up their deeds with the name of socialism, while, in fact, they *undermine its position*.

The CC CPU is constantly faced with the same problem: to discern whom it is sheltering under its banner. Read thoroughly the documents you sign. They say that a supervisor signed (without reading) a memorandum which stated that he was promoting himself to a higher position.

There is nothing unusual in the fact that chauvinists are imputing anti-Soviet activities to us. It is an old tactic to declare one's opponent an enemy of the existing order and prevalent ideology. Even Thomas Aquinas, the father of Christian theology and a canonized saint, was accused of atheism by his opponents. . . . Russian chauvinism has always imputed to Ukrainian patriots a hostile attitude toward the prevailing doctrine. At one time, when socialism was considered subversive, they labeled them "socialists." Now they label them "enemies of socialism."

Whoever considers as anti-Soviet a document directed against

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chauvinism, Stalinism and lawlessness, in effect, equates Soviet rule with chauvinism, Stalinism and lawlessness. Whoever persecutes an individual who exposes crime takes the criminal under his protection. *Could the most bitter anti-communist have conceived of a more effective way of undermining the position of Communism in its ideological conflict with the West?*

Escalation of an *ideological* conflict with an adversary does not mean swinging a club in front of his nose more vehemently. An *ideological* struggle can only be won with ideological weapons. Court sentences will not help here; on the contrary, they are a hindrance. Whoever defends his point of view in a discussion with his fists, only proves that he has lost. To "counterattack" against an ideological attack of the opponent is not the lexicon of the anointed. Whoever brandishes a club against an idea hammers the last nail into his own coffin, hangs a millstone around his neck. A political force that wishes to have a future must take a good look at such a stone; sometimes it may look, on the surface, like a laurel wreath.

Throughout Northern Europe monarchies have survived; in the South, they vanished. Does this phenomenon indicate that Northern Europe is backward? On the contrary. What is, then, the point? The point is that the Northern European monarchies found within themselves the strength to part with circles and tendencies which were dragging them under. They were able in time to throw their lot in with new tendencies and currents, ignoring the howling of those to whom change meant death. They knew how to throw the lethal ballast overboard and replace it with new sails. The monarchies of Southern Europe acted differently: they cast their lot with those who advised them to "hold on, not to let go," to crush all opposition. Who proved to be the stronger? Not he who with eyes shut, oblivious to reality, raved about his own "invincibility." (This method is perhaps useful for suppressing one's own fear.)

"Not to let in" a new tendency is impossible; it will penetrate nonetheless, but in alien dress, as an argument in the hands of an adversary. Not to allow a spring stream to flow into its own riverbed is to divert it into the mill of another. Not to forge for oneself a weapon from a new trend is to surrender it into the

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hands of the enemy.

In the center of the ideological duel between East and West is the issue of freedom, the issue of human rights. Under such conditions, to try an individual for expressing his views—when the Constitution of the Ukrainian S.S.R. and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights guarantee freedom of speech—is to saw the tree limb on which you sit. In an ideological struggle, the one who thinks up more semi-censored expressions does not win. He wins who opens his floodgates to forces which have future prospects, and not to forces which are on the wane.

Today, reality has confronted Ukrainian communists with the identical problem Lenin faced fifty years ago: national rebirth. Then, too, there was no lack of Artems and Patakovs who screamed that “Ukrainianization” died with Petlyura.¹⁰¹ But Lenin understood that to accept this view meant to direct a mighty stream (the national factor) into the mill of the adversary.

Will Ukrainian communists today be able to renew at last the Leninist policy of Ukrainianization and to declare all-out war on Russian chauvinism in Ukraine? The successful outcome of the ideological conflict with the West depends precisely on this. But as long as people continue to be tried for protesting against chauvinism, solemn oaths proclaiming that Leninist norms with regard to the nationalities question have been fully restored in Ukraine will not be very convincing. The communists of Czechoslovakia are demonstrating to the communists of all countries the necessity of throwing overboard that which has become a ballast and opening the sluices to those forces which guarantee a future. *Will the communists of Ukraine succeed, in their own interest, in mastering this lesson?*

National rebirth is the most powerful force today, and it is ludicrous to shield oneself from it with a piece of paper called “verdict.” This wave will wane of itself but only

When into a gaping grave will fall
The last chauvinist on this planet.

(Vasyl Symonenko)¹⁰²

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New ideas open doors without knocking. "To allow" or "not to allow" national rebirth (or any new movement) is beside the point. The point is: he who comes to terms with it will survive. He who ignores it will find himself under the hooves of history.

The KGB is preparing new reprisals. Basic human rights will again be trampled, even as humanity marks the International Year of Human Rights. Again the West will receive a powerful argument in its ideological conflict with Communism.

Whose interests does this serve?

Is it possible that once again the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine will fail to stop those whose actions are undermining the position of Communism? Is it possible that individuals who consider political wisdom their profession will fail to comprehend this basic fact of life, that of self-preservation?

Valentyn Moroz

Kiev, KGB Prison
May 15, 1968

The Case of Valentyn Moroz

**To the Prosecutor of the Ukr.S.S.R.
From Political Prisoner Valentyn Moroz**

PETITION

Article 60 of the UkrCCP stipulates that individuals conducting an investigation are subject to removal from the case "when they or their relatives have a personal interest in the results of the case." The KGB, which is investigating my case, has indeed a personal interest in its results, inasmuch as the content of the *Report from the Beria Reservation* is directed against violations of legality by agents of the KGB (and not against socialist and state order, as they allege). In connection with this, I request that *the investigative organs of the KGB be removed* from my case.

Article 97 of the UkrCCP stipulates that the prosecutor, the judge and the investigative organs be obliged to press criminal charges within three days of being informed about the crime, or to examine the facts of the crime within ten days. The *Report* . . . exposes an entire series of crimes committed by agents of the KGB, including the most serious crimes, such as homicide and attempted homicide.

In contradiction of the law, the Prosecutor of the Ukr.S.S.R. failed to react in any way to this information; otherwise, I would have been questioned in this matter. Moreover, the Prosecutor of the Ukr.S.S.R. made it possible for the organs of the KGB to launch a *campaign of revenge* against those who expose their illegal acts.

I direct your attention to the fact that failure (on the part of those whom the law obliges to react to such information) to act on information about a crime is *in essence* the harboring of those who have committed the crime.

Valentyn Moroz

Kiev, KGB Prison
May 16, 1968

The Case of Valentyn Moroz

**To the Chairman of the KGB at the
Council of Ministers of the Ukr.S.S.R.
From Ukrainian Political Prisoner Valentyn Moroz**

DEMAND

The *convicted* Doctor Spock makes public appearances *at liberty*. The arrested Reverend Abernathy writes a letter of political content immediately after his arrest, and this letter passes freely beyond the prison confines. (It would be great if every KGB agent had such a photograph under glass on his table. Maybe then he would get used to the concept of human rights.) Even the Greek junta twice allowed Red Cross representatives to visit the imprisoned activist Elihu.

I do not demand such liberties for myself. I understand that the citizenry of Ukraine will not gain such rights for Ukrainian prisoners soon. (Not soon, but it will gain them, although some cannot even comprehend how this could happen. The wheel of history does not stand still.)

I refer to something else. More than seven months have passed since I last saw my family. The regulations for the investigatory isolation cell allow a convicted prisoner one visit every two months. Even in Vladimir Prison visits are granted twice a year.

I know your answer: the investigative organs may deny a prisoner under investigation all visitations. That is true. But an investigation which has been proceeding for a year and has consisted of only three interrogations is not an investigation. It is an abuse of the investigation procedure. The prisoner is deliberately kept in a state (of being investigated) that allows for the denial of all his rights.

I demand my right to have visitors, which, according to law, has long been due me.

Valentyn Moroz

August 1, 1968

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To the Prosecutor of the Ukr.S.S.R.

From Ukrainian Political Prisoner Valentyn Moroz

STATEMENT

More than seven months have passed since I last saw my family. The organs of the KGB have simply not replied to my written request. My wife and six-year-old son, who a few days ago demanded to be allowed to see me, were turned away.

I know that I am a prisoner under investigation and that I am allowed visitors at the discretion of the investigators. But may the organs of the KGB abuse this right interminably? And what if the investigation should last two or three years?

Where are we? In the jungles, or in the most humane state in the world? In the year 1938, when the sole privilege a political prisoner could hope for was to remain alive? Or is it 1968, five minutes before the Promised Land, in a society which is five minutes from Paradise and very close, within twelve years (see the Program of the CPSU), of reaching the shores of Communism, from which all blessings will flow "like a full stream," in which there will be absolutely no coercion or violence? Is this the society whose leader, a dedicated Leninist, promised three years ago (don't blame me, that is what the newspaper wrote!) that in 1965 he will show the last prisoner on television?¹⁰³

Could not the organs entrusted with the protection of legality (*i.e.*, the Prosecutor) construct at least a small levee against the stream of abuses of the KGB which flows torrentially upon my head? Could they not guarantee me human rights—not those of a future paradise, but the real rights of today that have long been guaranteed by law?

Valentyn Moroz

August 9, 1968

The Case of Valentyn Moroz

To the Association of Jurists of the Ukr.S.S.R.

I salute all Ukrainian jurists on the Day of Human Rights, on the twentieth anniversary of the issuance of the Declaration that guarantees these rights. One official in the Mordovian camps, touching upon the subject during one of the “political indoctrination sessions,” explained: “The United Nations—but that’s for Negroes.” It seems to me that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights by the United Nations is not only for Negroes, but for Ukrainians as well. And as long as I live, I will strive to convince others of this.

Valentyn Moroz

Kiev, KGB Prison
December 10, 1968

INSTEAD OF A LAST WORD

I shall not attempt to prove my innocence by citing articles of the Criminal Code. As you well know, we are not being tried for any crime. We are being tried for our role in a movement of which you disapprove. You would be on sounder legal grounds to arrest in my place certain other individuals; however, you find it more convenient that they remain free, for they—unwittingly, of course—impede and undermine the spirit of Ukrainian reawakening. You would never intentionally trouble them; if, by chance, they ever fell into your hands, you would see to their immediate release. You have concluded that since V. Moroz accelerates certain undesirable processes in Ukraine, it would be best to isolate him by placing him behind bars—a logical solution, were it not for one “but”

Since 1965, you have jailed several dozen men. *What have you achieved?* I shall not consider the movement itself, for no one has been able to stop it. But have you at least succeeded in destroying its concrete, external manifestations? Have you, for instance, stemmed the flow of unofficial, uncensored literature, which has already acquired a name: *Samvydav*? No! It seems to be beyond your power. *Samvydav* is expanding, improving its form and content, and attracting an ever-widening circle of authors and readers. But most importantly, it has become so deeply rooted that no increase in your staff of informers or electronic surveillance will help. At best, your efforts can be compared to those of *Martyshka*.¹⁰⁴ Perhaps even this analogy may be misleading, for it implies effort without result. Your efforts, however, have had results, but opposite to those you had expected. You wanted to intimidate people, but aroused their

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interest; you wanted to extinguish the fire, but added fuel. Nothing could have revitalized Ukrainian community life as effectively as your repressions; nothing could have drawn as much public attention to the process of Ukrainian reawakening as your trials. You wanted to hide people in the forests of Mordovia;¹⁰⁵ instead, you placed them on a stage for all the world to see. Your persecutions gave birth to most of the revival's activists. You should have realized by now that your repressions are first and foremost detrimental to your cause, and yet you continue these trials. Why? In order to fulfill some quota? To appease your bureaucratic conscience? To vent your anger? More than likely, the reason is inertia. You have given the Ukrainian reawakening movement of the post-Stalinist period the element without which the movement would never fully mature—the element of *sacrifice*. Faith is born where there are martyrs, and you have given them to us.

You hurled a stone at every spark of life on the Ukrainian horizon, and every stone became a boomerang; it returned and struck . . . you! What went wrong? Why do repressions no longer produce the usual results? Why has a tried-and-proven weapon backfired? The times have changed—there is your answer. Stalin had enough water to put out any fire. But you live in a different age; the reserves are depleted. As any child knows, do not tease fire with water, unless you have enough to put it out. You took a poker to scatter the coals, but succeeded in stoking the flames. You have lost control, for our society has reached a stage of development when repressions no longer produce the intended, but the opposite, effect. From now on every act of repression will *boomerang*.

By throwing me behind bars on June 1, 1970, you launched another boomerang. You know from experience what will happen. Five years ago you placed me in the prisoner's dock . . . and released an arrow. Then you put me behind barbed wire in Mordovia . . . and launched a bomb. Having learned nothing, apparently, you again embark upon the same course. Only this time the boomerang will return with greater force. Moroz was an unknown history instructor in 1965; today he is widely known.

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So Moroz will once again taste prison cabbage. What will you gain? Moroz would be *extremely useful* to you as a penitent author of a repudiating confession that would undermine the movement. But you will *never* see that day. Were you seriously hoping to create a vacuum in the movement by jailing me? When will you understand? *There will never be a vacuum*. The spiritual potential of Ukraine has grown enough to fill any vacuum, to replace any activist who leaves the movement on his own or by way of prison. The 1960's gave us the beginning of the great reawakening of Ukrainian life; the 1970's will not bring its demise. That "Golden Age," when every aspect of life was set into a tight official frame, is gone forever. We now have a culture without the Ministry of Culture, a philosophy without *Problems of Philosophy*.¹⁰⁶ These phenomena, born without official sanction, are here to stay, and they will grow.

I am to be tried behind closed doors. But your trial will boomerang even if no one hears me, or if I sit in silent isolation in my cell in Vladimir Prison.¹⁰⁷ *Silence can sometimes be more deafening than shouting*. You could not muffle it even by killing me, which is, of course, the easiest thing to do. But have you considered the fact that the dead are often more important than the living? *They become symbols*—the building blocks of spiritual fortresses in the hearts of men.

No doubt you will say that Moroz thinks too highly of himself. Actually, Moroz is of little consequence here. We are concerned here with any honest man in a similar position. After all, there is little room for ambition in Vladimir Prison, where one awaits slow death by chemical additives.¹⁰⁸

The awakening of national consciousness is the deepest of all spiritual processes. This phenomenon can take on a thousand unpredictable forms that are impossible to contain. Your dams are strong, but they now stand on dry land, by-passed by the spring streams that found other channels. Your draw gates are closed, but they stop no one. The process of national reawakening has unlimited resources, for every man—even one thought to be spiritually dead—has within his soul a spark of national identity. We saw an example of this during the recent debates on the expulsion of Ivan Dzyuba from the Writers' Union, when

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votes against his expulsion were cast by those of whom this was not expected.

You stubbornly insist that all whom you place behind bars are dangerous criminals. You close your eyes, pretending there is no problem. You can pursue this absurd policy for, let us say, ten more years . . . but then what? These movements in Ukraine and in the whole Union *are only beginning*. The Ukrainian renaissance has yet to become a mass movement; however, do not deceive yourselves that it will remain that way forever. With universal literacy in Ukraine, 800,000 students and a radio in every home, every socially significant movement becomes a *mass* movement. Is it possible you do not comprehend that soon you will be dealing with *mass social movements*? New processes are only beginning, and your repressive measures have long ceased to be effective. What of the future . . . ?

There is only one alternative: abandon obsolete repressive policies and seek a form of coexistence with these movements, which are permanently entrenched in our society. Such is reality. It evolved without asking for permission, but its results *demand a new approach*. Those called upon to serve the state have much to rethink . . . and you amuse yourselves by throwing boomerangs.

There will be a trial. Very well, we shall fight. We need an example of strength especially now, when one man has published a retraction, another acquiesced to a change in profession and others ceased to be active in the movement. Someone must erase the shame; apparently, I shall have to be the one. It is not an easy mission. Life behind the bars is not easy, but life without self-respect is worse. So we will fight!

There will be a trial, and all will begin anew: protests, petitions, world-wide press and radio coverage. Interest in Moroz's writings will increase tenfold. In short, more fuel will be added to the very same fire you are trying to extinguish.

No doubt, this is subversion. But do not point the accusing finger at me . . . I did not jail Moroz, I did not throw the boomerang.

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To the Editors of *Radyanska Osvita* [Soviet Education]

Esteemed Comrades:

In the August 14, 1971, issue of your newspaper there appeared an article by Ya. Radchenko entitled "An 'Apostle' and His Standards."¹⁰⁹ It concerns itself with the trial of "the former lecturer at the Ivano-Frankivsk Pedagogical Institute, Valentyn Moroz, for anti-Soviet propaganda." But the reader will search in vain in the article for some concrete facts of the substance of the case, for a description of the defendant's crime, for evidence of his guilt, or for the course of the court proceedings. Elementary factual information to which the reader is entitled, as well as ideological and legal argumentation, are substituted by the use of "strong" words. In his well-practiced art, Ya. Radchenko goes so far as to lightheartedly attribute to V. Moroz nothing more, nothing less than "betrayal of the fatherland," although there was no mention of this either during the course of the trial or in Moroz's sentence.

Thus, Ya. Radchenko arbitrarily "reclassified" the official charge, and should bear criminal responsibility for his action.

Moreover, Ya. Radchenko libels not only the defendant, but other persons as well. Black on white he writes that Valentyn Moroz denied the authorship of the articles imputed to him, that he "dodged" and "attempted to cover his tracks," etc., and "only when pinned against the wall by the testimony of witnesses B. D. Antonenko-Davydovych, I. M. Dzyuba, and V. M. Chornovil was he forced to confess." It appears from the context that the persons referred to were practically Ya. Radchenko's accomplices in baiting Valentyn Moroz.

The fact is that all the witnesses mentioned refused to participate in the legal proceedings against Valentyn Moroz because by conducting the trial *in camera* the court violated Soviet laws.

At the conclusion of the trial, all three appealed to higher judicial authorities, protesting against the closed trial and the groundless, harsh sentence and requesting a re-examination of the case.

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Furthermore, in his rather verbose article, Ya. Radchenko fails to inform his readers about what was most important: the sentence meted out to Valentyn Moroz. How can one account for such absent-mindedness in one who is obviously not just a rank-and-file journalist but who prefers the modest name of "Ya. Radchenko"? He may have simply become confused at this point or perhaps—whoever he may be—he was embarrassed to divulge the fact that for writing several articles (even if they were ideologically erroneous), a young man was immured in prison for nine years, after which five more years of exile await him. This frightening fact does not "harmonize" with an age in which our country, as is known to the readers of *Soviet Education*, leads the struggle for human rights, for a humane re-ordering of the world, for socialism and democracy.

The appearance of Ya. Radchenko's article redundantly demonstrates to what extent the illegal so-called "closed trials" bring harm to and offend the socialist public.

Besides, had the trial of Valentyn Moroz been open—therefore, legal—the journalist would not have been able to so cynically misinform his readers.

Perhaps it is not within the power of the editors of *Soviet Education* to publish an accurate and objective account of the trial of V. Moroz, as elementary public decency might dictate. But the well-known legal stipulations concerning the responsibility of the press give me the right to demand that they correct to a certain extent the factual error (an error on their part, but a falsification on the part of the author) which concerns me personally and causes me moral harm.

Respectfully,
I. M. Dzyuba

Kiev
52 Povitroflotsky Prospect, Apt. 97

Teofil Popowych
2212 Hamilton Ave.
Baltimore, MD 21214
U.S.A.

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**To the Central Committee of the
Communist Party of Ukraine**

On August 14, 1971, an article entitled "An 'Apostle' and His Standards," signed by Ya. Radchenko, was published in the newspaper *Soviet Education*. We feel obligated to respond to it, if only because our names were mentioned in it in a false context.

The article by Ya. Radchenko appeared in response to voices in the Western press which were raised as a result of the trial of the historian and publicist Valentyn Moroz, arrested in June and sentenced in November 1970 by the Ivano-Frankivsk Regional Court to nine years in prison and strict-regime labor camp and five years of exile, a total of fourteen years.

It would have been natural to expect that the author of the article would present the factual side of this—in one way or another—extraordinary trial, that he would give it professional legal interpretation and then, relying on this explanation of the essence of the case, proceed to go into battle against the bourgeois falsifiers.

But such expectations proved naive. In his simplicity (or perhaps as an expert on the rules of the genre) the author of the article probably considered that in an area so sanctified as the fight against "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism," common sense and elementary logic were not necessarily essential, and that factual accuracy and truth were altogether superfluous luxuries. He assumed that in such a cause all means were justified. For this reason he found it possible to dispense with such "trivialities" as the substance of the case, its factual side, its judicial basis, etc., and by-passing these tedious stages in the development of his theme, he immediately gave free rein to his imagination so that it might paint the most frightening "portrait of the enemy," resembling the devils of Hohol's [Gogol's] blacksmith Vakula with which the credulous village mothers used to frighten their children.

Since the level of the named article does not allow us to enter into a serious polemic with its author, we will briefly enumerate

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only the major deliberate distortions of the facts by Ya. Radchenko.

1. Moroz is referred to as “an apostle of treason” in the article; its author keeps emphasizing that he was sentenced for betraying his fatherland. This assertion is politically and legally groundless. Perhaps it is merely a rhetorical figure of speech. But what right does the author have to resort to “figures of speech” when the fate of a human being and the truthful presentation of the facts to the public are at stake?

Anyway, the country’s Constitution and the Criminal Code precisely define the concept of “treason against the fatherland”; there should be no place for fantasy and arbitrariness here.

In fact, Moroz was not tried under Art. 56 of the UkrCC (“treason against the fatherland”), but under Art. 62 (“anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation”). He was not charged with spying, sabotage, acts of terrorism, etc., but merely with the preservation of the culture and the spiritual traditions of his country. The essays of Valentyn Moroz were, according to Art. 62, UkrCC, interpreted as anti-Soviet; in our opinion, they were qualified as anti-Soviet without sufficient grounds. But how does “treason against the fatherland” figure here?

2. Not finding convincing arguments to justify the 1970 case against Moroz, Ya. Radchenko cites some interrogation records from the first case against Moroz (1965), when the defendant allegedly confessed his intention of establishing an independent bourgeois Ukraine with the aid of the imperialistic countries. Ya. Radchenko’s methods are unethical and illegal for two reasons.

In the first place, the proof of the present guilt of Moroz must be found in the present case and not in a former case for which he has served his sentence in full.

In the second place, if the testimony cited was in fact recorded in the (interrogation) protocols of 1965, (although we do not exclude the possibility of falsification), their author was certainly not Moroz but the investigator who was conducting the case. After all, an interrogation proceeds according to the scheme of questions of the investigator, who formulates and

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records the answers. Moreover, it is well known that the majority of those who were sentenced in 1965, including V. Moroz, sent from their places of imprisonment to various legal authorities statements in which they cited the illegal methods used in their interrogations and trials, and denied both their confessions of guilt and the "testimony" attributed to them.

We would like to draw your attention to the fact that this may be the first time in post-Stalinist times that the press quotes from interrogation protocols. Until now, such practices were known mostly from the "experience" of the 1930's.

3. The desire of Valentyn Moroz for the "secession of Ukraine with the aid of imperialistic nations" was allegedly confirmed at the first trial by the witness D. P. Ivashchenko (a teacher).

Again a falsehood. In the V. Moroz case there was no *witness* Ivashchenko. There was a *prisoner* D. Ivashchenko, who could not have appeared as a witness against V. Moroz because he was a co-defendant with Moroz in the same case. Surely the author had to be aware of such legal axioms.

4. These same "intentions" of V. Moroz are supposedly more fully revealed in some of his anti-Soviet essays: *Moses and Dathan, Amid the Snows, A Chronicle of Resistance*, and others. But the essays of V. Moroz contain nothing even resembling these "intentions." The lie depended on the assumption that not all those who would read Ya. Radchenko would be familiar with the essays of V. Moroz.

5. Plucking phrases out of context from *A Chronicle of Resistance*, Ya. Radchenko writes that V. Moroz advocated "that the Uniate Church be placed at the forefront of the spiritual life of the nation," that it be "imposed" on Soviet Ukraine, etc.

This is a fantasy worthy of a better application. V. Moroz mentioned the Uniate movement only in passing, referring not to Soviet Ukraine, but to Hutsulshchyna of the second half of the eighteenth century, where, after the partition of Poland, this Church ceased to be a means of Polonization and acquired a Ukrainian character. Similar "anti-Soviet" views can be discovered in the research of many contemporary Soviet scholars.

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6. Ya. Radchenko performs similar manipulations with the essay *Amid the Snows*, twisting the words of V. Moroz to prove that he allegedly described Ukraine as a nation of "primitives." Actually, Moroz argued against this characterization. Even in the phrase quoted by Ya. Radchenko, the word "primitives" appears in quotation marks.

7. There is absolutely no doubt in Radchenko's mind that V. Moroz "not only systematically wrote slanderous anti-Soviet 'works' but personally disseminated this poison illegally . . . among certain elements within Ukraine [and] passed them on for publication abroad."

That which the investigation was not able to establish during the course of five months, Ya. Radchenko "established" with one stroke of the pen. The investigation did not bring out a single instance of dissemination of his essays by Valentyn Moroz himself (except for one instance of turning for literary advice to Borys Antonenko-Davydovych concerning an unfinished essay); no "dissemination" was established at the trial either. Moreover, the question of Valentyn Moroz's passing on anything abroad or instructing anyone else to do so did not even arise.

8. It is asserted that V. Moroz had avoided socially beneficial work. Again a falsehood. V. Moroz was not only not assigned work in his profession, but was prevented even from finding a position which had nothing to do with ideological questions (as an observer at a meteorological station, an engraver's apprentice, etc.).

9. It is also not true that Valentyn Moroz at first "covered up his tracks" and denied authorship. In fact, he did not give any testimony whatsoever during the investigation, regarding his arrest illegal.

He also boycotted his illegal closed trial, but, as if anticipating the possibility of slander, he announced at the beginning of the trial that he was the author of the four essays *A Report from the Beria Reservation*, *Moses and Dathan*, *A Chronicle of Resistance*, and *Amid the Snows*.

10. Finally, Ya. Radchenko arbitrarily enlisted, as his adherents and partners in attacks on Moroz, us—B. D. Antonenko-

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Davydovych, I. M. Dzyuba and V. M. Chornovil. We supposedly "pinned" V. Moroz "against the wall" and forced him by our testimony to confess to the authorship of the articles. We not only did not "pin" V. Moroz "against the wall," but on the contrary—we announced a protest against the illegal closed trial and refused to give any evidence at all at such a trial.

The question arises: What was the author of "An 'Apostle' and His Standards" counting on when he libeled not only the one who is denied the possibility of refuting him, but us as well? Maybe on the fact that the newspaper would be read by more people than our reply?

We have enumerated above only the instances (not even all of them) where Ya. Radchenko openly distorted concrete facts which do not lend themselves to ambiguous interpretation and subjective appraisals. We leave it on the author's conscience that he saw in the articles of V. Moroz "nationalistic raving and racism," "threats and insults," "a call for the destruction of all our achievements," etc.

It is possible to slander not only by speaking but also by remaining silent. And Ya. Radchenko is silent about too many things: that Moroz was tried illegally *in camera*; that contrary to the law, no friends of the defendant, not even we, the witnesses, were admitted to the reading of the verdict, which made possible the falsification of our position in the verdict; that V. Moroz was, in fact, not tried for the works mentioned in Radchenko's articles, but primarily for *A Report from the Beria Reservation*, in which he severely criticized the actions of the KGB; that V. Moroz was given an incredibly savage sentence—fourteen years of imprisonment and exile; etc.

It would be possible to interpret Ya. Radchenko's article as a chance excursion into the newspaper technique of the 1930's, if this were an isolated case. But it is enough to mention the article by O. Poltoratsky, "Whom Certain 'Humanitarians' Protect" (*Literary Ukraine*, July 16, 1968); the articles by John Weir (*News from Ukraine*, May 1969), Ya. Radchenko and Ya. Klymenko (*Soviet Ukraine*, January 31, 1971), and others, to notice a growing tendency. One thing is characteristic of all these articles: an absence of polemic argumentation, the "con-

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vincing” of the reader with the aid of a standard repertoire of vituperative slander. Are not these weapons a bit outdated?

After the 20th Congress of the CPSU it was announced that the organs of the KGB will cease to be a state within a state, that effective controls by the Party and government agencies will be established to supervise its actions. Then why should not someone of the highest ranking officials in the Republic undertake to investigate personally any one political case, without relying on the one-sided evidence of the KGB and solely on the secret data of the security agencies, which may be selected tendentiously.

In view of the fact that the case of Moroz has caused an especially strong reaction, within our country as well as abroad, it might be well to make this the test case. Read all of the articles of V. Moroz, the materials of the investigation and the trial, the protests of the Soviet and foreign citizenry, sent through official channels, the press coverage, and the like.

We are certain that after a thorough and unbiased examination of the case you will take steps to either release Valentyn Moroz or reduce his sentence as much as possible, thereby neutralizing the great moral harm done to our society and the Communist ideology by the very fact of such brutal retribution.

September 29, 1971.

*Borys Antonenko-Davydovych
Ivan Dzyuba
Vyacheslav Chornovil*

To the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the Ukr.S.S.R.

On November 17th and 18th of this year, the trial of the writer and publicist Valentyn Moroz was held in Ivano-Frankivsk. The total sentence—fourteen years. I was present at the courtroom doors and am a witness to the violation of the norms of socialist legality. I believe that in our country, which has just celebrated its fifty-third anniversary, closed trials and such brutal sentences given writers are inhumane phenomena and detrimental to the people.

The Case of Valentyn Moroz

I ask the Court of Appeals to annul the verdict of the Ivano-Frankivsk Regional Court.

November 25, 1970

Maria Kachmar-Savka

To the Chief Justice of the

Supreme Court of the Ukr.S.S.R.

**Regarding the appeal of Valentyn Yakovych Moroz,
sentenced in Ivano-Frankivsk to fourteen years**

The trial of Valentyn Moroz took place in Ivano-Frankivsk in November. I am deeply disturbed by the term to which this young writer has been sentenced, because it is difficult to believe that in our time it is possible to deal so harshly with human beings. Surely if an individual is being tried with the possibility of such a term, then the reason for the trial, the formal charges against Valentyn Moroz, should have been officially reported to the general public.

As it is now, most of the people know that the trial of Valentyn Moroz was closed and that none of his friends or acquaintances were permitted to be present at the reading of the verdict. It is difficult to believe that such lawlessness occurred. I believe that the versions which are now beginning to appear in newspapers will be far from reliable, for it would have been much more reasonable not to have covered up the entire case from the very beginning.

I sincerely hope that the verdict of the Ivano-Frankivsk Regional Court, which was inspired by some particular extralegal motives, will be annulled. This will vindicate Soviet justice, the authority of which is being undermined by the provocative actions of the Ivano-Frankivsk officials.

Lviv

December 5, 1970

Maria Voytovych

The Case of Valentyn Moroz

To the Supreme Court of the Ukr.S.S.R.

Recently Valentyn Moroz was sentenced in Ivano-Frankivsk to nine years of imprisonment and five years of exile. I consider this sentence to be incompatible with the principles of socialist society in its present stage of development.

According to the new program of CPSU, our country has attained nation-wide democracy. There is no socialist basis for socio-political antagonism among us. Therefore, V. Moroz could not have *objectively* done anything that could have presented any actual threat to our society and that would have merited such a brutal sentence. It is, therefore, obvious that the verdict was the product of thoughtless examination of the case or of exalted emotions which are all too common in our courts. For this reason I appeal to the Supreme Court of our Republic to review the case of Valentyn Moroz. In my opinion, it would be unjust merely to reduce the sentence given Valentyn Moroz. He must be *released unconditionally*. Such a decision would indeed be worthy of our State.

In our times, to mete out such unjustifiably brutal sentences to fellow countrymen—allegedly in the interest of Soviet rule—means, in fact, to desecrate and compromise Soviet rule in the eyes of the world and in our own eyes. Spite should not be the judge in a case where objectivity, conscience, and a sense of responsibility for one's actions before the people and the Nation should prevail.

Faith in the principles of socialist justice and humanism gives me reason to expect that the Supreme Court of the Ukrainian S.S.R., in reviewing the case of Valentyn Moroz, will not react contemptuously to these well-meaning reservations.

Respectfully,

Pavlo Chemerys, journalist

Lviv

November 30, 1970

The Case of Valentyn Moroz

Moscow, Kremlin, Council of Ministers

**To the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the
U.S.S.R., A. N. Kosygin**

Moscow, Ministry of Internal Affairs of the U.S.S.R.

Moscow, Ministry of Health of the U.S.S.R.

To the Chairman of the Red Cross¹¹⁰

I have been delegated by relatives, friends, and acquaintances of the historian and writer Valentyn Moroz, arrested on June 1, 1970, and sentenced under Article 62 of the UkrCC to fourteen years of deprivation of freedom, to request that you intervene immediately in the actions of the administration of Vladimir Prison.

It has become well known that Valentyn Moroz is seriously ill in the prison hospital. There is reason to believe that the extreme exhaustion and grave illness of Valentyn Moroz were caused by the inhuman conditions in Vladimir Prison.

I ask that you release Valentyn Moroz, who was wrongfully convicted. (Besides, humane Soviet laws guarantee freedom to seriously ill prisoners.) In the meantime you could at least have him transferred to a camp and allow him to receive a supplementary food parcel.

I request that the Red Cross and Red Crescent create a commission to investigate the conditions under which political prisoners, among them Valentyn Moroz, are kept, and by their findings bring about a change in these conditions.

Iryna Kalynets



ANTON OLIYNYK—IN MEMORIAM

Five years have passed since the escape of the unforgettable Anton Oliynyk from the "Beria Reservation," the Mordovian political [prisoners'] camps.

What brought him there? . . . Why was he later murdered in a torture chamber in Rivne?

At first there was work in the youth network of the OUN; later, in the district propaganda department (under the pseudonym "Indis"). And constant persecution, battles, ambushes.

In 1947 he fell into the hands of a provocative Cheka detachment which was passing itself off as Ukrainian freedom fighters. Oliynyk was arrested. Then—interrogation, a "trial," a twenty-five year sentence, prisoner transports, and the horrors of Stalin's camps. The Far North, Inta. And there he lived like a wretch until 1955. What he witnessed and suffered cannot possibly be related in a few words. One would need volumes.

But terror did not break Anton; he dreamt only of freedom, of continuing the battle. He studied and studied, constantly working to improve himself. He made several unsuccessful attempts to escape. After each attempt—the camp prison, penal barracks, the strict-regime zone. And everything beginning anew. . . .

In 1955 he was able to escape from strict-regime zone No. 5 at Inta. And this time successfully. But the zone he conquered was only a short stretch of the road of torment that he was to traverse. Before him lay hundreds of kilometers of wild taiga, where one could encounter only wild beasts and . . . camps, the latter being the deadlier.

Someday, when people gain access to KGB archives, they will become acquainted with the diary of A. Oliynyk, in which his every step along this way is recorded—hundreds of kilometers by foot across the taiga, hundreds of kilometers by boat down the Pechora River, traveling under an assumed name by rail from Kotkas to Sarny. But for now only we know about this

Anton Oliynyk—In Memoriam

odyssey, from Anton himself.

For a while it seemed that fortune had smiled upon him. But not for long; he was arrested in Kostopil in the Rivne Region. The fact that he was captured there and not in the North saved his life; in the North escapees were mercilessly killed for allegedly "attempting to resist. . . ."

And so there was another trial, another twenty-five-year term, and Vladimir Prison. . . .

Anton spent the three years in prison very productively. This can be confirmed by those who knew him before and after Vladimir. His knowledge deepened, his world outlook broadened, especially in literature, philosophy, economy and sociology. Now he became dangerous not only as a potential escapee and rebel, but also as an individual who, because of his knowledge, might someday better serve his people. It was impossible to break him; he could only be destroyed. But these were no longer the years of Stalin's terror but those of Khrushchev's socialist legality. It was necessary to await an opportunity to give murder a semblance of propriety. And finally, it came.

In May 1958 Anton was transferred from prison to the Mordovian concentration camps. As he had in the North, he lived here but with one thought—to escape to freedom! How strong must be the thirst for freedom in him who, knowing that very few prisoners who attempt escape remain alive and having his own bitter experience, would make another attempt.

Anton prepared for his escape with painstaking care, thinking out every step, anticipating every contingency. The camp he was interned in was fortified to such an extent that it was practically impossible to even get out of the zone. But not for Anton Oliynyk!

In the summer of 1965 a report spread like wildfire through the Mordovian camps: Anton had escaped again. Another prisoner was with him. Prisoners of other nationalities approached us Ukrainians, congratulated us, rejoiced with us, saying, "Only Ukrainians are capable of something like this!" Our joy increased when a coded message came from Ukraine that the escapees were already there!

Anton Oliynyk—In Memoriam

One can't imagine the fury that seized the KGB. This was something unprecedented: someone had escaped from a political prisoners' camp. And this at a time when national awareness was on the surge in Ukraine. A huge manhunt machine was mobilized. The Cheka men told us bluntly: "We'll catch him and he'll be shot—you will never see him alive again." They said this knowing that by law he could only receive a maximum of three years. But what is the law to such men!

After four months of liberty Anton Oliynyk was finally captured in his native Ukraine. To escape from the clutches of the KGB and find the way back to one's native land was in itself a rare feat. But Anton Oliynyk managed to do this twice! For this he would have to pay with his life. And pay he did.

They put him on trial (for the third time), not for escaping, but on a fabricated charge of involvement in mass murders during his days in the underground. He was sentenced to death and executed in Rivne in June 1966. Remaining true to themselves, his executioners smeared his illustrious memory with every conceivable lie. They accused him of service in the Gestapo (this at age 16), of murder, robbery, and so forth. But in truth they retaliated against a defenseless human being whose only crime had been his passionate love for his people and his thirst for freedom for himself and for them.

They did not admit that they took vengeance—not only on him, on his memory, but also, as in Stalin's time, on his family. They sentenced his sister merely because she had not closed the door on her brother when he came to her door in the middle of the night, but fed him and gave him a change of clothing. . . .

In the memories of those who knew him personally Anton Oliynyk remains an honest and true human being. His image will live in our hearts forever, for he is a part of ourselves, of our sufferings and our hopes.

Let us not forget him, friends!

*A group of Ukrainian political prisoners,
Mordovia, August 1970*

IVAN SOKULSKY

For a portrait and autobiography of Ivan Sokulsky, a son of that land which once bred and nourished the Zaporozhian Kozaks, consult the almanac *Vitryla*-67.

Look at the features of this noble-browed, stately youth. They show character and dignity—as if he had just dared to set out firmly on a narrow, winding, and unfamiliar white path at the edge of an abyss, where every step leads upward to life or. . . . But see how crystal-clear his eyes are! They radiate an eternal vow to the God of Truth.

Ivan Sokulsky—let us remember this name. He is one of the dearest brothers of Vasyl Symonenko. But their life paths diverged: Vasyl fell suddenly from his white path and became a name. Ivan Sokulsky was just approaching his when the pressure chambers were sealed off for the series' next production of sterilized verses.¹¹¹

Of course, it is easier for him to grow as a poet today, on the shoulders of Vasyl Symonenko and the poets of his circle.¹¹² But how much more difficult, how unbearably difficult it is for him to live as a poet, we can judge from his poems, from the fact that they are not being published,¹¹³ and finally from the fact that for the past half year he has been held under investigation by the Dnipropetrovsk KGB.

Ivan Sokulsky

There, of course, they are re-educating him because he is a poet of social consciousness and a human being sensitive to national woe and human suffering.

During Vasyl Symonenko's time the press was still involved with poetry. Today, civic poetry and prose have been handed over to that secret organization which engages in the heroic exposure, apprehension, and liquidation of spies and saboteurs. Individuals without degrees in literature made no pretense that they were the press; instead via murky channels they spread a rumor among the frightened populace that they have apprehended and "exposed an enemy who had cunningly concealed himself from the people. . . ."

Just as in Panas Myrny's *Wicked People*,¹¹⁴ "Around the marketplaces spread the rumor that a wicked enemy of uneducated folk, who was counterfeiting money, had been captured." But even children familiar with the novel from their primers understand that, in reality, it was Petro Telepen who was captured because he wanted to talk honestly and openly with the people and to share with them his anguish.

DEATH OF A PATRIOT

Valentyna PETRIYENKO, a Ukrainian patriot, talented teacher and activist in Ukrainian civic life, died on July 12, 1971. She was 30 years old.

In 1971 she studied at the Kiev Pedagogical Institute. Together with the student B. Rabovlych and others she initiated the creation of *Zhayvoronok* [The Lark], the itinerant student choir which played a significant role in the national and cultural rebirth in Kiev in the early 1960's.

M. Moldavin and Volodymyr Konoshchenko, a student at the conservatory, conducted the choir during the first few years on a voluntary basis.

Valentyna Petriyenko was a permanent member of the choir council. She devoted a great deal of energy to recruiting new members, organizing tours of the choir throughout Ukraine, and propagating native songs and ballads. She was loved by everyone; they called her "Joyous Valya."

In the summer of 1962, the municipal choral society financed the choir and gave it permission to tour Ukraine. The tours of the cities and villages of Ukraine were repeated in 1963, 1964, and 1965 and contributed greatly to the reawakening of national consciousness and love of native language and song. Valentyna

Death of A Patriot

Petriyenko's organizational efforts were largely responsible for the success.

In 1965 the choir became a target of repressions. It was denied quarters for rehearsals and until 1968 the choir members had to rehearse in private apartments and various chance quarters.

In 1968 a choirmaster was appointed whose assignment it was to smother every initiative of the choir. All tours of Ukraine, all street performances, any participation in *vesnyanky* [spring songs] and *Kupalo* festivals¹¹⁵ were forbidden. Students stopped joining the choir.

Though V. Petriyenko grieved deeply over the decline of the choir, she did not abandon it, but sought new channels for leading it out of the crisis. At this time she took interest in the newly-formed folkloric and ethnographic choir *Homin*, which to a certain extent had taken over the role of *Zhayvoronok*. She began attending its rehearsals.

After her graduation from the institute, Valentyna became headmistress of a kindergarten at Chayka, a subsidiary farm of the CC CPU. She worked daily at reintroducing to denationalized Ukrainians their native language and culture, instilling in them a feeling of national and human dignity.

She did not limit her work to the kindergarten, but extended it over the entire subsidiary farm. She organized caroling, evenings of Ukrainian folk songs and so forth. She was loved throughout the collective for her sincerity, her concern for others, her gentleness with friends, her energy at work.

Valentyna Petriyenko died of rheumatic fever. Her mother, who works as a cleaning woman, was left alone.

Although the name Valentyna Petriyenko is not widely known—she did humble, everyday work—she has by all rights earned her place among the generation of the “sixtiers,” who began to arouse the dormant national consciousness.

The funeral of Valentyna Petriyenko attracted a great crowd. All Chayka employees, their families, as well as her friends and

Death of A Patriot

acquaintances from Kiev, came to say farewell.

Musiy Moldavin, the former conductor of *Zhayvoronok*, and its artistic director, Borys Ryaboklyach, came to pay their last respects to their "Joyous Valya." From Cherkasy came Volodymyr Konoshchenko, the former choirmaster, and from various cities of the Soviet Union came Valentyna's friends.

Her coffin was set up at four o'clock in the garden of 2 Kapitanska Street. Traditional Ukrainian symbols were placed upon the lid of the coffin: an embroidered towel, a loaf of bread, and a guelder-rose. Veterans of *Zhayvoronok* sang L. Yashchenko's *Requiem* and mournful Ukrainian songs. Her closest friends took up the coffin and to the sounds of a funeral march carried it to the bus.

The mourners congregated at the central cemetery. At first some official announced that there would be no eulogies because the speakers had allegedly forgotten at home the texts of the speeches which had been approved by the Party committee of the subsidiary farm. But Valentyna's friends ignored his instruction and began speaking without any texts.

The eulogy was delivered by Musiy Moldavin, a member of the municipal choral society. He stressed that Valentyna had above all loved her people and their songs, and that she had instilled this love in others.

The next speaker was Borys Ryaboklyach. [He said:]

Dear Friends,

It is very painful for me to stand at this grave and to accept the fact that Valya is no more. A courageous and loving heart has stopped beating, a heart that had fallen hopelessly in love with her people and their song. Not very long ago Ukraine said farewell to her beloved poet and patriot Vasyl Symonenko, and only recently people wept over the grave of a brave woman and artist, the ardent patriot Alla Horska. Today we endure once again ineffable grief, because we are parting for-

Death of A Patriot

ever with a human being who served Ukraine honorably and selflessly.

During the last few years the glory of *Zhavyoronok* has unfortunately declined. I think that it would be a tribute worthy of Valya if instead of folding our hands in sweet slumber, we awaken and get to work. We must make it possible for *Zhayvoronok* to sing once more in full voice, without any restrictions or halfmeasures.

Let at least Valya's death awaken us from slumber. Let the earth lie gently upon you, our dear sister! We will continue to work for our mutual cause.

Then spoke the agronomist of Chayka, fighting back his tears. Then the veterans—"little larks"—again sang several Ukrainian folk songs.

At the dinner which followed the funeral Valya's friends once again spoke of her, as a human being and citizen. They spoke of an unbreakable chain: *Zhayvoronok* and Valya, Valya and song, song and Ukraine. . . .

They also spoke about the decline of the once popular *Zhayvoronok*, brought about by reactionary forces.

STATEMENT OF POET MYKOLA KHOLODNY

ADDRESSED TO [FEDIR] OVCHARENKO, SECRETARY OF THE
CC CPU, AND TO [OLES] HONCHAR, CHAIRMAN OF THE
WRITERS' UNION OF UKRAINE.

OCTOBER 26, 1970¹¹⁶

(We are quoting only that section in which M. Kholodny depicts the suppression of the works of a large group of Ukrainian writers who are denied any access to the public.)

"Publishers' barricades" have been set up against an entire Pleiad of young Ukrainian poets who have received *public recognition*. The publishing house Radyansky Pysmennyk has withheld the projected works of Mykola Vorobyov¹¹⁷ and Viktor Kordun, whose poetry selections used to appear in newspapers and almanacs. Ivan Drach introduced V. Kordun to the readers of *Literaturna Ukrayina*, and recently a favorable article devoted to the two poets appeared in *Voprosy literatury* [Questions of Literature].

The publishing house Veselka, fearing unpleasanties, automatically cancelled the publication of Mykola Vorobyov's collection.

The publishing house Radyansky Pysmennyk halted publication of a book by Ihor Kalynets,¹¹⁸ known for his poetry collection *Vohon Kupala* (Molod publishing house).

The same publishing house suppressed the projected collec-

Statement of Poet Mykola Kholodny

tion *Lyabirynt* of Vasyl Holoborodko,¹¹⁹ an exceptional poet whose name has been appearing in numerous articles in the Ukrainian and all-Union press. The entire edition of this poet's collection *Letyuche vikontse*, published by Molod, has been stored for several years in a printing shop in Bila Tserkva, as has been the collection of Mykhaylo Osadchy (publishing house Kamenyar) in Lviv.

The poetry of Mykhaylo Skoryk was suddenly excised from the already printed edition of *Vitryla*, published by Molod.

That same publishing house failed to bring out the collections of Viktor Mohylny and Mykola Klochko, although they had already been included in the publication plans! Both are known to the readers of *Dnipro*, *Vitchyzna*, *Ranok*,¹²⁰ etc.

Mykola Rachuk, a talented poet, was informed by Molod that "funds for a review were unavailable," and his manuscript was returned unread.

For several years Radyansky Pysmennyk has been shelving or returning without explanation the manuscripts of Kiev poets Vasyl Stus (his poetry appeared frequently in newspapers in Ukraine) and Borys Mozolevsky, author of a published collection; and those of poet Volodymyr Sirenko and humorist Mykola Kucher (his work appeared in *Literaturna Ukrayina*), both from Dniprodzerzhynsk; and of many others.

One of the editors of Radyansky Pysmennyk removed the collection of Stanislav Zinchuk from the list of projects simply to put his own collection in its place.

Still unpublished is the collection of Fedir Boyko, a poet-innovator, former inmate of Buchenwald, and senior editor of Derzhlitvydav (the present Dnipro), about whom Vitaliy Korotych¹²¹ once wrote an article in *Ranok*. Unable to cope with the insurmountable obstacles to the publication of his work, he succumbed to mental disorders. Forgotten by all, he is living out his numbered days in a village in Mykolayiv Region.

The publishing house Mayak has for a decade now been delaying the publication of a book by Oleksa Riznykiv,¹²² a talented prose writer from Odessa.

Statement of Poet Mykola Kholodny

It has now been years since the work of Yaroslav Stupak, a writer from Kiev, was last published; this has also been the case with Stanislav Tsetlyan, a prose writer from the Donbas; Mykola Danko, a poet-communist from Sumy; Hryhoriy Chubay, a poet from Lviv, who has written for *Vitryla*-68; Nadiya Kyryan, a long-time contributor to *Molod Ukrayiny*; Vasyl Ruban,¹²³ whose work had been published in *Molod Ukrayiny*; Petro Kutsenko from the Kirovohrad area; Mykhaylo Sachenko and Hryhoriy Tymenko, poets from Kiev; and many others.

It is interesting to note that the poetry of Hryhoriy Tymenko had been highly acclaimed in a report of the Writers' Union of Ukraine which appeared in *Vitryla*.

During an interview, Ivan Drach referred to Ivan Semenko as a promising poet, as did Anatoliy Makarov, a leading Ukrainian critic, during this winter's meeting of the Writers' Union. Mykhaylo Sachenko's poetry has been appearing in Ukrainian newspapers and periodicals since 1960. And recently a television program devoted to him was broadcast over all of Ukraine. . . .

It's also disturbing that the work of young writers has not been discussed in the Writers' Union for the last five years. . . .

A CHRONICLE

On March 29, 1965, an evening of Ukrainian poetry was to have taken place at the workers club of the Automatic Machine Tool Factory in Kiev (86 Brest-Lytovsk Highway). An announcement had been posted for several days.

On Sunday evening, March 29, people who had begun to gather found the club locked and the announcement torn down. It turned out that L. Brahinska, the club director, had been warned shortly before the opening that the evening was not to take place because the program had not been approved by the party district committee.

The many people who had gathered at the door of the club were surprised and outraged. Someone suggested that the evening should take place even if it had to be under the open sky. The people set out spontaneously to the local Lenin Komsomol Park, where poets began reading their own poems; the published poems of other poets were also read. Glazyrin, the head of the local factory committee, also appeared in the park. As soon as the poets started reciting poetry, Glazyrin quickly mounted the platform and began to rain abuse upon those present, trying to disperse them and screaming, "Get away from here. Comrades, do not listen to them! They are Ukrainian nationalists, Bandera-ites! Why are they reciting everything in the Bandera-ite language? Translate for me what they are saying!"¹²⁴ etc.

A Chronicle

The official's behavior elicited a legitimate protest from those present. He was supported only by a small group of people who had arrived with him. About Glazyrin it is known that he is a Russian from Vologda, a typical bureaucrat-*aparatchik* and a man without any profession. He came to Kiev from Vologda Region when a factory evacuated [during WW II] was being moved back. He had no difficulties in obtaining a place to live in, a residence permit, etc. For some time he worked as an "engineer," although he was an "activist." He held various elective offices and was excused from any regular work. He hates everything Ukrainian and harasses those workers who have not yet forsaken their native language.

It is known that he was taken to court for his hooligan-like politically criminal outburst in Lenin Komsomol Park. But the court handed the case over to the party district committee and there the case was hushed up. Glazyrin not only went unpunished, but seemingly was soon rewarded for his anti-Ukrainianism with an appointment to a Ukrainian delegation to a trade union congress in Warsaw (according to other sources it was Czechoslovakia), whose assignment was to establish friendly relations. . . .

There were from two hundred to two hundred and fifty people present that evening in the park—factory workers, [members of the] Ukrainian intelligentsia, local youth, and those who had already been in the park and had joined in. Glazyrin was unanimously censured for his actions. Several persons who wanted to beat him up for his reference to the "Bandera-ite tongue" were restrained. The literary evening proceeded without further interruptions. When it was over the participants marched to the center of the city, singing Ukrainian songs.

The initiators of this literary evening at the factory club were Svyatoslav Fedoriv and Oleksander Mykolaychuk, both engineers. For the latter the evening ended tragically. Feeling that he was responsible for the evening, O. Mykolaychuk tried to calm Glazyrin down and became very upset. Moreover, he had been chilled to the bone, for it was bitterly cold and he had come lightly dressed, expecting the evening to be held in the club. That very night he had a serious heart attack. Gathering

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all his strength, he managed to knock on the neighbor's wall. They called an ambulance, which arrived an hour and a half later. By that time, Oleksander Mykolaychuk's heart had already stopped beating. . . .

O. Mykolaychuk was an able engineer and an honest and conscientious human being. He was chairman of the Council of Young Specialists and an active citizen. He began working at the factory after his graduation from the Kiev Polytechnical Institute. He enjoyed the respect of workers and fellow engineers. His family came from Vinnytsya Region. He loved the Ukrainian language and Ukrainian songs. His neighbor relates that shortly before the tragedy, his father had come to visit him, and that they had spent the entire evening singing old Ukrainian songs in their fine voices.

O. Mykolaychuk was buried in the Baykovy Cemetery. A headstone bought with public funds was put on his grave.

Several days later the October District party committee summoned Svyatoslav Fedoriv, demanding that he disclose the names of the evening's organizers, as well as the names of the poets who had been present, so that they could be censured. . . . But to Oleksander Mykolaychuk their censures were no longer a threat.

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KIEV. In 1970 Halyna Palamarchuk and Stanislav Chernylevsky, students of the Ukrainian section in the Department of Philology at the University of Kiev, were accused of nationalistic attitudes and subjected to persecution. It is known that already in his first year at the university, Stanislav Chernylevsky had been summoned by the University's special affairs department and urged to spy on his classmates in return for special privileges, but flatly refused to do so. Halyna Palamarchuk was just recently reprimanded, and Stanislav Chernylevsky was pressured to leave the University. In the summer of 1971 he performed brilliantly on the entrance examinations to the Kiev Theatrical Institute, attaining the highest marks among all the applicants. Nevertheless, he was refused admission and his name was crossed off the student list merely because he had left

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the University (a totally illegal justification; no doubt the KGB had something to do with it).

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The traditional manifestation by nationally conscious Ukrainians at the monument of Taras Shevchenko in Kiev on May 22, the anniversary of the transference of the poet's remains to his native land, again this year did not go by without reprisals. Anatoliy Lupynis, a former political prisoner, was arrested several days after it took place. It is thought that the reason for his arrest was his recitation of anti-chauvinistic poems at the monument.

Those who were present at the monument were filmed and photographed. Lists were drawn up of the number of persons from each district who remained at the monument after the conclusion of the official festival. One hundred and seventy persons, for example, were listed from the Lenin District, ten from the Shevchenko District, etc. Botvyn, the secretary of the Kiev municipal party committee, used those lists when he appeared before school principals and directors of businesses and municipal offices (one such appearance took place on July 5, 1971). He called for an intensification of the struggle against ideological deviations and for reprisals against those who showed up at Taras Shevchenko's monument on May 22. So as to discredit the tradition of honoring Taras Shevchenko on that date, the secretary linked it with January 22, the date of the declaration of independence of the Ukrainian People's Republic by the Central *Rada* in 1918.¹²⁵ He implied that it was precisely for this reason that the nationalists were gathering at the monument on the 22nd. . . .

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Many measures have already been taken in the drive, initiated by the CC CPU, against the "archaization" of the Ukrainian literary language and for its rapprochement to the "living tongue" of the people (in other words, to the Russian-Ukrainian patois). A reign of linguistic terror has begun in the republic's publishing houses, particularly at Dnipro, which publishes the majority of translations. Even traditional Ukrainian words which

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in the last few years have regained their rights of citizenship in the Ukrainian language are being mercilessly deleted during editing. An entire series of high quality translations has been rejected. Anatoliy Perepadya, a writer and translator, has been dismissed, and so on.

I. Bilodid, chairman of the Institute of Philology of the AS Ukr.S.S.R., responded to the campaign without delay. Taking advantage of the opportunity, he helped liquidate the departments of History of the Ukrainian Language and Dialectology. They were replaced with the departments of Russian Language and Culture of Language. The latter has been entrusted to Alla Koval, a mediocre scholar and linguistic reactionary known for her connections with the KGB.

The Press Committee at the Council of Ministers of the Ukr.S.S.R. has issued a special directive concerning the language of Ukrainian newspapers and books. Although the directive mentions the need for avoiding obvious Russicisms, it primarily emphasizes the necessity of fighting against "archaisms" and "dialectisms."

* * *

The Kiev newspaper *Vechirniy Kyiv* published in its July 8, 1971, issue an article by I. Shpytal concerning the expulsion from Ukraine of four American tourists of Ukrainian descent: Roman Protsyk (age 19), Maria Fetsyo (age 21), Steve Osadets (age 26), and Hanna Protsyk-Oleksiv (age 35).

It was rather difficult to find in the rather lengthy article the real reason for such an extreme measure. The tourists' sole guilt lay in that one of them had photographed a Russian-language advertisement at the Museum of History, but had failed to photograph the Ukrainian one nearby. . . .

Moreover, the article asserts that the tourists asked Soviet citizens "to aid them in establishing contact with the underground" in order to provide it with "modern émigré literature," but this assertion is not supported by any evidence. Instead, much was written about the parents of the tourists, about their life in the Ukrainian community in the United States, etc. About

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Hanna Protsyk, a graduate student at Columbia University, it was written that her father was an "inveterate Bandera-ite," who has brought up his daughter in the same spirit, that she is associated with Amnesty International and has become one of its leaders. The three others are described as members of the youth organization SUM (Spilka Ukrainskoyi Molodi).

It is being said that the real reason behind the tourists' expulsion from the U.S.S.R. was that they met and talked with a number of individuals from the Kiev intelligentsia whom the KGB considers unreliable.

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V. [Viktor] Kordun, a poet, was dismissed from the Ministry of Consumer Services. The reason: use of authentic Ukrainian words instead of the Russian ones which have been imposed upon the Ukrainian language. V. Kordun was on the staff of the departmental journal. Instead of using, for example, the word "*zakroyshchyk*" [cutter], he wrote "*zakroyuvach*," etc. He was forced to submit a "voluntary resignation."

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Komsomol member Nina Lashchenko (born in 1950), the senior Pioneer group leader at Kiev School No. 139, was advised to resign. In addition to being accused of participating in the choir *Homin*, she was also accused . . . of speaking Ukrainian in a Ukrainian school! Here is a conversation between her and the party organizer in the school:

"You insist on speaking Ukrainian everywhere. Why is this necessary?"

"But this is a Ukrainian school!"

"You enter the Russian tenth grade and speak Ukrainian there as well."

"To me, language is not attire. I cannot change it like a dress—one for the theater, another for work."

"Take me, for example. I teach English but I do not speak it outside class."

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"That is merely your job, but to me my native language is an indispensable part of my life," etc. . . .

Next, the party organizer wanted to know what forbidden books she had been bringing to the tenth grade. It turned out that the books in question were Soviet publications—collected works of Ivan Drach and Mykola Vinhranovsky¹²⁶ which the party organizer had not even heard about. . . .

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Emma Lytvynchuk, a language and literature teacher at one of the Ukrainian-language schools in Kiev, is being persecuted. The school principal is outraged by the fact that a Ukrainian-language teacher "insists on speaking Ukrainian" both with students and with her colleagues in the Ukrainian school.

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On October 24 and November 1, 1971, searches were made in the 1st dormitory of the Kiev Polytechnical Institute, in room No. 87, while its occupants were in class. The house searches were conducted by agents of the Institute's KGB, the so-called "First Section," in the presence of the dormitory director and the assistant dean of the Mechanical and Mathematical Department. All the belongings of the students were thoroughly ransacked. The "grounds" for these illegal searches were based on the fact that the young men spoke in Ukrainian in their rooms, that one of them attended rehearsals of *Homin* and that the other last year attempted to organize a performance at the Institute by the actor Svyatoslav Maksymchyk, a laureate of the republic's recitation competition.

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REPRISALS AGAINST *HOMIN*

The ethnographic ensemble *Homin* emerged spontaneously in Kiev a few years ago. It attracted people who loved Ukrainian folk music, traditions, and customs. It all began with preparations for caroling; groups of young people would gather for rehearsals in private apartments or in the clubs of their colleges and establishments. Because they lacked professional guidance,

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someone suggested that all the groups get together and invite Leopold Yashchenko, a celebrated authority on folklore and rituals and a Candidate of the Arts, to conduct their rehearsals.

Their caroling was so successful that the young people grew eager to learn *vesnyanky* and *Kupalo* songs as well, and to revive Ukrainian choral rituals. And so the ethnographic ensemble *Homin* came into being. It differed from other ensembles in that it did not plan the usual stage concerts; instead, it held its performances of *vesnyanky* or *Kupalo* songs outdoors, in the natural environment of such works. When outsiders joined in the games the festivals became mass participation affairs.

But soon the incredible happened. The security organs and then the party organs discerned in the activities of *Homin* and in its repertoire . . . "bourgeois nationalism." Members of the ensemble began to be harassed. Some were summoned for interrogation by the party committees at their places of employment or study, others were dismissed without explanation from their jobs, still others were "talked to" by the KGB.

As was later revealed during party committee discussions, the KGB had submitted to party organs deliberately distorted information about the aims and repertoire of *Homin*. They had set in motion a series of lies and slander.

Ruban, a party organizer in the Department of Journalism at the University of Kiev, declared at a party meeting that *Homin* was an underground organization (when in fact the municipal party committee and the local choral society allotted space to this ensemble in the Kharchovyk palace of culture!). This same Ruban described Leopold Yashchenko, a member of the Composers' Union of Ukraine and Candidate of Arts, as an unqualified individual "who does not work anywhere and for whose support five *karbovantsi*¹²⁸ are being collected from the members."

To date it has become known that on over forty occasions, when "talks" were held between party committees and members of the ensemble, the repertoire of the choir *Homin* was labeled nationalistic. At times the interrogators were even genuinely surprised when they learned that the choir performed only ritualistic and popular Ukrainian folk songs and that it did not

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gather "secretively" but at the Kharchovyk palace under the auspices of the choral society. One of the members, for example, was questioned in the following manner: "Are you a member of a nationalistic choir?" "Why do you consider it nationalistic?" "Because it has a nationalistic repertoire." "I can agree with you only if you consider nationalistic the song 'Do Not Grow, Oh Dill Plant!'" etc.

The persecutions started in the beginning of 1970—first after the caroling [season] and later after the anniversary of Lesya Ukrayinka. Here is an incomplete list of repressive actions against members of the ensemble:

Mordan, Raisa: born in 1938; wife of the poet V. Mordan; music teacher at Kindergarten No. 504. She taught the kindergarten children several Ukrainian folk songs and took them to the Lesya Ukrayinka jubilee concert at the Kharchovyk palace on February 25, 1971, where the *Homin* ensemble was received with great enthusiasm. For this, Raisa was dismissed from her job. She was told by the party committee in Darnytsya¹²⁹ that "This is a nationalistic choir; it sings enemy songs. You got all tied up with nationalists and on top of that you brought children with you!" She was interrogated in a brutal manner.

Danyleyko, Volodymyr: born 1930; writer and journalist; researcher at the AS Ukr.S.S.R. One of the reasons for his dismissal from his job was his participation in the choir *Homin*.

Volkovych, Nadiya: born 1947; member of the Komsomol, teacher in Kindergarten No. 464. She was dismissed from her job for participating in *Homin* and for refusing to become a secret informer (the proposition was made by KGB men who had taken her in for questioning in the *Homin* case).

Hlushchuk, Maria: born 1944; Ukrainian language and literature teacher at School No. 38; dismissed for belonging to *Homin*.

Monkevych, Iryna: born 1935; dismissed from her position as agronomist at the Ukrainian Academy of Agriculture.

Lashchenko, Nina: born 1950; senior Pioneer group leader at High School No. 139; advised to quit her job.

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The following persons were “worked with” by party committees (or the KGB) and categorically forbidden under threat of losing their jobs to participate in the choir:

Hryshchuk, Maria: born 1948; Komsomol member; student at the Polytechnical Institute.

Vashkarina, Nila: born 1948; Komsomol member; laboratory assistant at the Komunist factory.

Kovalchuk, Tetyana: born 1951; a student at the University of Kiev; laboratory assistant at the Lenin District Department of Public Education.

Hayduk, Tetyana: born 1948; a student at the Kiev Polytechnical Institute; Komsomol member.

Rolyanova, Alla: born 1946; Komsomol member; philologist; employee of the publishing house of the University of Kiev.

Teslenko, Lyudmyla: born 1952; Komsomol member; employed at the Hydro-Meteorological Observatory.

Hudyma, Manoliy: born 1947; a construction engineer at Construction Office No. 1, Kiev.

Iskiv, Bohdan: born 1936; Candidate of Medicine; employed at the Institute of Medical Training; categorically forbidden to participate in the choir by the party committee at the institute on the grounds that the choir was nationalistic. Iskiv explained that the repertoire of the choir was strictly ethnographic and innocuous. He was told that religion was also not forbidden but that the struggle against it continued. . . .

Mazur, Andriy: born 1929; an engineer; employed in a school at the Bilshovyk factory.

Savchenko, Lyudmyla: born 1954; an engineer at a photo-printing paper factory. In addition to being forbidden to participate in the choir, she was even reprimanded by the factory party committee for vacationing in the Carpathian Mountains rather than in the Crimea, and for purchasing Oles Honchar's novel, *Sobor*.¹³⁰

Samutina, Halyna: born 1929; an illustrator for the Veselka publishers.

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Senchenko, Olha: born 1942; an illustrator for the Veselka publishers.

Party committees and the KGB summoned many persons for “talks” just because they took part in *Homin*. Although they were not explicitly forbidden to attend rehearsals, they were told that the choir was nationalistic, and were “advised” not to participate in it. At times they were bluntly threatened with possible repercussions. Among those threatened were:

Vyatets, Valentyna: born 1934; an engineer at the Institute of Electrodynamics.

Holodna, Nadiya: born 1948; Komsomol member; student at the Institute of Foreign Languages.

Koval, Alla: born 1943; an operator at a railroad post office.

Orel, Lidiya:¹³¹ born 1937; employed at the Museum of National Architecture (“talks” about *Homin* were held at the time when she was still teaching in one of the schools in Kiev).

Debelyukh, Ivan: born 1941; employed at the Reinforced Concrete Structural Parts Plant No. 2 of the House Construction Trust.

Dyky, Mykola: born 1942; an engineer at the Radioprylad [radio] factory.

Knyazyuk, Hryhoriy: born 1946; employed at the DVK No. 3.

Kravets, Mykola: an engineer at the Institute of [illegible in the original].

Makhovets, Ivan: born 1940; a biologist at the Institute of Botany of the AS Ukr.S.S.R.

Ponomarchuk, Ihor: born 1960; a student at the Kiev Polytechnical Institute (an illegal search was carried out in his dormitory room).

Tauzhnyansky, Serhiy: born 1929.

Shamatiyenko, Ivan: born 1945; employed at the Artem factory. Party committee members and KGB agents had “talks”

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with him. When the youth made the point that the choir was not forbidden, he was told: "Religion is also not forbidden, but we are struggling against it." And one of the KGB agents intimated: "Keep in mind that our common criminals are paroled while our political prisoners serve out their terms."

Belinska, Orysyia: born 1949; Komsomol member; student at the Kiev Institute of National Economy; employed at the State Insurance Administration of Kiev Region.

Borysyuk, Zoya: born 1947; Komsomol member; student at the Institute of Foreign Languages.

Kovalenko, Hanna: born 1939; an engineer at the Institute of [illegible in the original].

Lytvynchuk, Emma: born 1933; a teacher at school No. 143.

Horoshko, Mykola: born 1943; Komsomol member; technician at the NIDIASV; student at the Polytechnical Institute.

Hurenko, Ivan: born 1938; an engineer at the [illegible in the original] atomic energy development plant.

Yermolenko, Mykhaylo: born 1926; an engineer at the Bilshovyk factory.

Zola, Mykhaylo: born 1937; a chemist at the ENIIKPN petrochemical plant.

Kunynets, Vasyl: [year of birth illegible in the original] an engineer.

Rudchyk, Adam: born 1935; Candidate of Physics and Mathematics at the Institute for Nuclear Research.

Tkachenko, Nadiya: born 1944; an artist-restorer at the Museum of National Architecture and Customs.

Cherkes, Yuliya: born 1947; Komsomol member; engineer at the Institute of Cybernetics.

Yanovska, Olena: born 1931; employed at the Central Post Office.

Yarovenko, Halyna: born 1944; Komsomol member; technologist at the Dzerzhynsky factory; and others.

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Homin was disbanded on September 20, 1971, but its dissolution was not officially announced. On that day a meeting between choir members and party leaders was called at the Kharchovyk palace. L. Yashchenko, the choirmaster, and several members attempted to defend the collective, as well as the idea of an ethnographic ensemble free of the confines of a stage. They were told to keep silent. The director of the Kharchovyk, Karasyova, said in conclusion: "No one will advertise any kind of *Homin* in any way. We have a general choir at the palace of culture. Come, we will work, sing Ukrainian folk songs, songs by Ukrainian Soviet composers, songs about the Fatherland and songs about the Party."¹³² This in effect meant the dissolution of the choir.

A week later, on September 28, 1971, a meeting of the Presidium of the Composers' Union of Ukraine took place, at which L. Yashchenko was expelled from the Union. The following participated in the meeting of the Presidium: A. Shtoharenko, K. Dominchev, O. Bilash, A. Filipenko, V. Homolyaka, secretary of the Union's party committee A. Kolodub (who was especially "critical"), Yu. Znatokov, Yu. Malyshev, M. Mikhaylov, I. Drago, P. Suk, O. Kokaryov, N. Zhukova, D. Karasyova, Ya. Sydorenko (some of those listed are not members of the Presidium but representatives of party organs, the Choral Society, and the Kharchovyk palace).

L. Yashchenko was expelled because:

1. He ignored the recommendations of the administration of Kharchovyk and of the Choral Society regarding the repertoire of the ensemble;
2. He makes public in a demagogic fashion the persecution of choir members(!!!);
3. Several choir members had been present at the Shevchenko monument on May 22, and one of them had read a poem by Vasyl Symonenko (the choir did not perform at the monument and Yashchenko himself was not present).

The meeting was conducted by A. Shtoharenko. No one defended Leopold Yashchenko, although some (like O. Bilash) remained silent and several declined to vote.

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The choir ceased to function after the September pogrom. But the Kharchovyk palace of culture advertised for additional members in an ethnographic choir (no longer called *Homin*). Not one of [*Homin*'s] former members joined the "ethnographic" choir, which will sing "about the Fatherland."¹³³

Members of the dispersed *Homin* wrote a collective letter to the Kiev municipal party committee and to the Presidium of the Composers' Union of Ukraine, protesting the unsubstantiated attacks on *Homin* and on its choirmaster. Their letter went unanswered.

Meanwhile, various rumors about the no longer existent group continue to be circulated. On October 25, for example, Shevel, the "Minister"¹³⁴ of Foreign Affairs of the Ukr.S.S.R., in his address at the Institute of Propaganda, emphasized that Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism today was public enemy No. 1. Cited as an example of this menace was *Homin*, which allegedly "under cover of its repertoire of folk songs had conducted nationalistic propaganda among the young." This allegation was not substantiated.

On December 19, 1971, L. Yashchenko sent a letter to the chairman of the auditing committee of the Composers' Union of Ukraine and a copy to the municipal party committee, explaining the significance of folk traditions and the usefulness of such choirs as *Homin*. He also protested against the groundless persecution of choir members and himself and against the fact that the group, which only six months earlier had fifty members, had in fact ceased to exist.

L. Yashchenko appealed his groundless and completely unexpected expulsion from the Composers' Union. Moreover, we learned from his letter that his persecution did not end with his expulsion.

The works of Leopold Yashchenko are no longer being performed. They are being excluded from radio and television programs and are not being published. Even those compositions which the art council had already approved for radio and which had already been recorded, have been set aside. His earlier songs, which can be found in record libraries, are being

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removed. The songs he had composed for the Committee of Customs at the Supreme Soviet of the Ukr.S.S.R. and which had been accepted and were being rehearsed have now been rejected. Immediately after his expulsion from the Union, a number of his compositions (originals and arrangements of folk songs) were deleted from the already prepared collection *The People's Choir Sings*, which is to be published by Muzychna Ukrayina.

Leopold Yashchenko cites a paradoxical example. It appears that he had submitted the *Homin* repertoire to a national competition of ritual songs and scenarios, not under his own name but, according to the rules of the competition, anonymously. And these compositions, which the KGB and party organs had branded as "nationalistic," won four prizes in the republic-wide competition.

Leopold Yashchenko requested that his case be examined objectively and that the worthwhile undertaking not be permitted to come to an end. He also suggested that a club of lovers of folk songs be created in Kiev and he offered his services for the organizing of the work of such a club. Nothing has been heard about any reply to his letter. Operation "*Homin*," initiated two years ago by the KGB and by party organs, has been concluded.

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Mykola Trotsenko, a fourth year student in the Ukrainian division of the Department of Philology at the Kiev Pedagogical Institute, has been accused of "nationalism" and expelled from the institute.

Mykola Trotsenko is a Komsomol member. He is the son of a collective farm worker from the Myronivsky district of Kiev Region. On May 22, 1971, he read a poem by Vasyl Symonenko at the Shevchenko monument. This incident triggered his persecution: he was "worked with" by the party committee of the institute, received an official reprimand, etc.

In October 1971, when Mykola Trotsenko was engaged in student teaching in a school in the town of Boryspole, the secre-

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tary of the institute's Komsomol committee on his own initiative personally conducted a search of Trotsenko's room in his absence and confiscated a tape with a recording of the essay by the scholar Mykhaylo Braychevsky,¹³⁵ *Annexation or Reunification?* The student had taped the essay because he had not had the opportunity to retype it.

A second Komsomol meeting was held on November 23 on orders of the party committee; it was addressed by the dean of the department, an instructor of Ukrainian language and literature, a history instructor (she lectures in Russian in the Ukrainian division and despises everything Ukrainian), and the secretary of the party committee. All of them accused Trotsenko of "nationalism." As evidence of his "nationalism" they cited his May 22 recitation at the Shevchenko monument, his reading the essay by the historian Braychevsky, and even the fact that he constantly speaks in Ukrainian. The speakers proposed that Trotsenko be expelled from the Komsomol and that the Rector's office be asked to expel him from the institute. However, members of the Komsomol voted against this proposal and settled on a reprimand.

Nevertheless, a meeting of institute activists was called the next day on orders from the party committee. They expelled Trotsenko from the Komsomol (without approval from that organization) and "requested" that the Rector's office expel him from the institute. This "request" was immediately complied with.

Trotsenko's classmates attempted to protest this arbitrary decision, but the secretary of the party committee pointed out that their protests were useless because "orders" for his expulsion had been received "from above."

* * *

At the same Komsomol meeting at which the "case" of Trotsenko was reviewed for the second time, the "case" of Lyudmyla Chyzhuk, a student in the Ukrainian division, was also examined.

She is a Kieville who at first had registered in the Russian division but had transferred to the Ukrainian division in her

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second year. This change became the object of discussion and elicited a charge of nationalism. The girl had also recited Vasyl Symonenko's poem "Lebedi materynstva" [Swans of Motherhood] at the Shevchenko monument on May 22.

Here is a transcript of L. Chyzhuk's interrogation at the meeting.

Q. Why did you transfer to the Ukrainian division?

A. Because I have made the acquaintance of people who made me aware that Ukrainian literature is worthy of profound study.

Q. Name these people.

A. There are many such people among us. I do not remember their names.

Q. Did your mother know of your decision to transfer to the Ukrainian division?

A. No, she did not know.

The last reply produced an indignant reaction over the girl's concealing of "enemy views" from her mother.

Volodymyr Yatsyuk, a student, rose to the defense of Trotsenko and Chyzhuk. He related that during his student teaching in one of the schools in Kiev he realized the state that the teaching of Ukrainian in the cities has been brought down to. The Ukrainian language was being treated with disdain. Ukrainian language and literature instructors conversed with their students during recess exclusively in Russian. The last [statement] brought the following reply from the history instructor: "And what of it?"

Only Prof. K. Velynsky, an instructor in Ukrainian literature, supported Volodymyr Yatsyuk, describing such a state of affairs as "an abnormal phenomenon."

A STATEMENT REGARDING THE FORMATION OF A CITIZENS' COMMITTEE FOR THE DEFENSE OF NINA STROKATA

Whereas

- the number of court prosecutions in the U.S.S.R. of citizens who openly express and defend their convictions has recently increased;
- such prosecutions are unconstitutional and in many instances are accompanied by violations of socialist legality (publicity of trials, right to defense, etc.);
- the very fact of the arrest of a Soviet citizen for expressing his beliefs contradicts the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, which were adopted by the United Nations General Assembly and ratified by the Government of the U.S.S.R.;
- the official media either do not inform the public about the political trials in the U.S.S.R. or they misinform;
- organized and purposeful action on the part of the public can contribute greatly to the improvement of Soviet society:

We have come to the conclusion that it is imperative, particularly in serious individual cases, to conduct organized actions in defense of the citizens of the U.S.S.R. who are persecuted for political reasons.

... Committee for the Defense of Nina Strokata

We consider the arrest of microbiologist Nina Strokata (Karavanska)¹³⁶ by the Odessa KGB on December 8, 1971, to be one such extremely serious case for the following reasons:

1. This case concerns the arrest of a person who is well-known to Ukrainian as well as Russian democratic circles for her defense of healthy principles of social conduct and justice.

2. This is a case of putting a *woman* under prison conditions with the obvious intent of condemning her to further incarceration of an even more degrading nature, something which society can afford to do only in the most extreme cases (regardless whether it be the American communist Angela Davis or the Ukrainian patriot Nina Strokata).

3. This case involves the arrest of the wife of a political prisoner for the sole reason that, in spite of heavy pressure, she refused to renounce her husband, who has been sentenced to a long term, and continued to defend his rights. (We, of course, realize that the prosecution will try to conceal this obvious fact under the cover of something like "dissemination" or "propaganda.")

The Committee for the Defense of Nina Strokata is being formed on the basis of guarantees found in the Constitution of the U.S.S.R., the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. The Committee's actions will comply with Soviet laws.

The actions of the Committee will consist of: gathering facts, documents and other materials pertaining to Nina Strokata and to her "case" and bringing this information to the attention of the government and the organs of justice, as well as to representatives of the public; organizing, when the need arises, the collection of signatures under petitions in the defense of Nina Strokata; collecting funds to aid Nina Strokata and her political-prisoner husband, who because of her arrest is deprived of all moral and financial support; demanding that all rights of the defendant, guaranteed by law, be honored (appointment of an attorney chosen by the Committee or relatives, the admittance of defense witnesses, a public defender, etc.); demanding a con-

... Committee for the Defense of Nina Strokata

stitutionally guaranteed open trial, should the case come to trial; guaranteeing that the verdict, if any is pronounced, will be brought before appellate and other judicial institutions; and other actions which may be indicated by the course of the investigation and trial.

Should all these measures fail to bring the desired results, we will be forced to appeal to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights. The activities of the Committee will continue for the duration of Nina Strokata's imprisonment. The Committee will dissolve upon her release.

The documents distributed by the Committee will be bilingual—Ukrainian and Russian—in their authentic texts.

We call upon the public to support actively the efforts of this Committee. Any questions relevant to this case, as well as copies of appeals or protests, should be sent to one of the addresses given below.

December 21, 1971

Committee members:¹³⁷

Pyotr Yakir—historian, Moscow.

Iryna Stasiv—philologist, Lviv, 118 Kutuzov St., Apt. 12.

Vasyl Stus—writer, Kiev, Svyatoshyne, 62/1 Lviv St.

Leonid Tymchuk—sailor, Odessa, 44 Industriyalna St., Apt. 4.

Vyacheslav Chornovil—journalist, 13 Spokiyna St., Apt. 1.

WHO IS NINA STOKATA (KARAVANSKA)?

Nina Antonivna Stokata was born January 31, 1925, in Odessa to a Ukrainian family which had managed to escape denationalization. Her father, an economist with a Candidate of Science degree, worked in various research and educational institutions. He is now retired and is approximately eighty years old. Her mother died several years ago.

After graduation Nina Stokata entered the Odessa Medical Institute, from which she graduated with honors. She first worked at the Odessa Microbiological Institute and then for six years as a physician in southern Ukraine.

From approximately 1950-52 until May 1971 she worked as a researcher at the Odessa Medical Institute, specializing in microbiology. Recently she had been working successfully toward her doctoral dissertation. Her numerous scientific publications have appeared in specialized journals and science digests in Moscow, Kiev, Odessa, Rostov and other cities. Right up to the time of her dismissal she enjoyed a reputation at the institute of a talented scientist who handled her research assignments with great success.

In 1961 Nina Stokata married Svyatoslav Karavansky, who a few months previously had returned from a long prison term. In 1944 an Odessa [military] tribunal had sentenced him to

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twenty-five years for propaganda activities in the Odessa OUN organization during the occupation and for a brief forced collaboration with the Romanian intelligence service. Having repented for his past, he was released toward the end of 1960 under an amnesty. He returned to his native Odessa where he pursued scholarly and literary activities.

He compiled a dictionary of rhymes in the Ukrainian language—a monumental work which received great praise from leading Ukrainian philologists (R. Dobrushyn, V. Hryhoriyev and others). His articles on linguistics, his poems, humorous sketches, and translations appeared in regional and national newspapers. In agreement with the publishing house Dniipro he translated Shakespeare's *Sonnets* and was about to complete the translation of Charlotte Bronte's *Jane Eyre*. His wife constantly helped him in his literary work.

In November 1965 Karavansky was arrested for the second time for writing two articles¹³⁸ about the anti-Leninist language policy in Ukraine and for appealing to the leaders of the Communist parties of Poland and Czechoslovakia¹³⁹ concerning the 1965 political arrests in Ukraine.

Since there was no valid justification for imprisoning Karavansky, a special decree was applied to his case, a decree which stipulates that a prisoner can be returned to prison without trial if he had been released prior to completion of a twenty-five-year term, should it be judged that he has not been "re-educated." Svyatoslav Karavansky was returned to prison without trial to serve out the remaining nine years of his term.

It was at this time that the name of Svyatoslav Karavansky's wife, Nina Strokata, became known. She became active in the campaign for the defense of persons who were being persecuted for their convictions. Nina Strokata familiarized the public with the literary, journalistic, and scholarly achievements of her husband and with the circumstances of his latest imprisonment. She also spoke out in defense of others unjustly imprisoned (among them the historian and publicist Valentyn Moroz).

Who Is Nina Strokata (Karavanska)?

In 1969 a new "case" was fabricated against Svyatoslav Karavansky, who was at that time in Vladimir Prison, for writing several articles in prison, particularly for an article which dealt with the tragedy of Katyn Forest, site of the mass executions in 1941¹⁴⁰ of Polish officers—prisoners of war. Nina Strokata was a witness at this trial, which took place right in the prison and which ended with the extension of his term to a total of thirty-three years. She defended her husband and condemned the organizers of the savage trial against him. In retaliation, a special court resolution was sent to the Odessa Medical Institute. The resolution accused Nina Strokata of failing to "rehabilitate" her husband and siding with him. During a meeting of the deans, which was called to investigate her case, Nina Strokata pointed out that it was a wife's moral duty to defend her husband's interests, and that demands that she condemn and publicly renounce him were immoral. She drew an analogy between her present plight and that of the wives of political prisoners during Stalinist times. Further action against Nina Strokata was postponed because of a cholera epidemic, in the liquidation of which she took a most active part.

But early in 1971 attacks against Nina Strokata were once again intensified. In the Odessa regional newspaper an article appeared in March, entitled "And How Are You, Strokata?" [in Russian], in which I. Petrenko, an anonymous writer (earlier attacks on Svyatoslav Karavansky had also appeared under the same pseudonym), charged that Nina Strokata had not broken off with a convicted enemy and maintained ties with like-minded individuals. The article ended with a direct threat of reprisal against Nina Strokata should she refuse to change her behavior.

In May 1971 Nina Strokata was expelled from the institute at a meeting of the institute's academic council, at which she once again defended her views and her moral right to defend her husband. (Her dismissal was officially described as a "voluntary resignation.")

As a result of continued harassment (in the form of anonymous letters, interrogation summonses, "talks" from her acquaintances,

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etc.) and the inability to find employment in her field, Nina Strokata was forced to leave Ukraine. Toward the end of the summer of 1971 she left for Nalchik (in the Kabardino-Balkar A.S.S.R.), where she became an instructor at a medical school.

On December 8 of the same year, Nina Strokata was arrested by Odessa KGB agents while en route from Nalchik to Odessa, where she was to complete arrangements for exchanging apartments and transferring her personal belongings to Nalchik. On the same day, her Odessa apartment was searched. Two poems by Svyatoslav Karavansky ("To the Heirs of Beria" and "A Summer in Lviv"), some old book on ethnography, and the 1966 edition of Shakespeare's *Sonnets*, an autographed gift from the translator, D. Palamarchuk, who referred to Nina Strokata as a "Decembrist," were confiscated. Her new apartment in Nalchik, where former political prisoner Yuriy Shukhevych¹⁴¹ was at the time living with his family, was also searched. The apartment of Leonid Tymchuk, a sailor, was searched at the same time but nothing was confiscated.

The case of Nina Strokata is being conducted by the investigations division of the Odessa KGB; the investigator on the case is Rybak. She is being charged under Article 62 of the UkrCC ("anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation"). The formal grounds for her arrest have not yet been announced.¹⁴² But there is reason to believe that some of the testimony by Oleksa Prytyka, arrested on July 9, 1971, provided such grounds, even though the real reasons behind Nina Strokata's arrest are obvious to all. Already several weeks prior to her arrest, sources close to the KGB leaked information concerning the possible arrest of Nina Strokata, because she would not let anyone forget about Svyatoslav Karavansky's "case" and maintained contact with "suspicious" individuals in Moscow, Kiev, Lviv, etc., especially with the Committee for the Defense of Human Rights in Moscow.

In addition to incriminating Nina Strokata, the testimony of Oleksa Prytyka led to the arrest on November 9 of writer Oleksa Riznykiv¹⁴³ and to a series of house searches. It is believed that the organs of investigation will attempt to compile a group case

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by exploiting the testimony of Oleksa Prytyka who, according to those who have been interrogated, supplied all the necessary information, some of it even absurd or slanderous. The wife of Oleksa Prytyka was informed by the investigator that her husband will be tried in February 1972.

Citizens' Defense Committee

P.S.

Both documents [the "Statement Regarding the Formation . . ." and "Who Is Nina Strokata (Karavanska)?"] have been officially forwarded to the Odessa Regional Court.

ANATOLIY LUPYNIS

Anatoliy Lupynis was arrested in Kiev at the end of May 1971. The following is known about him: his family comes from the vicinity of Kiev; he was arrested and convicted towards the end of the 1950's or in the early 1960's for political reasons.¹⁴⁴ In camp his outlook became totally Ukrainian. He actively protested against the inhuman treatment of prisoners. He declared a hunger strike, insisting on a review of his case and on the democratization of life in the U.S.S.R. His hunger strike lasted almost two years (!!!). Throughout that time Lupynis was confined to a hospital and fed artificially. His hunger strike ended only with the completion of his term. As a result of the hunger strike he became an invalid.

After his release, he tried to get admitted to a number of universities, and although he did very well on entrance examinations, he was rejected each time on orders of the KGB. KGB agents continued to be interested in him. They summoned him for talks, urged him to collaborate, etc. He found employment at the choral society; there, a provocation which involved stolen concert tickets worth a considerable amount was organized against him.

On May 22, 1971, during a spontaneous demonstration at the Shevchenko monument in Kiev, he recited an anti-chauvinist poem which he is supposed to have written.

Anatoliy Lupynis

Here is the poem he recited:

Taras, O Father, raise your head,
Gaze upon Ukraine, your mother.
Many a winter and spring have fled,
While dust has covered ancestral ruins.

Bloody dust—
No, no! We weren't asleep!
Trampled banners were being gathered.
Prison foundations quaked,
"She hasn't perished yet!"¹⁴⁵
We sang inspired.

We sang too early.

That song—

A bayonet cut it short . . .

And bullets from the steel we forged . . .

Flew out at profligated words,

And cannon muzzles stared into our eyes.

I saw a mother being defiled.

My mother.

An unwed mother caressed me and called me her son.

Bastards roam the earth and call me their brother.

Brothers!

Mother!

May we be damned!

Heaven, seeing all this, you thunder not in wrath and
outrage?!

Earth, we trample you with filthy feet,

Yet you don't crack open, offer a chasm,

To swallow up forever your shame and ours?

A chasm? Chasm. . . . Yes, beneath our feet a chasm,

But we do not see it; we're rushing towards it,

As if to Eden. To Hell. Oblivion. We'll leave no trace.

Mother,

You bore me in an evil hour.

In shame and sin you conceived me.

Better to have smothered me in the womb.

Better not to have lived yourself.

Raped,

Deceived,
 Crucified,
Your tongue cut out, your brow bespittled,
You lie in the clutches of your hangman lover.
You've become a doormat for your hangman lover.
And a crow, an accursed carrion-bird,
An eagle you call, with blandishments you call, you harlot!
Your own sons are crucifying you
In return for stale bread and sour kvass—
Starving droves of wretched bastards!
'Tis of you, my brothers, of you I speak!
You who betrayed all, renounced everything.
Foreign vestments, thoughts, and tongue are yours.
You've become bald from too much cunning.
Your baseness covers you like a shroud.
There's not a trace of conscience or of honor—
There's only belly, woman, and the purse.
If only for a moment, if only before croaking,
For baseness and deception you'd atone
With but a single word of truth and honesty,
Lest children and grandchildren curse you
When they find out that into the deathly distance
We've paved for them the route.
But you, O harlot, luxuriate still in the harem.
Your janissary fed you well,
Has set aside a private mansion for you.
Lest people think, by chance,
That you're a bondswoman, a concubine, a slave.
He's become even generous, your lordly tramp, your lover.
And from some rags of red-and-blue¹⁴⁶
He's sewn a hood for you to hide your shame in.
'Tis I, your son conceived in sin,
I beg, beseech you and implore you:
Tear the deceiving blinders from your eyes.
Smash into bits the coffin fashioned for you.
Be young again; be innocent once more.
Encircle your enlightened brow with garlands
And summon us! A single word from you—
And we will rise again. Whatever is to be!

Anatoliy Lupynis

Whatever shame to bear,
Whatever pain to suffer,
We—for your braids, your golden braids,
For the pure blueness of your eyes—
Will go to battle, both victory and loss,
To the last drop of blood we'll give ourselves.
For it is better that we die today
Than see you thus defiled.

Anatoliy Lupynis was arrested several days later. Some of his friends, acquaintances, and even persons who were only remotely associated with him were interrogated and searched. Volchak, a graduate student in the Department of Geography at the Council for Increasing Productivity, was particularly thoroughly searched, but nothing incriminating was uncovered. Yukhym Tymchuk, an engineer who was not even acquainted with Lupynis, was also searched. His dormitory room and three apartments where he lived previously were ransacked. Some unpublished poems, particularly those of Vasyl Symonenko, and some old books were confiscated.

Volodymyr Bzhezovsky, a student at the Kiev Polytechnical Institute, was also interrogated in connection with this case. He was detained in the Ukrayina Hotel where, as confirmed by Bzhezovsky himself, he was questioned in his sleep, in other words, in an uncontrollable state. A representative from the institute's KGB was present during the interrogation. Bzhezovsky's father was brought from Kherson Region in order to put moral pressure on his son; as a result of such illegal measures, Volodymyr Bzhezovsky was emotionally traumatized.

Anatoliy Lupynis is still in a prison of the republic's KGB, and the investigation of his case continues.¹⁴⁷

In July 1971 a search was conducted at the home of Yukhym Tymchuk (born in 1918 in Zaporizhzhya Region), an engineer at the Kiev Scientific Research Institute of Polygraphy, in connection with the case of Anatoliy Lupynis, even though Yukhym Tymchuk was not even acquainted with him. Three searches were conducted: in his former dormitory and apartment, and in his present dormitory. Confiscated were a tape recording of the

Anatoliy Lupynis

poetry of Vasyl Symonenko, Ivan Drach, and Lina Kostenko,¹⁴⁸ a notebook of Soviet Ukrainian poetry, a diary, and a list of persons who had contributed money for an excursion to a village in Cherkassy Region to celebrate *Kupalo*. As a result of the searches he was interrogated for several days. They even brought in his sick father from Zaporizhzhya Region, who as a result of all that was made even more ill.

Anatoliy Lupynis was not mentioned during the interrogations. His arrest served merely as a pretext for searching and questioning Yukhym Tymchuk and others. Tymchuk was questioned about his friends, about members of the ethnographic ensemble *Homin*, and in detail about his trips to Lviv and Odessa (Whom had he seen? Whom had he talked with? About what? etc.). Here are questions put forward by the KGB agents: Why do you converse exclusively in Ukrainian? What prompted you, one who had been speaking Russian during the first three years at the institute, to start speaking Ukrainian? Are you not aware that the official language of our country is Russian and that in the future all nations will speak Russian? Why did you grow a mustache? Why do you attend the rehearsals of *Homin*? Why don't you get married? (Supposedly, as an aside, they offered to help him marry a girl who had a three-room apartment and a car.)

Yukhym Tymchuk was interrogated in the headquarters of the republic's KGB (at 33 Volodymyrska Street) and escorted for the night to the Ukrayina Hotel. Awakening during the night, he found at his bedside an investigator who had been questioning him in his sleep.

Yukhym was severely traumatized by his ill father's being brought in for the interrogation; he said some unnecessary things about his friends, as a result of which he is now very depressed. Yukhym Tymchuk was recently summoned to military headquarters and informed that he has been drafted. Immediately afterward, the KGB telephoned him and offered to help him become an officer. . . .

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Oleksa Prytyka, a physician, was arrested in Odessa on July 9 and charged with “anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation with the intention of undermining Soviet rule” (Art. 62, UkrCC). The following is known about him: he is approximately forty years old, comes from Vinnytsya Region; he served for a long time in the Soviet Army as an officer. After demobilization he moved to Odessa and attended the Odessa Medical Institute. During the last few years he worked as a physician in one of the Odessa clinics.

Several years ago, Prytyka—who at that time was unknown in Odessa—appeared at the Shevchenko monument in Odessa, laid a bouquet of flowers, kneeled, and in broken Ukrainian began apologizing to Shevchenko for coming to him so late. At the time his behavior was interpreted by Odessa Ukrainians as a provocation. After this incident, Oleksa Prytyka began attending all Ukrainian concerts and soirees, started meeting Odessa Ukrainians, attempted to organized a Ukrainian amateur choir, etc.

During a search of the five-story building where Oleksa Prytyka lives many Ukrainian and Russian *samvydav* documents were found in the attic, including “On the Trial of Pogruzhal’sky,” Valentyn Moroz’s essays “Moses and Dathan,” “A Chronicle of Resistance,” “Amid the Snows,” “The First Day” (a

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sketch of prison life), eulogies delivered at the funeral of Alla Horska, the first and second volumes of the *Ukrainian Herald*, and other material.

O. Prytyka's wife, Avdiyevska, a student at Odessa University and the sister of the conductor of the Vervovka Choir, and others were interrogated in connection with his case.

During the interrogations it became clear that considerable efforts were being made to link in some way the case of Oleksa Prytyka with that of Svyatoslav Karavansky and his wife.¹⁴⁹ The investigators behaved brutally with those being interrogated, particularly with the wife [Avdiyevska]. They speak to her about Prytyka's conviction as if it were an already established fact.

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On September 6-7 of 1971, the Lviv Regional Court examined the cases of Semen Korolchak and Ostap Pastukh (Pastukh had been arrested in January and Korolchak in April 1971). Their trial was held *in camera*, but a group of people from Lviv who had been waiting outside the courtroom doors for two days were permitted to hear the reading of the verdict.

The cases of both Korolchak and Pastukh had been investigated by the Lviv KGB. O. Pastukh had been imprisoned for six months, was released, and was then brought to trial.

The presiding judge was Zubar (?);¹⁵⁰ assessors were Korniyenko and Rokonenko. The prosecutor was Volochagin. Defense lawyers, appointed by the procurator's office, were Malik (?) and (?).

According to the verdict, the Korolchak-Pastukh case developed as follows: When the UNF (the Ukrainian National Front) group was discovered in 1967, the investigators learned that one of those arrested in that case, Lviv economist Ivan Hubka,¹⁵¹ had maintained contact with Semen Korolchak, a gynecologist at the regional Institute for Mother and Child Care, and had exchanged proscribed literature with him. Korolchak was arrested by the KGB and held imprisoned for three days.

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Frightened by the arrest, S. Korolchak revealed everything: that Ivan Hubka had given him five issues of *Batktivshchyna i Volya*,¹⁵² an illegal publication of the UNF, as well as the journal *Suchasnist* (Munich); and that he, in turn, having received from the physician Vasyl Kobelyukh the *samvydav* pamphlet "On the Trial of Pogruzhalsky," had given it to Ivan Hubka, who passed it on for publication to the journal *Batktivshchyna i Volya*.

S. Korolchak led KGB agents to his parents' village and revealed the hiding place where the journals were stored (all the material was photographed and later exhibited to those interrogated in connection with the Korolchak case in 1971). Semen Korolchak's behavior precipitated his release; at the trial of Ivan Hubka he appeared only as a witness.

The second arrest of S. Korolchak, in 1971, came as a surprise, since the KGB had no new evidence of "anti-Soviet" activities on his part, nor had it forwarded any to the court. In fact, S. Korolchak was convicted in 1971 on the same charges for which he had been released in 1967. Some people tend to interpret the correction of recent "liberal" errors on the part of the KGB as a part of the continuing onset of reaction. To the facts of 1967 the investigation could add only several subsequent conversations of S. Korolchak about Russification and about the necessity of learning the history of Ukraine and reading Mykhaylo Hrushevsky (!), as well as his listening to and relating foreign radio broadcasts—"facts" for which hundreds of thousands of Soviet citizens could be convicted. What's more, Korolchak himself, while confirming the facts associated with the case of Ivan Hubka in 1967, denied either that these conversations took place or that they had the character ascribed to them during the investigation. It is obvious that the KGB used such paltry "evidence" only to make it appear that Korolchak had not desisted from his "activities" and that he was rearrested not just on the basis of the 1967 evidence.

The KGB prepared for the arrest of Korolchak quite openly. Dozens of his acquaintances were questioned in order to find someone among them who would say something that might

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compromise him. S. Korolchak was well aware of these numerous interrogations and was greatly demoralized. During his investigation and trial he pleaded, argued that after 1967 he had not participated in any forbidden activities but had devoted all his energy and ability to medicine (he is a highly qualified physician); he even cried.

Despite all this he was brought to trial and sentenced to four years in a strict-regime labor camp. Those who were present at the reading of the verdict burst into laughter every time mention was made of S. Korolchak's "anti-Soviet interest" in reading Hrushevsky, or of the confiscation of his transistor radio for listening to foreign broadcasts.

Even more incredible was the case of Ostap Pastukh, who was sentenced together with S. Korolchak. His entire criminal "activity" consisted of a few discussions concerning the Russification of schools and colleges in Ukrainian cities—an incontrovertible fact admitted even in official pronouncements. But "regimental honor" could not allow the release of Pastukh, because this would require that he be compensated for the moral and material losses incurred during his groundless imprisonment. So, he was tried and "sentenced" to six months, which he had already served during the investigation.

It was characteristic for the KGB investigators to inform O. Pastukh, even while they were releasing him before the trial, that he need not worry, because he would be sentenced to six months, which he had already served.

This case proves once again that not only the "guilt" but even the terms of imprisonment are determined before the trial at the KGB, and that the trial is staged as a mere formality in order to invest the decision of the KGB with a semblance of legality.

The following individuals agreed to testify about their conversations with Korolchak and Pastukh: Yavorsky, Saliy, Khrobak, Matkovsky (?), Lyaskovsky (?). The witness Vasyl Kobelyukh denied giving Semen Korolchak the article "On the Trial of Pogruzhal'sky," but confirmed his oral conversations with him.

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The witness Ivan Hubka, a prisoner in the Mordovian camps, confirmed the 1967 facts.

Savenko and Bruchkovska (?) were additional witnesses.

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RADOMYSHL, ZHYTOMYR REGION. George VEREMIY-CHYK, an engineer for the civil aviation administration of the republic, was born in Radomyshl and finished school there. A friend and former classmate was approached by Major Yakymenko of the KGB and urged to collaborate. The boy was instructed to watch Veremiychuk during his visits to his parents, and to report on what he read, the topics of his conversations, etc.

Georges Veremiychuk was born in 1946 and is a capable engineer. At the institute he defended his thesis in English. He speaks Russian at work (the transportation and communication systems in Ukraine being completely Russified), but outside of work he speaks Ukrainian and has "undesirable" friends. For these reasons alone the KGB suspects Veremiychuk of being "untrustworthy."

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BILYATYCHI VILLAGE, SARNY DISTRICT, RIVNE REGION. Serhiy VERES, born in 1947, a physical education teacher, single, was a fourth-year correspondence student of the Ternopil Pedagogical Institute. He was arrested in April 1970 and tried *in camera* in Rivne on October 24-27 under Art. 62, UkrCC. He was charged with agitation and propaganda for distributing leaflets. Sentenced to two years' deprivation of freedom, he is now in camp No. 19 in the Mordovian A.S.S.R.

Hryhoriy KALOSH, approximate age thirty-five, a drafting instructor, was arrested in August 1970 in connection with the same case. One week after his arrest he was taken to the Kharkiv Psychiatric Hospital. He is married and has two children. His wife is an elementary school teacher. His father worked as watchman at a department store but was dismissed after his son's arrest. It is not known whether Kalosh has been tried. It was rumored that he has been tried *in camera* and sentenced to ten years. It is definitely known, however, that up

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to now he has been held in the psychiatric hospital and that prior to his arrest he was in excellent mental condition.

A teacher of Russian language and literature, a native of Zakarpattya [Transcarpathia], age about forty, was also arrested at the same time. His name has not been determined, his fate is unknown. He did not return to his school and there are rumors that he was eventually released and sent back to Zakarpattya.

Detained and interrogated in connection with the same case were: Mykola STELMAKH, a student at the Dubrovytsky Professional and Technical School in Rivne Region; Vasyl Marko, a ninth-grade student at the Sarny secondary school; Kalosh, a tenth-grade graduate; Kravchuk, a young tractor driver. According to these people, those who were detained at the Sarny KGB were tortured. The following is one of the methods of torture: one is placed supine on the floor, a board is then laid on his chest, and a sandbag put on top of the board. After a while the weight is removed and the interrogation resumes. It is known that the student Vasyl Marko protested against torture and arrest by declaring a three-day hunger strike, as a result of which he was released. However, he was emotionally traumatized and presently is not well.

After the arrests half the teachers of the Bilyatychi school were dismissed for "lack of diligence." The school principal, Stepan Nohachevsky, was transferred to Plyashevo village in the Chervonoarmiysk District.

The group of KGB agents from Sarny (or perhaps from Rivne), who came to the village to investigate the case, led an amoral life style. . . .

* * *

KIEV. Ivan HONCHAR, honored scholar of the Ukr.S.S.R., Candidate of the Arts, member of the Artists' Union, sculptor, and communist, has been persecuted for the last few years.

The main reason for this is his private collection of folk art. Honchar was constantly summoned for "talks" to the Artists' Union party committee, the Pechersk District party committee, and the CC CPU. Eventually he was ordered to close his collection to the public.

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It is known that I. Honchar's private museum comprises some seven thousand items, which the sculptor collected over the course of many years. His museum became a creative laboratory both for himself and for numerous other artists. It was frequented by admirers of Ukrainian folk art. At one time it was praised by the journals *Narodna tvorchist ta etnografiya*, *Ranok*, and the newspapers *Radyanska Ukrayina*, *Literaturna Ukrayina*, and *Vechirniy Kyiv*. It became the source of the film *Sonata Khudozhnyka* [An Artist's Sonata], which was shown at the world exposition in Montreal. Recently, however, the museum of Ivan Honchar began to be unanimously condemned during party and district committee meetings as a center of nationalism. Party officials were particularly annoyed by an introduction by Honchar to a tour of the museum, which has been printed up on a few typewritten pages and which is offered to visitors to the museum.

The Pechersk District party committee assigned Halyna Yizhakevych, a philologist and linguist, V. Dyachenko, a Doctor of History and chairman of the Department of Feudalism at the Institute of History at the AS Ukr.S.S.R., and H. Serhiyenko, a senior researcher, to review the introductory statement by Ivan Honchar. Honchar was later acquainted with these reviews.

Particularly reactionary was the review by Halyna Yizhakevych (known for her appearance at the trial of Valentyn Moroz in Ivano-Frankivsk as a philological expert assigned to determine Moroz's authorship [of certain works]). Although Halyna Yizhakevych never visited Ivan Honchar's museum, she accused the artist of all the seven deadly sins. She shamelessly describes some of the exhibits of folk art of the past as attributes of bourgeois nationalism and accuses Honchar of propagating "the theory of a single stream"¹⁵³ and of distorting Soviet Ukrainian culture (the collection of Ivan Honchar consists of pre-revolutionary art objects, and in his "Introduction" there is no reference to Soviet art). In her review H. Yizhakevych commits several gross errors and demonstrates ignorance of the subject. In her conclusion the author of the "review" demands that the museum be taken away from Ivan Honchar and handed over to the state.

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Ivan Honchar sharply confuted his reactionary critics at a meeting of the Pechersk District party committee. The museum was ordered to remain closed to the public. Ivan Honchar is also being groundlessly accused of organizing the demonstrations at the funeral of Alla Horska.

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Incidents of arson of functioning¹⁵⁴ churches in Western Ukraine have increased during the last few years. As a rule, the culprits are not apprehended. Sometimes the arson is committed during a thunder storm in order to have it attributed to lightning. Here are several examples of arson in the Ivano-Frankivsk Region: a church was set on fire in Snyatyn, another in Kobaky village in 1961, another in Bereziv village, Kosiv District, in 1968.

It is said that Derevyanko, Deputy Commissioner of Church Affairs for the region, was involved in the last arson. As a rule, the restoration of churches after a fire is forbidden. For example, in 1971 a church burned down under suspicious circumstances in the village of Serhiyi in the Putyl District of Bukovyna (land of the national hero Lukyan Kobylytsya). The congregation appealed to the district executive committee for permission to rebuild the partially burned-down church, but was strictly forbidden to do so. The parishioners then asked for permission to hold services in the belltower, which had remained intact. They were told, however, that their request would only be considered after the only partially burned church structure was completely dismantled.

In Lviv, architects who had agreed to the partial reconstruction of a functioning church on Artem Street, while it was being repaired, were severely punished. The destruction of crosses, among them crosses commemorating the end of serfdom in Halychyna [Galicia], has increased. A cross in the village of Budylyiv in Snyatyn District, erected in memory of Taras Shevchenko, was destroyed. It was pulled down; the bas-relief was splattered with cement.

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In 1970 Bohdan Keyvan, a resident of Stari Kuty in the Kosiv District, was sentenced to one year of forced labor.

Keyvan had taught English at the Kuty secondary school, but was dismissed and deprived of the right to teach by a decision of the court, based on the completely illegal grounds that his father was a former *kurkul*¹⁵⁵ who to this day held unhealthy views, etc.

After his dismissal Keyvan lived with his father and used his excellent knowledge of English to earn a living. He was sentenced to one year of forced labor for "parasitism."

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On November 7, 1971, on the fifty-fourth anniversary of the October Revolution, LABINSKY, an employee of the Khodoriv sugar combine in Lviv Region, committed suicide as a result of political persecution.

Labinsky had appeared at the October demonstration (it is well known that all employees and officials are obligated to attend demonstrations and are harassed by various means if they refuse), but had declined to carry a placard with some slogan. The secretary of the combine's party committee viciously attacked Labinsky in public, called him an enemy of the people and one who would be glad to carry a yellow-and-blue¹⁵⁶ flag, and finally threatened him with persecution, reminding him of some shortcomings at work, etc.

After the demonstration was over Labinsky complained that they would now settle accounts with him and would not permit him to work the few years left until his pension. That evening he was to work the night shift. Labinsky came to work and hanged himself in the clothes closet.

His body was found two days later. The inquest "established" that Labinsky had been mentally ill (although during his lifetime he had shown no sign of any mental disorder). The secretary of the party committee at the combine is I. Tochin; the director of the combine is V. Podlesny.

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ZHYTOMYR. Karpo Yavir, a pensioner whose son Mykola is a student at the University of Kiev, was searched and his entire library confiscated because some of the books had an ex libris [with the motto] "Ukraine has not yet perished."

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The Ukrainian intelligentsia has reacted very negatively to articles in the Russian press about the results of the last census,¹⁵⁷ according to which the percentage of non-Russians who named Russian as their native tongue has increased. An article in the July 19, 1971, issue of *Pravda*, an article by M. Kulichenko in issue No. 9 of *Voprosy istorii*, and other articles hailed the results as a victory for "internationalism." For the first time it is being openly admitted that the process is not spontaneous but that it is directed and controlled by the Party (see the article by Kulichenko); this process is candidly referred to as "assimilation."

"Great progress in the coming together of the nations and peoples of our country as a result of *the step-by-step actualization of the Leninist nationality policy of the CPSU has created the conditions indispensable for the materialization of individual elements of assimilation.*" (*Voprosy istorii*, No. 9, p. 23)

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The reverend Vasyl Romanyuk, a known civic activist, was arrested in Ivano-Frankivsk and detained for three days (from September 29 to October 1). As has already been reported, Rev. Romanyuk was transferred from Kosmach¹⁵⁸ in the Hutsul area to Pokuttya by order of the Commissioner of Church Affairs.¹⁵⁹ From there he was summoned supposedly to the bishop, but in fact was arrested by KGB agents on a street in Ivano-Frankivsk and thrown in jail for three days.

During his interrogation V. Romanyuk was confronted with some letters to Radio Liberty, allegedly written by him in the early 1960's while he was working in Kharkiv Region. Rev. Romanyuk denied that he had written them. References were made to letters and some poems found in Rev. Romanyuk's notebook during a search of his apartment in Kosmach in 1970, conducted in connection with the case of Valentyn Moroz. This

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was done in order to intimidate this dedicated activist, known for his defense of the persecuted and his appeals for the preservation of works of folk art, and so on.

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The blue-and-yellow standard weather vane in Kosmach was repainted by order of the secretary of the village party organization and school principal, DIDUKH. Moreover, the district executive committee summoned Vartsabyuk, the head of the church council, who had painted the church yellow, and forced him to repaint it white (lest he paint the window shutters blue and decorate them with a trident).¹⁶⁰

In Sheshory, Ivanyshyn was ordered to do the same.

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In June 1970 three pupils of the local school were put on trial in the town of Snyatyn in Ivano-Frankivsk Region: two eighth-graders—Marderovych and Chepiha—and one seventh-grader (his identity could not be established). On May 9 of the same year they had cut up portraits of party and government leaders exhibited in the center of town. The following evening they unsuccessfully attempted to burn flags which were being flown in honor of Victory Day, but were apprehended. They were released after three days of detention and permitted to complete the school year. During the investigation, two of the pupils repented; Marderovych, however, argued that Russification policies were being implemented in Ukraine, that the Ukrainian language and culture were being repressed and that his act was a protest against chauvinism. He pointed out that Snyatyn was flooded with Russians, who took the best jobs while the local population was forced to seek employment elsewhere. His own father, for this reason, was unable to find a teaching post in Snyatyn and was forced to commute daily to work in a village.

Hryshko, the principal of the Snyatyn school, complained during the trial that the pupils had stained the honor of his school and demanded that they be sentenced to imprisonment in a special colony. But even the lawyer objected to this, declaring

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that the “criminals” were still children and ought to be re-educated in school.

The court decided that the students receive a suspended sentence and be allowed to finish school. After the trial Mardero-vych’s father was dismissed from his position at the school in the village of Budyliv, Snyatyn District, and to this day remains unemployed.

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In September 1971, on the anniversary of the massacre of Jews by the fascists in Babyn Yar in Kiev, a group of Jews from Kiev, particularly those who wished to emigrate to Israel, staged a sit-in at the obelisk in Babyn Yar. As a result, ten persons were arrested and sentenced to fifteen days of imprisonment, while one person was fined.

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During the last few years a certain Klym Dmytruk has been busy publishing in the press (the newspaper *Visti z Ukrayiny*, the Lviv regional newspaper *Vilna Ukrayina*, and in others) articles about the OUN movement. The Lviv publishing house Kamenyar is planning to publish a book by him.

Readers had noticed that unlike others who write or have written on the subject—such as Yu. Melnychuk, V. Belyaev, T. Myhal, and others—this author seems to have special access to the secret archives of the KGB, to secret documents, and to testimonies given by participants of the OUN movement during interrogations under merciless torture in Stalin’s time. For this reason it had been conjectured that Klym Dmytruk is not just an ordinary employee of the KGB.

It has now been definitely established that KGB Major Klementiy Yevgenovich Galsky—organizer and participant in a whole series of serious crimes against justice, something for which he should be held criminally responsible—is hiding under the pseudonym “Klym Dmytruk.”

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K. Galsky is a Pole from Zhytomyr Region. He is forty-five to fifty years old. His service in the organs of the KGB (MGB), dating back to the last years of the war, is a known fact. It is also known that in 1944 he was [stationed] in Radekhiv District, Lviv Region, where he was involved in many illegal acts against the peaceful population suspected of ties with the underground. He extended such activities to other districts of Lviv Region. He personally took part in torturing prisoners and fabricating "cases." He emerged as a more prominent figure in post-Stalinist times, being entrusted with the most important cases. He worked on the operations unit of the Lviv republican KGB and took part in the preparation of such totally or partially fabricated cases as those against Yu. Shukhevych in 1958, the case against the group of Lev Lukyanenko¹⁶¹ (1960-61), and the case of the Ukrainian National Committee¹⁶² in Lviv in 1961.

The case of Yuriy Shukhevych will serve as an example of the ethics and methods of K. Galsky.

In 1945, Yuriy Shukhevych, then a minor, was arrested and sentenced to ten years actually for being the son of General Roman Shukhevych, the leader of the OUN movement. A year and a half before the end of his term Yuriy Shukhevych was released on the grounds that he had been arrested as a minor. However, the Procurator-General of the U.S.S.R., Rudenko,¹⁶³ protested his release, without any substantial grounds; Shukhevych was rearrested and sent to serve out his ten-year sentence in Vladimir Prison.

Shortly before Shukhevych's eventual release, K. Galsky went to Vladimir Prison for talks with Yu. Shukhevych, urging him to publicly renounce his father and denounce the movement he had led. Yu. Shukhevych categorically refused.

On the day of his release, Yu. Shukhevych was confronted with new charges of "anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation" while in his cell; a new, completely fabricated case was begun against him, as a result of which he was sentenced to another ten years' imprisonment.

The case was handled entirely by K. Galsky, using the services of two totally demoralized criminals who were especially planted

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in Shukhevych's cell. One of them, Oleksandr Fomchenko from the Moscow area, had been sentenced in 1947 to twenty-five years for larceny and in 1951 again to twenty-five years for participating in a provocative camp organization, the "Two-Headed Eagle." The other, also a Russian, a homosexual from Voronezh by the name of Burkov, had been sentenced to ten years for slitting somebody's throat with a razor.

Galsky bought their services rather cheaply—they were not even promised a release but merely a transfer to a camp. Several days prior to his release this Burkov signed a statement given to him by the Procuracy, in which he expressed his outrage as a Soviet citizen at the release of such an enemy of the people as Yuriy Shukhevych, who even in his cell had not refrained from anti-Soviet agitation.

The investigation was started, then was transferred to Lviv. This "investigation," prepared by Galsky, was conducted by Captain Vinogradov, who is infamous for having savagely tortured prisoners in Stalin's time. He had, in particular, mercilessly beaten the arrested women Kateryna Zarytska,¹⁶⁴ Dariya Husyak¹⁶⁵ and Halyna Didyk.¹⁶⁶

Yuriy Shukhevych was tried in complete secrecy. The testimonies of Burkov and Fomchenko were of no help. For example, Yuriy Shukhevych's intention of escaping abroad after his release was "confirmed" by the fact that while in his cell he "studied foreign languages," etc. The witnesses had lapses of memory and contradicted themselves.

After the trial, Galsky again met with Shukhevych. He laughed cynically over the trial and did not deny that it was totally staged. Galsky said that if Shukhevych agreed to collaborate or to write an article against nationalism, the verdict would not be upheld. All this took place in December 1958. Shukhevych refused and served another ten years. In 1961 he was again brought to Lviv, where Galsky had another talk with him, promising freedom for the price of collaboration.

People who have met Galsky characterize him as a wily, treacherous individual and a cynic who does not conceal his

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thoughts and intentions when he is face to face with a prisoner. He is an inveterate Ukrainophobe, not really professionally, but out of conviction; possibly, this has something to do with his nationality. Towards each prisoner he tries an individual approach: with one he is "friendly," with another he uses his fists. The latter approach he used on Mykhaylo Osadchy, the writer and journalist, during an investigation in 1965-66, about which Mykhaylo Osadchy informed the public and the leaders of the republic's KGB.

Galsky was recently promoted from the Lviv KGB to a responsible post in the republican apparatus of the KGB. It is also known that he has been lately entrusted "to sound out"—or perhaps even to recruit—Ukrainians from abroad who come as tourists or on official business. In this capacity Galsky goes under an assumed name.

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The year was 1949. With blackmail and intimidation they tried to force me to obey. The spectre of the past was to serve as warning. They tried to convince me that I had always rebelled against those in power. The best proof of this is the fact that I'm constantly imprisoned. My excuse was that prior to 1939 national minorities, and I among them, were punished, though completely innocent.

Since 1940 I have been groundlessly isolated and victimized. I spent two weeks at [secret police] headquarters. For a week and a half I was detained without a formal arrest order. I think that they planned to turn me into a secret informer. They offered me my choice of cities for employment if I agreed to "become a friend." They were very interested in whether my parents and I knew the whereabouts of my daughter.¹⁶⁸ [A word or words were illegible in the original.] I assumed that she was abroad. Why did I not attempt to find out where she was? I asked everyone I could, primarily my parents, who replied that they did not know, and I stopped worrying. But they [the secret police] insisted that this was not true and that I ought to have continued to make inquiries. I told them that parents' statements never needed verification and that I always considered them incontrovertible; furthermore, I had not discussed anything else with my parents. The matter was dropped.

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Now I would like to describe in a few words the situation and the background against which further events unfolded. The year 1948 was a turbulent one. From the measures that were being taken in the camps we surmised that the disputes between East and West could erupt into a major conflict. . . .

It seemed to us that the situation Ukraine might find herself in would be unenviable. We (those of us who were imprisoned) considered that Ukraine's greatest tragedy was that she had been bled white. In other words, we believed that too great a percentage of the Ukrainian population, which was so indispensable to Ukraine's survival, had been dispersed beyond her borders. Moreover, we knew from past experience that no one had or ever would come to our country to give our people freedom and happiness. Everyone sought his own interests. It could again happen in the future that the interests of the conquerors would come into complete conflict with the interests of the lawful masters of Ukraine—the Ukrainians. Therefore there could come a time when it would be necessary to convince invaders that they ought to consider the views and interests of the indigenous population.

And so once again arises the problem of returning to Ukraine her people, who have been scattered throughout the world. We were confronted with the problem of defending and preserving Ukrainians against extermination in the event of conflict. For this purpose an organization was formed which was to take care of all vital needs.

The emergence of the so-called special camps convinced all the prisoners that they were to expect the worse. Tabletalk among officers and employees of the camp was carried by children into the street; often you could hear a child shouting, "Hey, mister, you are soon going to be shot."

This was a period when spontaneous organizations for self-preservation were springing up. It became necessary for prisoners to avoid letting themselves be provoked by various shadowy characters into unnecessary conflicts among themselves and with outsiders. Our organization took upon itself the following objectives: the moral and physical preservation of Ukrainians in the camps, and assurance of their return home should they find

themselves beyond the barbed wires.

Things had progressed to this point when I was arrested in 1949. I was arrested again in 1952 as a result of testimony of several witnesses.

The first witness was Halyna Didyk. In 1950 she had testified that in 1948-49 I had met with members of the Leadership¹⁶⁹ and that I had entered into some kind of talks with them, that in 1948 I had received money from them and was to receive more in 1949, as well as a passport needed to secure a prisoner's escape from camp. The other witnesses, who had been arrested during the period July 1952-October 1953 testified to my participation in the Vorkuta¹⁷⁰ organization.

I was arrested on December 28. During one of the first interrogation sessions I was told under which articles I was being charged: Article 58-1a, and Articles 2, 10-Pch, and 11, that is, treason, agitation against the state, the organizing of an underground movement, and preparation of an insurrection. What's more, I was accused, on the basis of testimony of witnesses, of being "a founder, an initiator, an organizer." In retaliation for my categorical denial of these accusations, the investigating and prosecuting authorities declared me to be "an irreconcilable enemy of the Soviet system." For several months I denied all testimony given by the witnesses, until I knew all the evidence they had against me and could plan a defense. During the investigation I was allowed to sleep only one to two hours each day. The first three months the investigation was conducted in Krasnoyarsk and the remainder in Syvtyvkar,¹⁷¹ where all the defendants and witnesses were brought.

The trial was held in Syvtyvkar from September 5-16 [1953]. One person died while under interrogation, another went insane, and two were saved from suicide. I had an excruciating pain in my chest and suspected that I would not make it to the trial. Those who saw me at the trial later told me that my eyes were bloodshot, veins stood out on my forehead, and my lips were swollen with fever. Many of the defendants could not endure the torture and, as a result, slandered themselves by

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signing documents in which they were charged with espionage and insurrection (there were sixteen defendants).

I felt it proper to make a statement at the trial concerning my attitude toward the OUN. I believe that every nation has the right to dispose of the fruits of its labor and the goods which it produces. Every nation has the right to choose its own way of life. Every nation can develop and grow spiritually and physically only if its citizens (its members) enjoy complete freedom of conscience, thought, speech, and congregation. On the basis of my observations and those of my friends, I declare that the Ukrainian nation does not enjoy the rights of a free nation and that its state, the Ukrainian S.S.R., does not even exercise authority over its own citizens, evidence of which fact is that our trial is being conducted not in Ukraine but on foreign territory. We are obviously not accused of striving to annex the Komi A.S.S.R.¹⁷² to Ukraine. Why then, as enemies of the Ukrainian people, are we not being tried in an open Ukrainian court?

Therefore, if the Ukrainian nation can attain its rights only in an independent state, I am for an independent state. Since the OUN is the sole force which strives to realize the idea of an independent Ukraine, my attitude towards the OUN is positive, although I have never been a member and am not a member at present. At one time I had agreed to cooperate with it.

Everyone has denied at the outset the charges of espionage and preparation for insurrection. I protested the unfounded and shameless slander that we allegedly intended to stage an insurrection and that we allegedly served enemy interests. What I told people in the underground about life in the camps is no secret.

1. The existence and location of Vorkuta is familiar to all school children from their textbooks. The textbooks even indicate what Vorkuta is famous for.

2. Who the people in Vorkuta are and the role prisoners play in the Soviet economy was revealed to the entire world by the Poles already in 1942.¹⁷³

3. That Ukrainian prisoners are to be found in Vorkuta is

known all over Ukraine from letters of their relatives and friends.

4. The standard of living of Ukrainian prisoners may be deduced from the incessant stream of food parcels from Ukraine to Vorkuta, rather than in the opposite direction. Only a pathological mania of suspicion of everyone and everything would see espionage everywhere.

Concerning the uprising, we declared the following: the fate of prisoners in the U.S.S.R. who cannot be evacuated is known not only to us prisoners but to the entire world. There has never been a single instance in which the administration voluntarily released prisoners or allowed them to remain alive on territory about to be occupied by the enemy. In all prisons located on territory from which a Soviet administration and armies had to withdraw, all prisoners were savagely slaughtered. We consider it natural that all that lives would protect itself. Our "crime" consists merely in that we decided to die standing on our feet rather than lying down, because we consider it dishonorable to give up our lives to usurpers without a struggle. Our freedom has been taken from us, but we have kept our dignity. ~~And unless we are attacked, we would naturally have no need to defend ourselves.~~ Besides, we are still sufficiently sane to realize that if it were we who would attack, our bare fists and clubs would be powerless against machineguns, grenades, and airplanes. If we thought otherwise, then we should not be kept in camps but in insane asylums.

In our statement we all declared that we did not consider ourselves to be criminals. We can confirm one thing, however, and that is that those who were sympathizers of the Soviet system when they came to the camps became its inveterate enemies here, because the camps are visible examples of the fact that injustice, unbridled savage passions, and everything which characterizes the latest brand of fascism and about which the entire world has been warned reign free. It is the duty of every honorable human being not to approve of all that we observe in the camps. The fact that prisons, camps, and other institutions where people suffer and are being tortured exist in a country brings the citizens of that country neither honor nor

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pride, only shame to their faces. Why have you not stopped to consider the reasons which compel you to maintain a special internal army, equipped with modern means of destruction, against your own people? Are you not ashamed of the fact that prisons and camps are packed with the healthiest and ablest citizens and that an army of youths is guarding them, instead of all of them working together for the well-being and happiness of the people? No one is accusing us of being unwilling to work, of not loving our relatives, parents and children; on the contrary, we have shown that our love for our neighbor is greater than that of other people, that we were the first to forget the experiences of the past and that our primary concern was helping and living for our neighbors. Yet, in spite of this, we find ourselves on the bench of the accused, surrounded by a fence of bayonets.

What is the reason? Perhaps we are living in a world of illusions, mirages, and *fata morgana*? Perhaps there is a film over our eyes? Perhaps it is day outside and we think it to be night? But it does not get lighter if you beat us on the head with clubs and lock us up in dark dungeons. There we will not be convinced that it is daylight outside. We maintain that peasants live in poverty, that workers could make a better living, that citizens of our state only dream of freedom. Convince us that we are mistaken and we will become adherents of the Soviet system. We are not social criminals, thieves, or bandits. Our sole misfortune is that we have been taught to call what is white, white, and what is black, black.

Perhaps it is our misfortune that our ancestors have bequeathed to us a rebellious spirit and a sense of justice. But were it not for this inheritance, the Ukrainian S.S.R. would not exist today, for it was not that long ago that it had been asserted that "there never was a Ukraine, there is not now, and there never will be!"¹⁷⁴ But now you yourselves are witnesses that Ukraine exists, and not one but two—an official Ukraine and a Ukraine which is fighting for her lawful rights. We know that you are not able to change anything or to help, but we ask that you relay our thoughts and wishes to others.

Such, briefly, were our statements at the trial.

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The verdicts were read on September 19: there were three death sentences—Bilynsky,¹⁷⁵ Petrashchuk [and Soroka]—one [sentence] was for five and a half years, one for ten years, two were for fifteen years, and nine were for twenty-five years.

On November 30 the death sentences were commuted to twenty-five years. The High Military Council confirmed articles 58-1a and 10, Pt. II, and rejected the rest.

From the records of Halyna Didyk's testimony, I learned that my parents met with my daughter and often helped her with food. It was also said that my father begged my daughter to leave the underground. After my daughter's arrest, Halyna gave my son money through O. I also examined the file on my daughter.

I was sent to Kirov in March 1954, where I spent two months. Afterwards I was brought via Sverdlovsk and Petropavlovsk to Dzhezkangan (the village of Kingir) in southern Kazakhstan, where I was put into prison. The camps in that region had the appearance of a prison stronghold. The entire camp was surrounded by a wall five kilometers long. The barracks inside were closed for the night and were also separated from each other by walls. The unbearable conditions (lawlessness, terror, groundless executions, and the airless "wonder prison") led to the revolt on May 16 [1954].¹⁷⁶ Under a hail of machinegun bullets the prison was cracked open and all walls separating the individual barracks and zones were razed. (The three zones had been joined by a common wall.)

And so I found myself in a zone among people. Self-government was organized during the first days. The entire camp administration was driven beyond the zone. Representatives of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Main Administration of [Labor] Camps [GULAG], and the Procuracy—General Bychkov, General Dolgikh (director of camps), Deputy Minister Yegorov and Deputy Procurator Vavilov—flew in from Moscow.

We made the following demands: punishment of those responsible for the May 16 executions, abolition of the twenty-five-year sentence, release of minors, the aged, and invalids, full citizenship rights for the children of those arrested, the right

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of families of the convicted to return home from exile, and the release of all who had served five years.

The representatives replied that it was not in their power to grant the demands and ordered an end to the strike and a return to work. The prisoners, who numbered seven thousand, barricaded themselves against any provocations and ceased further negotiations with the representatives of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Procuracy, demanding the presence of a representative of the CC CPSU. They were joined by twelve thousand prisoners-strikers who worked in the ore mines twenty kilometers from Kingir.

The prisoners adopted the following platform: certain circles of the Soviet administration, particularly the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the MGB, the Procuracy, and the Main Administration of Camps, are interested in maintaining the status quo, that is their private interests, and strive to maintain the prisons and camps, the settlers and exiles, in their present state, in order to live off of them like parasites. Without them, all those who were employed in said institutions would be forced to make their own living by the sweat of their brows. In order to retain the maximum number of prisoners and those subject to repression, they attempted through all kinds of provocations to demonstrate the danger of releasing prisoners and the impossibility of their rehabilitation. These ministries had always produced enemies of the people, who generated evil and sowed hatred and provocation. From their ranks came Yagoda, Yezhov, Beria, Ryumin, and others. For this reason, the prisoners refused to continue further talks with those who for decades had bathed in human blood, whose sole concern was building more efficient prisons and stronger chains for the people.

The strike continued until June 26. During this time we used bullhorns and megaphones to persuade the soldiers not to shoot at their fathers, brothers and relatives, because they were, after all, children of peasants and workers. There were, after all, no sons of generals and ministers among them, and their parents (being peasants) do not carry their bellies before them like their officers do, nor do they make the rounds of vacation resorts.

On June 26 at 4 a.m. the tanks smashed in and the army

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followed, crushing everything, showering grenades, spraying with machineguns. Thus (as the Chekists later were to laugh), the CPSU fulfilled the demands of the prisoners. Those who remained alive were transferred to Kolyma. We were held in the port of Vanino for two months. Because of my illness I was able to leave Magadan with the invalids for the place where I am presently. This route, which stretches for seven hundred kilometers (from Tayshet to Lena), unfortunately belongs to one of the worst places of imprisonment in the Soviet Union. In July of this year, for example, those who refused to get off at a penal camp (since they were, after all, being transported unjustly and illegally) were machine-gunned through the boxcar walls. The boxcars were later opened and those who were still alive were removed with hooks.

The constant transportation of prisoners serves as a means of keeping them in fear and obedience. I regret leaving Magadan.¹⁷⁷ Nowhere is there more abuse and lawlessness than here.

I have never consciously done anyone an injustice. If someone has had to suffer because of me then it was contrary to my wishes, aspirations, or deeds. I am at peace with myself because my conscience is clear, because that for which I have already suffered deeply is called Truth. A sense of justice in one's actions will always be a source of equilibrium and inner peace.

Please confirm this message as soon as you receive it. They have nothing against me aside from that which I have related. And this, in my view, is a matter of every person's conscience.

My life will be difficult as long as injustice, falsehood, and oppression reign, since I will always be fighting against them. And, because power is most often concentrated in the hands of those who are guilty of the abuses I have enumerated, they will always keep imprisoned those who oppose them.

Yours always,
Mykhaylo Soroka¹⁷⁸

P.S. I enclose for you a few words written to me. You will certainly find them interesting. I am in a hurry, for they are coming unexpectedly.

NOTES

NOTES

1. Although Article 105 of the Constitution of the Ukrainian S.S.R. guarantees freedom of speech, press, assembly, etc., all publications are strictly censored. See John Kolasky, *Two Years in Soviet Ukraine: A Canadian's Personal Account of Russian Oppression and the Growing Opposition* (Toronto: Peter Martin Associates Limited, 1970), Chapt. XIV, "Censorship," pp. 147-153. Kolasky, a member of the Communist Party of Canada for thirty years, studied at the Higher Party School of the CC CPU in Kiev from September 1963 to August 1965.

2. The term "chauvinism," as used throughout this book, is understood to refer to Russian chauvinism. See Ivan Dzyuba, *Internationalism or Russification?*, 2nd ed. (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1970), Chapt. VII, "The Phantom of 'Ukrainian Bourgeois Nationalism' and the Reality of Russian Great-Power Chauvinism as the Principal Obstacle to National Construction in the USSR."

3. Works on conditions in Soviet concentration camps are quite numerous. One of those most recently made available in an English translation is Mykhaylo Osadchy's autobiographical *Cataract*, ed. Marco Carynnyk (New York and London: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1976). Also see Volodymyr Kosyk, *Concentration Camps in the USSR* (London: Ukrainian Publishers Ltd., 1962); *Russian Oppression in Ukraine: Reports and Documents* (London: Ukrainian Publishers Ltd., 1962); the testimony of Avrahan Shifrin before the Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws, Committee on the Judiciary, the United States Senate, 93rd Cong., 2nd sess., *U.S.S.R. Labor Camps: Hearings (February 1-2, 1973)*, (Washington, D.C.: U.S. GPO, 1973), Parts I and II; and Paul Barton, *L'Institution Concentrationnaire En Russie* (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1959).

Notes

4. *Samvydav*—literally, “self-published”—literature clandestinely circulated in the U.S.S.R. (the Russian term for it is *samizdat*), usually reproduced in manuscript or typescript through carbon paper, in photocopies, or on magnetic recording tape.

5. See Abraham Brumberg, “Ukraine’s Law-Abiding Dissidents,” *Manchester Guardian*, March 13, 1972.

6. Yaroslav Dobosh, a young Belgian of Ukrainian descent, was arrested by the KGB on January 5, 1972, and charged with anti-Soviet activity on behalf of the OUN. A week later a number of leading Ukrainian intellectuals were arrested and accused of complicity in the Dobosh “case.” Dobosh was kept in KGB custody for five months; on June 2, 1972, he appeared at a “press conference” broadcast on Ukrainian television and widely reported in the press, at which he read a statement, confessing to various crimes against the Soviet Union and implicating members of the Ukrainian civil rights movement. Dobosh was released after the intervention of the Belgian government; once in the West, he retracted his “confession,” and claimed that the statement he had read at the Kiev press conference (according to Dobosh, under threat of a lengthy prison sentence) had been prepared and given to him by KGB agent Maj. Malykhin. It has been reported that the number of those arrested on charges of conspiring with Dobosh reached into the hundreds, although Dobosh himself had actually met with but a few members of the Ukrainian dissident movement. All indications are that the KGB fabricated the Dobosh case in order to provide a grounds for the mass arrests of early 1972 and to tie the Ukrainian civil rights movement to Ukrainian émigré organizations, especially the OUN.

Vyacheslav Chornovil, Ukrainian journalist and one of the first of the leading intellectuals to be officially mentioned in the Dobosh case, compiled the text of the official proceedings at his trial in April 1973 and added his own commentary. In January 1975 these documents reached the West. Chornovil had included there the following comments on the Dobosh affair:

. . . Some two months after my arrest I was shown a newspaper report where it was said that Svitlychny, Sverstyuk, I, and “others” had been arrested “in connection with the Dobosh case.” I heard Dobosh’s name then for the first time (as it happens, he was held in one of the neighboring cells). As can be seen even from my verdict, I had nothing to do with the Dobosh “case,” and the newspaper report was a fabrication. Today there are enough facts for the conclusion that the operation detention of “Mr. X” from the West with a subsequent roundup of Ukrainian intellectuals was planned by the KGB well in advance. I am one of the few who have held the Dobosh “case” file in their hands, and, making use of the

KGB men's carelessness, I read its chief documents (the charges, Dobosh's and Svitlychny's testimonies, and the decree to terminate the case). Apart from this, on the way to Mordovia, in a stinking transit cell at Kharkiv Prison, I met and for several hours talked with Svitlychny, the only one of the prisoners who had met Dobosh. Therefore I had every reason to declare that the so-called Dobosh "case" is a great soap bubble blown from low-grade KGB soap in order to lend the campaign of arrests in Ukraine a certain coloring. The fact that the Dobosh case was a fictitious one and that it was not the reason for our arrests was not concealed even by the KGB. In the autumn of 1972, the investigator from Kiev, Kovpak, frankly related to me the opinion of the high-ups: "Formerly, we were not getting the right people; we should have been arresting not those who circulate things, but cut off the head, that is, those who write things and organize. Now we have done the right thing—and we shall have peace for a decade or so." (Vyacheslav Chornovil, "My Trial," *Index on Censorship*, Vol. 5, No. 1, Spring 1976, p. 67.)

7. Leonid Plyushch (b. 1938): Ukrainian mathematician and cyberneticist, active participant in the civil rights movements in Ukraine and the U.S.S.R., contributor to the *Ukrainian Herald* and other *samvydav* publications, member of the Initiative Group for Defense of Human Rights in the U.S.S.R. In 1968 Plyushch was dismissed from the Cybernetics Institute, AS Ukr.S.S.R., for an open letter he wrote in defense of Russian dissident Aleksandr Ginsburg. His arrest in January 1972 came on charges of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda"; he was finally tried *in camera* in January 1973 and sentenced to an indefinite term in a special psychiatric hospital for treatment of "schizophrenia with messianic and reformist tendencies." Plyushch was held in the special prison-type psychiatric hospital in Dnipropetrovsk from July 15, 1973, to January 8, 1976, when, as a direct result of widespread protests on his behalf in the West, he was released and allowed to leave the U.S.S.R. with his family. In the West Plyushch has been a very vocal critic of Soviet violations of human rights, especially of the practice of incarcerating dissidents in mental hospitals, and has called for greater public pressure on behalf of political prisoners in the U.S.S.R.

8. Zinoviy Antonyuk (b. 1933) was tried on August 8-15, 1972, under Article 62 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code ("anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda"); specifically, he was accused of disseminating the *Ukrainian Herald* and other works of *samvydav*. Antonyuk was sentenced to seven years of strict-regime labor camp and three years' exile.

9. More probably, his correct name is "Raketsky," as given in the

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Chronicle of Current Events and the *Ukrainian Herald*, Issue 7-8. Volodymyr Raketsky (b. 1947) was expelled from the University of Kiev because he had concealed the fact that his father was a former political prisoner and because he himself was said to have "nationalist tendencies." According to the *Chronicle's* issues No. 26 (July 1972) and No. 27 (October 1972), Raketsky was tried on June 5, 1972, on a charge of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda." His own poems and stories figured in the indictment against him. Raketsky was sentenced, on the basis of Art. 62, UkrCC, to five years' strict-regime labor camp. *Chronicle* issue No. 35 (March 31, 1975) reported that in November 1974 Raketsky was transferred from a Mordovian camp to camp No. 36 in the Perm Region.

10. Ivan Kovalenko (the *Chronicle of Current Events*, No. 27, gave his age as 54), was tried in Kiev on July 10-13, 1972, on a charge of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda." Specifically, he was charged with the possession of materials which were qualified as "anti-Soviet"—Dzyuba's *Internationalism or Russification?*, Chornovil's *Lykho z rozumu* (Misfortune of Intellect), and several of Valentyn Moroz's works, copies of which were found during a search of Kovalenko's apartment—and with criticism of the "internationalist help" given to Czechoslovakia in 1968, made during conversations at the school where he taught. The trial was closed and Kovalenko's wife was permitted to be present only for the duration of her testimony. Kovalenko was sentenced to five years of strict-regime labor camp.

11. Oleksander Serhiyenko (b. 1932) protested against Valentyn Moroz's harsh sentence in a letter to the Supreme Court of the Ukr.S.S.R. in 1970. His dismissal from the medical institute during the 1966-67 school year was connected with the wave of repression against Ukrainian intellectuals in 1965. He lost his position as an art teacher because of his speech at the December 1970 funeral of the artist Alla Horska.

Serhiyenko, arrested in January, was put on trial in June 1972. The *Chronicle of Current Events*, No. 27, reported that the authorities spent two months trying—unsuccessfully—to extract a public confession. The trial itself was closed—neither Serhiyenko's mother nor his wife were allowed to attend. The formal indictment was based on charges that Serhiyenko had made notes on 33 pages of Dzyuba's *Internationalism or Russification?*, which the court qualified as an act of editing the work and, as such, proof of co-authorship; that he orally criticized the "international help extended to Czechoslovakia"; and that he expressed in conversations the opinion that Ukraine had the right to self-determination. Serhiyenko's sentence—seven years of strict-regime labor camp and three years' exile. A higher court rejected an appeal.

12. Oksana Meshko's husband, a veteran of the Soviet Army in World War II, was arrested on political charges during the Stalin era. As was the practice then, the families of political prisoners—"enemies of the people"—were usually also repressed, even to the

point of suffering imprisonment. After spending ten years in concentration camps and prisons for her refusal to renounce her husband, Oksana Meshko was released and later rehabilitated. The usual practice today is to harass the families of political prisoners through dismissals from school and places of employment, eviction, etc. However, some vestiges of the Stalinist practices remain. For details of the fate that befell Nina Strokata-Karavanska, wife of political prisoner Svyatoslav Karavansky, see pp. 141-48.

Oksana Meshko has provided what is probably the most detailed available description of the case of her son, Oleksander Serhiyenko, in a statement addressed to Amnesty International. The article circulated in the *samvydav* and was recently published in the West in *Suchasnist*, April 1976, pp. 82-93.

13. Mykola Plakhotnyuk's (until recently he was incorrectly referred to in the West as "Plakhtonyuk") defense of Ivan Sokulsky, Mykola Kulchynsky, and Viktor Savchenko came in the form of an open letter to Dnipropetrovsk newspapers. The letter was not published, but appeared in the *samvydav*, including the *Ukrainian Herald*, Issue No. 2 (*Ukrayinsky Visnyk*, I-II, January and May 1970 [Baltimore: Smoloskyp Publishers; and Paris: P.I.U.F., 1971], pp. 133-47), under the title "Truth Is on Our Side." Furthermore, Plakhotnyuk adamantly resisted KGB pressure to cooperate in the case against Sokulsky and the others. He did the same in the 1970 case against Valentyn Moroz. Instead, Plakhotnyuk was among those who tried to gain access to Moroz's trial and who wrote letters of protest to the Supreme Court of the Ukr.S.S.R.

Subsequent to his January 1972 arrest, Plakhotnyuk was taken to the Serbsky Psychiatric Institute in Moscow, where he reportedly staged a long hunger strike in protest against violations of his rights. The institute's psychiatrists, known to specialize in cases involving political prisoners, delivered the diagnosis that Mykola Plakhotnyuk was suffering from "schizophrenia with a persecution mania and periods of irresponsibility." On November 13, 1972, the Kiev Regional Court reviewed Plakhotnyuk's case and, in his absence, determined that he be subjected to an "indefinite period of treatment" in a special psychiatric hospital until such time as he is cured and is able to stand trial, as a "responsible individual," on charges of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda," specifically, the dissemination of the *Ukrainian Herald*. Leonid Plyushch has testified that Mykola Plakhotnyuk has been incarcerated for over three years in the same special prison-type psychiatric hospital from which he himself was released in January 1976 and that his physical and mental state has dangerously deteriorated, due to the forced "treatment" he has received.

14. Ivan Sokulsky, a young poet from Dnipropetrovsk, Mykola Kulchynsky, at that time a 22-year-old poet from Novo-Moskovsk in Dnipropetrovsk Region, and Viktor Savchenko, a teaching assistant at the metallurgical institute in Dnipropetrovsk, were arrested in the

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summer of 1969 for the preparation and dissemination of *samvydav* literature, especially the "Letter of the Creative Youth of Dnipropetrovsk" (*Ukrayinsky Visnyk*, I-II, pp. 39-50). Their closed trial took place in Dnipropetrovsk in January 1970. Sokulsky, as the author of the "Letter," received a sentence of four and a half years' strict-regime labor camp (under Art. 62, UkrCC), Kulchynsky was sentenced to two and a half years' general-regime labor camp (under Art. 187, UkrCC—"dissemination of deliberately false fabrications which discredit the Soviet state and social system"), while Savchenko received a suspended two-year sentence, with three years' probation, under Art. 187.

15. Vasyl Stus (b. 1938) was an active participant in the cultural revival of the sixties—his poetry and literary articles were published officially (until his dismissal from the Shevchenko Institute of Literature in 1965) and in the *samvydav*. In spite of his dismissal—the price he paid for protesting the 1965 arrests in Ukraine—Stus continued to speak out in defense of repressed Ukrainian intellectuals. Known are his open letters in defense of Chornovil and Karavansky in 1968, Dzyuba in 1969, Moroz and Ivan Suk in 1970; at Alla Horskha's funeral in December 1970 Stus read his own poem dedicated to her memory.

According to the *Chronicle of Current Events*, No. 25 (May 20, 1972), Vasyl Stus was imprisoned in the beginning of May 1972 in a psychiatric hospital in Kiev. He was finally put on trial August 31, 1972, in the Kiev Regional Court. On September 7 he was sentenced to five years' strict-regime labor camp and three years' exile for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda." A collection of Stus' poetry, titled *Zymovi dereva* (Winter Trees), published in Brussels in 1970, figured in the indictment brought against him. In 1975 two documents which Stus had compiled at the labor camp of the Dubrovlag camp complex in the Mordovian A.S.S.R. began circulating in the *samvydav* in Ukraine and subsequently reached the West. One was an article in which Stus condemned violations of legality by the KGB, the other a copy of the official verdict against Stus, together with his own commentary.

16. Ivan Svitlychny (b. 1929) was one of the most ardent supporters of the young poets and writers (known as the *shestydesyatnyky*, or the "generation of the sixties") who initiated the literary and cultural rebirth of the 1960's; he also became one of the most respected participants of the Ukrainian movement for national and civil rights. Svitlychny was arrested during the 1965 wave of arrests of Ukrainian intellectuals; after eight months' imprisonment he was released without trial, probably because of his public stature. He was active in defense of Moroz and others arrested in the late 60's and early 70's.

It is known that after his arrest in January 1972 Svitlychny was

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put under intense pressure to renounce his convictions and confess to "anti-Soviet activity." He held out and in April 1973 was finally tried under Art. 62, UkrCC, in a closed court in Kiev. He received a sentence of seven years' strict-regime labor camp and five years' exile. As of the early part of 1976 it was known that Svitlychny was serving his sentence in labor camp VS 389/35 in the Perm Region, the R.S.F.S.R., where, it has been reported, he has been an active participant in protests and hunger strikes by political prisoners. In 1974 Svitlychny took part in a *samvydav* organized interview with several of the camp's political prisoners; the document was smuggled out, circulated in the *samvydav*, reached the West, and was finally published in the West as *An Interview with Political Prisoners in a Soviet Perm Camp* (Baltimore: Smoloskyp, 1975).

17. Yevhen Sverstyuk's (b. 1928) role in the Ukrainian dissident movement in many respects parallels Svitlychny's. Sverstyuk was also one of the leading supporters of the *shestydesyatnyky*, and was briefly imprisoned in 1965. His 1968 essay *Sobor u ryshtovanni* (Cathedral in Scaffolding) was one of the most popular works of the *samvydav*. Sverstyuk protested the arrests of Moroz, Chornovil, and other Ukrainian intellectuals, and delivered the eulogy at the funeral of Alla Horska, an artist and active participant in the cultural revival, who was found murdered in 1970 under circumstances which pointed to KGB culpability.

Sverstyuk was tried together with Svitlychny in April 1973 in Kiev. He also had successfully resisted intense pressure to renounce his views. Like Svitlychny, he was charged under Art. 62 for his suspected role in the preparation and dissemination of the *Ukrainian Herald* and other *samvydav* materials. Like Svitlychny he received a sentence of seven years' camp and five years' exile, which as of early 1976 he was serving in the same Perm Region camp.

For more on Yevhen Sverstyuk, including the text of his statement at his trial, see Victor Swoboda, "Sverstyuk's 'Last Plea,'" *Index on Censorship*, Vol. 3, No. 3, Autumn 1974.

18. Seleznenko was released in July 1972 shortly after he repented of his activities in a statement published in a Kiev newspaper. He was also reinstated in his position at the Institute of Petrochemistry. According to the *Chronicle of Current Events*, No. 27, Seleznenko appeared as a witness at the trials of Antonyuk and Stus.

19. Danylo Shumuk (b. 1914) served time in Polish prisons for his activity as a member of the Communist Party of Western Ukraine prior to World War II. From 1941 to 1943 he fought in the ranks of the Red Army but became disillusioned with communism and joined the Ukrainian national resistance as a political instructor for the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (the UPA). Arrested in 1945 as a Ukrainian nationalist, he served a 10-year term in Siberian concentration

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camp. A second 10-year term (1957-67), this one for memoirs he had written about his prior imprisonment, followed. Shumuk's January 1972 arrest was precipitated by the second volume of his memoirs, found during a search of his apartment. Tried in July on a charge of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda," Shumuk received his third 10-year term—this time in a special-regime labor camp—to be followed by five years' exile. His memoirs circulated in the *samvydav* and in 1974 were published in the West under the title *Za skhidnym obryem* (Beyond the Eastern Horizon) by Smoloskyp.

20. A leading member of the *shestydesyatnyky* group, Mykola Kholodny was one of the most popular poets of the Ukrainian *samvydav*. His bold, uncompromising poetry, his criticism of the shortcomings of Soviet society, and his role in the cultural revival in Ukraine brought down upon him government repression and a ban on the publication of his works. He was imprisoned briefly in 1966; subsequently dismissed from Kiev University, Kholodny had to support himself by taking odd jobs, such as those of watchman and swineherd. Apparently, under these conditions he succumbed and let it be known to both government officials and to his friends that he was ready to renounce his previous positions and toe the prescribed line. Kholodny broke with the movement and was in turn boycotted by members of the nationally conscious Ukrainian intelligentsia. This fact did not save him, however, from the January 1972 arrests. His stay in prison was brief—Kholodny's penitent open letter, in which he named Svitlychny, Sverstyuk, Serhiyenko, and others as those who had brought him "under the fatal influence of bourgeois propaganda," was published in the Kiev newspaper *Literaturna Ukrayina* (Literary Ukraine), and he became a free man.

21. Ivan Dzyuba (b. 1931) played a leading role in the literary and cultural renaissance of the 1960's. After his bold speech in a Kiev theatre in September 1965, in which he called on the citizens of the city to protest against the ongoing wave of arrests of Ukrainian intellectuals, and the appearance in 1965 of his monumental *Internationalism or Russification?*, Dzyuba became the acknowledged leader of the Ukrainian movement for civil and national rights. His work, an analysis of the Soviet regime's Russification policies in Ukraine, became the most important and widely-read document of the Ukrainian *samvydav*. Its publication in the West in 1968 in Ukrainian, Italian, and English (*Internationalism or Russification? A Study in the Soviet Nationalities Policy* [London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1968, 1970; New York: Monad Press, 1974]) led to increased pressure against Dzyuba. He was expelled from the Writers' Union of Ukraine in March 1972 and arrested a month later. Dzyuba's trial in Kiev in March 1973 resulted in a sentence of five years' labor camp. But because he was still very much a symbol of Ukrainian resistance, he was kept in a prison in Kiev, until, late in 1973, he gave in to various KGB methods of persuasion. A statement carrying Dzyuba's con-

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demnation of his own role in the Ukrainian movement appeared in *Literary Ukraine* in early November; a few days later, he was released.

22. Ivan Franko (1856-1916), writer and poet, is considered, after Taras Shevchenko, the greatest figure in Ukrainian literature.

23. Zinoviya Franko, Ivan Franko's granddaughter, was an active member of the Ukrainian dissident movement, an outspoken defender of Moroz and other imprisoned intellectuals, until KGB pressure caused her to condemn her previous activity and denounce her former colleagues. Her own "confession" was published in the CPU organ *Radyanska Ukrayina* (Soviet Ukraine); furthermore, she appeared as a prosecution witness at the trials of Antonyuk and others.

24. Viktor Nekrasov (b. 1911)—Russian writer, member of the Writers' Union of Ukraine, author of prize-winning novel *In the Trenches of Stalingrad* (1946)—signed a collective letter protesting political arrests in Ukraine and the Soviet Union in 1965-66 (see "Appeal of the 139 to Brezhnev, Kosygin, Podgorny," Michael Browne, ed., *Ferment in the Ukraine* [New York and Washington: Praeger Publishers, 1971]), and an open letter in defense of Chornovil in 1968. He was allowed to emigrate to the West in 1974.

25. Nadiya Svitlychna (b. 1925), sister of Ivan Svitlychny and wife of Danylo Shumuk, was arrested in April 1972 for possession of *samvydav* literature. The most serious charge against Svitlychna was that she had typed the manuscript of her husband's memoirs; this amounted to "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda," for which she was tried in March 1973 and sentenced to four years' labor camp.

26. Vyacheslav Chornovil (b. 1938), had been imprisoned twice prior to his 1972 arrest: in 1966 he served three months in a labor camp for refusing to testify at the trial of the Horyn brothers (on the grounds that it was closed and therefore illegal); in November 1967 he was convicted of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" for compiling a collection of materials substantiating his charges of official violations of legality during political trials he witnessed in a journalistic capacity in 1965-66. The collection was eventually published in the West under the title *The Chornovil Papers* (New York, Toronto, London: McGraw-Hill, 1968) and in December 1975 earned for Chornovil the London *Sunday Times*' award for outstanding journalism.

Upon his release in 1969 (his three-year sentence was halved by a general amnesty), Chornovil joined in the defense of others repressed out of political motives, among them Dzyuba (see pp. 21-62), Moroz and Karavansky; he became a founding member of the Citizens' Committee for the Defense of Nina Strokata (see pp. 141-43).

Chornovil's third arrest was no doubt the result of KGB suspicion that he was intimately involved in the preparation of the *Ukrainian Herald*, whose suppression was the primary goal of the January 1972

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arrests. Tried in February 1973 under Art. 62, UkrCC, Chornovil was sentenced to seven years' strict-regime labor camp and five years' exile.

27. Mykhaylo Osadchy (b. 1936) was looking toward a promising future, both as a member of the Party and as a writer and journalist, when on August 28, 1965, he was arrested for possession and dissemination of *samvydav*. Out of the experience of his two-and-a-half-year ordeal—his eight-month pre-trial imprisonment and his term in camp No. 11 in Dubrovlag, Mordovia—came his autobiographical narrative *Bilmo*. It became a very popular work of the *samvydav* and subsequently was published in the West in Ukrainian, French (*Cataracte* [Paris: Fayard, 1974]) and English (*Cataract* [New York and London: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1976]). *Bilmo* played a significant role in Osadchy's second imprisonment—one of the main points of the indictment against him was that the work had been published abroad (his involvement in *samvydav* and his "nationalist" poetry also weighed heavily against him). Osadchy was tried September 4-5, 1972, (again after eight months' pre-trial detention) under Art. 62 and received a sentence of seven years' strict-regime labor camp and three years' exile.

28. Ivan Hel (b. 1937) was an active participant of the Ukrainian civil rights movement. His first imprisonment was the result of his dissemination of *samvydav* literature. His second arrest, in January 1972, came on a similar charge. However, this time Hel was sentenced to a total of 10 years' labor camp (five years strict regime, five intensified). It has been reported that Hel has been an active participant in hunger strikes and other protests by political prisoners in the Mordovian labor camp where he is imprisoned.

The text of Hel's statement to the court at his trial can be found in *East-West Digest*, Vol. II, No. 8, April 1975, pp. 311-14.

29. Iryna Stasiv-Kalynets (b. 1940) was active in Lviv cultural circles and, after the 1965-66 arrests of Ukrainian intellectuals (her husband, the poet Ihor Kalynets, was among them), in protests against Russification policies and political repression in Ukraine. She is especially known for her active defense of Moroz and as a founding member of the Citizens' Committee for the Defense of Nina Strokata. Stasiv-Kalynets was tried in Lviv in July 1972 and sentenced to six years' labor camp, three years' exile. A month later her husband was again arrested (like her, for the dissemination of *samvydav* literature) and sentenced to a similar term.

30. Stefaniya Shabatura (b. 1938) wrote a letter to the Supreme Court of the Ukr.S.S.R., protesting against the 1970 trial of Moroz. Her defense of Moroz and "political motifs" in her art formed the basis of the charges against her in 1972. At her trial in July Shabatura was sentenced to five years' labor camp, three years' exile.

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31. Vasyl Romanyuk's (b. 1922) familiarity with Soviet labor camps dates back to Stalinist times. In 1944 he was sentenced to a ten-year term for "nationalist and religious" activity. An Orthodox priest, he was removed from his parish in the Carpathian Mountains village of Kosmach after he wrote a letter in defense of Moroz to the Supreme Court. The sentence Romanyuk received at his trial in July 1972 (for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda") was an especially harsh 10 years in special-regime labor camps and five years' exile. His appeals to Pope Paul VI and the World Council of Churches, in which he asked for their intervention on behalf of those persecuted for their defense of civil rights and religious freedom in the Soviet Union, recently reached the West and were published in an English translation as *A Ukrainian Priest's Appeals from a Soviet Labor Camp* (Baltimore: Smoloskyp Publishers, 1976). It is also known that on August 1, 1975, he went on a hunger strike in an attempt to force authorities of the Mordovian labor camp where he was imprisoned to let him keep a Bible.

32. Taras Melnychuk was eventually tried under Art. 187-1, UkrCC, and sentenced to three years' labor camp.

33. Ivan Dzyuba's *Internationalism or Russification?* was published in the West in the summer of 1968, in English and in Ukrainian. The official Soviet reaction to this fact came a year later in the form of what was promoted as a scientific refutation of Dzyuba's "faulty" analysis of the Soviet nationalities policy. In July-August 1969 the Association for Cultural Relations with Ukrainians Abroad published a 196-page booklet by one Bohdan Stenchuk, titled *Shcho i yak obstoyuye I. Dzyuba. (Shche raz pro knyhu "Internationalizm chy rusyfikatsiya?")* (What I. Dzyuba Defends and How He Does It: One More Time about the Book *Internationalism or Russification?*). In April-May 1970 the same organization came out with an English translation under the title *What I. Dzyuba Stands For and How He Does It (Once More About the Book "Internationalism or Russification?")*. The name of the author of the English version was given as "Bohdan Stanchuk." Both versions were intended for Ukrainians living in the U.S. and Canada and not for domestic consumption.

Chornovil took issue with "Stenchuk's" approach and argumentation and took him to task, point by point, in a work which became very popular in the *samvydav*. Chornovil refers, of course, to the Ukrainian version of Stenchuk's book.

For more on the who-defends-what-and-how-he-does-it polemic, see "Postscript to the Second Edition," M. Davis, ed., *Internationalism or Russification? A Study in the Soviet Nationalities Problem*, 2nd ed., pp. 233-250.

34. Questions and Comments Nos. 1-37 are to be found in Issue No. 5 of the *Ukrainian Herald*, which is the only issue that has not yet reached the West.

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35. The 1958 law abolished Ukrainian as a compulsory subject in all schools in Ukraine.

36. The Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) of Ukraine—the CP(B)U—was renamed the Communist Party of Ukraine—the CPU—in 1952.

37. The Ukrainianization period of the mid- and late 20's and early 30's was marked by a programmatic effort to give to the government of the Ukrainian S.S.R. and to the Party, in which Russian elements and the Russian language predominated, a Ukrainian character, and thus make them more acceptable to the bulk of the population, which was Ukrainian. Despite the opposition of the Russian elements in the CP(B)U, the program had a certain success and was accompanied by a remarkable revival in Ukrainian literature, scholarship, and the arts. Ukrainianization came to an end in the Stalinist purges of the Ukrainian intelligentsia in the mid-30's.

38. Regional economic councils instituted by Khrushchev in 1957, abolished by Brezhnev and Kosygin in 1965.

39. See John Kolasky, *Two Years in Soviet Ukraine*.

40. A large proportion of these institutes are teachers colleges; their Russification, therefore, has an accelerating effect on the Russification of the educational system in Ukraine. See John Kolasky, *Education in Soviet Ukraine: A Study in Discrimination and Russification* (Toronto: Peter Martin Associates Limited, 1968), Chapt. VI, "Higher Education," pp. 112-59.

41. For detailed statistical and descriptive analysis of the Russification of the Ukrainian population of Kuban (area directly east of the Sea of Azov) see *The Ukrainian Herald, Issue 7-8: Ethnocide of Ukrainians in the U.S.S.R.* (Baltimore: Smoloskyp Publishers, 1976).

42. *Zhyttya i slovo*, Ukrainian-language weekly published in Toronto by the Association of United Ukrainian-Canadians, an organization espousing a pro-communist and pro-Soviet Union orientation. The report of the CPC delegation appeared in the January 1, 1968, issue.

43. The delegation stated in its *Report*, for example, that it could not understand why trials were "conducted in secret" and that such *in camera* trials never served to dispel doubts and questions.

44. The main boulevard of Kiev.

45. The Fifth Congress, held in Kiev November 16, 1966.

46. "Communism" in the official report.

47. In his article, "The Ukraine," in *The Soviet Union and Eastern Europe: A Handbook*, ed. by George Schoplin (London: Anthony Blond, 1970), p. 212, Victor Swoboda noted that "although regularly

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punishable by death or concentration camp since about 1930, this offense (nationalism) has never been defined by Soviet law."

48. The "Report of the Delegation to Ukraine" was published in English in *Viewpoint* (discussion bulletin issued by the Central Executive Committee, Communist Party of Canada), Vol. V, No. 1 (January 1968).

49. Count Pyotr Valuyev, Minister of the Interior of the Russian Empire (1861-68), issued an edict which banned the publication of Ukrainian ("Little Russian") books "both religious and educational, and books generally intended for elementary reading by the people."

50. On November 15, 1939, the Soviet armed forces invaded Western Ukraine, at that time a part of Poland. This act, made possible by the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact (the non-aggression agreement of August 23, 1939, between Nazi Germany and the U.S.S.R.), has been termed, in the Soviet lexicon, the "reunification" of Western Ukraine with the rest of Ukraine.

51. According to Dzyuba (*Internationalism or Russification*, 2nd ed., p. 121), scientific and technical publishing houses in Ukraine planned to publish only 20 per cent of materials with technical information in the Ukrainian language, while 90 percent of such material published in Lithuania was to appear in Lithuanian.

52. Article 90 of the Constitution and Article 19 of the Code of Criminal Procedures.

53. The Universities of Kiev, Lviv, Kharkiv, Odessa, Dnipropetrovsk, Uzhhorod, Chernivtsi, and Donetsk.

54. A Candidate of Sciences degree (*Kandydat nauk*) is about equivalent to a Western Ph.D. A Doctor of Sciences degree (*Doktor nauk*) indicates academic achievement well above the Ph.D. level.

55. Stenchuk's table on p. 109 of *Shcho i yak obstoynuye I. Dzyuba* is reproduced here for the reader's verification.

(At beginning of school year, in thousands)

	In general educational schools of all kinds		In higher educational establishments		In secondary special educational establishments	
	1914-15	1967-68	1914-15	1967-68	1914-15	1967-68
U.S.S.R.	9,656	48,901	127.4	4,311.4	54.3	4,166.1
Russian S.F.S.R.	5,684	26,276	86.5	2,556.1	35.4	2,505.9
Ukrainian S.S.R.	2,607	8,523	35.2	766.8	12.5	755.7
Byelorussian S.S.R.	489	1,799	—	124.7	1.4	138.0
Uzbek S.S.R.	18	2,791	—	204.7	0.1	138.4
Kirghiz S.S.R.	7	689	—	40.6	—	38.2
Tadjik S.S.R.	0.4	660	—	37.9	—	29.8
Armenian S.S.R.	35	586	—	48.5	0.1	39.3
Turkmen S.S.R.	7	485	—	24.6	—	27.0

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56. See Table III in Yaroslav Bilinsky, "The Background of Contemporary Politics in the Baltic Republics and the Ukraine: Comparisons and Contrasts," in Arvids Ziedonis, Jr., et al., eds., *Problems of Mininations: Baltic Perspectives* (San Jose, California: Association for the Advancement of Baltic Studies, Inc., 1973), p. 115.

57. Includes researchers and scholars in both the social and physical sciences.

58. Mykhaylo Hrushevsky (1866-1934), Ukrainian scholar and statesman, the most outstanding Ukrainian historian, is the author of *Istoriya Ukrayiny-Rusy* (The History of Ukraine-Rus). Hrushevsky completed ten volumes of this monumental work, with Volume X, published after his death in 1937, bringing his survey of Ukrainian history up to 1658. Hrushevsky also played a leading role in the formation of the Central *Rada*, the Ukrainian national government in 1917-18, and served as president of the Ukrainian People's Republic. He went into exile after the victory of the Bolsheviks in Ukraine, but returned in 1924 to become a member of the AS Ukr.S.S.R.

59. After Dzyuba submitted his *Internationalism or Russification?* to Soviet Ukrainian government and party leaders in December 1965, selected works of the scholars he referred to gradually began to be published.

60. Published under the title *Literaturno-publistsystychni pratsi* (Literary and Publicistic Works) (Kiev: Naukova Dumka, 1970), 2 vols.

61. The military stronghold and administrative center of the Zaporozhian Cossaks. (The term "kozak"—a transliteration from the Ukrainian—is used to denote the social element which was a Ukrainian phenomenon, in order to differentiate it from the more general term "Cossack," used to identify similar social elements of non-Ukrainian origin, such as the Don Cossacks.)

62. Kostomarov's *Tvory* (Works) was published by the Dnipro publishing house in Kiev.

63. Maksymovych's *Ukrayinski pisni* (Ukrainian Songs), republished by the AS Ukr.S.S.R. in Kiev, is a photocopy of the 1827 edition.

64. *Literary and Scholarly Herald* (Lviv-Kiev, 1898-1919). Ivan Franko was for a time its editor-in-chief.

65. Pavlo Fylypovych (1891-1937?): poet and literary scholar; executed, presumably in 1937, during Stalin's purge of the Ukrainian intelligentsia.

66. Mykhaylo Dray-Khmara (1889-1938): poet, philologist, translator, and scholar; an authority on Ukrainian and Serbian literatures.

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Dray-Khmara belonged to the neo-classicist school of Ukrainian poets. In 1935 he was arrested and sent to the Kolyma concentration camp, where he died in either 1938 or 1939. A selection of his poetry and translations has been published under the title *Vybrane: poeziyi ta pereklady* (Kiev, 1969).

67. Valeryan Pidmohylny (1901-?): writer and translator; arrested in 1934 during the Stalinist purge of the Ukrainian intelligentsia; presumably died in a Siberian labor camp.

68. Mykhaylo Yohansen (1895-1937): poet, prose writer, linguist, and literary scholar; arrested and executed during the purge of the Ukrainian intelligentsia.

69. *Kit Chudylo* (The Phenomenal Cat) (Kiev: Veselka, 1968).

70. Geo Shkurupiy (1903-43): Pen name of Georgiy (Yuriy) Danylovych, futurist writer and poet, active in the literary revival of the 1920's.

71. The Ukrainianization period, which saw a blossoming of Ukrainian literature and a revival of Ukrainian cultural life, was followed by the purges of the mid-30's, during which hundreds of Ukrainian poets, writers, scholars, and cultural activists were arrested and either executed or imprisoned in Siberian concentration camps. Ordered by and directed from the Kremlin, the terror's purpose was to put an end to the independent, national development of Ukrainian literature and to turn it into a propaganda tool in the employ of the regime.

On the liquidation of Ukrainian poets, writers, and scholars see George S. N. Luckyj, *Literary Politics in the Soviet Ukraine, 1917-34* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1956), and *Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopaedia* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967-71), Vol. I, p. 1057-58 and passim.

72. Mykola Zerov (1890-1941): literary historian, poet, critic, translator of classical and French literature, authority on classical literature. Arrested in 1935, he died in a Siberian concentration camp.

73. *Vybrane* (Kiev: Dnipro, 1966).

74. Volodymyr Koryak (1889-1939): exiled by the czarist regime in 1915-17 for revolutionary activity as a Bolshevik; arrested in 1937 during the purge of the Ukrainian intelligentsia; died in a Siberian concentration camp.

75. Dmytro Dontsov (1883-1973): publicist and literary critic; political theorist of Ukrainian nationalism; leading ideologist of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists.

76. Reference here and in the parallel SUE excerpt is to Fedir Vovk (1847-1918), eminent Ukrainian anthropologist, ethnographer

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and archeologist. Vovk's studies led to his conviction that Ukrainians constituted an anthropological type distinct from their Slavic neighbors, but closest to the southern Slavs. Stenchuk has indulged in a sarcastic play on the word *vovk*, which in Ukrainian means "wolf."

77. *Kobzar* (The Bard) was the title of the poetry collection of Taras Shevchenko (1814-1861), Ukraine's national poet and the greatest figure in Ukrainian literature. The first *Kobzar* came out in 1840; subsequent editions included Shevchenko's newer poems.

78. Ivan Kotlyarevsky (1769-1838); poet and playwright, founder of modern Ukrainian literature. Kotlyarevsky's major work was the dramatic poem *Eneyida*, a travesty of Virgil's *The Aeneid*, in which Kotlyarevsky described the adventures of a Zaporozhian Kozak after the destruction of the Sich. In quoting Kotlyarevsky's lines, in which he makes allusion to Maksym Parpura, a rich landowner from Chernihiv Province who published *Eneyida* without Kotlyarevsky's permission, Chornovil makes sport of Stenchuk's plagiarizing.

79. At that time Volodymyr Malanchuk was the secretary in charge of agitation and propaganda for the Lviv regional party committee. On October 10, 1972, he was promoted to a candidate member of the Politburo of the CPU and made secretary in charge of ideological affairs of the CC CPU.

80. Chornovil is mistaken. Unlike the three Transcaucasian republics—Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan—whose constitutions proclaim their respective languages as "state languages," the Ukrainian Constitution does not specifically decree that Ukrainian is to be the state language, although like Art. 19 of the UkrCCP, its Art. 90 guarantees the use of Ukrainian in judicial proceedings. This omission was brought up by one of the members of the delegation of the CPC to Ukraine in 1967: "The Constitution of the Georgian Republic specifies that Georgian is the state language. Why is it that there is not a similar provision in the Ukrainian Constitution?" See *Viewpoint*, Vol. V, No. 1, p. 8.

81. According to the 1927 census there were 2,677,000 Russians in Ukraine (9.2 per cent of the total population); the 1959 census listed 7,091,000 (16.9 per cent) and the 1970 census 9,126,331 (19.4 per cent).

82. Peoples of the Far East and the Daghestan A.S.S.R., respectively.

83. Chornovil's trial in November 1967 was followed by a vicious official campaign against him in the Soviet Ukrainian press. Oleksiy Poltoratsky, a member of the Writers' Union of Ukraine known for hack writing on behalf of the regime, was one of the principal participants in this campaign. His article in *Literaturna Ukrayina* of July 16, 1968—"Those Whom Certain 'Humanists' Look After"—

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libeled Chornovil as a defender of the country's enemies, a parasite, and an advocate of terrorism. The article was bitterly denounced in the *samvydav* and in several open letters to *Literaturna Ukrayina*, none of which were published. Chornovil himself instituted a criminal libel suit against Poltoratsky, but a district court in Kiev refused to look into the charge.

84. Lubomyr Dmyterko's article in the August 5, 1969, issue of *Literaturna Ukrayina*, titled "A Place in Battle: About a Writer Who Found Himself on the Other Side of the Barricades," was the first in a series of attacks on Dzyuba in the press, precipitated, no doubt, by the publication of his book in the West. Dmyterko, the editor of the journal *Vitchyzna* (Fatherland) and a Stalinist member of the Writers' Union of Ukraine, received several replies to his article in the *samvydav*, one of which, poet Vasyl Stus' open letter, is to be found in the *Ukrainian Herald*, Issue No. 1.

85. Literally, Bandera-ites—followers of Stepan Bandera (1909-1959), leader of one of the factions of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). The OUN led the Ukrainian national resistance against the German occupation of Western Ukraine during World War II through its underground network and its control, from 1943 on, of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (the UPA). The UPA also fought Soviet partisans during the war and continued its resistance to the Soviet occupation of Western Ukraine well into the 1950's. In Soviet usage the term *Banderivtsi* was applied to members of the OUN and the UPA, to members of the Ukrainian resistance in general, and by extension, is even today applied to anyone who exhibits a degree of Ukrainian national consciousness.

86. The OUN and the UPA operated mostly in Western Ukraine. Soviet propaganda, exploiting the fact that the Ukrainians from Eastern Ukraine—the *skhidnyaky* or "easterners"—were unfamiliar with the OUN movement and its participants, portrayed them as terrorists and gangsters.

87. See Yuriy Sherekh, "On Teophan Prokopovic as Writer and Preacher in His Kiev Period," *Harvard Slavic Studies*, Vol. II (1954), pp. 211-23.

88. On the literacy rate and the level of education in Ukraine at that time consult Nicholas L. Fr. Chirovsky, *Old Ukraine: Its Socio-Economic History Prior to 1781* (Madison, N.J.: The Florham Park Press, Inc., 1963), pp. 323-26.

89. Illegible in the manuscript.

90. "Zakon pro rivnopravnist mov na Ukrayini" (The Law on the Equality of Languages in Ukraine). See R.S. Sullivant, *Soviet Politics in the Ukraine, 1917-1957* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1962), pp. 143-44.

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91. Both Hryhoriy Petrovsky (1891-1958) and Vlas Chubar (1891-1938) were prominent in the Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) of Ukraine and held important posts in the government of the Ukrainian S.S.R. During the Stalinist purges in Ukraine in the mid-thirties, both were exiled to Russia. Chubar was arrested and executed in 1938. Both Petrovsky and Chubar were rehabilitated during the de-Stalinization period under Khrushchev. On the liquidation of the CP(B)U see Robert Conquest, *The Great Terror: Stalin's Purge of the Thirties* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1968), particularly, "Devastated Area: The Ukraine," pp. 251-59.

92. The Crimea is one of the 25 regions of the Ukrainian S.S.R. The Russian S.F.S.R. ceded the Crimea to Ukraine in February 1954 on the centenary of the Treaty of Pereyaslav. The historical rights of the Crimean Tartars, who had been deported en masse after the war to Central Asia, mainly to Uzbekistan, for allegedly collaborating with the Nazis, were ignored. See Robert Conquest, *The Nation Killers: The Soviet Deportation of Nationalities* (London: Macmillan, 1970).

93. The following text appeared in the *Ukrainian Herald* in Russian, the language in which it circulated in the *samvydav*. The article is an excerpt (Chapter VIII) of a longer work.

94. Members of an ideological movement and political party whose platform was based on the idea of national communism within an independent Ukrainian state; the name of the party was derived from the title of the journal *Borotba* (The Struggle). The Borotbists' opposition to the Russian-oriented policies of the CP(B)U led to the dissolution of the party by the Comintern (on Lenin's orders) on March 10, 1920. Most of the Borotbists' then joined the CP(B)U, where they played an instrumental role in the Ukrainianization of the party in the twenties. They were, however, among the primary targets of the purges of the mid- and late thirties; 4,000 of them were executed in the fall of 1935 after being charged with attempts to organize a "counterrevolutionary all-Ukrainian Borotbist Center."

95. Ivan Drach (1936-): poet, translator, critic, a leading member of the *shestydesyatnyky*. He was expelled from the CPU for signing a collective letter of protest against political arrests, but was returned to official favor after writing an article in *Literaturna Ukrayina* (July 22, 1966), in which he castigated an émigré critic's interpretation of his poetry.

96. The writer is referring to the official policy according to which both Ukrainian and Russian are to be considered the mother tongues of the Ukrainian people, and not to the phenomenon of bilingualism. The theory of "two native tongues" has been advanced by Academician I. Bilodid, the director of the Institute of Linguistics, AS Ukr.S.S.R., and acknowledged to be the major proponent of Russification in the area of language.

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97. Archaisms are archaic words, often taken from historic sources, which are frequently used by some Ukrainian writers and scholars as a means of preserving the Ukrainian character of the Ukrainian language in the face of the official policy of bringing it closer to the Russian. Similarly, neologisms—newly coined words—which because of their roots are uniquely Ukrainian, are consciously employed.

98. The latter infinitives in each pair have roots common with Russian: *zhdat* (to wait) and *derzhat* (to hold).

99. Valentyn Moroz (1936-): historian, publicist. First arrested in August 1965 for possession of *samvydav* literature and for discussing with his students the constitutionality of Ukraine's right to secede from the U.S.S.R. Moroz was sentenced in January 1966 to four years' imprisonment for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda"; it was during this first term that he wrote *A Report from the Beria Reservation*, the essay in which he condemned the Soviet system of terror and repression. He was released in September 1969 but was arrested again on June 1, 1970. Moroz was tried in November 1970, again under Art. 62, UkrCC, for his authorship of the essays *A Chronicle of Resistance, Amid the Snows*, and *Moses and Dathan*, written after his release; he was sentenced to six years in prison, three years in labor camps, and five in exile, one of the harshest sentences meted out at a political trial in the 60's. He served the first part of his sentence in Vladimir Prison, where in the summer of 1974 he spent 145 days on a hunger strike in support of his demand to be transferred to a labor camp. In May 1976 Moroz was threatened with indefinite imprisonment in special psychiatric institutions. This danger was averted by protests on his behalf in the West and in June he was transferred to a labor camp in the Mordovian A.S.S.R.

Valentyn Moroz has become the leading symbol of the Ukrainian movement for national and civil rights. His works were published in English in two separate collections: Yaroslav Bihun, ed., *Boomerang: The Works of Valentyn Moroz* (Baltimore: Smolokyp Publishers, 1974), and John Kolasky, ed., *Report from the Beria Reserve* (Toronto: Peter Martin Associates; Chicago: Cataract Press, 1974).

100. Shelest was also a member of the Moscow Politburo until his dismissal in 1973. In 1972 he was replaced as First Secretary of the CC CPU by Volodymyr Shcherbytsky. Shelest's downfall was first seen by Western Sovietologists as the result of his confrontation with Leonid Brezhnev over the issue of detente. However, more recent evidence points to the strong possibility that he was removed because of his failure to quench the revival of Ukrainian nationalism. For an intriguing insider's report of the campaign against Petro Shelest which led to his ultimate removal, see *The Ukrainian Herald, Issue 7-8: Ethnocide of Ukrainians in the U.S.S.R.* (Baltimore: Smolokyp Publishers, 1976).

101. Symon Petlyura (1877-1926): Head of the Directory and

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commander-in-chief of the armed forces of the Ukrainian People's Republic in 1919-21; assassinated in Paris in 1926 by an agent of the Soviet secret police. The inference here is that Ukrainianization was tolerated by Moscow because it served to neutralize the anti-communist form of Ukrainian nationalism of which Petlyura was the embodiment; after his death, therefore, Ukrainianization no longer served that purpose.

102. Vasyl Symonenko (1935-63): the leading poet of the *shestydesyatnyky* group of writers and artists who began the movement for national self-preservation. The lines above are from Symonenko's poem "To the Kurdish Brother," in which he exhorts the Kurds to continue resisting with arms "those who came to take away your freedom and your land." In 1968, Mykola Kots, a lecturer at an agricultural college, was sentenced to seven years in a labor camp and five years in exile for circulating copies of this poem, in which he replaced the word "Kurd" with the word "Ukrainian."

A selection of Symonenko's poetry and his diary have been published in a dual Ukrainian-English edition: Andriy Freishyn-Chirovsky, trans. and ed., *Granite Obelisks* (Jersey City, N.J.: Svoboda Press, 1976).

103. Nikita Khrushchev promised that in 1965 he would have himself photographed with the last prisoner in the Soviet Union.

104. The name of the main character, a monkey, in the Russian fable by Ivan A. Krylov. Martyshka's frantic activity was marked by its unproductiveness.

105. The Mordovian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, an administrative division of the R.S.F.S.R. about 300 miles east of Moscow, where the Dubrovlag and other complexes of correctional labor camps are situated.

106. *Voprosy filosofii*, a monthly journal published in Moscow by the Philosophy Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R. and promulgating the officially sanctioned line in matters of philosophy.

107. Vladimir Prison, located in city by that name northeast of Moscow, notorious as one of the harshest penal institutions in the Soviet Union.

108. Moroz refers to the belief prevalent among Soviet political prisoners that their food is doctored with chemicals designed to either weaken their resistance or to debilitate them physically. See the appeal to the UN Commission on Human Rights signed by M. Horyn, I. Kandyba, and L. Lukyanenko in *Ferment in the Ukraine*, p. 216; also International Commission of Jurists, *The Review*, No. 5 (March 1970), pp. 16-17; and S. Constant, "Poisoning by the KGB Alleged," London *Sunday Telegraph*, Sept. 14, 1969.

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109. The English text is available in the *Digest of the Soviet Ukrainian Press*, Vol. XV, No. 9 (September 1971), pp. 1-3, and in *Boomerang: The Works of Valentyn Moroz*, pp. 234-38.

110. This appeal appeared in the original in Russian.

111. Reference here is to the tightening of censorship in literary and popular journals in 1968, which kept most of Sokulsky's poetic works from reaching the reading public.

112. The *shestydesyatnyky*, the "generation of the sixties" group.

113. A selection of his poems from the collection *To Calvary* appeared in the *Ukrainian Herald*, Issues I-II.

114. Panas Myrny (1849-1920): outstanding Ukrainian prose writer. His *Lykhi lyudy* (Wicked People), an ideological novel about the life of the Ukrainian intelligentsia, was first published in 1876.

115. The *Kupalo* festivals began as a pagan-era rite celebrating the beginning of the harvest season and the summer solstice. After the Christianization of Ukraine the *Kupalo* festivals were associated with the feast of St. John the Baptist (June 24 according to the Gregorian Calendar, July 7 according to the Julian), while still retaining the harvest association.

116. Although as of this date Mykola Kholodny was having his differences with others within the movement, the content of his letter to Ovcharenko and Honchar indicates that he still considered himself a literary dissident. His break with the movement came later (see note No. 20).

117. Mykola Vorobyov (b. 1941): modernist poet, a successor to the *shestydesyatnyky*; popular in the late 1960's.

118. Ihor Kalynets (b. 1939): poet, considered one of the brightest literary talents in Ukraine. Because of his cultural activism, however, Kalynets had only one collection of his poetry published in Ukraine—*Vohon Kupala* (Kupalo's Bonfire) in 1966. Even that one was soon blacklisted; Kalynets' poems, however, enjoyed great popularity in the *samvydav*. He was arrested and imprisoned for a short period in 1965 during the wave of arrests against the Ukrainian intelligentsia. Kalynets and his wife, Iryna Stasiv-Kalynets, were very active in the defense of other repressed Ukrainian intellectuals, especially Moroz, to whom Kalynets dedicated his collection *Pidsumovuyuchy Movchannya* (Summing Up Silence). Arrested on August 11, 1972, Kalynets was sentenced under Art. 62, UkrCC, to six years' labor camp, three years' exile. Three of his poetry collections have been published in the West. *Boomerang* contains English translations of several of his poems dedicated to Valentyn Moroz.

119. Vasyl Holoborodko (b. 1942): an outstanding *shestydesyatnyk*

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poet. His collection *Letyuche vikontse* (The Flying Window) was published in the West (Paris: P.I.U.F.; Baltimore: Smolensk Publishers, 1970).

120. *Dnipro*, a monthly journal published by the Komsomol of Ukraine; *Vitchyzna* (Fatherland), a monthly journal with a "liberal" label (somewhat of a counterpart of the Russian-language *Novy Mir*) published by the Writers' Union of Ukraine, which frequently carried works by Svitlychny, Dzyuba, and the *shestydesyatnyky*; *Ranok* (Morning), an illustrated monthly with a "liberal" mark with young people, published by the Komsomol; and *Vitryla* (Sails), a yearly literary almanac published by the Komsomol's publishing house Molod, which appeared in 1967, 1968, and 1969 and then was forbidden; were the four periodicals which published the works of the young, the non-conformist, and the modernist Ukrainian poets and writers in the literary renaissance of the 1960's.

121. Vitaly Korotych (b. 1936): one of the most productive and active of the *shestydesyatnyky* poets, a physician by profession; more than ten of his poetry collections have been published in Ukraine; has travelled extensively in the West.

122. Oleksa Riznykiv was arrested on Nov. 9, 1971, in Odessa. He stood trial together with Nina Strokata-Karavanska May 4-18, 1972, for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda." Riznykiv refused to admit any guilt, but was nevertheless sentenced to five and a half years' strict-regime labor camp.

123. Poet Vasyl Ruban (b. 1942) was arrested and tried on a political charge in 1973. Little is known about his case other than that he was sentenced to an indefinite term in a psychiatric prison-hospital and as of June 1976 was still being held in the special psychiatric institution in Dnipropetrovsk.

124. Glazyrin was speaking in Russian.

125. With its Fourth Universal, issued January 22, 1918, the Central Rada proclaimed the Ukrainian People's Republic "the independent, free, and sovereign state of the Ukrainian people." January 22 is to this day celebrated by nationally conscious Ukrainians as the anniversary of Ukrainian independence. By inventing a connection between May 22—the Shevchenko anniversary—and January 22, the authorities attempt to attach the stigma of nationalism to celebrations in honor of Shevchenko.

126. Mykola Vinhranovsky (b. 1936): one of the first and among the most popular of the *shestydesyatnyky* (the "generation of the sixties") poets. Vinhranovsky has not suffered imprisonment; he has, however, found it difficult to publish his works. Presently he is employed at the Dovzhenko Film Studios in Kiev as a producer, screen writer, and actor.

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127. According to the *Ukrainian Herald*, Issue No. 4, the student, Viktor Dyumin, is a Russian by nationality. In October 1970 he saw Maksymchuk perform in Kiev and got the idea of having him conduct an evening of Ukrainian poetry at the Polytechnical Institute. The institute's Komsomol bureau approved the project and a formal invitation was extended to Maksymchuk by the appropriate government officials. The performance was cancelled by the institute's party committee hours before it was to take place.

128. The Ukrainian term for the basic Soviet monetary term, "rouble" in Russian.

129. A modern suburb of Kiev, containing massive housing projects.

130. Oles Honchar (b. 1918): prize-winning writer, one-time chairman of the Writers' Union of Ukraine, deputy to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., and member of the Central Committee of the CPU. In 1967 Honchar wrote the novel *Sobor* (The Cathedral), which initially received high praise from literary critics and wide acceptance from the reading public, but which eventually came under an official ban because of its deviations from the norms of Social Realism in literature and its "nationalistic coloring."

131. Wife of *Homin* director Leopold Yashchenko.

132. Karasyova's statement was made in Russian.

133. The Soviet Union rather than Ukraine.

134. The Ukrainian S.S.R. does not conduct its own foreign affairs, nor does it maintain diplomatic missions in any foreign country.

135. Mykhaylo Braychevsky (b. 1924): archeologist, historian, and writer. In 1968 he was dismissed from his position as senior researcher at the Institute of History, AS Ukr.S.S.R., for signing an open letter protesting political trials in Ukraine and the U.S.S.R. His *Pryyednannya chy vozyednannya? (krytychni zavvahy z pryvodu odniyeyi kontseptsyi)* (Annexation or Reunification: Critical Observations on a Certain Conception), an analysis of the Treaty of Pereyaslav of 1654 in which Braychevsky argued that Ukraine was annexed to Russia by force, became one of the most popular documents of the *samvydav*.

136. "Strokata" is her maiden name, "Karavanska"—her married name. Women in the Soviet Union sometimes keep their maiden names after marriage.

137. All of the members of the Citizens' Committee for the Defense of Nina Strokata were themselves arrested on political charges: Yakir in 1973; Stasiv, Stus, and Chornovil in early 1972 (on charges of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda"); and Tymchuk on Nov.

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4, 1975, on a trumped-up charge of "hooliganism," for which he received a one-year term of deprivation of freedom.

138. One of the articles was in the form of a petition (dated Feb. 24, 1965) to the prosecutor of the Ukr.S.S.R., asking for an indictment against Yuriy Dadenkov, the Minister of Higher and Special Secondary Education, on charges of violating the national rights of Ukrainians by promoting the Russification of schools in Ukraine. The second article, titled "About One Political Error," also dealt with the Russification of the Ukrainian school system. The texts of both articles appear in *The Chornovil Papers*, pp. 170-80.

139. On Sept. 27, 1965, Karavansky sent an appeal to Wladyslaw Gomulka, then the leader of the Polish United Workers' Party. Text appears in *The Chornovil Papers*, pp. 180-86. Karavansky sent a similar appeal to Czechoslovak Communist leader Novotny.

140. An international commission determined in 1942 that the mass executions of Polish army officers who had been taken prisoner by the Red Army in 1939 was carried out by the NKVD, the Soviet secret police, in 1940. See *The Chornovil Papers*, p. 207, and the Hearings before the Select Committee to Conduct an Investigation of the Facts, Evidence, and Circumstances of the Katyn Forest Massacre. 82nd Congress, Second Session (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1952).

141. Yuriy Shukhevych (b. 1933): son of Roman Shukhevych (alias Taras Chuprynka), the commander in chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. Yuriy Shukhevych was first arrested in 1947 and sentenced to ten years' labor camp because of his father; he was 15 years old at the time. In 1958, on the day of his release, he was arrested again and received a second ten-year term for refusing to denounce his father. Released in August 1968, Shukhevych signed a collective letter protesting the arrest and trial of Valentyn Moroz. In January 1972 he was arrested again; in September he was put on trial and for his continued refusal to denounce his father and for the memoirs he had written about his previous periods of imprisonment, Shukhevych was sentenced, under Art. 62, to five years' prison, five years' labor camp, and five years' exile.

142. Nina Strokata-Karavanska's closed trial took place May 4-18, 1972, in Odessa. She was convicted of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" (ostensibly, for possession and dissemination of *samvydav*, but actually for her refusal to renounce her husband—political prisoner Svyatoslav Karavansky), and sentenced to four years' strict-regime labor camp. In December 1975 Nina Strokata-Karavanska was released, after serving the full term.

143. Prytyka's cooperation with the Odessa KGB did him little good; he stood trial May 4-18, 1972, with Strokata-Karavanska and

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Riznykiv, and though he testified fully against his codefendants, he received a sentence of two years in strict-regime labor camps. Riznykiv, who, like Strokata, refused to acknowledge any guilt, received a sentence of five and a half years' labor camp.

144. Anatoliy Lupynis (b. 1937) was first arrested in 1956; sentenced to six years' strict-regime labor camp for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda," he received an additional four years for his protests while in the camps. After his arrest following his public appearance at the May 22, 1971, demonstration at the Shevchenko monument in Kiev, Lupynis' apartment was searched, several of his own poems confiscated. He himself was taken to the Serbsky Institute of Forensic Psychiatry in Moscow. His trial in Kiev in December 1971 was a closed one—Lupynis' father as well as Andrei Sakharov and his wife, who had flown in for the trial from Moscow, and the writer Victor Nekrasov were among those denied admittance. The court found Lupynis to be a schizophrenic, basing its decision on the report of the Serbsky psychiatrists, and sentenced him to an indefinite term in a special psychiatric hospital.

145. *Shche ne vmerla Ukrayina*—"Ukraine has not died yet"—is the title and first line of the Ukrainian national anthem, adopted by the Ukrainian People's Republic.

146. Colors of the flag of the Ukrainian S.S.R.

147. Lupynis was tried in Kiev on December 28, 1971, under Art. 62, UkrCC, and sentenced to an indefinite term in the special psychiatric prison-hospital in Dnipropetrovsk.

148. Lina Kostenko (b. 1930): poetess, often considered the first of the *shestydesyatnyky*. Though she has not suffered imprisonment, she has been interrogated many times; her poetry collection *Zoryany Integral* (The Astral Integral) was destroyed shortly after printing in 1962; all other collections have been banned and she has not been published since 1968.

149. Prytyka spent ten months in the custody of the KGB; eventually he cooperated fully, to the extent of confessing to various anti-Soviet crimes and giving evidence against both Riznykiv and Nina Strokata-Karavanska. Strokata-Karavanska's husband, Svyatoslav Karavansky, figured in the case only indirectly in that it was Strokata's refusal to renounce him that made her a KGB target.

150. "?" indicates uncertainty on the part of the editors of the *Ukrainian Herald* as to the accuracy of the spelling of the name provided.

151. The Ukrainian National Front was an underground group organized in late 1964 for the purpose of promoting the separation of Ukraine from the U.S.S.R. Ivan Hubka was sentenced to six

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years' labor camp and five years' exile in the case. For a list of eight other members of the UNF who were arrested and imprisoned see *Ferment in the Ukraine*, pp. 233-34.

152. According to *Ferment in the Ukraine*, the name of the journal was *Batktivshchyna i svoboda*. Both names can be translated as "Fatherland and Freedom."

153. The historical theory developed by Ukrainian historian Mykhaylo Hrushevsky, according to which the Ukrainian nation had its beginnings and evolved independently of its Slavic neighbors, *i.e.*, the Russians. Thus, Hrushevsky held that Kievan Rus was in fact already a state uniquely Ukrainian. Most Russian and Soviet historians subscribe to the theory that Kievan Rus was the common cradle of three peoples—the Ukrainians, the Russians, and the Byelorussians.

154. Most of the churches in Ukraine have been closed down. There have been reports of cases where closed-down church buildings were used for the storage of grain and animal feed. In larger cities, some churches have been turned into so-called museums of religion and atheism, others serve as tourist attractions. See *The Ukrainian Herald, Issue 7-8: Ethnocide of Ukrainians in the U.S.S.R.*, "The Destruction of Churches and Persecution of the Faithful," pp. 154-59 and notes Nos. 76 and 79, p. 186.

155. A landowning peasant, *kulak* in Russian. The *kurkuls* were liquidated as a class during the collectivization period of the late 20's and 30's.

156. The colors of the flag of the Ukrainian People's Republic.

157. *Itogi vsesoyuznoy perepisi naseleniya 1970 goda* (A Summary of the All-Union Population Census for the Year 1970) (Moscow: Statistika, 1973).

158. Kosmach, a village in the Hutsul area of the Carpathian Mountains, was held up by Moroz as an example of individuality, strength of character, and will to preserve national traditions and culture. See his essay "A Chronicle of Resistance" in *Boomerang: The Works of Valentyn Moroz*, pp. 91-124, or in *Report from the Beria Reserve*, pp. 55-84.

159. Although the practice of religion in the U.S.S.R. is nominally based on the principle of separation of church and state, authority in religious matters lies with party-appointed laymen who are in the pay of the government.

160. Blue and yellow are the colors of the Ukrainian national flag—the flag of the Ukrainian People's Republic. The trident, which dates back to at least the time of Volodymyr the Great, Prince of Kiev (980-1015), has served as the national emblem of Ukraine during

various periods in Ukrainian history.

161. Lev Lukyanenko (b. 1927) belonged to the so-called Jurists' Group—seven men, three of whom, including Lukyanenko, were lawyers—which in 1960 made plans to form a legal organization, to be called the Ukrainian Workers' and Peasants' Union. The purpose of the UWPU was to raise the issue of the secession of Ukraine from the U.S.S.R., as provided for in both the Ukrainian and the Soviet constitutions, and to conduct peaceful propaganda to that end. All seven were tried in May 1961 on charges of treason and/or participation in an anti-Soviet organization. Lukyanenko was sentenced to death (the sentence was subsequently commuted to a 15-year term), while the sentences of the others ranged from 10 to 15 years in labor camps. See *Ferment in the Ukraine*, "The Jurists' Case," pp. 29-93 and passim.

In June 1976 a report reached the West that Lukyanenko and Ivan Kandyba, who had also been sentenced to 15 years in the case, had been released in early 1976 after serving the full length of their sentences.

162. The Ukrainian National Committee was an organization of 20 individuals—mostly young workers from the Lviv Region—whose purpose it was to demand the secession of Ukraine from the U.S.S.R. The group was tried in secret in Dec. 1961; two members received the death penalty, and were, in fact, executed, while others were sentenced to terms ranging from five (1) to 15 years (8). See *Ferment in the Ukraine* for details of this and numerous other similar little-known cases in Ukraine in the post-Stalin era.

163. Roman A. Rudenko was the chief prosecutor for the U.S.S.R. at the Nuremberg Trials in 1945-46. Since 1953 he has served as the Procurator-General of the U.S.S.R. In June 1966 Svyatoslav Karavansky wrote a petition to the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. asking that Rudenko's appointment as procurator-general be terminated and that he be indicted on various criminal charges, including murder (for "executions of innocent people during the Stalin era"), the "institution of criminal proceedings against a person known to be innocent," violations of legality and the rights of prisoners, etc. See *The Chornovil Papers*, pp. 214-19.

164. Kateryna Zarytska (b. 1914): organized Red Cross units for the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, for which in 1947 she was sentenced to death, later commuted to a 25-year term. She was released in 1972 after serving the full term, almost all of it in Vladimir Prison. Her husband, Mykhaylo Soroka, died as a political prisoner in a Soviet labor camp in 1971.

165. Odarka Husyak (b. 1924) was in 1950 condemned to death for her participation in the Ukrainian resistance movement as a courier for the OUN; the death sentence was commuted to 25 years,

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most of which she served in Vladimir Prison before being released at the expiration of her term in 1975.

166. Halyna Didyk (b. 1912) was in 1950 condemned to death for her role in organizing Red Cross units for the UPA; the sentence was commuted to a 25-year term, most of which she served in Vladimir Prison.

Karavansky appealed for the release of Zarytska, Husyak, and Didyk in his petition to the Chairman of the Council of Nationalities of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. (*The Chornovil Papers*, pp. 204, 206).

167. Mykhaylo Soroka (b. 1911), an architect by profession, spent seven years in Polish jails for his participation in organized resistance to Polish rule in Western Ukraine before World War II. In 1940, shortly after the Red Army's invasion of Western Ukraine and during the wave of arrests and deportations of Ukrainians suspected of being opposed to Soviet rule, Soroka was arrested as a member of the OUN leadership. He served an eight-year term in various concentration camps of Siberia and the Far North; in 1948 he was released and returned to Ukraine. A few months later, however, he was arrested again and deported to the Krasnoyarsk territory in central Siberia. In 1952 Soroka was arrested and in 1953 tried and sentenced to death (commuted to a 25-year term) for helping to organize a self-defense organization among Ukrainian political prisoners in the Vorkuta labor camps. The rest of his life Soroka spent in the labor camps of Siberia and Mordovia. Soroka's letter, written probably to his friends in the OUN, was smuggled out of one of these camps.

Avraham Shifrin, a Jew who spent ten years in Soviet labor camps before being allowed to emigrate to Israel in 1970, wrote about his friendship with Soroka in his *The Fourth Dimension* (Ukrainian translation from the Russian original—*Chetverty Vymir* [Munich: Suchasnist, 1973]). Other references to Soroka are in *The Chornovil Papers*, p. 209 and passim, *Ferment in the Ukraine*, pp. 225-26 and passim, and *Cataract*.

168. Soroka had no daughter. This and later references to a "daughter" and several other cryptic remarks in his letter were used by Soroka to convey coded messages to members of the OUN leadership.

169. Of the OUN, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists.

170. Vorkuta, located north of the Arctic Circle in the Komi A.S.S.R., was the site of a vast complex of hard-labor concentration camps which was built around the coal mining industry in the area. As an inmate of one of those camps during his 1940-48 period of imprisonment, Soroka was instrumental in forming the political prisoners' defense organizations, which in large part were made up of former members of the Ukrainian resistance movement.

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171. Soroka lived in exile in the Krasnoyarsk territory, an administrative unit of the R.S.F.S.R. in central Siberia, from 1949 to 1952. His arrest on December 28, 1952, occurred in Krasnoyarsk, the central town of the territory. After three months his case was transferred to Syvtyvkar, the administrative center of the Komi A.S.S.R., where Vorkuta is located.

For the names and sentences of the defendants in the Syvtyvkar trial see *Ferment in the Ukraine*, pp. 225-26.

172. The Komi Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic lies in the extreme northern part of European R.S.F.S.R. The Vorkuta camp complex and Syvtyvkar are located there.

173. Having signed an agreement with the Polish government in exile on July 30, 1941, the Soviet government allowed the formation of Polish army units under the command of Gen. Wladyslaw Anders, composed of Polish citizens who were deported to the U.S.S.R. following the German invasion of Poland. Among them were about 2,000 Ukrainians from Western Ukraine. In the course of the war these units were moved to the North African front, where they fought on the side of the British. Once in the West they revealed the existence of the concentration camps which supplied slave labor for the Vorkuta coal mines.

174. Words attributed to County Pyotr Valuyev, Minister of Interior of the Russian Empire and author of the so-called Valuyev Edict of 1863, which banned the publication of academic and scientific works in the Ukrainian language.

175. Andriy Bilynsky was repatriated to West Germany in 1955 on the basis of his claim to German citizenship. His memoirs, *V konststaborakh SRSR, 1944-1955* (In the Concentration Camps of the U.S.S.R., 1944-55), appeared in 1961 (Munich and Chicago).

176. Avraham Shifrin testified about the prisoners' uprisings in the Kingir and other camp complexes at hearings of a subcommittee of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary. See *U.S.S.R. Labor Camps* (Washington: U.S. GPO, 1973), p. 15. The Kingir revolt that Soroka describes was finally put down with the massive use of troops, planes, and tanks. Five hundred women prisoners, most of them Ukrainian, were crushed by Soviet tanks whose path they blocked in the vain hope of keeping them from advancing on the male prisoners.

177. The Lena is a Siberian river. Tayshet, Kolyma, and Magadan are the sites of concentration camp complexes.

178. Mykhaylo Soroka died on June 16, 1971, in Camp No. 17A of the Dubrovlag camp complex, the Mordovian A.S.S.R. He had spent 36 years in prisons and concentration camps, of that total 29 in Soviet ones.

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VALENTYN MOROZ



IVAN SVITLYCHNY



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IVAN SOKULSKY



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