

VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN UKRAINE

- DOCUMENTS -

WORLD CONGRESS OF FREE UKRAINIANS
CONGRES MONDIAL DES UKRAINIENS LIBRES
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WELT KONGRESS DER FREIEN UKRAINER
СВІТОВИЙ КОНГРЕС ВІЛЬНИХ УКРАЇНЦІВ

WORLD CONGRESS OF FREE UKRAINIANS
Human Rights Commission

Violation Of Human Rights In Ukraine

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FOREWORD

In 1968 international community commemorated the 20th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. At various international conferences facts were brought to light that in many countries of the world these rights as outlined in that historic document are being flagrantly violated while, at the same time, the violators pay lip service to the provisions embodied in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The most flagrant violation of these rights occurs in the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics.

The late 1960's witnessed in the USSR reimposition and steady tightening of the ideological discipline. Simultaneously the Russian regime launched an offensive against intellectuals and dissenters. Severe punishment was meted out to those who made their dissent public. The names of the most prominent dissenters in the Soviet Union, such as Syniavsky, Daniel, Chornovil and Dziuba are well known in the Western world.

In Ukraine and other non-Russian republics conditions prevail of a different nature. While the Russian intelligentsia in the USSR is striving for social, economic and political rights, the Ukrainians and other non-Russian peoples are strenuously resisting the policy of forced Russification and national extermination. The documents which made their way into the West by various channels from Ukraine during 1969 and are included in this publication are ample illustration of the situation existing in the USSR today, as well as of the policy of the Soviet regime in Ukraine. This collection also contains three documents which did not originate in Ukraine, but were issued by Ukrainian organizations abroad in response to what is taking place in Ukraine at the present time.

It is hoped that this collection of documents will contribute to a better understanding of the situation prevailing in the Soviet Union.

VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN UKRAINE

An Appeal of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians to the United Nations, the Governments and Peoples of the Free World

The Secretariat of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians wishes to draw once more the attention of the international community to events in Ukraine, particularly to the flagrant violations of the basic human rights of the peoples of the USSR and at the same time to the struggle of the Ukrainian nation for freedom and social justice.

In our Memoranda of November 1967 and April 1968, submitted to the Secretary General of the United Nations and to the International Conference on Human Rights in Teheran, the Secretariat of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians brought to the attention of the United Nations and to the attention of the international community the actual state of human rights in the USSR. Notwithstanding the fact that the Government of the USSR as well as the Government of the Ukrainian SSR participated in the formulation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and are signatories of various conventions on human rights, neither in the USSR as a whole, nor in Ukraine, have these covenants been observed or agreements kept in force. Quite the contrary, Soviet authorities recently stepped up their attempts to suppress all strivings of peoples for individual liberties and national freedoms.

The treatment of the political prisoners in the Soviet prisons and concentration camps continues to be not only harsh but also cruel and inhuman. The Soviet authorities are employing various methods of physical and moral tortures in their attempt to undermine the resistance of prisoners.

Recently we received information that even food in prisons is being poisoned and that as a result a number of prisoners developed serious ailments. On October 8, 1969 the Amnesty International submitted to the United Nations Human Rights Commission a letter signed by three Ukrainian prisoners, Mykhailo Horyn, Ivan Kandyba and Lev Lukiianenko, who accuse the Soviet authorities of such almost unbelievable atrocities.

In 1969 our Secretariat received a number of documents which provide additional proof of the complete disregard by Soviet Government for the provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. These letters, petitions and declarations condemning the regime's violations of

elementary human rights have not been circulated clandestinely within the borders of the Soviet Union: they have been openly distributed by their authors and signatories for the express purpose of alerting public opinion both inside and outside the USSR to events unthinkable in our century and to the battle being fought against them.

During the year 1968, when the international community celebrated the twentieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Soviet Government began a new wave of arrests, persecutions and violations of the civil, cultural and political rights of the peoples in the USSR, particularly in Ukraine.

Forced russification, discrimination based on national origin, persecution of churches, arbitrary arrests and deportations, secret trials, the subjection of people to cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment, the denial of freedom of movement, thought, conscience and religion, the denial of freedom of opinion and expression, and of peaceful assembly and association — all these are clearly indicated and documented in the materials received from Ukraine, which are herein enclosed.

In 1967-68 Soviet authorities arrested a number of persons from various walks of life. Most of these arrested were sentenced to periods of 5 to 15 years imprisonment in concentration camps. Their only "crime" was that they demanded the implementation of certain provisions of the Soviet constitution.

On May 11th, 1968, a Ukrainian patriot, Vasyl Makukh, burned himself to death in Kiev, the Capital of Ukraine, protesting against russification and persecution in Ukraine. On February 10, 1969 another attempt by Mykola Bereslavsky to burn himself in protest against persecution in Ukraine took place.

On November 26, December 12 and 13, 1968, and in January 1969 the Vydubicky Monastery was destroyed by fire and at the same time the Ukrainian historical archives and works of art, stored in this Monastery, were totally destroyed. Reliable information received from Ukraine confirms that the fire had been set deliberately by people employed by Soviet authorities in order to destroy valuable sources of Ukrainian history. A similar crime was committed by Soviet authorities in 1964, when the archives of the Ukrainian Academy of Science in Kiev were destroyed by fire. The history of this crime is widely known in Ukraine and throughout the world. The Soviet Ukrainian press in Kiev wrote about the fire in Vydubicky Monastery stating that the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR had established an investigating committee.

On May 5, 1969 the historical archives stored in Ternopil, another Ukrainian city, also were destroyed by fire. In accordance with the reliable information received from this city, shortly before fire started, water supply in that particular part of the city was cut off and as a result

it was not possible to save the building and precious historical documents.

The extent of the forced russification of Ukrainian people and suppression of Ukrainian cultural development is confirmed by letters which are being circulated in Ukraine, addressed to the authorities of the Ukrainian SSR. Some letters are readily available in the Western world as for example: "A letter from the Creative Ukrainian Youth of Dnipropetrovsk", an "Open Letter" signed by Vasyl Stus of Lviv to the Presidium of the Union of Writers of Ukraine, and an "Open Letter" of widely known Ukrainian writers and poets Ivan Dziuba, Eugene Sverstiuk, Mykhailyna Kotsiubynska, Lina Kostenko and Victor Nekrasow to the editor of "Literaturna Ukraina" (Literary Ukraine).

The Ukrainian youth group from Dnipropetrovsk, as an illustration, emphasizes in its letter that in the city of Dnipropetrovsk, with a population of almost one million, there is not even one Ukrainian kindergarten, not one fully Ukrainian elementary or high school, and not one institution of higher learning with the Ukrainian as the language of instruction. Similar information is given in other letters as well.

The particulars about the present situation in Ukraine in these letters supplement and bring up-to-date information supplied earlier by the "Chornovil Papers", Ivan Dziuba's "Internationalism or russification", John Kolasky's "Education in Soviet Ukraine" and the Report of the delegation of the Communist party of Canada to Ukraine which are available in the Western world and which were brought to the attention of the international community and the United Nations together with our previous memoranda. *)

Simultaneously, the persecution of the Ukrainian Catholic Church has been renewed. On January 23rd, 1969 Soviet authorities arrested Most Rev. Vasyl Velychkowsky and a number of other priests of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. Their only "guilt" was that they continued to practice their religion and provided spiritual guidance to the members of their Church. It should be noted that the newly arrested priests had already spent many years in Soviet concentration camps after the Ukrainian Catholic Church was formally liquidated in 1946.

The particulars in this matter are provided in the pastoral letters issued by the hierarchy of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Canada and the United States of America. The copies of those letters are herein enclosed.

Not only the civil, political and cultural rights of the Ukrainian people have been violated and suppressed, but also economic exploitation

*) V. Chornovil, Chornovil papers (New York, McGraw-Hill, 1968), 246 p.; I. Dziuba, Internationalism or russification (London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1968), 240 p.; J. Kolasky, Education in Soviet Ukraine (Toronto, P. Martin, 1968), 238 p.; Communist party of Canada, Central Committee, Report of delegation to Ukraine. In *Viewpoint*, Toronto, v. 5, no. 1, January, 1968, p. 1—13. (Editor)

of Ukraine and the planned discrimination against non-Russian territories within the Soviet Union is plainly evident even from the Soviet statistical sources.

On January 29, 1969 the Soviet press published a report of the Statistical office of the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR about the "fulfilment of the plan in the development of the national economy of the Ukrainian SSR in 1968". The statistical data of this report shows the colonial character of the Ukrainian economy whose resources are being used for the development of the economic and military might of the Soviet Russian empire with a complete disregard for the needs and rights of the Ukrainian people. For example, capital investment of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic is 15% higher in comparison with the average norm for the USSR as a whole. In Ukraine, however, capital investment is 16% lower than the average norm. The Russian SFSR, which has 54% of the total population of the USSR, received 62% of the total capital investments, while Ukraine with 20% of the total population received only 16% of the capital funds of the USSR.

It hardly need be added that the industrial and agricultural output of the Ukrainian SSR, the distribution of goods and services, export and import, and foreign trade in general are under the direct control of Central Russian authorities in Moscow which regulate all aspects of economic life of the Ukrainian people.

Drawing the attention of the international community to the situation in Ukraine, we request the support of the United Nations and the international community for the Ukrainian nation in its struggle for civil, political, cultural and economic rights and independence.

We feel that all these facts and complaints submitted by individuals and groups of people in the Soviet Union should be investigated by an independent international commission and that violations of human rights in the USSR should be condemned by the United Nations.

The struggle for human rights is a basic responsibility of the international community, and therefore, we believe that the Governments and the peoples of the free world should give their support to those less fortunate who suffer under the yoke of Soviet Russian totalitarianism. You can thus assist the Ukrainians — a nation of 45 million people — in regaining full political and national rights.

Winnipeg, Canada, December 15, 1969.

Secretariat of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians

Rev. Dr. Basil Kushnir
President

Mykola Plawiuk
Secretary General

Prof. Paul Yuzyk, Senator
Chairman, Human Rights Commission

PETITION

**Submitted to the United Nations Human Rights Commission by
Mykhailo Horyn, Ivan Kandyba and Lev Lukianenko**

We, the Ukrainian political prisoners, address ourselves to you, the highest organ for protection of human rights.

We were arrested for demanding improvements in the condition of Ukrainian workers and for defending the rights of the Ukrainian language, education, and culture. Insofar as these demands are permitted by the Soviet constitution, we continue to uphold them. Having failed to break us morally, the KGB (secret police) are trying to transform us biologically from intellectuals into primitives.

Last year Lukianenko was taken to Vladimir prison on March 3, and kept there until September. (In this prison) chemicals which cause poisoning were added to his food. He was given to know that prolonged usage of this poison causes human organism to deteriorate.

Poison is also added to the food in the camp. We have done a number of tests and have proved this to be true. The symptoms of poisoning are as follow: slight pressure in the temples begins 10-15 minutes after eating; this eventually develops into unbearable headache. Concentration becomes difficult, even for something like writing a letter home. When reading a paragraph one forgets what was written at the beginning before reaching the end. In order to return to a normal state, it is necessary to fast for 24 hours. Therefore we alternate days of fasting with days of poisoned food.

Food packages from home are even more strongly poisoned, so that we have been forced to throw them away altogether, although we are allowed to receive them only twice a year. Nutrition in the camp consists of 2,000 calories per day.

Last year (the situation was) the same as this year. The symptoms of poisoning were somewhat different; 10 - 15 minutes after eating one felt a mild intoxication, followed by severe cramps in the center of the brain, trembling of the hands, inability to concentrate. Headaches last for days.

When we complained to the camp authorities that we are being

poisoned we were transferred to separate cells with frosted windows, which in addition to having bars, also have screens and blinds which shut out all daylight; we live under electric lights all day with the exception of one hour each day when we walk outside. This is the manner in which Russian officials of the KGB treat Ukrainian patriots and honest citizens.

Honored Commission. If you consider that such methods of re-educating human beings are incompatible with the laws of humanity, we ask that you raise your voice in protest. *)

June, 1969.

Mykhailo Horyn
Ivan Kandyba
Lev Lukianenko

*) The above petition was submitted to the United Nations Human Rights Committee on behalf of the prisoners by the Amnesty International on October 8, 1969.
(Editor)

OPEN LETTER

To: The First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist
Party of Ukraine P. Y. Shelest

Copies to: Chairman of the Committee for State Security,
deputy V. F. Nikitchenko.
President of the Union of Writers of Ukraine,
O. T. Honchar.
President of the Artists' Union of Ukraine,
deputy V. E. Kasian.
Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Ukraine,
deputy D. S. Korotchenko.
Secretary of the Supreme Soviet of Ukraine,
deputy A. N. Zlenko.
deputy S. V. Stefanyk.
deputy M. S. Kikh.

Dear Petro Yukhymovych!

*) We are addressing ourselves to you in a matter which deeply concerns us.

On the 15th of November, 1967 we were present during the court proceedings in the case of V. M. Chornovil in Lviv. In contrast to the political proceedings which took place in 1965-66, this case was heard in an open court session. The defendant was given the opportunity to express his point of view on the essence of the case, to deny the accusations made against him; the court did not prohibit him from having the final say and did not limit his time. Actually all this is guaranteed under the Soviet laws and it would not seem to be necessary to express satisfaction with something that one has the right to expect. As is widely known, however, these elementary procedural norms were often violated during the political proceedings of 1965-66. Thus the reestablishment of these laws, making them the accepted norm, if only to this extent, would be considered an important advance in our judicial practice.

Those violations were all the more vexing as they were the cause of a verdict that was strikingly unrelated to the significant material which played a part in the proceedings, and which was out of proportion to the basic evidence upon which he was accused. We would like to direct at-

*) This letter is being circulated in a manuscript form in Ukraine.
Reprinted in Ukrainian by "Suchasnist" (München), 1969. (Editor)

tention to this since the tendency which manifested itself here goes beyond one definite occurrence and may even serve as a bad precedent.

The violation of the procedural norms started at the beginning of the court session. The defendant, V. M. Chornovil tried to challenge the prosecutor Sadovsky and the judge, Nazaruk on the basis that in the given case they would not be objective. Included in the materials were the writings of V. M. Chornovil, which could incriminate him and which were the subject of the court's hearings. In these he had sharply criticized the above-mentioned persons for gross violations of socialist laws and procedural norms, which they had committed in prior political proceedings. Thus, they were directly involved in the matter and could even appear at its examination as, let us say, the defendants, but not, under any circumstances, as a prosecutor and judge. In such matters, according to the Soviet criminal-procedural norms, the participants of a judicial process are obliged to refuse to accept office. Neither the prosecutor nor the judge did this, however, in spite of the legally grounded appeals of the defendant which were upheld by the lawyer (citing the appropriate article of the Procedural Code). He was overruled without any judicial argument. This was one of the reasons that the court was not objective in the review of the material presented before it. In many instances the proceedings seemed to be directed at settling a score with someone who had dared to criticize them.

The Bill of Indictment accused V. M. Chornovil of "preparing and distributing" of deliberately created slanderous fabrications about the actions of the organs of government. In actual fact, the issue was that he had composed material about political prisoners convicted in 1965-66, entitled **Lykho z Rozumu (Chornovil Papers)** *) and had sent a copy to four addresses, these being: the First secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, P. Yu. Shelest, the Chairman of the Committee for State Security, Deputy V. F. Nikitchenko; the President of the Union of the Writers of Ukraine, Deputy O. T. Honchar and the President of the Artists' Union of Ukraine, Deputy V. E. Kasian, also, on the request of V. Ya. Moroz, the author, he sent this material to four other addressees: Deputies D. S. Korotchenko, A. N. Zlenko, S. V. Stefanyk and M. S. Kikh. No other names were mentioned during the court proceedings, nor were any facts cited to indicate that Chornovil had given this material to anyone else nor were any witnesses able to state that he had. (Actually there were only two witnesses and their testimonies bore no

*) A copy of Chornovil's manuscript found its way abroad and was published here under the title "Chornovil Papers" in 1968 but without knowledge or co-operation of the author — Editor.

relation to the essence of the case, that is they were neither able to substantiate that Chornovil distributed his material nor that he had "deliberately created slanderous fabrications", in other words invented non-existent things and submitting them as actual fact.) And yet Chornovil was accused of "distributing" the above-mentioned material.

It is obvious that all of the addressees are in responsible and official positions, and thus it is easy to believe that Chornovil was in this manner "preparing and distributing slanderous lies, which defamed Soviet government and the social order" (regardless of the contents of the writings.) This would be a gross exaggeration if not to say a blatant distortion of the truth. Have not all Soviet citizens the right to address their representatives and government officials in any given matter, with any appeals or with any suggestions? No other facts about the distribution of Chornovil's material were cited during the hearing. We will not even mention that neither the prosecutor nor the judge was interested in examining the facts and did not attempt to establish what, in the writings of Chornovil, was fact and what was fancy. Not a single aspect of the material was analyzed, reviewed, proved or corrected with a view to its factuality and veritability. The defendant's pleas, to call on more witnesses and to annex additional material which would substantiate his writings, were not complied with. At the same time, the court sentenced him to the maximum penalty provided for by the statute: 3 years in a reformation camp, for "creating slanderous fabrications". And this, in spite of the fact that Chornovil and his lawyer were able to refute all the accusations, and all the "evidence" put forward by the prosecutor during the court session and the results of the investigation, and in spite of the court's inability to find any concrete evidence that he had actually "distributed" the said material. All the accusations, therefore, remained without proof.

It is possible that the court was firmly convinced of Chornovil's guilt. However, the subjective disposition of the court officials can have no objective judicial significance and should not be allowed to influence the verdict. The guilt of the accused should be determined on the basis of irrefutable facts, witnesses and by means of other judicial methods of proof.

Those of us who were present at the trial of Chornovil saw that the court had not fulfilled its function. It was carried out in an unqualified and non-objective way. The verdict was completely irrelevant with regard to the materials in question and the accusations laid. The result was merely the revenge by those entrusted with power upon someone who thinks at variance with their own views and who had dared to criticize

the actions of individual government representatives, virtually exercising his constitutional rights.

For this reason, we address ourselves to you and ask that you intervene personally in the Chornovil case and not allow another gross violation of socialist laws, another sinister precedent. Added to our letter is Chornovil's statement of the 30th of October 1967 and the text of his final words.

Ivan Dziuba
Ivan Svitlychny
Nadia Svitlychny
Lina Kostenko

A LETTER FROM THE MORDOVIAN CONCENTRATION CAMP

*) My dear People! Do not be surprised that I am still in good "health", and am able to communicate with you. A day before the 1st of May when I had planned to begin a hunger strike, I was called in to see the commander of the camp who promised me a mountain of riches.

Because I do not place very much faith in these promises (this may have been merely an unethical trick in order to maintain peace in the camp on the 1st of May), I simply postponed my "ultimatum" for 15 days. I want to see if, in this time, the promises will be fulfilled and to test the ethical principles of the lieutenant-colonel.

I will not bow down from my intentions until at least my main demands are satisfied. And though starvation is not merely a physical torment caused by humiliation it was my only resource against these politely cold barbarians who try in vain to don the cloak of civility.

The main reason for taking this step was not merely the groundless deprival of my seeing anyone, nor the refusal to deliver letters sent to me, nor the coarse treatment (which happens only occasionally, generally I am officially well treated) — though all of these trivialities are very irritating to a prisoner. My main grievance is the elimination, without reason, of the documents of the trial and the inquest, not only my notebook which contained a systematic description of all the material pertaining to my case in which a wretched and frightened imagination saw a "publicistic essay", but also official copies of court documents (the resolutions of the Supreme Court, my appeal and my remarks regarding protocol etc.)

I have said before and now I repeat again: they had no ground on which to try me. They falsely attributed to me some unconstitutional, half-baked article of the Code. The facts quoted in my works were neither deliberately nor undeliberately slanderous and no "distribution" was proven by the inquest.. Out of fear of the truth, out of fear of the uncovering of the falsification and shuffling, those who are the guardians of the law found themselves compelled to commit such an illegal, arbitrary act as the seizure of my notes on the inquiry and the trial.

In jail as well as here at the camp, I have been hearing rumours,

*) This letter is being circulated in a manuscript form in Ukraine.
Reprinted in Ukrainian by "Suchasnist" (München) 1969. (Editor)

through various channels, that helpless in the face of logical facts and arguments, certain base and low, so-called people have succumbed to a method which was considered underhanded by wise persons about 2 or 3 thousand years ago. Instead of criticizing the opinions of the opponent, they resort to the defamation of his character. At first they entertained the idea of writing a feuilleton (I believe it was for the same **Perets**) about the "amoralism" of Chornovil. However, it was not even possible to squeeze out of the forefinger of the left foot anything which would be suitable for the topic of "amorality". Perhaps the confusion which resulted from the diatribe against the literary critic, Ivan Dziuba, was instructive.

From a not-very-low official tribunal there later came the statement: "We have heard nothing about such writers as Osadchy and Chornovil". I will not discuss Osadchy, his poetry will do that adequately. Some excerpts from his poetry would only serve to invoke jealousy in some graphomaniacs who are formal members of a Writers' Union. But where or when did Chornovil ever call himself a writer? Is this also a new style technique of the official critics — to affix a non-existing nomenclature and later to refute it themselves? A middle-ranking orator could not have said that there is no such journalist and publicist as Chornovil for that would be an outright lie. If he was really interested in me, he would have noticed that in different periodicals, there did appear literary articles and critiques by Chornovil which are, if you're looking for the truth, only a small part of his literary work. The reasons, perhaps, why most of my articles were not published may be found not only by examining the creative potentials of the writer but also by interpreting the conditions of the times in which fledgling writers and critics found themselves in recent years. None is proposing to deny the qualifications of such gifted literary critics as Ivan Dziuba and Ivan Svitlychny who rose to prominence in the first half of the 1960's. Yet, how often have these names appeared on the pages of periodicals during the past three years? Is it that such talented persons have suddenly lost their creative powers and have been unable in these years to produce anything worthwhile? What would happen if they were to attempt to begin their careers in times such as the present? Possibly they would never have been heard of, just as little or nothing is known, even in literary circles of a man such as Vasyl Stus, literary critic and very gifted poet. (He is not alone in this situation.)

I have finally come to realize some rather incredible things. It seems that those who have been agitating for my release, who have been stepping out in my defence, are being systematically taken to task. Allegedly one person was told the following: "And do you know whom

you are defending, about whom you are writing? Don't you know that Chornovil has said that all Communists and Komsomol members (Young Communist League) should have their stomachs cut open and stuffed with their own programmes". It is difficult to imagine anything more crude and absurd. If this was to be believed, even for a moment, then I would be compelled to commit hari-kiri for I was a Komsomol member until the age of 28, and a voluntary participant in two urgent Komsomol construction projects, and even worked in an elected position for the Komsomol. There are many Komsomol members and Communists among my friends. Is it possible that a blood-thirsty Chornovil would recommend such a punishment for them? However, it seems to me that a surgical intervention of a slightly different nature would not be out of order.

It would not be amiss to open up the skulls of the creators of such absurdities, blow out the chaff and fill them with oil. It would be for their own good.

I solemnly declare that contrary to all the illogical affirmations (for example: he is written about by the followers of Melnyk*) outside the country — therefore he is in cahoots with them). I stood and continue to stand solidly behind socialism, but not the kind of socialism which seeks to regulate not only the actions but also the thoughts of the individual. I cannot visualize a **real** socialism without guaranteed democratic freedoms, without the widest political and economic self-government by all the cells of the national organism including even the smallest, or without a real guarantee — and not merely one on paper — of the rights of all the nations in a multi-national state.

From looking at history we can observe that socialism can take two paths; that which Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia are presently groping for, and that of Stalin and Mao Tse Tung. Centralization is a rather vague and insecure position which soon begins to gravitate to one of two directions. Meanwhile this oscillation disorients the masses and destroys their faith in any ideals except perhaps their faith in the more or less guaranteed neutral and calm vegetation.

Excuse me for a very superficial presentation of a complex issue. However, I wanted to outline my position, if even in such a primitive manner (I am deprived of others) in order to dispel the filthy insinuations which, if they only affected me, could possibly be ignored.

With a thought of you, my known and unknown friends — those of you who share my convictions about Freedom, Wisdom and Justice, I close this letter and return to the loathsome reality to which I am confined.

3rd of May, 1968

Yours,

Viacheslav Chornovil.

*) Colonel Andrii Melnyk, Ukrainian Nationalist leader. (Editor)

OPEN LETTER

To the Praesidium of the Union of Writers of Ukraine
Copies to: F. D. Ovcharenko, Secretary of the Central Committee
of the Communist Party of Ukraine;
Editor of the Magazine "Vsesvit"

*) Recently the journal **Literaturna Ukraina** published an article by O. Poltoratsky, "The One Whom Certain Humanists are Defending". This article provokes essential objections and incites one towards deeper contemplations.

1. As it is well known, the "black hundred" of cultists renewed its pogroms in the middle of 1965. Since that time, many people have been sentenced for political reasons — artists, scientists, engineers, pedagogues, students; the living quarters of hundreds of representatives of the intelligentsia were searched; many scientists and qualified editors lost their jobs; many students were expelled from universities and institutions of higher learning; many talent-filled books of such authors as M. Osadchy, M. Dalko, M. Kholodny, V. Kordun, M. Vorobiov, L. Kostenko were butchered; thousands of souls were traumatized. Many of these pogroms were mentioned by V. M. Chornovil in his letter to the government (the post script listing since then has increased by many pages). Repressions continue even until the present time. Quite recently many well-known scientists were dismissed from their jobs: the historian M. Yu. Braichevsky and the literary expert M. Kh. Kotsiubynska, the paleontologist H. Bachynsky, the physicist I. Zaslavska, the cybernetics expert Bodnarchuk; the artists A. Horska, L. Semykina, H. Sevruck and others were expelled from the Artists Union; one of the most gifted contemporary Ukrainian poets, V. Holoborodko was hounded down and sent into the army.

O. Poltoratsky, in refuting the "hostile slander", mentions only S. Karavansky and V. Chornovil.

My question is this: why didn't Poltoratsky and Co. write their pamphlets when mass arrests were being conducted, when many people were directing questions to the government? Did the poltoratskies give these people any convincing answers? Why did Poltoratsky arm himself

*) This letter is being circulated in a manuscript form in Ukraine.
Reprinted in Ukrainian by "Suchasnist" (München) 1969. (Editor)

with his talented pen only when the West began to talk about these Bartholomian nights of the past years?

Of course, it is the same to the poltoratskies how their compatriots treat the events in their own country, but they feel very uncomfortably when their enemies learn about such events. I assume that the foreign foes are not as dangerous to Poltoratsky and Co. as their own countrymen. It is no small wonder then, that the first public mention about the past trials appeared in **Visti z Ukrainy** (a paper published for distribution abroad), while in the local press there is no mention of them until the present time, except for the disgusting feuilleton about I. Dziuba written by a local rhyme-maker.

II. It is well known, that in their letter, about one hundred and fifty Kiev citizens defended the constitutional rights and democratic freedoms of the Soviet people. Poltoratsky avoids the main contents of this letter since it does not aid him in his "destructive criticism". The author of the article dwells only upon a few selected facts, but even in this, he lies without talent.

The whole article is based on excursions into the distant past of Karavansky (at the same time, Poltoratsky is not embarrassed by the fact that this name does not even appear in the letter). It goes without saying, that the past of Karavansky will not provoke any sympathy if one believes Poltoratsky. However, can one believe Poltoratsky? The unpraiseworthy past of the convicted is recalled by the author of the article with suspicious accuracy. Is this not done to avoid saying anything about the present? Perhaps Karavansky was put into Volodimir prison not for his past, but because of some recent deeds which Poltoratsky prefers not to mention? And perhaps they are also unapplicable to his destructive criticism? The author could have at least mentioned with a single word the "antisoviet" appeals of Karavansky to the communist parties of the World resulting from the 1965 persecutions in Ukraine! It is not difficult to understand why Poltoratsky decided not to decipher the "criminal" activity of Karavansky during the years 1964—1965.

III. Poltoratsky is also a talented liar when he is "exposing" V. M. Chornovil.

1. V. Chornovil, "the former inspector", according to the advertisement, worked as an editor of the Lviv Telestudio before the difficulties developed, he was secretary of the Komsomol of the Kiev "HES" — the All-Union Communist Youth Show Building. This same "inspector" Chornovil managed a branch of the youth newspaper **Moloda Hvardia** which printed many critiques and literary articles; he passed minimum credit examinations and with exceptional success passed the examinations for post-graduate studies at the Kiev Pedagogical Institute. And right after the pogroms began, he became an inspector . . .

Obviously, for Poltoratsky all these facts of Chornovil's biography are quite disadvantageous and that is why he either conceals them (that means he is lying) or he distorts them (that means that he shamelessly lies).

2. Poltoratsky states that V. Chornovil "was caught in the act of writing, duplicating and distributing slanderous letters in Ukraine and illegally sending them abroad". Every word here is a lie. The accusations that Chornovil distributed the materials about the 1965-66 trials, were not even proven in court. Moreover, there is no basis on which to accuse Viacheslav of illegally sending these arranged materials abroad. Let us consider the following: can one blame O. I. Solzhenitsyn for the fact that his book "Cancerous Word" was published abroad instead of in the homeland? Is not our own cruel censorship to blame for bringing about such an assault on literary "self publication"?

3. The evaluation of the letters as slanderous is totally unconvincing.

As it is well known, the first Chornovil letter described the numerous repressions of young Ukrainian creative intelligentsia, the arrests, accusations, investigations and the proceedings of the trials themselves. The letter contained only the materials concerning the legal proceedings and testimonies of individual eyewitnesses. Analyzing all these documents, V. Chornovil quite logically was coming to the conclusion that all court proceedings of 1965-66 were unlawful and unconstitutional. I assume that the letter could have contained certain inaccuracies, since V. Chornovil could not compare his material with the stenographic records of the closed court proceedings. For example, why could not Poltoratsky tell the truth, calmly reasoning out each such inaccuracy?! But he does not do this, and resorts instead to the little-convincing exclamation: All this is slander!

Regarding the second letter **Lykho z Rozumu** (Woe of Intellect or Chornovil Papers), it contained only short biographical references about each person who had been convicted; it gave an enumeration of their literary achievements; it contained the appeals of the prisoners to the government; also the letters from the Mordovian political concentration camps. What was slanderous in all this? Obviously, if for example, the talented artist P. Zalyvakha is strictly forbidden "to write and to paint" and this becomes known outside Mordovia, then the poltoratskies become violently furious. And they then release this fury on those who expose these "Bekendorf" methods of "re-education".

Today it is already clear to many people that all the past arrests, searches, investigations, closed trials, the Dragon-like sentences of the faultless god-like judges — all this was a screaming mockery of socialist legality, justice, democratic freedoms and, finally, of the ideals of Marx, Engels and Lenin.

4. The meanness of Poltoratsky reaches its apogee when he

attributes to V. M. Chornovil the horrible phrase about the Komsomol. Being a friend of Viacheslav, I have no doubt whatsoever who is the real author of this phrase. Besides, one does not have to be Dr. Shakhovsky or Babisthkin in order to sense in it the typical Poltoratsky style. It will not be superfluous to recall a particular historical fact. This is how H. Epikov wrote in 1935 under the then ruling authority of the Chief of "KGB" (Committee of State Security) Balitsky: "When preparing acts of terror, with an innocent look we assured the party of our loyalty and honesty, and during many years we played such roles that in comparison to them, the acts of robbers were examples of honesty and humanity. I understood, that the most merciful sentence of the proletarian court would be to treat me as they would a rabid dog, to destroy me as they would a diseased horse, to extract me from the bosom of society. The communist party magnanimously believed in my repentance. The party spared my life, giving me in this way the greatest of all possible awards on this earth, that is the right to life, to happiness in my work."

And the fact that Poltoratsky resorts to such an unheard of lie, only adds assurance that he is powerless to find any kind of arguments to justify the pogroms.

IV. In his article published in **Literaturna Ukraina**, the author doesn't understand that while exposing "criminals" he exposes himself. I will dwell only on one instance. With sadistic pleasure Poltoratsky notes that "such men" as mentioned by him are completely without talent for nobody even heard about these writers. This powerless anger of the poltoratskies leads to gross mistakes and even to miscalculations. Firstly, that which could be read quite unequivocally: to that we did not give the opportunity to develop, we destroyed it in the bud. Secondly, what relation does it have with the nature of the accusations? Doesn't the same moral code apply to a "talented union member" as well as to a "talentless instructor of the association"; don't they have the same rights and obligations? Not according to Poltoratsky; he is defeated by his own logic: you see "such a non-writer" as V. Chornovil deceived (!) P. Yu. Shelest, V. Kasian and Nikitchenko, and for this he was sent to jail, but the "talented writer" Poltoratsky is deceiving tens of thousands of readers of **Literaturna Ukraina** and for this, of course, he is even receiving acknowledgements!

In the end, history invariably shows that the poltoratskies were always indifferent as far as the talents of others were concerned. Didn't they at one time or another deny the talents of such writers as O. Vyshnia, M. Zerov, L. Kurbas, Yu. Yanowsky, M. Rylsky and many others? Still another parallel. In 1934, in a hurry to be the first with the news, Poltoratsky informed society, that already four years ago "I luckily was able to achieve the basic thing — to determine for the first time in the Uk-

rainian Soviet critique the antiproletarianism, the lack of talent and the capitalistic ideology in the works of this subject (O. Vyshnia — V.S.)". Indeed, the patent was actually granted to him (Poltoratsky): "This subject" was imprisoned for ten years in the Transural tundra concentration camps. So why should not such a person rejoice, having provided such a great service to Ukrainian classical literature: "Now I am happy to note that something similar already occurred and that my article becomes an epitaph on a rubbish heap where the works of O. Vyshnia are buried."

Addressing the second Soviet conference of the Kiev region in 1935, I. Le said: "For such counter-revolutionaries as Kosynka, Falkivsky, and their followers, it is difficult, even impossible, to achieve the name of Ukrainian writers. Let us be sincere and frank. What is the importance of people like Kosynka, Falkivsky, Dosvitny, Pylypenko, Pidmohylny and others in our literary process? Were they widely known to the public? Were they writers at all? They were not writers. They were hack writers." Let me cite another quotation. The ill-famed I. Stebun (the same one whose intervention caused the expulsion of V. Holoborodko from the Donetz University), while addressing the meeting of the Kiev writers on October 17, 1947, stated: "The sharp criticism of the works of M. Rytsky, Yu. Yanovsky and I. Senchenko during the plenary session was brought up not because these writers are occupying an important place in Ukrainian literature. Their artless and ideologically hostile works have no significance whatsoever in Ukrainian literature." Actually, according to the same Stebun, the Ukrainian writers were at that time under the constant surveillance of Comrade L. M. Kaganovich. Under whose constant surveillance is Poltoratsky who during the past forty years has poorly mastered his literary as well as his police duties, and yet is still firmly sitting in his traitor's saddle.

V. It is a very painful feeling that Poltoratsky always has to be right, both when he is murdering and also when he is reanimating the victims of yesterday. And there are quite a few like him. Those engaged in literary vandalism almost never are mistaken. It is enough to mention those like Sanov, Stebun, Shamota, Morhaienko, Khinkulov, Pron, Shchupak, Hans, Ahuf . . .

Twenty years ago Shamota in discussing **Vesniani Vody** (Spring Streams) by M. T. Rytsky, stated: "The physician Ivan Ivanovych ends his life heroically. What gave him the strength for such a feat? Always the same abstract humanism, 'love of your neighbour', and not the brilliant idea of communism, not the passion of a Soviet patriot. The 'philosophy' to which M. Rytsky bows down is not so innocent as it may appear at first sight. It has served the enemies of the working people more than once."

So you see, the Rytsky "humanists" served the enemies of the people. And the people like Shamota, Poltoratsky, Sanov, Stebun, Mor-

haienko (humanists without quotation marks!) — all honestly and faithfully serve the people. As indeed it is described in one of Vasyl Holoborodko's wise poetical visions:

All is muddled up
pidgeons were gathering on the battlefield
and were picking the eyes of the fallen soldiers
ravens were feeding in the squares
painted while kissing each others' beaks
and songs were sung about them

will we be frightened, or only surprised
and shoo the pidgeons off the corpses
because we pity the ravens.

Is it not shameful that Ukrainian writers and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine are giving up our literature as a prey to the poltoratskies? Alas, for how long will the forces of Justice and Good feel on their lashed backs the eternal rule of Beelzebub's servants?

At the end of the '40's S. Sklarenko said publicly about Stebun: "Where didn't this motherly foe of our people cause harm? He is a member of the Union of Writers, he — this ignoramus — is a member of the Literary Institute of the Academy of Sciences, he's in the publishing house **Radiansky Pysmennyk** (Soviet Writer), he's in **Ditvidav** (a publishing house for children's books), he's in the publishing house **Molod** (Youth), in the Radiocommittee, in movie studios, in educational institutions — everywhere he took up all these positions: governmental and non governmental." When are these words going to be repeated again?

VI. Is it not a disgrace that the editors of **Literaturna Ukraina** provided its pages to Poltoratsky for lies? Or is it possible that these editors serve the people together with these poltoratskies?

During the damned old times, people like Poltoratsky were challenged to a duel. Today there is no such threat to Poltoratsky since we live in such beautiful times. Besides, the deliberate slanderers always avoided an honest fight: cowardice is just another name for baseness.

Vasyl Stus,
62 Lviv St., Apt. 1,
Kiev 115, Ukraine.

OPEN LETTER

To: The Editor of **Literaturna Ukraina**

*) In the July 16th, 1968 issue of **Literaturna Ukraina** we read an article written by O. Poltoratsky entitled "The Interests of Some Humanists".

The political and moral evildoings of this same author are well known to all, even from the time he was publishing denunciations against Ostap Vyshnia, the nation's most popular writer, whom he was alleging to be a fascist agent and a remnant of the 'kulaks'.** He also demanded that the writer be physically chastised. This news presented in "**Literaturna Ukraina**" offended us, for it was difficult to believe that even today a literary man would resort to such dirty, provocational methods.

The article was written as though to provide an answer to a well-known collectively composed letter on the subject of the violation of socialist legislation in political judicial proceedings. The letter was signed by more than one hundred scientists, craftsmen, labourers and literary men — among whom we also found our names. For this reason, the statements of O. Poltoratsky cannot be tolerated in silence.

From the very start, O. Poltoratsky grossly distorts the contents of the letter in which the concrete facts on the subject of the violation of court procedural norms are discussed, and expresses concern that the socialist democracy and the social life of our society will be undermined.

At the same time, O. Poltoratsky states unsubstantially that the authors of the letter are defending "enemies" and "ideological diversionaries" (the very same terminology which he had used thirty-five years ago), these being V. Chornovil and S. Karavansky.

Firstly, we will deal with S. Karavansky. We will not attempt here to ascertain his guilt for which without trial, he is serving the completion of a twenty-five year sentence according to some nonexistent laws of our country. In actuality his name does not even appear in the letter. This did not prevent O. Poltoratsky from bluntly stating that S. Karavansky was defended in the letter. He devotes half of his writing to the subject of S. Karavansky relating his "biography" in all manners of ways.

*) This letter is being circulated in a manuscript form in Ukraine.

Reprinted in Ukrainian by "Suchasnist" (München), 1969.

**) The Russian word "Kulak" means a wealthy peasant who had one or more farm-hands. (Editor)

What was the reason for such a deliberate and crude stacking of evidence?! Obviously, to alarm the reader who is unaware of such matters.

Next, we will discuss V. Chornovil. What right did O. Poltoratsky have to mislead the readers of **Literaturna Ukraina** concerning the accusations, definitions of his actions and the verdict which the court had levelled against V. Chornovil?. Though it is possible to approve or disapprove the judgment passed upon V. Chornovil (those of us present at the proceedings were convinced that the evidence presented was not sufficiently proven and at opportune moments we expressed our arguments), it is not possible, however, to postdatedly arbitrarily alter and "supplement" official court sentences. This very act is committed by O. Poltoratsky when he provocatively announces that V. Chornovil was tried for "propagandizing nationalistic views and for illegally sending antisoviet material out of the country" when in reality nothing of that nature appeared in court.

O. Poltoratsky biasly interprets the biography of V. Chornovil. He maintains that V. Chornovil (word - uncertain — editor) and the dubious figure who has absolutely no connection with literature or journalism: "former advertising inspector of a 'bookdealer's corporation' and later became an inspector of the Lviv branch of the 'Conservational Society'." However, he conceals the fact that V. Chornovil attained this position only after a long period of persecution and distress, and that prior to the above-mentioned position, he worked for several years as a secretary of the committee of Komsomol (The Young Communist League) for the construction of the Kiev Hydro-electric Power Station, on the editorial staff of the Komsomol newspaper the **Moloda Hvardia**, on the editorial staff of **Druh Chytacha**, published tens of articles on literary criticism in the republic's journals and newspapers, including the newspaper **Literaturna Ukraina**.

The aim of the falsification of V. Chornovil's biography and his creative image and especially withholding the fact that he was a recent Komsomol activist becomes evident when we consider O. Poltoratsky's most shameless and underhanded fabrication. He assigns to V. Chornovil such wild and absurd statements which are completely incompatible with a psychologically healthy youth who had been brought up in a Soviet family and in Soviet schools where all are Komsomol members, writing that according to Chornovil "this (Komsomol) is an altogether useless organization which should be liquidated even physically if necessary. Once upon a time the "kulaks" would cut open the stomachs of the activists and fill them with wheat and now it is necessary to stuff these same activists with their programmes and insane slogans".

This "declaration" which O. Poltoratsky puts in quotation marks as though appertaining to Chornovil, simply reeks of the tone and phrase-

ology of those troglodyte-murderers, who composed the "admission" and confessions of various "terrorists" and "enemies of the people" during the gloomy proceedings of the 1930's.

We demand that O. Poltoratsky prove with documented evidence that V. Chornovil had actually uttered those words or publicly apologize for the slander.

In view of the fact that publications such as O. Poltoratsky's articles are aimed solely at encouraging suspicion and misanthropy, of strengthening the chauvenistic blood-thirstiness in the narrow-minded person who sees in every Ukrainian a "nationalist" and a follower of Bandera*), of poisoning the atmosphere of congenial international relationships — we see it as our paramount social duty not to overlook these accusations but rather to give them moral qualifications and to direct them along the lines of fact.

We ask the editors of **Literaturna Ukraina** to publish this letter, otherwise we would be compelled to disclose its contents to the readers of **Literaturna Ukraina** by any means possible. If necessary, we would not spare the time and effort to copy it forty-thousand times by hand and to send it to every subscriber of **Literaturna Ukraina**, in order to clear the air of this man-eating vapour, and atmosphere of dishonesty and impunity.

(signed)

Ivan Dziuba
Yevhen Sverstiuk
Mykhailyna Kotsiubynska
Lina Kostenko
Victor Nekrasov

*) Stephan Bandera, Ukrainian Nationalist leader, assassinated by a Soviet agent in Munich, Germany, in 1959 (Editor).

A LETTER FROM THE CREATIVE YOUTH OF DNIPROPETROVSK

To the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian S.S.R., V. V. Shcherbytsky; Candidate Member of the Politbureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, V. D. Ovcharenko, and the Secretary of the Union of Writers of Ukraine, Dmytro Pavlychko.

*) We wish to bring to the attention of communists, leaders and community workers of our sovereign state, Ukrainian S.S.R., one of the founding members of the United Nations Organization, the destructive activities which have been going on in the Dnipropetrovsk region for several months, as well as the savage and senseless persecution of honest Ukrainian citizens who are dedicated to the communist cause. This campaign is so ruthless and unscrupulous that it overshadows even the most savage activities of the world famous Chinese Red Guards.

A large group of citizens has been slandered at all official and unofficial functions of the Regional Party Committee, District Party Committees and Party Committees; their "alien views" have been repeatedly distorted, and the facts, which we will discuss further, have been grossly exaggerated. Those people have been attacked in the regional press and radio, creating thereby a semblance of "public opinion", according to the classical example of the "governor of the town of Glupovo" by Shchedrin.

The limit of brutality was reached by the so-called Dnipropetrovsk campaign in connection with the appearance of the new novel **Sobor** (The Cathedral) by our fellow countryman Oles Honchar.**)

At first, the regional newspaper **Zoria** (The Star) and **Prapor Yunosti** (The Banner of Youth), a local industrial newspaper, printed favourable reviews of that book. But already within a month, at one of the conferences where the secretaries of the local party organizations of the Dnipropetrovsk region were present, as well as the responsible members of the press, the Secretary of the Regional Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, comrade Vatchenko, refuted all those favourable reviews and ordered the press to prove to the readers that "the working class of the Dnipropetrovsk region does not accept **Sobor**. Im-

*) This letter is being circulated in a manuscript form in Ukraine.

Reprinted in Ukrainian by "Suchasnist" (München), No. 2, February 1969.

**) Oles Honchar, a well-known Ukrainian writer and the First secretary of the Union of Writers of Ukraine (Editor)

mediatly, the regional newspapers printed numerous letters with "the opinion of workers about **Sobor**.

Thus, **Zoria** alone "organized" three brutal and incompetent "reviews" in two weeks, which consisted of four hundred lines of abusive language.

The editorial office of **Zoria** received letters with responses and protests from workers and the working intelligentsia against the abuses heaped on the author of **Sobor**. However, those letters were kept in "strict" secrecy by the editor P. Orlyk and his associate in charge of the Letters to the Editor section, Y. Novak, while the address and the place of work of the sender were passed to the Regional Committee and to the K.G.B. (The State Security Committee).

The Regional Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine has forbidden the Historical-Philological Faculty of the Dnipropetrovsk University to celebrate the 50th birthday of the author, which was to be held in the city library, despite numerous previous announcements to that effect. Soon after, the Dean of the above mentioned faculty, comrade Pavlov, forbade even to discuss the novel **Sobor**, although the historians of his faculty were preparing such a discussion. All those who were in any way opposed to the official stand taken against this novel were severely punished. During a seminar of regional officials, comrade Vasil'ev, Chief of the Ideological Division of the Regional Committee, made the following statement: "The novel **Sobor** is a book which attracts and consolidates all that is ideologically harmful and hostile to our reality".

Thus, an official of the Department of Propaganda and Agitation of the newspaper **Zoria**, one of the oldest journalists of our city, S. Y. Shyinin, was expelled from the Party and dismissed from work for having written a favourable review of this book.

An official of the Department of Culture of the newspaper **Zoria** M. T. Skoryk was expelled from the Party for suggesting that a fabricated "article" written by a semi-literate labourer H. Dihtiarenko and Co. ("I see life differently", **Zoria**, 6.1.1968.) be placed on the editorial board of nonsensical articles.

A talented journalist V. Zaremba was expelled from the Young Communist League and was dismissed from work for having dared to give a scathing reply to a slanderous article about **Sobor** by a Lieutenant of the K.G.B., O. Z. Kyrylenko, who is in charge of the Information Division of the newspaper **Zoria** ("Not the cathedrals, but peoples!", **Prapor Yunosti**, 7.6.1968.)

An official of the Agricultural Department of the newspaper **Zoria**, Opanasenko, was dismissed from work without any reason.

A talented director of the T. H. Shevchenko Ukrainian Theatre in Dnipropetrovsk R. Stepanenko was expelled from the Party and was dis-

missed from work for staging the play "**Kum koroliu**" ("Godfather of the King's Child") by M. Stel'makh.

A teacher of the 64th evening school, a communist, G. Prokopenko was given a severe reprimand because he insisted upon the publishing of an article in answer to the slanderers of **Sobor** and to the "philosopher" I. Moroz.

The First Secretary of the Dnipropetrovsk branch of the Ukrainian Theatre Company S. Levenets was dismissed from work.

A well-known writer V. Chemerys was dismissed from work in the Dnipropetrovsk publishing house **Promin** (The Ray).

A young poet I. Sokulsky was dismissed from work at the Prydniprovsky factory newspaper.

M. Dubynin, editor of the above mentioned factory newspaper, was severely reprimanded by the Party for publishing a favourable response to **Sobor** (**Energetik**, April 10, 1968.).

Poet V. Sirenko was dismissed from work (not for the first time). He has been persecuted (expelled from the Party and dismissed from work) for several years, ever since he began to write in Ukrainian.

Writer Karapysh, who worked for the publishing house **Promin**, was reprimanded by the Party at the peak of the anti-**Sobor** campaign.

This list could have been lengthened greatly!

An ordinary evening of poetry at the Prydniprovsky Palace of Culture (which, according to the Palace officials, was one of many such evenings there) was made to look almost like a "counter-revolutionary venture" by the overzealous campaigners. For how else could one interpret the action of the Regional Party Committee, as well as the attitude of the Branch of the Writers Union which, at its electoral conference, called this innocent poetry evening a target against which "the fight with ideological sabotage" should be directed.

Those who participated in that evening, as well as its organizers, were subjected to a close scrutiny by the security organs and many of them were summoned to a ridiculous questioning during which innocent people were threatened and blackmailed. Talented poets M. Chkhan, V. Korzh, and the already mentioned V. Chemerys, were constantly condemned for "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism" at all union and other meetings. As a rule, such reprimands are accompanied by visits of the K.G.B.

Somewhat later, a whole group of Ukrainian creative youth, mostly literary men, namely: Genadiy and Oles' Zavhorodny, O. Ovcharenko, V. Semenکو, P. Vakarenko, the above mentioned I. Sokulsky, M. Romanushko, O. Vodolazhchenko, H. Malovyn, and many others were punished in various ways. They were again accused of that fantastic "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism", invented in the building at Korolenko St.*) in fact

*) The headquarters of the KGB (The State Security Committee) — Editor.

they were punished for their concern about the fate of the Ukrainian language and Ukrainian culture in madly Russified Dnipropetrovsk. The question arises, why people of high principles are so easily disposed of, dismissed from universities, expelled from the Party and dismissed from work? Are they criminals? Not really. Real criminals live quite comfortably.

Recently, the First Secretary of the Regional Committee of the Communist Youth League A. Hordienko and the First Secretary of the City Committee of the C.Y.L. H. Druzhynyn killed a man in Novomoskovsk while driving at an excessive speed in a car after a drinking party. Do you think they were imprisoned? Not a chance! The former is employed to-day as an engineer in the Libknecht factory in Dnipropetrovsk, the second works as an engineer in the Babushkin factory. Both remained in the Party, and none of the newspapers printed anything about those "responsible" bandits.

Another example. P. Karakash and I. Ostrovsky, both communists, officials of the newspaper **Zoria**, embezzled twenty-five thousand rubles of state money. P. Karakash had a very strong influence over the First Secretary, and supplied his friend I. Ostrovsky with materials of the press agency RATAU (Radio-Telegraph Agency of Ukraine). When the embezzlers were exposed, they got away merely with reprimands by the Party and were slightly demoted in their positions. They continue to work as journalists. P. Karakash is in charge of the industrial section of **Zoria**, while Ostrovsky works in an industrial section of the regional radio.

As it can be seen, killers and embezzlers — the moral scum, have a place in the Party, while honest and principled communists are being expelled from the Party and dismissed from work so that the former may further embezzle, drink and violate party rules and Soviet laws.

Not long ago, the community of the Dnipropetrovsk State University of the 300th Anniversary of the Reunion of Ukraine with Russia was angered by the anti-communist behaviour of the Dean of the Historical-Philosophical Faculty V. Vlasenko. The "pedagogue" tried to turn the faculty into a private harem by systematically seducing his female students (this was the way he taught morality to the young generation that has to live in a communist society).

Approximately at the same time the students learned about a disgusting action of a lecturer from the above mentioned faculty I. Lutsenko. Taking advantage of his position as a director of a diploma thesis, he attempted to rape his female graduate student.

Do you think that the above mentioned "educators" were forced to abandon their teaching profession? Not at all. These individuals stayed in the teaching profession. Vlasenko was merely demoted to the position of the Department Head, while Lutsenko was relieved from the redun-

dant "burden" of an extra-curricular function of a director of literary studies. Perhaps prostitution and the abuse of an official position are not considered to be anti-Soviet behaviour: maybe these easily forgiven "peccadilloes" are considered to be sort of an honorarium for the lack of political principles and absence of "harmful thoughts" in their learned heads? Whatever the reason, one may be sure in all cases that such individuals would support all kinds of campaigns when the advantage is on its side. They will not even stop to think whether those campaigns are in agreement with Party policy and with Soviet laws.

In connection with the smearing campaign directed against **Sobor**, the local members of the K.G.B. stepped up their "educational" work, spreading new rumours about the "nationalistic danger". It is ridiculous even to mention that this "nationalistic danger" appeared just in Dnipropetrovsk, which has a population of almost a million, but which does not have a single Ukrainian kindergarten or nursery, not a single wholly Ukrainian language school, and not one university or technical school in which Ukrainian is the language of instruction.

Should not the Regional Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine be extremely concerned about the abnormal conditions of the native Ukrainian language in Dnipropetrovsk, which defy Lenin's and Marx's teachings? Would it not be better to direct this anger and the "efforts" which are aimed at honest communists and members of the Communist Youth League against those horrible violators of Lenin's national policy and against a situation in which Ukrainian workers are almost completely ignorant of their native language and native culture because they are forcibly subjected to the still reliable (the same as they were fifty years ago) methods of russification?

Is it possible that those honest citizens of the Ukrainian S.S.R. who perceived their people's tragedy, who cannot renounce their native language and cannot renounce themselves, are enemies? Regarding this, a great Russian writer V. Soloukhin said: "If I were born a Ukrainian, I would never want to be a Russian".

Is it possible that the Soviet patriotism of the present day Ukraine does not include national self-respect and national pride in the great and talented Ukrainian nation? Such questions could be asked infinitely.

One cannot help thinking why is it that the Ukrainian progressive and creative youth has only one path, namely the path of "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism" (which is greatly substantiated by the activity of the Dnipropetrovsk K.G.B.); for, as we could see, a considerable majority of that youth sooner or later finds itself on this path. And a person with a normal, not a distorted mind, would see in that fact only a feeble conception of an elementary understanding of national dignity, of full national value, a feeling of national shame and henceforth a feeling of normal human dignity.

Is this the fault of "bourgeois propaganda"? No, Dnipropetrovsk reality is the reason for this! And if we are Marxists, this reality should be changed in such a way that it would conform to Lenin's principles and to Soviet laws. All progressive, true to Marxism-Leninism Ukrainian citizens should not be persecuted.

At the same time the following question arises: is it possible that only comrades-Russians cannot be influenced by bourgeois ideology? Is this because of their national exclusiveness? How can one explain the fact that there was no public criticism in our city (not to mention the absence of administrative punishment) of any representative of the creative Russian youth for analogical "deviations" which should have been called "the influence of the rotten ideology of Great Russian bourgeois chauvinism"? There is no doubt that such deviations exist. Just try to speak Ukrainian outside one's home! Try that and you will hear the following: "the Ukrainian nation does not suit me (upon accidentally hearing someone speak Ukrainian); "...rubbish, if you translate it into Russian" (upon hearing a Ukrainian literary work of art); or "how coarse this rude language is!" (referring to the Ukrainian language).

In this case, how do our responsible comrades understand Lenin's directives that local nationalism must be fought on two fronts, opposing first of all Great Russian chauvinism because this chauvinism produces nationalism?

There is no other name than Ukrainophobia to describe the behavior of a "scientific" worker of the Dnipropetrovsk Historical Museum of D. Yavornytsky, someone by the name of Krylova, during a barbaric, if not criminal, removal of the grave of Ivan Sirko, the legendary chief of the Zaporozhian **Sich**. In one of its March issues **Literaturna Ukraina** mentioned only the least offensive aspects of this "removal". Thus, it was shamefacedly concealed that the actual removal was conducted at night (as all criminal acts are usually conducted), and that the remains of the world famous military figure were hastily gathered into a dirty sack (as if it were potatoes!) and were kept that way in some unknown store-room. And the above mentioned Krylova (being a true "scientist"!) had the following answer to the people who became indignant because of such cynical Ukrainophobia: "Do you know that he was an enemy of the Russian people?"

Comrade Krylova could be asked whether Russian tsars and their henchmen — that bunch of hangmen and enslavers against whom Sirko fought, were friends of the Ukrainian people. It looks (according to Krylova) that they are the ones who represent the great Russian nation! Is this not the reason why there are numerous monuments erected, many films produced and many books written to hail such figures as Ivan the Terrible, Peter the Great, Catharine the Second, and Suvorov and Co.

for their colonial piracy, Asiatic barbarism and despotism?.. Nobody mentions that they hated Ukrainians, Tartars, Byelorussians, Poles, Georgians, etc.

Why then, among many other things in the Dnipropetrovsk Historical Museum, a couch is exhibited in which the courtiers of Empress Catharine the Second, the famous enemy of Ukrainians, accompanied her on her travels across the finally subjugated Ukraine? Why on the walls of the museum are there portraits of numerous Russian magnates and conquerors of Catharine's era, while no place could be found for the portraits of Ivan Sirko or the last military chronicler of the Zaporozhian **Sich** who founded the two most beautiful parks in our city?

In addition to this, some frightened individuals, like, for instance, the editor of **Zoria**, P. Orlyk, spread provocative rumours invented by the K.G.B., that "Ukrainian nationalism reveals itself in its most recent form under the mask of protection of Ukrainian antiquity". How then can one explain the flood of materials dealing with the protection of Russian antiquity in such Russian publications as **Komsomolska Pravda**, **Sovetskaya Rossiya**, **Literaturnaya Gazeta**, **Ogonek**, **Sovetskii Soiuz**, etc.?

What is behind such rumours? Is it "nationalist danger" or is it marauding by the Great Russian chauvinist-oppressors about which we are forbidden to speak openly in order not to offend the Russian nation? What excessive politeness! Is it "nationalist danger" or national nihilism and savagery which borders upon the spiritual banditism of civilized gangsters? This is the question we would like to ask the authors of such rumours.

We, the progressive Ukrainian youth, were brought up in Soviet schools and universities on the works of Marx and Lenin, Shevchenko and Dobroliubov. We realize that history is a continuous psychological development of humanity and that everything progressive in this development is worth the study, respect and esteem of future generations. Succeeding eras, striving toward their lofty and humanistic ideas, have derived all that is best from the past.

Therefore we value the Zaporozhian **Sich**, which was described by Karl Marx in his "chronological notes" as a Cossack republic; we value the monuments of the past, be it a church building or a Cossack hut, for whose preservation Oles' Honchar fights so vigorously in **Sobor**.

The slanderer H. Dihtiarenko, in the already mentioned article "I see life differently", assures us that in our country historical monuments are protected better than in any other country in the world. This is hard to deny. In reality, our historical monuments are "protected" in such a barbarian manner that no other country can match it. In the region of Dnipropetrovsk alone, in the last few years, almost all monuments of church architecture have been destroyed under the pretext of "the fight against religion". Two years ago, in the village of Surs'ko-Lytovs'ke, prob-

ably the last village church in the Dnipropetrovsk region was dynamited. Other famous historical monuments, such as the remnants of the famous Kodats'ka fortress and the ancient Kodats'ka Cossack church, were destroyed. The only structure of its kind — the hut of Cossack Bilyi in Nikopol', as well as the church of St. Mary the Protectress in the Sich region which had paintings of Taras Shevchenko inside, and the monument to the Zaporozhian Cossack L. O. Hlob in Dnipropetrovsk were also ruined. The Preobrazhensky Cathedral, built by famous Russian architect Zakharov, is partly destroyed.

Taking an overall look at the propaganda in the city of Dnipropetrovsk one would find not even a trace of such names of famous Ukrainian personalities of the past as: founder of the Dnipropetrovsk Historical Museum O. Pol' (there is no memorial plaque on the building on Fuchyka St. in which he lived), Academician D. Yavornytsky, writers I. Manzhara, O. Storozhenko, V. Sosiura, and O. Dovchenko (their lives and work were connected in one or another way with the city of Dnipropetrovsk or with the Dnipropetrovsk region), founder of the Dnipropetrovsk T. H. Shevchenko Ukrainian Theatre Les Kurbas, or one of the most prominent bolsheviks and organizer of the revolutionary struggle in Katerinoslav, an associate of V. I. Lenin, Mykola Skrypnyk. Instead, our City will be enriched by one more monument to M. Gorky, a monument to O. Matrosov, and a monument to Tchaikovsky, I. Glinka and others.

Dear comrades, would you kindly explain to us what is the real meaning of the phrase "nationalist danger", the competent and incompetent "friends" of the Ukrainian people are talking about? Who gave them the right to trample the national dignity of the Ukrainian people with their dirty chauvinistic boots?

We, the creative youth of Dnipropetrovsk, demand that all those who organized those brutal anti-Ukrainian campaigns and witchhunts in field of Ukrainian culture, those who persecute honest and dedicated people for the sole reason that they want to be themselves and that they want to educate their children in Ukrainian kindergarten, school, and Ukrainian university, be called to account. We consider that such campaigns in their final stage accomplish only one thing, namely, they provoke hostility between two great fraternal nations.

Kindly excuse us for writing to you in such a bitter manner. It is impossible to write on this subject without indignation.

We believe that you will lend your ear to our sincere plea and that you will take immediate steps to correct the abnormal situation in which the creative intelligentsia of our city and hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians of Dnipropetrovsk and the Dnipropetrovsk region find themselves.

A LETTER TO OLES' HONCHAR
AND THE SECRETARIES OF THE UNION OF WRITERS OF UKRAINE

To the First Secretary of the Union of Writers of Ukraine,
O. T. Honchar,

To the Secretaries of the Union of Writers of Ukraine:

P. A. Zahrebel'ny, M. Y. Zarudny, Y. O. Zbanatsky, V. P. Kozachenko,
V. O. Korotych, L. M. Novychenko, D. V. Pavlychko, and P. I. Panch.

Dear Comrades,

*) For the beginning let us go back to a not so distant past.

It has been almost ten years since a joint declaration under the title "Let us Strengthen our Fraternal Relations" was drawn up in the Czech, Slovak and Ukrainian languages and was signed in Uzhorod by delegations of writers from Czechoslovakia and Ukraine. This document appeared as a result of fraternal meetings of writers of two Slavic countries, and it created a friendly atmosphere during discussions of urgent problems and questions concerning the further strengthening and widening of those relations. There is no need to give in full the declaration which was published Oct. 25, 1958, in **Zakarpatska Pravda** and Nov. 4, 1958, in **Literaturna Hazeta**. Nevertheless, I shall quote the following words from it:

"Inspired by our cordial and most sincere meeting and by the substantial discussion of pressing literary problems, we solemnly declare that we shall do our best to develop and to strengthen our creative relations. In this lies our sacred duty to the fraternal peoples of Czechoslovakia and the Ukrainian S.S.R."

In the same issue of the **Literaturna Hazeta** of Nov. 4 there appeared a large article by a member of the Union of Writers of Ukraine, Borys Buriak, under the title "Forever". Being carried away by that fraternal meetings in Czechoslovakia and Carpathian Ukraine, Borys Spyrydonovych wrote the following:

"The reciprocal friendly visits of delegations of writers from Czechoslovakia and Soviet Ukraine will help even more in the strengthening of contacts between two fraternal Slavic cultures. This will be undoubtedly helped

*) This letter by a member of the Union of Writers of Ukraine to the secretaries of the Union is circulated in Ukraine in a manuscript form. One of its copies found its way abroad. (Editor)

by personal contacts between Ukrainian, Czech and Slovak writers who, in the words of our Czecho-Slovak friends, became intimate friends "for ever".

From the moment the joint declaration was signed by the writers, there were many things that helped to strengthen creative relations and mutual recognition. A number of works by Czech and Slovak writers appeared in Ukraine, and Ukrainian prose and poetry was translated into the Czech and Slovak languages. An especially joyous for us event is the publication of an anthology of Czech and Slovak poetry in 1964 by the "State Publishing House of Literature". Something was also done to make known the works of the writers of the Ukrainian branch of the Union of Slovak Writers which consists of 15 writers and poets who live mainly in Priashivshchyna. The publishing house **Radiansky Pys'mennyk** published a small volume in 1960 (3000 printed copies) under the title **"Lastivka z Priashivshchyny"** ("A Swallow from Priashivshchyna") with an introduction by Maxym Rylsky. The book consisted of several chapters in which the works of thirteen poets, seven writers and one playwright were represented.

Besides that which was achieved in relations between writers of Ukraine and Czechoslovakia, it can be truthfully said that our relations are even more insufficient if we take into consideration the mutual declaration which was solemnly signed almost ten years ago. In particular, closer contacts are desired with the branch of Ukrainian writers of the Union of Slovak Writers, which represents the creative Ukrainian population of the Czecho-Slovak S.S.R. To tell the truth, the connections with this branch should have been maintained in the first place through the Carpathian Ukraine organization S.P.U. (Union of Writers of Ukraine). Unfortunately, these connections simply do not exist.

I understand very well that it is much easier to proclaim these ties and to talk about the necessity and the benefits derived from the fraternal meetings than to sustain them. In our time much depends not only on the good intentions and will of all parties, even when all parties are really interested in the development of friendly relations in the interests of literature and culture in general. However, if at the time when the joint declaration was proclaimed on Oct. 24, 1958, one of the nineteen undersigned writers mentioned, even as a joke, that in the next ten years there would be no similar creative meetings, no talks among the representatives of fraternal literatures, and no mutual public appearances in front of the Czecho-Slovak and Ukrainian workers, he would be considered a sceptic and a pessimist or even accused of underestimating the authoritative declaration.

After all, the declaration itself is not so important. And the best proclamations, as practice shows, are of no value when they become forgotten and their words rot and become like chaff when they don't

fall onto nourishing soil. There is no place now for analysis of objective and subjective causes for the weak ties between literary organizations, including the insufficient relations with the Ukrainian branch of the Slovak Writers Union. Even more so, there is no place for analysis because sometimes they are not easy to analyze. However, the number of circumstances which prompt us to write you a letter about the necessity of closer relations and communication between the writers of our republic and the Czecho-Slovak S.S.R. is quite obvious.

It is not the first time that the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic makes an appearance in the international forum trying to settle important matters, having a permanent representative at the United Nations. There exist, as is well known, over fifty international organizations in which the Ukrainian S.S.R. takes part. Why then, for instance, did it become a custom that no representatives of at least neighboring countries like Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia are ever present at the regional writers meetings in Kiev? Invitations to the most important literary meetings in Ukraine, sent to the writers of fraternal countries, would help not only in the positive strengthening of creative contacts and cultural relations, but would also assist mutual understanding and would raise the prestige and the authority of Ukraine on the international forum. It is hard even to estimate the meaning and the importance of this.

It would have been to the point to organize a long time ago in Kiev an international congress, or at least a symposium, of the translators of Ukrainian literature, as the Poles did, for instance, in November of 1965, having invited seventy translators of Polish literature from all countries of the world to Warsaw. Such a forum would not only help the cause of an even bigger propagation of Ukrainian literature in the world but would also stimulate and raise the authority of our cultural workers who give their readers the best achievements of our literature. Naturally, there would appear a number of problems which would have to be discussed. Unfortunately, we still don't know how to appreciate those who toil in the field of Ukrainian translation. For instance, a well known translator Rudolph Gulka lived in Czechoslovakia. He translated twenty-seven works of Ukrainian writers into the Czech language and was one of those who contributed greatly to the popularization of the great Kobzar (i.e. Ukrainian poet T. Shevchenko). But the dream that Rudolf Gulka had was not realized during his lifetime. That dream was to pay homage to the tomb, sacred to our people, which is in Kanev (i.e. The burial place of the poet T. Shevchenko), to see the vast expanse of Ukraine, to hear the splashing of the Dnieper's waves and to hear the living language of our great nation. Naturally, it was rather awkward for him to ask for permission to visit Ukraine, and we did not think of

inviting this very welcome and dear guest. Rudolf Gulka is not the only one.

To plan and to take care of organizing the conference of translators of Ukrainian literature does not concern the Union of Writers of Ukraine alone. It also concerns the Ministry of Culture, the Society of Cultural Relations, as well as other organizations whose duty is to take care of the cultural interests of our nation. This matter passes the limits of the creative organization — the Union of Writers of Ukraine — although the Union of Writers of Ukraine must play in this case the role of the initiator and organizer.

It would have been useful and imperative to gather in Kiev also those translators who translate our works in various republics of the U.S.S.R.

I would like at this point to express an opinion about the usefulness of organizing at the University of Kiev (or at other universities) summer language courses for people interested in Ukrainian studies, starting with people who come from socialist countries. Even if we did so, we would not be the first in this field. Similar courses have already been functioning for several years in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria. They are very useful, helping not only to master the language but also contributing to better acquaintance with Ukrainian culture as well as with writers themselves. Last summer, for instance, Dmytro Pavlychko attended Czech language courses in Prague. After his experiences he could tell us more about the usefulness of such language courses.

In the Moscow newspaper **Pravda** of December 26, 1967, (No. 360) there was an interesting bit of information under the title "Walrusen convened in Minsk". This article informed us that the capital of Byelorussia was the host to the II-nd All-Union Conference of Lovers of Winter Swimming, which was attended by 300 representatives from sixty cities of the U.S.S.R. There were representatives from Moscow, Gorky, Leningrad, Irkutsk, Tbilisi, Lower Tagil, etc. How happy would the literary and cultural community of our republic (as well as other republics) be to hear the news about a congress, conference or a symposium of people interested in Ukrainian studies, and how gladly would it have welcomed the idea of language courses for writers-translators from other republics, as well as from other countries!

Indeed, this is worth thinking and worrying about. One wants to believe that in our age, the age of assemblies, consultations, sessions and conferences, a conference of people interested in Ukrainian studies, residing in our country as well as those from abroad, would have been more needed and beneficial than a conference of "walrusen".

At a time when some cultural workers find themselves in a po-

sition where they are envious of "walruses", strange things happen in the field of cultural relations. Here is one of the most unattractive ones.

On December 6—8 of last year, an international symposium under the name of "October and the Ukrainian Culture" took place in Priashiv. Over 100 people participated in it. This symposium was seriously prepared in advance and thirty-seven scientists from Ukraine were invited to take part in it, as well as ten representatives from Uzhorod University. As is customary, the papers to be presented were assembled and the program was composed and printed. However, when it came to concrete action, all of . . . eight people came to the conference from the Ukrainian S.S.R., including two persons from Uzhorod, both, by the way, linguists. The proportion here, as we can see, was also strictly adhered to.

What can be said when such things happen in our time? How can we disagree with the opinion of a well known writer from Priashiv who wrote in a letter:

"We invited over thirty scientists from Ukraine but scarcely ten are coming. What other country in the world would not use an opportunity to send their scientists to a scientific conference which was organized abroad so that they could propagandize their culture? We did not invite a single speaker from the capitalist West but gave the rostrum to Soviet writers. However, how are we going to explain to the public the reasons for the absence of our Soviet friends? Perhaps we should have invited Western scientists after all?"

I understand the justifiable consternation and the bitterness of the correspondent from Priashiv because it has a reasonable basis. It is obvious that there are always many considerations which stand in the way of fruitful and extensive relations among cultural workers. It is hard to believe that these reasons are of a completely objective nature. However, the difficulties here are still very impressive and numerous. If, God forbid, the "walruses", who were in Minsk to attend the All-Union conference, were faced with the problem of surmounting such difficulties before their conference started, it is doubtful whether they would have conducted even a small-scale meeting. Indeed, I have no doubt that if an international symposium were to take place, our "walruses" would have had an opportunity to make a worthy presentation, for nothing less than the strength, endurance and prestige of our native "walruses" would be involved here. I supposed that if such a symposium were underestimated by someone, that person would be severely punished.

There is no doubt that closer relations with the Czecho-Slovak writers are needed. It is worth pondering over the question of how those relations should be realized. As far as I know, there exists a commission on cultural relations with the fraternal writers which is attached to the Union of Writers of Ukraine. A few years ago I found out that I too am a member of that commission. However, I have the impression

that this commission exists on paper only. Would it not be a good idea for our Ukrainian writers' organization to have its own commission on relations with the literatures of all the nations in the world, and with the literatures and the creative organizations of the fraternal Socialist countries in particular? Would not this help to raise the authority of the organization of our writers, as well as the authority of the Ukrainian S.S.R. itself, and help to strengthen cultural relations? The almost exclusive concentration and centralization of relations with the literatures of the world which exists in the Union of Writers in Moscow causes only restrictions. I have no doubts that the secretaries of the Union of Writers of Ukraine could produce many facts to that effect because they know much better about it all than an ordinary member of the Union of Writers of Ukraine administration. Sometimes it looks very strange indeed, when a known writer from a certain country comes to Moscow, visits the capital, travels a route which has been prepared for him in advance, and then finally visits Kiev. In Kiev he is met and is taken around by Igor Petrovych Kazimirov, whom I respect very much; the "Literaturna Ukraina" prints a photograph taken on the slopes of the Dnieper river as well as a small article written by the same Igor Petrovych; several friends have a small reception for the guest and a few talks with him, and that is all. No matter what one says, it looks like small town behaviour.

In confirmation of the above we could give an example of the circulation of our Ukrainian press and literature abroad.

I happened to spend six weeks recently in Czechoslovakia. I spent most of the time in Karlovy-Vary, visited Prague, Pilsen, Tabir, Priashiv and Humenna. In Karlovy-Vary, for instance, there is a book-shop in which Soviet books are sold, but this book-shop has almost no Ukrainian books. The books that are there could be considered to be there by chance. This is what I have found in the book-shop in Karlovy-Vary: eight copies of the book **Zoloty Kliuchy** ("The Golden Key") which was published in Uzhhorod; one copy of **Podrobytsi Lystom** ("Details in a Letter") by Y. Hrymailo; one copy of **Materijaly XXII Z'izdu KPRS** ("Materials of the XII Congress of the Communist Party of the USSR"); several albums "Kiev" and "Soviet Ukraine". That was all! At the same time, there was a supply, enough for a few years or even a few decades, of "**Bratskoy GES**" ("To the Bratskaya Hydro-Electric Power Station") by Yevtushenko (the shelves were full of that book); approximately five hundred copies of **Serezha** ("Serge") by V. Panova, published by "Progress"; **Den' poezii** ("Day of Poetry") from 1964, and many more books, some in a very few copies and some in a mysteriously excessive amount. Ukraine alone has not been represented by any book of Shevchenko, Lesia Ukrainka, Kotsiubynsky, Stefanyk, Tychna or Rylsky, not to mention the younger but quite well known and extremely good writers. All this took place in

Karlovy-Vary, where a great number of Ukrainians can be found at one time or another. Moreover, many Ukrainians reside in Karlovy-Vary.

The same can be said about Prague, Koshytsi, Priachiv, Pilsen, Humenne, etc. There is no Ukrainian periodic literature whatsoever. One can get **Krokodil** (The Crocodile, a humorous Russian periodical), **Ogonek** (Little Flame, Russian illustrated periodical), **Literaturnaja Rossiya** (Literary Russia), **Literaturnaja Gazeta** (Literary Gazette), not mentioning the official publications. The only periodicals one cannot get are: the illustrated periodical **Ukraina**, the satiric periodical **Perets** (Pepper), **Radianska Ukraina** (The Soviet Ukraine) etc. If one inquires about **Vičhyzna** (The Fatherland), **Dnipro** (The Dnieper), **Literaturna Ukraina** (Literary Ukraine) (I have inquired about those publications at many news-stands in various cities of the Czecho-Slovak S.S.R.), one gets a surprised look as if one was about to discover an unknown planet. The same applies to the periodicals **Zhovten** (October), **Prapor** (The Banner), etc.

In my opinion, we should have had a long time ago in Ukraine our own institution which would be engaged in promoting our press and literature in fraternal republics and abroad. This institution, studying needs and demands should have the authority to make contacts and to draw up agreements. This should be considered first of all by the Union of Writers of Ukraine; this question should also be raised with the executive organs, not to mention the fact that it should also concern the Ministry of Culture of the USSR, the Association for Cultural Relations Abroad, etc. Someone might consider the above mentioned to be an intrusion into matters that are not of his concern. However, when one travels around, sees what is going on, and stops to think, one arrives at rather sad conclusions. Ukraine has the second largest territory in Europe (after the Russian Soviet Federal Republic), is one of the richest countries in the world in natural resources and minerals, and sends trainloads of iron ore and coal to Europe. Why then is the matter of distribution of our periodicals, books and press in general so badly taken care of? Someone might say that we have nothing to offer to the world. This is not so. The cause of it lies rather in artificial and bureaucratic barriers. These barriers do nothing but harm.

Apart from the necessity of strengthening relations with Czech and Slovak writers (I make an especial emphasis on this because I had the honour of signing a mutual declaration in October of 1958), I would like to speak in more detail about our relations with the Section of Ukrainian Writers in the Czecho-Slovak S.S.R. At the present time Ukrainian writers in Czechoslovakia are united in the Section of the Union of Writers of the Czecho-Slovak S.S.R.

Paragraph 6 of section 4 of the resolution of the IV-th Congress of Czecho-Slovak Writers says:

"We must commission the foreign committee to study the possibilities of relations and co-operation with those writers who write in the Czech and Slovak languages abroad and whose activity is not directed against the Czecho-Slovak state.

We must commission the foreign committee to investigate, together with the Union of Writers of the USSR, the possibilities of relations between the Union of Ukrainian Writers and the Section of Ukrainian Writers of the Czecho-Slovak S.S.R."

Surely, it would have been much simpler and more natural if the Union of Writers of Czechoslovakia was in direct contact with the leaders of the Union of Writers of Ukraine. There would be nothing abnormal if this were so. Moreover, these contacts would not be complicated further because of some additional institution (again, it would not affect either the prestige of our republic or the authority of our creative writers' organization). In such a case, the relations and contacts would be more immediate and direct and mutual understanding would come faster. But let us leave this apparently very complicated and complex problem. The fact remains that there are almost no permanent relations between Ukrainian writers of the Ukrainian S.S.R. and cultural workers of the Czecho-Slovak S.S.R. The existing relations bear a casual, almost private, character. And this is at a time when the interest in our culture and literature is very great and when the necessity of cultural relations is quite obvious. I have in mind here, naturally, not only the Ukrainian intelligentsia but also the creative intelligentsia of the Czecho-Slovak S.S.R. in general. In this case I make an emphasis on Ukrainian literary matters in the Czecho-Slovak S.S.R. Certainly, it is the Ukrainian writers of the Czecho-Slovak S.S.R. who are the creators of Ukrainian culture and literature in their country. There is no doubt that the best things which they created can and must be entered into our national Ukrainian treasury. The conditions of work for the Ukrainian Czecho-Slovak writers are not the easy ones. There are many reasons for this of an objective as well as subjective nature. The words of Oles' Honchar, spoken at the V-th Conference of the Ukrainian Writers, were a great moral support for the representatives of Ukrainian literature in Czecho-slovakia (and not only there!):

"We cannot avoid mentioning at our conference to-day, that the Ukrainian language exists outside our republic, and that offshoots of Ukrainian literature develop also among the cultures of fraternal nations. To-day we salute our brothers and sisters, progressive Ukrainians, who live abroad; we salute the readers and Ukrainian writers of the Priashiv region, as well as young writers in Poland and Rumania. We express our gratitude to the peoples and governments of fraternal socialist countries: the Czecho-Slovak S.S.R., the Polish Republic, and Yugoslavia, who, guided by the principles of inter-

nationalism, create favourable conditions for the cultural development of the Ukrainian population. They open Ukrainian schools, introduce Ukrainian literature into the university programs, and create conditions for literary activities of their citizens who write in the Ukrainian language”.

I had a special opportunity to meet Ukrainian writers from Czechoslovakia. The above quoted passage from the speech delivered at the conference of writers gave them encouragement, brought them to the attention of others, as well as bringing them friendly recognition. These encouraging words prompted the writers from the fraternal socialist countries to even greater efforts. On this occasion it would be advisable to suggest that a well prepared symposium of Ukrainian progressive writers who live abroad should be organized in Kiev. Indeed, why shouldn't we invite writers, poets and literary critics from Czechoslovakia, Poland, Rumania, Yugoslavia and other countries. Conversations with them, better acquaintance with their works, and even a pleasant trip across Ukraine with its historical sites would encourage them to further work and would give them a feeling of belonging to their people. The reading public of our country is hardly familiar with Ukrainian literature abroad. Only occasionally, often through the reviews of foreign publications, do we learn about individual facts. It cannot be considered normal when printed publications in the Ukrainian language from Czechoslovakia, Poland and other countries find their way to us only by accident through our friends and acquaintances, but do not come through regular channels of commercial book-stores. As a result we simply do not know about the activities of literary circles which promote the Ukrainian language abroad.

The wicked practice, which has become an unbending rule for us, when one cannot obtain periodicals in the Ukrainian language even from Czechoslovakia unless they are subscribed to by one's friends, should be eliminated. I know that hundreds of copies of the newspaper **Nove Zhyttia** (The New Life) which is published in Priashiv and which is the organ of the cultural union of Ukrainian workers, enter Ukraine, yet none of them are subscribed to through official channels. For instance, I have been receiving for several years a periodical **Dukla** from Czechoslovakia. I receive another periodical **Druzhnio Vpered** (Forward in Friendship) as a gift from the Ukrainian writers because I am not able to subscribe to it here and to pay for the subscription in rubles. Are such "gifts" necessary? Yes, they are because we want to know how our neighbours, writers and scientists of the Czecho-Slovak S.S.R., live and what the situation in their country is with respect to social and public opinion.

The Union of Writers of Ukraine should insist upon the inclusion

of the Ukrainian periodical **Nove Zhyttia** into the catalogues of the subscriptions at **Soiuzdruk** (State publishing house in the Ukrainian S.S.R.). We would only gain by this, because we would become better informed and our contacts would become more intimate, having obtained an official sanction instead of being conducted on a semilegal basis and with an air of suspicion.

I have no doubt that our readers would find a great deal of interesting information in the Ukrainian press from Czechoslovakia. For instance, in the periodical **Dukla** there frequently appear very interesting and valuable articles, although occasionally some less interesting material can also be found.

What is needed to resolve this problem? How can we improve our contacts? I would like to share some of my thoughts with you, although some of them may be somewhat subjective.

First of all, it would be advisable to mark the tenth anniversary of the signing of the joint declaration which bore the title "Let us Strengthen our Fraternal Relations", which I already mentioned at the beginning of my letter. This time it would be worthwhile to arrange a conference of Czecho-Slovak and Ukrainian writers in Kiev, in other cities of our republic, and then in Prague, Bratislava, Koshitse, etc. The Carpathian Ukrainian organization of writers ought to be able to meet with Ukrainian writers from Priashivshchyna in Uzhhorod and later in Priashiv. It looks strange that sportsmen of Priashivshchyna and the Carpathian Ukraine, tradesmen, wine growers and fruit growers, cultural workers, as well as craftsmen and artists of the Carpathian Ukraine and Priashivshchyna, meet and exchange their ideas, achievements and experiences, while the writers have had no opportunity to sit at a round table in order to discuss vital problems and to establish better friendly relations.

The same thing can be said not only with respect to writers from the Carpathian Ukraine and Czechoslovakia but also with respect to our Hungarian friends. The Carpathian Ukraine maintains good and close relations with the neighbouring province of Hungary — Sabalch—Satmar, however, up to this time there has been no opportunity for our Carpathian Ukrainian writers in Hungary to meet in order to strengthen their friendly relations and establish working contacts, as well as exchange their ideas and discuss common problems. We know that the Carpathian Ukraine has really interesting representatives of Hungarian literature. It is possible that someone would say that similar problems ought to be decided on the spot and that it is not necessary to bring them to Kiev. I agree with this. However, I am speaking here as a writer who has been making observations on this subject for many years and who feels abandon these obsolete traditions.

I would like the secretaries of the Union of Writers in Ukraine

to take these suggestions under consideration so that we may see some progress in this stalemate.

It is worth giving greater attention on the pages of our press to problems of Ukrainian literary life abroad. We seldom encounter articles dealing with works of Ukrainian writers in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Rumania, and very seldom do we find their works in our country. Why shouldn't we realize the noble project of the former editor of **Zhovten** Rostyslav Bratun', who negotiated already in 1966 an agreement with the periodical **Dukla** to publish an exchange issue of both magazines? This project was not realized, but not through the fault of Bratun'. As a member of the editorial staff of **Zhovten** I know that this magazine intended to publish a collection of works of the Ukrainian writers of Priashivshchyna in the main issue of this year. However, some "considerations" of certain comrades prevented the realization of this really noble project. This is ridiculous and tragic at the same time. I hope that such, in my opinion, stupid "considerations" will not allow the good initiative of this magazine to go to waste, and that this collection of works will be published and will give moral support to our brothers in Priashivshchyna.

It would be very useful to publish in the **Radians'ky Pys'mennyk** (Soviet Writer) a collection, something like an anthology, of poetry and prose from Priashivshchyna. Perhaps it would be worthwhile to publish an anthology not only of writers from Priashivshchyna. If this project were approved, I would personally undertake to arrange and edit a collection of stories by authors from Priashivshchyna for publication in Ukraine, if necessary even without pay. The publishers would have to approach this matter in a businesslike manner in order that the work involved would not be wasted. I hereby offer my services and hope that it will not be long before our readers will be able to develop a broader understanding of Ukrainian writers, both young and old, from Czechoslovakia.

In the article of Ivan Matsinky under the title "Ukrainian Branch of the Union of Writers from Priashivshchyna between the III-rd and IV-th Conferences of Czecho-Slovak Writers" (**Dukla**, No. 5, 1967) there is the following statement:

Dukla and its publishers receive a certain number of articles from the Soviet Carpathian Ukraine of literary or historical-literary value. Often these articles are very interesting and deserve our attention. The size of our magazine and its purpose, to serve the literary needs of Ukrainians from Czechoslovakia, do not allow us to transform our magazine into a purely literary journal for the Carpathian Ukrainians. We regret only that there are no other means to satisfy these needs of our cultural life. Such a situation developed particularly after the cancellation of the Uzhhorod almanac **Karpaty** (Carpathian Mountains). In our view, the resumption of the publication of **Karpaty** does not constitute a problem'.

As a rule we are very annoyed when such things are said. Some individuals in the Carpathian Ukraine said that this constituted interference with our internal cultural affairs. Personally, I see nothing wrong with such comments from Priashivshchyna. Indeed, shouldn't we renew the publication of the literary almanac in the Carpathian Ukraine? There seems to be a great need for it. There will be an opportunity to speak on this subject separately. In any event, such an almanac is needed, and it would help us to maintain friendly ties with writers in Priashivshchyna. It is also desirable to publish once a year in the Carpathian Ukraine a collection of works by Hungarian writers in the form of an almanac. There are many truly talented young writers there who are quite well known already. It seems that there is indeed a necessity for discussing certain literary and editorial problems in the Carpathian Ukraine by the secretariate or the presidium of the Union of Writers of Ukraine. We could also consider those questions which would facilitate better relations between our writers and the Ukrainian writers of Czechoslovakia and Hungary.

In this letter, of course, not everything that is pressing and disturbing has been said. I am not familiar with the way these questions are put before the secretariate of the Union of Writers of Ukraine. However, if this letter will inspire better understanding of these problems and will lead to improved relations, I believe that something has been accomplished.

ARRESTS AND TRIALS IN UKRAINE

In the year of 1967, representatives of the KGB carried out numerous arrests among the youth and professional intelligentsia in the western regions of Ukraine. The arrests at Ivano-Frankivske (Stanislaviv) were followed up by court actions in the years 1968 and 1969.

Reports informing of these court actions, including a complete list of names of those convicted, are appearing in reprints among the population of Ukraine.

A group known as the "Ukrainian National Front" (UNF), was organized at the end of 1964 and started its activities in 1965. The program and the activities of the group were derived from those of the OUN*). The group's basic aim was the liberation of Ukraine through consolidation of efforts around a firmly established UNF organization. Their publication was a journal entitled **Batkivshchyna i Svoboda** and in the period of 1965 to 1967 they released several dozen numbers of the journal. The published material consisted of theoretical articles by the members, reprints of articles from the journal **Idea i Chyn**)** and some material from the OUN archives which survived in Ukraine. The group fully endorsed the activities of the OUN and considered itself its successor. Most of the members of the UNF spent time in prison.

Those arrested:

1. **Dmytro Kvetsko** (1937) — a university graduate; he was the organizer and leader of the group. He stood the trial firmly and remained calm without giving up the archives. He accepted responsibility for the group's activities. However, the secret police found their printing shop in a bunker in the Carpathians and destroyed it. Kvetsko was sentenced to a 15-year term of which 5 years were to be served in a secret prison. At present he is in a prison at Volodymyrsk.

2. **Vasil Diak** — a senior lieutenant in the Ivano-Frankivske militia. He graduated from the law faculty of Lviv University. He was an active and one of the founding members of the group; he prepared and distributed illegal literature. The court sentenced him to 13 years, of which 5 years

*) Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, an underground political organization, active in the Ukraine during the Second World War and in the years immediately after the war.

**) An official organ of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists in Ukraine in 1940's and 1950's. (Editor)

were to be served in a secret prison. At present he is in a prison at Volodymyrsk.

3. **Ivan Krasivsky** (1939) — a university graduate (philologist); he worked as a publisher. Outside of his illegal activities he was a writer. He wrote an interesting, ingenious novel of a historical nature entitled "Baïda". The novel was ready for printing but was confiscated in connection with the author's arrest. At present he is in a Volodymyr prison.

4. **Yaroslav Lesiv** — (1945) a 23-year-old worker in the field of public education. He was an active member of the organization and was in the Kirovograd district of Naddniprianshchyna. He was sentenced to six years of hard labour and an additional five years in exile. At present he is serving his term in the concentration camp #11 in Mordovia.

5. **Vasyl Kulynyn** — a 25-year-old high school graduate. He worked as a barber in a factory in Stryisk. As an active member of the group he distributed its literature among the population. He received a six-year hard labour term and five years in exile. At present he is in concentration camp #11 in Mordavia.

6. **Hryhorij Prokopovych** — a university graduate. His arrest on a street in Lviv resulted in a considerable scandal for the KGB. He was an active member in the group. In the period between 1950 and 1960 he spent eight years in jail. After his release he went on to graduate from the faculty of foreign languages at the University of Kiev. He knows several languages.

7. **Ivan Hubka** — graduated in engineering economics and worked in Lviv. He was jailed for eight years first in the forties and then again in the fifties. His recent conviction resulted in a six-year hard labour sentence plus five years in exile. He is now in concentration camp #11.

8. **Myron Melen** — conductor of the national choir in Korshyna. He received six years of hard labour and five years of exile. At present he also is in concentration camp #11 in Mordavia.

9. **Mykola Katchur** — received six years of hard labour and five years in exile.

The group was arrested in 1967. The program of the organization was nevertheless published in a journal. The article entitled "On Account of the Court Action against Pohruzhal'ski" was also published along with other material. Officials of KGB discovered seventeen different publications, along with the collection entitled "Mesnik" which contained literary works of the members of the group. A bunker containing the printing machine, paper and printing supplies was found in the forest; these supplies were removed. The group had at its disposal the library of the OUN consisting of several hundred pamphlet samples. The pamphlets were distributed by a variety of methods. Some were placed into special floats and released on rivers near villages; some

were thrown up in the air at railway stations; others were thrown into the windows of buildings, and so on.

An extensive report on the evaluation of the economic, cultural and political state of Ukraine was forwarded to the 23rd Congress. A demand for independence was included with the report. The authors further demanded that the report be read at the Congress and then discussed and published. A similar report was sent to P. Shelest, the First secretary of the Communist party of Ukraine. Both reports carried the signature "Ukrainian National Front".

In 1967 to 1968 the following were also convicted:

1. **Hryhoriy (Yurij) Moskalenko** — a 28-year-old fifth-year student at the Kiev Institute for Public Economy.

2. **Victor Kuksa** — a 28-year-old factory worker in Kiev.

On the 1st of May the two men raised from a tall building in Kiev, a yellow and blue Ukrainian flag bearing the trident and the inscription "Ukraine is not dead yet, she has not been killed yet". They were arrested in 1967 and the first was sentenced to three years of hard labour while the second to two years of the same punishment. Both are now in concentration camp #11 in Mordovia.

3. **Yosyp Teren** — a 24-year old highschool graduate born in Svaliava in the Zakarpatskyi region of Ukraine. At the age of seventeen he began underground activities, distributing leaflets. Following his arrest and prosecution he served terms in the prison camps in Vinnitsia and Volyn. He eventually escaped and for a period of two years lived undercover while carrying on political activities. He was arrested a second time and sentenced to 8 years of hard labour. While serving his sentence at concentration camp #11 in Mordovia, he was placed into solitary for five months, without sufficient grounds, by the Soviet secret police agents Krut and Rusin, residents at the camp.

4. **Volodymyr Vasylyk** — a native of Tismenitsia of the Ivano-Frankivske region. In December of 1967 a group of bandits began to tear down the crosses on a local church. When a crowd of people gathered and surrounded the church the frightened bandits barricaded themselves inside the church. The villagers kept the church under siege and guard for three days during which time speeches were made, saying that the Moscow occupation had been suffered long enough and it is time for action, time to regain freedom by force and to restore the church, destroyed by Moscow. On the third day, the besiegers were surrounded and immediately assaulted by the militia, soldiers and secret police agents. School children left their classes and came to the aid of their elders, throwing stones at the militia.

Vasylyk was arrested on the grounds of planning and organizing

the gathering and the siege. He was sentenced to seven years of hard labour and five years in exile. During the course of his trial the villagers stood firmly in his defence. Vasylyk is now serving his term in concentration camp #11.

5. **Dzuban** — arrested in Ternopil region for his struggle for national liberation and restoration of the Greek Catholic Church. Although the activities for which he was tried did not fall outside the law, he was sentenced.

6. **Mykola Kots** — a thirty-seven year old university graduate and a lecturer at the agricultural technical school in Ternopil region. He was charged with distributing and producing (by photographic methods) leaflets enticing the people to fight for a sovereign Ukraine. He was also charged with distributing Symonenko's poems and was convicted on both charges. He distributed the leaflets in Kiev, Novograd-Volynskyi, Ternopil and other Ukrainian cities. He was sentenced to seven years of hard labour and five years in exile.

7. **Stepan Tkach** — thirty-one year old native of Ivano-Frankivske. He was sentenced early in 1968 to a two-year term, half of which was to be served in hard labour. His crime was the raising of a Ukrainian national flag in his village.

While in prison, he constantly complained of headaches but received no medical attention and was not relieved of his hard labour duties. He died suddenly on the 28th of July, 1968.

OTHER ARRESTS IN 1969

The following confirmed information was received about arrests and trials of Ukrainian intellectuals, writers and students in 1969:

Ivan Sokulsky, poet and journalist

Mykola Kulchynskyi, poet

— both from Dnipropetrovsk;

Oleh Bakhtiarov, student

Nazarenko, student

Vasyl Kondriukov, student

Valentyna Karpenko, student

Stepan Bedrylo, economist with the Ukrainian Agricultural Academy

— all from Kiev. Nazarenko, V. Kondriukov and V. Karpenko were arrested in 1968 and sentenced in January 1969 being accused of distribution of anti-Soviet literature among the students in Kiev. O. Bakhtiarov and S. Bedrylo were arrested in July, 1969. S. Bedrylo is held at the present in a prison in Lviv.

Volodymyr Konashkiv, Liudmyla Sheremetieva and Nadia Kyrian

— all from Kiev — were expelled from the University for “anti-Soviet activities” after being interrogated by the Soviet secret police (KGB) in connection with Nazarenko, Kondriukov and Karpenko.

“**Khronika potochnykh sobytei**” (Chronicle of the current affairs — a Russian underground periodical publication in Moscow) of October 31, 1969, No. 10, published a report about the trial of a group of ten Ukrainians in Ternopil (September, 1969), accused under the Section 64 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR (distribution of anti-Soviet literature and anti-Soviet activities).

“**Vilna Ukraina**” (Free Ukraine — a Soviet Ukrainian daily in Lviv) and also Lviv radio on December 10, 1969 brought reports about trial and sentences to long-term imprisonment in Soviet hard-labour camps of five Ukrainian patriots. The trial was held in November, 1969 and sentence was rendered on December 2, 1969. The following persons were sentenced:

— **Oliinyk** (Hovdomor), **Chuchman** (Denys), **Chuchman** (Be-reza), **Patsvirk** (Iastrub) and **Moroz** (Bairak).

All five were accused of being members of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and of taking part in armed resistance against the Soviet regime in 1944–46 years. *)

SET THEMSELVES AFIRE IN PROTEST

Along with the article published by the RATAU, a confirmation was received that on the 11th day of May, 1968, in Kiev, **Vasyl Omelkovych Makuch** set himself on fire before the eyes of the public. Having done this, he shouted “Long live free Ukraine”.

V. Makuch is survived by his two children. It is also known that he served sentences at several concentration camps. Some information exists that he was a member of the UPA (Ukrainian Revolutionary Army) and the OUN and that he was convicted for nationalist activities.

On February 10th, 1969 another attempt to burn himself to death in protest against persecutions in Ukraine was made in Kiev by **Mykola Breslavskyi**. Badly burned M. Breslavskyi was taken to a hospital. According to information (November, 1969) he was sentenced to two and half years of imprisonment.

*) Information about the recent arrests and trials in Ukraine was received through the Press Service of the Zakordonne Predstavnytstvo Ukrains'koi Holovnoi Vyzvolnoi Rady (Foreign Representatives of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council) — Editor.

UKRAINIAN INTELLECTUALS PROTEST ARREST AND IMPRISONMENT OF THEIR COLLEAGUES IN UKRAINE

"... WE DEEM IT OUR DUTY TO EXPRESS OUR DEEP CONCERN ..."

To the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, Leonid I. Brezhnev, President of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Alexei N. Kosygin, and the President of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Nicholai V. Podgornyi *)

Esteemed Comrades:

We appeal to you in a matter which is deeply troubling the various circles of Soviet society.

In the course of the last few years in the Soviet Union political trials of young people from the milieu of active and scientific intelligentsia have taken place. We are disturbed by these trials for a number of reasons.

In the first place, we cannot remain undisturbed by the fact that during the numerous trials the laws of our country have been violated. For instance, all the trials in Kiev, Lviv and Ivano-Frankivsk held in 1965-66, as a result of which 20 persons were sentenced, were conducted behind closed doors, violating that which is directly and unmistakably guaranteed by the constitution of the USSR, the constitutions of the Union Republics and their penal codes. Moreover, the secret character of the trials helped violate observance of legality during the course of the judicial inquiries.

We believe that the violation of the principle of open trial contradicts the decisions of the XXth and XXIIInd congresses of the party regarding the renewal of socialist legality and the interest of Soviet society, and is a mockery of the highest law of our country — the Constitution of the USSR — and therefore cannot possibly be justified.

The principle of open trial includes not only open doors, but also a wide and true reportage of its course in the press as well. We all know well the requirement of V. I. Lenin that the vast masses of people know all, see all and have the possibility to judge all. Especially as regards the punitive organs, "the mass should have the right to know and check their every step, even the smallest one..." (V. I. Lenin. Vol. 27, p. 186). Yet our press failed completely to react to the political trials which took place

*) This letter signed by 134 Ukrainian writers, scientists, students and workers is being circulated in manuscript form in Ukraine since 1968 and was reported in the Western press. (Editor)

in Ukraine. As concerns the political trials which were held in Moscow, the short communiques which were issued about them could only evoke astonishment and could only offend the common sense of the Soviet reader, rather than give him any true information regarding these matters and the course of the judicial inquiries.

This, in essence, lack of control and secrecy enabled the constitutional guarantees and procedural norms to be violated. It has almost become a rule that at such political trials the court refuses to hear the witnesses for the defense, limiting itself to the witnesses for the state prosecution. The facts reported in the widely-known open letter of P. Litvinov and L. Bogoraz, eloquently attest that the trial of Galanskov, Ginzburg, Dobrovolsky and Lashkovaya grossly violated normal procedures.

In many cases the accused are attributed views, and held accountable for them, which possess no anti-Soviet character but which contain criticism of separate phenomena of social life or criticism of deviations from the socialist ideal and violations of the officially enunciated norms. For instance, journalist Chornovil was tried by the **oblast** court in Lviv on November 15, 1967, only because he had collected and submitted to official organs materials which revealed the anti-legal and juridically illiterate character of the political trials held in Ukraine in 1965-66. The prosecutor could not present anything incriminating against V. Chornovil and could not produce a single witness against him (of the two witnesses brought forth by the prosecutor, one failed to appear for reasons unknown, and the other refuted his previous testimony and presented a new one in favor of V. Chornovil). Despite the fact that the defense attorneys cogently and clearly unmasked the ridiculousness of the accusation leveled against V. Chornovil, the court nonetheless met all the demands of the prosecutor and sentenced the young journalist to three years of deprivation of freedom.

All these and other facts testify that the recent political trials have become the form of suppression for those who think differently, a form of repression of community activity and social criticism, so vitally necessary for a healthy society. They attest to the ever-increasing restoration of Stalinism, against which so energetically and bravely spoke T. Habai, Yu Kim and P. Yakir in their appeal to the workers of science, culture and arts of the USSR. In Ukraine, where this violation of democracy is augmented and sharpened by distortion of the national question, the symptoms of Stalinism express themselves more clearly and more brutally.

We deem it our duty to express our deep concern about what is set forth above. We call on you to use your authority and your mandate in this respect to the end that the organs of court and prosecutor's office adhere to the Soviet laws and so that difficulties and clashing opinions which erupt in our society and political life be resolved in an ideal sphere

and not be surrendered to the competence of the organs of prosecutor and state security:

S. Parazhdamov, movie director, recipient of prizes at international movie festivals; **A. M. Korolov**, candidate of physico-mathematical sciences; **Yu. T. Tsekhninstrenko**, candidate of physico-mathematical sciences; **J. S. Mirchuk**, artist; **V. H. Bodnarchuk**, candidate of physico-mathematical sciences; **I. H. Zaslavska**, candidate of phys. mathem. sciences; **A. F. Lubchenko**, professor, Ph.D. of phys. mathem. sciences, Lenin Prize winner; **L. P. Dzyub**, cand. of phys. mathem. sciences; **I. O. Svitlychny**, literary critic; **V. A. Vyshnevsky**, mathematician; **I. M. Dzyuba**, member Union of Writers of Ukraine; **Z. S. Hrybaikov**, cand. of phys. math. sciences; **N. N. Hryhoriev**, physicist; **A. D. Shanina**, physicist; **M. I. Biletsky**, mathematician; **V. Bondar**, cand. of phys. math. sciences; **V. A. Tiahai**, cand. of phys. math. sciences; **Ya. Koliupin**, cand. of phys.-math. sciences; **V. Zayev**, physicist; **O. H. Sarbey**, cand. of phys.-math. sciences; **P. M. Tomchuk**, cand. of phys.-math. sciences; **D. Abakarov**, sports master of the USSR; **V. I. Shoka**, cand. of phys.-math. sciences; **H. P. Kochur**, member, Union of Writers of Ukraine; **V. O. Shevchenuk**, member, Union of Writers of Ukraine; **L. Kostenko**, member, Union of Writers of Ukraine; **E. A. Popovych**, literary critic; **M. Kotsiubynska**, literary critic; **B. Khorchuk**, member, Union of Writers of Ukraine; **Z. Franko**, writer; **A. Horska**, member, Union of Artists of Ukraine; **B. Antonenko-Davydovych**, member, Union of Writers of Ukraine; **B. Hopnyk**, member, Union of Journalists of the USSR; **A. V. Skorokhod**, professor, Ph.D. of phys.-math., corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR.; **V. B. Bohdanovych**, engineer; **V. N. Orayevsky**, cand. of phys.-math. sciences; **V. Pokrovsky**, physicist; **P. Dibrova**, engineer; **A. O. Biletsky**, Ph.D.; **T. N. Chernysheva**, Ph.D.; **Zh. Skliarenko**, physicist; **T. Kalustian**, artist, laureate of the Ukrainian competition of vocalists; **Yu. D. Sokolov**, professor, Ph.D. of phys.-math. sciences, corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR; **Yu. M. Berezansky**, professor, Ph.D. of phys.-math. sciences, corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences of Ukrainian SSR; **A. M. Taran**, journalist; **A. A. Braťko**, cand. of phys. sciences; **H. T. Kryvoruchko**, worker; **T. A. Kolomeyets**, member, Union of Writers of Ukraine; **A. F. Serhienko**, student; **B. Ye. Tiufanov**, engineer; **H. V. Bolotova**, merchant; **V. V. Linchevsky**, student; **V. A. Fomenko**, student; **M. R. Selivachiv**, student; **L. H. Orel**, professor; **M. A. Chernenko**, editor; **A. T. Bolekhivsky**, medical doctor; **M. I. Paliy**, student; **Ya. V. Konopada**, medical doctor; **V. B. Zdorovylo**, engineer; **N. P. Bezpalko**, book-keeper; **L. I. Yashchenko**, member, Union of Composers of Ukraine; **T. R. Hirnyk**, philologist; **I. I. Rusyn**, engineer; **A. V. Zaboï**, artist; **V. O. Bezpalko**, worker; **B. F. Matushevsky**, engineer; **M. Yu. Braichevsky**, cand. of hist. sciences; **V. P. Savchuk**, worker; **D. Porkhun**, pensioner; **A. N. Datsenko**, engineer; **B. D. Shyrotsky**, jurist; **V. H. Orel**, engineer; **V. H. Melnychenko**, philologist; **L. Prosiatkivska**, teacher; **L. I. Lytovchenko**, student; **E. Ashpiis**, music teacher; **A. H. Sytenko**, professor, Ph.D. of phys.-math. sciences, corr. member of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR; **I. Ya. Boichok**, cand. philol., member, Union of

Writers of Ukraine; **V. Kolomeyets**, member, Union of Writers of Ukraine; **L. Semykina**, member, Union of Artists of Ukraine; **H. F. Dvorko**, Ph.D. in chemistry; **A. L. Put**, cand. of biolog. sciences; **H. A. Bachynsky**, cand. of biolog. sciences; **P. F. Hozhyk**, cand. of geol.-miner. sciences; **P. Matvievko**, biologist; **I. B. Lorin**, biologist; **A. Shevchenko**, journalist; **L. Kovalenko**, cand. of philology, member, Union of Writers of Ukraine; **I. Drach**, member, Union of Writers of Ukraine; **M. Vinhranovsky**, member, Union of Writers of Ukraine; **Yu. Serdiuk**, member, Union of Writers of Ukraine; **H. Sevruck**, artist-painter; **A. Osynska**, artist; **L. P. Karmazyna**, engineer; **K. B. Tolpyko**, Ph.D. of phys.-math. sciences, corr. member of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR; **S. Kyrychenko**, merited artist of the Ukr.SSR; **A. Semenov**, engineer; **V. Zaretsky**, member, Union of Artists of Ukraine; **Semenova**, biologist; **I. Lytvochenko**, member, Union of Artists of Ukraine; **Plaksiy**, artist; **V. Nekrasov**, member, Union of Writers of Ukraine, recipient of state lit. award; **Komashkov**, locksmith; **Nazarenko**, electrician; **Erdan**, worker; **Berlinska**, worker; **Pedoshkovska**, fitter; **Mohyl**, hydraulic worker; **Dyriv**, electrician; **Balai**, electrician; **Mapaksev**, worker; **Vynohrad**, worker; **Kalynchuk**, cast iron worker; **Hromadiuk**, concrete worker; **Suhoniako**, carpenter; **Riabokin**, nightman; **Stefanchuk**, damp-proof worker; **Horbets**, electrician; **Tsebenko**, driver; **Chyzhevsky**, concrete assembler; **Hodun**, stone-cutter; **Kyrev**, welder; **Ivanenko**, engraver; **Syrosh**, locksmith; **V. Stus**, writer; **R. Dovhan**, journalist; **R. Korohodsky**, art critic; **A. Zakharchuk**, artist; **V. Lutsak**, sculptor; **V. Bohoslovsky**, medical doctor; **Ya. Stupak**, writer; **Ya. Kendzior**, worker; **V. Yaremchuk**, writer. *)

*) In accordance with confirmed information the Soviet secret police (KGB) started action against the signatories of this letter and a number of persons already lost their jobs and some were arrested. (Editor)

FIRES AT THE VYDUBYTSKY MONASTERY

Reliable sources have confirmed reports of outbreak of fire at the Vydubysky Monastery complex which includes the Mychailivska and the Heorhiivska churches (the latter is also known as the Saint Yuri Cathedral). As a result of the first fire the Heorhiivska church was destroyed along with artistic works and a store of important books and archives.

The Radio—Telegraphic Agency of Ukraine (RATAU) published an article in the local newspaper — **Kievskia Pravda**, and not in the newspapers of the republic, confirming the following facts:

"During the night of the 26th of November, 1968, a fire broke out in the former Heorhiivska church in which initial measures were being taken to introduce restoratory work. An official commission was formed to investigate into the cause of the fire and to report to the Council of the USSR ministers on proposals to restore this eighteenth century architectural monument belonging to the former Vydubysky monastery complex."

According to verified sources, on the night between the 12th and the 13th of December, another fire broke out at the Vydubysky monastery causing no additional damage. The following night, however, a third fire broke out accompanied by a mysterious explosion and this destroyed a part of the library holdings located in the monastery.

A fourth fire, not specified closer in time than January of 1969, broke out at the Heorhiivska Church. Valuable book and archive stocks, including rich collections of research documents on Slavic and Hebraic studies perished under very dramatic circumstances. The books which were saved from the May 1964 fire at the National Library of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences (AN USSR), also perished. The books in temporary storage for many years at the Michailivska church were edited by the co-workers of the National Library of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukraine during the summer of 1968 and in part were moved to other locations.

In December of 1968 and January of 1969, the books from the Heorhiivska church were also to be moved.

Very many people in the USSR are convinced that the fires were intentional, just as it was in the case of the fire caused by Pohruzalski at the National Library of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR.

There is a reason to suspect that hundreds of valuable articles of Church art gathered from the churches and monasteries of Western Ukraine and now stored in the Virmenski Cathedral in Lviv will be similarly destroyed.

IN THE DEFENSE OF THE CHURCH OF SILENCE IN UKRAINE

An Appeal to the World's Conscience by the Ukrainian Bishops of the U.S. in Defense of the Religious Freedom and Human Rights of the Ukrainian People.

COMMUNIST FEAR OF CHRISTIANITY

For the past several months we have been receiving sad and discomforting news from Ukraine, where 46 million of our brethren are undergoing harsh treatment and persecution inflicted by the government of the USSR. Currently, the great powers are endeavoring to reach a measure of **defente** with the Soviet Union. The free press has been extremely careful not to report any occurrences and happenings behind the Iron Curtain which might upset the precarious balance of West-East relations. Yet the tragedy of the Ukrainian people under the domination of Russian communism is so overwhelming that no amount of censorship, official or tacit, can cover up the widespread suffering of the Ukrainian people.

On February 27, 1969, **The New York Times** reported from Vienna that the Soviet secret police, the KGB, arrested in Lviv the Most Rev. Vasyi Velychkowsky, Archbishop of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, which, although outlawed and destroyed by the Soviet government in 1945-46, continues to exist as the "Church of Silence," as did the Church of the first Christians who worshipped Christ in the catacombs for fear of persecution by pagan emperors and rulers. It was further reliably reported that Archbishop Velychkowsky was arrested on January 27, 1969, as he was visiting a sick person. After his arrest, the KGB searched the private homes of several known Ukrainian Catholic priests in Lviv and in other Ukrainian cities.

Archbishop Velychkowsky, a member of the Redemptorist Order, was arrested after the end of World War II along with some 1,000 Ukrainian Catholic priests and sent to Siberia for refusing to abandon his ancestral Catholic faith and to accept spurious and communist-controlled Orthodoxy. Released in 1957, he had been allowed to live in Lviv.

There were further reports that Archbishop Velychkowsky had died suddenly in a Soviet prison. **The Washington Post** of March 17, 1969, **The Toronto Telegram and Star** of March 17, 1969 and in the Italian newspaper

L'Avenir of March 16, 1969). However, subsequent reports have denied his death, stating that he has been transported to the "capital" — which could be either Kiev or Moscow.

CATHOLIC CHURCH ALIVE IN UKRAINE

The arrest of Archbishop Velychkovsky provides undeniable proof that Catholicism in Ukraine is alive despite the attempt at the complete destruction of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in 1945-46 by the Soviet government.

We recall with deep grief the sad fate which befell our Catholic Ukrainian brothers and sisters after World War II, the time when the USSR occupied Western Ukraine. The Soviet government arrested the entire Ukrainian Catholic hierarchy — over 2,000 priests, monks and nuns — abolished the church organization and broke our Church's bonds with the Vatican, bonds which had existed since the Union of Brest, concluded in 1596. Together with Carpatho-Ukraine, which was incorporated into the Ukrainian SSR in 1945, this compact Ukrainian ethnic territory encompassed over 5,000,000 Ukrainian Catholic faithful, 1 archbishop-metropolitan, 10 bishops, 5 dioceses, 2 areas of Apostolic Administration, 2,950 diocesan priests, 520 monastic and religious priests, 1,090 nuns, 3,040 parishes, 4,440 churches and chapels, 195 monasteries and convents, 540 seminarians, 1 ecclesiastical academy, 5 ecclesiastical seminaries, several thousand Catholic elementary schools, high schools, several Catholic colleges, 35 Ukrainian Catholic publishing houses, 28 Ukrainian Catholic journals and hundreds of Catholic institutions, libraries, welfare and aid associations, orphanages, student and youth leagues, women's organizations and so forth.

All these were totally destroyed by Moscow and the Eastern-Rite Catholic Church in Ukraine was placed outside the law by the Soviet government. Of all the Ukrainian Catholic Bishops but one survived. He is Metropolitan Joseph Slipy, who spent 18 years in Soviet jails and concentration camps. Released in January, 1963, upon the direct intervention of the late Pope John XXIII, he was allowed to travel to Rome, where he was made Archbishop-Major in 1963 and appointed Cardinal in 1965 by Pope Paul VI.

The destruction of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Ukraine was deplored by the late Pope Pius XII in his two outstanding encyclicals, **Orientales Omnes Ecclesius** (December 2, 1945) and **Orientales Omnes** (December 15, 1952).

In a statement issued on April 4, 1946, Archbishop Constantine Bohachevsky and his then auxiliary, Bishop Ambrose Senyshyn, said:

"We speak for a nation whose Bishops, priests and faithful find themselves powerless to express themselves as they wish — a nation whose people have been rendered helpless by the well-known repressive measures of Communist activities. It is of this nation that the recent shocking announcement came from Moscow on March 17, 1946, in which it was declared that her people had broken, on March 8 at the Synod in Lviv, the 350-year-old unity with Catholic Rome in favor of Russian Orthodoxy. Because it would be a grave injustice to these people and their Church if the world should accept this announcement as the truth, we, former sons of Ukraine, reared and nurtured on her lands and thoroughly familiar with the history of her people and her Church, feel it is urgent that a statement should be made so misrepresentations may be rectified and falsehoods be made evident . . . "

COMMUNIST FEAR OF CATHOLICISM

It is clear that the rulers of the Soviet Union are still fearful of Catholicism and of all other religions, for they know that their soulless and atheistic Communism cannot begin to compare with the Church of Jesus Christ.

Some among us believed that the post-Stalin Kremlin leadership was sincerely bent on peaceful coexistence with the West and would, as a consequence, be more tolerant as regards organized religion in the USSR. But no such thing came to pass. Yet the Soviet Union and the Ukrainian SSR are both signatories to the **Universal Declaration of Human Rights**, signed on December 10, 1948, which assures freedom of religion. Moscow makes much of this lip-service to freedom in its massive propaganda drives outside the USSR.

Article 18 of the **Declaration** reads:

"Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion, this right includes the freedom to change his religion or belief and the freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching practice, worship and observance."

Clearly, the Soviet Union and its subservient Ukrainian SSR are prime violators of the U.N. **Declaration of Human Rights** and the U.N. Charter as well and should be exposed as such before the world bar of opinion.

The Soviet Union is guilty not only of destroying the Ukrainian Catholic Church. It also annihilated the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in the 1930's by slaying over 30 archbishops and bishops and 20,000 clergy and monks. It persistently harasses and persecutes other

Christian adherents in Ukraine — the Baptists, Evangelics, Seven-Day Adventists, Jehovah's Witnesses and others — by imposing heavy taxation and by arresting pastors and preachers. The Soviet government is relentlessly persecuting the Judaic faith by closing down synagogues, molesting religious leaders and terrorizing worshippers.

Yet only recently (December 2, 1968) the United Nations saw fit to present a U.N. "human rights award" to Peter E. Nedbailo, a representative of the Ukrainian SSR to the U.N. Human Rights Commission for "outstanding achievements in human rights." In view of the systematic and unbridled persecution of all religions in the USSR and the denial of human rights.

The religious persecution in Ukraine is only one aspect of the oppression of the Ukrainian people. For the past few years hundreds of Ukrainian intellectuals have been arrested and tried by Communist courts in Ukraine simply for opposing the russification of Ukraine and demanding the application of the provisions of the U.N. **Declaration of Human Rights** and of the Soviet and Ukrainian SSR constitutions as well.

On May 14, 1964, a great fire destroyed the library of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kiev; a few months later a library employee was sentenced to 10 years imprisonment for the deed. Among the priceless manuscripts destroyed were records of Ukrainian folklore, literature and history, including documents of the short-lived independent state of Ukraine. Then, on November 26, 1968, another fire destroyed the irreplaceable Ukrainian and Hebraic manuscripts. The suspicion is general that these mysterious fires were deliberate acts of arson on the part of the KGB to wipe out archives that could have been strong rallying points for Ukrainian nationalist sentiment and ideology.

IMPACT OF CZECHOSLOVAK LIBERALIZATION

Moscow's intensification of religious persecution in Ukraine, especially of Ukrainian Catholics, was stepped up in the wake of the invasion of Czechoslovakia in August, 1968. The brief period of Alexander Dubcek's liberalization program had a great impact upon neighboring Ukraine. The Prague government had allowed the restoration of the Eastern-rite Ukrainian Catholic Church in Slovakia and had released Bishop Basil Hopko after 13 years of communist captivity. Ukrainian-language radio broadcasts and newspapers, which had been permitted the Ukrainian minority in Slovakia, created considerable fear and apprehension in Moscow lest the liberalization inflame Ukraine and thus threaten the Soviet Russian domination of Ukraine.

There is increasingly abundant evidence, including that appearing

in the official Soviet press, that millions of Ukrainian Catholics in Western Ukraine have remained faithful to their ancestral church and practice their faith in secret, despite the fact that the Catholic Church organization has been abolished.

Numerous attacks against the Ukrainian Catholic Church appearing recently in the Soviet press in Ukraine, speak eloquently of Moscow's fear of Catholicism. A professor of the T. Shevchenko University in Kiev, V. Tancher, wrote in **Pravda Ukrainy** (Nov. 28, 1968):

"All churches serve the interests of the exploiting classes. But the Uniate church played a particularly reactionary role. Uniate believers desired opposition between the Ukrainian and Russian nations, they wanted to see the countries quarrel; they attempted to isolate these two friends from each other. Religious differences shook the foundation of Ukraine's national unity . . ."

An even more inciting article against the Ukrainian Catholic Church appeared on January 3, 1969, in **Kultura i Zhyttia** (Culture and Life), written by one Taras Myhal, who assailed the late Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky and the Ukrainian Catholic Bishops in the free world.

The article, titled "Myth and Reality," said, in part:

"The Vatican, where in the 16th century this monstrous child (Uniate church) was spawned by the Roman Catholic Church, still ignores the 1946 decision by the Lviv Sobor. It has retained the "Collegium Russicum", a special congregation of priests which works for the cause of the Greek Catholic Church; a large number of religious publications are produced — earmarked for illegal entry into Western Ukrainian territory. Along the narrow streets of the Pope's capital, Uniate bishops and monks thread their way, and priests are ordained who (the Vatican hopes) will be future missionaries . . . New Uniate bishops are being ordained at an accelerated rate. They have included Hermaniuk, Gabro, Boretsky, Senyshyn, Schmondiuk and Malanchuk. Like vultures they fleece the immigrants of their money with which to build churches; they have created parishes, various religious societies, unions and publications . . ."

The entire article is directed against the late Metropolitan A. Sheptytsky and his alleged cooperation with the Germans. Moreover, the Communists label all Ukrainian Catholic bishops as servants of "American and certain Western European intelligence services . . ."

Such official pronouncements in the Soviet press in Ukraine clearly indicate the attitude of the Soviet government toward Catholicism, which is deliberately identified with all real and imaginary enemies of the Soviet Union in order to justify the official persecution of the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

The Soviet government, risking adverse world opinion, continues

the traditional persecution of Ukrainian Catholics for no other reason than its intense opposition to religion as such in general and the Ukrainian Catholic Church in particular.

APPEAL FOR THE "CHURCH OF SILENCE" IN UKRAINE

We, the undersigned, hereby appeal to all men of good-will, their religious beliefs notwithstanding, to pray earnestly for the persecuted "Church of Silence" in Ukraine. For a quarter of a century the Soviet government has been engaged in the cruel persecution of some 5 million Ukrainian Catholics, subjecting them to all the abuses of which only the totalitarian regime is capable, including executions and deportations. Yet it has failed in its efforts to destroy the faith of the Ukrainian people in their God and their ancestral faith.

We earnestly beseech you to do the following:

1) Make the contents of our appeal known to your church hierarchy, whether you are Catholic or not, your defense of the persecuted Catholic Church in Ukraine is no more and no less a defense of the right of all men everywhere to profess their religion without restriction and without fear of arrest and imprisonment.

2) Intercede on behalf of the persecuted 46-million Ukrainian nation with your government by making it keenly aware of the incessant violation of human and national rights of the Ukrainian people by the Soviet government, a member of the United Nations and a so-called champion of the "national liberation" of the colonial peoples of Africa and Asia.

In doing so, you will be lending invaluable moral support to the suffering people of Ukraine, thus providing them with a ray of hope in their martyrdom and misery, reminding them they are not alone or forgotten by the peoples of other countries who are blessed with the good fortune to live in freedom under a government of their own choosing.

✠ **AMBROSE SENYSHYN, O.S.B.M., D.D.**

Archbishop and Metropolitan
Ukrainian Catholic Archdiocese of Philadelphia

✠ **JOSEPH M. SCHMONDIUK, D.D.**

Bishop
Ukrainian Catholic Diocese of Stamford

✠ **JAROSLAV GABRO, D.D.**

Bishop
St. Nicholas Diosece of Chicago for Ukrainians

April 18, 1969.

IN DEFENSE OF THE PERSECUTED CHURCH IN UKRAINE

Appeal of the Ukrainian Catholic Hierarchy in Canada to its clergy, the faithful and all the people of good will with reference to the continuous persecution of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Ukraine.

In the months of February and March of this year, the world press brought sad news of the arrest of the Very Rev. Vasyl Velychkovsky, CSSR, called Archbishop by the press, by the secret police of the KGB on January 23rd of this year in Lviv, while he was visiting a sick person. (New York Times of February 27th; The Washington Post; The Toronto Telegram; The Toronto Daily Star; The Ottawa Citizen; Winnipeg Free Press of March 17th; the Italian daily "Avenire d'Italia" of March 16th). After his arrest, the police searched the private homes of various Ukrainian Catholic priests in Lviv and other cities of Ukraine. Other news from Ukraine confirms the sad reality that millions of Ukrainians are still victims of a cruel religious persecution by the atheistic communist regime of the USSR.

This continual war against the Ukrainian Catholic Church has been renewed by imperialist Moscow in 1945 when Western Ukraine, devastated and defenseless after the Nazi invasion, was again occupied by the communists.

At first, the communist regime, not yet certain of the final outcome of the war, simulated some tolerance of the Church and tried to secure the confidence and support of the population. However, the true intentions of the regime appeared shortly in the shameful deeds that followed.

And so, to the funeral of a great son of Ukraine, the Servant of God Metropolitan Andrey, who died on November 1st of that year amidst unclarified, if not to say very suspicious circumstances, the regime sent as a delegate Nikita Khrushchov, at that time Secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine, who in the name of Joseph Stalin laid a wreath on the grave of the deceased and in his speech called him "the second greatest Son of Ukraine after Taras Shevchenko". Soon after that, however, the successor of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky, Joseph Slipy, was called to Moscow to an important conference. The communists attempted to force him to support Stalin and to subordinate the Ukrainian Catholic Church to the Patriarch of Moscow. Metropolitan Slipy, however, openly refused to betray the Christian Church and his own nation, although he knew that such conduct was synonymous with suffering, torture and even martyrdom for the Catholic faith.

Following this, a whole series of attacks on the Ukrainian Catholic Church were perpetrated. In accordance with its customary tactics the NKVD initiated the so-called "Orthodox Action". The machinery of communist propaganda, in its effort to set Catholics against their Church, started to mock the name of the great Metropolitan Andrey. Now he was no longer "the greatest Son of Ukraine", but an "agent of Hitler and collaborator of the Nazis".

Not wasting any time, the communist regime initiated a period of terror. In 1945, all Ukrainian bishops, hundreds of priests and thousands of faithful were arrested and sentenced to long prison terms or hard labour in concentration camps. Some were never heard from again.

During 1946, the Russian NKVD, using a few traitors and a group of terrorized priests as spokesmen, condemned the Brest Union at a so-called "Synod" in Lviv. At the same time this "Synod" asked the incarnated atheist Stalin to accept kindly "the repentant Ukrainian Catholics" into a union with the Russian Orthodox Church.

Next, the bishopric thrones in our cathedrals were taken by Russian agents and our churches, monasteries, and all the church institutions found themselves under the thumb of Russian Orthodox emissaries. At this time, even the slightest opposition was immediately suppressed by means of violent threats, dreadful tortures, severe imprisonment, deportation to Siberia, or direct death sentences.

Soon after, on May 25th of 1947 the Bishop of Uzhhorod, Theodor Romzha was assassinated and in 1950 the communist authorities arrested the bishop of Priashev, Paul Goidych, and his suffragan Bishop Vasyl Hopko.

Not one of the bishops was permitted to remain in Ukraine. The churches were turned into storage-houses, garages, moving-picture theatres, granaries and museums. The remaining were put under the control of the Russian Patriarch in Moscow. The Catholic Church was driven underground, just as in the times of the early Christian catacombs. Only one bishop of Galicia, Metropolitan Joseph Slipy, survived persecution. Almost by a miracle of Divine Providence he found himself in the free world and took part as a Major Archbishop and Primate of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the Second Vatican Council. After the Council, he requested, in the name of all the Ukrainian Catholic Hierarchy, the foundation of a Ukrainian Catholic Patriarchate in order to complete the structure of this branch of the Catholic Church which suffers today, defending Christ and His holy truth.

There survived also another heroic confessor, the Bishop of Priashev Vasyl Hopko, who by his inflexible loyalty to the Christian Church and to the Ukrainian nation glorified the Church of Christ all over Czechoslovakia.

The losses during the cruel persecutions in the years 1945–1953

were enormous. In that period — characterized by the most cruel bestialities in centuries on the side of atheistic communism and the eternal splendour of heroic deeds on the side of our martyrs and confessors — our Church in Ukraine lost: 5 dioceses; 2 areas of Apostolic Administration; 10 bishops; 2,950 diocesan priests, of which number 50% were imprisoned, 10% emigrated, 10% initiated their work in catacombs and 30% were forced to disperse; 540 seminarians; 1,090 nuns were forced to abandon their monasteries; the Church lost 3040 parishes, 4,440 churches, 195 monasteries, 9,900 Catholic elementary schools, 380 secondary schools, 56 high schools, 41 Catholic organizations, 28 Catholic newspapers and 35 Catholic publications.

The greatest harm, however, has been done and is being done to the Ukrainian Catholic Church and to the Ukrainian nation by atheistic communist heretical education of Ukrainian youth and by a continuous and systematic propaganda in the press, radio and television.

Moreover, in its blind hatred of everything that refers to God and the Ukrainian Catholic Church, atheistic communism continues to terrorize Ukrainian priests, who most often, after the termination of long years of severe imprisonment devote the rest of their lives to sustaining the faith in the nation. They baptize children, bring spiritual comfort to the sick and dying. To such priests-heroes belongs Father Velychkovsky and all those who in their heroic loyalty to Christ and their Ukrainian nation will record the most illustrious pages of history of the whole Ecumenical Church. They are tormented today by atheistic Moscow for this only reason — that they are and wish to remain loyal servants to the Church of Christ and to their nation.

How such action of the Soviet Communist regime should be judged in the light of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, endorsed by the governments of the USSR and the Ukrainian SSR? This Declaration states the following about religious freedom: "Everyone has the right to enjoy freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his own religion or faith, and freedom to manifest his religion or faith singly or in common with others, publicly or privately, in the teaching, in practice, in divine service and in its participation." (Art. 18).

Such action by the communist regime is a flagrant and complete disrespect and violation of the most basic human rights. And this is happening today, twenty years after the proclamation of this Declaration. When in 1968 the International Conference, convened by the United Nations in Teheran, reviewed the practical application of the provisions of this Declaration throughout the world, the Secretariat of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians had submitted well documented memoranda with specific evidence of the cruel destruction by the Communist regime of the Ukrainian Catholic Church and total disrespect for the hu-

man rights of its citizens. Unfortunately, however, this Conference failed to do anything for the Church and nation which in the name of the Declaration asked for assistance and defense against those who resort to the resolutions of the Declaration only when they see their own advantage therein, but ignore it completely when it has to be applied to the advantage of others.

The situation is still more aggravated because of the fact that the communist regime in the Ukraine destroyed in the same way the Ukrainian Orthodox Church and similarly persecutes Ukrainian Evangelical communities.

The religious persecution, although the most painful, is not the only form of oppression of the Ukrainian nation. Within the last few years, hundreds of Ukrainian scholars, writers and poets have been arrested and sentenced by the communist regime solely for their opposition to the Russification of Ukraine and their demands for the application in Ukraine of the resolutions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and of their own constitution as a basis of the cultural development of their nation.

Still another form of disrespect and violation of human rights in Ukrainian lands appears in the destruction of Ukrainian cultural monuments, e.g. the burning of the precious library of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences on May 14th, 1964 and of the monumental historical church of the Vydubitsky monastery on November 26th, 1968, both in Kiev, the capital of Ukraine.

In the face of such systematic and cruel persecution and destruction of the Ukrainian Catholic Church and the entire religious life in Ukraine, as well as disregard and violation by the communist regime of the most basic human rights of the Ukrainian nation, we raise up our voice again and appeal to all the people of good will to come to the defense of our persecuted Church and our enslaved nation.

We appeal to the Canadian Government and all the people of good will to intervene with the Government of the USSR on our behalf and ask for:

- a) the restoration of full freedom to the Ukrainian Catholic Church and all other Churches and denominations in Ukraine;
- b) the application of the resolutions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights to the religious and national life of the Ukrainian nation and the cessation of the destruction of its religious and national culture;
- c) the recognition to the Ukrainian nation of the Divine Right of a full and sovereign national independence.

Entrusting our martyr Church and all the greatly suffering Ukrainian nation to a special protection under our Divine Redeemer and His Most

Holy Mother, we are blessing all of you, Dear Brothers and Sisters, and ask that you rise up bravely in the defense of your persecuted and suffering brothers.

Given in Winnipeg, Edmonton, Toronto and Saskatoon
May 2nd, 1969.

- ✠ **MAXIM HERMANIUK**, Archbishop Metropolitan of Winnipeg
 - ✠ **NEIL SAVARYN**, Bishop of Edmonton
 - ✠ **ISIDORE BORECKY**, Bishop of Toronto
 - ✠ **ANDREW ROBORECKY**, Bishop of Saskatoon
-

CHURCH LEADERS ARRESTED

On January 29, 1969 the Soviet secret police, the KGB, arrested in Lviv the Very Rev. Vasyl **Velychkovsky**, Archbishop of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Western Ukraine. According to the press reports, Archbishop Velychkovsky was appointed a head of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, formally liquidated by the Soviet regime in 1946.

After the arrest Very Rev. Velychkovsky was transferred to a prison in Kiev. His present whereabouts is not known, although there are reports from Ukraine that he was tried and sentenced to three years imprisonment.

It should be mentioned that Very Rev. Velychkovsky already spent over ten years in Soviet concentration camps. He was arrested in 1946 at the time when the Ukrainian Catholic Church was liquidated. In 1957 he was released and returned to Lviv where he continued to practice his priestly duties. Particulars about the arrest and trial of Very Rev. Velychkovsky were published by the **Slava Rodiny** (Glory of the Fatherland), a Soviet Russian newspaper in Lviv, on November 15, 1969.

On December 28, 1968 the Soviet court in Lviv sentenced to long-term imprisonment Hryhorii **Lukianchuk**, Mykola **Datsko** and Vasyl **Petleha**, the leaders of the Ukrainian Evangelical Baptist Church.

The arrest and sentence of the mentioned religious leaders was confirmed by the **Vilna Ukraina** (Free Ukraine), a Soviet Ukrainian newspaper published in Lviv. Their only "crime" was that they continued to perform their religious duties and defended the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion and the right to manifest in public or private religious beliefs in teaching, practice, worship and observance.

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