

The
**UKRAINIAN
REVIEW**



I

1 9 7 3

THE UKRAINIAN REVIEW

A Quarterly Magazine devoted to the study of Ukraine.

EDITORIAL BOARD:

Professor Dr. Vasyl Oreleckyj
Chairman of the Board

Mrs. Slava Stetzko, M.A.
Editor

Volodymyr Bohdaniuk, B.A., B.Litt.
Associate Editor

Professor Nicholas Chirovsky
Associate Editor

Anatol Bedriy, M.A.
Associate Editor

Professor Lew Shankowsky
Associate Editor

Oleh S. Romanyshyn, M.A.
Associate Editor

Bernardine Bailey B.A., M.A.
Associate Editor

Price: 50p or \$1.75 a single copy
Annual Subscription: £2.00 or \$7.00

Editorial correspondence should be sent to:

The Editors,
"The Ukrainian Review",
200 Liverpool Road,
London, N1 1LF.

Subscriptions should be sent to:

"The Ukrainian Review" (Administration),
c/o Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain, Ltd.
49 Linden Gardens,
London, W2 4HG.

Overseas representatives:

USA: Organization for Defense of Four Freedoms for Ukraine, Inc.
P.O. Box 304, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.

Canada: Canadian League for Ukraine's Liberation,
140 Bathurst Street, Toronto 2B, Ont.

THE UKRAINIAN REVIEW

Vol. XX No. 1

Spring 1973

A Quarterly Magazine

Published by
The Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain, Ltd.
in cooperation with
Organization for Defense of Four Freedoms for Ukraine, Inc. (U.S.A)
and
Canadian League for Ukraine's Liberation.

C O N T E N T S

A YEAR OF HORROR — HUNGER SIEGE OF UKRAINE	3
<i>I. Vovchuk</i> : THE STUPID RUSSIAN DESPOTS RAGE	6
<i>Anatole W. Bedriy</i> : MAJOR ASPECTS OF RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM TOWARDS UKRAINE (In the Writings of V. I. Lenin)	15
<i>Mykhaylo Osadchyy</i> : CATARACT (Cont. 4)	30
<i>W. Mykula</i> : SOVIET NATIONALITIES POLICY IN UKRAINE 1920-1930 (Cont. 5)	44
<i>Orysya Prokopiw</i> : OLENA TELIHA	57
<i>Olena Teliha</i> : AN EXCLUSIVE HOLIDAY	67
THE FIFTH FLOOR	68
THE RETURN	69
TO MY CONTEMPORARIES	70
TO MEN	70
<i>Maria Ovcharenko</i> : THE POETS OF SPIRIT AND TRUTH	71
<i>Vasyl' Symonenko</i> : BALLAD OF THE OUTLANDER	83
THE UKRAINIAN LION	84
<i>Senator Paul Yuzyk</i> : THE NEW CANADIAN CONSTITUTION AND THE RIGHTS OF ETHNIC GROUPS	85
THE MARTYROLOGY OF JURIY SHUKHEVYCH	95

—0—

Documents smuggled out of Ukraine

THE CHORNOVIL PAPERS

Open letters to Soviet authorities, written by young Ukrainian intellectuals now imprisoned, denouncing continued violation of human rights, Russian colonialist policies and Russification of Ukraine.

Including the famous memorandum by Vyacheslav Chornovil, a young Ukrainian journalist sentenced to three years' forced labour, and his compilation of the writings of the convicted Ukrainian intellectuals entitled "The Misfortune of Intellect" (Portraits of Twenty "Criminals").

Published by McGraw Hill Company, Maidenhead, Berks.

Price: £ 2.25 net.

You can place your orders with:
Ukrainian Booksellers and Publishers,
49 Linden Gardens,
London, W.2.
Tel.: 01-229-0140

A YEAR OF HORROR

HUNGER SIEGE OF UKRAINE

Forty years ago, in 1932/1933, Russia had perpetrated the most outrageous genocide in the history of mankind. Over seven million Ukrainians, hundreds of thousands of the Don Cossacks, North Caucasians, Byelorussians, and other non-Russians fell victim to artificial famine, systematically organized by Russian colonialists.

The Russian position in Ukraine had been undermined. Millions of Ukrainian peasants resisted forced collectivization. The collectivization of agriculture is not only an economic strategy, but also a military one. It is a tool of Russia's domination over the subjugated nations. Collectivization is a Russian way of life, which Russia imposes forcibly upon the oppressed peoples in order to rule over them. It is a means of stifling private initiative, a totalitarian form of mastering the people, a form of imperio-colonialist domination.

Hundreds of thousands of privately owned farms are tantamount to hundreds of thousands of points of resistance to the Russian way of life. A collectivized village means total control over the farmer. It is a massive attempt at mastering him. It is an attempt to prevent food assistance to the insurgents as well. The collective farms in the subjugated countries are the Russian control centers of this phase of life too. A Ukrainian peasant is an individualist. He despises collective economy. He stands for a peasant's private ownership of land. Collectivization of agriculture, therefore, is a thoroughly political and ideological strategy, not only an economic one. A kolkhoz and private property represent a collision of two worlds — Russia and Ukraine — in the national and political respect. It is a clash of an amorphous mass, a herd, controlled by the tyrants, against the individual who has his own dignity, his own human and national "I". Collectivization is a levelling of life in order to stifle everything creative in a human being. Collectivization is a method of national oppression which, with the help of massive efforts, imposes a hostile ideology of life upon a subjugated nation.

The French, the English, the Dutch, and the Belgians by no means imposed their way of life upon the countries acquired by them. The Russians do. They force their way of life upon the subjugated nations as a means of dominating them.

Thus in literature or art, for example, socio-realism is a form of Russian imperialism. It is an attempt at spiritual Russification, which hand in hand with linguistic Russification forces the subjugated peoples to accept the "reality" of Russian slavery, the dictates of Russia as a form of their creativity.

Militant atheism is a form of Russian imperialism in the religious sphere, for, by destroying Christianity and other traditional religions, it attempts to liquidate the millenary spiritual traditions of a nation and to reduce human beings to cattle. The Russian official Kremlin-style "Orthodoxy," as a Caesaro-papist religion, as a "Church" which serves the atheistic Russian regime, is another form of Russian imperialism, which follows the line of the "Third Rome." Side by side with linguistic Russification there is an attempt at the Russification of the spirit. Sovietization is Russification. The Soviet people do not and cannot exist. There are only the Russian people and the subjugated peoples, who engage in a ceaseless and merciless struggle for life or death. Massive budgeting, nationalization, and socialization are also a form of Russian colonialism in Ukraine and other subjugated countries. Scores of millions of private owners in the subjugated nations form a difficult group to control. For this reason, all measures adopted by Russia in the subjugated countries must be viewed as nothing other than the forms of Russian imperialism and colonialism.

Forty years ago, Russia committed the greatest crime of genocide in order to drive Ukrainians into the kolkhozes. Ukraine — the richest agricultural country of Europe — lost over seven million inhabitants. Russia sent its troops to take away the harvest, the bread, from Ukraine by force. Hundreds of thousands of Russian troops plundered Ukrainian villages, confiscating all grain and killing people. The Ukrainian peasant resisted joining the kolkhoz, resisted giving his land to the Russians. An uneven battle ensued. The Ukrainian village rose against collectivization. The peasants perished in their battle with Russian troops, but did not go to the kolkhozes. The struggle continued for many months. The Russian armies crushed the peasants' uprising against collectivization. They took bread from Ukraine to Russia. The Ukrainian peasants perished by the millions in the villages and in the streets of cities. Dantean scenes were the order of the day. Ukraine did not succumb. When the mother and children, the elderly and the sick were dying in the streets of towns and villages, the insurrection was crushed by the Russians. The Russian tyrants, Stalin and Molotov, temporarily crushed the resistance of the Ukrainian nation at the price of millions of Ukrainian victims.

Several million so-called *kulaks*, i.e., well-to-do Ukrainian farmers, were forcefully deported to Siberia either to concentration camps or to dig canals. At that time, the Ukrainian nation lost over ten million victims of Russian Bolshevik terror.

Russia failed, however, to break the Ukrainian nation. It revived again. The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) organized the struggle of the nation anew and continue it at the present time. Ukraine continues to fight. The Ukrainian people will never forgive the Russian occupants for the ten million victims of Russia's hunger siege of Ukraine.

On this fortieth anniversary of the greatest crime of genocide known in the history of mankind, Ukraine warns the free world against the Russian tyrants who are preparing a similar genocide for it.

It is a tragedy for the free world that it is silent in the face of such outrageous crimes and continues to support Russian domination over hundreds of millions of people and scores of nations.

Caveant consules!

NEW ISSUE OF "RECENZIJIA"

The Seminar in Ukrainian Studies at Harvard University announces the appearance of a new edition of **Recenzija**. The journal contains review articles of recent Soviet Ukrainian scholarly publications. Last year, the distinguished London **Slavonic Review** praised **Recenzija** as a new journal that "maintains a high academic standard... and deserves a warm welcome from western scholars with an interest in Ukrainian affairs".

Now available, the third number promises to continue **Recenzija's** tradition of excellence and will include in depth analyses by O. Pritsak on **Litopys samovydytsya** and O. Grabowicz on ethnographic studies of Ukrainian weddings. Other reviews will include two studies of the journal **Arkhiv Ukrainy** by R. Serbyn and P. Grimsted, a discussion of the philosophy of I. V. Ivan'o by J. P. Himka and a description of Mitiurov's **Pedagogical Thought in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Ukraine** by M. Okenfuss.

The present as well as previous issues are still available. Rates for individuals are eight dollars for a three-year subscription, institutions five dollars per year. Address all correspondence to **Recenzija**, 1737 Cambridge Street, Room 208, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138, USA.

THE STUPID RUSSIAN DESPOTS RAGE

And my dear graves
The Muscovite is plundering.
T. Shevchenko

By I. VOVCHUK

In the Russian Bolshevik imperial headquarters a resolution on the "Literary and Art Critique" was adopted in January, 1972. It was published by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on the eve of the plenum of the executive board of the Union of Writers of the USSR, devoted to the problems of literary and art critique. Following an all-union plenum of "engineers of human souls," this resolution was "critically analysed" and explained at a party meeting of *littérateurs* in Kyiv, upbraiding the Ukrainian (bourgeois!) nationalists, Zionists and Maoists for "court services to subversive centres of American imperialism." V. Kozachenko, Yu. Zbanatskyi, and D. Pavlychko tried to outdo each other in the traitorous trade, emphasizing the party's "concern" for the development of the nation's spiritual culture. They called for a struggle with nationalism.

Moscow's literary lackeys have said nothing new. Neither was there anything new at the Moscow plenum. In Kyiv the appeal for vigilance in literary critique was connected by some with the preparations for the 50th anniversary of the incorporation of Ukraine into the imperial complex of the USSR. But they were only guessing. Apparently, the notes from Moscow to which this tragic anniversary for Ukraine was to be sung, convincing the people of their indivisibility in conformity with established laws" of the totalitarian complex, had not arrived yet.

All resolutions of the CC CPSU are filled to the brim with boasts about the "successes," and afterward a "but" is placed and all the errors, shortcomings, and underperformances are enumerated, and then comes a demand to eradicate them. The resolution about critique emphasizes that "party committees, cultural institutions, creative associations, the press — all have directed their efforts to the realization of the directives of the 24th Party Congress about the raising of the level of the "literary and art critique." But their level, as it is apparent from the long list of "shortcomings", "does not correspond in full to the requirements." The critique is superficial, formal, on a

low level. According to the resolution, it "lacks analysis of the development of processes in Soviet literature and art, the mutual enrichment and convergence of the cultures of Socialist nations."

The resolution obliges and orders all to intensify criticism and to force the critics "to analyze in depth the phenomena, tendencies, and conformity to the established principle of the contemporary artistic process, to promote in all possible ways the consolidation of the Leninist principles of partisanship..." The resolution outlines a number of state efforts including the training and "retraining" of cadres which are to carry out the party's orders and to prove "the conformity to the established principle" of the convergence of national cultures and their "merging" into a single Soviet one, with its Russian spirit and servile mentality.

According to the principles of partisanship, as it is stated in the program of the CPSU, "the study of the problems of world history and the contemporary development in the world should reveal a regular progress of mankind's movement toward Communism..." In line with this dogma, criticism should not assist in the perception of the many-sided national life of human societies and people in literary and artistic creativity; in the Russian kingdom it should show the "regular movement" of the subjugated nations toward Communism, under the disguise of which the Bolshevik khanate dreams about the "merging" of nations into a single "Soviet society."

The Ukrainian nationalism struggles against these dreams, with their vandalism in practice. B. Buryak, a doctor of philology, having linked nationalism with world anti-Communism in an extensive article, calls for a struggle with Ukrainian nationalism. "This should be remembered at all times", he admonishes in the article, "The Poverty of Anti-Communism and Literature" (*Radyanska Ukrayina*, Jan. 28, 1972). The learned doctor ends his didactic prattle about "the poverty of anti-Communism" thus: "... Therefore all degrading of socialist ideology, all deviation from it is tantamount to the strengthening of the bourgeois ideology." An instructive warning also appeared in the official organ of the so-called government of the "sovereign" colony, the Ukr. SSR, shortly after the wave of arrests rolled over Ukraine. One can see planned consistency in the actions of the imperial guards: arrests, and in their wake a warning to the learned hirelings from Kyiv.

*

In the news reports which reached the West from Moscow, where the representatives of the Western press have certain ties with government circles, it is stated that the Ukrainian cultural leaders were arrested for "nationalist activities" and "deliberate dissemination of slanders against the authorities." Twelve people were arrested in Kyiv, seven in Lviv, in other cities the "suspects" were searched and questioned. Among the arrested the Western press named: I. Dzyuba,

I. Svitlychnyi, V. Chornovil, Ye. Sverstyuk, all of them well-known leaders in the field of Ukrainian culture.

The press mentions that some of the arrested were under surveillance for a long time by "the eyes and ears" of the watch dogs of the KGB in order to discredit and arrest them. This detail is not new; it is self-understood, yet important. It points to the sharpening of the antagonism between two opposing forces: the national idea and the Russian system of Bolshevism, in whose political snares Ukraine has been entangled. One can assume that the Russian government in Ukraine in its as yet unsuccessful struggle with nationalism is preparing some trial, a political "extravaganza," in order to link Ukrainian nationalism with foreign powers.

Two documents, V. Moroz's "Instead of the Final Plea" and V. Chornovil's "Statement," which were distributed to the press by the Ukrainian Central Information Service (UCIS), made their way to the West through different channels. We know how the Russian Bolshevik government avenged itself on historian V. Moroz in November, 1970. They tried him behind closed doors, having first surrounded the building where the trial was held with guards and soldiers. His relatives and friends were not admitted to the mock trial, while the people from various parts of Ukraine swarmed about the building making demands, showing indignation, protesting. Sentenced to 14 years, V. Moroz boycotted the mock trial. It was boycotted as well by the witnesses: I. Dzyuba, B. Antonenko-Davydovych, and V. Chornovil.

Their firmness and noble posture transformed the mock trial into a battle of the Ukrainian idea with the rotting Bolshevik system. "There are epochs when decisive battles are fought on the plane of social morality and civic conduct, when even elementary human dignity, resisting brutal pressure, can become an important revolting, revolutionary force. In my opinion, our epoch also belongs to such epochs." Thus spoke I. Dzyuba seven years ago, on the 30th anniversary of V. Symonenko's birth, calling him the poet of the Ukrainian idea.

These were the beginnings, when the "poets of the sixties" tossed the first national sparks into Ukrainian reality frozen by the imperialism of Russian Bolshevism. The sparks broke through the wall of fear by which Bolshevism enveloped the people in the present Russian empire, where there is neither national nor personal freedom. Where there is no human freedom, there cannot be national freedom, for national freedom is first of all the freedom of individuals.

The present rulers of the Russian kingdom always refer to the "infallible tenets" of Lenin in brutally combatting the Ukrainian national idea. And side by side with this, they stress the "great and vanguard" role of the Russian people, with the bayonets of which Lenin and his party renewed the Russian empire toppled in national revolutions. This combination is not accidental, for Lenin embodies

the Russian national soul, while Stalin stands for the Russian statehood with its servile history. Continuing his master's work, Stalin strengthened the revived monster, brutally imposing the Russian spirit of historic servitude on the empire. Amidst economic ruin, while destroying historic, cultural, and national structure of the subdued nations, with mounds of corpses, the architects of the contemporary Russian empire have attempted and are still attempting to return the subjugated nations to Russia's historic path, imposing bondage and slavery upon them.

Unbending forces, united by the national idea, the forces of Ukrainian nationalism are waging a struggle against the contemporary imperial dreams. The wave of arrests is a subsequent expression of rage of the imperial guard against the nationally creative people, who are melting the ice of great-powerism with their deeds, and undermining the imperial foundations. Stifling freedom, the Russian Bolsheviks are at the same time forced to appeal to it, which proves its immortality. Fear of it forces the leadership of a totalitarian state to stage "extravaganzas" with puppets in national councils and governments, in unions of writers, in labour unions, and even in the committees of national Communist parties. The actors in these "democratic" models "discuss matters," while everything is decided at the imperial summit.

Several years ago, Lev Lukyanenko, convicted for his activity directed at Ukraine's secession from the Russian kingdom, asked KGB Capt. Denisov, "What is the purpose of Article 17 of the Constitution, which gives every republic the right to secede from the USSR?" And the KGB investigator replied, "For foreign countries." The answer is true. To the leaders of the empire and its guard which protects the imperial indivisibility, it is clear that the USSR Constitution, as well as all "democratic" institutions of that empire, are a "showcase" created out of fear of freedom.

The struggle initiated by the "poets of the sixties" on a social plane for the defence of human rights, for the respect of the constitution and laws, is today transforming itself into a political attitude and the struggle of the nation for its natural and historic right to live in its own state with all-round freedom of the individual; hence, it is a struggle against the colonial status of present-day Ukr. SSR with its Russian Bolshevik slavery. The national and political formation (V. Moroz calls this process "national renaissance") is extending ever more and encompassing various spheres of the life of the nation. In its underground rumbling, the imperial guard can discern a demand to remove the decaying and fictitious supports, ambiguous and violated laws, to remove people grown wild from arbitrariness and irresponsibility, the accumulation of injustices and lawlessness in order to build really strong foundations of Ukrainian statehood of the reborn individual and nation.

They hear in the Kremlin that the spirit of energy is awakening in

the depths of national life frozen by the Russian Bolshevik tyranny, forming itself into a national political force. The leaders of the empire fear the inevitable, when the dispersed energy of the nation will unite into a single force, and lightning will strike and thunder roar from the national depths. The people, having confidence in themselves, will destroy all obstacles which put the brakes on the national energy. They will clear away all foreign historic brushwood and consolidate the national idea on restored land. In the document "Instead of the Final Plea," which is circulating among the population, V. Moroz says that the various schemes of the government by which it attempts to arrest the national formation of Ukraine are already powerless.

"Your (imperial — I. V.) dams are strong and promising, but they stand on dry ground. The spring waters have by-passed them and found new beds for themselves." The national and political revival has become "multi-planed and multi-layered. It manifests itself in thousands of forms." The jailers of the USSR are not strong enough to stop it, "for the national sentiment lives in the soul of every human being, even the one who, it would seem, has died spiritually." The times when the entire spiritual life was squeezed into "official framework have passed beyond return."

Independently of the official culture of socialist realism, restricted by regulations and paragraphs, there exists as a counterbalance to it "a culture outside the Ministry of Culture and philosophy outside the periodical *Voprosy filosofi*." Self-published literature (*samvydav*), which publishes works of individuals without official control and censorship, "grows, enriches itself with new forms and genres, attracts new authors and readers." It has taken root so deeply in life, maintains the convicted historian, "that no increase in the staff of informers, no Japanese magnetophones will help."

For people who view contemporary life in Ukraine by the categories of the 1930s, through the then glasses of fear, such a statement can seem unbelievable. This is responsible for the underrating of the new phenomena which emerged in the life of Ukraine and of the empire as a whole. I shall attempt, at least briefly, to pause over the above assertions.

The authors, readers, and all those "attracted" to the *samvydav* are people who were born mostly in the '30s, or even in the '40s. They grew up in a somewhat different climate. The party, or more precisely, its omnipotent top echelon, saw that the terror machine of the times "of the great Stalinist fear" directed against "the enemies of the people" has become dangerous for the party itself as well as for the party leaders. It was necessary to change the methods of administrative and political pressure in the imperial realm.

Encounters with soldiers who returned from the West, and there were millions of these, provided people with an opportunity to compare life in "bourgeois" countries with the life in the socialist

“fatherland.” O. Herzen, analyzing the socio-political background of the Dekabrist revolt (1825), wrote that “the direction of thinking after the War of 1812 has become completely different,” in the then empire. After World War II the trend of thought in Ukraine changed all the more and became different.

The people who today are snatched by “Black Marias” for nationalism, just as those who formulate the opinions of the *samvydav*, have matured and moulded themselves in the psychological climate of the intense struggle of the Russian Bolshevik occupation regime with Ukrainian nationalism. The military and political struggle of the UPA (Ukrainian Insurgent Army) under the political leadership of the UHVR (Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council) continued until 1950. A year after the end of the war, the population of West Ukraine boycotted the elections to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. And when the weapons were knocked out of their hands, the sparks of that struggle spread across the expanses of the Bolshevik kingdom. It is not by chance that Vasyl Symonenko, the poet of the national idea, called Lviv, the then center of the national liberation struggle, “the capital of my dreams, the epicenter of my joys and hopes.”

And he came to the epicenter:

“ . . . with the fascination of a son
From the steppes, where Slavuta* spins his legend,
So that your impetuous lion’s heart
Will breathe a drop of strength into my heart.”

In such a psychological climate there developed people having today’s national and political attitude, in which a great, or perhaps a decisive, role is played by the *samvydav*. By its censorship and repression — attempting to direct creativity into a single channel “of the one and indivisible statehood” with its “fatherland” patriotism and persecuting national creativity — the occupation regime inadvertently assisted the spread of Ukrainian *samvydav*, and the development of radio-electronics, the extension of technical means of information (a considerable increase and accessibility of typewriters, magnetophones, radios, etc.) provided technical means for the *samvydav* and the national and political revival.

Under the influence of technological progress, changes have also occurred in the structure of national society. The significance of intellectual work has risen, and under changed conditions individualities emerged from among the popular masses and the role of highly educated experts was strengthened. Many of them have means for duplication: typewriters, magnetophones, cameras, and so forth. Provided a small percentage of them will choose to support some work, this will already guarantee its duplication and dissemination in thousands of copies. Creative thought, which does not fit into the

* Slavuta, the Dnipro River.

standards of the "fatherland" patriotism with its official socialist realism, finds the expression it searches for in *samvydav*.

*

Samvydav seizes upon only that which finds a response in society due to its national authenticity, pointing to the root of evil in the harsh reality which is sensed by the absolute majority of people. The reader sees that what he has read reveals the root of evil and calls the evil-doers to account; therefore he becomes the author's assistant. He invests his work and money in order to protect the author from informers, circulating the material among people holding similar views. This helps in uniting the people and ideologically cements public opinion as a counterweight to "Soviet society," which the Russian Bolshevik government in Ukraine imposes with the help of official mechanical means and the assistance of renegades and slaves of a "foreign country."

"Nothing has helped the activization of public life in Ukraine so much as your repressions," V. Moroz told the court. Ridiculing the illegal protectors of the laws of a foreign government, he declares to them that trials and repressions "have not frightened, but have aroused the interest." The main thing is that a belief in the national truth has emerged among the people. The national and political formation (V. Moroz calls it renaissance) has not yet become a mass phenomenon, but in times of such mass media as radio and other technical means, when in Ukraine about 6 million people own short-wave radios, it is socially becoming a profound phenomenon. (On the basis of information by the Ministry of Radio Industry, there were 18 mil. radios in 1963, 27 mil. in 1968, and today perhaps 30 mil. radios in personal use of the population of the so-called USSR.)

Significant for the development of the national attitude further is the fact that Ukrainian forces which direct it have distanced themselves from the programmatic outlines of oppositional anti-regime trends in ethnic Russia. In the third issue of the *Ukrainskyi Visnyk* (*The Ukrainian Herald*), of which six have so far appeared, this extremely important statement was published: "In the Russian *samvydav* and abroad a document entitled 'The Program of Democrats of Russia, Ukraine, and the Baltic Region' was disseminated. The *Ukrainskyi Visnyk* with all responsibility states that Ukrainian democratic circles have not participated in the preparation and approbation of that document which pretends to set a program. The word 'Ukraine' was either inserted in the said document out of conjectural motives, or it gives evidence of some relation to the document of Russian or Russified circles, which are in Ukraine."

The distancing of the Ukrainian political forces from the forces of Russian empire which defend the indivisibility of the imperial complex is an extremely important thing. The Ukrainian nationalist circles, moulding themselves into a state political force, declare that

they are not going in the same direction with those who in the program of the future conceal Russian imperialism of the Bolsheviks by a "democratic" element, preserving the wholeness of the empire. The program only calls for the removal of the arbitrariness of the Bolshevik dogmatists and the preservation of the imperial whole under a new label. The statement about the distancing points to the maturity of the political thought in Ukraine.

In this state of affairs repressions (an old tried weapon of Russian imperialism) will not give the enemy the expected results. "Why don't repressions give the usual effect?" asks V. Moroz of his 'judges.' The times have changed; this is the whole answer. Stalin had enough water to extinguish the flames. You are destined to live in the epoch when reserves have been exhausted." Present-day repressive measures of the occupation regime can slow down, but they cannot stop the agitated political development in Ukraine. "You have taken a stick into your hands in order to scatter the fire, but instead of this you have only revived it. You have no strength to do more. This means that the social organism in which you live has entered a phase of development wherein repressions produce the opposite effect."

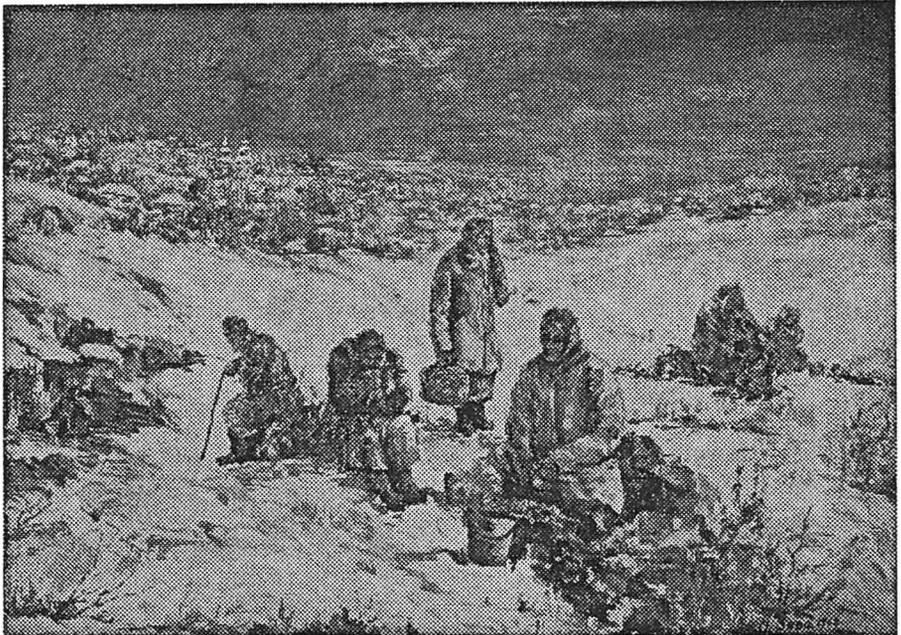
V. Chornovil in his statement to three officials of the so-called Ukr. SSR, describing vandalism of the occupation regime at the Yanivskiy cemetery in Lviv, also talks about "revival." "Under the supervision of specially assigned people a bulldozer mows down Riflemen's graves, while the spades of grave-diggers upset human remains," writes the journalist. He calls on the officials (not begs them), the Russian hirelings in Kyiv, in the name of humanity "to intervene in the actions of the provincial despots and to stop the mockery of the Riflemen's graves." The furious government rages in its weakness and — in order to revenge itself upon its enemies who half a century ago defended the Ukrainian territory, Halychyna, from Poland's colonialism — cuts the head of Riflemen's crosses with a bull-dozer. A special guard protects the machine.

What does the occupational regime fear? National freedom, for which a struggle is currently being waged in Ukraine, in defence of which the Riflemen have laid down their lives. Prior to the Bolshevik occupation, still under the "Seignorial" Poland, as the Russian press refers to the Polish republic of that time, the people of Lviv annually paid tribute to the Riflemen, thus extolling national freedom. The then Polish government looked cross-eyed at these celebrations, tried to prevent or hinder them, but did not resort to such vandalism. Only Russian Bolshevism, which attempts to keep Ukraine in its imperial grip and combats every manifestation of national and human dignity and freedom, decided upon such overt vandalism. And this is because, in spite of the fact that memorial services at Riflemen's graves have been banned and people have been punished and persecuted, they still managed to decorate the graves with flowers secretly at night, paying tribute to freedom.

The government of the Russian empire, the most infamous prison of nations in world history, thrown off its course by the blows of nationalisms, even fights with Riflemen's crosses, by which it "revives" the flame of national sentiment. "Thousands of Halychians have in these days passed by the desecrated and plundered graves," writes V. Chornovil. "There is confusion and indignation among the population." It spreads across all Ukrainian territories, and together with it as a rousing bell sound the words of V. Moroz: "We shall fight!"

*Mykhaylo SADAUS'KYY**

THE GREAT HUNGER IN UKRAINE



*) See "The Ukrainian Review" No. IV/1972 pp. 88-89.

MAJOR ASPECTS OF RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM TOWARDS UKRAINE

In the Writings of V. I. Lenin

By Anatole W. BEDRIY, M.A.

I T R O D U C T I O N

The subject "Lenin and Ukraine" is not only an historical subject but even more a political subject, for the whole system of the USSR was established primarily by Lenin, and the present-day leadership in the Soviet Union avows its adherence to Lenin's concepts and policies. Ukraine is within the USSR, hence all the Leninist concepts and policies of the present leaders of the "union" are of a highly political nature.

The best amount of literature on this subject is generally of two categories. It is either propagandistic in nature, such as most Russian, Bolshevik, and Soviet-Ukrainian literature, or it is very narrow and specific in treatment. The second category of works has the fault of arriving at generalized conclusions on the basis of limited facts. Therefore in order to make the study of "Lenin and Ukraine" as scholarly as possible, the main study includes only the opinions and conclusions of Lenin himself, or his pronouncements as recorded by eyewitnesses, but not the opinions or conclusions of any other author.

Lenin's relations with Ukraine and Ukrainians were diverse. He had contacts both with individuals and groups regarding various subjects, but he also treated Ukraine as a whole from various angles. From all these aspects the present study is confined to the search for an answer to the question: was Lenin as far as his attitudes and policies toward Ukraine are concerned, a Russian imperialist? One might argue that such a question is improper from a scholarly point of view because it implies a certain bias and prejudice. If such a question has actually arisen, however, there must have been some reason for it. The problem is contained not in the right to place such a question, but in the application of proper methods to reach a valid conclusion.

This study implies the research of the total social reality in Ukraine as approached by Lenin. Because the subject is so vast, one must be selective in the search for the answer. Such selectivity is scholarly valid and justified, for it is one of the principles of political methodology. Of course, a new problem arises immediately in the question of proper and valid selectivity.

In the attempt to analyse all the writings and pronouncements of Lenin, three approaches were applied simultaneously: the inductive method, the deductive method, and the so-called sympathy method. Induction consisted of collecting the maximum available facts, which then had to be arranged according to some reasonable plan. The deductive method was therefore used in the arrangement of the facts so that individual chapters become subdivisions or partial answers to the main problem. The synthesizing process ventures beyond the facts and includes logical conclusions not to be found in individual facts. Since human nature is outside the fixed laws that characterise the natural sciences, the study deals in problems whose solution necessitates a certain kind of sympathy, which is a subjective factor. After an objective study, one must attempt to place oneself in the position of the unique man or men in order to understand his or their point of view. Therefore, the final judgment of a political phenomenon can never be deterministic in the sense of natural sciences.

Out of approximately 300 writings and pronouncements of Lenin, opinions, notions, ideas, and concepts were found in about 220 of them which related directly or indirectly to Ukraine. The analysis of these works was a difficult task due to the unique phenomenon of Lenin himself, his dialectics, education, intentions, and discussion of many subjects in single works. The sifting out of "facts" could perhaps be disputed in individual cases, for the meaning of individual works or the representativeness of individual excerpts regarding the works from which they were taken might be disputed. These reservations are balanced by the quantity of "facts". The arrangement of the source material might also be disputed, but this again is set off by the argument that no other arrangement could be defended in a deterministic way either. With regard to the scholarly demand for completeness in the exploitation of sources, it has to be answered that due to the utmost political value of Lenin's writings, it is presently impossible to ascertain such a completeness, for there is always the possibility that some of Lenin's vital documents are secretly stored in some unknown safe in Moscow or Leningrad. The representative nature of this or that "fact" could be disputed as well. This study was not based on the often-applied method of placing a few of Lenin's "representative" works in the center and building the study around them in an abstract way. Instead, a combination of three methods was used: chronological, statistical, and deductive. The "facts" were arranged chronologically as they were written or expressed by Lenin with the aim to assemble an optimal quantity of them without giving prominence to any. Each "fact" was studied separately with the aim of bringing out the "direct" meaning and the "indirect" meaning, i.e., found directly in the text or deduced on the basis of its connection with other "facts."

In order to answer the main question put forth in this work, four

topics were selected which the writer considered to be the most important and representative, namely, Lenin's treatment of the state in relation to Ukraine; his use of the Bolshevik movement for the realization of his aims in regard to Ukraine; his use of the Red Army and the Bolshevik armed forces in general for the same objective; and his economic views and policies insofar as they concern Ukraine. The state represented the reality in which Lenin was living and therefore he was always preoccupied with the problem, the nature, the goals, the forms, and the instrumentality of this state. The political movement (RSDLP-RCP) was always considered by Lenin as a *sine qua non* condition of all effective political activity. Becoming a power-politician, Lenin believed in the necessity of placing a strong armed force at the disposal of his politics. Economics in his opinion was one of the moving forces of politics.

The order of the chapters is based on the following considerations. The topic of "the "state" has been chosen as the first chapter in the belief that the primary stimulus upon Lenin's decision to turn to politics was his conviction that in the Russian imperial state the tsarist system had to be replaced by a new, modern system in order to save the empire. The second chapter is devoted to the study of the RSDLP-RCP(B) on the grounds that this movement became the new Russian imperialist elite. The third chapter shows Lenin's conviction that military power is needed in order to keep the Russian empire alive, while the final (fourth) chapter reflects Lenin's preoccupation with Russia's economic imperialism.

It should be stressed that these four topics do not by any means exhaust the study of Lenin's attitudes and policies toward Ukraine. Other vital topics are: 1) terror and administration as tools of Russian imperialism toward Ukraine; 2) Lenin's attitude toward Ukraine from the position of a Russian national leader and statesman; 3) his ideology in relation to Ukraine; 4) the influence of Russian historical imperialism upon Lenin's attitude toward Ukraine; 5) "class struggle" as the theory and strategy of Lenin's Russian imperialism towards Ukraine; and 6) the foreign policy of Lenin as head of the Russian state in relation to Ukraine. It is hoped to present all these topics in a later study. Only then can the question raised in this work be answered fully.

Each of the four topics treated in this study composes a chapter. Each chapter is divided into several sections, each treating a different aspect. In each section the material at hand is presented and analysed in chronological order. The division of chapters into sections was made on the basis of factual evidence, which revealed the various aspects of the topic.

Insofar as the verification of the originality of sources is concerned, there are two problems: originality of sources themselves, and their translation into English. Approximately two-thirds of the sources

stem from the English edition of *Selected Works*, by J. Fineberg. A few "facts" come indirectly through secondary sources, and the rest from "original" Russian sources. Absolute certainty in the originality of the sources would follow if only the manuscripts were used. Any possible incorrectness in translations is balanced by the large quantity of "facts" used, thus assuring optimal certitude that the great majority of them lead to optimal right conclusions.

In dissertation it is customary to give a bibliographical review of the secondary sources on the subject under study. In this case, the candidate will limit himself to the statement that so far as he knows, a similar comprehensive study of Russian imperialism toward Ukraine in the writings of Lenin does not exist. In order to present a scholarly review of the vital literature on this subject it would be necessary not just to compile a bibliography but to make a study of a) the flood of propaganda materials appearing almost daily in occupied Ukraine, b) the voluminous bibliography of materials in the Ukrainian language covering almost the whole period of the 20th century, and c) meticulous research of literature appearing in the many Western languages for special sections pertaining to the subject. Then it would be essential to sort all this material into "schools" and subjects according to the views and attitudes of their authors and the particular aspects which they were discussing.

The titles of Lenin's works were listed in English instead of the original, although with each work its original publishing date is given. Although various translations of titles exist, it is impossible to confuse the various works for no two works with similar titles were written by Lenin in the same year. For this reason the listing of Russian titles in transliterary form can be omitted.

Those titles of Lenin's individual treatises which give no indication of the collection from which they were taken, but with an indication of a volume, were taken from V. I. Lenin's *Selected Works* (New York, International Publishers), and edited by J. Fineberg. All numerical references indicate Lenin's works and all plus-sign references indicate secondary sources. The abbreviation "S" means "Sochinenia" or "Sobranie Sochinenii." If "S" is not followed by the indication of the edition, it refers to the first edition. The bibliographical list includes only these publications which are referred to in the text.

Some terms used often in this work are of crucial importance, so they must be defined clearly, especially in view of their various usages. The words *Russia* and *Ukraine* are used to indicate the ethnographical territories of the respective peoples-nations and not to denote any geographical or state-political areas. *Russia* and *Ukraine* are also national-cultural entities, national societies with traits which make them distinct from other nations. The word *nation* is used to denote the distinct society or people which has or should have its

own national state, i.e. the Ukrainian nation, the Russian nation, the Georgian nation. It is not used to mean the state dominated by one nation, as for instance, the Soviet Union is not identical with the term "Russian nation." "National sovereignty" means the sovereignty of any one particular nation regardless of its state-political form. For example, the national sovereignty is the same in the Soviet Union as in tsarist "Russia," namely, the Russian national sovereignty. National sovereignty might be actual, as in a nation-state, or it might be potential, in which case the nation has the right to its own state sovereignty — or striving to achieve it. A "national state" is a state which is composed of one nation only, and the state is really the ownership of the whole nation. "Nationalism" is used in the sense of a force working exclusively in the interest and for the benefit of one nation, but does not aim to conquer and dominate other nations. If applied to Ukraine, it is used in the sense of "liberation nationalism" — a force striving to liberate Ukraine from Russian imperial-colonial domination, and to establish a sovereign Ukrainian national state. The word "autonomy" is used to denote the condition of a nation when it is not sovereign but receives from the foreign occupational government the right to exercise certain activities. "Imperialism" is defined as the power of one nation, gained by conquest through the use of force, to exploit other nations for the benefit of the conquering nation, and to try to extinguish the victim nation by replacing its national culture, political, social, and economic systems with that of the conquering nation. An "imperial state" is a state established by one nation, but extended by way of imperialist conquest to other nations, in which only the imperialist conqueror nation remains sovereign. "Colonialism" denotes the economic domination of one nation over another nation, as well as various forms of exploitation and genocide. The term "genocide" refers to the policy of destroying nations by their physical extinction or by their dissolution in another nation. "Federalism" refers to the bond leading to the establishment of a multi-national state.

A final note on the value of the studied subject may be added. Lenin was one of the most important figures of the twentieth century, for he was the creator of today's largest empire. This work should contribute to the knowledge of this ill-fated man. Ukraine is one of the largest nations of Europe and the largest nation enslaved by Russia. This study reveals some aspects of her conquest by Russia, as conceived by one of the Russian conquerors and enslavers.

CHAPTER I

SOVIET STATE — LENIN'S TOOL OF RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM

In this chapter I shall analyze Lenin's views on the Russian state and its relation to Ukraine.

1. *Leave Imperial State — Change Its System*

In one of his earliest writings on the problems of the Russian state Lenin explained:

In the democratic, the *political* struggle . . . the Russian working class does not stand alone. *Side by side* with the proletariat stand all the opposition elements of the bourgeoisie, or of the nationalities or religions and sects which are persecuted by the absolutist government.¹

It seems that as early as 1897 Lenin was already interested in changing the regime in the existing Russian imperial state, but there was no indication that he revealed any interest in destroying the empire. He considered his movement as the opposition party within the Russian state. He wanted to use the nations enslaved by the Russians within this state as the means of combating the tsarist government without giving these nations an opportunity to be freed from the domination of the Russians.

A few years later Lenin became a bit more frank: “. . . immediate political aims of the Russian Labour Party should be the *overthrow of the autocracy* and the securing of political liberty.”² His aim seems to be to change the government in the Russian empire, to change the political system of the Russian state, but not to dismember this empire into sovereign states of the enslaved peoples. In 1901 he stated: “. . . the enormous historical significance it would have if, for once at least, the *people of Russia taught the government* a good lesson.”³ The struggle for “political liberty” meant the struggle for such liberty within the Russian imperial state. Thus it was intended to benefit the Russians only or those non-Russians as well who would be willing to accept Russian imperial sovereignty and colonialism.

In the article “Induction of 183 students into the army,” he put forward the slogan: “for liberation of the people from despotism.”⁴ Ukrainians should accordingly fight against despotism in the Russian empire, but not against the empire itself. “Despotism” in this case was a form of foreign (Russian) domination over the conquered countries, which was caused by the aggressive, conquering, messianistic dynamism of the Russian state. If the cause were not attacked, however, its consequences would not be overcome.

He argued:

1) “The Tasks of Russian Social Democrats”, 1897, S., 2d ed., v. 2, p. 176

2) “Immediate Tasks of Our Movement”, 1900, v. 1, p. 35.

3) “The Hannibals of Liberalism”, 1901, v. 2, p. 212.

4) “Otdacha v soldaty 183-kh studentov”, 1900, “Lenin ob Ukraine”, p. 192.

Revolutionary Social Democracy utilizes "economic" agitation for the purpose of presenting to the government, not only the demand for all sorts of measures, but also (and primarily) the demand that it ceases to be an *autocratic government*... In a word, it subordinates the struggle for reforms to the revolutionary struggle for liberty and for socialism.⁵

In the above statement there is no trace of willingness to break up the empire into national states, no desire to loosen Russian domination over these peoples, just a wish to change the political and social regime. The "revolutionary struggle" had rather a reactionary tendency as far as the "indivisibility" of the imperial state was concerned. It made the anti-regime struggle militant, thus restricting and combating the anti-imperial decomposition processes. Adding a messianistic note to this movement it mobilized the Russian masses for the struggle against all dissidents, especially the liberation movements of the nations subjugated by Russia.

Lenin wrote: "Political exposures are as much a declaration of war against the *government* as economic exposures are a declaration of war against the employers."⁶ All his thoughts were directed towards replacing the government in the Russian imperial state, but not towards changing the state of conquest created by the Russian nation.

"... it is necessary to conduct the widest possible political agitation among the masses, an agitation that deals with *every phase of Russian absolutism* and with every aspect of the various social classes in Russia."⁷ It follows that Lenin was interested in changing the system in the Russian imperial state and in advancing the well-being of Russian social classes. But he was not interested in breaking up the empire, in the destruction of Russian imperialism, or in the improvement of the life of the Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Georgian, Turkic, and other peoples. Instead he demanded: "The first demand is that a *national assembly of deputies* be convened with the object of *establishing a popular representative government in Russia instead of the present autocratic government*."⁸ The above passage shows Lenin's concern for the integrity and indivisibility of the Russian empire. In place of the tsarist government he wanted to have another Russian *national* government. This view does not reveal any opposition to the existence and expansion of Russian imperialism.

In fact he stated clearly that he was opposed to the liquidation of the Russian colonial state and he intended to prevent the liberation of the subjugated nations:

It is not the work of the proletariat to preach federalism and national autonomy. It is not the task of the proletariat to advance such demands, because they inevitably lead to the demand of forming an autonomous class state. The task of the proletariat is to try to unify the broadest masses of workers of all and various nationalities, to unite them for the struggle on the widest arena for a *democratic republic* and for socialism... The demand of recognizing the right to self-determination of each nationality

5) "What is to be done?" 1902, v. 2, p. 83.

6) *Ibidem*, p. 106.

7) "What is to be done?" 1902, v. 2, p. 132.

8) "To the rural poor", 1903, v. 2, p. 307.

means only that we, the party of the proletariat, should always be opposed to any form of violence or injustice as a means of influencing the people's self-determination from the outside. Always fulfilling this negative duty (struggle and protest against violence) on our part we take the case of self-determination of the proletariat of each nationality, and not of peoples and nations. In this way, the general, fundamental, prerequisite program of the Social-Democracy of Russia will always consist *only of the demand of full legal equality of citizens* (regardless of sex, language, race, nation, etc.) and the right to free democratic self-determination.⁹

In 1903 Lenin came out decisively and clearly against the liquidation of the Russian imperial state, arguing that "falling asunder of Russia" would in fact mean the "falling asunder of the forces of proletariat."¹⁰

The program of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party drafted by Lenin and approved at its Second Congress (1903) considered the tsarist Russian empire as one legal and indivisible nation-state:

"For a broad *local self-rule for localities* which are distinguished by peculiar customary conditions and composition of population... For the right of population to receive education in its native language, secured by creation of thus needed schools on *state* account and by organs of self-government; for the right of *every citizen* to use his own language in public assemblies; institution of native languages in all civic and state institutions."¹¹

The conquered nations were assigned the status of provinces or "localities." They were to receive Russian education but could use their own native languages in the process of being Russified!! They had to accept the state-instituted (i.e. Russian) administrative system, but were allowed to use their own native languages in public life. They could not even dream about their own national states.

On the party program Lenin commented: "We included in our draft Party program the demand for a *republic with a democratic constitution* that would among other things assure 'the recognition of the right of self-determination to all nationalities contained *in the state*'..."¹² He regarded the "indivisibility" of the Russian robber state as indisputable. This state had to remain intact.

Lenin proclaimed:

This is nothing more nor less than sacrificing the most vital interests of the proletariat for the bourgeois-democratic interpretation of national independence. The *disintegration of Russia*, which the P.P.S. desires, *in contrast with our aim of overthrowing tsarism*, is and will remain a hollow phrase as long as economic evolution continues to unite the different parts of a *political whole* more and more closely and as long as the bourgeoisie of all countries unites more and more against its common enemy, the proletariat, and in support of its common ally, the tsar.¹³

He opposed "the disintegration of Russia", namely, of the Russian empire, which he considered as an indivisible organic unit, in which the Russian enslavement of nations was sealed forever. Instead, he

⁹) In "Iskra", 1 February 1903, in S. 3d ed., v. 5, p. 243.

¹⁰) "The National question in our program," 1903, S. 3d., v. 5, p. 342-3.

¹¹) S., 3d ed., v. 5, p. 386.

¹²) "National question in our program", 1903, v. 2, p. 322.

¹³) Ibidem, p. 329.

advocated the overthrow of the decaying tsarist elite and its replacement by a new imperial elite.

The events of 1905 in the Russian empire were interpreted by Lenin as the "revolutionary movement *against autocracy*..." It was "a general people's uprising... Caucasus, Lodz, Odessa, Libau very recently showed us pictures of proletarian heroism and people's enthusiasm... Our task presently... is to advance the whole *nation's sign of liberty*... the leading representatives of the *nation's masses*... reached new higher tasks of struggle, the final fight against the enemy of the *Russian people*." He calls this struggle a civil war. The autocracy, "the *Russian government*, which is falling down, implores neighbouring states for help." He further favours the calling together of a true people's representative assembly in order to express "the will of the people." The "revolutionary government" would take power "in the name of the people, guarantee the will of the people by means of the people... The revolutionary army should employ the military know-how and weapons in a practical way in order to decide the whole future fate of the Russian people, to decide the primary, the most vital question, the question of liberty."¹⁴ To Lenin the existing Russian imperial state was sacrosanct and indivisible, a stepping-stone to a still bigger state. It was clearly the state of the Russian people and the Russians were masters in it and had to remain as such. The new form of this state automatically had to be another form of enslavement and oppression for the peoples conquered by Russians. Both the master-nation and the conquered nations were called by a common name, "the Russian people," as if all these nations were a single nation. Such wording reveals Lenin's desire to see Russians and the enslaved nations as one single great Russian nation, forming a greatly expanded Russian state.

He was striving to retain the imperial state established by the Russians: "The revolutionary government is indispensable for political leadership of the people's masses... *in the whole state*."¹⁵ He called for the "political transformation" of the *imperial* Russian state.¹⁶ He considered this imperial state as an *indivisible* state: "The working class by its blood spilled in the streets of Petersburg, Riga, Libau, Warsaw, Lodz, Odessa, Baku, and in many other towns proved its right to the role of vanguard of the democratic revolution."¹⁷ Thus the new Russian government led by Lenin should govern not only Russia, but Ukraine, Poland, the Baltic states, the Caucasian countries, and other peoples in Europe and Asia. "The democratic revolution" can proceed only within the imperial state, not against it. The various subjugated peoples are regarded not as nationally enslaved societies, but on the contrary, as parts of the Russian population.

14) "Revoliutsionnaia armia i revoliutsionnoe pravitel'stvo", 1905, in "Lenin ob Ukraine", p. 246-251.

15) Ibidem, p. 249.

16) Loc. cit.

17) Ibidem, p. 254.

"The revolutionary proletariat, insofar as it is guided by Social-Democracy, demands the complete transfer of power to the *constituent assembly*, and for this purpose strives to obtain not only universal suffrage and complete freedom to conduct agitation, but also the immediate *overthrow of the tsarist government and its replacement* by a provisional revolutionary government."¹⁸

The new government was also to be imperialist and colonialist, because there was no hint of willingness or necessity to give national sovereignty to the conquered non-Russian nations. Lenin's program was quite simple and understandable: "*full political liberty* requires that the *tsarist autocracy be replaced by a democratic republic*."¹⁹ In other words, the imperial state should be preserved and old leadership should be replaced by a new leadership. Not a word was said about the dissolution of the colonial empire.

He reminded everyone, that

"... the proletariat is better able than any other class to understand that, in the final analysis, great historical problems are solved only by force, that freedom cannot be won without the greatest sacrifices, that the armed *resistance of tsarism* must be broken and crushed with an armed hand. Otherwise we shall never achieve liberty, otherwise Russia will meet the fate of Turkey; protracted and painful downfall and decay, particularly painful for all the toiling and exploited masses of the people."²⁰

He wanted to overthrow tsarism, in order that the Russian Empire would not be dismembered as the Turkish Empire had been. Of course, there was also the aspect of uplifting the well-being of Russian masses, to save them from the same predicament in which masses found themselves under Turkish Ottomans.

The reactionary and chauvinistic nature of Lenin's attitudes can be observed from the following quotation: "Revolution teaches. It gives excellent object lessons to all classes of the people and to all nations of Russia on the subject of the *nature of a constitution*."²¹ Lenin knew that the tsarist state was composed of the Russian dominating nation and other nations dominated by the Russians. Nevertheless, he favoured the establishment of *one state constitution* for all these nations, that is, a constitution for the state, in which the Russian people were to be dominant and were to continue to oppress other nations. "Russia" as a state is identified with the empire of the Russian nation. Within this Russian state, the non-Russian peoples were offered the "choice" of one constitution.

Lenin only wanted to replace the old government by a new one without destroying the imperial state: "revolution is nothing more nor less than the *break-up of old superstructures*, and the independent action of different classes, each striving to erect the *new super-*

18) "Two tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution", 1905, v. 3, p. 44.

19) *Ibidem*, p. 48-49.

20) "Struggle of the Proletariat and Servility of the Bourgeoisie", 1905, v. 3, p. 306.

21) "Climax is Approaching", 1905, v. 3, p. 330.

structure in its own way."²² Thus he clearly advocated a replacement of the "old superstructure" by a new one within the existing imperial Russian state. He repeated the same thesis again and again: "The consciousness that the *autocracy is unbearable* had become general, and so also had the consciousness of the government of bureaucrats and of the *need for popular representation*."²³ The above quotations point to the fact that Lenin's "revolution" was purported as a purely internal affair of the Russian imperialists within the Russian nation and in the interest of this nation.

The slogan "For land and liberty!"²⁴ implied an anti-regime struggle but not an anti-imperial struggle. It asked to exchange the existing regime for a "libertarian" one, but not to liquidate the imperial state.

The tsarist imperial regime had to be replaced in Lenin's opinion, because it degenerated and did not fully serve the interests of Russian colonial expansion:

"All these millions of desiatins in Turkestan, as well as in many other parts of Russia, are not only 'waiting' for irrigation and improvements of every kind. They are also 'waiting' for the *emancipation of the agricultural population of Russia* from the survivals of serfdom, from the yoke of the aristocratic latifundia and from the Black Hundred dictatorship in the state."²⁵

Lenin criticized the tsarist economic and social policies, but regarded the conquered nations as indivisible parts of the Russian state. He aimed at giving a bigger share of the spoils of the colonial policies to the masses of the Russian people. He was not only against the national liberation of the Turkestanian nation from Russian colonial yoke, but on the contrary, he aimed at genocide of the Turkestanian people by sending masses of Russians to its country and fusing the Turkestanians with Russians, in that way denationalizing them and Russifying them.

In 1907 Lenin attempted to preserve the Russian Empire by offering to the Ukrainians the status of a province with local self-government, but not the establishment of a separate national state as a consequence of the liquidation of the Russian Empire: "... our minimum program demands, when it calls for the self-determination of nations, *wide regional local government* . . ."²⁶

He said:

"What, in essence, is the difference between a constitutional crisis and a revolutionary crisis? It is that the former can be settled on the basis of the existing fundamental laws and system of the state, whereas the latter demands the break-up of these laws and of the feudal system."²⁷

²²) "New Tasks and New Forces", 1905, v. 3, p. 438.

²³) "Dissolution of the Duma and Tasks of the Proletariat", 1906, v. 3, p. 367.

²⁴) 1906, v. 3, p. 381.

²⁵) "The Agrarian Program of Social-Democracy in the First Russian Revolution, 1905-07", 1907, v. 3, p. 195.

²⁶) *Ibidem*, p. 248.

²⁷) "The Platform of the Revolutionary Social-Democracy", 1907, v. 3, p. 481.

There is no trace here of a desire to let the enslaved peoples be free, to give the Ukrainian people their own national independence and sovereignty. The revolution was not directed against the state, only against its form.

In 1913 Lenin visualized the old imperial Russian state but changed in such a way that the conquered and subjugated nations were somehow pacified by "local autonomy" and direct participation in "state" decisions: "No one should be absolved from national oppression without consistent realization of a wide local and regional autonomy and the principle of deciding *all state* questions by the will of the *majority of population* (i.e., the principle of consistent democracy)."²⁸ This means that the subjugated nations must recognize the colonial state as legal and should actively participate in strengthening it.

It is beyond all doubt, that Lenin was searching for a new and better system for the Russian imperial state, when he wrote:

"Switzerland does not lose but gain from the fact that she has not one over-all state language but three languages. In Switzerland 70 per cent of the population are Germans (in Russia, 43 per cent are Russians), 22 per cent are Frenchmen (in Russia, 17 per cent are Ukrainians), and 7 per cent are Italians (in Russia, 6 per cent are Poles and 4,5 per cent are Byelorussians). . . . In Switzerland laws are printed at referendums in five languages, which means that besides the three state languages they are printed in two 'Romance' dialects. In the cantons of Grävünden and Vallis . . . both dialects make use of full equal rights . . . Is it not possible to employ such an 'exclusively Swiss solution' to any country or even part of a country in Russia, where among merely 200,000 population there are two different dialects in use and 40,000 of them prefer one of their own, wishing to be treated equally in their own land in regard to language."²⁹

Lenin compared the Russian imperial state to Switzerland and then urged: "Should not Russia put an end to all kinds of privileges as soon as possible, as completely as possible, as decisively as possible, if she wants to catch up with Europe?"³⁰ What Lenin wanted was to remove all the striking methods and forms of Russian domination and slavery over other nations. It was basically an aim at reform but the substance — the Russian slave empire — would remain intact.

Clearer than ever, we read:

"Let us take Russia and the relations between Great Russians and Ukrainians. It is understandable that every democrat, not mentioning Marxists, will fight decisively against the unprecedented subjection of Ukrainians and for the need of their full equality. But it would become an un-socialist and stupid policy, *also* from the point of view of bourgeois 'national tasks' of Ukrainians — to *weaken* the bonds and union of the Ukrainian and Great Russian proletariat now existing *within the borders of one state*."³¹

He acknowledged the enslavement of the Ukrainian nation by the Russian, but he was not willing to let the Ukrainian nation establish

²⁸ "How Bishop Nikon Defends Ukrainians?" 1913, in "Lenin ob Ukraine", p. 310.

²⁹ "Critical Notes on the National Question", 1913, S., 1st ed., v. 19, p. 59, or "Lenin ob Ukraine", p. 312, 333.

³⁰ Op. cit., in "Lenin ob Ukraine", p. 313.

³¹ Ibidem, p. 321-2.

its own free state. On the contrary, he opposed and combatted such a conception. "The one state" should not be changed or "divided." The bond between the subjugating and the subjugated nations must be strengthened!!

The defence of the indivisibility of the Russian colonial genocidal state is evident:

"The right to autonomy'? Again wrong. We are for *autonomy for all parts*, we are for the right to separation (but *not for separation of all!*) Autonomy is our plan for the constitution of a democratic state. Separation is not at all our plan. We do not preach separation at all. On the whole, we are against separation. But we stand for the right to separation in view of Great Russian nationalism of the Black Hundreds, which made the matter of national cooperation so disgusted, that *more unity* will come after a free separation!"³²

Lenin opposed the establishment of a Ukrainian national state, because he opposed the dismemberment of the Russian Empire, and the liquidation of Russian supremacy over the conquered non-Russian nations.

At a meeting of the Central Committee of the RSDLP(b) in 1913 the following resolution was adopted as drafted by Lenin: "The interests of the labour class demand the fusion of workers of all nationalities of the *given state* into single proletarian organizations — be they political, trade-union, cooperative, educational, or others."³³ This shows Lenin's primary concern with the preservation of the imperial state, "of the given state."

Lenin strove to devise such a philosophy of state, which would coincide with the preservation of the Russian imperial slave state. This coincidence is evident from the following passages:

"The broad and rapid development of the productive forces of capitalism *need larger, state-constructed and united territories*, on which there can only arise the bourgeois class — destroying everything old, medieval, estate, narrow-provincial, petty-national, and denominational, as well as other partitions, and at the same time its inevitable antipod: the proletarian class. As long as various nations compose a *single state*, Marxists *in no case shall advocate the federative principle or decentralization*. A centralized large state is a tremendous historical step forward, in comparison with medieval parcelling, in the direction of future Socialist unity of the whole world, and a way to socialism other than *through* such a state (*indivisibly bound with capitalism*) does not exist and cannot exist."³⁴

He stated that he would combat any attempt to liberate the subjugated nations from the colonial state.

Under the steadily increasing pressure of Ukrainian national liberation trends, Lenin retreated a bit from his previous stand. In 1914 he stated:

"... why such 'federalism' does not harm the United States of America or Switzerland? Why 'autonomy' does not harm the unity of Austro-Hungary? Why 'autonomy' even strengthened the unity of England with her

³²) Letter to the Bolshevik, Shamian, of Armenia, 1913, S., 3d ed., v. 17, p. 90.

³³) S., 3d. ed., v. 17, p. 13.

³⁴) "Critical Notes on the National Question", 1913, in "Lenin ob Ukraine", p. 337.

colonies? ... Why is it not possible to *reinforce the unity of Russia* by means of the autonomy of Ukraine."³⁵

At that time he recognized Ukraine as an ethnic-territorial entity and would have promised Ukraine a local-regional autonomy within the Russian state in order to preserve the empire. He refused, however, to recognize Ukraine as a nation, desiring and needing its own sovereign statehood. Any measure of freedom for Ukraine was granted by Lenin only under pressure of her national liberation struggle, and it was meant as a tactical step leading to complete domination by Russia at an appropriate time.

He wanted to preserve the state built by Russian conquerors at any price:

"We, the Great Russian proletarians, do not defend any privileges, do not defend this privilege as well (of sovereignty in Russia of Great Russians — A. W. B.). We are fighting *on the basis of the given state*, we are *uniting the workers of all nations of the given state*, we cannot safeguard this or that road of national development, we are moving towards our class goal over all possible obstacles."³⁶

He wanted to preserve Russian domination over Ukraine on the grounds that he could not give anything to Ukrainians that had become the possession of the Russian nation:

"The demand for a yes-or-no answer to the question of the separation of each nation seems to be a very 'practical' demand. In reality it is absurd... For the proletariat these demands are subordinated to the interests of the class struggle... the proletariat confines itself, so to say, to the negative demand of recognising the right to self-determination, without guaranteeing anything to any nation, without undertaking to give *anything at the expense* of another nation."³⁷

Lenin's main concern persistently was the preservation of the indivisibility of the Russian dominating status over the conquered nations:

"Mr. Kokoshkin would like to assure us that the recognition of the right of secession increases the threat of 'falling apart of the state.' It is the point of view of a little watchman Mimretsov, whose principle is 'to drag along and not to let out.' From the point of view of democracy in general, it is just to the contrary: the recognition of the right of secession *diminishes the threat of 'falling apart of the state'*... To accuse the adherents of the right of secession, that means the right of separation, in encouraging separatism, is as much nonsense and as much hypocrisy as to blame adherence to the right of divorce of destroying family ties."³⁸

Lenin used the false argument, namely, that the tsarist empire became indivisible on grounds of economic ties among the nations composing it:

"If economics unites the nations living in a single state, then the attempt to separate them once and for all in the sphere of educational questions is absurd and reactionary... The workers *can* be disunited and weakened by

³⁵ "More about 'Nationalism'", 1914, S., v. 19, p. 94; "Lenin ob Ukraine", p. 345.

³⁶ "On the Right of Nations to Self-determination", 1914, in "Lenin ob Ukraine", p. 376.

³⁷ Op. cit., v. 4, p. 264.

³⁸ "Liberal Bourgeoisie and Social-Opportunists in the National Question", according to R. Mlynovetskyi, "Narysy z istoriji Ukrajinny", v. 1, p. 60.

the advocacy of such an idea... proletariat, which realises and treasures its internationalism, will never agree to this absurdity of refined nationalism."³⁹

He demanded: "... we must raise political questions not from the 'Cracow,' but from the *all Russian point of view*."⁴⁰ All of Lenin's politicking was oriented upon the principle of non-dismemberment of the Russian imperial state. Lenin dealt in terms of the indivisible Russian state:

"*In Russia*... the task of the Social-Democracy is, as heretofore, to achieve the three fundamental conditions for consistent democratic reform, that is a *democratic republic* (with complete equality and self-determination for all nationalities), confiscation of the lands of the landlords, and an eight-hour day."⁴¹

His program did not include the liquidation of the empire, since he put forward proposals which should be executed by *one* government for Russia and for the enslaved nations. Evidently this new government should exercise sovereignty over Ukraine as well. "The democratic republic" included "all nationalities."

Lenin wrote one treatise under the outspoken title, "Defeat of One's Own Government in the Imperialist War" (1915). The decaying and out-of-date government had to be removed, but not the imperial nature and the imperial state. Instead he called for preservation of this state:

"Socialists are in favour of *utilising the present state and its institutions* in the struggle for the emancipation of the working class, and they also urge the necessity of *utilising the state* for the peculiar form of transition from capitalism to socialism. This transitional form is the dictatorship of the proletariat, which is *also a state*."⁴²

He did not see anything wrong in this multi-national state practicing genocide, Russian chauvinism (which was built on force), exploitation, tyranny, and conquest. On the contrary, he recognized quite openly its usefulness and advantages; while he attacked the misrule by the tsarist regime, which should be reformed:

"*In Russia*, where no less than 57 per cent, i.e., over 100,000,000, of the population belong to the oppressed nations, where those nations mainly inhabit the border provinces, where some of those nations are more cultured than the Great Russians, where the political system is distinguished by its particularly barbarous and medieval character, where the bourgeois-democratic revolution has not yet been completed — the recognition of the right of the nations oppressed by *tsarism* to free secession from Russia is absolutely obligatory for Social-Democracy in the interests of its democratic and socialist tasks."⁴³

39) "Cultural-National Autonomy", 1914, v. 4, p. 419, 420.

40) "On the Right of Nations to Self-Determination", 1914, v. 4, p. 290.

41) "War and Russian Social-Democracy", 1914, v. 5, p. 129.

42) "The Youth International", 1916, v. 5, p. 244.

43) "Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination", 1916, v. 5, p. 278-9.

(To be continued)

C A T A R A C T

By Mykhaylo OSADCHYY

(Continuation — 4)

Part II

“THE CITY OF THE SUN”

If one were to look frantically under one's feet, one could see a hole; one could see its bottom and the pickax in it. One could dig the earth with this pickax and carry it up in handfuls. One could pile it up there and continue to dig. If one were to dig for a long time and not tire out, one could discover water. One could fall on it with one's face and drink for a long time. One could drink for one hour, for two hours. One could never tear one's mouth from it at all, and live thus until one is freed. One could sprout roots and become a tree. Then the *nachalnik* (superior) would pound his fist against the tree-trunk and say: “*Hasn't he accommodated himself, khokhol** (derogatory term for Ukrainians), *the bitch?*” Most likely he would say something else, for he is surprisingly talkative, but the prisoners tease him, making him change to a different subject.

“Nachalnik, it is fascism to give only a herring to eat for two days without giving any water. For this, carrier, you should be hanged by yours” . . .!

“But perhaps he does not have a s . . . Then what are you going to hang him by? By yours?”

“Bitch, don't . . .”, says the nachalnik calmly. “Or else I'll take away the bread and you will have to devour the herring by itself. And as far as the drinking goes, then piss and drink!”

“Nachalnik, let me urinate; I'll flood the compartment; you won't receive a bonus for the holidays, you reptile!”

“Urinate to that one over the wall; he wants to drink”.

And then someone's insane, shrill, female voice resounds throughout the railroad car:

“Nachalnik is an impotent. I am already asking you for three hours to let me go to the toilet. I cannot stand it any longer; I've got female problems”.

“And is the toilet a gynecologist for you?” The nachalnik shakes with petty laughter and looks at the guards. The latter blink their

* Everything in italics was said in Russian.

eyes fearfully, but finding nothing in the face of the nachalnik except satisfaction, they too begin to giggle discreetly.

Mykhaylo Horyn swims in a cloud of smoke and stuffiness. He approaches a strong steel net and looks through the opening. There, somewhere beyond the railroad car, pass cottages and near them people are milling about in their gardens. There are several of them for one garden; and there, on a several-kilometer-long beet field there is a single, bent figure of a woman forgotten by the entire world . . .

"Women", says Mykhaylo, as if to himself. "Anya Sadovska and Yaroslava Menkush. It was a hundred times harder for them in prison than for us. Still they conducted themselves well".

"Counter, get away from the grating. I'll pierce your eyes out", shouts the guard in front of him. "You did not want to be a university rector, then devour your herring!"

Mykhaylo slowly returns and sits down next to me.

"It just occurred to me why our writers like to write so much about water — 'there flows a stream', a river. Most likely, many were fed these herrings and were not given anything to drink. Over the centuries this has become part of everyone's blood".

"Nachalnik, you're not a beast, you're a man; let me have a drink, my wits are drying out".

"When your ass will begin to dry out, then tell me".

"I cannot imagine what the 'great literary pathfinder', Semen Shakhovskyy, would shout, if he were to sit among us now. In particular, if he were seated among those against whom he had written denunciations in the thirties and whom he attempted to send to the other world. I told him about this at the trial of Mykhaylo Masyutko. He was wounded so terribly; he suddenly lowered his head and did not raise it anymore until the conclusion of the proceedings".

"So let him go to the toilet, the man is dying. It is dripping from his rear-end".

"The likes of him should be shot!"

"I'll shoot you, I'll prick your eyes out before you give me one!"

"And is assistant professor Volodymyr Zdoroveha yours?"

"Yes, he lectured on the party press at the faculty. Among the students, he had the name of 'liberal democrat'. At times he even flirted with the subject of the thirties. He was a 'spring' Ukrainophile".

"Yes, this could be seen at the trial. He, Semen Shakhovskyy and two others from your faculty — Pavlo Yashchuk and Kybalchych — almost came out of their breeches, trying to prove the ideological community of Masyutko's views with the materials which they snatched from somebody's hands. There was no evidence of Masyutko's criminality. So they scientifically ascribed the authorship to him, for which he received six years of camps, while they received a fee which they will collect from Masyutko. This is similar to robbery. And then, you know, in Kyïv these 'charges' against Masyutko were

dismissed as unfounded. But just imagine, even without 'criminality', Masyutko must serve six years. And how can such people now teach students and tell them about any kind of decency?"

"What do you mean, Mykhaylo", I said in a low voice for my mouth was dry and I wanted to drink very much, "for three hundred twenty rubles, the fee from Masyutko, it is possible to do almost anything. Money, you know, is hot!"

"It's not a jam at all, it's 'hot' in the a . . ." yells someone from the next "compartment". Such heat, the stench of — nothing but a nightmare. "Nachalnik, go away and do not stink before the grating".

"Listen, *chuvak*",* a zek** banged on our wall later, "pass the note on to the maiden, the one with female problems".

The guard turned away. His steps could be heard on another end of the corridor. Two fingers holding a note squeezed their way through the grating, now it will wander through all "compartments" to the female one. From there they will reply after some time: "I want you". — "If you want to climb up here, brother, here there is as much choice as in Georgia. If you want, I'll give you a Caucasian?" "You give the Caucasian to the nachalnik, let him drive a nail in the eye!"

Another voice cut itself into the constant sound of talking in the convict car.

"Keep quiet, keep quiet, Banderite, now you'll run away from me to the other world!"

"What do you mean 'keep quiet'?" somebody's angry voice was heard from the door. "You go and 'keep quiet' to your Moscow! Why have you come to Ukraine, lightning strike you? They have packed prisons with our people, to make them rot!"

"Listen *chuvak*, why are you lying? How many?"

"What do you mean 'how many'? It is not possible to get rid of you here either. Well now, you Russians, get out of Ukrainian jails!"

Mykhaylo, who until now listened carefully to the "rebel", suddenly burst out laughing.

"Do you hear?" he said. "As 'sincere' as if he were A. Vynnychenko".

He was led into our "compartment", dishevelled, with a bare chest. Paying no attention to us, he began to pound his fists on the grating.

"You, Russian, don't push anybody behind bars, for it is still unknown whether or not you will be pushed there tomorrow. And do you think that you are destined to rule our land forever?"

"Shut up, bandit! The state spent a million on you before it tried you! Once they clamped down on you, then say thank you that you have received the grating and not the damp soil!"

I lay on the upper bench, in the cloud of smoke and stench. I felt

* *Chuvak*, a man having higher American culture.

** *Zek*, abbreviation for the Russian word *zaklyuchënnny* (prisoner), written as z/k.

sick. Everything swam before my eyes. My rough tongue glided painfully over the dry palate and at that moment I fiercely hated fishermen, fish, and salt for some reason. I saw how a chumak caravan, loaded with white salt, climbed up the road, and I began to hate the chumaks, their oxen, pock-marked as the chumaks themselves. I was running somewhere and could not regain my breath. My breath was short and I coughed like the Folknerian Negro. Then I rushed back and began to feel much better; my breath returned and the legs did not bend so much. I was at last being led by the guards. They told me to run, shoved, pushed me into some new "compartment", and I saw how a spy-hole opened and somebody's wild eyes were peering at me.

"It is evening", I thought, "and all are being taken to the lavatories". Then some zek was jostled in. Most likely it was the zek who had written the "note".

"Valyusha", he asked and furiously cursed at the guards who were pushing him away from the grating, "*what are you in for, for her?*"

"No, Vanya, everything is O.K. with her, I'm in for the purse".

"And whom would you shoot, Valyusha, if the Chinese would attack us: into them, or into the musors?"*

"Into the mussors, Vanya, and you?" "Me too, Valya".

"That's a good boy, Vanya, at the first opportunity I shall give myself to you, do you hear, not to anyone else, but to you".

And then our "bawler" went, folding his hands behind his back. I heard how he said his name, "Semenyuk", "Roman Semenyuk". He said that he had been confined since he was eighteen. He said that he had been sentenced for nothing and that he has been imprisoned for nothing for eighteen years. Then he said that he escaped from camp recently with Oliynyk. They were at large for three months and then they were caught at Oliynyk's sister's home near Rivne. The sister was given a term because she failed to denounce them; a new case was opened against Oliynyk and he was probably already shot.

"They also wanted to open a new case against me, but they could not find the old one and now they are transporting me back to Yavas in order to give me a new term for the escape".

He said that he had smelled the fragrance of freedom and now he will find it easier to serve, but he will probably never get out from behind the bars. He said that he never knew what a woman was, how they kissed. He sobbed and said that Oliynyk and he were the first to notice decaying posts in the camp enclosure. They stood in the arm which led to the river. And then they moved these posts apart and swam under water for more than a kilometer. He sobbed and said that he would never be able of swim so much under water.

Then again somebody was led down the corridor to the toilet, and from there came a woman's abusive language. "*Why are you, guarding bitch, spying on me when I urinate?*"

* Musor, literally meaning trash; derogatory term for wardens or guards.

"I am not spying", grumbled the guard in embarrassment. "I am standing here as the Code demands".

Then the woman burst out laughing and said, "Give me that barbaric code of yours, I'll wipe my a. . . with it".

"Faster, faster! Undress, take each other by the hand! Faster!"

Somebody's strong hands pushed me in the back and I fell headlong on the railroad tracks. My "bundles" tumbled on top of me. I snatched them feverishly from under somebody's feet, they glittered before my eyes, as cars of an express train. Then I stepped aside and knelt down; huge German shepherd dogs tore from their lines, showing their black palates, and I stepped back involuntarily, still pulling something out, which did not surrender to feeble hands.

"Two steps to the side, two steps back. We'll shoot without warning! Join hands, higher, higher, by the elbows, faster, faster!"

We ran, tripping on the tracks, raising ourselves feverishly and falling again. Alongside of us rushed the well-fed watch dogs, agitated by the fresh human scent, and the sub-machine gunners. The barrels hit us straight in the eyes and I closed them involuntarily, and then I tumbled onto the tracks again, dragging the "bundles" behind me. For some reason, express trains "Moscow-Sevastopol" and "Kharkiv-Odessa" caught my eyes, while in the windows of the upholstered cars were the well-fed, chubby-cheeked, anemic faces; they were aloof and slept on fat, red necks. . . *"gorged their mugs (faces) on our soap, let the bullet take such. . . , when there is fat two hands deep. He should be driven to. . . !"*

"Faster, faster, don't stay behind, pull up!"

"He yells at us, as if we were fascists, not an. . . , but indeed Soviet, a bitch of a man".

They jammed over thirty zeks into small marias intended for sixteen to twenty men, giving nobody a chance to breathe. The doors slammed; two locks fell upon them and everything swam before my eyes. I gasped for breath — as a child I had undergone complicated throat surgery — my legs buckled under me. I could not restrain myself and began to shout together with others. "Drive away, don't just stand there!" we shouted, but our voices could not be heard. The guards died in the June heat, in human sweat, and then calm human voices issued from the outside. We were handed over to someone but he refused to accept us; a quarrel ensued; watch dogs yelped somewhere on the side.

"What is the matter with you, chuvak; have you lost your best shoes?"

Somebody shook me, while I resisted and said that I have had enough. "I've had enough", I said, "and nobody will push me into anything anymore. I will sit right here and won't get up. I shall sit here and not get up, even if Stalin himself were to come".

"Bitch", says a zek, "that woman Catherine built so many comfortable quarters and they are glad to cram us into these huts".

"Don't you insult that woman. She was a Russian woman, not stingy, but a magnanimous nature, with habits of a horse. She constructed so many jails for Mother Russia that we shall have enough for another thousand years".

Then the warden carefully observed the zek. The zek walked past him in defiance; then returned again past him and the warden said, "Snot, not yet sixteen and already demoralized. What idiot got it into his head to draw up that Article 20. They imprison snots for petty hooliganism, give them six years each. They've packed prisons with them, nothing but overcrowding. You don't even get an advance, not a stinking holiday, just waste your days and nights on them".

Then the red-haired, scabby "professional thief", who was already convicted for the thirteenth time and whose total term of imprisonment amounted to 108 years, then that scabby man said,

"Old dad, don't press your luck, we shall reeducate him, perhaps we can make a man of him, or else he will spend his whole life as a suitor".

"I would tell you, carrion, what it is, if you were not reeling off here tomorrow. You would crawl as a lobster by me, stick your... in your mouth".

"Yes, I know, you're nice bitches. I travelled about Russia and nowhere did I find such a barbaric lot, as there by you, in Kharkov. You, carrions, are worse than your sheep dogs, you would devour a man alive. There have my throat — suck on the ax!

"Oh, merciful God", I thought, "where am I?" I, a tiny nothing. I, a "warm" intellectual, I thought that among these people I do not amount to anything. I thought of myself as being a nothing, but I was far from it. I was something even much smaller and necessarily obliterated. Or perhaps I did not exist at all, only large ears existed which heard everything, although I pressed my hands against them firmly. My hands were weak and I could not press them so hard.

Not a book, how should one finish the day? Mykhaylo Horyn walked somewhere beneath the windows. Were you ever thought to memorize from memory?

He sat next to me and began to read Samiylenko's poetry. I repeated after him, but forgot it immediately.

"What are you spinning, carrion?" they shouted at us from the other side of the dividing wall.

"Those cursed ears", I thought. "I wonder whether Ostap Vyshnya was amused? Or perhaps, he himself was confined to this cell, to cell 80? Did he make anybody laugh in the midst of this chaos?"

"Say", I asked the warden on duty, forcing myself to avoid his piercing eyes with red veins. "Is this the Kholodna mountain where Ostap Vyshnya rotted?" I said this as a joke, but it did not come out that way.

"Yes, these Vyshnyas. Millions of them passed here. Is it possible to remember them all, if you work for twenty years?"

Ukraine has large eyes for a prisoner. She hastily turns them away from the prisoner, for the guard paralyzes her rosy cheeks. Ukraine fears a prisoner, bewares of the guard. There she is, behind the corner of the building; there she has already passed the building and she is not there anymore. She has shamefully escaped into her day-to-day existence and there it is easier and safer for her amidst the pettiness of the night and day shifts. Ukraine lives rather by work, than by prisoners' underwear. Blossoming cherry orchards, you know, and chafers over them are closer to her heart. Dress the chafers into striped clothes, shave off their heads, and Ukraine will surely begin to hate the trees, will chop down cherry trees because they generate striped chafers; instead, she will plant willows. Of course, they will not bear juicy cherries. There is no profit to be reaped from them. Still it is safer and freer. Ukraine gets used to anything. Tell that polite farmer that he is a prisoner and he will not contradict you. Yes, he is a prisoner, and the sole thing which torments him and throws him into the ashes of misunderstanding is why he is not permitted to dig in his garden any longer, to graze his cow and to erect a fence. It makes no difference to him who he is, if only he is allowed to rest in his orchard, in the warmth of the June night and, you know, to fall in love with the stars somewhere in the sky, and to get very excited, you know, having heard the sound of the cow's rumination from the stable...

Russia, on the other hand, is not to be compared with Ukraine. She not only likes prisons, but she also treats the prisoner with unusual respect. Catching sight of him at the platform of the railroad station, Russia forgets about everything and rushes headlong in a crowd to the ranks and says something encouraging; she tosses bread, cigarettes. She turns out her pockets in dissatisfaction and angrily scolds herself because they are empty. Russia does not spare anything for a prisoner — neither tortures nor bread. There she stands alongside in a long and dirty gypsy skirt and cries: *"Here, darling, here dear, taste some fresh bread... here's a roll for you. I bought it for the children but, you eat it in good health... Your ruined fate... Your bitter freedom... Forgive me, brother, for throwing you only a half-pack, I had no idea that I should meet you"*.

The Ukraine of the overseer, as well as the Ukraine of the farmer, is always one-sided. She is told to shout and she shouts and shouts much more than instructions demand. She is told to be polite to prisoners and she is polite almost to flattery. She takes you for a walk and says, "If you please". She takes you to the toilet and also says, "Please". The Ukraine of the overseer, as well as the Ukraine of the farmer is always conscientious in everything.

The Russia of the overseer does not deviate from the letter of the law: she yells, curses, swings her fists and at the same time unnotice-

ably pushes a roll into a group of prisoners, pushes cigarettes and looks around to see if the guards have noticed. The Russia of the overseer smiles at you and gladly runs to throw your letter in the mailbox at the railroad station. The Russia of the overseer approaches you and gently says, "*Why should I yell at you? You're a man like myself. Tomorrow you'll come out, we'll meet somewhere in a restaurant, and perhaps you'll treat me to a drink*".

The Ukraine of the overseer is afraid of the overseer as of an idol, and views him as its mission. Russia on the other hand, does not like the overseer and looks at him skeptically as on any type of job which earns a piece of bread. Such work tires her out; she is bored at such a job and she ridicules it, but she never attempts to lose it. Such is the Russia of the overseer at the deportation points (for convicts) and at the railroad station. She is phlegmatic and likes peace. She does not like to have that peace disturbed. The "wild" Semenyuk was handcuffed. He walks in our midst as a white crow; they take turns in carrying his suitcase and take turns in putting the strongest cigarette into his mouth.

Kefir. There are words which repulse; there are words which attract to themselves as a magnet. This word neither repulses nor attracts, it hangs in the air above you, as the crucified Jesus in the picture, and you lift your eyes to Him with a secret trust and you are as excited as you were perhaps in the cradle seeing a strange world of colors around you, sounds and funny creatures, who are called people. After it the prisoner, driving himself into the corner, spits on the barbed wire and the orders of the camp commandant "not to flee", forgetting all his prisoner's experiences, bursts urgently into his house, kisses the dear ones and weeps from joy. The devil take it, you laugh, how nice everything is! A "retreat" was sounded and he lies as a log, having no time to talk to his neighbours to his heart's content. This is the so-called "keyf" state, then you want to talk shamelessly with someone, with yourself, the whole night, and in the morning his cellmates glance at him attentively and say, "Have you been making movies?"

Kefir. Tell a prisoner while he is sipping this dring from a blackened tin cup some stupid words like "woman", "cognac", or "blue night" and he looks at you with admiration and you hear such abusive language, the end of which must be found one hundred kilometers from camp.

The administration forbids kefir. You can drink black coffee, but for tea — a penal isolator, fifteen days of cement floor. A package of tea costs two rubles and it is received by "checked" persons only. When a group of prisoners crowds together, the owner of the package of tea will do magic tricks in the middle. They make a small fire somewhere in the corner of the cell, attach a metal cup to a spoon

and when the water begins to boil they put a match-boxful of tea into it (the sole camp measure): Georgian, Indian or Ceylonese. The most precious is the Ceylonese. The old campers can tell the type of tea as quickly as the tasters of wine. The cup is carefully wrapped in a quilted cloth — a mother does not even put diapers on her child so carefully — and the tea is left to steep. In five to ten minutes, (only an idiot can compare this waiting of a prisoner for a drink to the waiting for the launching of the first astronaut) it is carefully unwrapped and solemn toasts are raised (“for the United Nations”, “for the mare’s tail”, “for the health of the pre-revolutionary prisoner of Stalin’s father”, “for all of them to perish”). Then so as not to waste even a drop, they pass the kefir from hand to hand and each can have two gulps. Three gulps can be had only by the one who came out of the penal isolator that day, but even the most fanatical kefirists do not dare risk a penal isolator for an extra gulp.

Nothing makes the prisoners such instant friends as the kefir. When the absolutely empty cup stops in somebody’s hands, all begin to question one another in a lively manner: for what? from where? how much?

“What could I present to you?” an Estonian asked me. “I like Ukrainians very much; they are such nice people. Perhaps, I can give you my portfolio? Where did you work? At the university? Then to a scholarly face only the one, forgive me, which is worn out.

“We shall sleep together today. I, among other things, am going for two years into solitary confinement at Vladimir. Farewell to the camp’s freedom!”

“Do you know how to hide a blade? And money? And a needle? Without them you will perish!”

“Do you know how to pick work? If you should find yourself at the 11th, then God forbid that you go to the cutting or the machine department. There, there are drafts while in the 2nd there is noise”.

“Do you have stomach problems? Don’t worry, you’ll survive!”

“You know Estonia is one thousand years old already. In the past there were sixty Estonians and Estonia survived. Estonia will survive in camps as well”.

“Have you heard about Daniel? At the 11th in the penal isolator”.

We took each other by the arms and began to circle the cell along with other couples. We talked about something; I cannot remember at all about what, but surely it must have been a conversation of friends who met unexpectedly after a long separation. We came close to the walls and laughed there, a small group of prisoners laughed, while a zek excessively agile in contrast to his “heavy” posture, incessantly moved his toothless mouth. He said, controlling his laughter, “*That carrion summoned me, the bitch, and said, ‘Stick your . . . in your mouth zek, you’re a nice chap. Don’t stand there, don’t tremble; sit down, carrion, first rank friends are talking to you, and not blood enemies. You, snob, help, bitch, to untangle your case,*

for otherwise who the hell knows why you are imprisoned. We'll give you whatever you want. If you want, bitch, we'll give you freedom; if you want, carrion, we'll give you a woman".

"What kind of . . . friends are you, and what the hell do I need your freedom and your . . . women! You give me, carrion, a package of tea".

And then the "striped one" turns his head to the wall and laughs. He wipes off tears and says, "You can figure out the kind of life it is, if one is to live, then alone". He flings his head to the wall and roars with laughter, and then his stomach and chest, cut up with barbed wire, glass and razor blades move as if alive, they creep after the head to the wall, and the zek laughs; the zek drinks the kefir and points to his cut-up, scarred forehead and says, "Here I had A Slave of Khrushchov tattooed. They cut out Khrushchov from the forehead and from life. Fool, should have known what kind of fellow I was, that I would tattoo, bitch, another one".

"You're a cheerful guy, you have it good, you are being taken to a nut house".

". . . with them, let me go! I'll have it good! Only it's an insult that this administration has picked me. What, am I better than all others? The boys might think that I sweated.

The zek flings his head against the wall and laughs. He is a loner on principle and laughs to himself, and then the scarred neck reminds one of the scribbling on the walls: "Your rights are defended by the United Nations Organization". "Kolya from Kineshma two years". Ten years for . . . "Vanya from the capital".

The prisoners tell anecdotes. They forget and tell the same ones all over again and then it becomes even funnier; the prisoners have joined hands and walk about the cell. They walk on a cement floor. The zeks walk like horses, like oxen. If the manure were under their feet, they would tread upon it with more satisfaction than any horse or ox. The heads of the zeks spin from smoke and in the twilight, high up somewhere, still higher than the "striped one" flings his head, they tread upon the mist and because of this it becomes even thicker, and then the zeks' heads remain standing in one place, while the short headless bodies disorderly roam about the cell and then "the striped one" throws his head even higher and it makes a dull sound and the toothless mouth opens as a caved-in hole painted on a black shield "I, bitch, am illiterate, I studied for three grades, but still I learned how to read. Transgressors, rejoice. An amnesty was granted and camps are banned. Regulations are . . . Amnesty is a lie, and you prisoners stop rejoicing".

The caved-in hole froze on the wall. It is filled with darkness and the zek laughs soundlessly "But nevertheless I . . . them handsomely! In the nut house you can at least tattoo". And then the green opening of the inscription engraves itself over the caved-in hole: "Zeks do not despair! You'll be home soon. Dora from Manilyev".

There is a paradox of beauty: an exceptionally beautiful woman with an unusually beautiful nose. One can admire her entire face, her profile — your eyes close unintentionally: some monstrous creature stares at you, the hell with it, you think. There is a paradox of beauty: birch groves where tall trunks embrace you with their warm color and you, as an idiot, nestle close to the bars, so as to prevent your neighbour — zeks from prophesying an insane asylum to you, — you smile and the mask of awe freezes on your face. There is a picture. Jesus Christ at Mt. Golgotha. Jesus sits, surrounded by blue twilight. For that matter, it is night, for the moon peeks from under the clouds. Below, there are buildings, many buildings in which light burns. These flames are an expression of grief. Jesus, clasping His hands around His knees, is suffering. Perhaps, He is not suffering, but simply resting after His crucifixion. And it is a paradox as well — to rest after crucifixion and on your face there is sorrow, the sorrow of the profile of nature: birch groves and suddenly a complex of blank fences — the camps. There, beyond the plank fences, there is a parallel wall of barbed wire, nineteen walls, nineteen camps. Birches and camps. Or more precisely, birches and barbed wire. They say that it is a paradox: young birches, but hollow inside. You kick it, and there's dust. They say that these birches cannot be different, the soil is not what it should be. You kick it, three-five spadefuls deep, and there is a human bone. And a human skull. Birches on top of human bodies. The birches are on such soil for centuries. They say since Grozny (Ivan the Terrible).

"Well, they have entrenched themselves", says the zek. He talks about it once more, that zek. "A birch is first sawed down, and then felled, and a girl vice versa, first she's felled, and then sawed. Only these sh . . . fences are spoiling everything, beasts!"

What do they care, they drive you behind these gates of paradise and you must devour the pioneer sky with your eyes".

"I am here for the third time already but I always have a feeling that I am a rabbit, and that I am being driven under an elephant. Such mood is repulsive at times. I cannot get used to it; well, I think, mean fellows!"

"Here one fellow has an iron fist. So that scum, nachalnik, brain-washed me at night for two years. Now I come and there he is again . . . knows how am I going to take him again".

"And you, you're in for politics, your brain will be . . . even more. I'm in the black book for a woman, and now..... I must keep my hands off this affair! Listen, chuvak, can one do it secretly here?"

"Yes yes! Here one can do everything; here..... are everywhere. When you get that woman for fifteen days penal isolator, you are so..... that you have a French brothel, but you drag your feet like a bedbug, fie, how disgusting!"

"Listen, son, how do you figure the old man, will I pull through 10 years?"

"And what have you done, old grumbler?"

"Well, you know, son, war..... it was such a time..... the Germans, and there was nothing to eat, and under the threat of a bullet, you'll commit even a worse crime".

"A fascist, does it mean that you have sold yourself? Then the «nide-pu» are going to put two on you. There are no horses; they all have been devoured by party members. So the chiefs are riding to work on old men".

"Then what, won't I pull through, son?"

"You'll pull through, old grumbler, you'll still roast your wife".

He drives himself into the corner; his knees shake; he lisps out some words, fearfully directs his small eyes to the awakened, dishevelled zeks. The zek is at home here; all are afraid of the zek, while the zek is afraid of the authorities. This is a place where all are afraid of somebody. The old man thinks that he is old and hates those who have eaten all the horses in camp. What do they care, nobody will ride them to work. The old man sobs, and then the zek rolls up his trouser leg and begins to pull apart at full speed the hairy scars on his leg. The leg becomes covered with blood; the old man sobs and a man's conflict fails to disappear; he imagines that he has rid himself of a difficult life and in half an hour he will sleep soundly in the barrack, where it is warm and there is one's own corner into which it is possible to drive oneself and not to talk to anyone (they might sell you for a package of tea). There is still another sensation, a sense of the loss of one's own dwelling and the thought that in half an hour one will be driven into a barrack from where there is no return.

What is a camp? A comfortable house or its loss forever? There is a marked emotion in the soul; there is anxiety, an unpleasant weakness in the legs. Then you sit on the bench, while the zek says, *"I'm here for the third time and there is always such a feeling as if I were a rabbit, and I am driven under an elephant"*. And then the old man moves his eyes in fear. An idiot, he has lived for so long and has not seen an elephant once. An elephant appears before him as a huge house and he moves his anemic arms on his chest. *"They say that there was a wide railroad here, only these fences from both sides have pressed it in so much that it has become narrow"*.

Then one can feel how the tall, grey fences are pressing from all sides; then one can feel how the walls of the railroad car come together. Then everything becomes even narrowed; one can hear how the old man's anemic hands move unpleasantly on his chest, and then I see the gates — we fly into them as if from a catapult, — I can feel space in front, relief, somebody pushes from behind, forces me out. I turn around and see the closed gates. I see the bars and the locks. I see an inscription up above: *"To freedom with a clear conscience"*. In red and blue. Yavas.

I was told: "Here you shall sleep, this is your night-table, and the

bedding is in the fumigator". It occurred to me that they are fumigating the blackened bedding.

"Where do you come from, countryman? How long?"

I say: "Two, from Lviv".

They had no time to go away from me, when I heard, "Two years! What is he pretending to be, a fool? A political (prisoner) and only two years? A practitioner, definitely, we know the likes of him!"

We are led to the fumigator. Hevrych whispers — the warden is behind us — and he says, "Let's have your sweater, underwear, your beret, for there they will take away everything".

I take out my "junk" and Yaroslav hastily hides it under the flap of the "khebe".

"Get away, you bitch!" shouts the warden, "you'll get the penal isolator".

"Let's have your shoes", says Hevrych.

I am putting on a cap with a peak. It comes over my eyes. "An ex-Beria-follower", says someone. The one with the beard, slow and grave, gave him another cap. "He feels so good here, as if at home. But at home there is nothing for him to do".

Mykhaylo Soroka shakes my hand. He is phlegmatic, smiling. "How is it in freedom?" he asks. "What's new?" There is nothing new, but he is nevertheless interested. "A practitioner", he says, "is an informer, but you'll get used to everything".

I am astonished by the camp atmosphere. After all, there are several of these atmospheres: the atmosphere of philosophy and thoughts (one can paint high, wise foreheads on canvas, and below — wise eyes); the atmosphere of peace (the camp pigeons, and ever these fly rarely, and when they do fly, then they are in no hurry to get anywhere); the atmosphere of choice intelligence (even if someone does use foul language, then it is mostly the "rats"-wardens and long-timers); the atmosphere of cleanliness (flowers are all around swept wooden sidewalks, trees; this is a sign not only of the cleanliness of the region, but also of spirituality); the atmosphere of individuality (each has his own world and lives in it, and expects for himself, as its creator, mutual respect); there is also an atmosphere of fear, loyalty (to the authorities), baseness (purely human), self-levelling, reserve, and secluded contempt.

Something makes a man happy in life. It may be the cinema cultural trips to the museum; it may be the theater, the wife, the children, the coffee house. This is the so-called closed circle of everyday existence. In camp, it exists as well, but has already been idealized. It is far removed from simple materialism, inasmuch as it is based not on existence, but on consciousness. This is the so-called realization of human phantasy, human imagination about things. An individual lives above things, until he suddenly begins not to see them above him. It is this "unexpected" in that very world in which one single person can live. A settlement of another one is a

catastrophe; there is no deluge, but there is a catastrophe. He who has managed to create this world for himself will survive all calamities of camp imprisonment, will preserve the soundness of spirit and mind. For instance, I am walking. There are cats near the sidewalk. Suddenly he bends over one of them — let us say the grey cat — and tickles him with a blade of grass. He tickles him for an hour, two, three. Then, there is a retreat. He goes to sleep and in his imagination continues to tickle the cat further. That one lets a beard grow, and against the background of the beard are intelligent eyes; he walks, but just try to ask him about that beard. The zeks are in the courtyard. You will see one who always walks about with a rolled-down boot-top. From a distance, he looks ridiculous; at close range, it is a dark-complexioned man with a thin line of mustache. He smoothes it out and smiles wickedly. Such a one will know the entire Shakespeare by heart and will not contradict you when you say that Shakespeare is a nothing. He will only smile wickedly and will continue to walk. And then you will see how ridiculous you are against the background of his boots, his turned-down boot-leg. This is Rusyn, Ivan Rusyn, an engineer from Kyiv. He received one year of camp imprisonment for the article "On the Occasion of the Trial of Pohrzhalskyy" (it was found during a search). He tells everybody that he received five years. He is ashamed before those who are serving 25 years. He knows that when writing was invented Socrates was very indignant. Socrates said that to transfer ideas to paper spells death for civilization and the human mind. He respected Socrates. Had the world followed Socrates, now they would not intern for several years for the article "On the Occasion of the Trial of Pohryzhalskyy". But he is above all this. He knows that even if there were no writing nor idle prattle, the people would still be confined for several years.

He walks away and you inadvertently see how ridiculous you are against the background of his boot-tops.

Losiv from Nizhyn, a Ukrainian with long Cossack mustache, feeds pigeons in his free moments. The pigeons are cooing on the roof of the dressing room. The pigeons are not afraid of the zeks. They sit, slumber, stubbornly waiting for Losiv from Nizhyn to feed them with glutinous bread from the prisoners' rations. Losiv from Nizhyn would also sleep in the dressing room among the pigeons, but for this — penal isolator; therefore he sleeps in a stuffy barrack on a hard bed and whistles in his sleep, thus calling the pigeons to the ground and frightening the prisoners. In several days, Losiv will be released. He served his 24 years and he is being released. Out of joy he will buy black coffee and for three days will treat the prisoners from the machine shop to it.

(To be continued)

SOVIET NATIONALITIES POLICY IN UKRAINE, 1920-1930

(Continuation — 5)

By W. MYKULA

5. The Literary Discussion and the Origins of Khvył'ovyi's Deviation.

The Plenum of the Central Committee of the C.P.(b).U. in April, 1925, happened to coincide with the arguments among the Ukrainian intelligentsia "concerning the paths of the development of Ukrainian culture." These arguments were bound to arise sooner or later, as official encouragement of cultural Ukrainization sponsored a certain freedom of thought and expression that had been impossible under the stern repression of the early twenties. The immediate cause of the discussion, however, was a challenging article by Khvył'ovyi attacking all "graphomaniacs, speculators, and 'popular enlighteners'" who lowered the standard of Ukrainian literature. It was occasioned by a published complaint by H. Yakovenko, an unsuccessful participant in a literary competition, against the literary critics and established writers for their allegedly contemptuous attitude to the newcomers in literature. The article contained an attack on Khvył'ovyi for having, in his story "Ya" (Myself), made those who had accomplished the Bolshevik Revolution appear as degenerates. Khvył'ovyi, in his reply, to which he gave the characteristic sub-title "The first letter to the literary youth", ridiculed young Communist writers who were able to pour out bombastic "proclamations, platforms and manifestos", but when it came to real literature had nothing of worth to produce. These young men, he maintained, were ignorant of literary technique, and could only flood the market with "Red graphomania." After thus condemning most of what was published at the time under the auspices of the Party, Khvył'ovyi concluded: "To that most burning question 'Europe or *Prosvita*?'¹ we must here and now answer: 'Europe!' ". He meant that young writers should take their standards and patterns from European literature, and should not remain mere provincials. As a symbol of Europe in Ukraine, Khvył'ovyi named Zerov, the literary critic and neo-classicist poet, who stood aloof from politics. As a symbol of *Prosvita*, he chose a "graphomaniac" figure, Harkun-Zadunays'kyi.

¹) *Prosvita* was a Ukrainian pre-Revolutionary society for adult education. Khvył'ovyi used it as a symbol of popular undemanding literature for the masses.

Khvył'ovyi's "First Letter" created an outburst of passionate comment. Zerov called it "A shout in the darkness." Another writer and critic, Mohylyans'kyi, wrote: "In a stuffy, breathless room all of a sudden the windows were flung open, and the lungs at once felt the fresh air." A Leftist writer, Hadzins'kyi, wrote in a similar vein: "Help! We are choking! Give us fresh air!"¹ The Party critics answered with charges and counter-charges, arguments and insinuations. Humorous articles appeared in the Press, books and pamphlets were published, and public lectures and debates were held. The whole affair was passionately debated by the students.² On May 24th, 1925, the subject, "Paths of Development of Contemporary Literature", was debated in Kyiv by 5 Rightist writers (Zerov, Ryl's'kyi, Ivchenko, Antonenko-Davydovych, and V. Nechayivs'kyi) and 5 "proletarian" writers (Kovalenko, Desniak, Shchupak, Le and Zhyhalko).³ This was a major event in the public discussion, which went on for almost three years, until the Party authorities decided to close it down. In February, 1928, a final debate took place in Kharkiv before an audience of several hundred, with the participation of M. Skrypnyk, the chief spokesman of the Party, who wound up the discussion. The bibliography of what is known as the Literary Discussion of the Twenties amounts to about a thousand items. From purely literary matters, and questions of literary technique, the centre of interest shifted to the future development and orientation of Ukrainian culture in general. Inevitably the discussion came to embrace the problem of Ukraine's political orientation. The question "Europe or *Prosvita*?" soon became the question "Europe or Russia?" At the height of the discussion, Khvył'ovyi launched the slogan: "Away from Moscow!", which brought about the intervention of the Party authorities.

Throughout the Press polemics, the main supporter of Khvył'ovyi was Zerov, and among Khvył'ovyi's opponents were Party critics, Shchupak, Khvylyya and, finally, Skrypnyk, who was a member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the C.P.(b)U.

The first series of Khvył'ovyi's Letters to the Literary Youth appeared between April and June, 1925. They were reprinted later in a pamphlet entitled "Kamo hryadeshy?"⁴ In this pamphlet, Khvył'ovyi, influenced by Spengler's theory of cultural cycles and the decline of the Occident, proclaimed his concept of an "Asiatic Renaissance", which had been in his mind since 1923. Now he wrote: "A mighty Asiatic renaissance is at hand, and we, 'the Olympians' are its precursors. Just as Petrarch, Michelangelo, Raphael and others from their Italian corner set Europe afire with the flame of the Renaissance, so now new artists from the once oppressed Asiatic

1) M. Zerov, *Do Dzherel*, p. 258.

2) A literary description of these debates is given by Dokiya Humenna in the novel *Dity chumats'koho shlakhu* (Children of the Milky Way).

3) V. Koriak, *V boyakh*, p. 234.

4) "Quo Vadis?"

lands, new artist-Communists, following after us, will climb Helicon, and place there the beacon of a Renaissance which, amid the distant cries of barricade-fighting, will flare up in purple-and-blue pentagram over the dark European night."¹

He believed that it would be the mission of Ukraine, a young nation on the borderland between Europe and Asia, to create, "a synthesis of European culture and Communist ideas", and to play a leading role in spiritual regeneration. He believed in a "Romantic vitalism" which would inspire and set the pattern of this renaissance, which, however, could only come if "the European spirit" found its protagonists in Ukraine.

Replying to the question of his opponents: which Europe, bourgeois or other, should be the model, he wrote: "You ask which Europe? Whichever you like: past or present, bourgeois or proletarian, the ever-changing one." He described the European man as "the ideal social man", exemplified by the Roman Emperor Augustus, just as much as by the "bourgeois thinker", Voltaire, or the "proletarian theoretician", Marx. The type of man he had in mind was "the European intellectual, in the highest sense of the word", "the questioning spirit of humanity", symbolized by Dr. Faustus. "This type of man is the product of a great force — psychological Europe — towards which we must orient ourselves", he wrote.²

Khvył'ovyi's views about "psychological Europe", i.e. the European man idealized in Faustus, were developed in the second series of his pamphlets, *Dumky proty techiyi* (Thoughts against the Current), which appeared at the end of 1925. Khvył'ovyi here expressed the belief that culture and civilization could be led forward only by heroic individual personalities. As he realized, this was far from the views of the Party. "If our views coincide with the 'hopes' of our petty bourgeoisie and even Fascists, this does not necessarily mean that we are wrong", he reassured his readers.³

His views on the need to cultivate Europeanism and heroic personality had much in common with those of Dmytro Dontsov, who edited the *Literaturno-Naukovyi Visnyk* (Literary and Scientific Herald), a Ukrainian Nationalist journal appearing in L'viv in Western Ukraine under Polish administration. Dontsov was the most outspoken advocate of the orientation of Ukrainian culture and politics towards the West, as opposed to Russia, and had put forward these views as far back as 1913.⁴ As soon as Khvył'ovyi started the Literary Discussion, he commented favourably on some of Khvył'ovyi's statements. There can be no doubt that Khvył'ovyi read some of Dontsov's writings, for even the journal *Literaturno-Naukovyi*

1) *Kamo hryadeshy?* pp. 31-32.

2) *Dumky proty techiyi*, pp. 44-46.

3) *Ibid.*, p. 49.

4) In his pamphlet *Modern moskvofil'stvo*, (Modern Russophilism).

Visnyk was available in Ukraine.¹ In an article, "Do staroho sporu" (Concerning the Old Dispute), written after the appearance of Khvył'ovyi's pamphlet *Quo Vadis?*, Dontsov stressed the political implications of the discussion in the following words: "Outwardly the dispute is about the 'proletarian' literature, about the *Prosvita* literary style, and 'waste paper', but in reality . . . it is about how to save our national culture, which is being stifled behind barbed wire . . . The question is this: 'Europe or Russia?'"

This is exactly the dilemma that Khvył'ovyi's pamphlets, written early in 1926, place before the reader; it is one of several pieces of evidence that Khvył'ovyi was partially influenced by Dontsov, although at times he attacked him as a "Fascist." This third series of Khvył'ovyi's pamphlets appeared in February, 1926, under the title "Apolohety pysaryzmu" (Apologists of Scribbling). In these pamphlets, Khvył'ovyi boldly laid down a programme of Ukrainian development, that was to be independent of Moscow. The emphasis is largely political, and Khvył'ovyi takes less trouble than he did earlier, to keep up the pretence of separating political and literary matters. He supported his demands for the independent development of Ukrainian literature, by theoretical argument about the "independence" of Ukraine in the Soviet Union.

"The Union remains a union, and Ukraine is an independent unit . . . Little Russia has passed into the 'Realm of Tales of Yore' . . . Is Russia an independent State? Yes, it is. Then we, also, are independent."²

Then comes his crucial question and conclusion: "Since our literature can at last follow its own path of development, we are faced with the question: 'Which path of world literature should it follow?'"

"On no account the Russian one. This is beyond any question. One must not confuse our political union with literature. Our poetry must run away with all possible speed from Russian literature and its styles . . . Our orientation is towards the art of Western Europe and its style and techniques."³

The pamphlet "Moskovs'ki zadrypany" (Muscovite Slums) was directed at Kost Burevii, a Ukrainian writer who lived in Moscow and was noted for his exaggerated respect for everything Russian. Burevii wrote a pamphlet, *Ukrayina chy Rosiya?* (Ukraine or Russia?), in which he insisted that, as Russian literature was the most advanced in the world, Ukrainians ought to model their literature on it. Khvył'ovyi vehemently rejected these suggestions.

In the same series of articles, Khvył'ovyi referred to the much debated question of the Ukrainization of the towns, or, in the official jargon, "Ukrainization of the Proletariat." At the turn of the year 1925-26, this problem had become acute. Earlier, the Commission for

1) As testified by Professor M. Hlobenko and R. Zadesnyans'kyi.

2) M. Khvył'ovyi, "Moskovs'ki zadrypany", K. i. P., March 28th, 1926.

3) *Ibid.*

Ukrainization had set the date-line by which all officials had to learn the Ukrainian language and for the introduction of various other measures at January 1st, 1926. When that date came, it was found that these measures were being resisted by the officials, and as a result of this, the pace of Ukrainization in the towns was somewhat slackened. Most arguments for the retention of Russian-language schools, newspapers, etc. in the towns were based on the claim that the mass of the proletariat there was Russian. The Ukrainian Communists who advocated the de-Russification of the towns maintained that the proportion of Russians in the towns had been greatly exaggerated, and that the relative majority were Ukrainians, although many of the latter used the Russian language. Thus, an investigation into the membership of the Trade Unions in Ukraine, carried out on April 1st, 1924, showed that out of 550,973 persons questioned, 40.1% were Ukrainians, 37.6% were Russians, 14.5% were Jews, 6.5% were of other nationalities, and 1.3% did not give their nationality.¹ The percentage of Ukrainians must, in fact, have been higher, because the investigation had not covered adequately the predominantly Ukrainian industrial centres, whilst in Odessa with its large non-Ukrainian population, 37.3% were investigated.²

In his pamphlet "Let us have the Proletariat!", in the series "The Apologists of Scribbling", Khvył'ovyi wrote:

"We demand that those to whom it refers ought to apply themselves seriously to the Ukrainization of the proletariat. It is time to grasp the meaning of our slogan: 'Let us have the proletariat!' as it is required by the political situation... Ukrainization is, on the one hand, the result of the unconquerable will of the 30,000,000-strong nation, and, on the other hand, it is the only means by which the proletariat can gain the leadership of the cultural movement... The crux of the problem lies in the immediate de-Russification of the proletariat."³

Thus, from the discussion of literary matters, Khvył'ovyi involved himself in the discussion of the crucial political problems existing at that time in Ukraine: the problem of Ukrainian cultural independence, and the problem of de-Russification of the Ukrainian urban population. A solution of these problems that was favourable to Ukrainian claims would, in the long run, also be favourable to the Ukrainian political aspirations. This was, consequently, a matter in which the Bolshevik Party had to make its position clear.

1) Article by T. Kornievs'kyi in *Kommunist*, Kharkiv, October 18th, 1925. Quoted in *Nova Ukrayina*, January-February 1926. No. 1-2.

2) *Ibid.*

3) "Apolohety pysaryzmu" *K. i. P.* No. 13. Quoted by Hirchak, *Na dva fronta...* p. 72.

6. The Condemnation of the Deviation of Khvył'ovyi and Shums'kyi.

The problem of the "Ukrainization of the proletariat" agitated the leading Party circles in Ukraine at the beginning of 1926. On the one hand, there were those who, like Khvył'ovyi, favoured an all-out campaign to de-Russify the towns in Ukraine at once, and aimed at the widest possible internal autonomy for Ukraine in political matters, and complete independence in cultural affairs. On the other hand, there were the Russian and Russophil Party cadres who saw Ukrainization as a development incompatible with Communist goals and the interests of the Soviet State. There was also an intermediate group, which favoured some degree of Ukrainization as a tactical political measure.

In this atmosphere of tension over the "Ukrainization of the proletariat", the Politburo of the Central Committee of the C.P.(b).U. held its meeting on March 19th, 1926. Zatons'kyi delivered the report "On the results of Ukrainization" in which he suggested that the Ukrainization of the proletariat must not be "obligatory." This ambiguous phrase was evidently designed as a compromise formula to smooth the differences between the two opposing factions. However, objections were raised by O. Shums'kyi, who declared that this would, in effect, mean a continuation of Russian domination in the Party and in the cultural life of the urban proletariat.¹ This brought into the open what was to become known as the "Shums'kyist Deviation." Shums'kyi was the spokesman of that group of the C.P.(b).U. which came closest to the Nationalist position. Although Shums'kyi's outspoken attitude was not shared by the majority of the Politburo and the Central Committee of the C.P.(b).U., there were a number of leading Ukrainian Communists who expressed their complaints of continued Russian cultural and political predominance in Ukraine. These complaints were voiced in a mild form by Vlas Chubar, Chairman of the Ukrainian Sovnarkom, at the session of the Ts.I.K. of the U.S.S.R. in Moscow, on April 16th, 1926. After starting his report with a quotation from Lenin's letter of December, 1919, concerning Ukraine, mentioning "the voluntary union of nations", Chubar continued, in the usual euphemistic Communist manner:

"The main problem which we are raising, both in Ukraine and at this session of the Ts.I.K. of the U.S.S.R., is the problem of *whether we have really achieved such a full, strong union*. It seems to me that this question has not yet been fully solved."²

Chubar further suggested that in order to strengthen the Soviet regime in Ukraine, certain "mistakes" and "difficulties" had to be overcome. Above all, the mass of the population had to be induced

1) This is evident from the speech of Kaganovich at the June, 1926, Plenum of the Central Committee of the C.P.(b).U. *Bud. Rad. Ukrayiny*, p. 43.

2) V. Chubar, *Ukrayina v 1926 rotsi, Dopovid' uryadu U.S.R.R. na druhiy sesiyyi Ts.V.K. S.R.S.R. tret'oho skladu, D.V.U.* 1926, p. 3.

to take part in the local administration and in local organizations, and the intelligentsia had to be induced to work in the administration, not out of fear, but conscientiously, and a correct "Leninist" National policy had to be maintained. On the other hand, the economy had to be developed so as to satisfy the requirements of the population. He described the achievements of Ukrainization as inefficient so far, and stated that the Russian officials were resisting these measures, and, at the same time, were clamouring about the oppression of everything Russian in Ukraine. He stressed the fact that the Ukrainians in the R.S.F.S.R. were still demanding the satisfaction of their National needs, and emphasised the "All-Union importance" of Ukrainian culture.¹

In the debate on Chubar's report, Yuriy Larin raised the "Russian question" in Ukraine, and asserted that the Russians were victims of oppression and discrimination. He supported his arguments with several examples of allegedly over-zealous enforcement of Ukrainization. He asked, for example, why the Kharkiv regional (okruha) executive committee published an order demanding that all its subordinate institutions should carry on their official correspondence in the Ukrainian language, why the Central Commission on Ukrainization issued an order that all Government offices must have notice-boards in Ukrainian, why a certain professor was not allowed to display posters in Russian advertising his lecture "Did Christ exist?" in Zhytomyr, and so on. On the other hand, another deputy, Levin, raised the Jewish problem in Ukraine, complaining that the Jews received insufficient assistance from the Ukrainian government.

Petrovs'kyi, Zaton's'kyi, Skrypnyk and Chubar, as well as some other Deputies from Ukraine and other Republics strongly objected to Larin's accusations. Petrovs'kyi revealed that the Russian language, far from being ousted from Ukraine, still played the dominant role in the proceedings of the Ukrainian Sovnarkom, the town Soviets, and the Congresses of the C.P.(b)U. Zaton's'kyi raised the problem of the Ukrainians in the Kursk *gubernia*, whose very existence was denied by the Chairman of the *gubernia* Executive Committee and the educational department, although, according to the official statistics, there were 23.38% of Ukrainians in the Kursk *gubernia*. Skrypnyk recalled that the initiative in the creation of the Soviet Union came from the Ukrainian Communists, while Larin belonged to the adherents of "autonomization", i.e. the absorption of the National Republics by the R.S.F.S.R.²

One of Stalin's right-hand men, Yenukidze, who in 1923 had opposed the softer line towards the Nationalities, was elected Chairman of

1) Obviously meaning that it should be treated as an equal of Russian culture — an echo of Khvył'ovyi's slogan about the independence of Ukrainian culture.

2) For the texts of the speeches, see *Ts.I.K. II-iy soz'uv, 2-ya sessiya, (12. 4. — 25. 4. 1926)*, Larin (pp. 458-468), Hryn'ko (468-474), Petrovs'kyi (495-505), Zaton's'kyi (512-517), Skrypnyk (531-536), Chubar's closing speech (530-544).

a committee appointed to draw up a Resolution on Chubar's report. Presenting his Resolution, Yenukidze warned the "Nationals" that they must not try to develop their cultures independently of the Russian language and Russian culture. He stressed that Ukraine was carrying out Ukrainization too hastily. This was due, he explained, both to Ukraine's geographical situation, and to "the work of hostile Nationalist elements, great numbers of whom have still been left in Ukraine."¹ He warned other Soviet Republics that they must not follow the example of Ukraine. He concluded in a somewhat contradictory manner:

"The course towards the national assimilation (*natsionalizatsiya*) of all institutions, namely, where this is possible, has been taken correctly; one must follow this path steadfastly; but at the same time, one must consider each step and carry out national assimilation (*natsionalizatsiya*) where there are possibilities for it, without playing down or forgetting the Russian language and Russian culture. This is the main thing, for it is in the interests of the entire U.S.S.R., and in the interests of common culture."

The contradictions in this speech of Yenukidze reflected the uncertainty of the Bolshevik leadership in general and Stalin in particular, as to what policy towards the growing Ukrainian National movement would be most effective. While realizing that Ukrainian Nationalism constituted a danger to the integrity of the Soviet Union, and being aware that Ukrainization might stimulate Ukrainian Nationalism, they did not feel, however, that an open and direct suppression of Ukrainian aspirations would bring the desired results, in view of the weakness of the Bolshevik regime at the time. A certain measure of support for a policy of "Ukrainization" controlled by the Party and Government was felt to be the only solution to the political dilemma, although such a policy did not entirely correspond with the wishes and aims of the Party. Certain tendencies towards cultural and political independence, and opposition towards the centralism of Moscow, which had appeared among the Ukrainian Communists, began to worry Moscow. The attitude among the writers, as exemplified by Khvyly'ovyi, and of the Nationally-inclined group of the C.P.(b).U., as represented by Shums'kyi, were signs of the growing infection of the C.P.(b).U. with Ukrainian Nationalist ideas which, if allowed to develop unchecked, might have grown into a serious danger. The decision was therefore made in Moscow to maintain a policy of Ukrainization in controllable channels, and to curb the development of a National-Communist ideology.

On April 26th, 1926, Stalin intervened in person in the disputes within the Ukrainian Politburo, by addressing a letter to Kaganovich, the Secretary of the Central Committee of the C.P.(b).U. In this letter, which was published only after World War II in an edition of Stalin's

1) *Ibid.* Yenukidze (pp. 1072-79).

"Works", he criticized the views of Shums'kyi and Khvyl'ovyi, and revealed that Shums'kyi had voiced certain objections to the Party's policy in Ukraine, and demanded the rectification of the shortcomings.

"He thinks", wrote Stalin, "that Ukrainization is slow, that it is regarded as an unpleasant duty and therefore is carried out with much procrastination. He thinks that the growth of Ukrainian culture and of the Ukrainian intelligentsia are proceeding at a rapid pace, and that if we do not take that movement into our hands, it may pass us by. He thinks that at the head of the movement should be placed those people who believe in the cause of Ukrainian culture, who know and desire to know that culture. He is particularly dissatisfied with the behaviour of the Party and Trade Union elite in Ukraine, who have, in his opinion, put the brakes on Ukrainization. He thinks that one of the greatest sins of this elite is the fact that it does not attract to the Party leadership and Trade Union work those Communists who are directly connected with Ukrainian culture. He thinks that Ukrainization should be carried out first of all within the ranks of the Party and among the proletariat . . . He proposes to raise Hryn'ko to the post of Chairman of the Council of People's Commissioners, to make Chubar the Secretary of the C.P.(b).U . . . He is especially dissatisfied with the work of Kaganovich. He thinks that Kaganovich has succeeded in regulating the organization of the Party, but that the methods of organization employed by Kaganovich make normal work impossible."¹

Stalin answered Shums'kyi's complaints point by point. He reproached him for committing "at least two serious errors." One error, in his view, was that Shums'kyi confused the Ukrainization of the Party and other organs with the Ukrainization of the proletariat.

"It is right and it is necessary to Ukrainize at a certain rate our State and other administrative organs which serve the population, but it is wrong to Ukrainize the proletariat from above; it is wrong to force the Russian working masses to renounce their Russian language and culture, and to accept as their own the Ukrainian language and culture. This contradicts the principle of the free development of the Nationalities. It would be equivalent, not to National freedom, but to a particular form of oppression. There is no doubt that the Ukrainian proletariat will gain in numbers and strength in proportion to the industrial development of Ukraine, and to the influx of Ukrainian workers into industry from the nearby villages."

Stalin gave warning that the replacement of this spontaneous process by enforced Ukrainization of the proletariat might result in an outbreak of anti-Ukrainian Chauvinism. He further referred to the anti-Moscow trends among the Ukrainian intelligentsia:

"Comrade Shums'kyi does not realize that in Ukraine, where the

1) I. V. Stalin, *Sochineniya*, VIII pp. 149-154.

Communist cadres are weak, such a movement, led everywhere by the non-Communist intelligentsia, may assume in places the character of a struggle against 'Moscow', against the Russians, against Russian culture and its greatest achievement, Leninism, altogether. I need not point out that such a danger grows more and more real in Ukraine. I should only like to mention that even some Ukrainian Communists are not free from such defects. I have in mind that well-known article by the noted Communist, Khvyl'ovyi, in the Ukrainian Press. Khvyl'ovyi demands that the proletariat in Ukraine be immediately de-Russified; his beliefs that 'Ukrainian poetry should keep as far away as possible from Russian literature and style, his pronouncement that 'proletarian ideas are familiar to us without the help of Russian art', his passionate belief in some Messianic role for the young intelligentsia, his ridiculous and non-Marxist attempt to divorce culture from politics — all this and much more in the mouth of this Ukrainian Communist sounds (and cannot sound otherwise) more than strange. At a time when the proletarian classes of Western Europe and their Communist Parties are filled with affection for Moscow, at a time when the proletariat of Western Europe looks with enthusiasm to the flag that flies over Moscow, this Ukrainian Communist Khvyl'ovyi has nothing to say in favour of Moscow, except to call upon Ukrainian leaders to run away from Moscow as fast as possible. And this is called 'Internationalism.' What can we say about members of the Ukrainian intelligentsia, from the non-Communist camp, when the Communists begin to talk, and not only to talk, but to write, indeed, in our Soviet Press, with Khvyl'ovyi's words. Comrade Shums'kyi does not understand that, in order to dominate the new movement for Ukrainian culture in Ukraine, the extreme views of Khvyl'ovyi within the Communist ranks must be combated; Comrade Shums'kyi does not understand that only by combating such extremism is it possible to transform the rising Ukrainian culture and Ukrainian social life into a Soviet culture and Soviet social life."

Stalin agreed with Shums'kyi that the leading Party cadres in Ukraine ought to be Ukrainian, but explained that there were not enough qualified men and that cadres cannot be created artificially. He rejected the suggestion that Kaganovich should be replaced by Chubar, and that Hryn'ko should be appointed as Chairman of the Sovnarkom, since, he alleged, such actions would be viewed in a bad light by the Party as a whole. He concluded that "Shums'kyi's error consists in that, while having a correct objective, he does not take the pace into consideration. And the pace is most important now."¹

This letter, insisting on keeping the pace of Ukrainization moderate, soon had its effects. First of all, a Politburo meeting was called in Kharkiv on May 12th, to discuss Shums'kyi's error. He was asked

1) *Ibid.*

to withdraw his demands, and to condemn Khvył'ovyi's extremist views.

On May 3rd, 1926, an article by the Chairman of the Ukrainian Sovnarkom, Vlas Chubar, entitled "About Dislocations" ("Pro vyvykhy") appeared in the Government organ, *Visti VUTsVK*. It attacked Khvył'ovyi's pamphlet "The Apologists of Scribbling", on all the points which Stalin had mentioned in his letter to Kaganovich. In this way, Khvył'ovyi's views were publicly and authoritatively qualified as a "dislocation", another term for a "deviation." It may well be that Chubar was taking this means of disassociating himself from his embarrassing personal involvement in Shums'kyi's plans for changes in the Government and Party of Ukraine, which had also been mentioned in Stalin's letter.

It was about this time that Khvył'ovyi wrote his pamphlet "Malorossiya chy Ukrayina?" (Little Russia or Ukraine?), the full text of which is not known, owing to the fact that it did not pass the Party's censorship, and so was never published. Many extracts from it have, however, been quoted by Khvył'ovyi's opponents, and published in their pamphlets, so that one may form an opinion about its contents. It was first mentioned by Kaganovich, at the June, 1926, Plenum of the Central Committee of the C.P.(b).U. and excerpts from it were quoted by Zatons'kyi on the same occasion. It must, therefore have been written prior to this date, although after the publication of "Moskovs'ki zidrypanyk."¹

"Little Russia or Ukraine?" was evidently written as a reply to a series of articles by Andriy Khvylyya, which appeared in the *Kharkiv Kommunist* at the end of April, 1926,² or else to Chubar's article. Mimeographed copies of Khvył'ovyi's pamphlet were circulated illegally among the intelligentsia.³ This is confirmed, indirectly, by Khvylyya's speech at the March, 1927, Plenum of the Central Committee of the C.P.(b).U., which affirmed that Professor M. Zerov had referred to passages from that pamphlet at a students' meeting.⁴ In his letter of April 26th, 1926, to Kaganovich, however, Stalin does not seem to have been aware of "Little Russia or Ukraine?" when he referred to Khvył'ovyi's writings.

In "Little Russia or Ukraine?" Khvył'ovyi outlined the programme of Ukraine's own path to Socialism, or, in other words, of Ukraine's political and not only cultural development. "From our point of view", Khvył'ovyi wrote there, "Ukraine... will march somewhat

¹ The second half of March, 1926. In his introduction to *Vid ukhlylu v pivnu*, (publ. 1928), Khvylyya further confirms that "Malorossiya chy Ukraina?" was written in "spring 1926."

² A. Khvylyya. "Pro nashi literaturni spravy", (About our literary affairs), *Komunist*, Nos. 93, 94, 96; April 24th, 25th, 28th, 1926.

³ Juriy Lawrynenko, *Ukrainian Communism*, p. 244.

⁴ *Bud. rad. Ukr.* Vol. 1, p. 128.

differently towards Socialism, although in one political union with Russia."¹

The pamphlet opens with an attack on Russian Messianism, characteristic of all the followers of Belinskiy, whose influence on the outlook of the Russian intelligentsia was dominant, as well as with a criticism of Russian literature. At the same time, Khvyl'ovyi outlines the theory of his own Ukrainian Messianism, for he viewed Ukraine as the avant-gard of the great Asiatic renaissance, in which Ukraine would combine the traditional European Faustian spirit of enquiry with the unspent energies of the East, and would call a new proletarian civilization into being. Russia, in Khvyl'ovyi's opinion, would be unable to do this, her literature being passively pessimistic and able to educate only "unwanted men." Russian literature, he thought, could revive only under the blossoming tree of the literatures of the young nations formerly oppressed by Russia. According to him, Moscow, in its mentality, was the centre of the "All-Union" bourgeoisie, and the Communist Party, as well as the Comintern, were a mere oasis there. The defeat of Russian Messianism would mean a new spring of nations. The establishment of independent National States would hasten the development of classes. To try to hinder that development and to prevent Ukraine from passing through that natural stage would only result in the creation of a more fertile ground for counter-Revolution. The Party must be assimilated as an organic part of the Ukrainian nation, and Ukrainian culture must become dominant. If the necessity for this continued to be ignored, Ukraine would tend to shift towards the camp of the petty bourgeoisie. There was a real struggle for hegemony between the Russian and Ukrainian cultures in Ukraine, and for all these reasons the Party must declare itself unmistakably on the side of Ukrainian cultural predominance. However, Ukraine must have not only cultural but also political independence, since, he said, it is useless to hinder the age-old will of a nation to express its organic unity as a state. One cannot cover up the lack of independence with pseudo-Marxist phrases.

"Ukraine will continue to serve as a battle-ground for counter-Revolution, as long as she does not pass that natural stage which Western Europe passed at the time of the formation of National States."²

There can little doubt that in this pamphlet, Khvyl'ovyi expressed the theoretical justifications for the practical political moves proposed to the Party authorities by Shums'kyi, although Shums'kyi need not, necessarily, have shared all Khvyl'ovyi's views. Shums'kyi, besides being a member of the Politburo and People's Commissar for Education (the department chiefly responsible for Ukrainization), was also

1) E. Hirschak, *Na dva fronta*, p. 115.

2) "Malorossiia chy Ukrayina?" Quoted by Hirschak, *Na dva fronta*, p. 62.

nominally Editor-in-Chief of the influential journal *Chervonyi Shlyakh*, of which Khvył'ovyi and several of his associates were co-editors; it is therefore reasonable to suggest that they could have discussed these problems and viewed them in a similar light.

When the Ukrainian Politburo met on May 12th, 1926, to discuss Nationality policy in Ukraine, Zatons'kyi delivered the basic report on the progress of Ukrainization and the state of literature. He had earlier been given the task of checking the entirety of Ukrainian literature published in the preceding two years for its political content. His conclusion was that there were great shortcomings in this respect. Khvył'ovyi's writings were severely criticized for their Nationalistic trends. Shums'kyi made an attempt to defend Khvył'ovyi, and to outline his programme for the cultural equality of Ukrainians and Russians, but was himself reproached for having demanded that real Ukrainians should run affairs in Ukraine, and not the "contemptible Little Russians", as he termed those who, in his view, showed little independence, as far as Moscow was concerned. Sarcastically, he accused them of "hypocrisy", "egoism", clinging to "comfortable posts", and of "pushing real Ukrainians out of offices."¹ On being reproached for his Borot'bist past, and for failing to condemn it and its ideas, Shums'kyi replied that he felt proud of his past, and did not intend to repudiate it. The appeals for unity prevailed, however, and a Special Commission was chosen to work out an agreement on the future course of the policy of Ukrainization — to take the form of "theses." The Commission consisted of Skrypnyk (Chairman), Chubar, Petrovs'kyi, Kaganovich, Zatons'kyi, Shums'kyi, N. Popov and Demchenko. It reached a compromise agreement, and the "theses" were presented for discussion and approval at the Plenum of the Central Committee of the C.P.(b)U., which was held June 1-6, 1926.

Meanwhile, the Russian elements in the Party became emboldened by these signs that Moscow intended to put a restraining hand on Ukrainization, especially by Larin's attack of Chubar, and by the authoritative statement of Yenukidze. On May 12th, a meeting of the Central Commission of the V.U.Ts.V.K. for the National Minorities in Ukraine took place, and its Russian Chairman, Lobanov, demanded the immediate creation of Russian National *rayony* in those regions where there were groups of Russian villages. He also insisted that greater attention should be paid to the creation of Russian-language schools and law-courts in the towns.

(To be continued)

¹) See Petrovs'kyi's speech at the Plenum of June, 1926.
Bud. Rad. Ukr., p. 55.

OLENA TELIHA

By Orysyia PROKOPIW

Her Life

Olena Teliha, an outstanding poet in the Ukrainian literature of the 1930's was born on July 27th, 1907, in St. Petersburg, where her father, Ivan Shovheniv, an engineer, held a university teaching post. During her childhood Olena was not reared in the milieu of Ukrainian culture; she attended school in St. Petersburg, while her foreign governess taught her French and German. Since "Lenochka" did not even hear her native tongue, it is interesting how this figure made the phenomenal rise to the "sunny summits" of Ukrainian literature and in the history of the cultural and political life of Ukraine.

After the revolution, when Olena was ten years old, her father returned to Kyiv to become a professor there and a Minister in the government of the Ukrainian National Republic. Although Olena attended school in the Ukrainian capital, Kyiv was at that time still primarily a Russified city and although her parents were active in Ukrainian culture and political life, they revealed nothing of this aspect to their young daughter.

In 1922, after the Bolshevik invasion of Ukraine and during the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Olena's father and brother were evacuated along with the Ukrainian government to Tarnów, in Poland. Olena and her mother remained in the capital until they too were able to escape westward. It was during this escape through Ukraine that Olena made her first encounter with her country, and with her people. She was sixteen years old at this time.

Upon Olena's reunion with her father she posed certain questions. What is Ukraine? What is my place within her? Why, father, did you not teach me anything about her although you took my brother along with you to fight for her survival? You will find her yourself, her father explained, this will be a more difficult task, but, as a result you will come to love her more, for then she will truly be yours.

Thus in Tarnów, at seventeen years of age, Olena began her search for answers to her questions, amongst the Ukrainian political refugees who aspired for sovereignty for Ukraine. In 1924 the Shovheniv's moved to Czechoslovakia, to reside in Prague and in Podebrady. These two cities were two of the largest and most productive Ukrainian émigré centres of the 1920's for here resided most of the Ukrainian statesmen, scholars, and active youth.

Olena's father became rector of the Ukrainian Economic Academy in Podebrady and Olena entered the Ukrainian Pedagogical Institute in Prague. As a student of this school Olena learned her native language and embarked upon her never-ending quest for people with lofty principles and ideals, for courageous, firm, and resolute men.

In Podebrady, Czechoslovakia, Olena married Mykhaylo Teliha, and through her husband became acquainted with such prominent persons as V. Kurylenko, L. Mosendz, Y. Malaniuk, M. Stsiborsky, Y. Darahan, and an entire milieu that forged a new outlook on the Ukrainian national movement.

Having grown into this cultural and political sphere, Olena, as her father had hoped, did soon envisage her own ideal image of Ukraine. An image for which she not only aspired, but for which she undertook a heroic struggle. And to this struggle Olena yearned to inspire others. But the challenging question emerged — how to become a source of such inspiration? Fortunately, Olena's "finding of herself", the formation of her ideology, came simultaneously with the awakening of her poetic talents. Olena realized that she could propagate her ideals through the medium of poetry and that soon her poetry might become an important spark of inspiration for others. Yet even this realization was not enough to satisfy Olena. Thus she formulated her goal — to accomplish in life all that she was propagating in her poetry, to embody the expressed poetic ideals, to personify the portrait of that heroine which she was depicting in her lyrics.

The crystallization of these ideals as an artist, as a fighter for national freedom, and as a person, came after 1929 when Olena and her husband moved to Warsaw to assume teaching posts. In Warsaw the poetess became a member of the literary association which was affiliated with the journal "Vistnyk" (The Herald). This journal was first edited in Lviv by the political ideologue Dmytro Dontsov in 1922 and in the 1930's the "Vistnyk" became the most significant representative of Ukrainian political life and of the contemporary poetry of such outstanding talents, as O. Olzhych, Y. Malaniuk, L. Mosendz, Y. Klen and Olena Teliha. Olena's close friendship with these writers, and especially with that of Dmytro Dontsov, had a tremendous influence upon her work as a cultural and political worker.

After the bombing of Warsaw in 1939, Olena Teliha embarked upon her underground revolutionary mission. She went first to Lviv and then to Kyiv to manifest the objectives of the Ukrainian National Organization (OUN) in their struggle against two enemy camps — the Bolsheviks and the Nazis. Upon her arrival in Kyiv, Olena became the editor of a Ukrainian weekly newspaper "Litavry" (Kettle-drums) and headed the Union of Ukrainian Writers. Early in 1942, however, during the German occupation of the capital, the poetess was arrested on charges of nationalism: i.e. she was not allowing her newspaper to publish panegyric works in dedication to the enemy.

And on February 13, 1942, at the age of thirty-five, Olena Teliha, with her husband, courageously faced death before the firing squad of the Gestapo.*

Her Poetry

Olena Teliha's poems are in the lyrical genre. Her lyrics are unique in that they represent a fusion of two loves — the patriotic and the personal. Olena's biography and her works are a clear expression of altruism. Her foremost duty as a human being is to her "Lady" — the native land. This ideal is implicit throughout her works and is explicitly expressed in the poem in which the poetess invokes Love itself:

Yet let us not to you till death surrender,
But to another Lady — Native, One . . .

(Eternal)

There are several themes that perpetually resound throughout Olena Teliha's lyrics. First, all her poetry is saturated with the theme of life. Life to her is in constant, dynamic motion, full of mysticism and awakening, filled with colours and contrasts. It is "rich and resplendent", it is "a blinding light", it consists of joy and sorrow, "keen tears" and "keen peals of laughter", "heart and disheartenment", "blows from God and all His gifts". And Olena enjoys every minute of it. Now comes a day with "acute joy in an outburst of splendour" and then "a dreamy hazy day in trouble grieves". Olena accepts all aspects of life — the good and the bad, the significant and the trivial, she does not complain about sorrow, nor does she surrender to weakness:

Do not fear days within a tangle tied
The sleepless nights and the demented mornings
Let time incise the face with good and bad
The heart be blazed by the most trifling mornings.

(Just anything but this!)

The above lines are reminiscent of Rudyard Kipling's:

If you can meet with Triumph and Disaster
And treat those two imposters just the same . . .

(If)

Olena does not yield to pessimism, rather she encourages the heart-broken and downtrodden to

. . . Believe:
Some unknown episode, upon some unknown day,
Will meet you in a state of gladness. Live!

(Life)

*) For a detailed biography in Ukrainian see O. Zhdanovych, "Na zov Kyiva" in *Prapory dukha. Zhyttya i tvorchist' O. Telihy*. (Paris) "Surma", 1947, pp. 139-171.

She manifests masculine strength as she endure's life's unendurable:

I shall vanquish my memory constant
 And with laughter and joy entertain;
 Only those are endowed with conquest
 Who were able to laugh through pain!
 (*My keen eyes . . .*)

Nature, too, is in constant, dynamic motion. It, too, is colourful and filled with contrasts. The poetess sometimes applies the nature theme in the philosophical sense, wherein the negative forces of nature represent the enemy:

When inclement weather starts its spinning,
 Like a grain of sand I will be seized,
 Let the waters turbulent then carry
 Me from impulse to the very deed!
 (*The Flaming Day*)

Nature aids the poetess in describing her own feelings, as in the three-part poem "The Traveller", where each part expresses a different mood. The poem begins with the lyrical hero's overwhelming joy, which falls upon her unexpectedly:

Like a sweet-scented lilac in winter.

The autumn-versus-spring motif is adapted in the second part of the poem to expose the poet's sadness:

These thoughts of mine, inspirited and florid,
 Are falling in September's yellow leaves . . .

But she will not surrender to sorrow:

I'll live and laugh as I have done till late,
 Though from my life's illustrious spring freshet
 A chilling autumn did its first sip take.

Then, in the final part of the poem, spring conquers autumn, thus symbolizing that joy, like spring, has again resurrected:

Once more the autumn, struck with fear, is fleeing
 Underneath the March torrential rain.

Death to Olena Teliha is a part of life. It is a living scene, the "crown of life". She desires that her death be, like her life, a dynamic adventure:

And in a web of intersecting colours
 Until the morn I dream with ardent soul,
 That God sends down to me the greatest favour:
 A burning death and not a dying cold.

(*A Letter*)

But the poetess desires to attain her goal before her death:

When I ascend upon the rocky summit
Through turbid streams and boundaries of flame,
Let life but waver and away be sailing,
As though a ship amid the red of flames.

(*A Letter*)

How strange that the poetess, as though a seer, did face the very death which she describes in her lyrics. She did meet that imposter as courageously as she envisions in her poem:

And my strange heart, inebrious and brave,
A sureness, like unfailing sword, will sense.
Unique day! The exclusive holiday!
The topmost spire — and start of my descent!

(*The Exclusive Holiday*)

Like Lesya Ukrayinka, Olena Teliha is conscious of her national role as a poet, the role of awakening in her people a rebellious spirit against their enemy:

Let my cry ascend onto the summits,
Like a banner flutter in the sun,
Let it circle like unwearied falcon,
Summon native, voluntary ones!

(*The Flaming Day*)

Thus in the poem "To my Contemporaries" she bids her inert countrymen to action:

No need for words, let there be action only!

In another poem she expresses her impatience with inaction:

Just anything but this! Not these calm days,
In which all words are but of one tone colour,
In which ideas bide like unfanned flames
And aspirations in dust-covered fetters.

(*Just anything but this!*)

In times like these, Olena Teliha yearns for some dynamic, external force to awaken her dispirited countrymen, as in her continuation of the above poem:

Some type of gale, or laughter, or ill-will,
So that the souls would tear through rusty grating.

She commands that men regain their courage, steadfastness, and perseverance:

Avoid the shade. Endure in burning sport.
Do not take fright to gaze at light that's blinding.

In her dedication "To Men" she hurls a similar cry:

So sway the summons bells! Strike fire from flint!

Olena recognizes, too, that the poet's role is to feel compassion for his fellow man:

To blaze a heart amidst the snowy tempest,
To bathe a soul amidst the torrent cold.

(To My Contemporaries)

Like Lesya Ukrayinka, Olena Teliha expresses an unwavering faith in the ultimate victory over the nation's oppressors:

The iron might which knows no boundary
Will by the breath of God to tears be fused,
And ruthless fires with lash will wrested be
From small sparks that in ashes lie subdued.

(1933-1939)

Olena Teliha's lyrical hero is as Lesya Ukrayinka's, bold and courageous:

Setting sail? I will take to the oar!
Danger lurks? I will not fold my hands!

(The Fifth Floor)

These lines remind one of Lesya Ukrainka's uncompromising knight, who at the point of the sword exclaims: "Kill me! I will not surrender!"

Olena Teliha, like Lesya Ukrayinka, reprimands passivity, ignorance, hypocrisy, and compromise. Her bitterness toward these human weaknesses is especially felt in the poem "Black Plaza", wherein she describes the surrounding crowd as:

A gray rabble, a louring rabble
And not eyes, but a dismal murk.

The most interesting and vital theme in Olena Teliha's lyrics is her concept of Women's Liberation. Olena is certainly concerned about stamping out the concept of female inferiority and weakness, but she does not propagate the rising of woman above man, nor the liberation of woman from man, nor even in the absolute equality of women, because by our very nature this is an impossibility. She believes that man shall remain the "strongest", and that he must be strong if a woman is to love him.

According to Olena, the woman's role is twofold. Her primary role concerns the man whom she loves. A woman must be the man's source of inspiration. This source is to be found in the woman's tenderness, for in her tenderness lies eternal and unequalled strength. In her essay "Yakymy nas prahnete?" ("What do you desire us to be?")*, which is dedicated to male writers, Olena Teliha reviews the

* In Zhdanovych, *Prapory dukha*, pp. 56-68.

various concepts of womanhood in World literature and concludes that women should not be "males in skirts, devoid of all femininity", that they should not be "vampires", or "amazons", for such women can never be sources of inspiration to the male, who requires earnestness in work and office, and tenderness and humour in respite. Nor, on the other hand, should woman be a man's slave. In keeping the homefires burning, woman must not betray the greater family — the society, the nation. She must become man's equal and true partner in life's daily goals as well as in the goals of their society, their nation. For the benefit of the greater family, woman must possess all the characteristics of masculine heroism — courage, patience, perseverance, and spirit. Therefore, Olena Teliha's Woman is the intelligent blending of tender femininity and heroic masculine strength, with each trait emerging at the right moment.

The most beautiful poem wherein lies this, Olena Teliha's credo, is "The Evening Song", which is an ingenious blending of femininity and masculinity in the poetic form. This poem reveals to the utmost Olena Teliha's image of the ideal Woman and portrays to the fullest the character of the poetess herself. The poem can be divided into two parts: a) womanhood in its tenderness aspect, and b) womanhood in the heroic role. With a stroke of the pen, the poetess introduces the reader to a tender evening setting and in the third line, womanhood, in very soft and highly metaphorical language, begins to beckon her beloved to bring to her his "flaming hellfire", or daily cares that she may vanquish them — his hatred, his anger, his pain, his bitterness:

Beyond the panes day is cooling,
Within them — the first gleams of fire . . .
In palms of my hands enfasten
Your enmity and your ire.
And onto my lap unburden
The boulders of brutal days,
The silvering of your absinthe
For me at my feet displace.

Olena yearns to enlighten the heavy burden of her beloved, to free his heart from all cares, and, although he is the "strongest", it is in tenderness that the poetess invests the ultimate strength, because it is in love that the "strongest" will find rest and tranquility; love and tenderness will "unearth" his "flaming hellfire":

So that your unfettered, light heart
Sang out as a songbird free;
And, strongest, on my lips resting
Replenish tranquility.
And I with a kiss so tender
And soft, as a baby's mirth,
Will gently the flaming hellfire
From your thoughts and eyes unearth.

The poem takes a sudden turn as the heroine becomes aware that the new day and the battle shall take her beloved away. Femininity must now transform to masculinity. In her duty to the greater cause, the heroine must not only endure his obligatory departure courageously, but help him to prepare for it. She must not hinder his leave, and thus must refrain from tears for the moment. Rather than weeping, she will grant him her "weapon" — "a kiss as sharp as a blade".

But when in the morrow, spaces
Are pierced by the first trumpet tone,
Into the black murky darkness
I will prepare you alone.

You shall not take crying with you,
Till later my tears needs must wait,
To you I will grant a weapon:
A kiss as sharp as a blade.

What masculine strength Olena imparts to love. Her kiss is the weapon that will aid her beloved to endure the battle:

That you, midst the iron whistling,
For shrieking, for silent chord,
Have lips determined as gunshot,
Firm as the edge of a sword.

In the poem "The Traveller" the lyrical heroine again reveals her masculine strength on the departure of her beloved. Tears and the disclosure of her pain will not aid him on his journey:

I will dry my tears. Pain — I will shatter.
To a bleak night your paths must not speed,
Just my laughter upon the spring zephyr
Shall be running ahead in the lead.

Love as the source of man's inspiration is explicit also in the poem "Unnamed".

And when your resurrected soul bestirring
Once more will in resplendent journey soar,
Do not be asking whose were the inspired oars
That knew to push away the dismal shore.

In Olena Teliha's dedication "To Men" she admits that a woman, due to her nature, cannot assume all responsibilities, that some roles, by their nature, belong only to men, as, for example, participation in battle. Women can take a stand on political platforms only by speaking and writing. But, at the same time, the poetess states, with pride, that it is from woman's soul that man draws his strength and courage to do what he alone must do. This strength and courage the woman imparts to him in the "silver of soft words", and in her "faith" in his "might":

The word will not be fired as tempered steel,
 The pen, in hand, will not become a spear.
 We are but women. But our soul — the well
 From which you drink: endeavor, persevere!

And we give this, not in an iron hymn.
 In silver of soft words, faith in your might.

The poem ends with a vow that woman shall assist man in his struggles throughout eternity:

Without metallic words or sighs in vain,
 Your footsteps onto death we will pursue.

Olena Teliha takes us a step further into her concept of Women's Liberation in "A Reply". The poetess wishes that women too could assume all of life's responsibilities, but again she admits:

Oh yes, I know, 'tis not befitting us —
 With sword in hand, with sudden bursts of ire,
 With martial step and with a huntsman's glance
 To march relentlessly through flood and fire.

She stresses, again, the eternal might of tenderness, in which man replenishes his strength:

But when your sails are beaten by your ships,
 Indeed, we are your harbour, calm and bright;
 Not Leo — Virgo, our eternal sign,
 Not wrath, but tenderness our constant might.

Yet, when the heroine recognizes that man is weakening in his assumed role, she longs to seize and wield the weapon. She regrets that the voice of women is not heard at such times:

No sooner does the weapon downward slip
 From your enfeebled hands to foeman's feet,
 When tenderness the legend's raven sips,
 The battle's and the triumph's demon fierce.

To rive convention, like the curtains old,
 Our fingers, long and nimble, do so strive,
 That we might seize the weapon from your hold
 And there strike firmly, where need be to strike.

Only man makes the final decision in regard to the brandishing of the sword:

Alas, the resonant and sparkling sword
 Will sense but your decisive touch again.

Nevertheless, the poetess is optimistic. She envisages that time will eventually erase the conventional concept of women's inferiority and

weakness, and that it will be recognized that woman can render even more than her eternal might in tenderness:

For us the clock will wonted pages turn,
Of love and passion . . . tenderness and pain.

Her Style

Of especial interest in Olena Teliha is her style of writing. In one poem she describes herself as "a cyclone", as "fire", and her poetry reveals this, her character, very clearly. She is a genuine artist of the word, who is armed with a lively, brisk, and virile masculine lexicon; nevertheless, her lines are not devoid of feminine tenderness. Olena Teliha achieves a skillful blending of content and form. Many of her lyrics are in the strong, masculine iambic beat, which moves the verse onward with an appropriate martial step. Short elliptic phrases lend her lines their flight and potency. Emotional impact is attained with impassioned words. The poems which the poetess divides into parts contain definite changes of moods and these moods are transmitted by suitable changes in rhythm. Tenderness is imparted mostly through the anapestic meter.

The most fascinating of the forms of Olena Teliha are her three dance-step poems. The "Waltz" is written in iambic hexameter, with a line division that corresponds to the waltz step: 1, 2, 3: 1, 2, 3. The poem entitled "Kozachok" (a lively Ukrainian dance) is appropriately written in the trochaic rhythm. Each line begins with a powerful downbeat, as the dance, and moves forward with rapid motion. Her complex "Tango" is even more remarkable, with its unexpected caesuras, and unexpected run-on lines — particularly between strophes. Each line is composed of two iambic feet followed by a rupture and two more iambic feet, ingeniously rendering that dance rhythm.

Olena Teliha's alliteration and assonance lend much musicality to her verse. It should be noted that the poetess prefers assonantal rhyme to that which is traditionally termed as perfect rhyme. She also enjoys the device known as *truductio*, or the repetition of word stems; this also adds melodiousness to her lines.

Olena Teliha is a master of imagery and metaphorical language. Her favourite poetic device is the metaphor, which is absolutely original and peculiar to the poetess. It often involves very complex imagery. She likes to utilize similes and comparisons, often collating nature with personal moods, and especially favours epithets, which are usually combined in pairs. Her epithets are vivid and very precise. Furthermore, she is a creator of brilliant contrasts that play an important role in lending dynamism to her lyrics.

It should be remembered that the poetic talents of Olena Teliha had only begun to flourish when she went to her death, and also that

many of her lyrics, particularly her last works, were lost to the enemy. We have only 36 of her poems. Nevertheless, Olena Teliha did reach the "sunny summits" of Modern Ukrainian literature. She is the best Ukrainian woman writer of the 1930's, and her name stands beside such outstanding poets of the time as Yevhen Malaniuk, Oleh Olzhych, and Yuriy Lypa.

There is a definite influence of Lesya Ukrayinka on Olena Teliha. There are similarities between both writers in their thematics, there is the same revolutionary fervour, the same heroism and altruism. The works of both poets possess a similar musicality, virility, dynamism, flight, and potency, even though they are different in style and form. Whereas Lesya Ukrayinka writes in the vein of Neo-Romanticism, Olena Teliha writes in the spirit of Neo-Classicism. Yet, there is no quantitative comparison between the literary heritage of these two writers. It is unfortunate, not only to Ukrainian literature, but to World literature, that Olena Teliha's literary life was but a short phase, that she was not able to exercise her poetic talents much earlier in life, and that she died at such an early age. For her pen does possess unique literary qualities.

SOME OF OLENA TELIHA'S POETRY IN TRANSLATION

AN EXCLUSIVE HOLIDAY

A burning day — at once the rye is ripe
 And effervesced the heavy-clustered vine.
 It is unknown, as yet ungratified —
 That crown of life, especial day of mine.

An exploit, ecstasy, or rendezvous,
 A moment's touch of death? What will it be?
 The honey and the absinthe, savours two,
 Will fill and mellow my soul instantly.

And my strange heart, inebrious and brave,
 A sureness, like unfailing sword, will sense,
 Unique day! The exclusive holiday!
 The topmost spire — and start of my descent!

THE FIFTH FLOOR*(Emigration)*

Yes, in the morning, that same song incessant,
And that same life of homeless vagabonds,
The rusting fetters of oppressive troubles
Are still more tightly, more securely bound.

Yet eve will come — tomorrow, the day after,
Fatigue forgot, I will not walking be,
I will be running and bypassing autos —
Up to the fifth floor, where you wait for me.

It alters not — in March, or in December —
That question ever, and reply: "someday".
That solace ever: "But somehow it will be",
Thus ever in the brain — the sharpest nail.

But here the night. And on my hand your touch now.
My vision keen, my hearing is at rest,
And just as heedlessly removed my troubles
As my black hat from off my head is cast.

Our room now is the vestibule of heaven,
And I believe in fables once again,
Because the moon in clouds, like swan in lather,
Is floating by, across the windowpane.

And you are gay once more, with youthful step
You pace the room — first here — and once more there.
"Morroco!" "Africa!" and "Buenos Aires!"
So clearly, easily your lips declare!

*

Scorching sunlight, and rainstorms, and squalls,
In the sand dunes submerges the step,
In the dead of the night a shrill call
Is dispersing its threat to our tent.

"Setting sail!" — I will take the oar!
"Danger lurks?" — I will not fold my hands!
All together — the right and the wrong,
Ever coupled — the cobbles and sand!

*

But in the morning that same song incessant
That very way — my black hat to the side,
The rusting fetters of oppressive troubles
Nor drop, nor droop, until the very night.

THE RETURN*

It shall be thus: one crystal day in fall
We will cross over to our native roads.
A grave endeavour will have tilled our souls,
So that the grains of conquest could be scored.

And all that which for years was but a dream
Reality, and possible, become —
Then every bush and stone to us will seem
In these acute and joyous times, the sun!

Our folk and villages, imagine this!
We come tomorrow to our city own!
And as a master then the famished chest
Will grasp our own air, crystalline and warm.

But inauspicious winds will send us woe
Into an icy draught our hearts to sweep:
All differs . . . Mother, to the cherry old,
Will not be rushing gaily us to greet . . .

From impetus the soul will halt on guard
So that it can pursue, with caution keen,
All other souls, the alien or cold,
And all the verges deep that lie between.

And oft the heart will be ablaze with pain,
And something burning at the throat will rend,
When up above the native, same demesne
Another, unfamiliar song suspends.

*

All things await us: insult and despair
Our native land is but a foreign hold.
No need for sorrow! we will soon prepare
To go on further, down one single road.

Thus we will sweep, with fire, the bounds of love,
And we the waters, turbulent, will ford,
To gather fully what to us belongs,
And with our nation to unite once more.

* Translated by Orysia Prokopiw.

TO MY CONTEMPORARIES*

No need for words! Now is the time for doing!
Go forth and do — impassively and sternly;
Though the flesh burns, keep the soul from confusion,
Bury your pain. Fight down the sudden yearning.

But for me -- in a holy union mingle
Body and soul, gladness and pain's sharp aching.
And when I laugh, then my pain too is ringing —
A spring of laughter forth to freedom breaking.

I do not count my words. My heart's warmth flows forth
Unbounded. Maybe from this comes my boldness:
Kindling the heart to fire amid the snowstorm,
Bathing the soul in a great gush of coldness.

With wind and sun God swept my pathway over,
Where need be, I stand sternly, firm, unconquered.
My land, the bright greetings I have to offer
No enemy has ever taken from me.

* Translated by Vera Rich.

TO MEN*

The word will not be fired as tempered steel,
The pen, in hand, will not become a spear.
We are but women. But our soul — the well
From which you drink: endeavour, persevere!

And we give this, not in an iron hymn;
The silver of soft words, faith in your might.
For soon the day when in a smoky film,
From us you vanish like free birds in flight.

No salvo sounded yet, no cannon roared,
You stand on guard. And as a final due
All things that life — resplendent — rich — accords
Like nectar we are gathering for you.

So sway the summons bells! Strike fire from flint!
In having you with joys of life imbued,
Without metallic words or sighs in vain,
Your footsteps onto death we will pursue.

* Translated by Zoria Orionna.

THE POETS OF SPIRIT AND TRUTH

LINA KOSTENKO AND VASYL SYMONENKO

By Maria OVCHARENKO

Along the thorny path of its development, the Ukrainian literature has exhibited the attributes of the mythical Phoenix who, having died, was born again from its ashes. We know from our literary history that, relegated by political conditions to the state of almost non-existence, it flourished again with luxurious blossoms of renaissance. This was the case in the time of T. Shevchenko; this occurred in the time of I. Franko, and then L. Ukrainka. This was the case in the 1920s, and finally a similar miracle repeated itself in the past decade, a time least expected by us.

After almost a total necrosis and sterilization of creative forces during the evil days of Stalin, when the literary remnants, not quite tortured or shot to death, strained themselves in the hoarse rattling of outdated and stale phrases in the spirit of so-called socialist realism and composed noisy, hollow odes in honor of the tyrant or masked themselves with folklore sentimentality on the pages of so-called Soviet literary journals, suddenly the first swallows of genuine poetry appeared. After almost a 30-year stagnation, genuine poets, real people, and not some obedient, spiritless robots began to talk again from printed pages during the short-lived "thaw" (de-Stalinization). This had the effect of a current of fresh air which unexpectedly burst into stale atmosphere, of a spring of living water in a barren desert.

The greatest surprise and at the same time the greatest joy were caused by the fact that the poets who began speaking in a new voice all belonged to a young generation. They were either born in the years of brutal collectivization or on the eve of the Second World War. Their early childhood passed in times of great misfortune precipitated by the war, their school years in the time of post-war Stalinist terror. Some of them grew up under the care of their mothers alone, for their fathers either perished or failed to return from the war. Of great significance is the fact that their first but completely mature works of art appeared in print at a time when their average age was 22-23 years.

Even more than by these biographically historic facts, they are united by spiritual aspects: a genuine literary talent, an almost

identical poetical ideology, and a similarity of basic motives and themes. Regardless of the fact that each of the poets of the sixties is a unique phenomenon in himself, they are united into one group by traits which are common to almost all of them. In their creative work they unconditionally deviate from socialist realism which made free creativity impossible through restrictions determined by the party. In defiance of the realist code created by Zhdanov to please Stalin and perpetuated to this day in the Russian empire, the poets of the sixties assigned the first place to the lofty right of every artist to transmit to his readers his own internal world of ideas and experiences, and not the worn-out clichés dictated by the party. Speaking in a human tongue, they created a real revolution in literature.

In the formal expression of their creativity, the young poets generally do not break with tradition, in particular with regard to rhythm and stanzas, but in their poetical metaphors, intellectualism, and original new vocabulary they deviate from the traditional form of poetry. Extremely important is the fact that they, having rejected the wearisome stereotypes of so-called Soviet art, rest with absolute consistency on Ukrainian national traditions, absorbing into their creativity the most essential elements of folk songs and inhaling the fervour of Shevchenko's ideas. Having grown out organically from the national foundation, they are thoroughly national poets, or rather, ardent patriots of their native land. They manifest their patriotism in a whole series of beautiful verses, each in his own way, dedicating their works to Ukraine or to Shevchenko. Hand in hand with their patriotism goes their humaneness, their love of man, not of abstract mankind, their devotion to concrete individuals from their own surroundings, exhausted by work and wounded by the inhuman system, their love for their mother and the Ukrainian nature.

In the works of the poets of the sixties a prominent place is occupied by satire, for years proscribed in the Stalinist era. In it they denounce the system which gave rise to graphomaniacs, flatterers, careerists, and liars. Condemning the errors and mortal sins of their parents in the age of Stalin, they become uncompromising champions of truth and sincerity, without which no genuine art can exist. In contemporary so-called Soviet Ukraine there are many poets, their number ranging from 500-600. One should not assume, however, that they all belong ideologically to the same group of poets of the sixties under discussion. Quite a few of them consider themselves "Soviet patriots" and produce works which differ little from the works of their parents' generation. The poets of the sixties, the innovators, from whose pens came valuable works, amount to several dozen. Here we shall consider only two, from various aspects the most prominent representatives of this group, and with examples we shall attempt to illustrate how some motives which form the basic essence of their poetry are reflected in their works.

LINA KOSTENKO

The first place among the poets of the sixties is due to Lina Kostenko, not only because she is the oldest among them (born in 1930 in the Kyiv region), but primarily because she was the one who initiated new trends in literature, which are discussed here, as well as because she is one of the most talented poets of that group. The appearance of her first small collection of poetry (1957), containing only 60 pages, was something unexpected and seemed a miracle of sorts, just as the first spring flowers which break through the frozen earth in defiance of frost and wind can seem miraculous. The collection's title, *Prominnyya zemli* (Rays of the Earth), aptly transmits the general character of these poems. These are real rays which shine with artistic and human truth, warm with love and optimistic enthusiasm. In a year another collection, *Vitryla* (Sails) (1958), and in 1961 the third, *Mandrivky sertsya* (Journeys of the Heart), were published. They are even more daring and dynamic, more profound intellectually. In them the poetess gladly shares with the reader her own world of ideas and feelings, not borrowed from anyone. Following Stalinist stagnation, a genuine poet has spoken for the first time, liberally scattering the precious stones of artistic pictures and brilliant metaphors, creating new sounds and melodies from the treasures of our language and folk-song motives.

L. Kostenko has entered the literary arena already as a mature poet, as a genuine master of verse with harmonious and crystalized world outlook, with a feeling of responsibility for a poet's high mission, with a sense of human dignity. She chose two forces as her guide post: her own conscience and truth:

"Neither fear,
nor compromise.
Conscience, follow every challenge!" (343*)

"Poetry is a sister of mine.
And human truth is our mother." (163)

In full awareness, the poetess follows the not-too-easy path of her calling:

"I have chosen my Fate for myself . . .
And I have accepted it as law . . ." (163)

Only the feeling of spiritual strength and ancestral pride could have inspired the poetess to a courageous manifestation of her leading concepts:

"I am glad that I have strong hands . . ." (53)

*) The numbers indicate pages in L. Kostenko's collection: *Poeziyi* (Poems) (Published by "Smoloskyp," Baltimore, 1969.)

And her heart:

“ . . . knows no fear, with reason,
My great-grandfather was a Zaporizhian (Cossack),
Led boats down the rapids.” (142)

Not only her courage and lack of compromise which compelled her to “swim against the swift current,” but also her conception and sensation of the world have grown out of her native ground. She speaks about it with classical simplicity and profound lyricism. Below are some excerpts:

“I grew up in orchards,
where warm pear trees ripened . . .

I grew up in the fields,
where the sunrise, as conflagration . . .

I grew up in the forests,
where the rosy trunks of pine trees glowed . . .

I grew up on the Dnipro . . .

And the hues of these distant years —
No matter where I'd disappear now,
No matter what I'd write, as reflection,
Lie upon the white paper.” (10)

The poetess leads the reader to the “full-eared fields in golden sleeplessness” where her dream matured and her soul became adult, where distant journeys appeared to her as if in a dream. And then, when the years rolled by, “as hurricane clouds,” and her heart passed through storm and fire, she returned in her thoughts to the native fields “in the lullabies of the winds,” to the roots of trees in her native soil. The dominant trait of Lina's world outlook is dynamism, a constant forward movement, a glorification of life and growth, while her favorite pictures are storm, hurricane clouds, rapid currents, sails, meandering horizons, and, most often, wings, but all of her dynamic poetical visions merge in the central picture of her native land as a lasting value:

“Only having (firm) ground under one's feet
Is it possible to start soaring.”

Resting on native soil gives her assurance and strength:

“There are beautiful countries in the world,
For me, however, that land is the most beautiful
Where my wings have grown up.” (Ground, 350)

“Even floating flowers
have a root in the soil.” (62)

L. Kostenko expresses her love for her native land without undue affectation, yet each of her words shows how she is organically bound with it. Unequaled illustrations of her native landscape belong to her best works, while to the Dnipro, along which the poetess has grown up, she dedicates one of her better poems, identifying in it its beauty and grandeur with the attributes of her nation:

“Oh Dnipro, Dnipro,
you are gentle, straight and grand,
as my people . . .” (160)

L. Kostenko's second great love belongs to man. The poetess does not love abstract mankind, but real people to whom she is bound by the feeling of gratitude:

“Every moment of my life
was saved by someone.
Otherwise I'd've perished long ago from hunger,
cold, loneliness, or smallpox.
Everything which I return to people
is but a tiny fraction of my debt.” (338)

The poetess asks nothing of people

“except faith
in every word heard from me,
in every glance of my gray eyes.” (50)

The source of Lina's humanism is to be found in her optimistic outlook on the world and in her boundless confidence in people who keep our land warm with the warmth of their palms. The poetic image of her human being is idealized and inspired by truth, aspirations, dreams, love, sincerity, generosity.

As a true lyricist, for L. Kostenko is first and foremost a lyrical poet, she devotes much attention to the lyric of love. Her collections contain about fifty poems on the subject of this most intimate human emotion, but here, just as in her other poems, her originality manifests itself. Instead of cheap sentimentality or exalted emotionalism, L. Kostenko utilizes in her love lyrics, just as in other works, the technique of contrasts: encounter and parting, agreement and disagreement, the fullness of love and the cold, intimacy and alienation:

“You and I —
as the sea and sky —
We should meet at the horizon.
But the horizon flees from us.” (150)

Just as L. Kostenko's entire outlook on life, so her ideas on love are

full of movement and dynamism. Her dreams about the chosen one are not some idyllic pictures, but the dreams of the sea about hurricanes (131):

“... I don't know yet:
whether you're a flash of lightning
which will consume me
or a blissful ray,
which will make me blossom.” (132)

The poetess' greatest wish is not happiness in simple human terms, but the preservation of her own personality, her own truth. She wants to preserve:

“one thing,
her own,
unique.” (130)

The awareness of the worth and uniqueness of their own personality constitutes a clear motive in the works of other poets, the contemporaries of L. Kostenko, as for instance in the poem by Vasyl Symonenko:

“Are you aware that you are a man?
Are you aware of it or not!
Your smile is unique,
Your suffering is unique,
Your eyes are the only ones of their kind.”

To a genuine artist any type of suppression of free thought is tantamount to creative death. And in the name of true art, L. Kostenko sharply denounces sick poets and graphomaniacs who trample artistic and human truth, producing poetry “of nondurable metal, obliterated thoughts, and hollow words” (118). Sunny, good-natured humour, which interlaces some of L. Kostenko's poetry, here transforms itself into merciless, sharp satire. With it the poetess scourges the cheap verse-makers who “know how to rhyme,” and condemns base opportunists who “toss cigarette butts of thought,” having forgotten the fact that even “the highest buskins in the world will not change one's own stature” (174). Idle prattle and fuss surrounding verse-making, and even more the undignified cringing around “those having power” become the objects of the poetess' sharpest criticism.

Perhaps, since the second half of Shevchenko's “Son” (Dream), Ukrainian literature has not heard such sharp, satirical condemnation of servile flattery and careerism. In Shevchenko's “Son,” the inhuman Russian imperial system, the tyrannical tsar, and the spiritless mass of his subjects, who have made a god out of the despot, are ridiculed in grotesque forms. In L. Kostenko it is some autocrat, an all-powerful literary *aparatchik*, perhaps, the editor of “an influential newspaper,” surrounded by “secretaries and cherubs,” around whom crowd the pitiful opportunists, “in order to flatter him and to have a

drink together." And thus, amid the smell of radish and wine, when "all the guests are lying side by side" in the agony of fear that the almighty ruler will divert his attention from them, he (the almighty) surpasses the Sabaoth Himself by turning not the clay into man, but man into clay ("The Seventh Heaven," 185-186). The glowing sarcasm of the poetess turns into unrestrained anger against those who "have munched on ideas" and "upon instructions, taking measure from pressed blockheads and elastically spiral scoundrels," "have maimed and bended thought." The lofty thought of the epoch "ached with truth, cried through poetry, learned to keep silent or went to enjoy northern lights, having travelled in a bolted train . . ." To get artistic gold from the fusion of falsehood and fright is a hopeless alchemy, says the poetess, for genuine art can rise from the ruins only after being sprinkled with the living water of truth.*

Although the poetess speaks in general terms throughout her works, it is immediately possible to guess whom and what she has in mind, having heard the angry lines about "press blockheads" and "elastically spiral scoundrels," about the northern lights and the bolted trains where lofty ideas and truth are imprisoned. No less expressive indictment of the prison system is provided by the poetess in the chapter entitled "Basilisk's Eyes" in the poem-fable *Journeys of the Heart*. Basilisk is a horrible reptile, the cause and constant source of human misfortune. Flattering dogs, former people, serve the monster in exchange for food and meat which it tosses to them as reward. Real people who engaged in a duel with Basilisk turned to ashes under his gaze. The traveller (the fable's hero), made strong by the force of goodness, wishes to overcome the monster. But semi-people come to the aid of Basilisk, putting the Man-Traveller in shackles and imprisoning him. The executioner-jailer tortures the starving Traveller, tempting him with a piece of bread. But then, his unbreakable spirit which succumbs neither to weariness nor death appears to the Man-Traveller who, it would seem, is already undergoing the agony of death, and frees him from bondage, returning to him his confidence in man. The allusions of this unusual poem-fable to the Russian Bolshevik system of terror, whether Stalinist or post-Stalinist, are all too clear, making it unnecessary to discuss them separately.

As can be seen from the analysis of certain basic motives, L. Kostenko's creative power is an extraordinary phenomenon in contemporary Ukrainian literature. She is deeply rooted in our national traditions, closely associated with the freedom-loving ideas of T. Shevchenko and L. Ukrainka, and in brilliant aphorisms with the wisdom of Franko's "My Emerald." Her harmonious and optimistic outlook, coupled with faith in truth and human goodness, organically grows out of the Ukrainian national concept of life: "A human being

*) *Duklya*, Pryashiv, 1967, pp. 216-217.

doesn't fly it seems, yet he has wings. These wings are not made of down feathers but of truth, virtue and confidence, of loyalty, of constant striving, of sincerity, of song, hope, dream" (348-349). Her faith in the human spirit as the highest value is thoroughly humanistic and idealistic and even Christian in essence, which is proved by the fragments of her polyphonic poem, "The Starry Integral" (1968). In the "lyric toccata" of that poem she formulates an unusual prayer in which she prays for that which is dearest to her:

"Conscience, peace, art, wisdom,
musical muscles of beauty,
smile, intellect, dignity, manliness,
save, O Savior, save."

After this prayerful prelude there follows the picture of the Messiah, just as it is reflected in the popular mentality, represented in the monologue of the old man Musiy. He is "both a relative of God and a brother of men, a sower of goodness. He divided bread. Cured madness . . . He was crucified . . ." (340) The people could not perceive His holiness.

The primary source of L. Kostenko's idealistic world outlook can be found in her poem "Temples":

"My Grandfather Mykhaylo was a temple builder.
He was a monk, a fighter against the devil . . .
He was a loner. He was quite severe.
He never divided his soul between God and devil . . .
He drove out traders from the temple.*

On the basis of this short excerpt one can already recognize that the basic traits from which the soul of "temple-builder Mykhaylo" was forged are traits characteristic of the author herself. For the motive of loneliness ("wise tranquility of loneliness," 192), which sets her apart from the fidgety graphomaniacs, and the motives of proud severity and lack of compromise which do not permit her to divide her soul between God and the devil, as well as a firm determination to drive the verse-makers-traders from the temple of art often pass through her poetry.

L. Kostenko's great adherence to principles, the broad diapason of her poetic scope which includes both gentle lyricism and philosophical intellectualism, and the brilliant artistic form of her works place her in the ranks of the greatest contemporary Ukrainian poets.

In the monstrous empire of the Bolshevik type, where for over half a century thought is being systematically maimed and truth killed, as could have been expected, L. Kostenko's works found themselves under fire of Russian Bolshevik criticism. Therefore at present we scarcely hear anything about her anymore. It is hard to make a prognosis about the fate which she will meet and the path that she

*) "The Bulging Sun," 241-242, *Ukr. Calendar*, Warsaw, 1968.

will follow in her future works. One can, however be certain of one thing: the eagless who built a nest for herself on a cliff will not settle in the garbage dump. A poet of the caliber of L. Kostenko will not join the herd of "pressed blockheads" and "elastically spiral scoundrels." A person who has written the following lines: "Neither fear, nor compromise, Conscience, follow every challenge!" (343), cannot reach a compromise with evil and falsehood. Confident in the staunchness of her spirit, we shall repeat after her in her own unsubdued words:

"Let the variegated small fry bustle about,
changing fur according to the weather . . .
O poet,
 know how to search and wait!
The best poem is still walking in freedom." (184)

VASYL SYMONENKO

The appearance of L. Kostenko was a turning point in the development of our modern poetry. By their daring and lack of compromise, her collections could have become an example to be followed to a large extent. Numerous motives and poetical images of L. Kostenko repeat themselves in the works of young poets of the sixties, but it would be erroneous to assume that they are imitating her. Similarity in the selection of themes is caused by the fact that all of them emerge from the Ukrainian national foundation.

The closeness of the motives of Vasyl Symonenko, the boldest and therefore the most popular of the poets of the sixties, to the motives of L. Kostenko does not exclude the fact that he is a thoroughly original poet both in his intimately personal lyric and, primarily, in his civic and patriotic poems. We know him chiefly as the author of patriotic verses by which he profoundly moved the souls of the young generation and addressed it in the voice of unfortunate yet unsubdued Ukraine. His first collection, *Tysha i hrim* (Silence and Thunder), was a real thunder. It was like a call of the archangel's trumpet which wakes the dead, as was once said by P. Kulish with reference to T. Shevchenko's poetry.

In his short life, Symonenko managed to write several dozen poems which appeared in three collections. After his death the collection *Zemne tyazhinnya* (The Earth's Gravitation) (1963) was published; *Bereh chekan* (The Shore of Expectation) appeared in the West while a collection of his "selected" works entitled *Poeziyi* (Poems) appeared in Ukraine in 1966. The favourite themes of the poets of the sixties which we mentioned at the beginning are dominant throughout all these collections. Here we cite only two motives which, by the force

of their expression, elevate him above all the poets of that generation. These are the motives of patriotic lyricism and those denouncing the Communist system and Russian despotism in Ukraine. In his works Symonenko reaches the heights of Shevchenko's genius. Shevchenko's followers usually took from him that which suited their sentimental viewpoint: the black eyebrows, the hazel eyes, the cherry orchard, the tearful mother-Ukraine. Out of all the poets, Symonenko came closest to Shevchenko's understanding of Ukraine and his relation to it. Symonenko's love of Ukraine, just as Shevchenko's, is a tragic passion with which his soul speaks; it is his destiny, his earth gravitation, for it is a force from which he emerged and himself became part of it. His destiny is as follows:

"You can choose everything on earth, son,
The only thing you cannot choose is your fatherland."
(*Bereh chekan*, 97)

No matter where in the world he would go, "His mother's eyes and whitewashed house" will always wander after him (just as in the poetry of L. Kostenko). He is bound with his native land for ever:

"I live by you and for you,
I emerged from you, will turn into you."
(*Ibid.*, 120)

His love for Ukraine is torn between joy and sorrow, between a blessing and a curse, between life and death, about which he speaks with the aid of poetic contrasts, generally accepted in the poetry of the poets of the sixties, in the poem "Ukraine," one of the masterpieces of his patriotic lyric:

"Then I rejoice in your name
And in your name I grieve
I bless in your name,
Curse in your name . . .
I then die with your name
And in your name I live!"
(*Ibid.*, 102)

His tragic love for Ukraine at times reaches religious pathos: "Ukraine, you are my *prayer*, You are my eternal *despair*" (146-147). This almost religious sentiment occurs in other poets of the sixties as well, as for instance, in Ye. Hutsalo's poem about his native language:

"I receive communion
Near your springs, clear and pure
And gain intoxicated strength"
(*Panorama*, 93)

Symonenko reaches genuine, Shevchenko-like heights and the

highest tension in tragic patriotism in works in which he indicts Russian tyranny and the deceptive system of the Bolshevik regime. Having these works in mind, one of the underground critics said the following about Symonenko: "... Among us there never was and there is no poet of greater civic courage, greater determination, greater inability to compromise, than Vasyl Symonenko."

In the cycle of these poems, the most strongly-worded condemnation of the criminal system is expressed in the poem "Granitni obelisky" (The Obelisks of Granite), published in the collection (Kyiv, 1967) under a strange title "Prorotstvo 1917" (The Prophecy of 1917). How can one prophecy having been born 19 years after the events of 1917? Such a title is a glaring falsification of the publishers and editors of this posthumous collection. In this poem the pathos of poetical wrath reaches the heights of Shevchenko's "Kavkaz" (The Caucasus) and "Poslannya" (Message). This is a terrible verdict to all the tyrants who have deceived and tortured the people.

The concluding lines of this poem are on a par with the pathos of Shevchenko's "Poslannya".

Compare Shevchenko's: "The shackled people will soon break their chains..."

Angry denunciation of the Russian Bolsheviks for the modern system of slavery on the collective farms is provided by Symonenko in the poem "Zlodyi" (The Thief), which, banned by censorship, is circulating in Ukraine in transcripts. Here the poet tells the story of a terrified aged peasant (or perhaps not one aged peasant but all the deceived peasants in the kolkhoz system) who is to be tried for stealing from a kolkhoz field. "The aged peasant grimly scratched his head and enjoyed strong cheap tobacco... blinked his heavy eyelashes... Coughed into his fist." Following the portrait of the old peasant, painted in several strokes with such distinctness and tragic pain come the lines filled with anger against those really responsible for the peasant's transgressions:

"Why is he a thief? On what grounds?

Why did he go to steal his own? . . .

Who robbed and fleeced his soul?

Who tied the hands of his conscience?

Where are they, these well-fed, gray,

Stuttering demagogues and liars . . .

They should be placed behind bars, they should be brought to court,

They should be locked in a prison cell for robbery!"

No one in Ukrainian literature, except Shevchenko and, perhaps, I. Vyshenskyi, has uttered such fiery words in defence of the "smallest brother." This is already something greater than poetry. This is a cry of the soul torn by pain, the voice of Justice at the Last Judgment.

When the creative genius of the poet who boundlessly loved life,

who "wanted to embrace the whole world" and "to go searching for unprecedented adventure" ("Poeziyi", 196), was approaching its zenith, death with a rusty trumpet" sounded over him. Having a premonition of his inevitable end Symonenko wrote:

"I burned for you,
Ukrainian nation . . .
You are in my breast,
In my forehead and in my hands.
I shall fall as a star,
My immortal nation,
Upon the tragic and long
Milky Way of yours."

(*Poeziyi*, 186-187)

In the 28th year of his life the heart which burned and suffered for his people ceased to beat. In the constellation of our Milky Way a new bright star began to shine, a fiery torch began to glow whose flame spread to every corner of our land and reached us across the seas. Its flame burns brightly in our sky, both there and here.

Bibliography

Lina Kostenko, *Poeziyi*, published by Smoloskyp, Baltimore, 1969.

Vasyl Symonenko, *Bereh chekan*, published by Prolog, New York, 1965-66.

Vasyl Symonenko, *Poeziyi*, published by Molod, Kyiv, 1966.

In English translation

REVOLUTIONARY VOICES

UKRAINIAN POLITICAL PRISONERS CONDEMN RUSSIAN COLONIALISM

Texts of Original Protest Writings by young Ukrainian intellectuals. Published by Press Bureau of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), Munich, 1969. Revised edition, 1971.

Order from: ABN, 8 München 8 Zeppelinstr. 67;

or UIS, 200 Liverpool Rd., London, N1 1LF.

Illustrations, 270 p. Price: soft cover \$5.00, hard cover \$6.00.

Vasyl' SYMONENKO

(As translated by Vera Rich)

BALLAD OF THE OUTLANDER

One Whitsun, from out of where dense rushes grow,
Came a man who began to sow hopes and desires;
"Good people, the Lord God sent me to you
That I might beget your Messiah!
Your village by sin is most sorely oppressed,
Like the ocean your lies are expanding,
But my son will arise; wrong and all wickedness
He will overcome at God's commanding!

"Bring to me your daughters of sixteen; therein
I shall choose the maid God has predestined!"
He spoke, and sat down on the fence near the inn,
And his stern eyes burned all where they rested.
But when they had brought all the girls to him here,
He silently waved them off, shunned them:
"Why, what is all this? I must wait for next year:
There is no holy maiden among them!"

To the vagabond's lodging they brought him good fare,
Food and drink, every man, as was fitting,
So that their liberator might live without care
In their village until the next Whitsun.
And again the girls came unto him, but he sighed
And shook his head slowly and glumly:
"Well, well! I must wait until next Whitsuntide:
There is no holy maiden among them!"

The winters grow white, the spring days bubble clear,
Like clouds years are passing, are fleeting,
And he views the parade of young girls every year,
Never finding the bride he is seeking.
But every summer he shakes his head glumly:
"There is no holy maiden among them!"

And the people wait sadly, cast down, patiently,
And they all pray, sincerely requesting:
"Cut short my life, God, if so it must be,
But send him the maiden predestined!"

On the thirtieth Whitsun those asses so meek,
 Tired of waiting for destiny sadly,
 Went on tiptoe the outlander's dwelling to seek:
 They found him there dead in the alley.
 At their sinful girls they hurled curses and scorn,
 Then the people to wash him desired,
 And saw straight way: a fruitless eunuch had sworn
 That he would beget the Messiah!

Vasyl' SYMONENKO
 (As translated by Vera Rich)

THE UKRAINIAN LION

My thoughts now are swelling, to words they are growing,
 In the tempest of days their young shoots resound.
 The whole week among lions I was living and roaming,
 Not in vain is "Leopolis" the name of this town.

There are renegade towns, there are towns simply bastards,
 There are lions that only can purr like a cat,
 Who lick the bars crazily, senselessly, dastards,
 Who know themselves blind, and find glory thereat.

But today I do not wish to think of such cravens,
 For a stroke of luck came to me so:
 I have seen here in L'viv the eyes of Shashkevych,
 The broad back of Kryvonis, the brow of Franko.

Grey-haired L'viv! Capital of my dreaming,
 Epicentre of joys and all for which I yearn,
 My soul is expanding, I fathom your meaning,
 But, L'viv, understand me some small part in return.

I have come here to you as a son, yearning warmly,
 From the steppes where Slavuta his great legend weaves,
 So that your heart, a lion's heart undaunted,
 A small drop of strength into my heart might breathe.

THE NEW CANADIAN CONSTITUTION AND THE RIGHTS OF ETHNIC GROUPS

By Senator PAUL YUZYK

*Address delivered to The Senate of Canada,
Ottawa, April 25, 1972*

Honorable Senators: The preparations for the celebration of the Centennial of the Canadian Confederation in 1967 stimulated a general public interest in the Constitution of Canada. The difficulties which arose between the federal government and provincial governments regarding powers of jurisdiction with respect to the new problems confronting the emerging new society led to several federal-provincial conferences which followed the Confederation of Tomorrow Conference sponsored by the Government of Ontario in November of 1967. When it became apparent that progress in constitutional revision was painfully slow at these top-level meetings, the Government decided that if global revision were to be achieved, Parliament and the people must necessarily be involved.

Accordingly in January, 1970, a Special Joint Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons on the Constitution of Canada was established to make a comprehensive review of the constitution. The report of this Committee was tabled in both Houses on March 16, this year.

SCOPE OF HEARINGS

It is important to note that in its two years of intensive effort, the Committee held 145 public meetings, including 72 sessions in 47 cities and towns located in all the Provinces and Territories. The 1,486 witnesses who appeared before the Committee ranged from acknowledged experts, leaders in various walks of life, representatives of various institutions and organizations to students and common people, such as individual labourers, farmers, housewives, trappers, and others. The evidence was published fully in both official languages in the records of Parliament (93 volumes) and is available to all who may wish to study this important material.

This was a large-scale national exercise in participatory democracy. It was the first time in the history of Canada that a parliamentary committee undertook such an ambitious series of hearings to gauge public opinion on such an important matter that would affect the lives of every man, woman and child in this country. Many mayors and citizens expressed their great delight and gratitude to have a

parliamentary body visit their area and hear their opinions on vital issues; we heard many requests for parliamentary committees to hold similar meetings on important topics in the future from time to time throughout Canada. This method of ascertaining public opinion falls just short of conducting a referendum.

REASONABLE COMPROMISE

We should remember that Canadians won their democratic rights, their freedom, independence and sovereignty not through revolution, although rebellions took place in 1837, but through the process of evolution. Let us remember that many countries, such as France, the United States, the Soviet Union and others created their constitutions dramatically in the wake of revolution with bloodshed. Canada, however, inherited the British tradition and our constitution, the British North America Act of 1867, came as a result of long arduous discussions over a period of three years. At that time, Canadian parliamentarians, the founding fathers, under the leadership of Sir John A. Macdonald, were not under any threat of internal violence or coercion from Britain or the United States. Firm negotiation and reasonable compromise were the methods employed to draw up the constitution and also to bring about the subsequent amendments, always in times of peace. We are probably one of the few countries of the world which has taken the matter of total constitutional revision beforehand directly to the people.

The final product of the Committee is a report which embodies recommendations hammered out as a tolerable and reasonable compromise. It reflects an agreement arrived at by representatives of all the political parties as well as their differences of opinion within the parties. Taking into consideration the census of public opinion when it was clearly evident as well as their own personal views, the members of the committee, who themselves are fairly representative of Canadian society, have presented proposals that reflect the main streams of opinion of this diverse society. Consequently, it was not a unanimous report. Uppermost in the minds of these parliamentarians, however, were the best interests of Canada as a whole.

TRIBUTES

It would not be fair if special tribute were not paid to those of the Committee who performed the lion's share of the heavy work. I mention in particular Dr. Mark MacGuigan, a former professor of law, who was the co-chairman from the House of Commons side from the very beginning to the end; he wrote a great part of the original draft. Of course, special mention should be made of Senator Gildas Molgat, my colleague from Manitoba, the co-chairman from the Senate, who assumed his duties towards the end of the hearings. Both of these gentlemen were excellent chairmen of public meet-

ings and internal meetings of the committee; both displayed fairness, sympathy, understanding and a deep knowledge of the people, their problems, aspirations and needs. Special mention should also be made of the members of the steering committee, the immediate staff and the clerks, who spent many extra hours and days preparing the draft of the various sections of the report, and their revisions, for presentation to the many sittings of the Committee. For their great input and hard work they deserve special thanks. And of course all other members of the Committee deserve the deep gratitude of the Canadian people for their contributions and sense of duty, especially for the sacrifices made of much overtime, patience and even health.

It would be impossible for one person to examine adequately in a normal speech this comprehensive Report which contains 6 parts divided into 37 chapters presenting 105 recommendations. I shall therefore confine myself to the field of my special interest for which I was given responsibility as member of the all-party steering committee which consisted of seven persons. Although I was heavily involved in all sections and aspects of the Report my special responsibility was the place and the rights of the non-British, non-French ethno-cultural groups in the new constitution of Canada.

INADEQUACIES OF B.N.A. ACT

Honourable Senators, at the time when the Joint Parliamentary Committee came into being I took the stand that a new constitution is essential to Canada. In my speech to this chamber on February 17, 1970, I stated:

Yet it must be remembered that the British North America Act is in fact a colonial statute, passed by the British Parliament in London over a hundred years ago. There is no doubt that it is out of tune with modern times. The situation in our country has drastically changed, for in the hundred years we have evolved from a preponderantly stable agricultural society to a vast industrialized, technological, urbanized and affluent society active in world affairs, and as a result our needs have greatly changed. Even if some of the provisions required little or no change, it is obvious that new provisions are required to meet the new needs; a general overall revision to improve the document is absolutely necessary.

Consequently, I am in full agreement with Recommendation 1. "Canada should have a new and distinctively Canadian Constitution, one which would be a new whole even though it would utilize many of the same parts". The arguments for a new constitution are set in Chapter 3. Stating that a new constitution ought to be "both an inspiration and a mirror for its community", the Committee defines the purpose of a constitution as "to distribute the powers of government according to the wishes of a particular national community and to enunciate its fundamental values and common goals". The Committee goes on to say that the B.N.A. Act with all its amendments

“does not reflect the Canadian reality of today: an independent, democratic, officially bilingual, multicultural, federal state”, which is now the Canadian identity and will be for generations to come. In the hearing across the country there was a strong current in favour of a new constitution that would be distinctively Canadian and functionally contemporary.

DISTRIBUTION OF POWERS

For reasons of functionalism and flexibility and to meet the regional differences the Committee recommends great decentralization in areas of culture and social policy and greater centralization in the regulation of the economy. This means the expansion of provincial powers in income support, marriage and divorce, educational television, criminal law, taxing powers and some international arrangements, sharing powers with the federal government with respect to appointments to the Senate and Supreme Court and limitations with respect to the federal spending in fields of provincial jurisdiction. On the other hand, federal powers are to be increased with respect to jurisdiction over air and water pollution, international and inter-provincial trade and commerce, incomes, securities regulations, financial institutions, unfair competition and foreign ownership. Considerable federal government administrative decentralization is proposed in order to allow more regionalized government service which would be closer to the people of these regions and therefore more efficient. Such a redistribution of powers, it is believed, would produce a more viable federal system serving the best interests of Canada as a whole and also her people and their particular needs in the various regions.

BASIC OBJECTIVES OF CANADA

It is recommended by the Committee that “the Canadian Constitution should have a preamble which would proclaim the basic objectives of Canadian federal democracy”. This is the only place in the Constitution where it can be stated in broad terms what kind of a country Canada is and what she aspires to be. The Canadian nation is distinguished as “a free people in a free society; a country characterized by rich diversity in linguistic communities, cultural heritages and regional identities; a country where individual fulfilment is the fundamental goal of society; a country where individual Canadians look to the state not simply as a vehicle by which to serve their own self-interest but as a vehicle by which they can contribute to the well-being of other Canadians”.

The basic objectives of Canada that should be included in the preamble to the new constitution are the following:

1. To establish a federal system of government within a democratic society;
2. To protect and enhance basic human rights;

3. To develop Canada as a bilingual and multicultural country in which all its citizens, male and female, young and old, native peoples and Métis, and all groups from every ethnic origin feel equally at home;
4. To promote economic, social and cultural equality for all Canadians as individuals and to reduce regional economic disparities;
5. To present Canada as a pluralistic mosaic, a free and open society which challenges the talents of her people;
6. To seek world peace and security, and international social progress.

SELF-DETERMINATION

One of the most controversial recommendations was number 7 which deals with self-determination. "If the citizens of a part of Canada at some time democratically declared themselves in favour of political arrangements which were contrary to the continuation of our present political structures, the disagreement should be resolved by political negotiation, not by the use of military or other coercive force". Some Quebecers argued that their province should have the right of self-determination and even secession. The Committee referred to Article 1 of the United Nations International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966) which states: "All peoples have the right of self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development". Although the large majority of French Canadians live in Quebec, there are large numbers occupying large areas in New Brunswick, Northern Ontario and elsewhere. It is fundamentally a question of self-determination for a people or self-determination for a province; the two are not equivalent, as people are a natural entity and a province is an artificial one. Since the preamble should recognize that the existence of Canadian society rests on the free consent of its citizens and their collective will to live together, differences and disagreements should be settled by peaceful means. All peoples of Canada will be able to achieve their aspirations more effectively within the proposed more flexible federal system.

ENTRENCHED BILL OF RIGHTS

The Committee endorses the entrenchment of certain basic political, legal and human rights, to be included in a Bill of Rights as part of the Canadian constitution. Guaranteed should be political freedoms of conscience and religion, of thought, opinion and expression, of peaceful assembly and of association; the inalienability of the right to citizenship; protection of a citizen's life, liberty and security of his person; protection against arbitrary seizure of his property, except for the public good and for just compensation; prohibition of discrimination by reason of sex, race, ethnic origin, colour or religion; prohibition of discrimination in employment, or in membership in professional, trade or other occupational associations,

or in obtaining public accommodation and services, or in owing, renting or holding property; as well as other provisions contained in the Canadian Bill of Rights of 1960. The Committee considered the arguments against the entrenchment of a Bill of Rights but came to the conclusion that an entrenched Bill of Rights was a more effective guarantee to individuals. Succinctly stated, it is a question of who would have the final word, a court which has the right to interpret what a legislature enacts or a legislature which has the right to amend a judicial interpretation. I do not want to discuss all the arguments pro and con; I am satisfied that courts in a democratic society eventually accept what the majority wants and that competing interests of majority rule and minority rights are in accordance with the essence of democracy. Canada is a country of numerous minorities, all of whom want fair treatment.

LANGUAGE RIGHTS

Probably one of the most important questions to be settled in a new constitution is that of language rights. Because language is a vital part of the culture of most peoples, its recognition is of great symbolic importance. Consequently, Chapter 10 on Language Rights is one of the longest in the Report.

After having studied the report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism and the Official Language Act of 1969 as well as the reactions of the public, the Committee recommends that English and French be constitutionally entrenched as the two official languages of Canada. Four other recommendations deal with the right of any person to use either official language in the Federal and Provincial Legislatures and the Territorial Councils, in dealing with judicial or quasi-judicial Federal bodies or with courts in New Brunswick, Ontario, Quebec and the Territories and recognition of the parents' right to choose the language of instruction in publicly supported schools where a sufficient number of persons could justify the provision of necessary facilities. Since French is in an inferior position, Federal and Provincial governments are urged to upgrade French and try to achieve linguistic equality throughout Canada.

RIGHTS OF NON-BRITISH, NON-FRENCH GROUPS

To the non-French, non-British ethno-cultural groups who are interested in preserving and perpetuating their cultures as part of the Canadian mosaic the key recommendations are numbers 27 and 28. Giving recognition to the multicultural reality of Canada the Committee states that:

The Constitution should explicitly recognize the right of Provincial Legislatures to confer equivalent status with the English and French languages on other languages. Federal financial assistance to support the teaching or use of other languages would be appropriate.

In the text explaining these recommendations, the Report refers to the population statistics of Canada. It is noted that during the period 1871 to 1961 the British element has declined proportionally from 60.55 per cent to 43.85 per cent, the French element has remained almost constant declining only from 31.07 per cent to 30.38 per cent, while the other ethnic groups have rapidly increased percentage-wise from 8.38 in 1871 to 25.77 in 1961. "It is expected that the 1971 census will show a further increase in the percentage of Canadians who are neither British nor French, largely at the expense of the British proportion".

Recognizing in the preamble of the new Constitution that Canada is multicultural rather than bicultural or unicultural, which seems to be an obvious fact, the Committee considers nevertheless that this "needs formal emphasis". There neither is nor should there be, any official culture in Canada. It is further stated that:

One of the deepest aspects of our national character has been its cultural tolerance towards minority groups. Canadians do not feel the need to impose a common culture nor to divorce people from their cultural roots. All democracies allow their citizens freedom under the law, but many do not go so far as to allow cultural freedom. Canada must continue to do so, but more consciously and more effectively.

Taking into consideration that there are large groups of Canadians who speak German, Ukrainian, Italian and smaller numbers who speak many other tongues, particularly in the Prairie Provinces where some of these languages are spoken more than French, the Committee in majority approved constitutional recognition for these languages. These ethnic groups of the third element (non-British, non-French) have "made a great contribution to the development of Canada in the years since Confederation and it would be fitting to recognize it in the Constitution". One way of recognizing this contribution is to regard their languages not as foreign but give them the status of Canadian languages as an integral part of the Canadian linguistic fact.

LANGUAGE RIGHTS OF ETHNIC GROUPS

Realising that there are inherent limitations of constitutional provisions respecting languages, the Committee has decided that since the languages of the third element ethnic groups are "regional rather than national" in the context of Canada it would therefore be appropriate that specific recognition be given to them at the provincial level. This recommendation would confer no additional rights upon the provinces, for by section 92(1) of the B.N.A. Act, they already possess the power to amend their own constitutions and by section 93 they have the power to make laws in relation to education. Several of these languages are already taught in the elementary and

secondary public schools and at the universities of some of the provinces. The committee advises that:

The Constitution should therefore provide in its section on language rights that Provincial Legislatures may confer rights on other language groups with respect to use in the Legislatures themselves, or in government administration, the courts, and education in publicly-supported schools.

The obvious conclusion is that where it would now be impractical to make official other languages besides English and French, there is nothing in the constitution to prevent them from achieving official status in the provinces and this is even encouraged. It is made clear that the officiality of English and French "does not confer any priority with respect to culture".

Since the new Constitution would recognize bilingualism and multiculturalism it is logical that this fact be appropriately reflected also in the policies of the provincial governments, including educational policies (see Chapter 29 on Education). This means that the Federal Government must have certain obligations in this respect to the provincial governments. The Report therefore concludes thus:

Moreover, where a Province confers a particular public right upon a language group, it would be appropriate for the Federal Government to provide a measure of financial assistance. By doing so, it would help the Provinces to provide a valuable public service to a group of citizens.

SENATOR YUZYK'S CONTRIBUTION

Honourable Senators, I am satisfied that the members of the Joint Parliamentary Committee on the Constitution of Canada in dealing with the problems of the non-British, non-French ethno-cultural groups were as objective, fair, understanding and sympathetic as could be expected of them. The Committee carefully studied the briefs and submissions of the organizations that represented these groups and in general adopted the recommendations which were consensual and practical, keeping the best interests of Canada in mind.

Personally, this Report gives me a great deal of deep satisfaction. It embodies most of what I have been striving and fighting for since I became a member of the Senate in February, 1963. Gaining recognition of language and cultural rights for the ethnic groups of the third element in the new Constitution of Canada is the fulfilment of my life dream and my steadfast endeavours which, I am pleased, received the backing of the leaders and the Senate body. This I gratefully acknowledge.

I have delivered several speeches in this chamber on the topic of the Canadian Identity, multiculturalism and the rights of the ethno-cultural groups. My maiden speech of March 3, 1964, was published as a separate pamphlet by the Queen's Printer with the title "Canada:

A Multicultural Nation"; it was subsequently reprinted several times in pamphlet form and used frequently by ethnic groups in the hearings of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. On October 1, 1968, I drew the attention of the Senate to the concern of these groups about constitutional changes proposed at the Federal-Provincial Conferences.

Then, with the support of an ad hoc committee of the Senate, consisting of Senators Maurice Lamontagne, David Croll, Norman A. M. Mackenzie, James Gladstone and myself, with funds supplied by the Department of the Secretary of State and Ontario Government and with the support of the Canadian Folk Arts Council, on December 13, 14 and 15, 1968, I convened the 'Thinkers' Conference on Cultural Rights, in which leading Canadian leaders and representatives of 20 leading ethnic groups participated together for the first time in Canada. The resolutions, rejecting the concept of biculturalism and endorsing official recognition of multiculturalism, the papers and reports were all sent to the Prime Minister of Canada and all the Premiers of the provinces, from most of whom came a favourable response. I gave a report of this important conference to the Senate on July 8, 1969, in the debate on the Official Languages Bill, in which I supported the Bill but urged that the non-English, non-French languages be recognized as Canadian languages. And finally, on February 17, 1970, following the launching of the Joint Parliamentary Committee on the Constitution of Canada, I delivered a lengthy address on constitutional revision in which I supplied statistics, a graph and a chart and in which I advocated that a bilingual and multicultural Canadian nation was the all-inclusive Canadian identity. Eight years ago this concept was scorned; today it has received general acceptance, thanks in a great measure to the attitude of the young generation.

RECOGNITION OF MULTICULTURALISM

In conclusion, I would like to quote from my maiden speech of March 3, 1964, referring to the recognition of multiculturalism and the implementation of the principle of unity in continuing diversity.

A great architect of Canada, Prime Minister Sir Wilfrid Laurier, under whose administration the Prairies were peopled by various groups of the third element, left, some 60 years ago, the following message for future generations:

I have visited in England one of those models of Gothic architecture which the hand of genius, guided by an unerring faith, has moulded into a harmonious whole. This cathedral is made of marble, oak and granite. It is the image of the nation I would like to see Canada become. For here, I want the marble to remain the marble; the granite to remain the granite; the oak to remain the oak; and out of all these elements I would build a nation great among the nations of the world.

It is significant that Prime Minister Trudeau used a part of this quotation when the present Government launched its new policy of multiculturalism on October 8, 1971. It is also significant that President Richard Nixon of the United States used this quotation when he recently addressed a joint session of the Senate and House of Commons in Ottawa on April 14, this year. President Nixon identified this as the Canadian way and exhorted us to remember these truths: "that variety can mean vitality — that diversity can be a force for progress".

NEW CONSTITUTION NEEDED

Regardless of how we identify Canada — whether in terms of geography, governmental institutions, natural resources or human resources, such as ethnic and cultural communities, — these are not enough. A state is constituted paramountly by the collective will of the people to live, work and sacrifice together for the common good. If this will falters, then inevitably the nation falls. We know from history and experience that the common strain binding Canadians together is a pervading goodwill towards persons and people other than their own and their love of this great land. In their extensive travels throughout our vast country, the members of the Constitution Committee witnessed the vibrant spirit of Canadians of all backgrounds and therefore look with confidence to a better future for Canada.

In the words of the Report "a modern constitution for Canada is ultimately a restatement of our faith in ourselves and our country". Our faith in freedom and democracy, truth and justice, equality and brotherhood, cooperation and peace as an antidote to tyranny, hate, bigotry, prejudice, discrimination and war has been the strength that has brought about and maintained Canadian unity, which has produced progress, prosperity and general happiness for Canadian citizens. This faith and work have built a great and dynamic Canadian nation. With continuing mutual understanding, goodwill, faith and adherence to these high principles we will build a new and better Canada. To facilitate the fulfilment of our worthy aspirations, a new modern constitution is vitally and urgently needed, for which this Report is an indispensable basis.

10,000 DEMONSTRATED IN DNIPRODZERZHYNISKE LAST JUNE

The Washington Post of September 20, 1972, reported that a serious riot involving 10,000 persons was put down by Soviet-Russian police and troops in the Ukrainian city of Dniprodzerzhynske last June.

According to the report, the June 25th incident began with a minor police arrest but spread into mob violence in which a number of persons were killed.

The local party and police headquarters were sacked before troops and police reinforcements restored order. Many rioters were arrested and reportedly are still under detention.

THE MARTYROLOGY OF YURIY SHUKEVYCH

In recent years some Klym Dmytruk appears in the press (the newspaper *Visti z Ukrainy* (News from Ukraine), the Lviv oblast newspaper *Vilna Ukraina* (Free Ukraine) and others with articles about the OUN movement (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists). His book is about to be published by the Lviv publishers "Kamenyar".

The readers have noticed that contrary to other authors who write or have written on this subject (Yu. Melnychuk, T. Byelyayev, T. Myhal and others), this author in particular makes an extensive use of secret files of the KGB, secret documents and testimonies which were given by the participants of the OUN movement during interrogations under merciless tortures in Stalinist times. Therefore, an opinion existed that Klym Dmytruk is a formal employee of the KGB.

Now it has been accurately established that Klym Dmytruk is the pseudonym of KGB major Klymentiy Yevhenovych Halskyi — the organizer or accomplice of a number of serious crimes against justice, for which he should bear criminal responsibility.

K. Halskyi is a Pole by nationality, a native of the Zhytomyr region, aged 45-50. Everybody knows about his service in the KGB (BVD) organs in the last years of the war. It is known that in 1944 he had been in the Radekhiv district of the Lviv region where he was involved in a series of illegal acts toward peaceful inhabitants suspected of links with the underground. He carried out such actions in other districts of the Lviv region as well. In particular, he participated in the murdering of prisoners and in the fabrication of "cases". He emerged as a more prominent figure in the post-Stalinist times already, when the most crucial cases were entrusted to him. He worked in the operative apparatus of the Lviv UKGB. He participated in the preparation of such totally or partially fabricated cases as that of Yu. Shukhevych (1958), the case of L. Lukyanenko et al. (1960-61), the case of the Ukrainian National Committee in Lviv (1961).

To give an idea of the ethnical principles and methods of K. Halskyi's work we shall cite the case of Yu. Shukhevych.

As is known, in 1947 Yu. Shukhevych, a minor, was arrested and sentenced to 10 years actually for the fact that he was the son of the leader of the OUN movement, Gen. Roman Shukhevych.

One-and-a-half years prior to the expiration of his term, Yu. Shukhevych was released as someone sentenced while still a minor. But the USSR Prosecutor General Rudenko protested Shukhevych's release without any significant grounds; Shukhevych was then arrested again and sent to complete his 10-year term to the Vladimir prison.

Shortly before his final release, K. Halskyi came to Vladimir for "discussions" with Yu. Shukhevych.

It was demanded of the latter to publicly denounce his father and take a stand against the movement which he headed. Yu. Shukhevych categorically refused.

On the day of his release, Yu. Shukhevych was confronted with a new charge of "anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation" in the cell and a new, totally fabricated case was instituted against him, on the basis of which Yu. Shukhevych was sentenced to another 10 years of imprisonment.

The "case" was prepared in full by K. Halskyi, having exploited for this two totally demoralized criminals, especially planted in the same cell with Yu. Shukhevych. One of them — Oleksander Fomchenko from the vicinity of Moscow — was convicted in 1947 to 25 years for robbery; in 1951 he was sentenced to 25 years in prison for the second time for membership in the provocative camp organization "Double-headed eagle".

The second — also a Russian from the Voronezh region, homosexual Burkov, was sentenced to 10 years in prison for cutting somebody's throat with a razor.

Halskyi bought their services rather cheaply — they were not even promised release, but a change from prison confinement to that of camp. Several days prior to his release, the said Burkov signed a grievance, slipped in to him, the prosecutor's office in which he, as a Soviet man, expressed his indignation at the fact that such an enemy as Shukhevych is about to be released, who even in the cell engaged in anti-Soviet agitation.

An investigation was started which was transferred to Lviv. This "investigation", prepared by Halskyi was conducted by Capt. Vinogradov renowned for the fact that still in the Stalinist times, he tortured prisoners brutally. In particular, he mercilessly beat up the arrested women K. Zarytska, O. Husyak and H. Dydyk.

Yu. Shukhevych was tried in complete secrecy. The testimony of Burkov and Fomchenko was ineffective. For instance, Yu. Shukhevych's "intention" to flee abroad after his release was "confirmed" by the fact that "he studied foreign languages" while in the cell and so forth. The witnesses forgot what they should say and what they had said at the inquiry; they became confused.

After the trial Halskyi again met with Shukhevych. He cynically ridiculed the trial, without denying that it was entirely fabricated. Halskyi said that if Shukhevych agrees to cooperate or write an article attacking nationalism, the verdict will not be confirmed. All this occurred in December 1958.

Shukhevych refused and spent another 10 years behind bars. In 1961 Yu. Shukhevych was again brought to Lviv, where Halskyi talked to him again, promising freedom at the price of cooperation.

People who came in contact with Halskyi characterize him as a cunning, treacherous man, a cynic who face to face with a prisoner does not conceal his thoughts and intentions. He is a fierce Ukrainophobe, not in the line of duty, but out of conviction. Possibly this is connected with his nationality. He searches for an individual approach to each prisoner: he is "friendly" to some and uses his fists with others. The last recorded fact of this nature is Halskyi's beating of writer and journalist M. Osadchyi during the 1965-66 inquiry, about which M. Osadchyi extensively informed the public and notified the chiefs of the republican KGB.

It has become known that recently Halskyi was transferred from the Lviv UKGB to a responsible position with the republican KGB apparatus. It is also known that in recent time he was given the task of "feeling out" (or possibly even recruiting) Ukrainians from abroad, who come to Ukraine as tourists or on official assignments. Doing this, Halskyi appears under an assumed name.

(Ukrainskyi Visnyk, Issue 6)

DR. HORBOVYI RELEASED AFTER 25 YEARS OF IMPRISONMENT

Dr. Volodymyr Horbovyi, a one-time lawyer who in 1947 was sentenced without trial to 25 years of imprisonment in Soviet Russian concentration camps, has been reportedly released. Dr. Horbovyi, now 73 years old, is in extremely poor health.

Dr. Horbovyi was born in Halychyna in 1898. An outstanding jurist, he gained great stature and popularity as a defender of Ukrainian nationalists at the trials in Poland in the 1930s. He was an inmate of the infamous jail in Kartuska Bereza.

He was arrested in Prague in 1947, deported to the Ukrainian SSR despite the fact that he held Czecho-Slovak citizenship, and sentenced to 25 years of imprisonment by an edict of the so-called Ukrainian SSR's Ministry of Internal Security, issued on July 6, 1949.

THE REAL FACE OF RUSSIA

267 Pages of Essays and Articles by well-known
authorities on East European problems

PROBLEMS OF RUSSIAN COMMUNISM ASSESSED FROM
A COMPLETELY NEW PERSPECTIVE

The book contains the following contributions:

THE SPIRIT OF RUSSIA — by *Dr. Dmytro Donzow*

ON THE PROBLEM OF BOLSHEVISM — by *Evhen Malaniuk*

THE RUSSIAN HISTORICAL ROOTS OF BOLSHEVISM —

by *Professor Yuriy Boyko*

THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM —

by *Dr. Baymirza Hayit*

BOLSHEVISM AND INTERNATIONALISM — by *Olexander Yourchenko*

THE "SCIENTIFIC" CHARACTER OF DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM —

by *U. Kuzhil*

THE HISTORICAL NECESSITY OF THE DISSOLUTION OF THE
RUSSIAN EMPIRE — by *Prince Niko Nakashidze*

UKRAINIAN LIBERATION STRUGGLE — by *Professor Lev Shankowsky*

THE ROAD TO FREEDOM AND THE END OF FEAR —

by *Jaroslav Stetzko*

TWO KINDS OF CULTURAL REVOLUTION — by *Jaroslav Stetzko*

Price: £1.25 cloth-bound, £0.90 paperback.

Order from: *Ukrainian Information Service,*
200 Liverpool Rd., London, N.1. Great Britain

RUSSIA IS NOT INVINCIBLE

by

Major-General J.F.C. Fuller

C.B., C.B.E., D.S.O.

Published by ABN, Munich, 1969

(Reprinted from the edition by Eyre & Spottiswoode,
London, 1951)

12 pp.

Price: 10p net.



THE UKRAINIAN REVIEW

A Quarterly Magazine devoted to the study of Ukraine.

EDITORIAL BOARD:

Professor Dr. Vasyl Oreleckyj
Chairman of the Board

Mrs Slava Stetzko, M.A.
Editor

Volodymyr Bohdaniuk, B.A., B.Litt.
Associate Editor

Professor Nicholas Chirovsky
Associate Editor

Anatol Bedriy, M.A.
Associate Editor

Professor Lew Shankowsky
Associate Editor

Oleh S. Romanyshyn, M.A.
Associate Editor

Bernardine Bailey B.A., M.A.
Associate Editor

Price: 50p or \$1.75 a single copy
Annual Subscription: £2.00 or \$7.00

Editorial correspondence should be sent to:

The Editors,
"The Ukrainian Review",
200 Liverpool Road,
London, N1 1LF.

Subscriptions should be sent to:

"The Ukrainian Review" (Administration).
c/o Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain, Ltd.
49 Linden Gardens,
London, W2 4HG.

Overseas representatives:

USA: Organization for Defense of Four Freedoms for Ukraine, Inc.
P.O. Box 304, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.

Canada: Canadian League for Ukraine's Liberation,
140 Bathurst Street, Toronto 2B, Ont.

*Printed in Great Britain by the Ukrainian Publishers, Limited,
200, Liverpool Road, N1 1LF. Tel.: 01-607-6266/7*

THE UKRAINIAN REVIEW

Vol. XX No. 2

Summer 1973

A Quarterly Magazine

WE APPEAL TO THE CONSCIENCE OF ALL MEN OF GOOD WILL IN THE WORLD TO HELP SECURE THE RELEASE FROM SOVIET RUSSIAN PRISONS AND CONCENTRATION CAMPS OF ALL UKRAINIANS — FORMER RED CROSS PERSONNEL, POLITICAL PRISONERS AND ALL THOSE PUNISHED FOR DEMANDING HUMAN RIGHTS FOR ALL PEOPLE IN THE SOVIET UNION!

For information please write to us or to any Ukrainian Organizations in the Free World.

Published by
The Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain, Ltd.
in cooperation with
Organization for Defense of Four Freedoms for Ukraine, Inc. (U.S.A)
and
Canadian League for Ukraine's Liberation.

C O N T E N T S

<i>Vasyl Plushch, M.D.</i> : GENOCIDE OF THE UKRAINIAN PEOPLE	3
<i>Dr. Vasyl Lev</i> : HRYHORIY SKOVORODA, A UKRAINIAN PHILOSOPHER	12
<i>J. B. Rudnyckyj</i> : TRIBUTE TO SKOVORODA	15
<i>W. Mykula</i> : THE PRESENT SITUATION IN UKRAINE	19
<i>Mykhaylo Osadchyj</i> : CATARACT (Cont. 5)	30
Poems from Ukraine:	
<i>Vasyl Stus</i> : FROM BURNED-OUT WATCHFIRES	55
IN MEMORY OF ALLA HORS'KA	56
SLEEPLESS NIGHT	56
<i>Lina Kostenko</i> : I SHALL WALK, RUN, OR FLY,	57
LIFE IS LIKE A RAILWAY STATION	57
<i>Anatolii Lupynis</i> : I HAVE SEEN HOW MOTHER WAS DISGRACED ...	58
<i>W. Mykula</i> : SOVIET NATIONALITIES POLICY IN UKRAINE (Cont. 6) ...	59
<i>Anatole W. Bedriy, M.A.</i> : MAJOR ASPECTS OF RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM TOWARDS UKRAINE (Cont.)	66
<i>Dr. George Kulchycky</i> : THE STALIN PURGES OF THE 1930's REVISED: DISSENT IN SOVIET UKRAINE, 1968-1972	86
REPRESSIONS IN UKRAINE	88
News in Brief:	
UKRAINIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES WITHOUT UKRAINIANS	93
DMYTRO ZEROW DIED SUDDENLY IN KYIV	93
PETER KAPSCHUTSCHENKO	94
Book Review:	
<i>D. Struk</i> : THE STUDY OF VASYL STEFANYK	95
MORE TRIALS IN SOVIET UNION	Cov.

GENOCIDE OF THE UKRAINIAN PEOPLE

Artificial Famine in the Years 1931-1933

By Vasyl PLUSHCH, M.D.

In the history of Ukraine, there were quite a few difficult periods and sad anniversaries. At the very dawn of state existence of Ukraine-Rus' our lands were plundered by various nomads, such as the Polovtsi and the Pechenigs, for Ukraine was then an outpost of European civilization in the East. In the 13-14th century Ukraine suffered a dangerous Tataro-Mongol invasion, again defending Europe from destruction. Horrible were the plagues of the 14-15th century, when Ukraine was visited by black death, which exterminated scores of thousands of people, wiping out hundreds of villages and towns.¹

In the more recent history of Ukraine, we can also record distressing periods when our nation sustained heavy losses. A long-drawn-out struggle with the Poles, with many bloody battles and the ruining of our economy and culture by the enemy; the conquest of Ukraine by the Russian state, when tens of thousands of our people died in wars and later at so-called canal construction projects; the division of Ukraine between the Russian Empire and Poland and later between Russia and Austria, which was also paralleled by destruction not only of the human potential of our native land, but also our statehood, culture, traditions, even by the prohibition to use our native language.²

Very painful for the Ukrainian nation has been its defeat in the liberation struggle of 1917-21, when following the re-establishment by the will of the Ukrainian people of the Ukrainian state — the Ukrainian National Republic — after long resistance, Ukraine was occupied again, this time by Communist Russia.³

But the most horrible years in Ukraine's history were 1931-1933, the years of so-called Stalinist famine.

¹) See works in Ukrainian history by M. Hrushevskiy, D. Doroshenko, N. Polanska-Vasylenko and others, as well as the work by the author: "The Incidence of Illness and Death of the Population of Ukraine" (in print in: *Ukrainian Encyclopedia*, Vol. 6.)

²) See works mentioned above.

³) See works by D. Doroshenko, I. Mazepa, P. Khrystyuk, and others.

In the normal world, when we mention famine, we think of disaster most often called forth by natural phenomena, such as frost, drought, floods, or other natural catastrophes, an evil which in the contemporary civilized world, highly developed both economically and socially, most often occurs in underdeveloped, overpopulated, poor countries, such as India, South America, and Africa. The outbreak of famine, and of such dimensions as had been the 1931-32 famine in Ukraine, a European country with the richest and the most fertile soil in the whole world, a country known as the bread basket of Europe, a country which for almost ten years had been included in the *planned*, so-called socialist economic system of the USSR, a huge state with immense areas of land and theoretically unlimited reserves of agricultural production, such a famine attracts close attention immediately.⁴

How could famine occur in a country in which the harvest constituted 18,300,000 tons even in a bad year like 1931? How could it assume such catastrophic proportions, in particular when one considers that Ukraine was a component in the planned economy of the USSR and could obtain deliveries from other parts of the USSR even in case of crop failure?

In order to grasp the dreadfulness of this event, perhaps unique in world history, one must briefly review the history preceding the Stalinist famine.

For centuries the Ukrainian nation stubbornly fought for its independent state existence against its subjugator, Russia.

The great February, 1917, revolution at last liberated it from the infamous prison of nations — the Russian empire — and led to the establishment of an Independent Ukrainian State. But Russia — Communist by now — did not wish to reconcile itself with the loss of its richest colony, Ukraine, its breadbasket and supplier of countless natural resources. Concealing themselves behind the slogan of world revolution and the liberation of the workers from exploitation, the Red rulers of Moscow, with the help of an overwhelming military force, re-occupied the territories of our native country, a state which then had the most progressive social legislation and was governed primarily by socialists.⁵ Our people could not reconcile themselves to foreign rule, and to the Communist system, completely alien to their mentality, and finally to the overt plundering of their land and property by the occupants, and engaged for years in guerilla warfare. This struggle was crushed by the most brutal terror. But open-armed struggle was replaced by secret nationwide resistance to the Russian occupants. Resistance was carried on by numerous

⁴) Famine occurred in Ukraine in earlier periods as well, as in 1833-34, 1844-46, and at other times, but it had mostly a local character. Large-scale famine raged in Ukraine in the years 1921-1922, but we are not mentioning it in this work for it is a separate subject. Still it had not been so terrible as the famine in 1931-1933.

⁵) See the above-mentioned works by D. Doroshenko and others.

Ukrainian underground organizations; resistance was practiced by the Ukrainian intelligentsia; finally, resistance was carried on by the peasants.⁶

In the years 1929-30, Russia dealt a severe blow to the Ukrainian nation. In these years almost the entire national elite of the Ukrainian people had been arrested or terrorized, and not only in the cultural centres such as Kyiv, Kharkiv, Odessa, and Dnipropetrovsk, but also in provincial and county towns and even in villages.

Yet, one force remained, which in spite of the heavy losses, continued to put up resistance to the Russian occupants in Ukraine. It was the Ukrainian peasantry.

The mammoth work done in the time of the Ukrainian national revolution, in the time of the Ukrainian statehood, in the time of the Ukrainian national, cultural renaissance, which began in 1917, the work of SVU (Union for the Liberation of Ukraine, of SUM (Ukrainian Youth Association), and of the UAPTs (Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church) and other underground anti-Soviet organizations plus the efforts of hundreds of thousands of the Ukrainian intelligentsia was not in vain.

The Ukrainian peasantry, which was strengthened spiritually, nationally, and economically, constituted a giant force opposing the Russian occupation regime and the Communist ideology. This was very well understood both by the leaders of the Russian Communist party and the local Ukrainian Communists. Without a victory over the Ukrainian peasants, Russia's victory over Ukraine — the victory of the Communist system — was impossible.

Russia was particularly clearly aware of the power of the Ukrainian peasantry in the time of the so-called New Economic Policy. Ukrainian peasants at one time had believed the sweet promises of the Soviet government and the Communist party concerning the improvement of their economic conditions. The distribution among the peasants of lands belonging to landlords, monasteries, and churches, the promises to secure this land for perpetual use of the poor and middle-class peasants, the abolition of "food requisitioning" and open plundering of the Ukrainian peasants by provision and Chekist detachments, economic relaxations, permission to engage in free trade, a substitution of a tax in kind for "food requisitioning," encouragement of intensification of agriculture — all this gave impetus to the initiative of our hard-working peasants and to the development of agriculture. On the other hand, active work in the villages of tens of thousands of Ukrainian intelligentsia, who in the years of blossoming of the national life, the first years of Soviet government, had no opportunity to engage in active political work but now turned their energies to the raising of the economic and cultural level of the Ukrainian peasants, produced a great effect. The

⁶) See "A Struggle for the Ukrainian State under the Soviets" by the same author, London-Munich, 1973.

Ukrainian peasants, with the assistance of the then national cooperative system, the agricultural credit system, the Ukrainian Church and the Ukrainian agronomists, greatly improved their farms and began to prosper and to become nationally more conscious. But the enrichment of the Ukrainian peasants and their further national enlightenment in no way decreased their negative attitude to the socialist-Communist system and the Russian occupying power.

The Ukrainian peasants became a threat to the Russian occupant. It was enough for the Ukrainian peasants to stop or even to decrease their deliveries to the cities of Ukraine, particularly the delivery of grain and other agricultural products to Moscow, for all the plans of the Communist government in the sphere of development of so-called socialist industry to become completely illusory. Food deliveries to Russia, to the army, and to the cities depended on the good grace of the Ukrainian peasants. In addition, as is always the case, the raising of the peasants' economic level increased their national self-consciousness and their political awareness.

The work of the SVU had already shown clearly that the Ukrainian peasant is beginning to be quite aware of the fact that without Ukrainian statehood his well-being and his economic and political rights cannot be guaranteed.

The occupation regime had to cope with this growing economic and political, but primarily national power.

The leaders of the Communist party always treated the peasants with contempt and hatred, in particular those in Ukraine, as the stronghold of bourgeois and national element. *Incorporating Ukrainian peasants into the Communist system by way of argument, agitation, and propaganda proved impossible. Hence, Russia was faced with the problem of either yielding before this element or breaking its resistance by whatever means.*

The Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks), under direct leadership of Joseph Stalin, and regrettably without assistance from the Ukrainian Communists, worked out and put into practice a terrible, inhuman, and really diabolical plan to break this resistance, not only through forced collectivization of agriculture, i.e. the impoverishment of the Ukrainian peasantry, but also by way of physical annihilation of the Ukrainian population by the millions.

The basis of the plan was to break the biological and moral stamina of the Ukrainian people, the liquidation of private ownership of land and the complete enslavement of the Ukrainian peasants.

Tactical measures included the following:

1) Carrying out forced, mass, sudden collectivization, i.e. confiscation of land, the means of production and food reserves, from the Ukrainian peasants;

2) Liquidation of all active, enterprising elements of the villages, i.e. the so-called kulaks and middle peasants without exception;

3) Imposition upon the robbed Ukrainian peasants of too difficult, utterly impossible plans for the delivery of grain and other agricultural products;

4) Carting away of all former agricultural products from the villages of Ukraine;

5) Introduction of artificial famine, hence physical extermination of millions of the Ukrainian people.

A swift ushering in of collectivization produced shock on one hand, but on the other hand it resulted in active resistance to collectivization.

How mercilessly was the collectivization (a process of forced transition from private ownership of land to socialist, collective agriculture) being introduced could be seen from the press of the time, and from the reports of regional and district governments and party committees. In a span of several weeks, or even days, dozens of villages were reported to have been converted 100% to collective system. Cattle and agricultural implements were pulled together to separate, unsuitable farm-steads. In the process of collection the implements were either broken or left in the open. The cattle were left unattended, even unfed, for days or weeks. Scores of families of so-called kulaks were driven from each village into the fields and left in the open; their property was either robbed or sold for next to nothing; their houses were demolished or left unattended.

Much has already been written about collectivization and the artificial famine in Ukraine in 1930-33. It is not the purpose of this article to describe in detail all the horrors of forced collectivization and so-called Stalinist famine. We shall only make a brief summary.

The collectivization of agriculture, that is, the conversion of agriculture from private ownership into the socialist-Communist state ownership, was anticipated by Marx⁷ and was included in the Marxist social programs, including the program of the RCP(B).^{*} But according to F. Engels the process of collectivization of agriculture was to have taken place completely voluntarily and slowly.⁸

Even Lenin recommended a very cautious introduction of collectivization, particularly in Ukraine, where the individualism of the peasantry was quite marked and where the so-called communal agriculture, rather widespread in ethnic Russia, always encountered resistance.⁹

Thus in 1928, after a prolonged and persistent agitation on behalf of collective farms, throughout Ukraine, there were only 9,734 kolkhozes,, which owned only 2.5% of all farms and 2.9% of all land.¹⁰

^{*}) Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks).

⁷) The Program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Kyiv, 1962.

⁸) Marx, Karl, and Engels, F., *Works*, Vol. 1-29, Moscow-Leningrad, 1931-1948.

⁹) Lenin, V. I., *Works*, Vol. 1-38, Kyiv, 1958.

¹⁰) According to V. Holubnychi: "Collectivization of Agriculture", *Ukrainian Encyclopedia*, Vol. II, Book 3, Paris-New York, 1959.

According to the first version of the First Five-Year-Plan of the Ukr. SSR, collectivization of agriculture was to have reached 12⁰ by the end of the Five-Year-Plan.¹¹

Such slow tempo of collectivization of agriculture in Ukraine could never satisfy Moscow. Therefore, it was first necessary to break the resistance of all the Ukrainian peasants, hence, to break the resistance of the entire Ukrainian nation. Secondly, it was necessary to guarantee fantastic plans for the industrialization of the USSR, for which adequate funds were lacking. These funds could be obtained only by way of merciless exploitation of the peasants, but the Ukrainian peasants did not wish to deliver grain to a *foreign state* at extremely low prices and so they sabotaged Moscow's plans. Thirdly, it was necessary to deprive the Ukrainian peasants of private means of production, to drive them out of villages, to proletarianize them. Finally, it was necessary simply to decimate the stubborn Ukrainian nation, which for centuries struggled with Russia for freedom and national independence.

On November 17, 1929, the plenum of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) resolved to accelerate collectivization of agriculture, decreeing with respect to Ukraine "Ukraine should provide an example of organization of large-scale socialization of agriculture within a very short time."¹²

The question arises: why Ukraine, when it was well known that Ukrainian peasants in particular were completely unused to communal agriculture, and that collectivization was encountering unusually stiff resistance in Ukraine.

The November plenum of the Communist Party of Ukraine (Bolsheviks) and the government of the Ukr. SSR,¹³ being well aware of the attitudes of the Ukrainian peasants, prudently resolved to bring collectivization of agriculture to 21.6% of all land by October, 1931 but this did not please Moscow. By a resolution dated January 5, 1931 of CC RCP(B),¹⁴ it ordered an acceleration of collectivization and its completion in one or two years' time. At the same time "the kulak as a class" should be liquidated. Inasmuch as not only rich or well-to-do Ukrainian peasants were considered to be "kulaks" but also those who resisted collectivization, this was an order calling for the extermination of all Ukrainian peasants, that is, an order of conscious genocide.

(Thus, for instance, the USSR government resolution dated January 30, 1933, "On the Consolidation of Kolkhozes," permitted confiscation of all property and deportation to Siberia of all peasants who refused to join the kolkhozes.)

¹¹) Ibid.

¹²) *Communist Party of the Soviet Union in Resolutions and Decisions of Congresses, Conferences and Plenums of the Central Committee, Moscow, 196*

¹³) *Communist Party of Ukraine in Resolutions and Decisions of Congresses and Conferences, 1918-1956, Kyiv, 1958.*

¹⁴) According to V. Holubnychi — see note 10.

Attempts by members of the government of the Ukr. SSR and various prominent Ukrainian Communists to protest against Moscow's barbarous decisions were answered by the CC RCP(B) and Stalin with repressions against the insubordinate.

The government of the Ukr. SSR and the CP(B)U had to comply obediently with the orders from Moscow. As a result, 74,500 party members and 10,500 industrial workers, as well as 20,000 persons who were sent only temporarily, were dispatched to the villages in order to put into effect the obviously forced collectivization of agriculture¹⁵

Agitators from the party and mobilized public servants, including teachers, agronomists, and doctors, went from village to village agitating the kolkhozes and promising earthly paradise to the future kolkhoz workers. But the Ukrainian peasants resisted and did not want to join the kolkhoz. Statements on the entry to kolkhozes were signed by them only under pressure of open terror, often physical torture. The insubmissive were evicted from their homes as kulaks, thrown out into the open, or deported to Siberia.

The following figures give an idea of the tempo of collectivization of agriculture in Ukraine: By October 1, 1928, 3.4% of all homesteads and 3.8% of all land had been collectivized. By October 1, 1929, 8.6% of all homestead and 8.9% of all land had been collectivized. By March 10, 1930, 65% of all homesteads and 70% of all land were collectivized. By March 10, 1930, 70% of all working cattle had been collectivized.¹⁶ But such collectivization ruined agriculture and caused uprisings. Famine, which we shall describe below, was the result.

Stalin feared that the Ukrainian element would topple him and his government, and would destroy Russian Communism. He later told his friends, the great Western statesmen during and after World War II, about this most frightening period of his life. A recollection of this horror prevented him from committing total genocide against the Ukrainian people during World War II, which he had planned to carry out. This was openly related by N. Khrushchev at a Party Congress after Stalin's fall.¹⁷

Forced collectivization was halted temporarily. As a result, by July 1, 1930, the percentage of collectivization fell drastically (only 30.4% of all homesteads and 39.7% of all land remained in the collectives.)¹⁸

In 1930, Russia increased grain production in Ukraine by 115% in comparison with 1926-27, with the credit going mainly to private owners,¹⁹ but Ukrainian peasants continued to leave the kolkhozes

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ V. Holubnychyi: "Collectivization of Agriculture", *Ukrainian Encyclopedia*, Vol. II, Book 3, Paris-New York, 1959.

¹⁷ N. S. Khrushchev: Report of the CC CPSU to the XX Party Congress, Kyiv, 1956. Also: N. S. Khrushchev's Speech at the 20th Congress of CPSU, "Prolog" Publishers, 1959.

en masse, taking back their cattle and equipment. Were this trend to continue, not a trace of the kolkhozes would have remained in Ukraine.

But after a short breathing spell Russia mobilized its forces again. A purge of party and government apparatus in Ukraine was carried out; thousands of Russian Communists were mobilized; the punitive apparatus of the NKVD was established, and military units were mobilized for action in Ukraine.

An even more intensive, more brutal collectivization began. Stalin's original plan calling for the liquidation of at least one-tenth of the Ukrainian nation had to be implemented.

By April 1, 1931, 55.4% of all homesteads and 61.9% of all land were collectivized. By January 20, 1932, 70% and 73.5% respectively by June 1, 1933, 69.5% and 86.1%; by June 1, 1934, 78% and 90.6% by October 1, 1936, 91.3% and 98.0%.²⁰

The extermination of Ukrainian peasants by famine began in 1931. The 1931 harvest constituted 18,300,000 tons, of which 30-40% were lost during harvesting and in transit.²¹

From the actual harvest of 1931 the Russian government requisitioned 7 million tons, leaving for the Ukrainian population an average of 112 kg. of grain per capita per year, and this primarily for the urban population, not that of the villages.²²

Upon the 1932 harvest, which equalled about 12-13 million tons before the harvest and on which losses at harvesting amounted to 50%, Moscow imposed a state purchase quota of 6.6 million tons, taking away more than 5 million tons, that is, almost everything. In 1933, on the average there were 83 kg. of grain per capita per year for the population of Ukraine, i.e. about 250 gr. a day. This is on the basis of official statistics.²³

In practice, things looked as follows. In the first phase of collectivization in 1929-1930, the Ukrainian peasants, resisting collectivization, i.e., the pillaging of their property, forced confiscation of grain, cattle, and agricultural implements, increased their consumption and began to conceal grains from the government in and under their houses, in gardens, orchards, fields, meadows and forests they buried grain in the ground or woods after slaughtering and eating cattle and making bootleg whiskey from it. The collected farm implements were taken by the peasants. They came out to work in the kolkhozes only when forced by a whip, but the work was sabotaged. Nourishment was adequate but abnormal.

In the second short breathing spell, most of the peasants left the kolkhozes and began to work intensively on their own land, securing almost a normal harvest in 1931.

In the third period of collectivization a tolerable famine began

18) 19), 20), 21) and 22) See note 16.

23) Narkomzakh SSR. Byulleten po khlebnomu dyelu. (People's Commissariat of Official Grain Purchases. Bulletin on Grain Affairs). Moscow, 1932-1934.

The peasants ate most of the grain which they had buried in the ground. Another part of grain was confiscated by brigades sent from Russia in search of grain and those of local activists who went from house to house, and through gardens, orchards, fields, and forests, cutting the ground with special long steel pikes. Naturally, all grain stored in pantries, barns, and houses was confiscated, often including the freshly cooked beet soup and the newly baked bread.

The peasants milked cows which still remained here and there and gave milk to pigs, goats, chickens, and even dogs, cats, and crows.

In the fourth period, when nothing edible remained in and around homesteads and in the fields, the peasants began to steal from kolkhoz warehouses and to cut off ears from unripened crops in the fields, for which they were shot in compliance with a law "on the pilferage of kolkhoz property." They ate herbs, straw from the roofs of their houses, and bark from trees. They swelled from hunger and died in their homes, courtyards, in the streets and fields. At that time the government prohibited physicians from writing death certificates showing famine as the cause of death and ordered them to state dysentery, infectious diseases, or vitamin deficiency as the cause of death.

At the same time a mass exodus of peasants from the villages to the cities began, where it was still possible to procure some bread. The Ukrainian peasant, a food supplier of the cities of Russia, a nourisher of all of Western Europe in the past, crawled (because he could no longer stand on his feet) to the cities and begged for bread, begged for deliverance from death by starvation. But Russian was merciless. Earlier it was forbidden to issue passports to peasants, and without passports it was impossible to buy a railroad ticket and in general to appear in town. But in spite of this, the peasants converged on the cities. There they were met by the militia and the NKVD detachments, seized and driven out of the cities and into the open fields.

Inasmuch as not all the peasants who managed to get to the cities could be seized and driven out, they began to die in the streets, markets, and squares of cities and towns. Thousands of corpses lay about the cities. They were piled as logs on trucks and driven outside the towns.

Citizens, who were hungry themselves, but who still had not lost a minimal sense of shame, from their meager share tried to help their hardly alive and swollen brothers from the country but were severely prohibited from giving even a piece of bread to the "cursed kulaks," this being viewed as assistance to the enemies of the people.

(To be continued)

HRYHORIY SKOVORODA

A UKRAINIAN PHILOSOPHER

By Dr. Vasyl LEV

The Ukrainian people, both in their native Ukraine and throughout the free world, are marking the 250th birthday of Hryhoriy Savych Skovoroda, Ukrainian philosopher and travelling teacher, writer, musician, and singer. In Ukraine, the Russian regime considers him equally a Russian as well as a Ukrainian philosopher and poet simply because he spent some time in Russia and wrote in literary baroque language, slightly influenced by the then official language. Let us examine whether or not Skovoroda had really been a Russian philosopher.

H. Skovoroda's life and activity are indeed unusually interesting. He was born on December 3, 1722, in a Cossack family in the village of Chornukhy in the Poltava region. From childhood he was fond of singing and music and eager to study. In addition, he was noted for his steadfast and firm character, which manifested itself in distinct consistency with respect to his deeds and conduct. He readily attended church and sang in the church choir. In line with his wishes, his parents sent him to a Kyiv school, where he excelled both in his studies and in singing. For this reason Tsarina Elizabeth ordered him taken to the tsarist choir in Petersburg, from where he returned in a short time to Kyiv to continue his studies at the Academy. But he stayed only three years at the Academy, because at the Academy the system and method of education did not satisfy him. He received an opportunity to see West European countries, and travelled to Hungary with an expedition of Major-General Vyshnevskiy. From there he journeyed to Austria, Germany, Poland and probably to Italy. His journeys around Western Europe and his studies at central universities enriched his knowledge, giving him an opportunity to compare foreign culture with the native one, to reflect on the essence of the universe, the macrocosmos, in which the human intellect and

the achievements of our civilization are only a microcosmos. Comparing rural life and the beauty of nature, the creation of God, with the vanity of urban life, he saw man's need to be closer to nature. These thoughts developed in him something similar to pantheism, but not like that of the pantheist philosopher Spinoza but rather a conviction that nature is the manifestation of God.

When Hryhoriy Skovoroda returned to Ukraine he taught poetics at the Theological Seminary at Pereyaslav, worked as an instructor on the estate of Tomara near Pereyaslav, and later taught at the Kharkiv College as a professor of ethics. He formulated his own scientific view on ethics, including a daring outlook on the world and the contemporary Russian discipline and backward educational methods, for which he was dismissed from the department.

Thereafter H. Skovoroda left government service forever and began his wanderings about Ukraine. Wearing a peasant cloak and boots, with a walking-stick in his hands, a flute inside his belt, and a bag containing several books and notebooks in which his works were recorded, he wandered from village to village. He went into the homes and taught people, arousing in them an interest in the world and its Creator, and at times talking about the vanity of human life. He taught that "The Kingdom of God is inside each of us, our happiness is the spiritual world." He also said, "Know thyself." In knowing himself, a human being perceives the truth, according to Skovoroda. Further, he advised people to follow their inborn inclinations and to search for happiness in the peace of the soul and in harmony with God. He had a high regard for the spiritual man. "The spiritual man is free. He soars ceaselessly into the height and width. He can see the distant and the clandestine; he peers into the past, looks into the future, walks on the surface of the ocean, enters through a locked door . . . The spirit of beauty, the spirit of faith, the spirit of hope, the spirit of mercy, the spirit of counsel, the spirit of foresight fly over him." As conceived by Skovoroda, it was God's Providence which guided a man, leading him to the good and to beauty. But an individual should work for his own good, for the good of other people, and for the perfection of his soul, so as not to kill it by material possessions and luxuries.

An individual should be independent, defending his rights to liberty, which belong to all social strata. Thus he opposed the enslavement of the peasants and the oppression of the Ukrainian people by the Russian autocratic state.

Journeying across the Left-bank Ukraine (Ukrainian territories on the left bank of the Dnipro River), Skovoroda taught the people God's truth. By the example of his own life, he implanted in the people the higher moral attributes, called on them to study, to tell the truth, and to do good deeds. Above all, he awakened in them a deep love for Ukraine.

In addition to several books on philosophy, such as *Nartsyz* (Narcissus) and *Alfavit myra* (The Alphabet of Peace), he also wrote a collection of fables, known as the "Kharkiv Fables," and a series of moralizing poems, of which the following is worth citing:

"Every city has its customs and rights;
 Every head has its own mind,
 Every heart has its own love,
 Every throat has its own sort of flavour,
 But for me there is only one thought in the world,
 Only one thing never leaves my mind —
 How should I die not without an intellect . . ."

These words, and in particular the last three lines, are topical even today, in a world whose normal foundations have shifted and which has been exposed to the influence of those who live without an intellect, without God.

H. Skovoroda died on October 29, 1794, in the village of Ivanivka in the Kharkiv region. He requested that the following inscription be put on his grave: "The world tried to catch me but failed." But his teaching remained in the treasury of the Ukrainian spirituality. His popularity among his contemporaries and succeeding generations can be proved by the fact that Kotlarevs'kyi paraphrased the above-mentioned poem in his play, "Natalka Poltavka," and Shevchenko, while still a pupil of the deacon, recorded in a notebook the teachings and poems of Skovoroda as they were related by the peasants.

Documents smuggled out of Ukraine

THE CHORNOVIL PAPERS

Open letters to Soviet authorities, written by young Ukrainian intellectuals now imprisoned, denouncing continued violation of human rights, Russian colonialist policies and Russification of Ukraine.

Including the famous memorandum by Vyacheslav Chornovil, a young Ukrainian journalist sentenced to three years' forced labour, and his compilation of the writings of the convicted Ukrainian intellectuals entitled "The Misfortune of Intellect" (Portraits of Twenty "Criminals").

Published by McGraw Hill Company, Maidenhead, Berks.

Price: £ 2.25 net.

You can place your orders with:
 Ukrainian Booksellers and Publishers,
 49 Linden Gardens,
 London, W.2.
 Tel.: 01-229-0140

TRIBUTE TO SKOVORODA

on the occasion of the 250th Anniversary of his birth¹

By J. B. RUDNYCKYJ
University of Manitoba.

Along with other anniversaries which the Slavic world is celebrating in 1972 is the 250th anniversary of the birth of the Ukrainian philosopher and writer, Hryhorij Savych Skovoroda (3. 12. 1772 — 9. 11. 1794).

"Spudej" of the Kievan Mohyla Academy (1736-42, 1744-50), with postgraduate studies in Hungary, Austria, Italy, Germany, and Slovakia (1750-53), Skovoroda became Professor at the Perejaslav and later at the Kharkiv Colleges (1753, 1769). Due to restriction of "academic freedom" in teaching at both colleges he lost his posts and turned to private teaching as "wandering philosopher," often compared to Socrates, whose idea "*gnōti seautōn*" became the basis of his "Weltanschauung."

Besides his teaching, he was a prolific writer; such are his major works:

- »Начальная дверь ко христiянскому добронравiю«,
- »Наркисс — Розглагол о том: узнай себе«,
- »Симфонiа, нареченная книга Асхань, о познанiи самого себе«,
- »Кольцо«,
- »Диалог, или розглагол о древнем мирѣ«,
- »Разговор пяти путников о истинном щастii в жизни (Разговор дружескiй о душевном мирѣ«),
- »Книжечка, называемая Silenus Alcibiadis, сирѣчь Икона Алкiвiадская (Израилскiй Змiй«),
- »Разговор, называемый алфавит, или букварь мира«,
- »Убогiй Жайворонок«,
- »Убуждшеся видѣши славу его«,
- »Да лобжет мя от лобзанiй уст своих!«,
- »Бесѣда, нареченная двое, о том, что блаженным легко«,
- »Книжечка о чтенiи священнаго писанiя, нареченна Жена Лотова«,

1) The following is the text of a paper, delivered by Prof. J. B. Rudnyckyj at the annual meeting of American Association of Teachers of Slavic and East European Languages (AATSEEL) in New York, Dec. 29, 1972, closing Skovoroda celebrations in America in 1972. Prof. Rudnyckyj is Vice-President of the Association.

- »Брань архистратига Михаила со Сатанюю о сем: легко быть благим«,
- »Пря Бъсу со Варсавою«,
- »Благодарный Еродій«,
- »Діалог. Имя ему — Потоп змін«,
- »Сад Божественных Пѣсней, прозябшій из зерн священнаго писанія«,
- »Басни харковскія«,
- “Excerpta philologica”, а. о.

His letters, epigrams, translations of Vergil, Ovid, Horace, Plutarch, and others classical authors are rendered in a Slavic artificial language consisting of Ukrainian, Church Slavic, and Russian elements.²

There are various views advanced so far as Skovoroda's philosophical system is concerned. Yet it should be stressed that unlike his great contemporaries, J. J. Rousseau, Denis Diderot, François Marie Voltaire, Immanuel Kant, and others, Skovoroda is mostly unknown to basic Western reference works (e. g. *Encyclopedia Britanica*, *Americana*, *Grolier*, *Chamber's*, etc.) or to most compendia of the history of world philosophy.

It is only in the 1933 edition of *Larousse* dictionary (Vol. 6, 376) that Skovoroda is noticed and mentioned as “Rousseau slave” (Slavic Rousseau). On the other hand, G. L. Kline in *The Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Vol. 7, 461) calls his teaching “neoplatonic” and “Socratic in method,” and his “metaphysics and philosophical anthropology” explicitly Christian.

From these facts and the rather confused interpretations of Skovoroda, particularly in the contemporary Soviet criticism, a general conclusion might be made that he is still little known to the intellectual world. According to John-Paul Himka, the following were the main obstacles that have impeded the introduction of Skovoroda in the spiritual history of Europe: his “obscure” style, the “varied interpretations” of his philosophical system, “outright falsifications” of his texts, “inadequate archival/biographical research,” and “inadequate editions of Skovoroda's work themselves.”³ To that the lack of comparative philosophical studies of Skovoroda must be added. Except for D. Čyzevskij's and J. Mirčuk's efforts to link him with German mystics,⁴ and his Soviet Russian lineage *a priori* from M. V. Lomonosov,⁵ no serious study has been undertaken to compare

²) Cf. Григорій Сковорода *Твори в двох томах*. Видавництво АН УРСР Київ 1961 (quoted in the following as T 1 and T 2).

³) Cf. John-Paul Himka “H. S. Skovoroda: His Place in Intellectual Tradition.” *Minutes of the Seminar in Ukrainian Studies held at Harvard University during the Academic Year 1971-1972*. Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1971-1972. pp. 83-84.

⁴) Cf. Дмитро Чижевський *Філософія Г. С. Сковороди*. Варшава 1934; J. Mirčuk *Handbook of Ukraine*. Munich 1949, p. 39.

⁵) Cf. *Философский словарь*. Под редакцией М. М. Розенталя-П. Ф. Юдина. Изд. второе. Москва 1968, стор. 322.

Skovoroda to Descartes (with whom he shares some characteristics in outlook), to Rousseau (with regard to his 'encyclopedism'), to Voltaire (as far as his 'enlightenment' is concerned), or even to the classical philosophers, in particular Stoics (Zeno, Seneca, Epictetus, Marcus Aurelius) and idealists (Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle). On the other hand, the study of Skovoroda's relation to freemasonry and the sectarian movements (including Canadian *douxobors*) is in a cradle stage.⁶ Lack of such studies is the main source of the Western "conspiracy of silence" about Skovoroda.

There are four basic domains of Skovoroda's teaching: 1) epistemology (gnoseology), 2) ontology, 3) teleology, and 4) ethics. As mentioned above the Socratic "knowledge of oneself" is the basic of Skovoroda's philosophical system. The knowledge of the individual "microcosm" is for him the departure point for the knowledge of "macrocosm" — the universe. Self-knowledge, therefore, is the first step in all his philosophical contemplations.

Посему весьма не малое дѣло: узнать себе... Один труд в обоих сих — познать себе и уразумѣть Бога, познать и уразумѣть точнаго человѣка, весь труд и обман от его тѣни, на которой всѣ останавливаемся. А видь истинный человѣкъ и Бог есть тожде... (Т I, 47).

The whole world has for Skovoroda two aspects, one visible and material ('*corpus animale*') and the other invisible ('*corpus spirituale*'):

Est animale quidem, dein est et spirituale

Corpus: id haud prodest, hocce salutiferum est.

(Т 2, 313).

According to his theory, those aspects (physical and spiritual) are evidenced in "three worlds"; microcosm (man), macrocosm (material nature), and "world of symbols" (the Bible):

Всѣ три мыры состоятъ изъ двохъ едино составляющихъ естествъ, называемыхъ *матерія и форма*. Сии формы у Платона называются *идеи*, сирѣчь *видѣнія, виды, образы*. Они суть перво-родный мырѣ вещественный видъ даетъ знать о утаенныхъ под ним формахъ, или вѣчныхъ образахъ. Такожде и в символичномъ, или библіичномъ, мырѣ, собраніе тварей составляетъ матерію. Но божіе естество, куда знаменіемъ своимъ ведетъ тварь, есть *форма*. Убо и в семъ мырѣ есть *матерія и форма*, сирѣчь *плоть и дух, стѣнь и истина, смерть и жизнь*. Напримѣр, солнечная фигура есть матерія, или стѣнь... (Т I, 539).

In the teleological respect, Skovoroda's system reveals some pantheistic traits. God is not only the beginning of all the universe (Т I, 378), but is hidden in each thing:

Carne panem vinumque bibes, sed mente videtur,

Sub specie carnis qui latet, ipse deus.

⁶) Cf. Victor Buyniak "Hryhory Skovoroda — Spiritual Mentor of the Doukhobors" Typescript. Saskatoon 1972.

*Qui latet, ille manet, quae apparent, somnium et umbro est.
Ergo latere est res: ergo patere — nihil.*

(T 2, 86).

Finally, the Skovorodian ethics is based on his concept of "heart." It refers to "a moral meaning and designated . . . proper mode of subjectivity, the state of faith, the true way of life."⁷ True happiness does not result from physical satisfaction, but comes to us when we fulfill God's will, living our lives according to the higher order of the spiritual superstructure of the micro- and macrocosms. The original Christian virtues are decisive:

Tales virtutes sunt propriae virtutes, quarum dominus est ipse homo sive ho theos. Haec illae sunt fides, spes ac omnium maxima finemque non habens caritas . . .

(T 2, 237),

or in verse form:

Beatus ille, qui fugit negotia,
Ut prisca Christiana gens!
Qui pectus excolit suum virtutibus,
Sanctisque purgat litteris.
Amara cura tale pectus haud trahit,
Nec horror ullus excitat,
Nec dente duro livor ater exedit,
Nec est cupido pessima.
Quietus ergo dulce tempus exigit,
In pace cum coelestibus . . .

(T 2, 330).

* * *

Neoplatonic and Cartesian in his dualistic onto- and epistemological outlook, Christian in ethics and Socratic in method, Skovoroda exerted an influence on his contemporaries and posteriors (including Yurkevych and Solovev). With his life he attested the epitaph, which he wrote for himself:

"The world set a trap for me, but did not catch me."

⁷) Taras Zakydalsky "Skovoroda's Philosophy of Man" *Minutes of the Seminar . . .*, pp. 84-85.

THE PRESENT SITUATION IN UKRAINE

By V. MYKULA

The 19th and 20th centuries are marked by the uncontrollable growth of modern national movements in the whole world. Awakened by the French Revolution at the end of the 18th century, mass nationalism grips one nation after another, first in Europe and, in the 20th century, in other parts of the world as well, particularly in Asia and Africa.

The First World War led to the downfall of four multi-national empires: the Kaiser's Germany, the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, Ottoman Turkey, and Tsarist Russia. In their place arose more or less one-nation states. After the Second World War, as the result of an unrestrained growth of national movements, particularly in former colonies, the British and the French empires liquidated themselves; Holland and Belgium divested themselves of their colonies, with only Portugal conducting a long-drawn-out defence of its colonial possessions.

Parallel to this, an opposite process has been taking place simultaneously in the 19th and 20th centuries, namely, repeated attempts, which originate at various power centres, to create large-area political alliances, usually under the leadership of one power. Napoleon had conducted his wars of conquest under the slogan of a united Europe. Tsarist Russia attempted to expand with the aid of Panslavic propaganda and supported by the million-strong force of bayonets. Hitler set out to conquer the world, defending the rights of the "Herrenfolk" to rule over "New Europe," while Mussolini wanted to create a New Roman Empire. The most dangerous for the national life of peoples, however, proved to be Communist Russian imperialism, which is based on the Marxist-Leninist concepts of class hatred, international struggle, and "the international solidarity of the proletariat" under the leadership of the Communist party of the strongest imperial nation. This imperialism had perfected the old Roman principle of "divide and rule" to the highest perfidy. Within the nation it attempts to dominate, it first introduces the bacillus of internal mistrust, envy, class struggle, and general betrayal of national interests, which eventually brings these nations to self-destruction, to moral, spiritual, and physical decline and decay, and to Russian a permanent weakness and inability to resist the domination of a foreign center.

The first and the most threatening imperialistic regime is Bolshevik

Russia, which after the 1917 Revolution and the downfall of the multi-national Tsarist empire managed to restore it in a new form having, at the same time, subjugated a new Ukraine and dozens of other nations which awoke to independent national life. Russia owes this success to the fantastic faith, decisiveness, and political flexibility of its leader, Lenin, and the firmly welded Russian Bolshevik party.

The liberation struggle of the Ukrainian nation in 1917-21 ended in a tragic defeat. Ukraine was quartered, with the greater part of Ukrainian territories coming under Russian occupation, attractively masked by a deceptive sign: the Ukr. SSR. In the 1920s, military dictatorship and terror led to the liquidation of the extensive insurgent movement which seethed in Ukraine after the failure of the UNR's (Ukrainian National Republic) armed struggle. Nevertheless the independence movement did not capitulate completely and manifested itself in the founding of underground organizations such as BUD (Brotherhood of Ukrainians Supporting Statehood), SVU (Union for the Liberation of Ukraine), SUM (Association of Ukrainian Youth), and others. Central and Eastern regions of Ukraine are penetrated by the influence of the Petlyura camp and later of the UVO-OUN (Ukrainian Military Organization — Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists).

In the late 1920s the period of Stalinist dictatorship began and with it the advance of Russian centralism and chauvinism. Harsh repressions, arrests, and executions, collectivization and mass famine, deportation of the peasants, trials of the SVU-SUM and other underground centers, real or fabricated by the organs of the GPU (Political State Administration), terrorized the people.

With the outbreak of the Second World War, Russian Bolshevik occupation spread to the Western territories of Ukraine. There Russia attempted to liquidate national political leaders of all tendencies. It was, however, unable to destroy the underground revolutionary organization OUN, which hardened itself in the struggle against the Polish occupation in the prewar period. The outbreak of the German-Russian war interrupted the Russian Bolshevik occupation of Ukraine for two to three years. In spite of the unfavourable conditions of the cruel German occupation, Ukraine, through the actions of its most noble sons, declared its will to independent life. The proclamation of the renewal of Ukrainian statehood on June 30, 1941, under the leadership of the government of Yaroslav Stetsko, the activity of the Marching Groups of OUN in Central and Eastern Ukrainian territories, the revitalization of cultural, civic, religious, and political life in Kyiv, Lviv, Kharkiv, and other cities and villages of Ukraine and finally, the long, heroic struggle of the UPA (Ukrainian Insurgent Army) against two imperialistic powers — Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia — all this was instrumental in the accelerated growth of national consciousness among the masses of the population, not only in Western but all Ukraine.

Although the return of the Bolshevik occupation after the terrible devastation of the war, inhuman repressions, mass executions, arrests and deportations of the population allegedly returned the situation to its prewar state, when "all was silent in all languages," in reality the situation was not identical. It is true that prisons, concentration camps, and the Siberian taiga became populated with millions of "doubtful loyalty," but at the same time throughout Ukraine and the entire USSR there were scattered the sparks of that insurgent fire which began blazing in the forest clearings of Volhynia and in the woods of the Carpathians. The spirit of resistance to the inhuman government grew in strength in the concentration camps of Vorkuta, Kolyma, in Magadan, Norylsk, and Taishet, which housed nearly 10% of the most active human potential of the nations subjugated in the USSR. The experiences of the war could not fall into oblivion. The ray of freedom, although rather weak, nurtured hopes, disturbed.

Thus, with the death of Stalin, partially spontaneous and partially organized uprisings broke out among the 20-million-strong body of prisoners. They were crushed by machine-gun fire in Vorkuta, by tanks in Kingiri, and by the imposition of draconic penalties on the leaders of the insurrection. But at the same time, the new "collective leadership" headed by Khrushchev was forced to disband most of the concentration camps, leaving only a limited number for the most dangerous, highly conscious political prisoners. The former concentration camp prisoners, having dispersed across the USSR, carried into the most remote corners the bacilli of resistance to Russia.

On the other hand, the 20th century placed quickly growing demands before the Russian Bolshevik empire, which could not be satisfied by the methods borrowed from Genghis Khan. The USSR does not exist in a vacuum. It has powerful and modern opponents in the West and East. In order to justify national subjugation of other nations, the Russians must continuously try to prove that their ideology is morally higher than that of their adversaries, that their political line is "more progressive." The speedy growth of military technology, science, and knowledge in the whole world demanded that the USSR, which had ambitions to subdue the entire globe, as well as outer space, surpass the West in all these fields. This required general and specialised higher education for the training of scientists, technicians, engineers, military men, and administrators. This, in turn, led to a paradoxical situation: the more educated the population became, the more possibilities there were for the spreading of ideas which do not coincide with the official ideology of the USSR. Today, in the age of instant communication, in the era of rockets, radio, and television, it is impossible to barricade oneself from the influence of outside ideas, as could have been done in Stalin's time when the industrialization of the USSR was in its initial stages and there was widespread illiteracy.

For this reason, together with the "thaw" after Stalin's death, there began a new era in relations inside the Russian empire. The taking down from the pedestal of the "personality cult" of Stalin, effected by Khrushchev for tactical motives of winning popularity among the party mass and the population of the USSR, and the initiated "de-Stalinization" of the methods of government shook the entire Communist system. The uprisings in East Berlin, Poznan, and Budapest set in motion the process of disintegration of the monolithic Bolshevik system. Step by step, the so-called satellite states began to extend their limited autonomy, while Red China, like Yugoslavia before it, openly declared its full independence from Moscow. So far as the "national" republics of the USSR were concerned, Russian centralism did not allow for any actual increase in rights, although on paper, in particular in Khrushchev's time, some manipulations were carried out in order to create the impression of the "broadening of rights of the national republics," such as the experiments with decentralization of some ministries and various formal reforms in the management of agriculture and industry.

Armed struggle for Ukraine's independence, carried out by the OUN-UPA in the 1940s, did not terminate with the death of the Commander-in-Chief of UPA, Roman Shukhevych-Chuprynka. As proved by various documents and eyewitnesses, the armed underground of UPA was active until 1953. Individual fighters, such as Oliynyk in Volhynia, were active until recently.

When the weapons became silent, the burden of struggle was transferred from the level of physical and military force to the political and culturally spiritual level. The concepts of a Ukrainian Sovereign and United State had not perished on the battlefield as their carriers had done, nor in the casemates of the NKVD, nor in the concentration camps of Siberia. They live on in the midst of the people.

The works of the young generation of Ukrainian poets and writers, the so-called Shestydesyatnyky (men of the sixties) — Lina Kostenko, Ivan Drach, Mykola Vinhranovskyi, and many others — unusual in their style and ideas, flashed like a bright meteor on the Ukrainian horizon. Among them, perhaps not the greatest literary talent but the greatest by virtue of his civic courage and his adherence to principle and character, was Vasyl Symonenko. He became a trail blazer of the new generation of the knights of the word, the fighters for the spiritual renaissance of the Ukrainian nation, conscious of its present and future, its independence and individuality.

One must admire Symonenko's independence of thought, and his penetrating insight into the deceptive character of Soviet life, and his patriotism which in essence corresponds with Ukrainian nationalism. That Symonenko had not been a stranger to the ideas which prior to that time had been more widespread in West Ukraine

can be ascertained from his poem dedicated to Lviv, in which he expresses his gratitude, respect, and admiration.

The late 1950's and early 1960's, the period of Khrushchev's bureaucratic "reforms," when Khrushchev and Mikoyan declared that "we no longer have any political prisoners," were marked in Ukraine by a series of secret political trials. Only later did the world find out about the death sentences or long-term imprisonment in 1961 in Lviv of a group of members of the Ukrainian Workers' and Peasants' Union, or the so-called jurists, prominent among whom were Lukyanenko and Kandyba, who urged Ukraine's secession from the USSR. Also the death sentences meted out to the so-called Khodoriv group in 1959, the Ukrainian National Committee in Lviv in 1961, and the United Party for the Liberation of Ukraine (1958) in Ivano-Frankivsk remained unknown to the Ukrainian public in general. By tried Stalinist methods Moscow attempted to nip in the bud any manifestation of more or less organized nationalist movement, the seeds of the underground which in part drew inspiration from the traditions of struggle of the OUN-UPA.

At the same time, in the Central and Eastern territories of Ukraine, the Russian regime attempted to extinguish the spontaneous growth of national, patriotic attitudes among the intelligentsia and students by various prohibitions, obstacles, and administrative measures. Thus when the Club of Creative Youth was founded in Kyiv in 1962-1963, wherein a group of young, nationally conscious Ukrainian patriots gathered around the home of Alla Horska, the authorities closed down the club.

In 1964, the destruction by the Russian administration of the Shevchenko stained-glass window at the Kyiv University, which had been produced by Alla Horska, L. Semykina, Panas Zalyvakha, and Halyna Sevruck, became a notorious affair in Kyiv. In May, 1964, the Russian chauvinists went so far as to set fire (by the hands of a Russian, Pogruzhal'sky) to the library of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukr. SSR, and rare Ukrainian publications and archives were burned. This crime aroused the indignation of the patriotic Ukrainian intelligentsia, in particular the young people, and on this occasion the writer Masyutko began circulating an accusatory letter.

Toward the end of 1964 one of the first swallows of the Ukrainian "Samvydav," the "Diary" of Vasyl Symonenko, made its appearance and was published abroad. In December, 1964, a meeting of Symonenko's friends, chaired by Vyacheslav Chornovil, was held in Kyiv, and a speech about the poet, who had died a year earlier, was delivered by Ivan Dzyuba. In January, 1965, an official gathering was held, also in Kyiv, on the occasion of Symonenko's 30th birthday, which became a turning point. In the evening a fiery speech about Symonenko was delivered by Ivan Dzyuba, emphasizing the poet's significance for the revival of the national dignity of the Ukrainian people and reproaching all sorts of "renegades and lackeys," especially

among the opportunistic writers, the servants of the chauvinistic Russian regime. This speech called forth an "enthusiastic reaction of those present" and began circulating in "Samvydav." It was published by the Ukrainian periodical, *Duklya*, in Czechoslovakia and from there made its way to the Ukrainian press appearing in the West.

The Russian lackeys made their reply in *Literaturna Ukraina* (*Literary Ukraine*) in April of that year through a letter of the poet M. Nehoda, "The Everest of Baseness," and through a falsified letter of Symonenko's mother in which denunciations were made against the leading Ukrainian literary critic, I. Svitlychnyi, and others.

This added oil to the fire and the Ukrainian "samvydav" began to flourish. Masyutko's pamphlet, "Reply to Symonenko's mother, Halyna Shcherban," for example, began circulating.

The Russian occupation regime under the leadership of Brezhnev, Kosygin, and Podgorny decided to deal a blow to the leading figures of community life in Ukraine. Between the 24th and 28th of August, 1965, the most active intellectuals, students, and the like, with I. Svitlychnyi at the head, were arrested in various localities of Ukraine.

As soon as news of these arrests spread around Ukraine, protests, declarations, and letters began pouring in. On September 4, in the movie-house "Ukraine" in Kyiv, Ivan Dzyuba publicly called on the people to protest against arrests and searches. His stand was supported by Vyacheslav Chornovil.

Their appeal was answered by prominent Ukrainian cultural leaders. Queries on their behalf were sent by "order carrying" writers, Stelmakh and Malyshko, as well as the composer Mayboroda. In October, a new letter to the leaders of the party and government was signed by the renowned constructor Antonov, the film producer Paradzhanov, Mayboroda, the writers Serpilin, Lina Kostenko, Drach, and others. But all to no avail. In November of that year, Svyatoslav Karavanskyi, a poet, writer, and translator who had already spent 16 years in concentration camps and who was released in 1960, was arrested anew to serve the rest of his 25-year term. Why? Because he dared to write a letter about the Russification of the system of education in Ukraine and about national discrimination, and he appealed to the foreign Communist parties on this matter, requesting their intervention in defence of Ukraine's rights.

In December, 1965, Ivan Dzyuba introduced his book, *Internationalism or Russification?* to Shelest and Shcherbytskyi. In it he showed how Russian chauvinism was rampant in the USSR under the guise of internationalism and Communism-Leninism, how national rights of the Ukrainian people were being violated and how anti-Ukrainian discrimination was being carried out. This memorandum was sent by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine to 25 secretaries of the regional Communist Party committees for "discussion." From there, the book spread in numerous copies, of

which one even reached the Mordovian concentration camps, as well as abroad where it was published in various languages and received world-wide publicity.

In January, 1966, 78 Ukrainian writers, scientists, students, and workers signed a letter to the Prosecutor-General and the KGB of the Ukr. SSR demanding that friends and acquaintances of the arrested intellectuals be permitted to attend the trials, but they received no reply.

On January 20, 1966, the first "open" trial of the arrested was held in Lutsk, at which Ivashchenko, a university lecturer, was sentenced to two years of imprisonment and Valentyn Moroz to four years. This trial proved a failure to the Russians from the propaganda aspect. Moroz held himself firmly, did not break down and did not recant his views. This was a surprise both to Moscow and the judges, who were accustomed to humble, repentant statements, similar to those made by the defendants in the 1930s at the show trials.

On February 4-7 another allegedly "open" trial of Ozernyi, a teacher in Ivano-Frankivsk, was held, which was much better prepared. Only trusted people were allowed into the courtroom. Ozernyi received six years, which were later commuted to three.

Other similar trials were held in Ternopil, Ivano-Frankivsk, Kyiv, and Lviv, but they were already closed.

Several weeks after the last trial, which was held in April, 1966, Vyacheslav Chornovil sent to the prosecutor and the head of the KGB of the Ukr. SSR a memorandum covering 55 pages and documentary evidence covering 150 typewritten pages about the illegality of the trials.

It must be recalled that at the end of 1965 writers Synyavsky and Daniel were arrested in Moscow and their open trial was held in February, 1966. This trial was reported by the Western press, even by the Soviet press, although with some distortions. Not a single report about the trials in Ukraine, however, had appeared in the Soviet press. Only in April, 1966, did the first information about the arrests and sentencing of Ukrainian intellectuals appear in the Western press.

Having deported the flower of the Ukrainian intelligentsia to the Mordovian concentration camps, Moscow expected to intimidate the public, to shut the mouths of the national fighters. Its calculations, however, were futile. The entire Ukraine became agitated in the wake of arrests which reminded people of the times of Yezhov, although on a smaller scale. The "samvydav" began to flourish. From behind the barbed wire of Mordovia ever new works began to see the light of day, exposing the inhumanity and deceptiveness of the Russian regime which strives to present itself as the most progressive and humane.

In early March, 1967, there appeared an unusually forceful letter by Karavanskyi about discrimination as practiced in the USSR, in

particular toward Ukrainians and other non-Russian nations. For this, Karavanskyi was transferred from a concentration camp to the Vladimir prison, and later to a prison in Kyiv for the investigation.

On August 3, 1967, Chornovil was arrested and on November 15 of the same year sentenced to three years of imprisonment for disseminating "anti-Soviet writings." Later the sentence was commuted to 18 months. At the end of 1967, Chornovil's writings, his book, *The Chornovil Papers*, and his appeal to the party and government leaders of the USSR appeared in the West.

The advance of Russian chauvinism was intensified to such a degree that in 1967 in Kyiv, the militia dispersed students who traditionally gathered on May 22 to mark the anniversary of the transferring of Shevchenko's remains from Petersburg to Kaniv. This gave rise to a protest letter to Brezhnev and Shelest signed by 64 citizens. At about the same time Ivan Kolasky's book *Education in Ukrainian SSR* appeared in the West, in which the author, who spent two years in Ukraine, presented documentary evidence about the Russification of education in Ukraine and discrimination against Ukrainians.

In 1968 in Kyiv, an "Appeal to All Citizens of Kyiv" was sent out, which expressed protest against the prohibition to commemorate the above-mentioned Shevchenko anniversary.

In May of that year there appeared a "Letter of the Creative Youth of Dnipropetrovsk" in connection with repressions against those journalists, lecturers, and students who expressed favourable opinions in the press and at meetings about Oles Honchar's novel *Sobor (The Cathedral)*. *Sobor* was subjected to official rebuke along the party line after a short period of indecision because in it Honchar dared to demand respect for the national spirit and the glorious historic and cultural traditions of the Ukrainian nation. In June, 1969, the poet Sokulskyi and others were arrested in Dnipropetrovsk for writing the said letter and sentenced to long-term imprisonment.

In the summer of 1968, prominent Ukrainian intellectuals and cultural leaders, among them historian Braychevskyi and literary specialist Mykhaylyna Kotsyubynska, were punished for signing a letter to Brezhnev, Kosygin, and others (a total of 150 signatures appeared under the letter).

At the end of 1968, repressions rained down on the underground Greek Catholic Church in Ukraine. In January, 1969, Bishop Vasyl Velychkovskyi and other priests were arrested and sentenced to various terms of punishment. The destruction of churches, which had stopped to some degree for several years, was resumed.

Repressions, arrests, and trials of individuals have not ceased during 1969. In January, Zinaida Franko, granddaughter of the great Ukrainian poet, Ivan Franko, was dismissed from work at the Lviv Institute; in May, M. Beryslavskyi was convicted for attempted self-immolation in Kyiv as a sign of protest against Russian subjugation

of Ukraine, just as Vasyl Makukh had done earlier; in July, V. Ryvak and S. Bedrylo were arrested in Lviv for disseminating "samvydav," while Altunyan, an Armenian scientist, was arrested in Kharkiv for organizing actions in defence of the arrested.

The year 1970 became a turning point in the development of the resistance movement and the national and political thought in Ukraine. That year there appeared a brilliant polemic essay by Valentyn Moroz entitled "Among the Snows," as well as an article by V. Chornovil, "What Is B. Stenchuk Defending and How?," which criticized those who under pressure of terror are ready to deviate partially from their previous stand and to denounce nationalism. In April, there appeared an open letter by Plakhotnyuk, "The Truth Is on Our Side," in which he revealed the background of the so-called Dnipropetrovsk case, the brutal Russification in that city, just as in other cities of Ukraine, and the deceptiveness of the Russificationist regime.

In May, Valentyn Moroz's protest letter against a search conducted at his home at Easter and the confiscation of the *hayivky* (Eastern spring songs) recorded in Kosmach in the Hutsul region saw the light of day. Already on June 1 Moroz was arrested and on November 17-18 sentenced in Ivano-Frankivsk to nine years of imprisonment and five years of exile.

One must also recall the appearance of nationalist leaflets at the Kyiv Polytechnic Institute on March 26 and the violent commemoration of Shevchenko's anniversary. The end of November and the beginning of December brought a wave of letters from Moroz's friends and acquaintances in Ukraine protesting against his unjust mock trial. In the midst of this wave of protests, the KGB murdered Alla Horska on November 28, 1970. He had been the soul of a group of the courageous, who attempted to oppose, by words alone, the huge state machinery of the totalitarian Russian chauvinism. Another important event of 1970 was the start of the publication of an illegal organ of the resistance movement, the *Ukrainskyi Visnyk (Ukrainian Herald)*, the first three numbers of which appeared in that year, while numbers four and five appeared in 1971.

Moroz's conviction and Alla Horska's death rendered a painful blow to the national opposition in Ukraine. Particularly in the summer of 1971, there began a highly calculated campaign of the occupation regime in Ukraine directed at the uprooting and annihilation of all those who could possibly head such a movement. The flower of the Ukrainian intelligentsia, with Ivan Svitlychnyi at the head, was thrust into prison. He, just as Mykola Zerov in the 1920's, has become the luminary not only of the literary but also of the national thought. Just as Mykola Zerov in the 1920's had enlightened the road of the national soul of the Ukrainian people, so in the contemporary period, the bright intellect of Ivan Svitlychnyi lighted the road of the new elite of Ukraine.

As proved by news from Ukraine, during 1972 the KGB arrested and convicted to long prison terms and concentration camps anyone who was in any way active in the resistance movement. This applied particularly to those who, after the wave of arrests in 1965, had completed their terms of punishment but who had not repented but continued to speak up in defence of the Ukrainian truth. Ivar Franko's granddaughter, Zinaida Franko, was released for tactical reasons, after first being forced to make a statement of repentance.

It was impossible, however, to uproot the movement of resistance to Russia. During the May 1st parade in Lviv, a sabotage of the sewage system hindered the parade. Such spontaneous or organized mass actions are not isolated incidents. A similar incident occurred in Vilnius, Lithuania, on May 18 and 19, 1972, leading to a serious clash between the Lithuanian youth and the organs of the Russian regime. Most likely, Petro Shelest's ouster from the post of First Secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine was caused not by external events but by disagreements in domestic policy, in particular with respect to Ukraine and her liberation tendencies. Shcherbytskyi, the new governor of Ukraine, is an obedient puppet controlled by Brezhnev, who is surrounded by his former associates from the Dnipropetrovsk oblast committee of the party which, as is well known, is notorious as a fierce organ of Russification.

If we wished to briefly characterize Ukraine's liberation struggle in the period of the most recent Bolshevik occupation, beginning with the return of the Russian armies to Ukraine after the battle of Stalingrad, we could roughly outline the following periods. Between 1942 and 1952 — a period of active armed struggle, a nationwide uprising, a period of the struggle of UPA, OUN, and the revolutionary underground. It can be divided into two periods: 1942-1947, the period of large-scale guerilla warfare, led by UPA and OUN; and 1947-1952, a period of underground struggle in ever more difficult conditions of the most cruel repressions which ended with a physical annihilation of the underground and the terrorization of the people.

The subsequent period, 1953-1957, after Stalin's death, was one of "collective leadership" of Malenkov-Khrushchev-Bulganin, a period of a "thaw." In the Ukrainian national situation, this was a period of the slow healing of wounds inflicted by the Stalinist era. It was a time of revolts and uprisings in concentration camps of the North which resulted in certain concessions from the regime, including the release of a large number of political prisoners. In the satellite states, it was marked by uprisings in East Berlin, Poznan, and Budapest.

The third period, from 1958 until today, can also be divided into two periods. the Khrushchev era, approximately from 1958 till 1964, and the second, the Brezhnev era, from 1965 till 1972. Nationally, the first period (1958-1964) was a time of disillusionment by the "thaw"

and the pseudo-reforms carried out by Khrushchev. It was also a time of the formation of new, organized, resistance movements in Ukraine. There was the organization of secret groups, "parties", and "organizations," which had the aim of working out methods of struggle under new conditions. They were of two types: those grounded in essence on the traditions of the underground OUN and UPA, such as the Khodoriv group, the Ukrainian National Front, and the United Party for the Liberation of Ukraine; and another type which attempted to work out methods of legal struggle, such as the Ukrainian Workers' and Peasants' Party — people of the type of Lukyanko and Kandyba.

The second period (1965-1972), can be characterized as a time of departure from clandestine groups as a result of their being crushed and unable to act under conditions of the totalitarian regime, and entry into an open forum of protest, a period of self-sacrifice of the most noble individuals upon the altar of the Fatherland. The *Chornovil Papers* by V. Chornovil, the letters by Karavanskyi, "Internationalism or Russification?" by I. Dzyuba, "Among the Snows" by V. Moroz, "The Cathedral in Scaffolding" by Ye. Sverstyuk, the "Ukrainian Herald" and many others, as well as the acts of self-immolation of Makukh and Beryslavskyi and other acts of protest became the symbols of this period.

The dominant ideas of these works can be defined as an appeal to humaneness, a return to the profound, national elements of the Ukrainian soul, a love for everything native and national, and at the same time a respect for everything noble in the foreign, as a struggle for truth as against slander, as a call of the lacerated Ukrainian soul to justice before the conscience of the whole world, a protest against the trampling of the most elementary rights of the Ukrainian people to their own life in their own house as they see fit, a protest against the breaking of the soul of the Ukrainian people by the Russian occupiers and native mercenaries and traitors, against Russification, the arbitrariness of the Russian regime and the violence and lawlessness of the KGB, the inhuman sentences and the cruel treatment of prisoners in distant places of imprisonment. All this is an appeal by the Ukrainian soul which believes in the victory of good over evil, justice over injustice, truth over falsehood. From it emerges faith which moves mountains and conquers death itself.

C A T A R A C T

By *Mykhaylo OSADCHYY*

(Continuation — 5)

"I always approached Mykhaylo Mykhaylovych (Soroka) from the rear," states Mykhaylo Osadchyy in "Bilmo." "I wanted to greet him first. Greeting someone first was also his cunning. But he suddenly appeared from the side, — one has to be able to do that too. He like the slope above the stadium and the arbour stationed upon it Hereha's* flowers as well as a birch tree grew there. I often liked to be amusing and was rather inclined to making analogies. I saw the incline clearly and on it the teachers, who nevertheless could not solve the mystery of the school bird.

"Mykhaylo Mykhaylovych," I thought. Sometimes we become so fascinated with something, but we don't know why.

I crept up from behind and greeted him first. He raised his eyes in wonder and contracted them craftily. "How is your boring and chiselling machine? Have you equipped Danielyev's dowel-cutter yet?"

"Mykhaylo Mykhaylovych," I thought. What bright eyes he has! You notice them on his face first. Then when he walks on the snow he never slips. After twenty-eight camp winters he has learned to walk upright and to place his feet correctly. He is a sceptic. And furthermore, a sceptic, a yogi. He has perfected himself in all ways: even his mind. He has frozen it above the drab everyday humdrum. Tell him, that tomorrow at nine the gates will be open and all — go to blazes! 'Ah, yes,' says he, 'surely!' and craftily narrows his eyes. He doesn't believe in anything, this non-believer, who stands above everything, leaning on the cane of scepticism. One can see him like this, and run away from him, like the teachers down the slope.

"Mykhaylo Mykhaylovych," I thought. It is impossible to figure him out. As soon as you fall into bed and close your eyes, you immediately see — a great bird perched on a small cliff. Him . . . His knowledge is not of a camp sort, but one cannot survive in camp without it. Ten years of yoga exercises, ten years of alienation. Flowers live elsewhere, the brain — there, and the body on a different shore. They can blend into one. This is also yoga. Yoga and decades of years salvaged from death. There exists an uncontrollable desire

*) The name of another Ukrainian political prisoner. — Ed.

to survive and to become free. Twenty-eight years of concentration camps and prisons! "Mykhaylo Mykhaylovych," I thought. Five years of Polish 'defensive.' And then — different, more native, inexpressible. Altogether twenty-eight. I had only two years and almost went mad at times. I was a teacher, I ran down the slope: how? How long can one survive on watered-down soup? The years terrified me. Somewhere here, there was a great bird and a small cliff. I saw this clearly. It was enough for me to close my eyes at night. And furthermore — fate. His wife, Kateryna Zarytska, has been in concentration camps for nineteen years. At present she is in the Vladimir prison. She also survived. Once in a while, their son comes to visit them. He is an artist; he grew up without his parents.

"Mykhaylo Mykhaylovych," I thought. When he receives news from him, he forgets about yoga for a month. He walks about and smiles at everyone. He forgets about his scepticism and becomes talkative. He relates of his meetings with the poet Oles';* he reads his poetry. Their meeting took place in Prague, in an ancient coffee-house. There they drank Pilsen beer, and now there stands a commemorative plaque over the table, where the great Oles' once sat.

Now from time to time, they take Soroka to Kyiv or Lviv. They dress him up in a black tuxedo and take him to the theatre. He watches Korniychuk's "Pages of a Diary." They lead him to the Institute of Cybernetics, where gray-haired professors shake his hand and acquaint him with science. Then Mykhaylo Mykhaylovych laughs. "They shake my hand," he says, "but they don't know that this is the hand of a convict. They would have forgotten their science," he says, "had they known what a 'Canadian' this is!"

He was escorted around Lviv by elegantly dressed men. He recalled everything and it was very painful for him. This was not an attempt to acquaint him with the beautiful life, but rather an act of cruelty. They confronted him with the fact that he may never see all this again, but perhaps . . . It was his choice. It's frightening — for twenty years not to walk down the sidewalk, not to inhale human fragrances. He has aged. He is no longer accustomed to all this and it tires him now. Happiness ages him. "His bright face doesn't get any younger," I thought. And when he gradually quiets down, when he withdraws to his small cliff, one can again see him leaning on his cane of scepticism. He then sneaks up from the side again and greets you first. He again craftily narrows his eyes. Then he tells you of how he was executed once. For a few months he awaited sentence and imagined his own shot-up chest and a wall full of holes, for the soldiers do not always hit the body.

And then he would remember his son, Bohdan. He became excited at seeing him in his souvenir tie. He grew emotional, suddenly coming

*) A Ukrainian poet. — Ed.

across his unwashed garment. And then he wanted everything to change; for day to begin not in the morning, but at night, if only for an instant. Then he would be able to see his own death and thus know beforehand what awaits him. It would be easier to live that way. All that night, he imagined he was sewing on missing buttons on his son's coat.

"Mykhaylo Mykhaylovych," I thought. He knows several foreign languages; he knows contemporary literature very well, and even has his favourite authors. "I can count them on the fingers of one hand," he says, and then raises his hand. He shows it to all and declares that the nightly rotation of the universe is not worthy of a single steady hand which holds a spoonful of watery soup. Even the creator of the world stands perplexed and raises his shoulders helplessly. Even Einstein says: "Everything in the world is so complicated that I have discovered the theory of relativity but can't really say what it is..."

*

Ivan Oleksiyovych Hereha has lived a long life. He knows it no worse than the clairvoyants. It is true that he cannot guess any basic changes in advance, but he knows one thing with certainty: they do not imprison for flowers. He is glad that I am here (he is also from Lviv), names all types of flowers and leads me around his plot of land. He is respected, not in the newspaper way, but in the camp way, even by the authorities. Hereha feels melancholy among the zeks and the barbed wire and he casts his glances on the flowers. The penal isolator passes him by and the cook dares to give him an "extra" at his own risk. Hereha has grown a sunflower, the sole dream of Ukraine, and he rejoices in it as at an invention which he conceals even from himself. Mykhaylo Kotsyubynskyy first brought the carnation from Italy; Ivan Hereha first cultivated a Ukrainian sunflower in the Mordovian camps. Like some dignified being, it lifted its giant hat (sixty centimeters in diameter) high up on its fat neck and suspended itself over the barracks with barbed-wire fence. When the Latvian poet Knut Skuenienks walks past, Hereha cannot restrain himself, he runs across his way. "How do you like my sunflower?"

Then Knut examines the sunflower as if for the first time and says "Not bad, you know. But your creation lacks realism, grow it on a rope with a noose too."

Scythian reproductions on rocks. These are somebody's schoolboy exercises: horses, warriors, swords, oxen. But there is also one of birds flying, large birds on a fragment of a cliff. Birds are small, but they are viewed here as exceedingly large. Some schoolboy secret, which is hard to grasp with the brain of a teacher. The teachers retreat one step, then another, and finally they emerge from the cave and awkwardly smile. Then they throw their instruction manuals behind closets and lie face down on the bed; the teachers lie for a

day, for two; they no longer want to teach these mischievous pupils who have chiseled a large bird on a small cliff. "The devil take these pupils," they say. The teachers are sick. They are sick for one day, for two, and perhaps they will die, but they will nevertheless not solve the riddle: great on small. And then they will run down the slope and wave their hands. If one were to listen hard, one would hear cries. It is a cry of admiration. The sick are shouting.

*

I found myself in the machine section. I was warned against it, but a zek does not decide his fate here. I had to stand the entire shift behind the drilling machine. We drilled mortises for chairs. They shouted to me "*Give the country better quality holes for hind legs!*" The noise was incredible. And it was roaring in the ears as it roars when a train goes flying by. The norm: three-hundred-twenty hind legs, and five-hundred-sixty front ones. There was no norm. The foreman shouted: "*Let's have holes or else you'll get the penal isolator!*" There was no penal isolator either.

"You're lucky," said the great writer with a world name, Daniel, as the foreman called him ironically. He is cutting *carhos* at the doweling machine, alongside. "You're lucky, one can go sleigh-riding with you."

We go. We sneak into the drying room. We climb to the top of the details which end at the very ceiling. "You know," he says, I like my dowelling machine a *carha* foreward, a *carha* backward — a rhyme. Ten *carhas* — ten rhymes. Production rhymes, do you hear." He can be envied. I do not have any luck at rhyming. "You leave your drilling machine, you'll get the penal isolator for it, as I did, and then a production-rhyming dowelling machine."

The overseer climbs from behind the window. "*What, Daniel, are you warming your anti-Soviet ass again? Well now, finish milking the goat! Come down!*"

It is dinnertime and we are going to the dining hall. The line is horrible. An announcement hangs on the post: "If anyone has found a spoon, please turn it over to the third assembly shop. Slave Zadorozhnyy." Before you receive the "shchi" (thin watery cabbage soup) it is possible to read the *Trush* (camp wall newspaper). It is enough to pass your eyes over a few paragraphs, and the appetite is aroused.

Knut comes over. "What, are you learning your table prose?"

"It is high-caloried," I say.

"Then do not forget to put these calories in the 'shchi,' you'll see that you'll get plump."

Somebody shouts angrily, but this does not pertain to the *Trush* anymore, but to the cook. "*Those bitches have stolen rotten cabbage again!*"

"Just keep in mind," says Ali Khashahulhov, and Ingush, "not a single crumb of bread should ever fall on the floor." And he holds his bread over his bowl, as if it were a baby. Somebody chopped up parsley, the greens ennobled the "shchi" as thin as *kirza*. Somebody adds oil to it or fat. Heaven on earth.

"We are going to 'Hyde Park,'" says Shukhevych, tall, round shouldered, wearing glasses. His father was one of the leaders of the UPA Command. For his father, Yurko has been interned in camps of a severe regime since he was fourteen; now he is in his nineteenth year. His father told him "We have lost the movement." His father told him, "Grow, one cannot tell what will happen in your time. 'We are going to 'Hyde Park,'" says Shukhevych.

This is a small clearing between the second and third assembly shors. There are poplars, birches, tall grass, and wooden platforms on which the "antique bodies of the zeks" get their sun tan. This summer is particularly nice and our stomachs are in the state of bliss. The overseers run from one end to the other; the warder shouts during a lunchtime break, "*Dont take off your pants; tan only up to the waist.*" When the whistle blows, then the wardens shout "*To your work places, mandarines! What about you, Shukhevych heading for the penal isolator? Haven't you had enough yet?*" Yurko carelessly throws the jacket on his back; he waddles; he has no place to which to hurry.

"*If you were a decent man, you'd be tanning in the Crimea and spoiling women long ago, and you are stinking here!*" The warden is right — if Yurko would denounce his father, he would long since be in the Crimea.

"Go away, scoundrel," says Yurko. "Go away, or I'll enroll you in the mausoleum!"

"Nine grams, nine grams" — this is Vasyl Yakubiyak. Nine grams is a bullet which awaits him instead of freedom. This is at the time when he finishes his twenty-five-year sentence. A rare favour for people. The sincerity can be envied by the social security. Such people never own anything except their own hands. Vasyl Yakubiyak waves his hand from a distance. "Today is St. Peter and Paul Day," he says. About ten people are there. Somebody opens a small can with "lachok," the only alcoholic beverage consumed in camp. We wish good health. The "lachok" is strong; the herrings which one cannot bear to see on a work day now appear as God's mushroom.

"Mykhaylo Zelenchuk's is stronger," says somebody. "His is purer.

They take a pint of varnish alcohol, add a pint of water to it, then they pour something on cotton and stir. The cotton purifies the alcohol from the varnish. When you let it stand for another two weeks and filter it through the cotton, then you have Zelenchuk's.

Then the zeks are merry; they sing quietly, spin. The warden skips the penal isolator. The foremen are treated. It happens that they become drunk and walk on the roof, as if under the four winds.

"Foreman, what should we do? The supply of the front legs is exhausted."

"How long till the end? — three hours? Kill bed-bugs!"

But then one must watch out for the warden. Penal isolator. At no work it is hard to notice that you are "under influence" — all shake. It is a torture to pass through the watch. A search, you are felt all over, while you must hold your breath. *"Oh, bitch, you've licked . . . March off to the side you . . .! . . . Penal isolator."*

The barracks, wire fences, from which rise the lean faces of the guards and the contemptuous automatics — one is sick of it all. An individual wants space. Near the third assembly shop, alongside the railroad tracks, there is a pile of logs. One can go there and see all that which holds you in "Yezhov's" gloves. In front there is the River Yavaska, the green bank and young people. The women are bathing. The body, the bathing suit. And the zek forgets to breathe. The zek chokes on cigarette smoke; the zek would smoke himself to death if it were not for the warden. *"Finish, you bitch, stop . . . the free with your eyes!"* But the zek does not hear. The zek is by the river. He half shuts his eyes and smokes one cigarette after another. The zek would bring himself to naught if it were not for the warden. He flings a stick at him and then the zek curses in dissatisfaction and climbs down on the other side of the "object." *"Sexual gangster! Carrion!"* shouts the warden in his track. "Fool," grumbles Ivan Stanislav, "I have not climbed up there to look at all; I just smoked for a moment in the fresh air."

The zeks differ among themselves. The zeks wink their eyes and make fun of him. To be sure, the post-graduate student of the Moscow Institute of Forestry pushes a cart with details in front of him. He is finishing his fourth year. He pushes the cart and thinks about Einstein's theory of relativity. He does not know whether or not Einstein had read the Bible. In the Bible, his theory of relativity was discovered many thousand years earlier . . . "And a moment shall be eternity and eternity a moment." So it stands in the Bible. We are nothing. Somewhere in other galaxies there is their own secret movement. Our earth, our problems, our war, our camps. We establish laws. Laws are a degradations of nature. Try applying them to high-speed physics. There, you will laugh at your laws, in which you have blindly believed till now. Here you will not discover anything new with your established laws. Here you will only discover your uselessness. Only chance, pure chance, undetermined by any law, can help you in discovering something in the high-speed physics. Thus wrote Harry Mess. A new era in physics. The contemporary social development are these high speeds of atomic processes. And it is useless to set up frames for it and anti-natural laws. With them you will not discover anything, except anachronism. It is necessary to break down everything.

There is also Messing; there is also the secret of a clairvoyant.

There is the world and the anti-world, and their zero boundary. The world is the development of man from the time of his conception until death. The anti-world is the opposite: the development from the time of death till conception. We suffer, chastise, kill one another for the sake of some goal; we disregard everything in order to achieve it. And at the same time, the period which we must still pass had long since taken place in the anti-world, and there the end of our goal has been known for a long time. If all were clairvoyants like Messing and would see what is in store for us in the future, they would drop their hands and would just wait, or would revert to the state of primitive man. But a prisoner simplifies all this nonsense. A prisoner believes that if all were clairvoyants then surely there never would be zeks, prisons, and dear Soviet camps.

A zek is not an abstract concept. A zek is a strictly concrete concept. It is concrete from the bed to the dressing room. In between there is work, the balanda, the library, the political exercises. The foreman, the wardens, the detachment commander, the instructors from the republican organs of the KGB. All this flings you into its whirlpool and the man, the poor zek, rushes to and fro in it holding on either by a spoon, a broom, a work-bench, or the life-saving scolding. All appears before the eyes as a tedious catafalque and then a man reaches out for the "lyachok" or the kefir. But then again all this is momentary, transient; it also obliterates itself by this catafalque, large and awkward. And then the watchtowers and the watchdogs, who also long for the world, as do the prisoners. And then a man suddenly begins to realize his senseless vegetation. It seems as if nothing had happened; it is possible to survive, after all but it is impossible to find a place for oneself. Conversations, they are also temporary and do not save. You write poetry. Keep writing. They are grey and from this it becomes greyer all around. And then you are not attracted by colours anymore. You become colour-blind and then red for you is black, black. It is sad. A pitfall. There, beyond the wire entanglement, is a putrid ravine. Its unpleasant scent can be noticed. It enters the nostrils, no matter where you go. It is sad, as if you were rotting yourself. What for? For what offence? Senselessness and power. One another. Power, power, power of the helpless. They will obliterate you, will bring you to the rotting ravine, on the other side of the wire entanglement. There, further on is a cemetery. Graves with numbers. Wire, wire. Oh dead prisoners! You do not eat the balanda and give the fatherland even a fourth of the norm. Chairs, sofas, closets... And... Be cursed! Wickedness! What for? For what crime? Have you murdered anyone? Have you robbed anyone? You have been robbed, and now you are being killed. The clear, goat's-tail eyes of the "instructors." "*How did you dare, carrion?*" "*What?*" "*You should be shot!*" *What?*"

There, behind the assembly shop, is a blind alley. A strip of land near the barbed wire. In the past the zeks climbed it. They climbed

to the top and from there mocked the world. The world was serious and it shot. It shot in the eye, in the mouth, in the chest. Then the zek held on, on the other side of the entanglement. At last, they drag him by the legs, his head against the rocks. Somebody laments, *"Party beasts, the man was still alive!"* Alongside a dog snatches him. The late-comer. Ill-starred. They trained him to eat human flesh, but they won't let him bite into it. Bitter canine fate.

"What are you doing fascists, the man was still alive!"

"Get away, carrion, I'll shoot!"

"Yes . . . you are noble everywhere."

"Then the zek hanged himself. Disbelief. He would be found by the wash basin, as if he were washing himself. But in reality, a grey rope and a grey face. They drag him by the feet. *"What, snake, aren't you saying he was still alive!"* That feather-brained Shved. They say that he is Ukrainian. He wanted to work his way up to be general. He personally liked to shoot at close range. He'll take you to the woods — and — a close shot! *"There you have it, carrion, your . . . Ukraine!"*

By this Shved tried to brighten up his grey camp workdays. Colour-blind as well. Is it possible that he cannot tell the difference between colours, with the exception of red. Blood! Blood! Then they began to fear his agrarian sadism; they dismissed him from work. Most likely, in Khrushchov's time. He went and abused his presidential person.

A zek has invented thousands of hideaways for a piece of steel blade. A zek has cut his veins as paper. With indifference. He was revived and then zek became even greyer. A zek then thought of freedom. But not about the freedom of bread. Cyanide. Gold — fie! Arsenic, as for rats. A zek secretly rose from his bed at night and went to the dressing-room. Of course, he knew why. And suddenly he ran back. He could not endure it. Somebody's legs protruded from the dressing room and blood alongside. A dull blade. Winter. The warden rubs his sleepy eyes. "Zek, the carrion, won't let you sleep, zek wants to have fun, you see." For months he conceals a piece of glass, and then you can't have your sleep. In the wintertime. The ravine. It closes in on you. Greyness. A search. An odor which makes you sick. Give back the papers. Then someone says, *"Spit! Where do you spit, carrion, do you want to get the penal isolator? Fie!"*

The zek meets him half-way. The hall and the dining-room. The dining-room and the hall. The balanda, queues, and a representative from freedom. A writer, an artist, a scientist. Well-fed, content, with neatly ironed clothes. But they become confused; the mission, you understand . . . two sixty for a . . . They rise from . . . They talk about . . . A zek is not an idiot. He opens his eyes widely, firmly presses his fingers against the bench. He becomes rooted to his place. A zek sleeps impudently. A zek turned his back to the stage. Check.

Mate. "I, you know, at the devil's," I am relieved. Somewhere on the stage. Allegedly, the plan was over-performed. Allegedly, everything is in bloom, and there are no deserts left. Where there were vacant lots, buildings now stand. We are expanding. The five-year plan. Ever closer. Trees for hangmen.

"I thank the representatives for the meeting." A zek makes his way to the stage. Chess are somewhere. I'd rather play the "devil you know. The stage. The zek drags his feeble health there. The zek offers a bouquet. "I would like to present you with flowers, which grow in abundance in the native land." Zek presents the bouquet wrapped in newspaper. Zek's hand is pressed in gratitude. Then the zek unwraps the bouquet in the hands of the representative of the government. "Oh!" Instead of flowers — an entanglement of barbed wire. A barbed bouquet. It is thrown on the stage. Somebody kicks it under the table. Somebody rushed somewhere and froze in his tracks.

"Long live free Estonia!" shouts the zek. And then all know that the zek is an Estonian. Whistles of encouragement. A riot. Somebody throws "devils." Then the wardens. The representative: "*If they would only pay me for the mission.*" Confusion. The Estonian dragged away to the penal isolator. Too bad there is no "lyechok."

Such an occasion! A zek has something by which to erase the greyness for a day, two, three. Even on the fourth day a zek will continue to talk about this incident. Do you know, in the past for a bouquet, a better joke, "a shot in the head." Then the zek runs to the library. The zek strains his eyes. The zek reads. Then he goes back to his corner. A figure stands there. The zek says: "It's me. The zek has found out that a Soviet dog is fed more calories than Soviet zek. For a dog, 42 rubles a month are spent; for a zek, 1 rubles and 60 kopeks.

Zek Arutyunyants, still young, is serving his fifth year. He writes "*In connection with the fact that dogs are fed better than prisoner I request to transfer me to the status of a dog . . . I agree to wear muzzle and to lick the . . . I humbly beg you not to refuse me the last human request.*"

The dogs are mad at zek Arutyunyants. They reply to the zek "*In connection with the fact that your petition was written in an anti-Soviet spirit, its substance will not be examined.*" Now the zek is mad at the dogs.

"I would have docked on the other side long ago," says zek Yevhrafov. "But I have hope."

What hope it is nobody knows except zek Yevhrafov. He knows everything. You can even ask him something about Monte Carlo. What he does not know is the price of a quarter-liter bottle of whiskey prior to the war. The zek has bought an accordion. But the zek is bad in music. He has heard so much nastiness in life, that his fingers cannot strike up a nice melody. "But I have hope," he says

What hope it is, nobody knows aside from zek Yevhrafov. He received ten years for the Chinese. Then he turned to poetry. The zek is a poet. One of those poets who write a petition a day to various institutions. "Please examine my case." Close to three thousand petitions. The zek is ridiculed, but one zek is not equal to another. Then zek Yevhrafov says: "I must fight somehow. What, do you know another way?"

I, too, zek Osadchyy, will fight. He is no worse than zek Yevhrafov. And he, after all, has better handwriting. Neatly, tactfully, he writes, "I beg you." Zek Osadchyy will write six thousand petitions. And he receives a reply: "*Please inform z/k Osadchyy that his petition was examined by the Attorney General's Office of the Ukr. SSR and that it was found that he was sentenced rightfully.*" Then the zek goes on foot. Zek Yevhrafov and the last prosecutor of Judea wave their hands at him from the roof of the barracks. Suddenly they stand side by side and gaze onto the River Yavaska. The prosecutor of Judea rubs his hands impatiently. People are swimming there. Only women, as fat as sewer pipes. The last prosecutor of Judea says: "*Oh, just to cut a piece of that chubbly one!*"

And then an individual tries to save himself. He snatches at flowers, sunflowers, Hyde Parks. Then there is the library. A zek sits behind the table in every free hour and reads. If you approach him, he stops reading. He'll put the book aside and will suddenly begin to pour out wisdom. A zek has finished five grades, but at times the professors have nothing to teach a zek. A zek is wise, although not greyhaired. A zek has no time to get grey, inasmuch as his head is shaved. The zek is the writer Synyavskyy. It is possible to notice: he notes something down, his shoulders are bent backwards and he squints his eyes to the two sides of the world. The warden cannot come upon him suddenly. An apostolic beard bent over a book. Zek-Synyavskyy, zek-Knut, zek-Karavanskyy are bibliomaniacs. Zek-Karavanskyy writes grievances. A grievance against a journalist who scribbled a *feuilleton* against him. A grievance against the minister of higher and secondary education of the Ukr. SSR for the Russification of the Ukrainian higher educational establishments. A grievance against the judge who illegally deprived him of freedom. That journalist received a fee for his sweaty labour. Zek Karavanskyy will receive three years of confinement in the Vladimir prison.

A commission arrives. "Who, how, and from where?" A commission. They checked the books in the library. "*Ha-ha! Do they read Dostoyevsky? Tolstoy, Chekhov, Flober? The zeks who came here to suffer, do they want to derive aesthetic pleasure from good books?*" The commission took away these books. It took more. A zek reads Sobko; a zek reads Kozachenko, Korniychuk, Dmytrenko, Zbanatskyy. A zek cannot restrain himself any longer; he runs to the dressingroom and spits: "*Snakes!*" he shouts, "*homos!*" "*Tear off your leprous hands!*" Zek has bad manners and does not read critique.

Zek spits in vain. "I, carrion, am illiterate, and I can still write better than you. Staff idiots." Because of this a zek will never write anything. And so he lives out his days without fees and "Volgas." Read, zek, your dear Soviet critique!

But a zek is not lost; a zek has contacts to freedom. A zek receives books by mail. This is unheard of! In the whole history of camps, zeks began to receive printed matter and letters. They come from Panas Zalyvakha, Oleksander Martynenko, Yaroslav Hevrych, Yurii Daniel. From Kyiv, Lviv, Odessa, Lutsk, Kharkiv, Moscow. This is unheard of — scores of printed-matter packages and letters. The administration said, "What's the matter, what kind of people are sending it? Who are they?"

"An acquaintance."

"So what that it's an acquaintance, is he then allowed to show up on our necks?"

There is no regulation about non-delivery. There is one which says to deliver. But this constitutes a demonstration of support. Hand over printed matter to the zek and his "spirits will rise."

"What is this, a health resort for him and he a resort personality?"

Then the mail is given out to the zek once, and five times it is withheld. When you receive a printed matter parcel, it is checked from "head to foot." "Perhaps it is political intrigue of some kind. Or perhaps money is being sent clandestinely?" But printed matter packages are demonstratively arriving. From Ivan and Nadiya Svitlychnyy, Ivan Dzyuba, Vyacheslav Chornovil, Lyudmyla Sheremeteyeva, Halyna Sevruk, Halyna and Viniyamin Kushnir . . . After this, three dots. Otherwise for the zek this enumeration is endless. And in Lviv, Kyiv, and Moscow they receive returned deliveries "Not subject to delivery, not located, the addressee refused to accept (Not the addressee, but the last mail of Yavas!)"

Letters are classified as those which "raise the zek's spirits" and those which "say nothing." The latter arrive in several days. The former take a month or two, or do not arrive at all. Letters to a zek should be scanty on information; their prime topic should be the weather. A nice letter, if and when it is received, is a public event. If it is not intimate, all read it. Particularly nice letters always come from Valeriy Shevchuk and Vasyl Stus, as well as from Daniel's wife, Larysa Bohoraz. They contained public life, literary news, and others. Valeriy Shevchuk's letters were like small short stories. They were read with delight.

The following letter: "Court summons II-B, 1764. The People's Court of the Lenin District of the city of Lviv summons you (to appear in court) at 10:30 on August 4, 1966, as defendant in the case of eviction. Secretary. Signature." This type of letter was received by zek Osadchyy in two days. It informs about the eviction of his wife from their Lviv apartment. The zek is alarmed; the zek acts as if he

were crazy. The zek worries. Then the musor says: "Well then, carrion, aren't you leaping now?"

A zek is permitted to write letters too, a zek is not a completely doomed creature. Two letters a month. A zek, just as Soviet literature, has his censor. A zek writes that it is difficult for him, that the food is bad. This "does not please" the censor. The censor bans such correspondence. A zek is supposed to write: "Dear mother (sister, wife): I received your letter. I live well. The administration is pleased with my work. I participate in the socially beneficial work of the camp. I am doing my utmost to get the administration to raise the question of my conditional release prior to the completion of the term. Love. Yours..." Zek is indignant: "Is that a letter? It is sh...!" "What is the matter with you, bitch, have you come here to write novels? Go piss!"

In the camp, there are dozens of young and elderly writers. They too, want to lead literary lives. Daniel: "We can compile a collection of poetry of our camp poets of various nationalities. We must show the world that not 'bandits' and 'anti-Sovietchiki' are confined here. Here are gifted people, talented, and the world must know about it. The collection will be in all the languages of the camp poets, Zaura Kabali, a Georgian, Ali Khashahulnov, an Ingush, Knut Skueniks, a Latvian, Valdur, an Estonian. The collection will be artistically finished by our artists Panas Zalyvakha and others. The world must know that 'bandits' are not incarcerated here."

Knut Skueniks: "From today on we commemorate the dates of great writers and artists of the world. We cannot lead a zek's life: balanda, a barrack, and legs to chairs." A commemorative "evening" was held, in the daytime over a cup of tea. Sunday. Franko. August 22, 1966. Sunday. Shota Rusthaveli. Early September, 1966. Artist Christian Raud, an Estonian and so forth. The writer, of whatever nationality, prepares the "evening." Literary works are being translated into various languages of the world. They are read. There are many willing to listen, as well as those willing to perform.

I recall the "evening" of Jan Rainis. Translations into Ukrainian, Georgian, Estonian, and Russian. A cup of coffee. The musor asks, "What kind of gathering is it?" He sees books, flips over pages, "Jan Rainis," he reads, "What, from abroad? A nationalist, a traitor?" "No, a national poet of Latvia."

"Then why are you honouring him?" says the musor again.

They keep turning pages. Somebody says, "There is no political intrigue, all publications are Soviet."

"Don't prompt me, I am not blind! Disperse!"

All shouted "We won't go!" They drag the one sitting at the edge of the table. "Leave him alone, we won't let you. We are drinking coffee and commemorating a writer who is being honoured by the UNESCO." There are two wardens and about twenty prisoners.

"Too bad that there are no more of us," said the musor. "You would

then smell...! Daniel, I know you well, you will answer for the disturbance of the camp regime."

Daniel, tall and with high cheek bones replied, "O.K., wherever it will be necessary! When necessary, I'll answer!"

It is possible to live. Here one can live as nowhere else. If there had ever been the most democratic country, then it only could have been a camp. Think what you want. Say what you want. Even preach the wisdom of a sparrow. A punished one is no longer punished. Knut Skueniks. Latvia does not have its own camps, they murder them from the Mordovians. The Russians are the intermediaries. Knut strikes his red beard. Knut calmly raises his arm, "Where should he rush to?" Rags always stick out of his shoes. He takes a piece of toast from his pocket, "Give your lips a taste."

Knut toasts them on the battery in the shop and laughs when somebody cannot break them with his teeth. "You don't have teeth," he says. "I shall find it difficult to talk to you about something." He has an amusing fortune. He graduated from the Moscow Gorky Institute of Literature. He worked for a Riga youth newspaper. He wrote verse. And then he received seven years for anti-Soviet nationalist propaganda. Latvian. Funny. Knut is amused. He makes fun of the word "propaganda." They are not afraid of propaganda; they are afraid of an artist. An artist contradicts evil; an artist strives toward a new good. An artist is not understood. And it is this misunderstanding which gives rise to a label. They stick it on you and — off with you to a "health resort." Hyde Park and Baland Well and good, if you survive.

Knut strikes his red beard, this is not sepsis. A human being is a fighter. A writer is its expression. To write how a tram goes back and forth on the tracks and often derails on icy ground. There must exist a different world, a world created separately which brings something, preaches something. A model of the world created with your own hands. They do not understand you, do not understand your model, are afraid of it. They want to hide you somewhere as fast as possible, to isolate you because you bring an "anathema." Because you set off the "ideal" old model with a new one, which, in your opinion, is more ideal. What is an artist? An artist is not one who portrays or recreates nature, the sunset and a human being against its background. An artisan does that. An artist is one who leads a human being through nature, through sunset, against the background. He is a "dictator." He is certain of his rightness. An artist must flee from life in order to be able to comprehend it. He must run away from the life of petty everyday existence because it picks him to pieces. An artist must prick out his eyes, as Democritus did, in order to peek, at last, into the innermost substance, in order to recognize it, in order to perceive the verity of life. It is necessary to stand above everything, above the storms and everyday existence. Then you will see the horizon which could possibly be

your new world. In our country they fear such artists. They are taken to be dangerous, while they are socially indispensable. In ten or twenty years such artists are brought out to a square and hailed as heroes. Kafka, Joyce, Holding, Dostoyevsky. During their lifetime, they were not understood, because they were like the odd Demosthenes who isolated himself from the world; he climbed into a barrel and there created his higher substance. They not only denied the old model of the world, but they also created a new model which is snatched now as a drowning man snatches at a straw. The point in question is not a social model, but a spiritual one, that spiritual model according to which people begin to live several centuries beforehand.

Knut strikes his red beard and says that the Ukrainian Kalynets is also a kind of new model of the world. He created it unusually peacefully and profoundly. It is possible to enter it and leave it confused. It is possible not to understand him, but this confusion does not leave you. You begin to search for something. If you find it, you're lucky. If not, then you reject his new world because of your lowliness as a pithecanthrope (ape-man); you brand a poet with the label: "an antique." You throw him out of society, while your grandchildren suddenly snatch at this new world and you raise your hands. Art must be created by artists and they themselves must be in charge of it. When another master, a dogmatist, takes over art, the art dies. Art cannot stand intervention by ignorant people; art is the concern of jewelers not artisans.

"When you enter literature, clean off your shoes," said Vyshnya. Knut answered, "Art is created by the intellectually free. An enslaved mind is an enslaved spirit. An enslaved spirit can only create an excellent model of the enslaved workday, can recreate its limitations and bars. But it will never be capable of creating a progressive model of the world. A model, which people will get to understand much later."

Rafalovych points to the sky and says that it can be read with as much interest as fiction. Mars is yellow, but not because it has liver trouble. Venus is greenish, also not because of anger. It is as good as a lazy cat. There is a Fish constellation, but fishermen have no work to do there. Knut strikes his red beard in darkness: "What about it, boys, a moon to one, a Venus to another, but it's time for me to glue veneer." People are lazy and do not want to think. The new world of a bell was an insult and a senseless challenge for them. Now even the tsar himself would say that the bell is a necessary thing because Herzen said it one hundred years ago. When presently a new "Bell" of Knut will appear, Knut will cut veneer for seven years. Someday, they will say that Knut not only cut veneer for society, but that he also created a new, a much more interesting model for it. This is a song about the indestructibility of matter.

But until Knut creates a new model, Knut must glue veneer and fight with cooks who again feed him rotten cabbage, far away from

Latvia. Knut must survive for the sake of his model. And in order to survive, the cunning Knut has invented a Eurydice for himself. E jumps out of bed nights and runs to the courtyard. He imagines that she stands there, beautiful and unequalled. Not the Eurydice, for whom the mythical Orpheus searches across the entire world with torch in his hands. This is a new Eurydice. She searches for her Orpheus. And he has been lost in the world and is gluing veneer. Knut returns to the barracks deceived. Knut is confused. Knut may fail to survive. Then Knut wants to outwit his own cunning self. E writes an unusual poem about Eurydice who is searching for Orpheus. It goes as follows:

I do not see you, I do not hear you, *Eurydice!*
 But I hear you in front of me, *Eurydice!*
 Everywhere and always in front of me, *Eurydice!*
 For ever and ever, *Eurydice!*
 My tongue, my eyes, my *Eurydice!*
 Your glance was the beginning,
 Your glance shall be the end . . .
Eury-y-di-i-ce . . .

Night and a dim light. The second tier, and from long legs hanging Knut. Behind the door a black outline of the warden. It is possible to see his evil eyes. The warden waits. The warden is tired of waiting. Then he turns. Knut stretches himself. Knut will deceive all. Knut will not be found by any Eurydice. Knut simply wants to survive in a primitive way.

A wolf is of feminine gender in the Ingushet language. A wolf means their native land, its symbol, its flag. When the Ingushets were deported to North Kazakhstan during the war, the wolves also disappeared from the Vaynakh hills. The wolves could not live without the Ingushets, who had been deprived of their fatherland. The wolves did not want to become a flag for foreigners. The wolf disappeared from the mountains. They did not go north with the Ingushets. Bitter cold, snowdrifts. The mountaineers lay on the road cold, feeble, corpses. The mountaineers were not used to bitter cold and it destroyed them. Their warm homeland was deserted by wolves. There was a new master and the mountaineers died like flies. Ali had not seen this, only his father related it: "Ali," the father said "Ali . . ." His father had not said anything else. He only stared ahead mutely. "No wolves, Ali, no . . ." And the grandmother, with an ever-opened mouth, entered the house and the dumb frost came with her. The grandmother's mouth had not shut for more than twenty years. It gapes as a wide hole and does not cry.

"Ali," says his father, "we do not have wolves anymore. There are no wolves, Ali."

"If so much of the intelligentsia were transplanted by us, as by you in Ukraine in 1965 alone, we would have nothing left," says Ali

Ali says that their entire intelligentsia "has gone," not in the 1930's, but a little later.

In 1960 they were permitted to return to the mountains, to their homeland. The mountaineers hid themselves in their cold hovels and refused to go. The mountaineers feared that they would be deceived again. They did not want to go. Then the Ingushets, who wanted to have their wolves, went among them. "Go, mountaineers," they said, "the wolves are waiting for you."

"We have no wolves, Ali," said his father, "there are none, Ali!" The agitators were caught and disappeared somewhere forever. The mountaineers returned to their mountains, to their homeland, and then, it is said, the wolves appeared in the mountains. The wolves came to the Ingushets.

"We do not have any wolves, Ali," said the old man, "here are none, Ali." While studying at the Grozny Pedagogical Institute, Ali has heard: "We have no wolves, Ali, we have none." Later Ali was arrested with another teacher, twice as old as himself, for anti-Soviet nationalist (Ingushet) activity. Ali was told that he was anti-Soviet as a thirteen-year-old, when he wrote a nationalist poem. They attribute a two-man organization to them. They wanted to make the elderly teacher the chief offender, because he could have exerted influence on the younger one. "He did not influence me," said Ali, "I influenced him." They were given four years each.

"We do not have wolves, Ali, we have none." "We are not accepted at higher educational establishments," says Ali. "They are afraid to teach us, afraid that we might perceive something. The common people do not understand; they are afraid when they lack the intelligentsia. Our language lacks many words: *freedom*, *work*, the word *intelligentsia*. We are two-hundred-fifty thousand. Two-hundred-fifty thousand. A two-hundred-fifty thousand-strong herd of mountaineers. In Kafka, it seems, it went about without heads. Even if our nation does disappear, a skeleton of a wolf will harden in the mountains. A gigantic wolf. This will be the last wolf of the world. Gloating mountaineers."

"We have no wolves, Ali, we have none, Ali." "If I knew that my language will die tomorrow, I would die today. I bear no grudge against any nation, nor its language, but a misfortune has been inflicted upon us. I can point my finger at those who committed this crime. They walk alongside of us; you can see them; they have smiling faces. They are not tormented at all because they have exterminated thousands."

"We have no wolves, Ali, we have none." "I was nineteen, when I was taken. I was proud and, aside from pride, I had nothing else. I did not know at all how to conduct myself. Much later, an investigator approached me and said: "*You are conducting yourself, snout nose, as a spy!*"

"Do you mean — firmly?"

That old poet X spent his entire life in prisons, in exile from his native hills. That old man returned home as feeble as his people. He was dying and said, "I wanted to tell you something, mountaineers I had so much to tell you, mountaineers." He died without saying anything else, aside from these words.

"We have no wolves, Ali, no . . ." Ali, black as his hills, is wet all over. Ali inserts detail after detail in the scratch gauge. Ali polishes "Do you see these veins? Can mountain blood flow in them? Let it flow at home in the hills. It has nothing to do in the ocean. A foreign ocean."

"Zek, come here!"

The zek approaches. The zek has a dignified face and intelligent eyes. This zek comes from the mountains.

"Why don't you salute, prisoner?" Two prisms of red eyes stare at him. They have blue veinlets. This is perhaps from excessive drinking. The face is filled with fat and is distorted. This is some predatory mask. A mask of fat and human wickedness.

They run. They stumble. *"Your . . . your . . . com . . . comra . . . comrade . . . comrade commandant of the Dubrovlag, Colonel Gromov . . . He stumbled — fell . . . He does not move; his eyes are lifted in prayer. His eyes are filled with fear.*

"To the lock up?"

"What for, commander, comrade?"

"You! Prisoner, what is your name?"

"We have no wolves, Ali, we have none." "Do you see these veins? Can mountain blood flow in them? Let it flow at home in the mountains. It has nothing to do in the ocean, a foreign ocean!" "My name? Ali Khatahilhov."

"Not Ali, but prisoner Khatahulhov! Five days of penal isolator for you!"

"What for, commandant?"

"Next time you must greet the commandant."

"But at home, in the mountains, to greet a person means to wish him good health. And I do not want to wish you health!"

The most criminal people in the world are the Ukrainians. They are the basest. One can approach them and look into their eyes, they are contemptible. There is something lively in them which it is worth guarding against. Ukrainians are guarded against. If you do not take precautions against them, they'll do with you something that the devil himself won't be able to figure out. You can observe this among them. They are quite vigorous. Step on their tail; they leave it and flee. And then their tail grows anew. In camp they feel themselves at home. A Ukrainian will hang his foot rags on a birch tree to dry. One should not dry foot cloths on a birch tree because they do not become it at all. There is no beauty whatsoever. But try to tell him this. He will come and show you his criminal eyes.

Oh, these Ukrainians! Here they predominate and therefore they

are so insolent. They, you know, have such bad manners. But this is not the only problem. In addition, they are sincere nationalists; wherever there is an opportunity, they elbow in with their language. A Russian zek, a Lithuanian zek, all of them, will unexpectedly say something in Ukrainian, you know. If it were only the zeks, but the warden also says *harazd*, *pohano*, *lykho*, *dobre* (very well, that's bad, misfortune, good). In several years' time the camp can change to the Ukrainian language altogether. Knut is already speaking it. Daniel speaks it. Then that Finn, as well, though he has never even been to Ukraine. This is not nationalism, but chauvinism. In general, these Ukrainians have never been nationalists. They are chauvinists, and they are not even trying to conceal the fact. But they must be imprisoned for nationalism, inasmuch as we have not progressed as far as chauvinism. There is no corresponding article. When there is one, then surely the word *nationalism* will disappear. Otherwise, the Ukrainians camouflage themselves with it too much. It has become very convenient for them, but in general, what do they want?

They want Ukraine to be independent. Well, make it independent for them, then in several years they will assimilate all languages, and if anyone fails to submit, they will confine all to the Mordovian camps. It is good that the people understand this and do not permit it. But he who goes against the will of the people is sent to a concentration camp. Let them create it over there. They have let themselves go so much. To bring such infamy upon their nation in the world! But here, you know, they take a closer look at one, at another, at the third, and it carries from him, the dog.

And they are all so cunning. He is told to attend political classes in order to re-educate himself, to become a man, at last. Nobody wishes him harm. And he goes beyond the barracks onto the stadium to play football. Well, cursed faith! Or else, he will fall belly-up in Hyde Park. Thus he absorbs energy from the sun. But don't worry, the lathe is standing idle, and the chair legs are lying about unattached. You put him in a penal isolator for this, and he rests there for fifteen days, greets you, walks, and even has rosy cheeks. Where the hell did you get rosy cheeks in the penal isolator when you have slept on cement? And he cannot get used to order at all. There is the collective council; there are sections of internal security, the cultural and educational, the sanitary and hygienic, the sport. He will race like crazy after a football, but to join a section and to race under its auspices, the devil take it.

The supervisor summons him. He talks to him as to a human being, as to an equal. He begs him to re-educate himself, to denounce his former deeds. And what happens? He would get a medical exemption for this; he would get, after completing half a term, a parcel once every four months; he could write four letters a month. In the canteen, seven rubles instead of five. And the authorities would respect him. But no. He cannot, the cursed seed; he is stubborn as a

bull and keeps still. But don't worry, where it is uncalled for, he shouts so much that one can be deafened. And there are also such who are rotten with age, but who have not had relations with a girl who have not held what a decent man could hold. He could get out and get married in the Donbas. He could work in a mine or in Kazakhstan as a combine operator. But no, he will not repent. And even if he does repent, will you let him go, when his repentance was insincere? Let him complete his term, when he is so smart. And how viable he is. He is serving twenty-five years for his little deeds and he survives. Another one would die ten times, and he lives. He is not only living, but he is still hoping for something.

He was such a pleasant old man, so quiet, who always walked close to the wall. When somebody approached him, he made way, even greeted him first. He was such a nice old man, who joined all sections. I remember him well. He was so kind. Once he told me that he, too, had been stubborn in the past, and then he re-educated himself and repented. He could have received a parcel from home, but nobody sent him any because there was no one left from his family. He could have written four letters a month, but there was nobody to whom to write. He could have spent seven rubles at the camp canteen, but he was not working due to old age and had no money. The authorities respected him greatly. His case had even been examined. He had told me already that he would be released soon. I was happy for him.

"Yes, yes," I said, "you will see freedom soon."

And one day he simply died. I felt so sorry for him. He was such a peaceful old man, so pleasant and so experienced in life. But he died as soon as he repented. This astonished me very much. So long as he failed to repent, he lived; once he repented, he died. There is something suspicious here. Most likely, he did not die of his own free will. I knew that all was not in order, because when he was being buried, nobody came to pay his last respects to the old man. I walked alone, at a distance, so that no one would accidentally see me.

Laughter in paradise. One can see Daniel who sits next to a zek, and the zek is recounting something to him. One can notice how he listens, how he shakes his head, how his lips twitch. He only hides his eyes. One can pour oneself out with joy and sadden the zek. Laughter in paradise. Daniel saw an office before him, some small room. He sees a window and searches for unfamiliar faces in it. Daniel listens to the zek and thinks that there is laughter in paradise. To search for characters in a streetcar, when they sit next to you and speak. One can learn whole novels from their three words. A zek is stingy; he talks with his whole body. A zek is sincere and does not know that he is being robbed. Yuliy takes from him everything which can be taken by the one who loves people in his works. He notes at which words do the zek's lips jump. Why doesn't the zek want freedom; why does he tell everyone about it, when in reality he dreams about it at night? Why is the zek so stubborn and lets himself

be robbed so easily? A zek pulls away a cup; a zek begs that poetry be recited to him. Why does a zek need verse, when he cannot even read very well. A zek leans against the doorpost and listens. He dozes and listens. It is enough to stop and he turns his head, insulted. Why does a zek need poems when he is dozing off? Zeks let themselves be robbed. Pictures, characters. This is not a camp of criminals, but some cage with book characters. Write with stingy words and a world will arise which will move, which will attract and push away from itself.

The Dostoyevsky period. Profound and true. But zek Daniel has no time for thought. He has stripped himself to the waist and is driving a plank into the dowel-cutting machine. Daniel is earning his balanda. Daniel must fulfill his norm. If he fails, there is an outcry. Daniel is threatened with a penal isolator. He is getting special treatment. An alley in the shop between the work-benches. Two cannot pass. One must step aside. The supervisor Kravchenko has turned up his self-assured, detached face and slowly comes up the alley. If he were to step to the left, the work-benches and stacks of details would separate before him. The supervisor has power and comes vis-a-vis Daniel, in the same alley. Three steps, two. Somebody says, "Daniel, do not step in the sh . . .!" Kravchenko stopped. He raised his colourless eyes in surprise and stepped aside. "*What, carrion, do you want the penal isolator?*" This was already said behind Daniel's back.

Laughter in paradise. One leg after the other. You can shoot a zek, but he won't walk faster. A zek is going to work. One can read posters, says Yuliy. "*Dog drivers! Achieve excellence in military and political preparedness!*" And at the exit from the work zone: "*Education of a new man is the principal, the most important thing, during the transition from socialism to communism.*"

"*Daniel, why don't you give the norm?*"

Daniel is silent.

"*Why don't you fulfill the norm?*" His face turns red and his hands shake.

"*Daniel!*"

"I have already said a week ago that I shall not speak with you as long as you fail to address me politely, using 'you' in the polite form."

One leg after the other. You can shoot a zek, but he won't go faster. A zek is going to work. One can watch the bored faces of free men. They walk not far away, beyond the barbed-wire fences. They are sad and have no expression. The face of a free man is an abstraction which it is a shame to decipher. A zek's face is an exposed nerve. Touch him lightly and he turns. Slowly, as befits a zek. And in half an hour's time there is shouting.

Laughter in paradise. One can die from it. "*Daniel, why do you hang around with despicable zeks, you're a gentleman, you're a writer. Why are you penetrating the thieves' souls?*"

A jacket hangs from the left shoulder. "I like it so."

Zek Daniel is cheerful. He has washed himself and goes to the dining-hall. He is being summoned. The guards. Then a guard says: "*Do you recognize this?*" It is Daniel's portrait painted by Roman Duzhynskyi. "*Watch,*" says the guard and cuts it to small pieces with a knife.

Daniel jerks his lips. Daniel has hidden his hands in his pockets so as not to betray himself. He goes through the zone, while they shout to him, "*Daniel, do you want to be roasted on a spit?*" Yes, yes. . . In an hour, "Such a feeling as if I were being cut up. I could feel with every cell. I almost began to shout. I could hardly restrain myself from throwing myself at the guards. I simply wondered how I managed to control myself. This had not been I." He could not work for the entire shift. He sat in the dryer. He said: "Such a feeling, as if you were being quartered, and all the time they are purposely forgetting to cut off your head."

Daniel! Have you ever received a fee for your works, aside from the jacket which you are presently wearing? "Jewish and Russian blood flows in my veins and foreign soil is under my feet." Yes, yes. Laughter in paradise. The truth of yesterday has today become a trifle which is not worth a bowl of balanda. It would die of hunger.

"*Daniel, why aren't you working instead of reading the paper?*"

"*So what, does that mean you should read the paper? Well, of with you, begone to the foreman for another job!*"

One leg after the other. A zek could be shot, but a zek will not go faster, a zek is going to work. Suddenly, there is a slogan; "*Socialist democracy is a higher form of democracy.*" And then: "*To freedom with a clear conscience!*"

"*Knut, the happiness of the Lithuanian people is to be found in the friendship with the Great Russian people.*"

"*Please excuse me for the policy of my home.*"

Evening. It comes later to the second assembly plant. Dusk, cells. Zeks who smoke. There are windows in the aperture—the red sky of the North. In that beauty there is something of the thoughts of a madman.

"*Yulik, do you have one hundred grams for each of us?*"

Yulik turns his head. "Yes, yes. I'm giving it." This is the soul of a noble-minded zek. Chefir is his expression. A zek searches for himself in a thing. And then he cannot get rid of them. And then, into the water-closet.

"*Yulik, is there a shot of 'lachok' for each?*"

"*Contemptible zeks!*" The guard sleeps in the evening. Even the trees get tired.

A zek has a drink and begins to talk. Then Daniel is silent. He pretends that he is watching the opening, looking at the red sky. "*You're lucky, Yulik. You fight the guards with verses. But I, b . . . I'm stupid, I can only fight with curses. I cannot fight with poetry. You, Yulik, are simply a rascal, the guard is afraid of you!*"

"Prisoner Daniel, what are you rubbing yourself with?"

"This is the cream 'Taiga' against insects."

"Let's have it, I'll check." The insects bite without mercy, the wretched zek fate. *"Prisoner, let's have it, do you hear!"*

"Let's have it" means not to have it anymore. Daniel climbed onto a table. The guards and an officer came running. *"Give it to me, I'll have a look, if it's 'Taiga', I'll give it back!"*

Yulik stepped down to the ground. He was knocked off his feet. Somebody was kicking him ferociously in the head. Somebody was hitting him with something heavy, *"There you have it, carrion, your polite 'you'; there you have it, carrion, for your advocacy; this is for the heart attack of Mykhaylo Soroka, as a treatment for you; there you have your heroism!"*

Daniel did not cry out and did not defend himself. He only covered his face to avoid the blows. They let him go. He walked and smiled like an idiot.

"They fear that I shall complain and they will get it. They think that I'll complain." He holds his wounded hand against his chest. "They are afraid, these cowards. A beast has awakened inside them, and they cannot control it. But it would be ridiculous if I were to complain to somebody. I am harbouring pain and I shall bear it; I do not want to kill it by mean revenge. The pain will die just as love of a woman dies, who you suddenly find in bed with another. I need this pain no less than the strange zeks who beg that poetry be read to them and doze off when you are reading it. Laughter in paradise. I shall be set free some day. I do not want to come out empty-handed, but to cross somebody's path, as though with pails, to make somebody unhappy when you cross his path with empty pails."

At times, the bed becomes distorted; the second tier becomes warped and the zek slips to the floor. He continues to sleep, having placed his dirty arm under his head, and only later raises his head and gazes blindly in front of him. He says something but if you listened hard you will not hear anything. This is a mirage on the wall. The zek had not slipped anywhere. He continues to sleep on his bed, on his second twisted tier. But something disturbs him in the red background of the sky. He creeps to the edge of the bed and stares at the ceiling. The lamp glows dimly. The colours of loss? Where am I? The zek rubs his fist against his temple. He raises himself on his weak legs and watches how they tremble. The knees bend backwards, and the zek becomes dumbfounded; how can the knees turn backward? Why is nothing holding them back? Then he sees that the legs are lifeless, that they can be twisted into thin wisps and knotted. The zek will not show up for work tomorrow and then the zek will die. I do not want to die, whispers the zek; I shall get better. It is just these dammed knees — great traitors. Seven zeks make a fire from newspapers in the middle of the cell and pour water into a bowl. And suddenly a zek climbs up to the

lamp; a zek chews on the lamp. Darkness! Only warm crackling I shall die in this darkness, whispers the zek. The tier does not bend over again and then the zek begins to cry. Through the grating, the red sky descends upon the barracks; three zeks cut out flesh from their legs and put it into a bowl. The newspapers burn and the doomed zek writhes from his ulcer. "You will die nevertheless tomorrow you will be buried as a corpse. Give some of your flesh, hm It's all the same for you how you'll be buried, with flesh or without it."

"And will you give me some?"

"So that you will survive?" The bow-legged zek falls on the floor at last and crawls to the fire, "I would also like some flesh."

The zek is hit between his teeth. Then the zek turns his head to the sky and howls mutely. Then they begin to beat the zek. They beat him on the head, because it does not hurt him anywhere else. And then there is shouting: "I know why we are beating the zek, he has eaten my spoon."

Then one zek drags another zek to the door. The zek has epilepsy and goes into convulsions. One can hear how his head beats powerlessly. The zek is an epileptic.

"What have you done with it?" they yell at him.

The zek smiles and holds a spoon in his hand, "You see, it hasn't had time to digest itself yet. I know that."

Suddenly he begins to howl. He goes up to the window and howls. The fire on the floor goes out, and this already due to a loss. A zek feels the loss unexpectedly, just as the tickling of the noose around the neck is felt three days in advance. Then he sees the guard outside. He runs in some direction and drags a sled with newspapers behind him. The zek bites his lips until they bleed, "The guard must be killed," the zek turns, "the guard has newspapers."

"The guard cannot be killed, the gallows for the guard."

"Well, then, aren't we going to eat your flesh?"

He becomes silent in astonishment. Two eyes drilled in the wall peer at them, directly at them. They are the eyes of a tiny animal screwed into the corner, which resists. They are the eyes of a tiny animal, zek Daniel. Tiny and even smaller than the rusty *parash* (urinal).

The tea becomes ice cold in half an hour. The tiny stove, it seemed did not make warm, but refrigerated. Oleksander Martynenko leaped from his plank bed and went to the door. He pounded on it and shouted abuses, as only zeks, who were brought to despair, can shout abuses. "Snakes, do you want us to become numb?"

Then I climbed down from the bare plank bed. We banged as only zeks, who wanted to warm themselves a bit somehow, can bang. A sleepy warden came closer. "What is it; why are you yelling?"

"He has an ulcer," I shouted, "he needs a doctor, he is in pain!"

"Okay, okay."

The warden left and then it became more horrible still. Oleksander twisted and turned on the plank bed. A stomach ulcer in frost is an inhuman suffering. At times he raised himself and stared before him with unseeing eyes. Then the fear gripped. Night. Torture. Cold. Ulcer. What luck that there is no hair on the head. The hair would freeze to the plank bed. Hair frozen to the plank bed. We rush and bang on the door again. We want to survive till morning. "Snakes, give us a mattress!"

"Okay, okay," mumbles the warden. One can hear how his slow steps echo down the empty corridor.

Later, in the morning already, an operative employee of the KGB says, "Do you know why we have transferred you from the camp to the prison regime?" Martynenko raises his eyes, red from sleeplessness. "As we have ascertained, you have not repented at all. You received your three years, and it seems you like it so much here that you wish to remain here forever?" Martynenko thrust himself against the chair's back. The *oper* (operative employee) pierced him with his half-closed eyes. "You can deny it, but we know that you continue to hold your nationalist views and to express them in your surroundings."

Then Martynenko said, "I do not know what you know. I only know that you are as omnipotent as the mannequin in the shop window. Yet I do not care a damn about it. Tell me why we are being frozen in the cell? Why it has been prohibited to give me medicine? I have a stomach ulcer. Do you know, the all-powerful, what an ulcer is like?"

"Calm down, calm down, everything will be clarified."

Until "it was clarified" we were issued two mattresses; we sleep on one and cover ourselves with the other. Martynenko says that one can live like that, that the nationalists are not such doomed people after all. He hardly peeks from under the mattress. One can see his nose and hear Pushkin's *Eugene Onegin*. He recites it from memory all night long. He recites three variants of every chapter. I fall asleep in astonishment. "The North is harmful for me." Martynenko is also quite a talent, to have such a memory. He knows all Ukrainian poets by heart and the entire Lermontov. Sleep, Aleksander, of good memory.

The *oper* from Lviv, Captain Marusenko, with clean-shaven, attractive face, smiles. "What, are we freezing a bit? I become acquainted with your case. There are quite a few inconsistencies in it; much has been confused and, in general, it has not been juridically motivated."

Then why am I being held? And why haven't you brought Novychenko here? At the congress of writers of Ukraine he delivered a speech for the likes of which I would certainly get no less than seven years. It is interesting how you differentiate the fate of men."

"Well, you know, everything happens. But do not think that all

those writers are so courageous. One has done something, and the others are peeking out from under the bushes to see what tomorrow will bring."

"But don't worry," I say, "after his efforts in which he crossed out whole generations of Ukrainian writers, that Novychenko can permit himself this toy as well. This, you know, is only a flirtation with the young readers in his old age."

Captain Marusenko slipped in a piece of paper "Sign!" I read, "Adheres to his former nationalist views and expresses them." It was signed by the commandant of the Dubrovlag and another person. I said, "The factory is operating."

"Well, if you want it so, I can cross this out." The *oper* crosses out the passage about my views. He adds a postscript: "Osadchyy was summoned here at his own wish." He gives it to me to sign again.

I write: "The same fabrication as my whole 'Case No. 107'."

It is hard to surprise a zek by anything. Tell him in the morning that there is a world revolution in America and he will say: "Well, all right, I'm going." Tell a zek that somebody has swallowed two sets of chess and washed them down with two spoons, he raises his eyes. "And were the spoons wooden?" Tell him that in the veneer shop somebody has finally managed to fall into boiling water in which the logs are soaked, and he will reply, "They will erect a partition at last."

It is hard to surprise a zek by anything. A zek stands and knows his own price. A zek is a sceptic and likes to make jokes on himself. But tell a zek that somebody has heard somewhere about an amnesty and the zek's hands begin to tremble. A zek will not let you go until he finds out everything about the amnesty. Somebody said, "There shall be an amnesty in honour of the 50th anniversary." Somebody has allegedly read this in *Neues Deutschland*, which somebody has allegedly sent through relatives, and the latter has a responsible position. And then a zek forgets about everything; a zek cannot work, a zek cannot eat, a zek is quiet and very sincere. Even miserly zeks take out of the hiding place the concealed 100 grams of "lachok" and pull you into the cell. "Listen, and what did you hear about the amnesty? Here they say. But I know. You drink. Listen, but still 50 years must be marked by something."

(To be continued.)

POEMS FROM UKRAINE

POEMS BY VASYL' STUS*

* * *

*From burned-out watchfires smoke still quivers,
the dogs are howling to the stars;
moon, like a lily, in the river
waxed full, and now is water-scarred.*

*In violet mercury heat, unspoken
it vanished, faded a long time,
leaving behind it as a token
in the skies a dot ashine.*

*Loneliness has drooped, arched above the
heavenly shrubs, where warm dreams stray.
Seek above them lucky numbers
as of old you knew the way:*

*That day when from earth-hardness upwards
the sun for the first time arose,
and that which points to death, a number
still as an unsolved riddle posed.*

*But in the midst you still are standing,
your life is still here in the midst.
Then, in day's evening rejoice gladly,
while still the heart beats in the ribs.*

* Translated by Vera Rich.

IN MEMORY OF ALLA HORS'KA

*Burst into spring, my soul, and do not wail.
 A white frost all Ukraine's bright sun is palling.
 Go, seek the guelder-rose's shadow fallen
 on the black waters — seek the red shadow's trail
 where there are few of us. A cluster small.
 Only for prayers and hopes expressed in sighing.
 We are all doomed to an untimely dying.
 For crimson blood is sharp as any gall.*

*It stings as if within our veins forever
 in a grey whirlwind of lamenting, twist
 clusters of pain which fall in the abyss,
 and, in undying woe, tumble together.*

SLEEPLESS NIGHT

*I am gleaning thoughts like grains,
 out of the stubble, sorting ears.
 Tears are pricking. The pricking tears
 Are like awns in the eyes.*

*Night, like a toper, tramps a road now,
 round the room, round the walls it bustles.
 Silently. Silently. A house-gnome
 so would walk. So be silent.*

*And outside there are 'planes roaring by,
 like witches — at sabbath.
 Over the rooftops,
 over the hushed rooftops,
 over the lull of Kyiv — on they roar.*

*As an exile. Lord, yes. The bed now.
 On the quilt there are bars — from the window.
 And my pillow now has grown all rumpled,
 and all rumpled now is my head.*

*What are you catching, you television
 Crazy-grown aerials — like burned out survivors?
 What are you catching, with mouths pursed, sunken,
 you chimney-stacks, long blackened?*

*Is it air that you need? Or smoke, then?
 Weary wits burning, alcohol-clear?
 One more night has passed — one more, sleepless.
 Street lamps turn yellow outside.*

POEMS BY ANATOLIY LUPYNIS*

* * *

*I have seen how mother was disgraced,
My mother.
I was caressed by the unwed one, who called me her son.
Wandering the earth are bastards, who call me
their brother.*

Brothers!

Mother!

We are damned!

*Heaven, you see everything and do not strike with anger and rage?
Earth, we trample you with our filthy feet,
And you will not burst forth, will not unfold an abyss?
To bury forever your own shame and ours?
Mother,
In an unfortunate hour you gave me birth,
From shame and blunder into the world you conceived me,
It would have been better had you crushed me in your womb,
It would have been better if you yourself were not living.*

Raped,

Deceived,

Crucified,

*With a severed tongue, a bespat brow,
You lie in the claws of the lover-hangman,
You have become the underlay for the lover-hangman.
This is I, your son, born of blunder,
Begging you, praying you, cursing:
Tear out from my eyes the delusive cataract,
Shatter the coffin built for you.
Again be youthful, be innocent again,
With a wreath cover your fair forehead.
Summon! — just one word from you —
We shall rise. And be what may!
Whatever shame of sufferings would be entailed,
Whatever pain would tear out from our breasts,
We for you, for your golden tresses,
For the pure azure of your eyes,
Shall go to battle, to victories and sacrifices,
To the last drop of blood surrender ourselves,
For it is better, mother, for us to die today,
Than to see you disgraced.*

* Translated by Orysia Prokopiw

SOVIET NATIONALITIES POLICY IN UKRAINE, 1920-1930

(Continuation — 6)

By W. MYKULA

7. The Plenum of the Central Committee of the C.P.(b).U. of June, 1926.

At the June Plenum of the Central Committee of the C.P.(b).U., Zaton's'kyi delivered the key speech "On the results of Ukrainiization," in which he analysed the National problem in Ukraine, and condemned the former mistakes of the Party, which consisted of underestimating the Ukrainian National question, as well as both the pro-Russian and pro-Ukrainian forms of the "theory of the struggle of two cultures." He put forward the task of the Party as the construction of a Soviet Ukraine as a State organism that was closely bound to the entire Soviet Union. He paid particular attention to the analysis of the danger of Ukrainian Nationalism thriving during the period of the New Economic Policy, and stated that there were four "roots" of Ukrainian Nationalism: 1) the *kulak*, led by the village intelligentsia; 2) the *urbanized intelligentsia*, in particular the Social-Democrats, who were orientated towards bourgeois Europe, and the "neo-classical" poets; 3) the *specialists*, who wanted to oust their Russian competitors from their posts; and 4) the *disillusioned Communists*. He dwelt on this last group in a particularly extensive manner, pointing out that Ukrainian Nationalist ideas were attracting the disillusioned Communists, and not only the Ukrainian Communists, as might be seen from the example of the historian Ravich-Cherkassky (who was of Jewish origin), with his theory of the dual roots of the C.P.(b).U. and the R.C.P.(b)., and Ukrainian Left-wing Socialism. Zaton's'kyi minimized the Revolutionary role of the Borot'bisty, the Ukapisty, and others, stating that the only true proletarian Party were the Bolsheviks. Such humiliation offended those Ukrainian Communists who had come late to the Bolsheviks, and served as a source of disagreements. Zaton's'kyi sharply criticized Khvyl'ovyi's writings, qualifying them as thoroughly Nationalist. He stated that they were dangerous, because there were people who followed or who led him.¹

In the debate which followed, Shums'kyi criticized the attitude of the Party to the National problem in Ukraine, and, in particular, its lukewarm support of Ukrainian statehood and Ukrainian cultural development. He criticized the Party's attitude to Ukrainization as

1) *Bud. rad. Ukr.* Vol. I, pp. 5-24.

a mere tactical move for achieving an alliance between the peasantry and the proletariat, and maintained that Ukrainization was of inherent value, "an indispensable means of Socialist construction, the instrument of Socialist construction in the hands of the Ukrainian masses." His supporters, such as Solodub, and a woman, Levkovycheva, spoke more bluntly. Solodub blamed the leadership of the C.P.(b).U. for not defending firmly enough the rights of Ukraine vis-a-vis Moscow, demanded that Ukraine should be more independent, and should have full budgetary rights. Levkovycheva asserted that few Ukrainians were admitted to posts of responsibility; that there was, in fact, discrimination against them. Chubar, Kaganovich, and Petrovs'kyi rejected these criticisms, while Skrypnyk outlined the sense of the new Resolution on the National policy in Ukraine, the so-called "Theses on Ukrainization," of which he was the principal author. The Plenum ended in a temporary compromise, as Shums'kyi declared that he would support the "theses" "in the interests of unity."¹

The "theses" is an interesting document which reflects the conflicting cross-currents in the leadership of the C.P.(b).U. It promises further Ukrainization, with a somewhat differentiated approach to the urban proletariat. It likewise re-asserts the task of the Party to fight both Great Russian Chauvinism and Ukrainian Nationalism. In general, the "theses" reflected the views of Skrypnyk, and the group of the "orthodox" Ukrainian Communists who, like him, tried to be strict internationalists. Opposed to both Ukrainian National Communism and complete subordination to Moscow, this group of Ukrainian Bolsheviks tried to maintain the strictest loyalty to Moscow, recognizing its supreme role in the international Communist movement, but, at the same time, favoured the greatest possible measure of cultural and political autonomy for Soviet Ukraine. After criticizing the past mistakes of the Party in the National policy in Ukraine, and after analysing the roots of the growing Ukrainian Nationalism, which had even led some Communists to support the slogan "away from Moscow!," the "theses" solemnly declared:

"The Party stands for the independent development of Ukrainian culture, for the expression of all the creative forces displayed by the Ukrainian people. The Party supports the wide utilization by Ukrainian culture of all the treasures of world culture. It is in favour of a definite break with the traditions of provincialism, in favour of the creation of new cultural values worthy of a great class. However, in the Party's view, this cannot be done by setting up Ukrainian culture in opposition to the cultures of other nations, but through brotherly cooperation between the working and toiling masses of all Nationalities in the building of an international culture in which the Ukrainian working class will be able to contribute its share."

¹) *Bud. rad. Ukr.* Vol. I. Shums'kyi's speech, pp. 25-30; Skrypnyk, pp. 31-33; Chubar, pp. 34-39; Kaganovych, pp. 40-53; Petrovs'kyi, pp. 54-57.

These views apparently favoured Ukrainian cultural development, but at the same time, war was declared on Ukrainian Nationalist deviations.

"In the struggle against Ukrainian Chauvinism, which is growing more intense in city and village alike, the Party must not put brakes on Ukrainization, but must press forward with it, directing not only its outward form but also its inner content, mercilessly combating Great Russian Chauvinism which, in great part, creates the basis for the awakening of Ukrainian Chauvinism among the masses."

"The Party must educate all its members, including those Ukrainian Comrades who joined it during the Revolution and the adolescent youth, in the spirit of a Leninist understanding of the Nationality policy, and must lead the struggle against the National deviations within the Party."

Of particular importance was the directive concerning the strengthening of the Party's supervision of the Press and literature. The Head of the Party's Department of Press and Propaganda was a former Borot'b'ist, Andriy Khvylya, who had become one of the most vocal attackers of "Ukrainian Nationalism" and the principal mouthpiece of the Party's criticism of Khvyl'ovyi during the Literary Discussion. Because of the violence of his attacks on Khvyl'ovyi, the "neo-classicists," and other Ukrainian "Nationalists," Shums'kyi had referred to him at a meeting of the Politburo as "a renegade who has sold himself." There is reason to believe that there was a personal enmity between Khvylya and Shums'kyi.

8. The Campaign against "Chervonyi Shlyakh" and "Vaplite."

The apparent compromise solution of the June Plenum did not end the internal troubles in the leadership of the C.P.(b).U. Khvyl'ovyi, though rebuked, did not renounce his deviationist ideas; on the contrary, he renewed the battle by publishing, with his literary friends, the journal *Vaplite*, named after the literary association of which Khvyl'ovyi was spokesman. The first number of *Vaplite* was published soon after the June Plenum, and contained articles which not only mentioned the "neo-classicists," whom Khvyl'ovyi had earlier cited as an example of "Europeanism", but attempted to justify them on literary grounds, although condemning them for political "backwardness." One of the authors, O. Dosvitniy, even asserted that the "neo-classicists" were beginning to regard literature "through the prism of Revolutionary Marxism." Two of the editors of *Vaplite* were also on the editorial board of *Chervonyi Shlyakh*, i.e. Khvyl'ovyi and Yalovyi. Both these journals appeared to the Party authorities as politically unreliable. Khvylya started preparations for undermining Shums'kyi's position as Editor-in-Chief of *Chervonyi Shlyakh*.

As early as January, 1926, a story published in it by a non-Party

writer, Mohylyans'kyi, had caused a scandal. Its title was "Vbyvstvo (The Murder) and in it the author had condemned the historia Hrushevs'kyi and those Ukrainian intellectuals who had made their peace with Moscow and returned from emigration. This was over Nationalism, and the Central Committee issued a directive to the entire Press that no more writings by Mohylyans'kyi were to be published. Nevertheless, in the next issue of *Chervonyi Shlyakh* appeared two brief critical and biographical articles by Mohylyans'kyi. The Central Control Commission thereupon reprimanded Yalovy who was the acting Editor.

In April, 1926, during the height of the debate, *Chervonyi Shlyakh* published an article by Zerov, the leading "neo-classicist," setting out his views on the development of Ukrainian literature and culture. This was viewed with extreme disfavour by the Party critics.

On September 10, at a meeting of the Politburo, Khvylya delivered his report on the state of the Press, stated the case against *Chervonyi Shlyakh* and *Vaplite*, and demanded their "reorganization." On September 14, *Komunist* published an extract from the Politburo's resolution announcing the forthcoming "reorganization" of *Chervonyi Shlyakh*.

The majority of the Politburo still hoped that they would be able to persuade Shums'kyi and Khvylovyyi to curb their recalcitrant attitude and to conform to the Party line. There were a number of talks between Kaganovich and Shums'kyi, and finally the so-called Literary Conference of the Politburo was convened on October 12, 1926, to hear the views of the representatives of *Vaplite*, whom Shums'kyi was protecting. Khvylovyyi, Yalovyyi, and Dosvitniy, as well as Shums'kyi, asserted in the course of the discussion that there was no such thing as a bourgeoisie or a bourgeois Ukrainian literature in Soviet Ukraine, thus "demonstrating" against the Politburo's condemnation of the "neo-classicists" as the "bourgeois" literary group. At the same time, Shums'kyi disassociated himself from the anti-Moscow expressions of Khvylovyyi, which he described as "harmful and mistaken." In the end, Shums'kyi promised to write an article directed against some of Khvylovyyi's views, but he did not do this, in fact, until much later.

In spite of the Politburo's unconcealed disapproval of *Vaplite*, *Chervonyi Shlyakh* published a favourable review of the *Vaplite* journal. This was written by a non-Party man, O. Khrystyuk, a former prominent Ukrainian S.R., and a member of the Central Rada. Such flouting of the Politburo's authority could not pass unpunished, and after due preparations the Central Committee, on November 20, 1926, approved Khvylya's proposal to remove Khvylovyyi and Yalovyyi from the editorial board of *Chervonyi Shlyakh*. Both of them had offered to resign following the Party resolution on the reorganizing of *Chervonyi Shlyakh*, as a protest against the limitation of their freedom as editors, but their dismissal was delayed.

At this (November) meeting of the Central Committee, Shums'kyi accused Khvylyya of deliberately embittering the conflict, especially regarding Khvyly'ovyi and the "neo-classicists." Shums'kyi saw in this action discrimination against the Ukrainian Communists, and repeated his plea that Ukrainian Communists should play a larger role within the Party and the State, and that the Party should, in reality, become a Ukrainian Party.¹

As a result of the pressure applied against Shums'kyi and his Vaplite associates, Dosvitniy, Khvyly'ovyi and Yalovyi published, on December 4, an open letter in the Press expressing self-criticism for their past "deviations," which had occurred "in the heat of discussion" and condemning "bourgeois Chauvinism" which, they alleged, was exploiting their mistakes as a rallying banner. This letter condemned both Khvyly'ovyi's former slogan of "orientation towards Europe" and also the "neo-classicists," and promised to adhere to the resolution of the June Plenum, regarding the National question. Nevertheless, they announced that they would continue their fight against "ignorance," "*napostovstvo*" (primitive proletarian literature), "*prosvityanstvo*" (popular literature for the masses), and "*epigonism*."²

This repentance was certainly not sincere. A new issue of the *Almanach Vaplite* opened with a satire "Kholuy" (Today), which portrayed an obsequious toady crawling before the almighty Pius, symbolizing, apparently, the servility of Ukrainian Communists towards Moscow. Notwithstanding Khvyly'ovyi's formal condemnation of his former views, the attacks against him and his friends continued. As a result, the Vaplite organization decided, in order to save itself, formally to expel Khvyly'ovyi, Dosvitniy, and Yalovyi from its ranks.³ The new leader of Vaplite was the playwright, Myko'a Kulish, although, unofficially, Khvyly'ovyi continued to exercise the predominant influence.

9. Shums'kyi's Removal from Ukraine.

The Nationalist deviations in the C.P.(b).U. occurred at the time when, in Moscow, the Leftist opposition, led by Trotsky and Zinoviev, was waging a struggle against the growing domination of the Party by Stalin and his apparatus. These two oppositions arose quite independently, and there was little that could unite them except common disappointment with the N.E.P. and with Stalin's policy of "building Socialism in one country." There was, however, the danger, from Stalin's point of view, that the Trotskyites might utilize the National question in their struggle. At the moment, however, this danger was remote, because the leading Trotskyites had been known in the past as adherents of Rosa Luxemburg's "nihilist" views on

1) *Bud. rad. Ukr.*, p. 106.

2) *Visty*, 1926, No. 280. *Bud. Rad. Ukr.* p. 206.

3) January 28th, 1927.

the National question, while Stalin had expounded Lenin's views favouring the development of the National forms of existence of the non-Russian peoples of the U.S.S.R., in order to cement the alliance between the (Russian) workers and the (non-Russian) peasants in the peripheral regions. Stalin could not disregard the possibility that in desperation, the Trotskyites might turn to the Nationalities' question as a weapon against him. The subsequent events in Ukraine seem to justify the suggestion that Stalin decided, on the one hand to curb the development of a Ukrainian National Communist opposition by removing Shums'kyi, the leader and symbol, from Ukraine and, on the other, to try and destroy this opposition by a propaganda campaign, based on ideological arguments, together with a tightening of Party discipline.

Although Shums'kyi, after considerable delay, published an article repudiating some of the extremist views of Khvyly'ovyi,¹ this did not satisfy the Party leadership. After Kaganovich had twice visited Moscow to discuss the problem of the Shums'kyist opposition with Stalin, the removal of Shums'kyi from Ukraine was decided. A pretext was found in Shums'kyi's management of the affairs of the Commissariat for Education. After the work of this Commissariat had been attacked for inefficiency by the Komsomol and Trade Union organizations, the Politburo meeting of February 2, 1927, asked Shums'kyi to report on the state of education. Shums'kyi devoted most of his speech to re-stating his criticism of the Party's Nationality policy in Ukraine, in particular, the Party's support of the domination of the C.P.(b).U. by Russians and subservient "Little Russians," and an attitude of discrimination against real Ukrainians.

Shums'kyi's speech was cut short by Skrypnyk, who presided at this meeting, and he was forced to resign from his post. He thereupon wrote a letter to the Politburo, in which he replied to Kaganovich's remonstrance that the duty of a Ukrainian Communist was to fight Ukrainian Nationalism first. Shums'kyi defended himself by stating that this could only be done if the Ukrainian Communist in question felt the support of the Party, and did not feel himself "a stepson of the Party," ridiculed and pitied on this account by the Ukrainian Nationalist camp, and therefore lacking all authority. Shums'kyi wrote that the contents of the decisions of the Plenum of June, 1926 had been "turned upside down," and the Ukrainians in the Party leadership were suffering because of these incorrect tactics, which were "creating a gulf between the resolutions and the practice, and justifying the slogans of the Russifiers, who do what they like in the Party organization: 'Ukrainization without Ukrainians,' or 'We shall carry out Ukrainization with non-Ukrainian hands.'" Shums'kyi refused to admit any mistakes, declaring that he did not feel guilty of them, and that they were not proved to him "articulately." He

¹) "Ideolohichna borot'ba v ukrains'komu kul'turnomu protsesi", B. U., No. 2, 1927, pp. 11-25.

also accused Kaganovich of having distorted facts.¹

The final showdown with Shums'kyi came at the March, 1927, meeting of the Central Committee of the C.P.(b).U.² The Politburo presented the Central Committee with a ready-made Resolution, concerning the "faults in the work of the People's Commissariat for Education." Kaganovich, Khvylya, and Lyubchenko spoke about the dangers of the growth of Nationalism among the intelligentsia, and accused Shums'kyi of protecting the anti-Party activities of Khvyl'ovy, as well as having neglected his work in the Commissariat. Shums'kyi defended himself by disassociating himself from Khvyl'ovy, but he was taking an isolated stand, and the cautious attempts to defend him on the part of some of his former Borot'bist colleagues such as Poloz, who warned the Party against removing Shums'kyi, came to nothing. The general feeling among Ukrainian Communists was one of depression, and Kaganovich was obliged to disclaim the rumours that "an anti-Ukrainian course was beginning." The only delegate who dared defend Shums'kyi openly was K. A. Maksymovych, the representative of the Communist Party of West Ukraine (C.P.W.U.),³ Maksymovych made a very cautious declaration, expressing his agreement with the policy of the Party leadership but, at the same time, stating his doubts as to the correctness of removing Shums'kyi. He declared that he failed to see any major differences between the Politburo and Shums'kyi, and also pointed out that the removal of the latter might have grave repercussions on the masses of the non-Party Ukrainians on both sides of the frontier. Shums'kyi had been known in Western Ukraine since the time when he was Soviet envoy in Warsaw, and later, his educational policies had gained great sympathy for him there. Maksymovych pointedly abstained from voting on the issue of Shums'kyi. From the speech of Skrypnyk, who spoke after Maksymovych, it is evident that relations between the C.P.(b).U. and the C.P.W.U. had already been cool for some months, and that the C.P.W.U. had refrained from approving the Resolutions of the June Plenum, at which Maksymovych had also cautiously voiced his objections. Although seemingly non-committal, the C.P.W.U. was, in fact, supporting Shums'kyi. To resolve these doubts, Skrypnyk suggested that, in view of the attitude of Maksymovych, the C.P.W.U. ought to be asked to clarify their line regarding the National question as carried out by the C.P.(b).U., so as to avoid misunderstandings in the future.⁴ (To be continued.)

1) *Bud. Rad. Ukr.* pp. 131-135.

2) This meeting was actually held February 26th-March 3rd, 1927.

3) Maksymovych held the official post of a Deputy Plenipotentiary of the U.S.S.R. People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs in the Ukrainian S.S.R. from June 16, 1925, onwards *Izvestiya TsIK SSSR*, No. 152, July 7, 1925).

4) Experts from the speeches at the March, 1927, Plenum of the Central Committee of the C.P.(b).U. have been published in *Bud. Rad. Ukr.*, Vol. 1. (Kaganovich, pp. 121-124, 135-142; Khvylya, 125-129; Lyubchenko, pp. 130-133; Maksymovych, p. 209; Skrypnyk, 210.

MAJOR ASPECTS OF RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM TOWARDS UKRAINE

In the Writings of V. I. Lenin

By Anatole W. BEDRIY, M.A.

(Continuation)

Lenin saw that the tsarist government was leading the empire to its inevitable dissolution and he attempted to salvage it. During the First World War he reminded Russian people how it should be done "... in *Russia*, 1905, a popular uprising *against the tsarist government* commenced under the leadership of the proletariat with the aim of achieving a *democratic republic*."⁴⁴ In other words, preservation of the empire is possible only in the form of a regime which (Lenin) am advocating. What people should do is to overthrow "the tsarist government" and to replace it with "a democratic republic" — and that's all. The relation between the Russ'an nation-conqueror and the Ukrainian nation-conquered should not be changed.

The purpose of his own form of the Russian state was to preserve the indivisibility of the empire: "We are for the fraternal union of all nations. If there is a Ukrainian republic and a Russian republic, there will be closer contact, greater confidence between the two. If the Ukrainians see that we have a Soviet republic, *they will not break away*."⁴⁵ He stressed the words "not break away."

When the Russian empire was falling apart in 1917, Lenin proclaimed: "The Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies is the embryo of a workers' government, the representative of the interests of the *poor* masses of the population, i.e., of nine-tenths of the population, and is striving for peace, bread, and freedom."⁴⁶ He proclaimed that the new government will be in the hands of the representatives of the nine-tenths of Russian people, who want "peace," meaning peace at the borders of the old tsarist empire, "bread," meaning natural resources of the non-Russian countries, and "freedom," meaning free domination over the empire by the representatives of the Russian proletariat.

Lenin acknowledged the existence of the *Russian* national empire. He even acknowledged that the nations subjugated by Russia have

44) "Lecture on the 1905 Revolution", 1917, v. 3, p. 19.

45) "Speech on the National Question", 1917, v. 5, p. 311.

46) "Letters From Afar", 1917, v. 6, p. 10.

the right to national sovereign statehood. But nevertheless he favoured retention of this colonial state, although under a different form:

"... the proletarian party must first of all insist on the promulgation and immediate realisation of complete freedom of secession from Russia for all nations and peoples who were *oppressed by tsarism*, or who were forcibly annexed to or forcibly retained within the boundaries of the state... The proletarian party strives to *create as large a state as possible!*... it strives to bring about *closer ties* between nations and the *further fusion* of nations; but it desires to achieve this aim not by force, but by a free, fraternal union of the workers and the toiling masses of all nations."⁴⁷

He added a new twist, a new qualification of Russian imperialism:

"For or against annexations? ... Bolsheviks are Against annexations. All promises on the part of capitalist government to renounce annexations are a sheer fraud. There is only one method of exposing it, namely, to demand the liberation of the peoples oppressed by one's *own* capitalists."⁴⁸

He proposed to combat the Russian capitalists, but not the Russian imperialists. He wanted to "liberate" the subjugated peoples from the "capitalists" but not from domination by the Russians.

Lenin advocated that "... the *entire power must be transferred to the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies*. A change of *individuals* will lead nowhere; the *policy* must be changed. The power of government must be assumed by another class."⁴⁹

He intended to change the elite in the Russian *imperial* state, emphasizing the requirement that the sovereign power in the whole empire must be taken over by this new elite.

Lenin exclaimed:

"Let Russia be a union of free republics. The worker and peasant masses will not fight to prevent that. Let all nationalities be liberated, first and foremost those nationalities with the help of which you are making the revolution in Russia."⁵⁰

In the first sentence is implied the concept of the Russian empire as one organic, indivisible whole, the future form of which will be so organized, that it would remain one state-political entity. The colonial nature of this "Russia" is overlooked. He made it very clear that his main interest was to take over the reins of power in the Russian imperial state:

"Russia after the 1905 Revolution was ruled by 130,000 Landlords. They ruled by the aid of unremitting violence perpetrated on 150,000,000 people... And yet we are told that Russia cannot be governed by the 240,000 members of the Bolshevik Party."⁵¹

*) The Russian-Bolshevik historian, S. Ronin, commented on Lenin's aim of preserving the Russian empire: Lenin planned "in the future Socialist Russia to establish a unitarian, centralistic republic, within the boundaries of which only the possibility to receive the right to regional (oblast) autonomy would have been allowed to the united nations." (S. Ronin, "K istorii razrabotki, utverzhdeniia i razvitiia stalinskoj konstitutsii", Moscow, 1951, p. 11) Lenin's policy evidently consisted of downgrading the Ukrainian nation to the status of a province.

⁴⁷) "Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution", 1917, v. 6, p. 61.

⁴⁸) "Political Parties in Russia and the Tasks of the Proletariat", 1917, v. 6, p. 83.

⁴⁹) "The Crisis of Power", 1917, v. 6, p. 135.

⁵⁰) "Speech on the War", 1917, v. 6, p. 158.

⁵¹) "Can the Bolsheviks Retain State Power?", 1917, v. 6, p. 271.

It was an anti-regime, but not an anti-imperial, policy.

He accepted the concept of the indivisible Russian imperial state when he said: "... objectively there is not and cannot be any way out, *except* either in a dictatorship of the Kornilovists or in a dictatorship of the proletariat."⁵² It was the struggle between two imperialistic *Russian* power groups. He excluded *a priori* the other possibility namely, the liberation forces of the nations subjugated by the two Russian groups, because then both, the "Kornilovists" and the "proletarians," would have been eliminated. Instead, he was interested only in keeping the struggle on the "all-Russian state" level.

The preoccupation with the preservation of the *status quo* of the Russian empire is evident in a well-known document of Lenin:

"The resolute utterance of *all* the peasants, *the Instructions of all the peasants from the localities* can bring peace to the *whole country*, to *all the nations of Russia*, can stop the civil war, can guarantee not a sham, but a genuine Constituent Assembly."⁵³

For that purpose Lenin intended to use the Russian peasantry and even the peasantry of the subjugated nations. "Bring peace to the whole country" contains the concept of the indivisible Russian imperial state. The same concept is included in asking to establish a "constituent assembly" for the imperial state. "Stop the civil war" means non-recognition of the subjugated nations as entities different from the Russian nation.

Lenin was so thoroughly imbued with Russian chauvinistic concepts of a large imperial state that he *could not* think otherwise. When the Bolsheviks proclaimed that Russia should be changed into a soviet republic, they meant the whole Russian imperial state:

"*The whole country, all the nations of our republic*, has been divided into two great camps. One camp is that of the landlords and capitalists, the rich and their servitors the state dignitaries and their friends, the commander of the *nation* and the supporters of the war. The other camp is that of the workers and the toiling and exploited peasants, the poor people and their friends."⁵⁴

Lenin associated himself with the imperial Russian heritage; he was willing to accept the rule over the state, established by tsarist Russia on the basis of Russia's sovereignty. Thus his "soviet republic" automatically became an imperial state.

When some Utopian Communists asked Lenin whether or not he approved of the destruction of the Russian imperial state, he replied

"There can be no thought of destroying officialdom immediately everywhere, completely. That is Utopia. But to *smash the old bureaucratic machine* at once and to begin immediately to construct a *new one*... is the direct and immediate task of the revolutionarily proletariat."⁵⁵

He was outspoken against the destruction of the Russian imperial

⁵²) "A Letter to the Comrades", 1917, v. 6, p. 312.

⁵³) "Draft of the Manifesto to the Peasantry from the Second All-Russian Congress of Peasants' Deputies". 1917, v. 6, p. 436.

⁵⁴) *Ibidem*, p. 432.

⁵⁵) "State and Revolution", 1917, v. 7, p. 47.

state. Instead, he just propagated the replacement of the old imperial government.*

As regards Russian colonialism, Lenin was not a revolutionary at all, but an arch-reactionary, who endeavoured to keep and to expand this colonial empire. His thinking on the Russian state coincided with the Russian imperial thinking: "From the point of view of the proletariat and the proletarian revolution, Engels, like Marx, insisted on democratic centralism, on *one indivisible republic*. He regarded the federal republic either as an exception and a hindrance to development, or as a transitional form from a monarchy to a *centralised republic*, as a 'step forward' under certain special conditions."⁵⁶ Just the monarchic outer cover was to be replaced by a Marxist-Socialist one. The dictatorship of "democratic centralism" was in essence the same as the tsarist autocracy, and the "indivisible republic" was identical with the "indivisible Mother Russia" — the great colonial conqueror-state.

Time and again Lenin pounded into the heads of his Russian "proletarians" the thesis that they *must* remain Russian imperialists and should not try to destroy the imperial state: "Revolution means that the proletariat will *destroy* the 'administrative apparatus' and the *whole* state machine, and substitute for it a new one consisting of the armed workers."⁵⁷

At the end of December, 1917, Lenin declared that he considered Ukraine as an indivisible part of the Russian imperial state and the Soviet Government of the RSFSR as the legal government of the whole imperial state. In addition he expressed an obvious and unquestionable lie: "It is an obvious fact, that the majority of the *population of Russia* accepted the Soviet government, but primarily the working masses of *all nations* . . . The Council (Ukrainian National Council — A. W. B.) is responsible for the continuation of the civil war . . ."⁵⁸

The invasion of Ukraine by the Russian forces was considered by Lenin as a civil war, for he viewed Ukraine as an integral, organic part of the Russian state, as if Russians had lawful and natural rights to her.

After the Bolsheviks took the government in the Russian state the peoples of the former Russian tsarist empire were rapidly consolidating their national independent states, or advancing towards such.

*) In 1917 a Ukrainian politician, Lev Yurkevych, wrote a pamphlet in which he stated that "for the last ten years Lenin was most energetically opposed to the 'falling asunder of Russia'." (alias L. Rybalka, "Ruskie Sotsialdemokraty i natsional'nyj vopros." Geneva, publ. by the Ukrainian newspaper "Borot'ba", 1917) "Russia" means the Russian imperial state.

⁵⁶ "State and Revolution", 1917, v. 7, p. 67.

⁵⁷ Ibidem, p. 106.

⁵⁸ "Decision of the Soviet of People's Commissars of 30 December, 1917 (12 January 1918) on an answer to the Council by the Soviet of People's Commissars", in "Izvestiia "TsIK", n. 264, 31 Dec., 1917

In order to save the empire, the Bolsheviks issued the so-called "Declaration of the Rights of Labouring and Exploited Peoples, January 16, 1918, and Lenin announced: "Now, at last, the *new structure of the Socialist Soviet Republic has been recognized as a federation of the free republics of various nations, which settle Russia.*"⁵⁹ Lenin with his Bolsheviks changed the system, but did not abolish the imperial state. Another version of the same thought reads: "The *Russian Soviet Republic shall be constituted on the principle of a free union of free nations, as a federation of Soviet national republics.*"⁶⁰ The "Russian Soviet Republic" obviously replaced the previous Russian "democratic" and "constitutional" imperial state with the intention of retaining the "indivisibility" of this state under the new form.

He explained that an imperialist war "ceases to be such only when the *class* which is conducting the imperialist war, and which is bound to it by millions of economic threads (and sometimes ropes), is *overthrown* and is replaced at the helm of state by the really revolutionary class, the proletariat."⁶¹ Only the ruling "class" was changed while the state and the national basis of this state remained the same.

He persistently considered Ukraine as Russia's rightful and natural possession: "Let us assume that there are fifteen million peasant households in Russia taking Russia as she was before the bandit deprived her of Ukraine and other territories."⁶² When Ukraine became an independent nation-state, Lenin did not recognize her new status *de facto*. He did not acknowledge even the possibility that Ukraine could be independent from Russia. He staunchly defended the chauvinistic, imperialistic concept of a large Russian colonial state.*; **, ***.

⁵⁹) According to O. Yurchenko, "The nature and function of the Soviet federative forms". p. 41.

⁶⁰) "Draft Declaration of the Rights of Toiling and Exploited People", January 1918, v. 6, p. 452.

⁶¹) "Proletarian Revolution and Renegade Kautsky", 1918, v. 7, p. 173.

⁶²) "Comrades Workers, Onward to the Last Decisive Fight!" 1918, v. 8, p. 130.

*) The state, which Lenin established, was not only a Russian state, a state owned by the Russian people, but an imperialist state, whose aim was to subjugate Ukraine. With the second invasion of Ukraine, the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs of the Russian SFSR issued the following decree on 24th December, 1918: "... by virtue of the nullification of the *Brest-Litovsk Treaty, Ukraine is no longer recognized as an independent state by the Soviet Government of the Russian Republic...*" "The decree goes on to say that the *Ukrainian people will be considered as citizens of the RSFSR and that Ukraine as a whole will be considered an integral part of the Russian state.*" ("Izvestia" 24. 12. 18.)

***) Lenin's aim to change the tsarist Russian empire into the Soviet Russia empire was achieved, when "the foundations of the state which eventually became the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics were thus laid not by agreement between the RSFSR and the individual, theoretically independent republics, but by decree of the Russian government." (Richard Pipes, "Formation of the Soviet Union," p. 252). The same author continued: "The government of the RSFSR served as the highest state authority not only on its own territory, but also on

Lenin's intention to make the "Soviet Government" a government over the old tsarist Russian imperial state is evident in a "Pravda" — article:

"In Ukraine there are 258 million puds of grain, of which 100 million are already being deployed, but the crux of the matter is that the peasantry in Ukraine is very intimidated by the Germans and German robberies. I heard that peasants there are intimidated by Germans to such an extent, that so far they are unwilling to take over the landlords' lands, even though they understand the *position of the Soviet government* in this matter . . . We moved our regular military forces there, but they are insufficient."⁶³

The "Soviet government" is presented as the sovereign not only of Russia but of Ukraine as well. It "moved" military forces into Ukraine as if she were another province of Russia.

Near the end of his life, Lenin triumphed when he achieved the major goal of his life: the preservation of the Russian colonial empire,

It remained the one "indivisible" Russian robber state in the form of a "federation" of conquered nations with Russia, pre-determined for all of them and imposed upon all of them by the force of Russia.*

the territories of Ukraine, Byelorussia, the Baltic states, Transcaucasia, and whatever other lands were conquered by Soviet troops." (*loc. cit.*).

**) V. Shakh-Rai, a leading Ukrainian Bolshevik confessed: "The party of the Bolsheviks took the position and retained the whole, one and indivisible Russia, but organized on the solidarity of the working masses, not on historical traditions, but on a lively union of workers." ("Do khvyli", p. 63).

⁶³) "Pravda" n. 76-7, 9-10 April 1919, S., 4. ed., v. 29, p. 234-5.

*) We have Stalin's testimony on Lenin's main objective, namely, to save the Russian empire from extinction by waging an anti-regime struggle on the basis of a new "modernized" theory of such an empire: "The necessity of a strong and radical fight against tsarism was based on the reason that tsarism at that time was personified as 'Russian gendarme,' a symbol of nations' enslavement, that pushed away those nations from Russia, that means it was toppling Russia. So, the acute struggle of the Bolsheviks against tsarism had, besides the aim of taking over the government, the purpose of winning the friendship of those peoples toward the Bolshevik movement, that means toward the new 'nedelimoj.'" ("Questions of Leninism", v. 4, p. 51).

2. The Soviet State — the New Russian Empire

Lenin intended to work out a most "modern" form of an imperial state structure as a means of preserving the Russian empire and because he was convinced that the tsarist form of imperialism was bankrupt, outdated, and incapable of holding the conquered peoples under Russia's domination any longer. The new draft structure of the Russian empire appeared as early as 1903: "For a broad local *self-rule* for *localities* which are distinguished by peculiar customary conditions and composition of population . . . For the *right of population* to receive education in its native language, secured by creation of thus needed schools on state account and by organs of self-government; for the right of every citizen to use his own language in public assemblies; institution of native languages in all civic and state

institutions."⁶⁵ Such an imperial state will be a unitarian state allowing the conquered nations some local variations, self-government of localities but not of nations, and the use of the non-Russian language in public life wherever expedient and useful. Otherwise this system appears to be much harsher and more totalitarian than the tsarist colonial system. Naturally, these prescriptions did not apply to Russia, whose language would remain the dominant language in the conquered nations. There is not even a hint that its use might be limited. The same held true for cultural life; there were to be no restrictions (at least they were not mentioned by Lenin) to the expansion of culture so far as its Russian national nature was concerned (except in its "proletarian" aspects). All non-Russians had evidently to study Russian history, literature, philosophy, political theory, etc. But nothing is said about a parallel study of history, literature and other humanities of Ukraine and other nations. The same with everything else; whatever was Russian was sovereign-free; whatever belonged to the subject nations was granted subordinate provincial, local status.

The new system was to be constructed upon the concept of an "indivisible" union between Russia and Ukraine (for the indivisibility of the existing imperial state had to be preserved). Both nations were to have equal "constitutional" status, and an "indivisible" bond between Ukrainian proletariat and Russian proletariat was to be secured:

"Let us take Russia and the relations between Great Russians and Ukrainians. It is understandable that every democrat, not to mention Marxist, will fight decisively against the unprecedented subjection of Ukrainians and for the need of *their full equality*. But it would become an un-socialist and stupid policy, also from the point of view of bourgeois 'national tasks' of Ukrainians, to *weaken bonds and union of the Ukrainian and Great Russian proletariat* now existing within the borders of one state."⁶⁶

And the whole system has been decreed by Lenin in a sovereignly categorical way as a leader of the *Russian* proletariat:

"The large centralized state is a tremendous historic step ahead on the way from medieval disintegration to the *future socialist unity* of the entire world, and *another way to socialism* than over such a state (with capitalist indissolubly linked) *does not exist and cannot exist*."⁶⁷

The tsarist state was highly centralistic. Lenin planned even more centralism. He might have felt that the tsarist system was falling apart because not enough "centralism" existed. If Ukraine was colonially enslaved under tsarist centralism, then why should she not be enslaved under Lenin's genocidal centralism, when Ukraine did not possess any sovereignty and power to decide her own destiny? Lenin's state form was aiming at a complete "socialist unity" of the conquered nations with Russia and the destruction of their national

⁶⁵) S., 3d ed., v. 5, p. 386.

⁶⁶) "Critical Notes on the National Question", 1913, in "Lenin on Ukraine" p. 321-2.

⁶⁷) Op. cit., in S., v. 18, p. 154.

identities. What Lenin proclaimed amounts to the same thing as saying that there is no other way to a better future, progress, and well-being of nations except his way. Every other possible proposal for the organization of life is wrong. This approach constitutes sheer imperialism stemming from Russian messianism.

The outline of Lenin's new imperial Russian state appeared in the following speech:

"We are depicting *this republic* as a *centralized state* with *local and territorial self-government*, the breaking apart of old administrative divisions and adaptation of them to concrete national manners and conditions, abolishing all privileges (including the obligation of one state language) and *full equality before law of all local languages on the pattern of Switzerland.*"⁶⁸

"This republic" was to be "a centralized republic" but based on the model of Swiss federation, in which Ukraine would have an equal status with Russia *de jure*, although basically it is not a federated nation like Switzerland, but a group of different nations conquered by the Russian nation. There was no substantial similarity between Lenin's "centralized republic" and Switzerland, although Lenin endeavoured to make it appear so.

Lenin's meaning of the "new" soviet state comes out in the following statement:

"In Russia... the task of the Social-Democracy is, as heretofore, to achieve the three fundamental conditions for consistent democratic reform, viz., a *democratic republic (with complete equality and self-determination for all nationalities)*, confiscation of the lands of the landlords, and an eight-hour day."⁶⁹

The Russian imperial state should be reformed into a "democratic republic" — again *one* state. How can various nations be equal in one state when they were different? The answer lies in sovereignty. The power to solve all problems will rest with the government of "Russia" — the sovereign government over all these "equalized" nations. In substance, the sovereignty on the side of Russia would not have changed at all.

The scheme of the new Russian imperial state is revealed in the statement made by Lenin:

"The United States of the World (not of Europe alone) is a state form of *national federation* and national freedom which we *connect with socialism* — until the complete victory of communism brings about the total disappearance of the state, including the democratic state."⁷⁰

Each subjugated nation will be an "equal" member of a "federation" in form only, for "Socialism" would rule, i.e. all sovereignty would be in the hands of Russian Socialists, who were the dominant force which instituted the new system. This "Socialism" will be instrumental in the liquidation of the different conquered nations and

⁶⁸) "Russian Social-Democracy and the national question", speech delivered on 21 March, 1914, to the Polish student association "Spujnia", "Leninskii Sbornik", v. 17, p. 228.

⁶⁹) "War and Russian Social-Democracy", 1914, v. 5, p. 129.

⁷⁰) "United States of Europe Slogan", 1915, v. 5, p. 14.

their "fusion" into a communist world society, as determined by the sovereignty of Russian Socialists.

This new imperialism should consist of Marx's dialectics of multi-national "large" state based on the premise of alleged voluntary accession of "Socialist" nations:

"Although Marx never was in favour of small states, or of splitting up states, or of the federation principle, he considered the secession of an oppressed nation to be a step toward federation; consequently, not toward the splitting of nations, but *toward concentration*, toward political and economic concentration, *concentration on the basis of democracy.*"⁷¹

If the voluntary method failed to work, the "chosen" proletarian vanguard — the Russian messianists — would "assist" Ukrainian with bayonets to adhere "voluntarily" to the union with Russia. The principle of the new imperial structure would be "concentration," which means more subordination and exploitation of the conquered nation than under the tsarist system. "Concentration" would be based on "democracy," which meant Ukraine's colonization by the Russians, the fusion of the conquered nation with a more populous Russian nation, and the extermination of all national distinctions, which hinder such "concentration."

The new imperial system lay in establishing equal status for Ukraine and Russia, while Russia retained full sovereignty: "We are for the fraternal union of all nations. If there is a Ukrainian republic and a Russian republic, there will be closer contact, greater confidence between the two. If the Ukrainians see that we have a Soviet republic, they will not break away."⁷² The aim of this structure was to prevent Ukraine from establishing a sovereign nation-state.

Lenin described the new Russian imperial state system in the following words: "The Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies is the embryo of a workers' government, the representative of the interests of the *poor* masses of the population, i.e., of nine-tenths of the population, and is striving for *peace, bread, and freedom.*"⁷³ The Russians will be in charge of the whole system, "poor" Russians will be brought to the government. This will assure the highest degree of aggressiveness toward the neighbouring nations, especially in economic aspects of robber and exploitative colonialism. The new regime would strive to achieve "peace" at the borders of the old imperial state. "Bread" would be carried away from the grain-rich Ukraine and other conquered countries. "Freedom" would be given to all those individuals in the conquered nations, who would blindly accept the new system.

Lenin was also convinced that the Russian nation has the mission to rule and lead other nations. He wrote: "Humanity has not yet evolved and we do not as yet know a type of government superior to and better than the Soviet of Workers, Agricultural Workers,

71) "Revolutionary Proletariat and Self-Determination", 1915, v. 5, p. 285.

72) "Speech on the National Question", 1917, v. 5, p. 311.

73) "Letters From Afar", 1917, v. 6, p. 10.

Peasants,' and Soldiers' Deputies."⁷⁴ Extreme Russian chauvinism and messianism reflect the consciousness that a perfect form of ruling over other nations has been devised by the Russians. The same intention is visible in another work:

"The proletarian party strives to create as large a state as possible, for that is to the advantage of the toilers; it strives to bring about *closer ties* between nations and the *further fusion* of nations; but it desires to achieve this aim not by force, but by a free, fraternal union of the workers and the toiling masses of all nations. The more democratic the Russian republic is and the more successfully it organizes itself into a Republic of Soviets of Workers' and Peasants' Deputies, the more powerful will be the force of *voluntary attraction toward such a republic* on the part of the toiling masses of all nations."⁷⁵

Lenin never thought about creating a national state of the Russian people alone, but about methods of expanding the Russian state to and over other nations. His boasting about the perfections of the soviet form of state again reflect the underlying Russian messianism. This state would be egalitarian and according to propaganda it would be so perfect that it would try to rear converts from other nations. While he considered the Russian Soviet state sovereign, all other nations, should they join his "perfect" state, would have to resign their own sovereignty, "voluntarily," of course. When he used the phrase "further fusion of nations" he undoubtedly was well aware of the attempts of the tsarist regime to destroy the enslaved nations and therefore he desired to continue this genocidal process. When other nations were asked to join his state, they were also asked to destroy their own national elites, cultures, and societies and come into the Russian state. But since he did not oppose the imperial state of the tsars, other countries within this state were unable to achieve sovereignty and therefore had no opportunity to decide whether or not to join (freely) the "Russian republic."

When Lenin became the new despot of Russia, he immediately attempted to recreate not the Russian one-nation state, but the old tsarist-Russian conqueror-state, in which he changed the regime although the Russian nation remained the sole sovereign in this state:

"The constitution of the *Russian democratic republic* must ensure: The right of all nationalities forming part of the state to freely separate and to form independent states. The republic of the *Russian people* must attract other nations or peoples not by force, but exclusively by their voluntary consent to the creation of a *common state*."⁷⁶

How can people incorporated into the Russian state choose of their own free will whether or not they want to join the Russian people in one common state, when they were already incorporated without being asked? In order to have a chance to express one's preference, one must have the freedom to express oneself. But the Bolsheviks did not give the chance to the Ukrainian people to express their will except for giving them the right to such a free choice. All the

74) "A Dual Power", 1917, v. 6, p. 29.

75) "Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution", 1917, v. 6, p. 61.

76) "Materials on the Revision of the Party Program", 1917, v. 6, p. 108.

propaganda of Lenin directed to other peoples was intended to diminish their anti-Russian resistance. The new element in the imperial state was the written constitution, which was supposed to insure the right of each enslaved nation to free and sovereign existence. Nothing was said, however, about the method by which this right could be fulfilled, for the nations to which this right was extended were considered integral parts of the state which Lenin took over. Furthermore, in order to put this right into effect these nations had to be given full freedom to express themselves. But such freedom was never given to them by Lenin. For example, he never permitted them to get out of his state, and then he "asked" them to join Russia in a common state of their own accord.

That the "Soviet government" was to be the new form of government of the Russian imperialists is evident from the following "... the *entire power must be transferred to the Soviet of Workers and Soldiers' Deputies*. A change of *individuals* will lead nowhere the *policy* must be changed. The *power of government* must be assumed *by another class*."⁷⁷ This government was the government established in the Russian state, but which was an imperialistic government, because of the fact that it did not want to liquidate the Russian imperial state. Lenin and his associates were the sole drafters of the constitution in the "Soviet" state. If Ukrainians wanted to join his state they had to accept this constitution *in toto*. There was no room for establishing any other form of state, convenient to the Ukrainian people.

Lenin stated very distinctly what the soviet form of state should achieve: "Let Russia be a *union of free republics*. The workers and peasant masses will not fight to prevent that. Let all nationalities be liberated, first and foremost those nationalities with the help of which you are making the revolution in Russia."⁷⁸ The new form of the empire was called by Lenin "union of free republics," which was to come as the result of "liberation of nationalities." But why should liberation consist in union, or why is there enslavement when there is no union? If complete independence and national sovereignty are wrong, then there will be no change from the previous status of Ukraine and of other non-Russian nations in the tsarist Russian empire. Why the imperative of having the "union"? Why cannot nations cooperate as individual sovereign states? These questions reveal *Lenin's demand and categorical will* to establish the "union" as such. And if other nations were not allowed to choose their own form of international relations voluntarily, their actions were not voluntary and the imposition of a form of state from the outside became imperialism. It should be noted that Lenin extended his kind of "liberation" only to those nationalities which were on the side of the Russian proletariat, or were helping to fulfill aims which were in

⁷⁷) "The Crisis of Power", 1917, v. 6, p. 135.

⁷⁸) "Speech on the War", 1917, v. 6, p. 158.

the interests of the Russian people. He urged that some spoils of victory be given to those nationalities which were helping to save the Russian empire. ("Russia" = "union of free republics.")*,**

The Russian imperialistic (i.e. anti-Ukrainian) nature of the Soviet regime in Ukraine reveals an order of Lenin: "Comrade Sergei Ordronikidze is appointed the temporary Extraordinary Commissar of the Region of Ukraine for the unification of activities of soviet organizations in all branches of their responsibilities (military, food provisioning, banking, etc.)."⁷⁹ It follows that this regime was appointed by the sovereign power of the Russian state and not by any will of the Ukrainian people. It was a regime established as a result of foreign aggression, conquest and occupation by force.***

That the "Soviet Socialist Republic" was to be the new form of the Russian imperial state is acknowledged by Lenin himself: "Now at last the *new state structure of the Socialist Soviet republic* has been recognized as a *federation of the free republics of various nations, which settle Russia*."⁸⁰ It was to be a "federation" of "free republics" within the indivisible "Russia." What kind of freedom could these non-Russian nations enjoy, when Lenin pre-determined their form of statehood and government and the Bolsheviks with the help of the Russian people were to make sure that this new system would

*) Immediately after the October *coup* in 1917, the Bolsheviks found out that a *de facto* independent national government existed in Ukraine, which, however, acknowledged the concept of a multi-national federal state together with the Russians. Therefore, they proclaimed their own federal multi-national form of state. "The party steadfastly accepted the recognition of *federalism as the form of state constitution of the soviet multi-national state*." ("Sovetskoe gosudarstvennoe pravo", Moscow, 1948). This position has been fixed at the Third All-Russian Conference of the Soviets, on 16 (3) January, 1918. It represented a tactical retreat from the unitarian centralistic state form of empire. Sovereignty in the state, however, still remained in the hands of the Russians. Thus in substance nothing had changed.

**) Panas Fedenko argued that in the treatise "On the Review of the Party Program" of October, 1917, was to be found "the key to the understanding of Lenin's policy of the Russian Soviet government after the October coup." If any nation would like to separate itself from the state, in which 'dictatorship of the proletariat' came to power, then such a country should be considered 'counter-revolutionary', 'bourgeois', and all means are permissible, in particular 'the revolutionary war' is permissible and even unavoidable." ("The Marxist and Bolshevik Theories on the Nationality Problem." Munich, Institute for the Study of the USSR, 1960, Research Material, Series 1, No. 61, p. 59-60).

⁷⁹) Order of 19 December 1917 (1 January 1918), "Leninski Sbornik", v. 35, v. 11, also in "Lenin ob Ukraine", p. 458.

***) Since its inception the "soviet" system in Ukraine became a Russian fifth column and the extension of Russian state power in a foreign country, the representative and vanguard of the new form of Russian imperial state. (See p. 90/note +) That the soviet system was the new form of Russian imperialism is verified by another scholar as well. (M. Stakhin, "Ukraine and Russia", p. 35).

⁸⁰) "Declaration of the Rights of Labouring and Exploited Peoples," 16th January, 1918. according to O. Yurchenko, "The Nature and Function of the Soviet Federative Forms," p. 41.

remain without the slightest approval of the subjugated nations. In fact, these nations, one and all, established their own national states and proclaimed national sovereignty. (Ukraine did so on 22 January, 1918.)

The same document in draft form read as follows: "The *Russian Soviet Republic* shall be constituted on the principle of a free union of free nations, as a federation of Soviet national republics."⁸¹ "Free and equal" means that all will be treated equally by the Russians but the Russians must be at the helm. This "federation" has to be the "*Russian Soviet Republic*," the state of the Russian nation and by the Russian nation. "Free and equal" would be all nations except the Russians, who were to be sovereign rulers.

The new form of Russian imperial state, as developed by Lenin, appears in the next document:

"Telegram to V. A. Antonov-Ovseenko, Kharkov, Narkom Antonov: In view of complaints by the People's Secretariat as the result of frictions between yourself and TsIK of Ukraine, I ask you to report on the substance of the matter; understandably, it is undesirable for us to interfere in internal affairs of Ukraine unless it is required by the exigencies of war. For the sake of convenience, let these or other actions be realized through the organs of local government, and in general it would be best if all misunderstandings were resolved locally."⁸²

At the beginning of the conquest of Ukraine, Lenin was willing to leave some autonomy to local partisans, while retaining absolute control of military matters and foreign policy over the so-called Soviet Ukrainian regime in his own, i.e., Russian hands. Local autonomy did not mean that the local Bolsheviks could do whatever they pleased in local matters, but that the execution of local matters should have the appearance of being executed locally by local "soviets" even though decisions were made in Moscow.

Lenin decreed that the Russian imperial state shall assume a different form without changing its substance: the framework of the imperial state remained. The sovereignty also had to remain indivisibly in the hands of one government. The re-establishment of sovereign states of the subjugated nations was to be prevented.*,**

⁸¹ "Draft Declaration of Rights of Toiling and Exploited People", Jan. 1918, v. 6, p. 452.

⁸² 21 January 1918, in S., 4. ed., v. 36, p. 432.

*) We have documentary evidence that the soviet system in Ukraine was the extension of the new Russian colonial state, hostile to the interests of the Ukrainian people: The "People's Secretariat" and the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine issued a joint declaration in Poltava on March 7, 1918: "1. We never regarded the Ukrainian National Republic as a national republic, but *exclusively as a Soviet republic on the territory of Ukraine*. 2. We never supported the policy of full independence for the Ukrainian National Republic, but looked upon it more or less as an independent entity connected with the general Russian Republic of Workers and Peasants with federalist ties..." (Antonov-Ovseenko, "Zapiski", v. 2, p. 24).

***) Good evidence that the Soviet state in Ukraine was the Russian colonial form of government is provided by the report of Muraviev, the Bolshevik army commander in Ukraine, sent to Lenin in April 1918: "I handed over the go-

Lenin acknowledged that "the Soviets are the *Russian form* of the proletarian dictatorship."⁸³ The "Soviets" installed in Ukraine originated in Russia, were made up of Russians, and *brought in by the Russians*. So they were an extension of Russian power beyond the borders of ethnic Russia and *ipso facto* cannot be considered as a creation of the Ukrainian nation. But the Soviets were not voluntarily and deliberately introduced by Ukrainian people themselves and therefore represent a form of government forced on them from the outside by an alien element and constitute a form of Russian imperialism.

Lenin devised an ideology of the Russian state, which proclaimed itself not to be capable of being an imperialist state:

"... an imperialist war ceases to be such only when the class which is conducting the imperialist war, and which is bound to it by millions of economic threads (and sometimes ropes), is *overthrown* and is replaced at the helm of state by the really revolutionary class, the proletariat."⁸⁴

On the basis of this theory the Russian state conducted an aggressive policy of conquest toward Ukraine in the name of "anti-imperialism."^{** **}

The state which Lenin was establishing in Ukraine was the Russian colonial occupation state:

"With the advance of our troops westward and into Ukraine, there are being formed *regional provisional Soviet governments*, called to strengthen local soviets. This circumstance has the good side, that it takes away from the chauvinists of Ukraine, Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia the opportunity to consider the advancement of our detachments as *an occupation* and creates the favorable atmosphere for the further advance of our troops. Without such a circumstance our forces would be placed in the *occupied regions* in an impossible position and the population would not meet them as liberators."⁸⁵

vernment, installed by bayonets, to the Soviet of Ukraine..." (Antonov-Ovseenko, "Zapiski", v. 1, p. 157) This "Soviet Ukraine" was the so-called People's Secretariat, which was a form of new Russian colonial rule. The Russian invading forces overpowered the Ukrainian national forces and only then were able to establish their rule which they called the "Soviet Republic of Ukraine."

⁸³) "Proletarian Revolution and Renegade Kautsky", 1918, v. 7, p. 145.

⁸⁴) Ibidem, p. 173.

*) It was true indeed: "... the war against the Central Council was conducted by the commander-in-chief of the Russian Soviet forces, Murav'ev, who was a real commander-in-chief and had an army, but Yur. Kotsiubyn'skyi (secretary of military affairs) did not have any army, no apparatus, and no influence on military matters and was only a Ukrainian label on the Murav'ev bayonet, just as the whole Ukrainian soviet government and the whole Ukrainian Soviet Republic were only a screen, a 'superstructure' upon the policy of Soviet Russia." (P. Khrystiuk, "Ukrajins'ka Revolutsiia", v. 2, p. 148-9) The whole soviet system was devised by Lenin as a cover-up for Russian colonialism toward Ukraine.

***) Bolshevik Russia regarded itself as a successor to the Russian imperial state. One of the chief lieutenants of Lenin in occupied Ukraine, Kh. Rakovsky, stated: "The heir (successor) of the former Russian Empire is the R.S.F.S.R., and only in the case when they would receive such a right from the R.S.F.S.R. could former parts of the Russian Empire come forward as subjects of law." ("Izvestia Moscovskogo Soveta", no. 113 (361), 6. VI. 1918) Thus from the beginning Soviet Russia was a state which attempted to enslave its neighbour.

⁸⁵) "Telegram to the Glavkom", 29 November 1918, S., 4. ed., v. 28, p. 205.

The soviets were institutions installed by the Russian army against the will of Ukrainians and without their participation.***,****

Lenin conceded that there were almost no Ukrainians interested in establishing the Soviet regime in Ukraine and that it was a regime set up in Ukraine by non-Ukrainians:

"The outcry is coming from Ukrainian comrades, that there are no people *there is no one to establish the Soviet government*, that there is no apparatus, that there is no such proletarian center as Petersburg or Moscow... *Kyiv is not a proletarian center*... 'Come, help us, workers of the North'... In the Central Committee we have judged the situation, and ordered the task to start organizing the apparatus in Ukraine and get to work, when we shall have weapons in our hands and an apparatus, we shall receive by the first of June 50 million puds of grain."⁸⁶

It had to be an occupation regime depending on Russian sovereign power, not on any Ukrainian sovereign will.

Russian imperialistic nature of the "soviet system" is evident from the following directive: "... *for us*, and particularly for the majority of the West European countries, *the spreading of the Soviet system* is a most important task."⁸⁷ The "spreading of the Soviet system" was based on the Russian national power, was carried on by the missionaries of "Soviet Russia," and was dominated by the Russian.*,**

***) At the beginning of 1918, "in Moscow's plans, Ukraine was to be divided into five different 'Soviet republics,' thereby denying in effect the existence of the Ukrainian nation." (M. Stakhiv, "Ukraine and Russia", New York, 1967, p. 76). This is how Lenin's modern methods and forms of imperialism should have functioned!

****) In March, 1918, the "People's Secretariat" of the so-called Soviet Republic of Ukraine published a resolution in which it confessed that "the Soviet government does not have any basis underneath" in Ukraine. ("Letopis Revoliutsii", n. 5, 1928, p. 149) This revelation by the occupation regime itself shows its foreign nature imported from Russia into Ukraine by force.

⁸⁶) "Successes and Difficulties of the Soviet Government", February 1919, S., 4. ed., v. 29, p. 65.

⁸⁷) "Bourgeois Democracy and Proletarian Dictatorship", 1919, v. 7, p. 236.

*) A Bolshevik revealed the fact that the Soviet state form was the product of the new Russian imperial elite, which had no elements of Ukrainian origin. When in 1919 some sections of Ukrainian Social-Democrats and Social Revolutionaries were willing to cooperate with the occupation regime, a member of the Executive Committee of the Kyiv Soviet of Workers' Deputies, a Russian Bolshevik, Cheskis, explained the nature of the Ukrainian SSR very well: "There is some difficulty in this question of Ukrainian independent Social-Democrats, who are still accepting national tasks and an independent view of the state system in Ukraine. Naturally, when these independents reject this last point of their program and draw closer to the true Soviet platform, then their participation in government will definitely be possible." ("Chervonyi Prapor", n. 9, 9 February 1919, based on P. Khrystiuk, "Ukrains'ka Revoliutsiia", v. 4, p. 83). Thus the Ukrainian SSR was described as a non-national system of government, which also had to be an anti-national system in Ukraine but not in Russia. The "Soviet state" in Ukraine constituted the extension of the Russian Bolshevik philosophy of state and *had to become* a form of Russian domination over Ukraine.

***) On 25 June, 1919, an insurgent staff of "Ukrainian Social-Democrats for Independence" sent an ultimatum signed by Yuriy Mazurenko to the Head of the so-called Ukrainian SSR, Khr. Rakovsky, which said: "On behalf of the

Lenin acknowledged that the soviet system was spread to Ukraine from and by Russia and not that the Ukrainian nation adopted it of its own free will: "... *the Soviet government* has hitherto been successful only *within the country*, among the peoples which once formed part of the old Russian Empire..."⁸⁸ There was only one sovereign "Soviet government," namely, the Russian state. Thus Lenin verified the Russian nature and substance of the soviet system in *other* nations, like Ukraine, which constituted imperialism, because this system was forcefully imposed on Ukraine by the power of a foreign nation.*

In November, 1919, Lenin drafted an important document, which constituted a blueprint for the new Russian empire: "2. The RCP shall strive to *establish federative ties between the RSFSR and the Ukr. SSR* on the basis of decisions of VTsIK of 1 June, 1919, and TSIK of 18 May, 1919." But what kind of federation is possible when all the internal matters of Ukraine were decided in Moscow without even consulting the Ukrainian people, when the Russians were conducting themselves as real masters over Ukraine? Lenin instructed:

"Because of many centuries of oppression, nationalist tendencies have been observed, the members of the RCP are obliged to treat them with particular attention, opposing them with the word of comradely explanation of identity of interests of the working masses of Ukraine and Russia."⁸⁹

Thus the Russians should conduct themselves as teachers, leaders, and guides of the Ukrainian people. Is it not a chauvinistic-imperialistic approach? There was the "federative" principle binding various "soviet republics." There was the vanguard role of the Bolshevik Party as an ultimate holder of Russian sovereign power over the enslaved nations. There was the theory of the fictitious "international

arisen Ukrainian working people I declare that Ukrainian workers and peasants rebelled against you as the *government of Russian conquerors*, which uses the slogans which we consider sacred: 1) the government of councils of workers and peasants, 2) self-determination of peoples, including the right to complete separation, and 3) the struggle against the imperialists, conquerors, and plunderers of the working masses; you are not only marring these sacred slogans and ruining the true government of workers and independent peasants of the neighbouring state, but what is more important, you are exploiting them to the advantage of aims far removed from a socialist system." (according to V. Vynnychenko, "Vidrozzennia natsiji", Kyiv-Vienna, 1920, v. 3, p. 346-7). This document proves that the theory of a Marxist state was exploited by the Russians for the conquest of Ukraine. This new Russian imperialism used an outward form of a Marxist state.

⁸⁸) "The Closing Speech at the 8th Party Congress", 1919, v. 8, p. 47.

*) That the soviet form of government was brought to Ukraine from Russia by Russians and was of Russian origin is revealed in the following fact: In October, 1919, a meeting of the CP(b)U was held in Gomel, at which the following resolution was adopted: "The southward movement and establishment of soviet government in Ukraine will be possible *only* with the assistance of regular military forces (in *no* case of native origin)." ("Litopys Revolutsiji", 1936, n. 6).

⁸⁹) "A Draft Resolution of the CC RCP(b) on the Soviet Government in Ukraine", S., 4. ed., v. 30, p. 142; "Lenin ob Ukraine", p. 607).

proletariat" as the ground for unity of "Socialist" and "Sovietized nations. There was the "elder brother" chauvinism of the Russian proletariat.

Lenin's state system constituted in Russia a national state system. But when it was implanted in Ukraine or anywhere else it became a foreign system, introduced by force and against the will of the respective nation:

"One of the most important tasks that confronts us now is to ponder over how the foundation-stone of the organisation of the Soviet movement can be laid in the non-capitalist countries. Soviets are possible in those countries; they will not be Workers' Soviets, but Peasants' Soviets or Toilers."⁹⁰

Thus the Soviet system became one of the principles of the new Russian imperialism.

Lenin wrote:

"The world political situation has now placed on the order of the day the dictatorship of the proletariat, and all events in world politics are inevitably concentrating around one central point, viz., the struggle of the world bourgeoisie against the Soviet Russian Republic, which is inevitably grouping around itself the Soviet movement of the advanced workers of all countries, as well as the national liberation movements in the colonies and among the oppressed nationalities which have become convinced by their bitter experience that there is no salvation for them except the victory of the Soviet power over world imperialism."⁹¹

The "Soviet Russian Republic" was proclaimed to be the "salvation" of all nations of the world. All peoples inevitably had to become subjects of the new state. If Ukrainians did not want to join the Russian state they were proclaimed reactionaries.

The goal of Lenin's state was to effect gradual genocide of the Ukrainian nation. One of its stages was to be the "federation" principle: "*Federation is a transitional form to the complete unity of the toilers of the various nations.*"⁹² *, **

⁹⁰) "International Situation and Fundamental Tasks of the Communist International", 1920, v. 10.

⁹¹) "Preliminary Theses on the National-Colonial Question", 1920, v. 10, p. 233

⁹²) Loc. cit.

*) "The foundations of the state which eventually became the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics were laid not by agreement between the RSFSR and the individual, theoretically independent republics, but by decree of the Russian government." (Richard Pipes, "Formation of the Soviet Union", p. 252). The same author continued: "The government of the RSFSR served as the highest state authority not only on its own territory, but also on the territories of Ukraine, Byelorussia, the Baltic states, Transcaucasia, and whatever other lands were conquered by Soviet troops." (loc. cit.) The terminology of "RSFSR" and "USSR" cover the substance of the new imperial Russian state; in name there appear equal national, state entities. But the whole sovereignty in the "united" state rested with Russia.

***) A Russian writer disclosed the Bolshevik aim to use the concept of federalism as a means of Russian domination and the enslavement of Ukraine: "Only after the October Revolution did the party steadfastly accept federation as a form of state constitution for the Soviet multi-national state... In the Soviet Union, the form of state constitution is subordinated to the task of solving the national question." (D. L. Zlatopol'sky, "Obrazovany i razvitiie SSSR kak soiuznogo gosudarstva." Moscow, 1954, p. 196).

Lenin considered the establishment of the Russian Soviet state as a messianic feat, which will save the world:

"VTsIK and TsIK of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic concluded an agreement. On the basis of this agreement, which means a close *federation of two republics* in the struggle against imperialistic countries, we are striving for the closest union . . . only the closest union with the Russian republic will become unconquerable by international imperialism and that state separation cannot be appropriate under conditions of struggle against imperialism."⁹³

He who wants to live happily *must* inevitably place himself under the protection and guidance of the *Russian Republic*. Otherwise, he will perish. The only "salvation" for the Ukrainian people is to join the Russian Republic voluntarily. This republic will be destroyed by dictatorial methods, everything in Ukraine which opposes or is different from the Russian Republic.

At the second congress of the Comintern (July, August, 1920) Lenin no doubt had Gilan in mind when he confidently asserted: "At the present moment the flag of the Soviet is beginning to be raised throughout the Orient, in Asia."⁹⁴ It should be noted that Lenin was not interested in spreading Communism, Marxism, an international proletarian order, or Socialism — only the Russian system of state in the "soviet" form, which means the expansion of the Russian state. Even the name is Russian.

Lenin boasted about his achievement: "*We have given all the non-Russian nationalities their own republics or autonomous regions.*"⁹⁵ The Russians "gave" the non-Russians the Soviet system. The non-Russians did not create these "republics" by themselves. The Russians also controlled and dominated them. Lenin's statement implies that sovereignty rests with the Russians alone. These "republics," therefore, were neither created by the various peoples themselves nor did they enjoy any sovereignty and independence. Lenin recognized the existence of Ukrainian "nationality," but retained domination over Ukraine by the Russians. This relation is national imperialism of one nation over another nation.* The enslaved nations

⁹³) "Report on the Work of VTsIK and Sovnarkom at the First Session of the 7th Convocation of VTsIK, 2 February 1920", S., 4. ed., v. 30, p. 303.

⁹⁴) "Petrogradskaia Pravda", 21 July 1920.

⁹⁵) "Fourth Anniversary of the October Revolution", 1921, v. 6, p. 502.

*) Panas Fedenko gives the following statistics: "In the year 1920 the 4th Congress of Soviets of Ukraine was held. The social composition of this congress was as follows: workers — 68%, peasants — 12.7%, intelligentsia — 19.3%. The system of elections to this congress was as follows: for each 100 soldiers of the red Army — 1 delegate, for each 10,000 workers — 1 delegate, for each 50,000 peasants — 1 delegate. At that time the Red Army in Ukraine was composed 85% of Russians." ("Ukrajins'kyj rukh u 20 stolitti", p. 213) The composition of the congress was brutally biased in favour of the Russian minority (in Ukraine) and the recently sent Russian soldiers, party members and workers. If we were in possession of complete statistics for the composition of this congress, they would probably reveal that around 70-80% were Russians. This system proves that soviets were a modern form of Russian colonialism in Ukraine invented by Lenin.

officially received state forms from the sovereign Russians, without receiving any power or actual sovereignty.

The search for a new form and method of governing an empire can be deduced from the "Note to the Politburo on the Struggle Against the Great-State Chauvinism":

"I declare war upon Great-Russian chauvinism not for life but on death. As soon as I rid myself of this damned tooth, I shall devour it with all my good teeth. We must *categorically* insist on having the chairmanship in the union TsIK by a Russian, Ukrainian, Georgian, etc. on rotation basis *Absolutely!*"⁹⁶

Lenin attached great importance to *appearances* in the imperial state. He attacked Russian imperialism in its manifestations but not in its essence. He did not want the Russian chauvinistic substance to show through in a drastic or exposing fashion. Lenin spoke about the procedure to be followed in an *imperial* Russian organ created as the result of the Russian conquest of Ukraine, Georgia, and other countries. He wanted to make the *imperial* structure appear as a free union of voluntarily associated nations. Lenin acknowledged that his closest associates were Russian chauvinists, for he had in mind the institution which he created. Thus his creation was a Russian imperialistic institution in substance and he urged his associates *not to appear as Russian chauvinists*, which they actually were.

After securing sovereignty and independence for Russia, Lenin expressed his desire to include in his state the whole of mankind through submission and resignation to the Russian form of statehood.

The *only nation* that emerged from a reactionary war by revolutionary methods not for the benefit of this or that government, but by overthrowing it, was the *Russian nation*, and it was the *Russian revolution* that extricated it . . . *all over the world all the workers are attracted toward the Soviet state.*"⁹⁷

The Soviet state system was aiming at the creation of a monolithic Russian empire: "One of the most important questions which should be resolved by the congress is the question of the *unification of republics*. The proper solution of this question depends upon future *organization of our state apparatus* . . ." ⁹⁸ These words sounded like orders and instructions to his subordinates and servants, but not as a message of greetings from a Head of the Russian state to the Government of the Ukrainian state. Lenin considered all Soviet republics as parts of one state. He did not approach the question of "unification" from the position of dealing with sovereign national states, but rather from the position of the need to centralize, standardize, and limit non-substantial procedural and methodological matters in one state. The appearance should be preserved, however

⁹⁶) 6 October 1922, S., 4. ed., v. 33, p. 335.

⁹⁷) "Political Report of the Central Committee to the 11th Congress of the RCP(B)", 1922, v. 9, p. 361.

⁹⁸) Greetings to the VII All-Ukrainian Congress of Soviets, 10 December 1922 "Kommunist", Kharkiv, no. 285, 12 December 1922, S., 4. ed., v. 33, p. 416.

as if free national states were voluntarily willing to unite themselves in one common state.* **

Lenin showed pleasure when Ukraine and other nations became "legally" subjected to Russian domination in a "united" state: "Now a *new state constitution of the Socialist Soviet republic has been accepted*, namely, the *federation of free republics of various nations, which settle Russia.*"⁹⁹ The imperial state was still to remain an imperial state, while paper independence was granted to the subjugated nations, which then "quite officially" were re-integrated with the Russian state.***

In conclusion, we may establish that the main purpose of the creation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was to achieve the aims of Russian imperialism toward Ukraine and other nations, namely, to conquer, dominate, and perpetrate genocide by Russia.* **

*) A Russian author stated that the soviet system outside Russia was primarily the work of Russians and therefore it became a new form of Russian imperialism: "*The enormous political economic, military and cultural help of the Russian people to all peoples of the borderlands was a decisive condition for the establishment and reinforcement of the Soviet republics in the borderlands and for the union of the peoples of the borderlands around the Russian federation.* In all this the liberating and unifying mission of the Great Russian proletariat has been revealed, which transformed the *Russian republic into the leading basis of the Soviet federation.*" (D. A. Chugaev, "Kommunisticheskaia partiia — organizator sovetского mnogonatsional'nogo gosudarstva (1917-1924 gg.)." Moscow, Gospolitizdat, 1954, p. 21). According to this authority, no non-Russian "Soviet republic" would have been able to arise without the Russian power. It appears that the Soviet Union was also established as the result of the Russian action. All this has been performed by the Russian people, who are considered the people chosen to work for "salvation" of other peoples.

***) Stalin showed that the true nature of the "soviets" consisted of the new form of Russian imperialism. He declared at the First Congress of Soviets of the USSR, in December, 1922: "Today is the day of triumph for a *new Russia*, which destroyed the chains of national oppression . . . transformed the red flag from a party flag to a state flag, and gathered around this flag the peoples of soviet republics in order to unite them in a single state, the USSR — the prototype of the future World Soviet Socialist Republic." (According to O. Yurchenko, "The nature and function of the soviet federative forms", p. 57. See V. Pentkovskaia, "Rol V. I. Lenina v obrazovanii SSSR" in "Voprosy istorii", Moscow, 1956, v. 3).

⁹⁹) S., 3d ed., v. 22, p. 225.

***) In Ukraine the new "federalism" was to be understood as "oblast autonomy", in the foundation of which would lie "not the national principle, but the principle of economic, territorial, and production community of the *oblasts of the country.*" (N. Suprunenko, "Obrazovanie Ukrainskoi Sov. Sots. Respubliki." Moscow, "Voprosy istorii", v. 2, 1954, p. 39). O. Yurchenko concluded that by 1923 "the 'state leadership' in the so-called national soviet republics actually guaranteed the commanding position 'to the proletariat of Russia,' which means, basically Russian or Russified minority in these republics." ("To the question of sovietization of the national republics of the USSR", in *Ukrainian Review*, n. 1, Institute for the Study of the History and Culture of the USSR." Munich, 1954, p. 54). Stalin stated at the 12th Congress of the RCP(B), 1923, that the *Soviet government "remained until the present time only a Russian government."* (Stalin, S., v. 5, p. 263).

THE STALIN PURGES OF THE 1930's REVISITED: DISSENT IN SOVIET UKRAINE, 1968-1972

By Dr. George KULCHYCKY
Assistant Professor of History
Youngstown State University

As we glance over the newspapers and magazines in the United States we notice that recently the news media are becoming more aware of the dissent of intellectuals in the Soviet Union. But unfortunately the news media fail to make a distinction between Russians and the different peoples and nationalities that are forced to live in the Soviet Union, but in effect have no desire to be referred to as Russians. Dissent is not a Russian phenomenon; it is an all-unior phenomenon and takes into account different forms, different ideals, different nationalities, and different programs.

In the forefront of this anti-Soviet dissent is the Ukrainian movement, a movement which the American press is slowly beginning to notice and to elaborate on. The history of Ukraine is replete with defiance of the Soviet regime. One would only have to open the bloody pages of Ukrainian history of the past fifty years to notice the tremendous price paid by Ukrainian patriots while resisting Soviet-Russian imperialism. Briefly we can note the Ukrainian peasant resistance from 1917-1921. We can see this resistance broken by the famine of 1921 and the use of terror and wholesale blackmail and murder. From 1928 to 1932, most of the Ukrainian intellectuals disappeared after secret trials charged them with "national deviationism." From 1932 to 1933, a Russian — perpetrated famine in Ukraine broke the back of Ukrainian resistance, carrying away 6 to 8 million inhabitants whom the Russians chose to call "kulaks" and "bourgeois nationalists." But the history of the Ukrainian resistance continued despite the losses and the heavy price paid by its people. Bearing testimony to this resistance are the acts of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and the new intellectual breed that arose in the sixties known as the "Shestydesyatnyky" or "men of the sixties." It is this latter group that once again began resisting the process of Russification and destruction of the cultural heritage and monuments of the Ukrainian past. (Note, for example, the burning of the library of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in 1964 as well as the destruction of the ancient Vydubyskyi monastery and its collection of rare books).

The "Shestydesyatnyky," with their zeal and their thirst for justice, gave birth to a new generation, a generation that has blossomed and grown stronger despite Soviet repressive activities such as murder, intimidation, imprisonment, commitment to psychiatric wards, resettlement, closed trials, concentration camps, harassment, etc.

If this intellectual dissent does exist in Ukraine why then is the American public uninformed? The Americans have heard of Russian dissenters such as Solzhenitsin, Sakharov, Medvedev, Bukovsky, Amalrik, Gorbanovskaya, Sinyavsky, Daniel, Yakir, and others, but they know nothing of the Ukrainian Moroz, Horska, Franko, Kulchynskyi, Sokulskyi, Dzyuba, Chornovil, Ozernyi, Horyn, Karavanskyi, Svitlychnyi, Zirytska, Husyak, Didyk, and hundreds of other Ukrainians who are already dead or are rotting in the concentration camps of Vladimir, Mordovia, and others.

The reason for the discrepancy in informing the American people of Ukrainian dissent is not to be found in accusations against the subjectivity of the American press, although this may be true in many cases, but in the inaccessibility of American newspapermen to Ukraine. American newsmen are restricted only to the area of Moscow and are ignorant of anything occurring outside this area.

At the outset let me say that Ukrainian intellectual dissent differs from that of the Russians. The Russian intellectuals want the basic freedoms that are guaranteed them by the Soviet Constitution. The Ukrainians also want these basic freedoms but they also demand the right to use their own language and the right to be Ukrainians, which is in keeping with the Soviet Constitution. But as we are all aware, the Soviet Constitution is a mere scrap of paper which has no meaning to the Soviet authorities; it is merely a means of fooling the uncritical Westerners about the real state of affairs in the Soviet Union. Suffice it to say that a Russian intellectual dissenter has two advantages that a Ukrainian does not: he has access to the American press and secondly, he can flaunt his Russian nationality, singing its praises, whereas a Ukrainian cannot.

What form does the Ukrainian intellectual resistance movement assume? In Ukraine the intellectuals have created a clandestine press known as "Samvydav," which means literally "self issued." There are no presses that publish the clandestine magazine the "Ukrainian Herald." Reprinting is done by individuals. As a person receives a typed copy of the "Ukrainian Herald" his job is to retype it in several copies and pass it on to his friends, who do the same. In this manner the origin of the "Herald" is kept secret. The "Herald" has four basic objectives: 1) to inform the citizens of the abrogation of their democratic and constitutional rights; 2) to inform the citizens of Soviet disinformation and propaganda campaigns; 3) to inform the citizens of Ukrainian dissenters sitting in Soviet concentration camps; and finally 4) to inform the citizenry of acts of protest.

The Russians regard this activity of the Ukrainian intellectuals as dangerous and usually bring the intellectuals to trial, charging them with a) anti-Soviet activity, b) national bourgeois deviationism, and c) anti-Communism and anti-Marxism. The intellectuals so accused are then brought before a closed court and are tried under article 70 of the Soviet Constitution, which deals with the question of "discrediting" the Soviet State. After this, punishment is meted out.

To appear more human, the Russian now lock away many intellectuals in psychiatric wards and give them treatments which in the end are destructive and do cause the mental breakdown of individuals. Queried about this practice at the World Psychiatric Congress in Mexico last year, the Russians denied the allegation and walked out of the sessions. The walk-out stunt is not new since the Americans saw many of these in the United Nations before the Korean War, when some questions embarrassing to the Soviets were asked at that world assembly. What is unfortunate, however, is that despite the obvious guilt of the Russian psychiatrists, a mutual French-Soviet psychiatric project will soon be initiated. Even more unfortunate is the U.S. Health Education and Welfare public report; **The Report of the First U.S. Mission on Mental Health to the USSR** written by Judge David L. Bazelon in 1967, in which he fails to mention psychiatry as a means of punishing dissenters. This very report has already been used twice as a tool by the Soviets (*Izvestia*, Oct. 24, 1971, and Austrian State Radio Jan. 20, 1971) to deny that Russians are involved in such practices.

Regarding ourselves as great humanitarians and defenders of the downtrodden, we Americans have a task before us. We must raise the question of intellectual dissent and freedom in the Soviet Union before the rest of the world. In this quest we must put pressure upon our news media and our government representatives to raise their voices in high places so that human beings in the Soviet Union, and especially in Ukraine, are allowed to enjoy the rights and privileges that the Russians pretend to adhere to in keeping with the "Human Rights Commission" and its program signed in Teheran several years ago.

REPRESSIONS IN UKRAINE

Issue no. 27 of the *Chronicle of Current Events* appeared in the USSR, in Russian, dated October 15, 1972, and is dedicated to the facts concerning the persecution of dissidents in the USSR. The greatest space is given to the repressions in Ukraine.

"Every human being has the right to freedom of opinion and to its free expression; this right includes the freedom to abide, without obstruction, by one's convictions, and the freedom to seek, receive, and disseminate information and ideas by any means and regardless of national borders." ("*General Declaration of Human Rights*," p. 19).

Arrests and Convictions

Between June and September, 1972, trials of members of the national movement were held in Ukraine. The basic grounds of accusation were the underground press, and sometimes oral declarations. The accusations were made under Article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR (Article 70, Criminal Code of the Russian SFSR). The inquest began in January-March 1972 (see *Chronicle* No. 24, 25).

Two of those arrested — Engineer L. Seleznenko and poet Mykola Kholodnyi — were released prior to trial after they had recanted in the press. In Kholodnyi's letter to the editors of *Literaturna Ukraine* (July 7, 1972), there appeared not only a recantation, but the names of people through whom he had fallen "under the fatal influence of bourgeois propaganda and . . . the works of the so-called *samvydav*." After the declaration published in *Robitnycha Hazeta (Workers' Gazette)* (July 8, 1972), L. Seleznenko was immediately released and rehabilitated at his job at the Institute of Petroleum Chemistry.

Trials in Kyiv (1972)

In June here took place the trial of Alexander Serhiyenko (*Chronicle* No. 24) 40 years old, who worked in a school as a drafting teacher and, after dismissal from the school, as a painter and restorer. The judge was Yu. I. Matsko. The sessions were secret by decision of the court; not even Serhiyenko's mother and wife were allowed in the courtroom. During the first two months of Serhiyenko's stay in solitary confinement under interrogation, a public recantation was vainly sought from him.

Three episodes were attributed to Serhiyenko at the trial: 1) the correction of 33 pages of the text of Ivan Dzyuba's book, *Internationalism or Russification?* (the book has 500 pages). Serhiyenko did not know the author of the book. The work interested him and, in reading it, he took notes for himself. The court qualified his notes as editorial corrections, and Serhiyenko was accused of cooperation in the writing of an anti-Soviet book. This episode was considered in court as the main point of accusation. 2) Speaking out against the "international aid to Czechoslovakia" — not at all supported by witnesses. 3) Expression of opinion about Ukraine's right to self-determination.

The attorney proved the impossibility of all the points of accusation (by the absence of "agitation and propaganda," the contradictions, and the total absence of testimonies by witnesses) and pleaded for the release of the accused, or the re-classification of the crime from Art. 62 to Art. 187 of the Criminal Code, Ukr. SSR, corresponding to Art. 190-1, Criminal Code Russian SFSR.

The sentence: seven years of prison camps under severe regime and three years of exile. The court of appeals upheld the verdict of the regional court.

The trial of 54-year-old teacher Ivan Yermilovych Kovalenko, arrested in January, 1972 (*Chronicle* no. 24), took place on July 10-13. The judge was Matsko. The accusation was presented under Art. 62-1 CC Ukr. SSR. The court accused Kovalenko of the following: 1) Works confiscated at his home on January 12: I. Dzyuba, *Internationalism or Russification?*; V. Chornovil, *Lykho z Rozumu* (a document about the trial of 1965, which appeared in the West as *The Chornovil Papers*); and publicistic works of V. Moroz. All these works were considered anti-Soviet. 2) Expressed opposition to the "international aid to Czechoslovakia" (in the faculty room, at the school where he was working). The trial was secret. Even I. Kovalenko's wife, called as witness on the second (or third) day of the trial, was not allowed to remain in court after her testimony. The sentence: five years under severe regime.

The trial of Zinoviy Antonyuk, born in 1933, took place on August 8-15. The judge was Dyshel. The prosecutor was Ponchenko. The accusation was made under Art. 62-1, CC Ukr. SSR. The trial was officially open, and people in groups of 10 to 15 — co-workers from the institute where the accused was working — were brought in by car. Nevertheless, none of Antonyuk's friends succeeded in entering the courtroom.

Among the witnesses at the trial were Z. Franko, L. Seleznenko, M. Kholodnyi, Lobko, and H. Povodid. According to the testimonies of Seleznenko and Kholodnyi, Z. Antonyuk received and passed on to others (in some cases, participants in the episode were the witnesses themselves) the journal *Ukrainskyi Visnyk* (*Ukrainian Herald*), and the articles "Bolshevism and the Spirituality of the People" by Dontsov, "Instead of a Last Word" by V. Moroz, and others. Z. Franko testified that Antonyuk photographed Number Three of the *Ukrainian Herald* and sent the film through A. Kontsurova to Czechoslovakia. Antonyuk resolutely denied her testimony.

As for the testimony of Lobko, whose statements were to the advantage of Antonyuk, the court adopted a separate resolution on his responsibility for his sharp stand "against the court."

Witness Hanna Povodid (a fellow-worker in the institute in which A. Antonyuk worked) refused to declare that Z. Antonyuk gave her *samvydav* literature to read. She said that he only gave her some insignificant note to read in the corridor, which she returned to him right away. Z. Antonyuk wrote a letter in which he asked the court to take into consideration that he acted unknowingly, that he did not engage in spreading anti-Soviet literature, and that he did not consider the literature confiscated at his home as anti-Soviet. The court ignored Antonyuk's letter and sentenced him to seven years of prison camps under severe regime and three years of exile.

*

The trial of Vasyl Stus, arrested in January (*Chronicle* No. 24), took place on July 31-August 7 in the Kyiv regional court. The judge was Dyshel. In No. 26 of the *Chronicle* it was reported that from the beginning the investigation proceeded under Art. 187-1 CC Ukr. SSR.

V. Stus is 34 years old. He is a poet and literary critic. He finished the pedagogical institute and served in the army. Until 1965, he worked in the Institute of Literature. He was preparing to defend his dissertation, but after his opposition to the arrests in Ukraine in 1965, he was dismissed. In recent years, he has not worked in his own profession, but he worked as an engineer in the information division, and as a subway construction worker. Since 1965, his articles and poems have not been published.

His accusation was based to a large extent on the testimonies of L. Seleznenko and M. Kholodnyi. At the trial an attempt was made to prove that: 1) a critical article about the poet P. Tychna was a rough draft, and was neither printed nor circulated. (During the search at Stus' home, a letter written by Stanyslav Telnuk — an expert on Tychna, at whose home V. Stus sought counsel while working on the article — was seized. Telnuk was brought in as witness in the

Stus case. In court, he gave a positive evaluation of Stus work. For the review of V. Stus article, his co-worker from the Language Institute, Nasyruk, was brought in. He had never concerned himself with the works of Tychna, but was rather an expert on Ivan Franko. He gave a negative review. The court ignored Telnjuk's opinion. Telnjuk's work on Tychna, which is to be found in a Moscow publishing house, is not being printed. The vice-chairman of the Writers' Union of the Ukrainian SSR, Vasyl Kozachenko, has declared, "Let Stanyslav Telnjuk settle his account with the KGB first — then we'll publish him." Telnjuk is also being questioned as a witness in the cases of Nadiia Svitlychna, Ivan Dzyuba, Ye. Sverstyuk, and I. Svitlychnyi. 2) A letter sent by V. Stus to the government with a criticism of such a state of affairs in which Ukraine's young writers are not being published. This letter, seized during the search, incriminates Stus as being anti-Soviet. 3) While staying at the Morshyn sanatorium, V. Stus told two anecdotes, classified as being anti-Soviet (affirmed by witnesses' testimonies). 4) A collection of Stus poems was published in Belgium (*Winter Trees*). Witness L. Seleznenko testified that he, Seleznenko sent the collection across the border without the author's permission. All the same, the court held this episode against Stus as well. The sentence: five years of prison camps under severe regime and three years of exile.

Volodymyr Raketskyi, aged 25, was excluded from the third year of the University of Kyiv, because during his declaration it became clear that he was the son of one of those repressed, but had concealed this fact; besides this he was accused of "nationalistic attitudes." Until his arrest, he worked as a city correspondent of the newspaper *Young Guard*. The judge was Matsko. Among other things, Raketskyi was tried for stories and poems (his and other authors' confiscated during a search and classified as anti-Soviet. The sentence: five years of prison camps under severe regime.

Yuriy Shukhevych, born in 1933, spent close to 20 years under arrest as the son of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) general Roman Shukhevych, who committed suicide in 1950 (the editors of the *Chronicle* do not know the true reasons of his death — Ed.). After his release, Yu. Shukhevych lived in exile in the town of Nalchyk. Married, he has two children (two years and nine months old). He worked as an electrician. In February, 1972, he was arrested in Nalchyk (*Chronicle* No. 25). From Nalchyk he was transferred to the Kyiv KGB, then returned to Nalchyk. Art. 62. CC Ukr. SSR. Sentence: ten years under arrest (5 years of prison, 5 years of prison camps under special regime and five years of exile.

Yu. Shukhevych's arrest followed that of N. Stokata, who previously had moved from Odessa to Nalchyk and lodged Yu. Shukhevych and his family in her house (his family lives there still). It is surmised that memoirs of his twenty-year imprisonment were confiscated at Yu. Shukhevych's home.

Trials in L'viv (1972)

Danylo Lavrentiyovych Shumuk, born in 1914, (*Chronicle* No. 26) was tried on July 5-7 and accused under Art. 62-2 CC Ukr. SSR for the first part of memoirs taken away during the preliminary arrest, and for a second part found during a search of Svitlychnyi's home. Shumuk is also accused of circulating articles by Djilas and Dzyuba, and of making anti-Soviet statements (both episodes from witnesses' testimonies), as well as of being the author of a letter addressed to Svitlychnyi and seized at the home of the addressee, which was classified as a "program document." Sentence: ten years in prison camps under special regime, and 5 years' exile.

Stefania Shabatara was convicted under Art. 62 CC Ukr. SSR to five years of prison camps and three years of exile.

The poetess Iryna Stasiv was sentenced to six years of prison camps and three years' exile. Iryna Stasiv's husband, the poet Ihor Kalynets, had an interview with her, and a few days later was himself arrested.

In mid-August Ivan Hel was sentenced under Art. 62-2 to five years under special and five years under severe regime, and five years of exile.

On September 4-5 the trial of Osadchyi (see *Chronicle* No. 25) took place. The trial was secret. He was accused under Art. 62 CC Ukr. SSR. of sending his manuscripts over the border. Sentence: seven years of prison camps under severe regime and three years' exile.

The *Chronicle of Current Events* of October 15 gave further information about the arrest and conviction of these Ukrainian cultural and research workers:

Vasyl Lisovyi and Yevhen Pronyuk, research assistants at the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR. By decision of the Presidium of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, the following research workers were dismissed from work on suspicion of sympathy with the dissident movement: Mykhaylo Braychevskiy, Olena Kompan, Olena Opanovych, Dzyra, Svitlyana Kyrychenko, F. P. Shevchenko (transferred to another job), and V. P. Ivanysenko.

Mykola H. Plakhtyuk, arrested in January, 1972, was transferred in September to the KGB special isolation ward in Kyiv in punishment for his announcement of a hunger strike. He announced the hunger strike in protest against his cruel treatment by the police.

Searches, Further Arrests, and Prisoners in Concentration Camps

On June 12, a search was conducted in Ryz at the home of the poetess and Writers' Union member Vyzma Belshevyts, in connection with the case of Ivan Dzyuba. A representative of the KGB from Ukraine was present.

In July, 1972, L. E. Pynskiy and E. A. Hryn were summoned for questioning by the KGB in connection with the Svitlychnyi case.

At the beginning of July, 1972, Itskhak Shkolnyk, a worker at an automation plant, was arrested. He was accused under Art. 187-1 CC Ukr. SSR. of anti-Soviet conversations during work and among acquaintances. Searches were made by KGB agents.

In the Vladimir prison No. 2 (address: 600020 Vladimir, office OD-1 CT-2) the following, among others, were inmates: Bohdan Vtsuta, Art. 64 CC RSFSR (treason to the fatherland), was arrested in 1969, when he was serving in the border troops and tried to get across to Afghanistan, and sentenced to 15 years.

Volodymyr Anastasiyovych Havrylyuk was convicted under the article of "treason to the fatherland" (in 1969) for supposed crime committed in Ukraine in the war years. The sentence: 15 years. In August, 1972, he was placed in a prison camp.

Demchyshyn was convicted of membership in the UPA (Ukrainian Insurgent Army) and sentenced to 15 years; the term began in 1969.

Borys Zalyvako, a priest, was sentenced in 1969 to 8 years of imprisonment for crossing the Soviet-Czechoslovak border. In prison since the spring of 1971.

Svyatoslav Karavanskiy, philologist was arrested under Art. 70-2, CC RSFSR. He is being kept under "special regime."

Dmytro Kvetsko, an instructor in a district committee Komsomol, was sentenced to 15 years, including 5 years of imprisonment, for activity in the Ukrainian National Front. In March of 1972, he was sent off to the Mordovian prison camps.

Vasyl Kindrat, a worker, was sentenced in 1962 to 10 years for nationalistic propaganda. He was in jail from February, 1971, to August, 1972, when he was transported to the Mordovian prison camps.

Zinoviy Krasivskiy, a man of letters, was sentenced under the same article as Kvetsko to 12 years, including five years of prison. In December of 1971 he was found guilty in a "chamber affair" under Art. 70-11, that is in the preparation and the oral and written circulation of poems of a nationalistic character, especially the poem "Apocalypse." After a psychiatric examination in the Serbskiy Institute in the spring of 1962, a commission including A. V. Snezhev-

skyi, H. V. Moroziv, and D.P. Lunets declared him not fit to be tried. Krasivskyi stayed in the second hospital building of the prison, awaiting his dispatch to the SPB. After the war, Krasivskyi's family had been placed in administrative exile in Kazakhstan. On the way, Krasivskyi escaped and returned to his country. He was stopped and sentenced to five years in prison. At the end of his sentence, a special form of repression was adapted for him: "eternal exile" to Kazakhstan, where he worked in the mines and became an occupational invalid. With greater difficulty, he obtained permission to return to his land. He completed the philological faculty at the University of Lviv, and published some bibliographical works. He was arrested in 1967, when he was preparing to publish an historical novel about the Zaporozhian Cossacks. The Krasivskyis have two children. His wife teaches music at Morshyno, in the Lviv region. In the USSR there is a law about the firing from work and denial of pension rights to those who have been prisoners.

Vasyl Kulynyn, sentenced to six years for participation in the Ukrainian National Front, has been in prison since May, 1970.

Yaroslav Lesiv, a physical-education teacher, was sentenced to six years for participation in the Ukrainian National Front.

Konstantyn Lushch was sentenced to 15 years for the same reason as Demchyshyn. He was placed in a prison camp at the beginning of 1972.

Matiyash was sentenced, in 1969, for "treason to the fatherland" to 15 years including five years in prison.

Valentyn Moroz, historian, was sentenced to nine years, including six, in prison and five of exile. He was kept under "special regime," and criminal elements cruelly mistreated him. In July, 1972, they attacked Moroz and stabbed him with a knife four times during the night (it has not as yet been determined who these "criminal elements," — equipped with a knife in a jail — were). He was placed in the prison infirmary in serious condition.

Roman Semenyuk was sentenced in 1950 to 25 years of imprisonment for belonging to the OUN.* He was given another three years in prison for his escape in 1965. In 1972, Semenyuk was put in a prison camp.

Ivan Sokulskyi has been in prison since the end of 1971.

The Ukrainian Fabyshevskyi, supposedly a policeman, was sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment.

Semen Tselyuk received a nine-year punishment for belonging to OUN. He was released in accordance with the amnesty of 1955. He was sentenced again to fifteen years' imprisonment, counting the previous nine years of prison. There remain for him two years of imprisonment.

Volodymyr Hryhorovych Nedobora, who is in the Zhovti Vody prison camp in the Dnipropetrovsk region, refused to testify in the Plyushch case.

In the Dnipropetrovsk area there is in operation a psychiatric hospital where prisoners are taken for brainwashing.

In September-October, Valentyn Moroz was transferred to Kyiv. There he was interrogated in connection with the Ivan Dzyuba case. After some time he was sent to Lviv, where he was questioned in the V. Chornovil case.

In the first days of October, 1972, Danylo Shumuk came to the Potma prison camp, in the Mordovian ASSR.

At the beginning of October, 1972, after twenty-five years of concentration camps and imprisonment, Kateryna Zarytska-Soroka, daughter of Professor Myron Zarytskyi, was freed. Until 1947, she was directress of the Ukrainian Red Cross and worked on the journal *Idea and Action*, which was connected with the OUN.

*) The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN).

UKRAINIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES WITHOUT UKRAINIANS

The Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR presently has 78 institutes, 10,000 scholars, over 100 academicians and 170 corresponding members; among its scientific personnel are 693 doctors of science and 400 candidates for scientific degrees. Within Ukraine there are 814 research institutes and offices, employing more than 130,000 scientific workers. The Academy of Sciences is headed by the academician and technologist Borys Paton, who reported on the Academy's work at its recent meeting honouring "the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Creation of the USSR."

Even in the announcements of the RATAU (official news agency in Ukraine) and of the press, it is openly stated that, on orders from the "All-Union Academy," all the attention of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences is directed toward technology, industry, and technological processes — while the humanities, including history, linguistics, and other branches of Ukrainian studies, are given last place, as something of no use to the Ukrainian people. Thus, as RATAU relates, at the meeting there were "mathematicians, cyberneticians, materials experts, chemists, investigators of the earth's entrails and outer space, biologists, and sociologists." Furthermore, Academician Paton reported only on advances and successes in technology and in the searching of Ukrainian soil for valuable deposits of oil, natural gas, and so on, which afterwards — by order of, and in the name of, Moscow — are pumped out of Ukraine to the satellite countries, and even to East Germany. Present at the conference of academicians was well-known Valentyn Malanchuk, KGB agent and new secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, responsible for ideological questions, there was no mention of the activity of the historical-philosophical section of the Academy, nor of the fact that the Kyiv publishing house Naukova Dumka brings out more works in the foreign Russian language than in Ukrainian.

The first truly Ukrainian Academy of Sciences was created in free Kyiv in the time of the Hetman Pavlo Skoropadskyy, and its first active section was the historical-philological faculty, now nearly eliminated, or at any rate meaningless from the scholarly and research point of view.

DMYTRO ZEROW DIED SUDDENLY IN KYIV

Academician Dmytro Kostyantynovych Zerov was born on September 20, 1895, in Zinkova in the Poltava region. He was the brother of the poet Mykola Zerov. A botanist, he died suddenly in the latter half of December, 1971, at a Party Conference in Kyiv where he criticized the chauvinist policy of Russification in Ukraine. The cause of death was allegedly a heart attack.

The funeral, which was held on December 20th, turned into a large national demonstration. A eulogy was delivered, among other things, by Yevhen Sverstyuk, a prominent literary critic, who, after being dismissed from work as the result of the policy of repression, was employed for some time as a secretary in the *Ukrainskyi botanichnyi zhurnal* (Ukrainian Botanic Journal), published by Academician D. Zerov, until he was fired from this job as well "for working outside his profession." Most likely this was Ye. Sverstyuk's last public appearance, after which he was immediately dismissed from work and arrested on January 12, 1972.

Dmytro Zerov was a prominent Ukrainian natural scientist. Between 1920 and 1957 he was at the head of the Department of Morphology and Systematics Lower Plants at the Kyiv Institute of Public Education. At the same time beginning with 1921, he worked within the system of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukr. SSR, of which he had been a corresponding member since 1939, and a full member since 1948. In addition, since 1946 he directed the Institute of Botany at the Academy of Sciences, conducted scientific expeditions throughout Ukraine, the Caucasus, Altai, and Ural, was the founder and head of the Ukrainian Botanical Society and the editor of important publications: *The Flora of the Ukr. SSR*, *The Ukrainian Botanical Journal*, and many scientific research papers which he wrote in Ukrainian.

The unexpected death of Academician Dmytro Zerov at the moment in which he was defending Ukraine's rights in the face of Russification caused anxiety among the Ukrainian public in the world. Furthermore, there are no reports on whether or not the cause of death was objectively and conscientiously ascertained by a medical examination.

The broadest circle of the Ukrainian and world public know that the files of a medical examination of the tragic death of Vasyl Omelyanovych Makukh, who immolated himself on November 5, 1968, as a sign of protest, have disappeared without a trace. The documentation about the secret murder of Alla Horskava on November 28, 1970, has not been made public and the criminals have not been brought to justice.

On the other hand, since 1962 it has been generally known in the entire world that the Russians are in possession of a secret weapon of assassination: an inconspicuous, soundless pistol loaded with strong acid which causes instantaneous death of the victim, with the symptoms of a heart attack, without leaving any noticeable organic traces which could be uncovered by an autopsy. Only after a detailed chemical analysis can traces of poison be detected. This poison was instrumental in the murder of the head of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, Stepan Bandera (1959), and Prof. Lev Rebet (1957) by a Russian agent in Munich. This secret of the KGB was first revealed at the trial in Karlsruhe.

Now the world is waiting for detailed information on the circumstances and the cause of death of the great Ukrainian scientist.

PETER KAPSCHUTSCHENKO

Peter Kapschutschenko was born in Ukraine on September 27, 1915, and studied sculpture at several schools in Eastern Europe. His work in bronze, terra cotta, and wood was shown in exhibitions in Germany during 1946-1947 and later in Argentina, where he lived from 1950 to 1963. In recognition of his artistry and cultural contributions, the Free University of Humanities of Buenos Aires, Argentina, appointed him as an Honorary Member. Many private collections in Argentina include examples of his sculpture. Since 1963, he has made his home in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, where he continues to expand his creative power.

In 1968, P. Kapschutschenko was awarded the First Sculpture Award at the Moorestown Mall Show in Moorestown, New Jersey. In 1969, he received the Third Prize in Sculpture at the 6th Annual Atlantic City National Summer Show.

Between 1965 and 1970, his sculptures were shown at exhibitions in Newma Gallery and Delancey Gallery, Philadelphia; Sculpture House Gallery, New York City; Pent House Gallery and Gold Door Gallery, New Hope, Pennsylvania; Museum of Philadelphia Civic Center; Association of Delaware Valley Artists Center; Moorestown Mall show, Moorestown, New Jersey; Cederbrook Mall Show, Wyncote, Pennsylvania; Plymouth Meeting Mall, Plymouth Meeting, Pennsylvania; Cherry Hill Mall Show, Cherry Hill, New Jersey; Atlantic Cit

Show, Atlantic City, New Jersey; International Gallery, King of Prussia, Pennsylvania; and Pennsauken Show, Pennsauken, New Jersey.

From December 3, 1972, to January 14, 1973, his works were on exhibition in the Museum of Fine Arts in Springfield, Massachusetts. The museum's curator, Joseph P. Michels, said the following about the sculpture in the pamphlet describing his works: "The Museum of Fine Arts, Springfield, Massachusetts, proudly presents the works of Peter Kapschutschenko in this one-man exhibition.

"With the fluid handling of terra cotta as seen in his works, Mr. Kapschutschenko has created figures of intense emotional credibility. The rejection of cold reason and the parallel rejection of the artistic vocabulary, which this implies, has enabled the artist to depict the tender, the expressive, and the rhythmical aspects of the human condition.

"The artistic language with which Peter Kapschutschenko expresses himself is poignant and easily understandable. It speaks with ease and clarity.

"The artist who deals with the passionate, rather than the mathematical precision of geometry, the hard line, and abstraction continuously encounters the pitfalls of sentimentality and cliché. By his dexterity and craftsmanship, Mr. Kapschutschenko has transcended these limitations."

The exhibition included more than a hundred works, among which the following deserved special attention: *Goose Girls*, *Syncopeation*, *The Blessing of John*, *Cowboy*, *Wild Spirit*, *Breaking In*, *The Sheriff*, *Orphans*, *Fish Monger*, *Rabbi*, *Flight from Man*, *Evening Melody*, and *Roundup*.

BOOK REVIEW

Struk, Danulo. A STUDY OF VASYL' STEFANYK. THE PAIN AT THE HEART OF EXISTENCE. With a Foreword by George S. N. Luskyj. Littleton, Colorado. Ukrainian Academic Press, 1973. 200 p. \$ 8.50. Publication date: January 2, 1973.

This penetrating study of one of the most prominent and unusual literary figures of modern Ukrainian literature provides for the first time in English an introduction to Stefanyk's prose. An analysis of Stefanyk's work reveals that he was a master of the psychological novella — a short, highly dramatic work of prose which captures single moments in the life of a hero. The moments chosen by Stefanyk were those which produced an inner agony. Both the conflict and its denouement permitted the writer to portray the psychological complexity of his individual hero and to reflect on the psychological turbulences in the soul of man in general. Struk adds historical background and a literary biography to his translations of some of Stefanyk's best novellas. The work is based on a Ph.D. dissertation (University of Toronto) and includes a foreword by George S. N. Luskyj.

Dr. Danvlo Struk is Assistant Professor of Ukrainian and Russian Literatures at the University of Toronto and is a contributor to the professional journals published in the United States, Canada, and Europe.

Copies of this publication may be ordered from LIBRARIES UNLIMITED, INC., P.O. Box 263, Littleton, Colorado 80120. Editors who desire review copies may obtain them by writing to the Publicity Director.

Sokolyszyn, Alexander. *Ukrainian Selected and Classified Bibliography in English.* New York, Munich, Ukrainian Information Bureau, 1972.

This useful and exhaustive bibliographical tool fills a great gap in the reference works dealing with Ukraine. The latest compendium of this type was published by Weres in 1968, and since then, many books and articles dealing

with Ukraine have appeared, but unfortunately have not been accessible due to lack of bibliographic control.

Dr. Sokolyszyn's book deals with a wide variety of topics: history, literature, politics, religion, economics, geography, law, education, language, etc. It also provides a bibliographic guide to such subjects as Ukrainian fine arts, TV and radio programs, cookery, films, and organizations.

After a short introduction, which describes very briefly the geography, history, and the current dissent movement in Ukraine, the main body of the work is divided into two parts: one dealing with material up to 1961, the other with material published between 1961 and 1971. The compilation appears to be professionally researched, well organized, and exhaustive; although, as with any work of this scope, dealing with so many entries, there appear to be several oversights.

Dr. Sokolyszyn is to be commended for undertaking this much needed task. It is unfortunate, however, but is in no way a reflection on the author or the quality of the bibliography, that this work could not have been published in a more appealing format. It Ukrainians expect such publications to be of any influence and use to American scholars and researchers, it is necessary to give more consideration to the technical production of such books.

More works like those of Dr. Sokolyszyn are needed, to make the vast material on Ukraine available to those interested in the problem.

Marta Sawczuk
Jersey City State College

THE REAL FACE OF RUSSIA

267 Pages of Essays and Articles by well-known
authorities on East European problems

PROBLEMS OF RUSSIAN COMMUNISM ASSESSED FROM
A COMPLETELY NEW PERSPECTIVE

The book contains the following contributions:

THE SPIRIT OF RUSSIA — by *Dr. Dmytro Donzow*

ON THE PROBLEM OF BOLSHEVISM — by *Evhen Malaniuk*

THE RUSSIAN HISTORICAL ROOTS OF BOLSHEVISM —

by *Professor Yuriy Boyko*

THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM —

by *Dr. Baymirza Hayit*

BOLSHEVISM AND INTERNATIONALISM — by *Olexander Yourchenko*

THE "SCIENTIFIC" CHARACTER OF DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM —

by *U. Kuzhil*

THE HISTORICAL NECESSITY OF THE DISSOLUTION OF THE

RUSSIAN EMPIRE — by *Prince Niko Nakashidze*

UKRAINIAN LIBERATION STRUGGLE — by *Professor Lev Shankowsky*

THE ROAD TO FREEDOM AND THE END OF FEAR —

by *Jaroslav Stetzko*

TWO KINDS OF CULTURAL REVOLUTION — by *Jaroslav Stetzko*

Price: £1.25 cloth-bound, £0.90 paperback.

Order from: *Ukrainian Information Service,*
200 Liverpool Rd., London, N.1. Great Britain

MORE TRIALS IN SOVIET UNION

From *The Times*, London, Feb. 3, 1973

Sir, It is now exactly a year since the Soviet authorities intensified their persecution of intellectuals who have openly criticized official violations of the Soviet Constitution and of human rights in general.

The repressions have been particularly severe in the Ukraine, where about a hundred individuals — mostly young writers, artists and scholars of moderate political orientation — were arrested during 1972. Their offence consisted in openly protesting against what they believe to be official discrimination against the Ukrainian language and culture within the Ukrainian SSR, as well as in criticizing other violations of the civil and nationality rights guaranteed by the Soviet Constitution. Some of this criticism was directed at the KGB, the procuracy and the courts for their repeated violations of Soviet law and legal procedure.

Here are a few facts which have been carefully checked with those whose knowledge and judgment we trust, and which we believe to be fully authentic.

At least 20 of those arrested in the Ukraine have already been sentenced — **de facto in camera** — to inhumanly severe terms of imprisonment and exile of a kind which bear no relationship to the alleged “crimes” and are clearly designed to intimidate and silence the most courageous spokesmen for civil rights in the Ukraine.

Thus, to cite only a few of the cases, Danylo Shumuk and Yoriy Shukhevych, who served 20-year political sentences in various fascist and Stalinist concentration camps, were sentenced in 1972 to 10 years of forced labour camp plus five years' exile each for writing (not even apparently circulating!) their memoirs; and the writer Mykhaylo Osadchyi to seven years of labour camp and five years of exile for a similar “offence.”

The writer and artist I. Stasiv-Kalynets was sentenced to a total of nine years of camp and exile and her husband, Ihor Kalynets — one of the brightest young talents in Ukrainian literature — to three years on yet more such charges. Another writer, Vasyl Stus, got a total of eight years; and an Orthodox priest Vasyl Romanyuk, seven years of forced labour camp plus three years' exile.

The new victims have now joined, in the prisons and camps, the numerous Ukrainian dissenters who are already there, including the young historian Valentyn Moroz, who, in 1970, was sentenced **in camera** to nine years' imprisonment and five years' exile for writing essays critical of the Kremlin's nationality policy and for attacking KGB violation of the law.

A number of the arrested intellectuals are still awaiting trial, among them the prominent literary critics Ivan Dzyuba and Ivan Svitlychnyi, the journalist Vyacheslav Chornovil, and the writer Yevhen Sverstyuk. Again, their sole “offence” appears to have been openly and from moderate positions to criticize official violations of Soviet constitutional and legal norms (which, even in Soviet law, they are not forbidden to do).

Is the Soviet Government so insecure that it has to resort to such brutal sanctions for the kind of criticism of one's own government that we read daily in the British press? It is difficult to accept, in the light of such repressions, the Kremlin's claim that it has successfully solved the nationality question in the USSR. Now that the Soviet Union is seeking improved relations with the United Kingdom and other Western countries, we implore the Soviet authorities to remember that actions of this kind on their part are, so far as British intellectuals and doubtless many others are concerned, the greatest obstacle to friendship between our two countries.

Yours faithfully,

MAURICE CRANSTON,
PEGGY ASHCROFT,
A. J. AYER,
ROBERT BIRLEY,
DENIS BROGAN,
STUART HAMPSHIRE,

FRANK KERMODE,
YEHUDI MENUHIN,
J. B. PRIESTLEY,
ROBBINS.
RICHARD WOLLHEIM.



The
**UKRAINIAN
REVIEW**



III

1 9 7 3

UKRAINIAN INFORMATION SERVICE

THE UKRAINIAN REVIEW

A Quarterly Magazine devoted to the study of Ukraine.

EDITORIAL BOARD

Professor Dr. Vasyl Oreleckyj
Chairman of the Board

Mrs. Slava Stetzko, M.A.
Editor

Volodymyr Bohdaniuk, B.A., B.Litt.
Associate Editor

Professor Nicholas Chirovsky
Associate Editor

Anatol Bedriy, M.A.
Associate Editor

Professor Lew Shankowsky
Associate Editor

Oleh S. Romanyshyn, M.A.
Associate Editor

Bernardine Bailey, B.A., M.A.
Associate Editor

Price: 50p or \$1.75 a single copy
Annual Subscription: £2.00 or \$7.00

Editorial correspondence should be sent to:

The Editors,
"The Ukrainian Review"
200 Liverpool Road,
London, N1 1LF.

Subscriptions should be sent to:

"The Ukrainian Review" (Administration).
c/o Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain, Ltd.
49 Linden Gardens,
London, W2 4HG.

Overseas representatives:

USA: Organization for Defense of Four Freedoms for Ukraine, Inc.
P.O. Box 304, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.

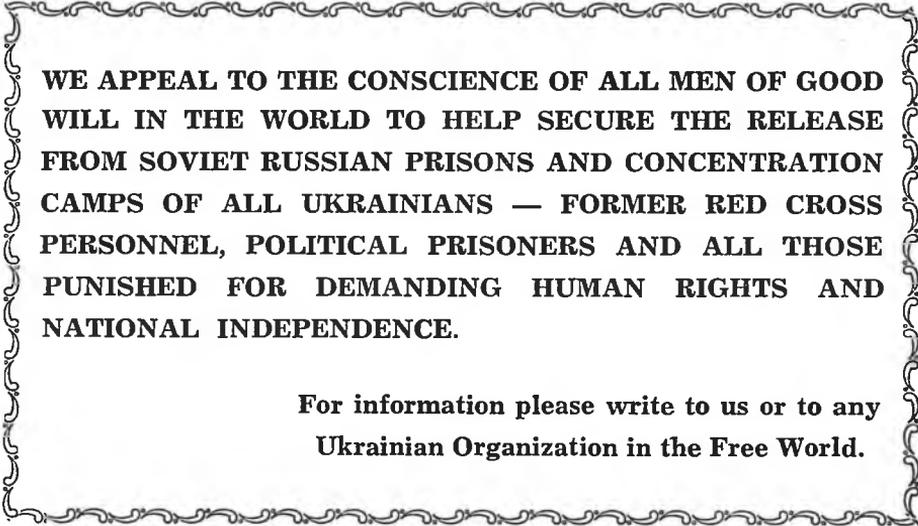
Canada: Canadian League for Ukraine's Liberation,
140 Bathurst Street, Toronto 2B, Ont.

THE UKRAINIAN REVIEW

Vol. XX No. 3

Autumn 1973

A Quarterly Magazine



**WE APPEAL TO THE CONSCIENCE OF ALL MEN OF GOOD
WILL IN THE WORLD TO HELP SECURE THE RELEASE
FROM SOVIET RUSSIAN PRISONS AND CONCENTRATION
CAMPS OF ALL UKRAINIANS — FORMER RED CROSS
PERSONNEL, POLITICAL PRISONERS AND ALL THOSE
PUNISHED FOR DEMANDING HUMAN RIGHTS AND
NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE.**

**For information please write to us or to any
Ukrainian Organization in the Free World.**

**Published by
The Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain, Ltd.
in cooperation with
Organization for Defense of Four Freedoms for Ukraine, Inc. (U.S.A)
and
Canadian League for Ukraine's Liberation.**

C O N T E N T S

Ye. O.: OPPOSING THE OSTRICH POLICY	3
Dr. Vasyl Plushch, M.D.: GENOCIDE OF THE UKRAINIAN PEOPLE	9
Anatole W. Bedriy, Ph.D.: MAJOR ASPECTS OF RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM TOWARDS UKRAINE (Cont. 3)	17
Zenon Pelensky: THE ARTISTS OF CONTEMPORARY UKRAINE	33
W. Mykula: SOVIET NATIONALITIES POLICY IN UKRAINE, 1920-1930	44
Mykhaylo Osadchyy: CATARACT (Conclusion)	56
From publications in Ukraine	
V. Chornovil: WHAT IS BOHDAN STENCHUK DEFENDING AND HOW? (<i>Ukrainian Herald</i> , Issue VI, 1972)	70
AROUND THE PERSON AND THE CASE OF V. MOROZ (<i>Ukr. Herald</i> , Issue VI, 1972)	83
TRIALS AND HEAVY SENTENCES	90
IN DEFENCE OF THE PERSECUTED	91
THE FUNERAL OF DR. DMYTRO DONTSOV	92
AGAINST THE VISIT OF A. SHELEPIN TO FREE GERMANY	95



In English translation

REVOLUTIONARY VOICES

UKRAINIAN POLITICAL PRISONERS CONDEMN RUSSIAN COLONIALISM

Texts of Original Protest Writings by young Ukrainian intellectuals. Published by Press Bureau of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), Munich, 1969. Revised edition, 1971.

Order from: ABN, 8 München 8 Zeppelinstr. 67;

or UIS, 200 Liverpool Rd., London, N1 1LF.

Illustrations, 270 p. Price: soft cover \$5.00, hard cover \$8.00.

OPPOSING THE OSTRICH POLICY

In line with the teachings of Lenin, Moscow has solemnly proclaimed a period of so-called peaceful coexistence with states having a "different socio-political system." At issue here is not only the socio-political system, but the entire complex of its vital principles, from metaphysics through economics and up to Russian imperialism, for which all other factors are only means for the achievement of the imperialistic goals of the Russian people, for as Dostoyevsky had taught: the Russian idea is a universal idea; hence all people must become Russians.

The concept of "peaceful coexistence" is only one of the tools of waging war in modern times, as Lenin had instructed the Russians. Side by side with phrases about "coexistence," which is a component part of the entire system of methods and means of waging modern warfare by the Russians for the conquest of the world, they simultaneously cause civil and peripheral wars, corrupt free societies from within by means of downgrading patriotism, morals, heroics of life, by propagating relativism of eternal values, atheism, and dialectic materialism, by adding fuel to racial conflicts, disorganizing churches, inspiring gangs of the type of the Baader-Mainhof group, or various Angela Davises, by infiltrating television, radio, the press, and universities, and by using various methods of ideological war, defamation, and the corruption of youth through drugs, sex, and so on.

The propagation of the ideals of disarmament and pacifism, while at the same time increasing the armament of the Russian empire and militarizing the Russian youth are well known methods of conducting a modern type of political warfare. In Africa, Asia, and Latin America, there has been the stirring up and inspiring of guerrilla disturbances, the so-called national liberation movements, as well as the much publicized event which occurred in Washington, when a mob of a quarter of a million people laid siege to the White House and the young urban guerrillas practiced how to take over the government. All this is no longer cold war, but a modern conventional war conducted by Russia.

Moscow Wages War Through Hanoi

As part of the plan of this modern type of warfare, Hanoi's aggression began — first through the Vietcong, and later by dispatching Hanoi's regular troops to South Vietnam.

This had not been a local conflict between Hanoi and Saigon. It had been a war waged by Moscow through Hanoi against the still free world. This was consistent with the new military strategy which includes phrases of "peaceful coexistence" along with armed aggression, seemingly peripheral in nature but within Moscow's plan to destroy the world. President Kennedy agreed to "coexist" with the Russian perpetrators of genocide and he started peace negotiations with them, but at the same time he engaged himself militarily in Indochina. He painstakingly drew a boundary line between the conflict in Vietnam and his attempts at reconciliation with Moscow.

This was political daltonism, if not political duplicity. On one hand, the American people were being prepared for reconciliation with Moscow, while on the other hand — for war in Vietnam. This war was, in fact, inflamed from Moscow, but the people were deceived. The war was waged against an army which was organized, equipped, trained, and armed by Russia with modern weapons. Hanoi was supported economically by Russia. A political campaign throughout the world in favour of Hanoi was directed by Moscow. Hanoi's government remained in power only thanks to Russian support. The entire war was a part of the Russian world strategy.

We have written countless times years ago that Moscow's aim is a gradual involvement of the USA in peripheral wars which drain its strength. Russia aims to create ever new Vietnams or several of them simultaneously in order to discredit the USA politically and to undermine confidence in the nation as well as to make the American people distrustful of their own government and their own leaders. This strategy is systematically being realized by Moscow.

Washington has so far failed to grasp the great strategic plan of Moscow. For it, Vietnam had been an isolated incident which was to have been taken care of independently from the advance against Moscow. Not much was needed and the White House would have treated Cuba the same way, but the rockets were directed straight at New York and Washington, so it was necessary to act. Cuba was an identical incident in the global scheme of Russia. The difference was only in the fact that Havana is only a few hundred miles away from New York, while Saigon is thousands of miles away. Nevertheless, the consequences of a US defeat would be similar in both cases. The incident with Cuba should have shown Washington that Vietnam is only a link in the chain of Russian conquests, a part of its strategy, for the ultimatum in regard to Berlin occurred in the same period. Moreover, let us recall the withdrawal of UN troops from the

neutral zone around Suez by the Communophile U Thant, so as to cause war by Egypt and thus lead to a firm entrenchment of Russia in that part of the world as a base for further conquests. Without denying Bangla Desh's right to independence and the fact that it should also include a part of Bengala, which is controlled by India, Moscow intervened here to consolidate its positions. We can see that the USA has not grasped the essence of the conflict around Bangla Desh. Moscow is advancing globally. Washington reacts defensively and locally.

For a Crusade against Moscow

Instead of showing the American people who is their chief enemy, the White House conducted war in Vietnam without thinking it through to the end. The US war lacked a great idea. Washington should have made it clear to the people that the essence of the conflict was not to be found in Hanoi, but in the attempt by Communist Russian imperialism to conquer the world, to impose the Russian yoke and tyranny upon all nations of the world. A crusade should have been launched not against Hanoi, but against the center of evil, tyranny, imperialism, and slavery — Moscow. But in reality, Washington was courting the slaveowner, the master, while beating the hireling who served that master. We have written many a time that the American people can be fascinated only by a great ethical goal. They are not a compact nation. They are composed of various ethnic or national groups whose roots extend to their "old countries" and whose interests they defend, at least partially. It is impossible to bring them down to one common denominator in any other way except with the idea of justice, ethical qualities, and values, and not with a materialistic way of life, for man does not live by bread alone. After all, how can one reconcile a German with a Pole, an Irishman with an Englishman, all citizens of the US, if not from a position of defence of justice, from the position of ethics.

For the USA this great idea has been and is a crusade against the center of injustice, tyranny, slavery, crime, and genocide — Moscow, which aims at conquering the whole world. From such a perspective, the war in Vietnam would have its sense, its mission, its myth. But the American technocrats would rather wage war against a midget behind whom stood a giant and to pretend that they do not see the giant so as not to "provoke" him. This resulted in the fact that the victim of the first heavy destruction was the prey, not the assailant, i.e. South Vietnam, not Hanoi, since the military operations were conducted in South Vietnam all the time.

With the strange U.S. strategy, the descriptions of the first horrible massacres in South Vietnam appeared before the American people, who then asked: who needs this type of defence? Only later was the issue of the bombing of Hanoi raised.

As a matter of fact, in 1972, South Vietnam counted 8,000 killed among the civilian population — from mines, rockets, murder, and so forth — while Hanoi and Haiphong suffered losses of only 2,000. When Saigon demanded that the aggressors withdraw to the north from where they came, all the leftist rabble, the press, radio, and television roared: “what wild pretensions these are.” And this Russian war would have lasted for years, if Nixon, without paying any attention to “Moscow’s reaction,” had not finally hit the vital centers of the enemy.

One must be naive not to see that the American Air Force fought against Russia, its MIGs and its rocket bases in Vietnam, although pretending that it was fighting Hanoi.

Diem’s Rehabilitation

It is worth recalling our prognoses made years ago, when the naive and jealous were defaming Madame Nu, a high-principled and dedicated patriot, whose daughter worked as a maid in Paris in order to continue with her studies and who died in a car accident as she was returning tired from work, while her mother had no money to come to the funeral. The Italian anti-Communists took care of her. President Diem has since been rehabilitated. On the anniversary of his death, a solemn requiem mass is celebrated for him, with all members of government participating. Diem’s concept of liberation could have saved Vietnam. It is a pity that the American leftists helped to liquidate the “Catholic dictator,” who “persecuted the Buddhists.” In reality they were Communists, who kept weapons and hid Hanoi’s agents in Buddhist temples.

Two million refugees, 80% of them Catholics from the North, were the staunchest warriors against the Vietcong and Hanoi. They were the backbone of resistance against Communism and against an attack from the North by the Russian pickets who were ready to conquer all Southeast Asia.

As usual in our century, armed assistance and intervention are carried out by American Democrats, as was the case in 1917, 1941, 1950, and 1964, while the Republicans liquidate the conflict, as they did in Korea and Vietnam.

No U.S. government, however, developed any offensive strategy with respect to Vietnam, contrary to the views of the Pentagon. Fifty thousand killed, one-eighth of whom fell victims to motorization during the ten years of the war, give proof of the defensive character of the war. Victory could have been possible, had the U.S.A. occupied southern Laos immediately and cut off the Ho Chi Minh Trail and at the same time launched an offensive in line with Diem’s concept of liberating North Vietnam by giving support to the national insurgents there and dispatching there free Vietnamese detachments.

The Americans made yet another error, which the author of these

lines pointed out many a time. Liberal democracy cannot be brought to Asia, for it is not an ideology of any kind. Let us not forget that 15% of the Vietnamese rural population could barely read and write. Secondly, liberal democracy is a framework into which contents, quality, and values must be inserted. Freedom generally is a framework. It is an opportunity to choose among values and a chance to realize the selected quality and value. But it is necessary to learn, to feel, to grasp this value. A given order must grow up naturally, from the nation's spirituality; it cannot be forcibly imposed.

Tell the Truth about Communism in Vietnam

Help the people of Vietnam to be themselves. Vietnam knows what Communism has in store for it. Who in the West showed on television the cruelties of the Vietcong, e.g. how the ants devoured the living flesh of Benedictine monk Jan de Compiegne, or how the Communists buried alive David Urban, also a Benedictine monk, both of whom rushed to give spiritual assistance to the soldiers and the population. They were neither capitalists nor landlords, but ascetics. Not one television station showed the remains, the bones of the monk who was eaten alive by ants. Did the Poles or the Germans want to be "liberated" by the Red Army with Ulbricht? Similarly the South Vietnamese did not yearn for "liberation" by Hanoi, but fled by the thousands from the "liberators" from the North.

After all, did the Ukrainians defend "their own" Skrypnyks, Kotsyubynskyis, Lyubchenkos, and Ovseyenkos who hastened with the Russians to "liberate" them from Petlyura, whom the people called Father Petlyura? If Ho Chi Minh followers from Hanoi were victorious they would murder all Christians in the South as "traitors," all refugees as imperialist lackeys, creating hell on earth. Let us recall the crimes perpetrated by Communists in other countries. Hanoi wanted to "unite" all Vietnam in slavery and lost one million people in all its offensives which were courageously repelled by the army of free Vietnam, which could only defend itself, being forced by the U.S. command not to cross the senseless parallel... There is no doubt that in free elections in all Vietnam, Hanoi would not have a chance. Therefore it fought against having a large number of observers even in South Vietnam, who would supervise the election. Terror is supposed to drive people to vote for them. During the night, the knife of the Vietcong would propagate "free elections."

It must be remembered that the war has not yet ended, because Hanoi, that is Moscow, will not renounce its intention to "unite" Vietnam in slavery. Hanoi is an extended arm of Moscow. We have already mentioned that the backbone of Saigon's defence are the refugees from the North. But the Western "experts" are keeping silent about it. Hanoi waged war against its own "citizens," who were best acquainted with it.

Nobody tried to escape into Hanoi, the "proletarian paradise" in the North. Everybody turned away from that country as from hell. President Thieu has been called a tyrant, an executioner, an ill-fated creature, an evil spirit, because he did not want to capitulate and to surrender his people to be annihilated and tortured, to be eaten alive by ants, to be buried alive, to be martyred en masse. This was desired by the snobs of the West and the confused students of leftist tendencies.

The future does not belong to them, however, but to the martyrs and heroic nations of the Russian-subjugated world. They are breaking up the Russian empire and the totalitarian Communist system. Their end is imminent.

Ye. O.



DR. DMYTRO DONTSOV

died in Montreal, Canada, on Friday, March 30, 1973, at the age of 90. He was the most outstanding theoretician and ideologist of Ukrainian nationalism, an uncompromising fighter for an Independent, United Ukrainian State, the inspirer of the fighters of OUN, a Cassandra of the Ukrainian nation in the last decades of the Ukraine-Russian war, a champion of the idea of a common anti-Russian front of the subjugated nations, headed by Ukraine, an author of numerous basic works about the spirituality of the Ukrainian nation and the foundations of the Ukrainian politics, a great expert on Russian imperialism, the author of works about the ideological basis of the Ukrainian literary and artistic creativity, in particular about the coryphaei of Ukrainian culture and literature, a brilliant Ukrainian publicist, prisoner of Russian and Polish prisons and concentration camps, a rare figure in the history of Ukraine.

The ideas of the deceased will remain for all times an integral part of the ideological and political positions of OUN in the struggle of the entire Ukrainian nation for its independent self-assertion, for freedom and state independence by way of national liberation revolution, for the dissolution of the Russian empire and the re-establishment of sovereign national states of the subjugated nations.

His funeral was held on Tuesday, April 3, 1973, at the Ukrainian cemetery in Bound Brook, New Jersey, where the last remains of the Great Ukrainian will rest temporarily until the time when they are transferred to the Pantheon of the Ukrainian nation in free Kyiv.

**Presidium of the
Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN)**

GENOCIDE OF THE UKRAINIAN PEOPLE

Artificial Famine in the Years 1931-1933

By Vasyl PLUSHCH, M.D.

(Conclusion)

As a result of forced collectivization and raging terror, privately owned agriculture was almost completely liquidated in the years 1930-1933. All land²⁴ was confiscated from the Ukrainian peasants. All means of production were seized as well as all cattle²⁵ and the peasants were converted into the most pitiful slaves of the state.

As a consequence of artificial famine, no less than 5 million Ukrainians were physically annihilated. Various students of the consequences of the famine and terror in Ukraine mention different figures concerning population losses.

Thus, for instance, Prof. V. Kubyovych writes in the *Ukrainian Encyclopedia* that in the Ukr. SSR 2.5 million people perished as the result of famine, 1 million as the result of repressions, 2-3 million were deported, with the total losses of the Ukrainian population equalling 5-7 million.²⁶

The majority of researchers, however, believe that the number of those dying of famine was considerably larger.

S. Sosnovyi, in a well authenticated work, "The Truth about Famine in Ukraine in 1932-33," places the deficiency in the population of Ukraine between two censuses at 7.5 million.²⁷

D. Solovey, a very serious and conscientious student of Soviet occupation of Ukraine, is of the opinion that the losses of the Ukrainian population reached 6 million people.²⁸

N. S. Timoshov, a Russian emigrant, believes that about 3 million Ukrainians perished from famine alone.²⁹

A Polish researcher, St. Skszypek, argues that in the years 1932-

²⁴) By October 1, 1930, 98% of all land was incorporated into the kolkhozes.

²⁵) By March 10, 1930, 70% of all cattle was taken to the kolkhozes. Later, all cattle was confiscated.

²⁶) V. Kubyovych, "The Movement of the Population." *Ukrainian Encyclopedia*, Vol. 1, Book I, Munich-New York, 1949.

²⁷) S. Sosnovyi, "The Truth about Famine in Ukraine in 1932-33" in *Ukrainski Visti*, No. 10-11 for 2-5 Feb., 1950, Neu Ulm.

²⁸) D. Solovey, *Ukraine's Golgotha*, Winnipeg, 1953.

²⁹) N. S. Timoshov, "Is Russia Doomed?" in *Noviy Zhurnal*, No. 17, 1947.

1933, 2.5 million Ukrainians died of hunger while 1.2 million were exterminated as kulaks.³⁰

W. H. Chamberlen and M. Prykhodko mention that 15 per cent of Ukraine's population perished of famine; C. Manning places the losses as a consequence of starvation at 10 per cent of the rural population.³¹

S. Schwarz maintains that 7-8 million persons perished of famine in the USSR, but it is well known that a lion's share of the deceased of famine fell upon Ukraine.³²

Yu. Horlis-Horskyi in his work, *Ave dictator*, maintains that at the end of 1932, 2.4 million persons were deported from Ukraine only to the north of the USSR, including women and children, at a time when all children deported from Ukraine who were less than 8-9 years old perished from hunger and cold.³³

One of the prominent students of the changes in the composition of Ukraine's population under Soviet occupation, Prof. T. S., places population losses in Ukraine as a result of famine and terror at 10.3 million persons.³⁴

Ukraine was on the verge of death. These were frightening times. The Soviet government banned all assistance to the hungry, swollen peasants who managed to reach the cities. The people became insane, committed suicide. There were instances of cannibalism. Nothing similar had ever occurred before in the history of Ukraine. Indeed, had anything similar ever occurred in the history of mankind?^{35 36 37 38 39}

One should not hold the view that the Ukrainian peasants perished in silence, without resistance. From a scientific point of view, the struggle of our people in that period had not been adequately expounded in the Ukrainian emigre literature.

A considerable number of materials on this resistance are to be found in Soviet archives. Some of it penetrated to the pages of the Soviet press of the time and is even reflected in historical works and in Soviet propaganda literature and literary works. There are valuable literary works on this subject in emigre literature (T. Osmachka, D. Humenna, and others).

It is understandable that in Soviet press and literature this period is presented in a distorted light, from the point of view of Communist

³⁰ St. Skrzypek, *Przegląd Polski (Polish Review)*, 7, 1948.

³¹ According to V. Markus, "Famine," *Ukrainian Encyclopedia*, Vol. II, Book 2, Paris-New York, 1955-1957.

³² S. Schwarz, "The Demographic Face of Russia," in *Noviy Zhurnal*, No. 8 1944.

³³ Yu. Horlis-Horskyi, *Ave dictator*, Ukrainian Publishers, Lviv, 1941.

³⁴ Prof. T. S., "Changes in the Composition of the Population under the Soviets," in *Narodnya Volya*, No. 19-32, 1950.

³⁵ D. Solovey, *Ukraine's Golgotha*, Winnipeg, 1953.

³⁶ *The Black Deeds of the Kremlin. A White Book*, Toronto, 1953.

³⁷ H. Sova, *Famine in Ukraine, 1933*, Munich, 1948.

³⁸ O. Kalynnyk, *What Does Communism Bring with Itself*, Munich, 1954.

³⁹ *Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopedia*, Vol. I-II, Toronto, 1963-1971.

ideology. This period is elucidated from the standpoint of "victorious construction of socialism," "the liquidation of kulaks, as a class," "the struggle with hooliganism," and so on. But even in that "literature" one can read what ferocious and uncompromising struggle was then being waged by the leaderless and bloodless Ukrainian nation against the Russian occupant.

The first phase of this struggle had been resistance to collectivization, in particular a determined sabotage of all ordinances of the Soviet Russian government concerning the raising of productivity of agriculture and an increase in the rate of delivery to the state of food products and agricultural raw materials.

As a result of resistance by the Ukrainian peasants, the area under cultivation decreased considerably, leading in turn to a catastrophic decrease in delivery of agricultural products to state store-houses. The USSR was threatened not only with a decrease or even complete depletion of food and other agricultural reserves which were being stockpiled for the event of war, but even with a problem of uninterrupted supplying of the cities with food products. The Ukrainian peasants cultivated only as much of the land area as was necessary in order to feed themselves and to sell agricultural products to the Ukrainian cities.

This was answered by the Soviet Russian colonial government with an intensification of collectivization and an introduction at the same time of drastic measures, including special taxes, confiscation of property, land, and food reserves, as well as simple, undisguised terror.

Not only the so-called kulak, but prosperous and semi-prosperous farmsteads were burdened with contributions beyond their ability to pay (the so-called "homestead plan") and mass deportation of so-called kulaks and middle peasants to the north of Russia, to Kazakhstan, and to Siberia was launched, which deportation was accompanied by terror and extermination of adults as well as children.

The intensification of collectivization and the Red Russian terror produced a whole series of overt acts opposing the Soviet Russian occupation government in general and its local agents in particular.

This opposition can be classified as follows:

1. *Liquidation* of forcibly established Societies of Conscientious Cultivation of Land (SCCL) and kolkhozes only several years after their creation. The peasants took back to their own farms agricultural implements forcibly requisitioned from them for the kolkhozes, recovered their horses and cattle. In the beginning, the entire population of a village participated in these actions. Inasmuch as the organs of the Soviet Russian government retaliated for such actions with terror against the heads of households and adult males, arresting them and deporting them beyond the borders of Ukraine, later the liquidation of the Societies of Conscientious Cultivation of Land and kolkhozes was conducted primarily by women. Such female disturb-

ances or so-called "women's rebellions" took place in all regions of Ukraine without exception and are frequently described in both emigre and Soviet literature.

2. *Concealment of grain* and other agricultural products from government authorities and kolkhoz leadership by storing it in underground caches on their farms, in orchards, gardens, or in the fields and woods. The Soviet press and Soviet statistics reported in good time that in this manner hundreds of thousands of *poods* of grain and other agricultural products were hidden from the Soviet state purchasing organs. Thus, for instance, according to V. Holubnychiy, in 1930 out of the 23.1 million-ton harvest, Russia was able to requisition from Ukraine only 7.7 million tons of grain. In 1931, out of 18.3 million tons of grain, 30-40% was lost at harvesting. In 1932, out of a harvest totalling 13.4-14.7 million tons, 40-50% was lost.⁴⁰

Of course, not all the above-mentioned millions of *poods* were hidden by the peasants. A great deal of grain perished in the fields, as a result of the above-mentioned sabotage by the Ukrainian people or as a consequence of unusually bad management which then prevailed in the kolkhozes.

3. *Mass slaughter* of large and small cattle to prevent them from being taken over by the SCCLs and kolkhozes.

Thus, for instance, Ya. Shumelda in his work, *From Marx to Malenkov*, quotes the following figures, on the basis of information supplied by H. Schwarz: In July, 1928, on the territory of the USSR there were 33.5 million horses, 70.5 million cattle, 26 million hogs, and 146.7 million sheep and goats. In July, 1934, there were only 15.6 million horses, 40.7 million cattle, 17.4 million hogs, and 51.9 million sheep and goats.⁴¹

4. *Damaging of agricultural implements*, burning of agricultural buildings and even houses. Holubnychiy mentions on the basis of Soviet sources that the breaking of machinery was noticed in 9.6% of cases,⁴² but in reality the damaging or destruction of agricultural equipment was widespread. Not only machinery, but steel and hack-ploughs and even small implements were smashed. In addition, a great bulk of the implements perished in SCCLs and kolkhozes thanks to mismanagement.

Inasmuch as the pressure upon the Ukrainian peasants from the side of the organs of the Russian occupational government did not cease, but to the contrary, the Red terror was increased more and

⁴⁰) V. Holybnychiy, "Collectivization of Agriculture," *Ukrainian Encyclopedia*, Vol. II, Book 3, Paris-New York.

⁴¹) Ya. Shumelda, *From Marx to Malenkov*, Paris, 1955. He refers to the work by H. Schwarz, *Russia Soviet Economy*, New York, 1951. The above-mentioned author, V. Holybnychiy, mentions in his work, "Collectivization of Agriculture," that between 1928 and 1932 the number of large horned cattle as a whole decreased in the Ukr. SSR from 8.6 million heads to 4.8 million.

⁴²) V. Holybnychiy, "Collectivization of Agriculture," *Ukrainian Encyclopedia*, Vol. II, Book 3, Paris-New York, 1959.

more, the Ukrainian population shifted to armed struggle with the occupant.

5. Initially, these local armed clashes with the agents of the Soviet Russian government had a non-organized or semi-organized character.

The Ukrainian peasants or revolutionaries (it is hard to call them anything else in view of the then situation) begin to introduce retaliatory acts of individual terror. In almost all Ukrainian villages, representatives of the terroristic Soviet apparatus were killed, including members of district party committees, district executive committees, employees of the GPU (Political State Security Police), militia, Communists, and members of the Komsomol (Young Communist League) sent from Russia and the cities of Ukraine, and activists of the local kolkhozes.⁴³ According to official Soviet data, in 1931 alone attacks on activists were recorded in 44 per cent of the kolkhozes,⁴⁴ but strictly speaking, there was not a village in Ukraine where instances of retaliatory terror were not recorded.

6. *When Soviet Russian terror* assumed mass character and the most brutal forms — deportation not only of individual families, but of entire villages, arrests and deportations not only of the “kulaks” and “semi-kulaks,” but also of the poor farmers, when entire families were evicted en masse from their homes in the wintertime, when all means of subsistence, including freshly baked bread and freshly cooked soup, were arbitrarily seized from the entire rural population, when mass starvation set in — then organized uprising began.⁴⁵

In the literature accessible to us, we found information about uprisings in the Haysyn district, in the town of Soborivka, in the villages near Kryzhopil, Zhashkiv, Bohuslav, and Uman, in Rudchyn, in the Holovaniv and Pervomay posts near Tarashcha, in the Okhtyr and Trostyanets districts, in the Kharkiv region, in Bohodukhiv, Velykopysariv, and Baklayiv districts, in the Dnipropetrovsk region and others. The author was an eye-witness of uprisings in the Odessa and Chernihiv regions.

⁴³) According to V. Holybnychyi, The Central Committee of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of Ukraine at the time dispatched 74,500 party workers, primarily Russians. See above. Only in 1930, 10,500 industrial workers and 19,400 workers and civil servants were diverted from the cities to the villages.

⁴⁴) V. Holybnychyi, see 42.

⁴⁵) The following facts serve to illustrate how collectivization of agriculture was being effected:

The head of the government of the Ukr. SSR, Vlas Chubar, stated that collectivization was conducted in line with the principle: “Join the kolkhoz; if not — then off to the Solovky.”

M. Skrypnyk said in one of his speeches: “There is nothing else to be taken, everything was already taken under the broom.”

On January 30, 1933, the government of the USSR issued a decree on “The Consolidation of Kolkhozes,” which permitted confiscation of all property and deportation to Siberia of all peasants who refused to join the kolkhozes. All the above-mentioned facts and classification of the forms of resistance of the Ukrainian peasants are also supported by the author's own observations and materials.

According to Pidkova: "In many localities the authorities fled to large towns. The peasants began to take the kolkhozes apart. In some localities regular units of the Red Army, militia, and GPU troops received marching orders."⁴⁶

Yu. Horlis-Horskyi reports about an uprising in the Kherson region in August, 1930;⁴⁷ I. Naddnipryanskyi tells about the so-called East Podilya uprising in the spring of 1930;⁴⁸ D. Solovey describes an uprising in the Dnipropetrovsk region in 1930 and an uprising in the Poltava region in 1931 under the leadership of Tymofiy Karamzyn.⁴⁹ Lev Orlyhora talks about a revolt in the Bohodukhiv area of the Kharkiv region in the spring of 1930.⁵⁰

We have very interesting accounts about the large-scale uprisings of Ryabchenko in the Chernyiv region, of Ivan Kozlov in the Poltava region, and of Volodymyr Bendyk in the Vinnytsia and Kyiv regions.

The insurrection under the leadership of Ryabchenko in the Chernyiv region in 1930 included the Horodnyany, Synyava, and Tupychev districts. Ryabchenko with his closest associates, the Zub brothers, organized his headquarters in the so-called Hrymyachiv Dacha. From these headquarters he commanded guerrilla detachments in a number of districts in the Chernyiv region.

Being aware of the fact that an uprising can develop successfully only when he can attract military units of the Red Army to his side, Ryabchenko established contact with the 21st Chernyiv territorial regiment. The guerrillas planned to launch an attack on Chernyiv, free about 8,000 arrested peasants from the Chernyiv jails, win over to their side the 21st regiment, seize the weapon reserves of that regiment, arm the freed peasants and the peasants from the Chernyiv villages, disarm the militia, start military operations against smaller regular units of the Red Army, and then carry the insurrection further, encompassing all the Chernyiv region and eventually the entire Ukraine.

At the beginning, the rebellion unfolded rather successfully. Units of the 21st regiment, which were sent to battle the insurgents, went over to the side of the revolting people. Upon the orders from Moscow the most loyal army units were mobilized for the liquidation of the insurrection, in particular the Regiment School of the 21st regiment, but it also joined the insurgents.

The revolt spread further and further and finally assumed such proportions that Moscow was forced to deploy the so-called Moscow Proletarian Division to crush it. Under pressure of the overwhelming

⁴⁶ Stepan Pidkova, "To the History of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine," Symposium, Vol. I, Munich, 1953.

⁴⁷ Yu. Horlis-Horskyi, *Ave dictator*, Ukrainian Publishers, Lviv, 1941.

⁴⁸ I. Naddnipryanskyi, "East-Podilya Uprising" in *Ukrainskyi Prometei*, No. 19, May 8, 1952.

⁴⁹ D. Solovey, *Ukraine's Golgotha*, Winnipeg, 1953.

⁵⁰ Lev Orlyhora, *For the Judgment of History*, "Nova Epokha" Publishers, 1946.

forces of the adversary, the insurgents were forced to retreat into the famous Chernyhyv swamps and peat-bogs of the natural boundary Zamhlay. Here they fortified their position and for about three weeks withstood the advance of regular troops.

Obviously, the struggle was uneven. The Zub brothers and many insurgents were killed in action; Ryabchenko was captured and later annihilated.

After the liquidation of the uprising, a retaliatory action was launched, characterized by merciless terror. Not only were the insurgents executed, but all those who looked suspicious. Thousands of peasants from these districts were deported to concentration camps.⁵¹

Of considerable importance was an uprising under the leadership of Ivan Kozlov, who initially organized an underground peasant organization which included several districts in the Poltava and Sumy region, and then started an insurrection which lasted for about two weeks. It was quelled only with the help of special GPU troops. As an act of reprisal, a series of villages of these districts were burned and the population deported to the North.

All the insurgents were executed by shooting. Kozlov, however, was spared and deported to Solovky. It is interesting to note that during the investigation Kozlov justified his actions by the teachings of Karl Marx. He maintained that Karl Marx wrote that it is better to die by the sword than to starve to death. Hence, he was defending the peasants for doing the same. "One way or another, they would have had to die. So it is better to die in battle, than as a starving slave."⁵²

A large insurrection was organized by Volodymyr Bendyk, an elementary school teacher who, according to N. Pavlushkova, was a leading member of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine.⁵³

S. Pidhaynyi writes that Bendyk stood at the head of "a huge peasant insurrection in the year 1930, which spread from Kamyanets-Podilskyi to Vinnytsia and Kyiv. "Bendyk, — writes Pidhaynyi, — enjoyed great authority among the peasants and was a staunch Ukrainian patriot." Critically ill, he appealed to all: "Love your Fatherland and never put down your arms." He said: "There had never been a nation which had won freedom without struggle and without victims."⁵⁴

Naturally, the uprisings in times like these were doomed to inevitable failure. At one end of the struggle there stood a large empire,

⁵¹ V. Skuybida, "In Memory of the Unknown. Ryabchenko and the Revolt of the 21st Regiment," *Nedilya*, No. 13, 1951. Also the author's own recollections.

⁵² S. Pidhaynyi, *Ukrainian Intelligentsia at Solovky. Reminiscences 1933-1941*, "Prometey" Publishers, 1947.

⁵³ Nataliya Pavlushkova, *Union for the Liberation of Ukraine and Association of the Ukrainian Youth, SVU-SUM*, Symposium No. 2, New York-Munich, 1964.

⁵⁴ S. Pidhaynyi, *Ukrainian Intelligentsia at Solovky. Reminiscences 1933-1941*, "Prometey" Publishers, 1947.

armed to the teeth, with a huge army, a grandiose government apparatus, a wide-reaching network of secret police (GPU-NKVD), a large party with its auxiliary organizations, and on the other end masses of Ukrainian peasants, without weapons, half-starving or totally hungry and exhausted. Only despair, the total hopelessness of the situation, and on the other hand, the unconquerable human spirit, the invincible spirit of the Ukrainian nation, could have aroused the masses to so desperate a struggle.

These were horrible years.

These were the years which covered with eternal shame not only those who arranged the famine and terror — the Russian Communist Party under the leadership of Stalin, — but also the heads of governments of Western Europe, North America and the intellectual elite of the whole world, who viewed these horrors in silence and even maintained, through the utterances of some of their representatives, such as Herriot, that there was no famine at all, that the USSR was the most progressive and the most humane country of the world.

Entire villages were dying out.

In the streets of Ukraine's cities, starving people died by the hundreds. "Black marias" transported Ukrainian intelligentsia from the cities every night, while trucks removed the corpses of those who starved to death.

In the streets, in offices, schools, and universities, the radio was blasting: "I do not know another country where a man can be so happy and breathe so freely."⁵⁵

At meetings, in the press, in official announcements, "the happy life under the sun of the Stalinist constitution" was propagated and written about. Russian Communist terror, unconcealed by anything, raged over Ukraine. Ukraine was dying.

But it had not died. Though brought to their knees by the sword of terror, the people bent down but did not disappear. The nation lost 7 million children. The birth-rate in Ukraine, in the past the highest in the world, dropped to a minimum.⁵⁶ Again, in fact, it has been prohibited to speak in the native language, higher and special secondary schools have been Russified, but the nation lives and continues to fight. This is proved by the recent events in Ukraine.

⁵⁵) This was a song of the highest form of servile flattery which resounded (under compulsion, of course) throughout the USSR. The music for it was composed by Isak Ospyvych Dunayevskiy.

⁵⁶) In 1966, the birth-rate in Ukraine — 15.6 per thousand inhabitants — was lower than in the USSR as a whole (19.6) and lower than that of the USA (21.2), Holland (20.7), and other European countries. The natural population growth fell catastrophically in Ukraine. For instance in the Poltava region it equalled 5.6 (the average for the USSR being 12.7). See V. Plyushch, "The Present State of Health Protection in Ukraine," *Likarskyi Visnyk*, No. 1-2 (52-53) for 1969, New York-Chicago.

MAJOR ASPECTS OF RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM TOWARDS UKRAINE

In the Writings of V. I. Lenin

By Anatole W. BEDRIY, Ph.D.

(Continuation — 3)

3. Dictatorship of Proletariat — Instrument of Russian Imperialism

The Soviet state designed by Lenin was to have a dictatorial, totalitarian government concentrated in the hands of Russian proletarians:

A decisive victory of the revolution over tsarism is the *revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry*... such a victory will assume the form of a dictatorship, i.e., it is inevitably bound to rely on military force, on the arming of the masses, on an uprising, and not on institutions established by 'lawful' or 'peaceful' means.¹⁰⁰

Unlimited, brutal, and despotic force resting upon the masses of the Russian people (because no other "masses" supported this "dictatorship") was the main principle on which Lenin founded his government. He intended to spread this system to Ukraine, and when such a conquest occurred, the "dictatorship of proletariat" became a purely Russian colonial-imperial rule, which had nothing in common with any native-Ukrainian government.

What do the words of Marx imply? That the provisional revolutionary government *must act dictatorially*, that the task of such a dictatorship is to destroy the *remnants* of old institutions. Thirdly, and finally, it follows from these words that Marx castigated the bourgeois democrats for entertaining "*constitutional dreams*" in an epoch of revolution and open civil war.¹⁰¹

He said very plainly that an international dictatorship must exist if Russians want to dominate other peoples. The purpose of such a dictatorship is to enable the destruction of all resistance to Russian rule in Ukraine and in other countries. In this imperial state there *cannot exist any real federalism*, because then the empire would be decomposed into national states of the enslaved nations. As proof of his anti-constitutional stand he used the argument of the necessity

¹⁰⁰) *Two Tactics of Social Democracy*, 1905, v. 3, p. 82.

¹⁰¹) *Ibidem*, p. 126.

of "civil wars" as means of subjugating other peoples. If Ukrainians really wanted to join the Soviet state, they would have to subordinate themselves to Russian dictatorship and totalitarianism, because he gave no opportunity to anyone, joining the Russians, to have a relationship based on partnership and cooperation. When he said the above words, Russia was ruling despotically an empire. Therefore, his prescription was meant for the whole imperial state, which included the enslaved nations. In fact, he prescribed the same totalitarian form of rule of the Russian people over other peoples in the "name" of the proletarian rule, as that of the imperial tsarist regime.

The totalitarian goals of Lenin's policy toward Ukraine are illustrated by the following pronouncement: "the proletariat will be able to retain its independence only if it subordinates its struggle for all the democratic demands, not excluding the demand for a republic, to its revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie."¹⁰² "Democracy," "republic," "constitution," "voluntary choice of union" — all these considerations had no value for Lenin. He was only concerned with the change of regime in the imperial state. But the new regime was to be utterly totalitarian-despotic, because no constitutional or philosophical limitation or toleration of different systems were taken into consideration. The "revolutionary struggle" meant the instalment of a despotic regime without any constitutional checks. It should have (and had) prevented the Ukrainians from revealing their preferences freely. But Lenin knew that the absolute majority of the Ukrainian people were opposed to his regime. The "revolutionary" dictatorship should have assured Russia's hold over Ukraine.

Lenin urged his followers to use the imperial Russian state as the basis of the new dictatorship:

Socialists are in favour of *utilising the present state and its institutions* in the struggle for the emancipation of the working class, and they also urge the *necessity of utilising the state* for the peculiar form of transition from capitalism to socialism. This transitional form is the *dictatorship of the proletariat*, which is *also a state*.¹⁰³

Any regime installed in this colonial slave state must also become a colonial and exploitative and nation-enslaving regime, whatever its name. Lenin demanded that Russian "proletarians" should rule over all enslaved nations by means of unlimited, tyrannical dictatorship, thus assuring the oneness and indivisibility of the Russian Empire.

Lenin was very outspoken in regard to the substance of government in the new Russian empire: "*...objectively there is not and cannot be any way out, except either in a dictatorship of the Kornilovists or in*

¹⁰²) *Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination*, 1916, v. 5, p. 273.

¹⁰³) *The Youth International*, 1916, v. 5, p. 244.

a dictatorship of the proletariat."¹⁰⁴ If "dictatorship" is instituted in a state which comprised an imperialistic nation and the nations enslaved by this imperialistic nation, then for the enslaved nations this dictatorship becomes an instrument of further enslavement by the master-nation. The theory of dictatorship can only be explained as the reason to hold other nations by force under Russian domination. Dictatorship was needed to deny any freedom of choice to the non-Russian peoples, which in 1917 were in a revolutionary upheaval, bringing down the Russian Empire and creating national sovereign states.

The next statement tells a great deal about Lenin's understanding of the nature of his government. Immediately after taking over the government in Russia, Lenin instituted the totalitarian regime of his Bolshevik party:

... fundamental principle of the new revolution, namely, *all power to the Soviets*. There must be *no other government in Russia than a Soviet government*... The Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets has given a majority to the Party of the Bolsheviks. Therefore, only a government formed by that Party will be a Soviet government.¹⁰⁵

It meant that when Ukraine was conquered by Bolshevik Russia, she was to be ruled by the same Russian Communist Party.

The doctrine of the class struggle, as applied by Marx to the question of the state and of the socialist revolution, leads *inevitably* to the recognition of the *political rule* of the proletariat, of its *dictatorship*, i.e., of *power shared with none* and relying directly upon the armed forces of the *masses*. The overthrow of the bourgeoisie can be achieved only by the proletariat's becoming transformed into the *ruling class*, capable of *crushing* the inevitable and desperate resistance of the bourgeoisie...¹⁰⁶

The above policy must *inevitably* lead to the complete domination of the Russian imperial state by the Russian proletariat. "Crushing the bourgeoisie" meant destroying every political group within the enslaved nations which would interfere with absolute domination by the Russian proletariat over these nations.

Lenin resorted to Marx for support of his propagation of the concept of despotic totalitarianism, called the dictatorship of the proletariat never won any power in Ukraine by its own efforts, for it was a negligible movement.*

Lenin announced: "The *revolutionary dictatorship* of the proletariat is power won and maintained by the violence of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, *power that is unrestricted by any law*."¹⁰⁸ He called for unrestricted reign of Russian proletariat in Ukraine, for Ukrainian

¹⁰⁴) *A Letter to the Comrades*, 1917, v. 6, p. 312.

¹⁰⁵) *From the Central Committee of the Russian S.-D.P.(B.)*, 1917, v. 6, p. 413.

¹⁰⁶) *State and Revolution*, 1917, v. 7, p. 26.

¹⁰⁷) *Ibidem*, p. 50.

¹⁰⁸) *Proletarian Revolution and Renegade Kautsky*, 1918, v. 7, p. 123.

proletariat never won any power in Ukraine by its own efforts, for it was a negligible movement.*

To make sure that when he talked about the proletariat rule he meant the Russian proletariat, Lenin said: "The Soviets are the *Russian form of the proletarian dictatorship.*"¹⁰⁹ The "proletarian dictatorship" was the Russian method of governing the conquered countries, for it was not introduced by Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Turkestanians, or any other non-Russian people in their own countries of their own free wills, but by Russians due to their armed conquest.

Lenin instituted the dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia by the Russians. It became a new system of state of the Russian people:

... a steadfast and strong army is needed, a strong rear, but for a steadfast and strong army a sound organization of food provisioning is needed first of all. For this the dictatorship of the proletariat is needed not only in the central government, which is the first step and only the first step, but a *dictatorship* should exist *everywhere in Russia*, which is the second step and only the second step... We need, we must have, the proletarian discipline, a real proletarian discipline, where a strong and iron government of class-conscious workers is felt in every remote corner of *our country*, where not even one kulak, not one rich man and opponent of grain monopoly will remain unpunished but will be found and punished by the punishing iron hand of the disciplined dictators of the working class, of the proletarian dictators.¹¹⁰

But then he expanded the same system outside Russia, to Ukraine and other neighbouring countries, where this system became an occupation system, opposed and combated by these nations.

Lenin explained very clearly what the dictatorship of the proletariat meant to the Ukrainian people:

... the court is an organ which enlists the whole of the poor in the work of state administration (for the work of the courts is one of the functions of state administration) that the court is an *organ* of government of the proletariat and of the poorest peasants, that the court is an instrument for *inculcating discipline.*¹¹¹

*) What this thesis looked like in real life is shown by the following report of an eyewitness. It concerns Russian occupation of Ukraine during February-March, 1918. "The orgy happened because of complete absence of any organs of soviet local government. Although Russia was fighting on behalf of Soviet government in Ukraine, nevertheless, having conducted a thorough occupation policy, it introduced in entire Ukraine a military regime, which excluded the possibility of introducing soviets. In place of soviets, revolutionary committees were ruling, appointed from the top, to whom local interests were alien. The 'bayonet' ruled everywhere, quite often — drunken, under the influence of the worst bestial instincts." (P. Khrystiuk, *Ukrajins'ka Revoliutsiia*, v. 2, p. 151). The new Russian imperialism was a brute armed occupation aiming at total extinction of Ukrainian statehood.

¹⁰⁹) *Ibidem*, p. 145.

¹¹⁰) "Speech on Foreign Policy," 1918, in *Lenin ob Ukraine*, p. 494.

¹¹¹) *Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government*, 1918, v. 7, p. 340.

Thus there would be no rule of justice but the rule of power. There would be no rule of law, but the rule of policy dictated by sovereign Russia, for the Russian nation was to be in full control of sovereignty over Ukraine. Therefore, in Ukraine the dictatorship of the proletariat was to manifest itself as the Russian colonial rule.

Lenin wrote:

The revolution has only just broken the oldest, most durable, and heaviest fetters to which the masses were compelled to submit. That was yesterday. But today the same revolution demands, in the interests of socialism, that the masses *unquestionably obey the single will* of the leaders of the labour process.¹¹²

In other words, Lenin said: down with absolutism and despotism — long live absolutism and despotism! Lenin called for a change of personnel in the empire and a change of the ideological phraseology of the government, but no more. The “durable and heaviest fetters” which the enslaved Ukrainian people had to submit to were released for a moment and after the change at the helm of government of the empire these fetters were again introduced.

The next document shows how “dictatorship of the proletariat” functioned in Ukraine. On May 26, 1919, Lenin sent “The Telegram to the Sovnarkom of Ukraine” in which he demanded: “Issue a decree and carry it out for the full disarmament of the population, execute on the spot without mercy for every concealed shotgun.”¹¹³ The Russian state conducted a national policy of terror, lawlessness, and brutality, and treated the people worse than slaves — as “Untermenschen.” The policy of occupation was a power-policy, because its basis lay in national colonialism and not in any “international proletarian” ethics of conduct at all.

Lenin was purposely using dictatorship as a method of conquering Ukraine for Russia. This can be proved by the following argumentation:

Only knaves and idiots believe that the proletariat must first gain a majority in elections held under the bourgeois yoke and that only then can it try to rule... We, on the contrary, maintain that the proletariat must first *overthrow* the bourgeoisie and *take power* into its own hands and then use this power, that is the dictatorship of the proletariat, as the instrument of its class, in such a way that it gains the sympathy of the majority of workers.¹¹⁴

Applied to Ukraine, this concept meant that Lenin urged Russian proletarians (there were almost no organized Ukrainian proletarians at that time, according to Lenin's definition of a “proletarian”), to

¹¹²) *Ibidem*, p. 342.

¹¹³) *S.*, 4. ed., v. 35, p. 329.

¹¹⁴) *Sobranie Sochinenii*, 1st ed., v. 16, p. 336. Lenin made this statement in a “Greeting to Italian, French and German Communists,” which was published in October, 1919.

conquer Ukraine by force and then while governing her to try to convince the population to accept their rule. It was a theory of brutal conquest of Ukraine by force. If it were applied consistently, however, Ukrainian proletariat would never of its own capture power in the Ukrainian state, for it neither existed as an organized force, nor did it have a chance to struggle against the Ukrainian sovereign "bourgeois" government, nor would it have any chance to win in a country which was alien to Marxism and Leninism as a whole.

Lenin said very distinctly: "Without the concept 'dictatorship' it is *impossible* to give such a precise class definition. Without preparing for the dictatorship one cannot be a *real* revolutionary."¹¹⁵ He favoured a class state in which the "proletariat" would rule despotically over other classes. But in Ukraine there was almost no native proletariat and no Ukrainian national state in which the Ukrainian proletariat could try to gain leadership. Even if it should have happened this way, it would have been the tyranny of a small percentage of the population over the rest, but the Ukrainian people were leading precisely such a struggle against tyranny. Since there was no Ukrainian state, however, the whole nation was stateless and the Ukrainian proletariat was also subjugated. Therefore, when Lenin spoke about the dictatorship of proletariat he meant the most despotic rule of the Russian proletariat over other nations as well as over the Russian people, who accepted this rule voluntarily and in fact were its mainstay.

.....*Unrestricted power, beyond the law, resting on force in the strictest sense of the word — this is dictatorship...* On what did this force rest? It rested on the masses of the people. This is the *fundamental* distinction between this new power and all the former organs of the old power. The latter were organs of power of the minority over the people... That is the distinction between a dictatorship *over* the people and a dictatorship of the revolutionary people.¹¹⁶

Under tsarism a minority of the Russian people enslaved the non-Russian peoples. Under Lenin, the majority of the Russian people would perform this task. The conquered non-Russian nations did not participate in and did not create Bolshevism. Therefore, they cannot be considered a part of the "people" in the above statement. Under "people" Lenin meant the Russian people. The Russian proletariat would ruthlessly conquer and rule Ukraine with the forces recruited among Russian people. Such policy was Russian national imperialist policy camouflaged by Marxist phraseology.

Lenin spread the fantastic theory, that a proletarian dictatorship contributes to the establishment of genuine peace among nations:

The experience of proletarian dictatorship in Ukraine in those parts of her where mixed population is especially noticeable, as well as in Byelorussia (and + ? + ? Hungary?), has shown that

¹¹⁵) *History of the Question of Dictatorship*, 1920, v. 7, p. 245.

¹¹⁶) *Ibidem*, p. 251-2.

national struggle almost disappears not only in the form of pogroms, from which the very democratic bourgeois republic does not save, or in the form of petty strifes filling out the whole life.¹¹⁷

Total dictatorial tyranny by foreign occupation forces can pacify for a moment. But this kind of regime was favoured only by the Russian people. Only Russians could support such a regime by force. Therefore *it had to be the Russian regime* over other countries. On the other hand, there would be no national strife between Ukrainians and Russians, for example, if the Russians had let Ukrainians live in peace, and had not conducted aggressive chauvinistic expansion into Ukraine. Thus the Russians themselves stirred up anti-Russian hostility and then they had to install a proletarian dictatorship in Ukraine composed mainly of Russians in order to "pacify" the Ukrainian-Russian conflict.

Lenin named Russia as the source of the "dictatorship of the proletariat," which outside Russia became the method of Russian domination:

5. The world political situation has now placed on the order of the day the *dictatorship of the proletariat*, and all events in world politics are *inevitably* concentrating around one central point, viz., the struggle of the world bourgeoisie against the *Soviet Russian Republic*... 6. ...it is necessary to pursue a policy that will bring about the *closest alliance* of all the national and colonial liberation movements *with Soviet Russia*...¹¹⁸

Spread of the soviet system equalled the spread of Russia's state power. Because it happened in consequence of the dictatorship of proletariat imposed from outside, from Russia, it became the tool of Russia's imperialism.

4. For an Anti-National Class State in Ukraine

As early as the 1890's Lenin opposed the establishment of a national Ukrainian state. This was implied in his opposition to the establishment of a political movement on the basis of one nationality: "establishment of *national ties* is nothing else than establishment of *bourgeois ties*."¹¹⁹ Political organisations should be formed on an anti-national basis or so-called international proletarian basis. Any such organisation should oppose a nation-first orientation or approach.

Lenin preferred establishment of such political forms which would cover the whole Russian imperial state. For this reason he propagated the so-called international proletarian state theory:

¹¹⁷ "To the Central Bureau of the Jewish Section at the CC RCP(b)," July, 1920, in *Leninskii sbornik*, v. 34, p. 338-9.

¹¹⁸ *Preliminary Theses on the National-Colonial Question*, 1920, v. 10, p. 233.

¹¹⁹ "Who are the Friends of the People," 1894, in Lenin, "Shcho take 'druzi narodu' i yak vony voiuviut proty sotsial-demokrativ, Kyiv, 1947, p. 24.

Revolutionary Social-Democracy utilises 'economic' agitation for the purpose of presenting to the government, not only demands for all sorts of measures, but also (and primarily) the demand that it *cease to be an autocratic government...* In a word, it subordinates the struggle for reforms to the revolutionary struggle for *liberty and for socialism...*¹²⁰

"Liberty and socialism" means the rule of the Russian proletariat through organisations imperial in scope and anti-national at the same time. Replacement of the "autocratic government" by a Socialist government was to occur in the Russian colonial state, and the new order (just as the old one) served the Russian imperial interests. The new order was to install a "Soviet Socialist Republic" which worked against the interests of the Ukrainian nation, but might favor those Ukrainians who became "international proletarians," i.e., who turned against their own nation and collaborated with the new Russian imperial elite, the Russian proletariat.

Social-Democracy, as the party of the proletariat, considers it to be its positive and principal task to *advance the self-determination of the working class within each nationality rather than the self-determination of peoples and nationalities.* We must always and unconditionally strive to achieve the *closest unity of the proletariat of all nationalities...*¹²¹

Under Lenin's regime only a small section of the Ukrainian people could benefit, because according to a Marxist definition there were very few "true" proletarians in Ukraine. All the non-proletarians were to be oppressed, pauperized, de-individualized, and persecuted. The majority of the Ukrainian population, in short, was to live in slavery. But because the Ukrainian proletariat had to stay in closest bond with the Russian proletariat, which is numerically preponderant, the Ukrainian proletariat as well as the Ukrainian non-proletariat would have been under the domination of the Russian proletariat. The policy of the Soviet state was clearly directed against self-determination of the Ukrainian nation and therefore against Ukrainian national interests.

Lenin favored the notion of genocide of the non-Russian nations, which were conquered by tsarist Russia, through their complete fusion with the Russian nation by an anti-national class state, among other things. He wrote:

It is not the work of the proletariat to preach federalism and national autonomy. It is not the task of the proletariat to advance such demands, because they inevitably lead to the demand of forming an autonomous class state. The task of the proletariat — to try to unify broadest masses of workers of all and various nationalities, to unite them for the struggle on the widest arena for a democratic republic and for socialism... The demand of

¹²⁰) *What is to be Done?*, 1902, v. 2, p. 83.

¹²¹) *The National Question in Our Programme*, 1903, v. 2, p. 322.

recognizing the right to self-determination of each nationality only means that we, the party of the proletariat, should always be opposed to any form of violence or injustice as the means of influencing the people's self-determination from the outside. Always fulfilling this negative duty (struggle and protest against violence), on our own *we take the case of the self-determination of the proletariat of each nationality, and not of peoples and nations*. In this way, the general, fundamental, always pre-requisite program of the Social-Democracy of Russia shall always consist only of the demand of full legal equality of citizens (regardless of sex, language, race, nation, etc.) and the right to free democratic self-determination.¹²²

Therefore the Russian proletariat will not work for the liberation of the nations enslaved by Russia, but will strive within the framework of the imperial state to bring "proletarians" of the enslaved nations under the leadership of the Russian proletariat, to an organization working for preservation of the imperial state. In other words, the proletarian state was not interested in the interests of Ukraine, and therefore it worked against the interests of the Ukrainian nation and for the interests of the Russian nation, which was in favour of such an imperial class state.

That programme (of the Russian S.-D. — A.W.B.) does not preclude the Polish proletariat from adopting the slogan of a free and independent Polish republic, even though the probability of its becoming a reality before the instruction of socialism is infinitesimal.¹²³

While always boasting of the achievements of the Russian republic, Lenin favoured preventive ways of forestalling the formation of a Polish national state as well as of a Ukrainian national state. In his view only the Russian republic had the right to exist; all other nationalities had to subordinate themselves to it. Ukraine, Poland, and other nations had to give up the thought of ever having their own national states, but instead they should permit themselves to be assimilated in an international state under Russian leadership. "Socialism" means "against national interests," but not against the interests of the Russian people.

Lenin wanted to establish a multi-national state in accordance with his economic theories. He stated: "... the *typical, normal state for the capitalist period is the national state*."¹²⁴ He opposed the liberation of Ukraine from Russia's slavery, for it was "reactionary" to establish a Ukrainian national state. And he opposed the combating of Russian imperialism on the grounds that a national Russian state would be reactionary. Lenin's aim was to create an anti-Ukrainian state in

¹²²) "Iskra", February 1, 1903, in S., 3rd ed., v. 5, p. 243.

¹²³) "National Question in Our Programme," *op. cit.*, p. 328.

¹²⁴) "On the Right of Nations to Self-Determination," 1914, v. 4, p. 251.

Ukraine, viz. an anti-national state on the principle of a fictitious "international proletariat":

The demand for a 'yes' or 'no' answer to the question of the separation of each nation seems to be a very "practical" demand. In reality it is absurd... For the proletariat these demands are *subordinated to the interests of the class struggle...* the proletariat confines itself, so to say, to the negative demand of recognizing the right to self-determination, without guaranteeing anything to any nation, without undertaking to give *anything at the expense of another nation.*¹²⁵

He opposed any efforts being exerted in the national interests of the Ukrainian people.

The multi-national state, which Lenin attempted to establish, was to be founded on an "international community", a class organization:

Such a state of affairs sets the *proletariat of Russia*, a twofold, or rather a two-sided task: first, to *fight against all nationalism* and, above all, against Great Russian nationalism; to recognise not only complete equality of rights for all nations in general, but also equality of rights as regards state construction, i.e., the right of nations to self-determination, to secession; and second, precisely in the interests of the successful *struggle against the nationalism of all nations*, in all forms, it sets the task of preserving the unity of the proletarian struggle and of the proletarian organisations, of *amalgamating these organisations into an international community, in spite of the bourgeois strivings for national segregation.*¹²⁶

Thus, for Ukrainians, this state was to be an anti-national class state, in which adherents of the ruling class were to be "first-class citizens," while adherents of the primacy of the Ukrainian nation were downgraded.

Lenin's concept of the state was that of an anti-national (anti-Ukrainian) class state, which was to be the same state as the tsarist Russian state, but with a new elite. This state would be established by those Ukrainians who would combat any striving of Ukraine to liberate herself from Russian colonial enslavement:

If economics unites the nations living in a single state, then the attempt to separate them once and for all in the sphere of educational questions is absurd and reactionary... The workers *can be disunited and weakened by the advocacy of such an idea... proletariat, which realises and treasures its internationalism, will never agree to this absurdity of refined nationalism.*¹²⁷

His attitude toward Ukraine was as follows:

Socialists are in favour of *utilising the present state and its institutions in the struggle for the emancipation of the working*

¹²⁵) Ibidem, p. 264.

¹²⁶) Ibidem, p. 292-3.

¹²⁷) "Cultural-National Autonomy," 1914, v. 4, p. 419-420.

class, and they also urge the necessity of utilising the state for the peculiar form of transition from capitalism to socialism. This transitional form is the dictatorship of the proletariat, which is also a state.¹²⁸

"Socialists" were those people who wanted to capture the reins of the Russian imperial state. They had to "utilise the present state," the then existing tsarist Russian imperial state. In order to utilise this state they had to employ dictatorship of the proletariat, i.e. a totalitarian form of government founded upon the Russian proletariat (90 per cent of the Russian population).¹²⁹ In a dictatorial Russian proletarian state, Ukraine would be enslaved to a greater degree than under tsarist imperialism, because under the tsar fewer Russians were oppressing and exploiting Ukraine, than under the "dictatorship of the proletariat," when the majority of Russians would rule over Ukraine and would benefit from this domineering position. Lenin favoured a Russian state which was directed against the interests of the Ukrainian people in general, except those few individuals who went to the side of the imperial state government and system.

While in Russia the Soviet state was an all-Russian, i.e. a national state, Lenin planned to expand this state form to Ukraine and other countries as a class state:

The proletarian party strives to *create as large a state as possible*, for that is to the advantage of the toilers; it strives to bring about *closer ties* between nations and *further fusion* of nations; but it desires to achieve this aim not by force, but by free, fraternal union of the workers and the toiling masses of all nations. The more democratic the *Russian republic* is and the more successfully it organizes itself into a Republic of Soldiers', of Workers' and Peasants' Deputies, the more powerful will be the force of *voluntary* attraction toward such a republic on the part of the toiling masses of *all* nations.¹³⁰

We can notice that he did not call upon the whole nations to join the Russian state, but only upon the workers. Should Ukrainian workers join the Russian state, they must install such a state in Ukraine, which would not be a national state but a class state. Only the proletarians would profit by it and would oppress and enslave the rest of the nation. But if the majority of the Ukrainian population opposed this state, the Ukrainian proletariat could maintain itself in power only through Russian assistance, which then would become a supreme and decisive power in Ukraine.

Lenin declared: "*The state is the organ of domination of a class. Of which class?... If of the proletariat... state apparatus... must be*

¹²⁸) "The Youth International," 1916, v. 5, p. 244.

¹²⁹) See Chapter I, section 3.

¹³⁰) "Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution," 1917, v. 6, p. 61.

subordinated to the proletarian Soviets."¹³¹ There is no doubt that in the Soviet state in Ukraine all power would rest with the proletariat, which in turn would be dominated by the Russian proletariat, because the Ukrainian proletariat is almost powerless. But Ukraine was stateless, since Russia conquered and destroyed her state. Therefore, if a Ukrainian Soviet state should arise it must first be established as a consequence of the destruction of the imperial state which has been enslaving it. Lenin, however, was against the destruction of the existing state. For that reason he did not favour the establishment of a Soviet state in Ukraine ruled by the Ukrainian proletariat. The Soviet state which he favoured became an anti-national and anti-Ukrainian-proletarian state.

Recent events in Ukraine (partly also in Finland and White Russia, as well as in the Caucasus) similarly reveal a regrouping of the class forces which is taking place in the process of the struggle between the bourgeois nationalism of the Ukrainian Rada, the Finnish Diet, etc., on the one hand, and the Soviet power, the proletarian and peasant revolution in each of these national republics, on the other.¹³²

Lenin confessed that the government of Ukraine was not in the hands of the Bolsheviks, but rather in the hands of anti-Bolsheviks. "The Soviet power" introduced civil war into Ukraine in order to divide it along "class" lines as Lenin understood them — that is, from the political point of view — and then to destroy the Ukrainian national government by substituting a Soviet system which would be subservient to the Russian Soviet government. Lenin intended to build up a "class" in Ukraine which would execute his will completely and would lead Ukraine into the Russian proletarian state. The "Soviet power" represented forces which were actively against Ukraine's national interests.

The Ukrainian Soviet state was to be a class state, namely, a state of the proletariat and for the proletariat, while all other classes were to be oppressed, underprivileged, and without equal rights:

Right now, we are 'conquering' Finland — I used a bad word — but not in the same way as it is done by international beasts — the capitalists. We are conquering her in order to present to Finland the *full freedom to live in union with us* or with others; we guarantee full support to workers of all nationalities against the bourgeoisie of all countries. This alliance is not based on treaties, but on the solidarity between the exploited against the exploiters.¹³³

The Russian vanguard of "international proletariat" was to rule over Ukraine in a dictatorial-totalitarian way.

¹³¹ "Can the Bolsheviks Retain State Power?" 1917, v. 6, p. 265-6.

¹³² "Thesis on the Constituent Assembly," 1917, v. 6, p. 449.

¹³³ "Speech at the First All-Russian Conference of the Navy, 22 November (5 December) 1917," in "Izvestiia TsIK," no. 235, 25 November, 1917, see *Lenin ob Ukraine*, p. 450.

He explained:

The doctrine of the class struggle, as applied by Marx to the question of the state and of the socialist revolution, leads inevitably to the recognition of the *political rule* of the proletariat, of its dictatorship, i.e., of power shared with none and relying directly upon the armed force of the masses. The overthrow of the bourgeoisie can be achieved only by the proletariat becoming transformed into the *ruling class*, capable of crushing the inevitable and desperate resistance of the bourgeoisie...¹³⁴

According to Lenin's dictates, *Ukraine must be ruled* by "the proletarian class." But the Ukrainian proletariat was small and weak and did not have any support from the masses. Ukraine, however, was conquered by "international proletariat." This meant that its power relied on other than Ukrainian masses, namely, on the Russian people in the first place. Therefore, the state thus created was not a Ukrainian state, created by the will of Ukrainian people, but due to the power of Russia. It was a "proletarian" non- and anti-Ukrainian, Russian state.

Actually Lenin felt that the "Ukrainian proletariat" could only be developed as an organic outgrowth of the Russian social and political system: "Revolution means that the proletariat will *destroy* the 'administrative apparatus' and the *whole* state machine, and substitute for it a new one consisting of the armed workers."¹³⁵ In his system there was no room at all for a Ukrainian national state and government, but only for the removal of the non-proletarian government in the Russian imperial state and its replacement by a proletarian government, which *ipso facto* was a Russian class government. Because Ukraine was a colonial province within this state, the proletarian class government in Ukraine *had to be* the extension of the proletarian class government in the whole multinational imperial state dominated by the Russians and, therefore, the Russian proletarian class government in Ukraine.*

We must remember that "the Russian proletariat, immediately after it conquered the state power, in the course of a few hours dissolved the old state machine... and handed over the *entire power to the*

¹³⁴) "State and Revolution," 1917, v. 7, p. 26.

¹³⁵) *Ibidem*, p. 106.

*) After the Bolsheviks captured power in the Russian state, Lenin's policy toward the Ukrainian national government established in the meantime was to demand the turning over of the reins of government in Ukraine to the Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Councils, which was refused categorically. A member of the Ukrainian Government of that time, Pavlo Khrystiuk, gives reasons for this refusal: "Transfer of government to the Council of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies in Ukraine meant its transfer into the hands of a non-Ukrainian democracy, whether the latter wanted it or not. Military garrisons in Ukraine — sent from Russia — remained in preponderance just as they were before... The urban proletariat, small in numbers, was in its majority non-Ukrainian or Russified." (*Ukrajins'ka Revoliutsiia*, v. 2, p. 47). The soviets were instruments of the Russian proletarian imperialism toward Ukraine.

Soviets."¹³⁶ So while in Russia the Bolsheviks obtained power by legal means by the will of the Russian people, in no other country did they gain power by the same legal means. Lenin referred to the sovereign imperial state. The Russian proletariat was to rule over the enslaved nations as well, in spite of the fact that by that time all of them expressed their determination to establish their own nation-states or at least to form a federation with a non-Communist Russian national state, which would not show imperialistic tendencies, although such a Russian government did not exist.

Lenin opposed the establishment of a sovereign Ukrainian state on grounds of "internationalism": "... *comparatively it is unimportant (for an internationalist the question of state boundaries is of second-rate, if not tenth-rate, importance)... Whether Ukraine shall be a separate state or not is a question of far inferior importance.*"¹³⁷ If the Ukrainian state is combatted on allegedly "internationalist" grounds then what kind of a state would arise? Naturally, an "international" state, which is synonymous with an anti-national state. Should such a state arise, then it would be directed against the national interests of Ukraine, disregarding the will of Ukrainian people. It would be a state hostile to Ukrainians and, therefore, an occupation state. Who should establish such a state? The internationalists. But who are these internationalists, if there is no significant number of Ukrainians among them? Obviously, Russia has become the main base of internationalism, for the invasion of the "internationalists" originated there; i.e. they "conquered" Russia by a power superior to that of Russians. Of course a great number of Russians had joined them in order to achieve this superiority.

Lenin promised liberty to the "proletariat" in Ukraine, but opposed national freedom:

As long as classes exist, the liberty and equality of classes is a bourgeois deception. The proletariat takes power, becomes the *ruling* class, smashes bourgeois parliamentarism and bourgeois democracy, suppresses the bourgeoisie, suppresses *all* the attempts of *all* other classes to return to capitalism, gives *real* liberty to the toilers (which is made possible only by the abolition of private ownership of the means of production) and gives them, not only the "right to," but the *real* use of what has been *taken from* the bourgeoisie.¹³⁸

But freedom of one segment of society cannot be achieved if the whole society is not free. Thus Lenin's "class" approach was not aimed at giving freedom to the Ukrainian nation.

¹³⁶) "Elections to the Constituent Assembly and Dictatorship of the Proletariat," December, 1919, v. 6, p. 473-5.

¹³⁷) Ibidem, p. 480.

¹³⁸) "Tasks of the Third International," 1919, v. 10, p. 52.

He stated: "The state is a machine for maintaining the rule of one class over another."¹³⁹ It is one thing when a class rules over another class within the same nation. It is another thing when a class of one nation rules over the classes of another nation. Lenin proposed this second meaning in respect to Ukraine, because the tiny Ukrainian proletarian class which should rule over Ukraine had in turn to be ruled by the Russian proletarian class who held the superiority of power.

Lenin believed: "... and only in individual, exceptional cases can we advance and actively support demands for the creation of a new class state, or the replacement of a state's full political unity by the weaker federal bond."¹⁴⁰ He opposed the creation of a Ukrainian non-proletarian state and of a proletarian but one-nation state. The Ukrainian nation, which was in national slavery to Russia, was refused national liberation.

On December 28, 1919, after the Russian Red Army had destroyed the forces of Russian General Denikin, Lenin sent a "Letter to the Workers and Peasants of Ukraine on the Occasion of Victory over Denikin":

The independence of Ukraine has been recognized by the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic and by the Russian Communist Party... The *Ukrainian workers and peasants alone can decide* and will decide for themselves the question of whether Ukraine should be united with Russia or should remain an independent republic... Among other things the Borot'bists differ from the Bolsheviks in that they categorically insist on the independence of Ukraine. The Bolsheviks do not make of *this* a case for divergencies or disunity; they do not see *in this* an obstacle to friendly proletarian work... We desire a voluntary union of nations, such a union which would not permit violence of one nation over the other.¹⁴¹

Lenin said these things *after* conquering Ukraine. He prejudged that only Ukrainian workers and peasants have the right to decide on the fate of Ukraine, not the whole population of Ukraine. He ordered Ukrainian peasants and workers to hold a congress, at which they *must* "voluntarily" decide on the union with Russia. But he opposed those workers and peasants who categorically wanted an independent and sovereign Ukrainian state. He said this after Bolshevik invaders had destroyed the sovereign Ukrainian government. It was to be either submission to a foreign proletarian occupation or annihilation.

The federal appearance of the Soviet state had the purpose of destroying the national identity of the Ukrainian and other enslaved nations, which appearance would afterwards be dropped: "*Federalism*

¹³⁹) "The State," 1919, v. 11, p. 647.

¹⁴⁰) "National Question in Our Programme," 1903, S., v. 5, p. 337.

¹⁴¹) Based on P. Fedenko, *Ukrajins'kyj rukh u 20 stolitti*, p. 199.

is a transitional form to the complete unity of the toilers of the various nations.¹⁴² When the goal shall be achieved, which would mean a total genocide of the conquered nations, then the "federal" system would surely be replaced by a more simple term: "Russia."

Lenin confessed: "...it has been our good fortune to *begin* the building of a Soviet state, and to *begin* thereby a new epoch in world history, the epoch of the domination of a *new* class..."¹⁴³ The "new class" in Russia was the Russian proletarian class. But Lenin wanted this Russian class to rule over other nations as well, for an identical class never arose in any other nation.

Summarizing, according to Lenin's concept, the "Soviet state" in Ukraine was to be an international proletarian class state, or a province of the Soviet-Russian state, ruled by the so-called international proletariat which in turn was dominated by the Russian proletariat grounded in Russia's sovereignty and therefore was a Russian imperial state.

¹⁴²) "Preliminary Theses on the National-Colonial Question," 1920, v. 10, p. 233.

¹⁴³) "Fourth Anniversary of the October Revolution," 1921, v. 6.

(To be continued)

THE VULNERABLE RUSSIANS

by

Lev E. Dobriansky
Georgetown University

AN AMERICAN ANSWER TO THE "50th" — THE FRAUDULENT RUSSIAN BOLSHEVIK REVOLUTION

Reveals strategic importance of all the Captive Nations
to U.S. and Free World Security and Peace

With an Introduction by
The Hon. Edward J. Derwinski, Member of the
Committee On Foreign Affairs, U.S. Congress

Order **now** for your autographed copy
and listing in the published

FREEDOM ROLL PROTESTING THE FRAUD OF THE "50th"

Price \$5.95 plus 30 c. per book to cover postage and handling.

PAGEANT PRESS, Inc., 101 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10003

Canadian distributor: SMITHERS & BONELLE, LTD.

266 King Street West, Toronto 2B, Canada.

THE ARTISTS OF CONTEMPORARY UKRAINE

By Zenon PELENSKY

The Fifth Congress of the Union of Artists of Ukraine (UAU)

On January 16-18, 1973, the Fifth Congress of the Union of Artists of Ukraine was held in Kyiv. Before we examine it in detail, it is first necessary to mention briefly the history of the previous congresses. It sheds a remarkable light on the process of continuously growing suppression and integration by the Russian regime, to which developments in art have been subjected for decades in Ukraine.

The *First Congress* of artists of the Ukr. SSR was held in 1938. Its prehistory is of significance. During and in the ten years following the revolution, there arose quite a few artistic, literary, and other cultural groupings and associations in Ukraine. To some extent they were still in a state of self-formation and cultural competition among themselves. Various artistic trends could still manifest themselves, in particular the profiling of prominent Ukrainian personalities in the field of art. Artistic production of the time revealed, moreover, in ever greater dimension, remarkable and unique Ukrainian traits. It was boldly permitted to talk about the so-called spontaneous "Ukrainization" of art in Ukraine.

The Stalinist Fist

Of course, this process was not to the liking of the ever stronger Communist Russian regime. Six years prior to the establishment of the UAU, eleven leading national literary and artistic societies were liquidated by the decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Bolsheviks of Ukraine, that is, by a decree "On the reconstruction of literary and artistic organizations in Ukraine" issued by Stalin on April 23, 1932. Among the victims were the Association of Revolutionary Art of Ukraine and the Society of Contemporary Artists of Ukraine. With the liquidation of these more or less independent societies of artists, there began a six-year personal Stalinist pogrom among the artists of Ukraine which was paralleled by a pogrom in literature, science, and in all phases of Ukrainian national life. These horrible years were later included in the general concept of the Ukrainian "executed renaissance." In a strictly artistic field, as estimated by experts, no less than *two hundred* Ukrainian painters, graphics, sculptors, and specialists in decorative and applied art were either executed by shooting, disappeared without a trace, or were repressed in other ways.

Previous Congress

The *First Congress* of the UAU in 1938, which was attended by 116 founding members, distinguished itself by the fact that it accepted qualifications and authorization of a monopolistic "social creative" trade union. Only membership in the trade union, as a full member or a candidate, could guarantee social and, even more important, economic existence of an individual. For the first time an "Artistic Fund of the Ukrainian SSR," as a central paying and social security institution, was created. In other words, the artists of Ukraine were put on the books of the state. The production of artistic works by artists who are not members of the UAU, and there are many of those, also depends upon the knowledge and permission of the trade union. The artists, and for that matter, the members of the "Writers' Union of Ukraine" (WUU), were thus transformed into functionaries and made totally dependent, financially, upon the Russian regime.

The *Second Congress* was held 18 (!) years after the first, that is, in 1956, three years after Stalin's death. According to the original charter, the UAU congresses should have been held in intervals of five years at the most. By 1956, the UAU had already reached a little over 1,200 members.

The *Third Congress* was held more or less within the framework of the charter, six years after the second, in 1962. The UAU membership had then reached 1,356. *Vasyl' Kasiyan*, a graphic artist of European fame, now 76, was elected its head. He was born in the village of Mykulyntsi in the Ivano-Frankivs'k region.

The *Fourth Congress* was again held in six years, on April 23-25, 1968. In the period covered by the report, the UAU increased by another 210 persons, reaching 1,527 members. Due to his advanced age, *Vasyl' Kasiyan* declined to continue as the Union's head, and *Vasyl' Zakharovych Boroday* was elected chairman. A sculptor, since 1964 the "people's artist of the Ukr. SSR," *Boroday* is now 56 years old. He was born in the former Katerynoslav region. *Boroday's* more outstanding works include the statue "Ivan Bohun," the composition "My Land," and sculptural portraits of *Pavlo Tychyna* and *Levko Revutskyy*. Side by side with *M. Lysenko* and *M. Sukhodolov*, he is the co-author of a monument to *Mykola Shchors* in Kyiv (1954).

Boroday Reports

Another six years having passed, the *Fifth Congress* of the UAU was held in mid-January, 1973. As it is apparent from the report of Chairman *V. Boroday*, the UAU increased in the reporting period by 147 persons, reaching 1,719 members. Regrettably, it was not mentioned how many of these were painters, sculptors, masters of decorative and applied art, and how many were art critics, who had a special section in the organization.

The report for the almost six-year reporting period, 1968-1973, was delivered by *V. Boroday* on January 16. The semi-weekly *Kultura*

i zhyttya (*Culture and Life*) of January 18, 1973, published this report on the basis of "an abridged stenogram." Analogically, *Kizh* published the report of the then head of UAU, Vasyl' Kasiyan, on April 25, 1968, also "abridged stenographically." A comparison of the texts of the two reports gives rise to astonishment. This comparison constitutes one of the most glaring testimonies of the ever deeper, ever more intensive suppression by the Russian regime, of the cultivation of the new cult of Brezhnev's personality, and above all, in Ukraine, of the fever of Russification.

Dignity

Reporting in 1968, Vasyl' Kasiyan "talked only business," so to speak, that is, he dealt strictly with the affairs of art. From the first to the last sentence of Kasiyan's published address, the point in question was always art. His tribute to the Party consisted only in a single, general expression. Allegedly: "Fifty years of successful forging ahead of our art were stipulated first of all by the clear and accurate program of the Communist party in the sphere of art, its lofty leadership, humanistic ideals." And also possibly a reference to the resolution of the plenum of the CC CPSU from April, 1968, which said: "The duty of party organizations (in art as well) consists in conducting an aggressive struggle against bourgeois ideology, in actively opposing attempts to introduce into individual literary, artistic, and other works, views alien to the socialist ideology of Soviet society." Furthermore, Kasiyan talked about people, trends, achievements, and shortcomings. We shall not create any illusions for ourselves: Kasiyan too is an old, staunch, tried Communist. But nowhere in his speech was there a single bow to the party, and absolutely no personal homage to the already considerably powerful dignitaries such as Brezhnev, Kosygin, Podgorny, and Shelest. Kasiyan's posture in everything was still filled with national and human dignity.

This human and Ukrainian national dignity does not exist in the recent speech of Vasyl Boroday. The speaker twice bent his head low personally before Leonid Brezhnev, once before Volodymyr Shcherbytskyy, five times before the *party*. I beg your pardon: before the Party with a capital p. This is how it sounds and repeats itself: "As was said by Comrade Leonid Ilich Brezhnev at the 24th Congress of the CPSU..." Or: "Volodymyr Vasyl'ovych Shcherbytskyy said at the July (1972) plenum of the CC CPU..." In vain did quite a few think that personal flattery of the "personality cult" era is allegedly "the thing of the past," "a dead epoch." But no, the wave of personal flattery is rising again inch by inch, yard by yard, but seemingly with inexorable necessity. Nobody will be any better off because the new era of Stalin will bear the name: era of Brezhnev. Apparently an old historical experience is repeating itself: Russia as such cannot exist, cannot cope with its fate and history without its tyrant, its autocrat, whether Stalin or Brezhnev.

The Party, Always the Party

One of the homages paid by Vasyl' Boroday sounds like this: "Significant are the achievements of the Ukrainian Soviet art. They would be unthinkable without the leading role of the Communist party, without its wise, persistent care. Therefore, we express our fervent gratitude first of all to the Leninist Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and to the Soviet government for the honorary and responsible place given to the artists in the vanguard of the builders of Communism, for the priceless help in our everyday work, and attention to our prospective and current affairs."

Can one bend down lower than that? What and who, finally, is this "Party" (with a capital P) in our concrete case? For the Ukrainian SSR, it is personified in the composition of the Politbureau of the CC CPU. They are as follows: Shcherbytsky, Lyashko, Lutak, Tytarenko, Kal'chenko, Vatchenko, Vashchenko, Degtyarov, Hrushetsky. And the candidates: Borysenko and the recent four "upstarts" — Malanchuk, Pohrebnyak, Solohub, and Tsybul'ko. You read this list; you page through their biographies; you look into their faces and there you have them, these patrons of literature and art, these coryphaei, these inspirers, Apollo's figures, muses and party graces, to whom the UAU owes everything, for which the UAU must "express fervent gratitude." As if to say, without them, without their "inspiration," without their "care," the 1,719 artists of Ukraine, members of UAU, would not know how and would be unable to live, to create. What a wild pretension!

"A Single Soviet Art"

Nevertheless, the "creative" monopoly of the Party, emphasized time and again at the Fifth UAU Congress, was not the dominant theme. In the forefront was the attempt by the organizers and directors of the congress to pound into the heads of the participants and to proclaim to the entire artistic world in Ukraine that from now on, "thanks to the objective development of history" and "the transformation of social conditions," Ukrainian art in its present *national* sense begins "to wither away" and begins instead "to flow into the single stream of Soviet art." In other words, an analogous process as with all "nations and nationalities" of the Soviet Union is taking place in art as well. As time goes by they "merge," "integrate" themselves into a single "Soviet nation." As always along these lines, it is impossible to avoid the inevitable directive: in this "anniversary" process of the "merging of nations into a single Soviet Fatherland" a decisive role was played by the "progressive, revolutionary Russian people." We again quote Vasyl' Boroday: "Strange and artificial, devoid of any historical foundations would be assertions about some exceptionality of the poetics of Ukrainian art, about the exclusiveness of national motifs and imitative creativity of Ukrainian artists.

Ukrainian art develops today according to the common laws of development of all the multinational art as its organic component part. One cannot imagine art isolated from the experience of the prominent masters of the entire Soviet art." Just like in Lenin: "free Ukraine is possible in a partnership with Russia." Without this partnership "there is no use talking" about free Ukraine. Obviously, without the Russians, Ukrainian art cannot exist either.

Sculptor Ivan Honchar Serves as an Example

To what extent "there is no use talking" about free Ukrainian art can be attested to by the persecution by the Russian regime of a prominent Ukrainian sculptor, *Ivan Makarovych Honchar*, 62. The underground periodical "Ukrainskyy Visnyk," No. 6, recently reported that Ivan Honchar was dismissed from membership in the Communist Party of Ukraine and most likely also from membership in the UAU. It is worth recalling that 22 years ago Ivan Honchar created one of the best Ukrainian sculptures of our times: "Young Taras Shevchenko," based on the famous self-portrait of the poet. The high value of the sculpture is noted, together with a half-page photo, in the 6th volume of the *History of Ukrainian Art*, p. 259, 1968. Well known are also his high relief "The Pereyaslav Council" (1954), a monument to M. Gorky at Yalta (1956), sculptured portraits of Yevhen Paton and writer Oles' Honchar. A note about the sculptor was included in the *Ukrainian Soviet Encyclopedic Dictionary*, Vol. I, p. 490.

Thus, the main reason for Ivan Honchar's persecution was his collection of works of Ukrainian folk art. His private museum numbers over seven thousand exhibits. The sculptor collected them in the course of many years. Ivan Honchar was frequently visited by the amateurs of Ukrainian folk art. At one time, the museum was mentioned positively in the republican newspapers, in particular journals in the field of ethnography. What is more, a full-length movie called "The sonnet of an artist" has been made. The film was shown at Expo '67 in Montreal. Now "Visnyk" No. 6 writes that at the meetings of the Kyiv district committee of the Party, then the regional committee and finally of the Central Committee, Ivan Honchar was accused of the fact that his museum is a center of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism. He was repeatedly summoned to the UAU headquarters. They "recommended" to Ivan Honchar to close his museum for "general" viewing of the collections; then all forms (of viewing) were prohibited. Vainly did the artist protest that he can receive anyone he chooses at his home. They had no way to punish him criminally. Expelling the artist from the party, however, and even more from the trade union practically condemned the man to civil death. Thus we have a glaring demonstration of what belongs and what does not belong to the "single Soviet artistic stream."

Under Malanchuk's Supervision

The basic tone of the Fifth UAU Congress was imparted by the new candidate of the Politbureau of the CC CPU, the new secretary (read: dictator) of the CC CPU on cultural affairs — Valentyn Yukhymovych Malanchuk. He read the message from the CC CPU to the congress. In the CC message, "the vast experience of the Soviet multinational culture and, primarily, the achievements of masters of Russian art" for further development of Ukrainian "single Soviet" art were stressed in particular. The CC CPU also reminded the congress that the UAU must "give a decisive rebuff to any manifestations of bourgeois ideology." Aside from the CC greetings, Valentyn Malanchuk also addressed the congress separately. Another speaker was Yuriy Yel'chenko, who has been Minister of Culture of the Ukr. SSR since November, 1971. So far neither of the two speeches was published. Nevertheless, one can be certain that the accent, or more, the emphasis in these speeches was on the need and the process of formation of a "single Soviet nation" and a "single Soviet art." Inasmuch as the voices taking part in discussion have been published, nobody denied the "need" of so-called "Sovietization" (read: Russification). All confirmed it. They wouldn't dare to do otherwise. The shadow of the repressed Ivan Honchar hung over the entire congress.

As usual, the Presidium and the board of directors were "elected." Vasyl' Boroday was reelected the organization's chairman.

Regime Has No Chances of Artistic Denationalization

The direction taken by the Fifth UAU Congress, as well as by the three previous ones (1956, 1962, and 1968) for that matter, repeatedly manifested that for half a century the party in Ukraine was unable to "communize" art, if one can use the expression. In the sphere of artistic efforts about the same thing is being repeated as in literature: the Russian regime managed to impose upon the authors all sorts of class, proletarian, blue collar, military, and particularly "anti-bourgeois" themes. The Russian regime, however, failed to create something which could be called a "Communist style." In Europe the ages of baroque, rococo, empire style, middle-class ("Biedermeier," "Jugendstil," etc.) created their own unique means and forms of expression. The Communists created nothing of their own, absolutely specific and inexchangeable.

The Sickness of Art Critique

At the Fifth UAU Congress, the study of art as a special branch of the culturally creative process still managed to get some "mercy" in speeches and discussion. At the same time, art criticism itself was subjected to the highest criticism. It was mentioned that the study of art, in essence an esthetically historic discipline, can boast in the last

decade of a series of studies, monographs, biographies, research papers, etc. At the same time, art criticism "danced on the spot," so to say. In particular, the study of art was credited with the appearance of the monumental, six-volumed *History of Ukrainian Art*, as well as the four-volumed publication, *Artistic Heritage of T. H. Shevchenko*. Into the account of criticism, however, one cannot record the appearance of even one elementary work in the sphere of theory and propaedeutics of specifically Communist esthetics and artistic understanding and perception of the world, neither in Ukraine nor in the entire USSR. In other words, Communist doctrine was unable so far to work out and to establish the basic esthetic principles on whose foundation the critics could build at all and from which they could develop their art critique. In still another perspective, it can be said that just as the Communists do not possess their own established code of ethics, neither do they have their own code of esthetics. Moreover, from what would they be able to create them?

The Periodical: "Obrazotvorche mystetstvo" (Fine Art)

It was not by accident, therefore, that Vasyl' Afanas'yev, one of the leading art critics of contemporary Ukraine and the co-author of *The History of the Ukrainian Art*, wrote the following on the eve of the Fifth UAU Congress: "And when one takes art criticism (into consideration), then here one cannot be confronted with anything even close to the achievements of the study of art. Our criticism is, as a rule, shallow, superficial, small-scale, and in addition lacking in qualification... At one time we placed high hopes upon the revival of the periodical *Obrazotvorche mystetstvo*. Indeed, in three years quite a few materials were published in it. A full set of the *Obrazotvorche mystetstvo* for the three years is a valuable source for the study of the contemporary art process. Still, on the pages of the periodical there appear very, very seldom articles where fresh, unsteretyped ideas on the occasion of new works are expressed, where important questions dealing with contemporary art are raised. And so far as debatable problems are concerned, no attempts were made to treat them in the periodical. An impression arises that this publication reflects only certain facets and individual facts of the complicated art process, without immersing itself into its depths, without striving to grasp it in its entirety." (*Kultura i zhyttya*, No. 2, Jan. 7, 1973.)

Monumentomania

Comparatively speaking, the easiest way in which the Party could "find" and "express" itself, but in reality hide its inferiority complex, was the form of monumentomania. Lacking any artistic value, these stone, concrete, and plaster "portraits of soldiers" are cropping up *en masse* everywhere in Ukraine. The Fifth UAU Congress not only confirmed but also approved for years to come the predominance and the primacy in practice of this "art" form. At last Ukraine will

probably have 100 thousand of them or perhaps 150 thousand, perhaps still more. This is one of the most obvious means of confirming at every opportunity the omnipresence of the Russian regime in Ukraine of drumming into the minds of people (and foreigners) who is the boss here. Nevertheless, their mass is not decisive. One could fill a whole book with popular jokes and sneers against these Soviet "monuments." What is decisive is that due to their great mass and unbelievably low artistic quality they do not penetrate deeply into the consciousness and, what is even more important, into the sub-consciousness of the population. Millions of portraits and monuments of Stalin disappeared from the surface of the USSR (and the satellite states) in the course of one month.

The above-quoted Vasył' Afanas'yev has this destructive role of the low artistic qualification in mind when he writes the following in *Kizh*: "With respect to all kinds and genres of art, in theory we conceive them rather clearly, with high ideological level and perfected artistic skill. The rapid development of monumental art, which is apparent in the entire artistic process, is regrettably accompanied not only by positive phenomena. At times the enthusiasm about this art assumes the symptoms of a fad of a type. And then hastily imprinted memorials, decorative panels from ceramic tile, all types of memorial signs crop up everywhere. Uniform, totally schematized, symbolically allegoric figures and groups pass from one composition to another pretension being substituted for profoundness, glaring diversity of colour for decorative colourfulness, and distortion of real forms for genuine monumentality."

The Same True in Everything

What has been said about monumentomania can be applied to all other genres of art. We quote Afanas'yev once more: "It is not hard to notice a rather sad unevenness in the development of individual genres; an obviously unsatisfactory situation also exists in connection with poetic conception of contemporary themes... More often than desirable we come across decisions which are primitive, thoughtless and lacking in picturesqueness. Often we see only the outward attributes of the present, and not their profound pictorial achievement... Such works cannot arouse genuine fascination. All their pathos rests on affected pseudo-heroic poses, effective correlation, for instance, of a human silhouette and the redness of the sky, on the complicated rhythmic of contemporary metallic constructions.. Somehow our artists are fearful of risking an active, passionate assertion of their own point of view, of their own interpretation of events and phenomena of reality. Sadly enough, almost at every exhibition one comes across quite a few works in which the author does not rest so much on his own observations, on his own interpretation and study of certain phenomena, as he attempts to construct from fragments of the observed a picture corresponding to the gene-

rally accepted, decreed postulates. In such cases, of course, we are not dealing with an artistic discovery, but in a better case, with an illustration or perhaps only with good intentions..."

Escape from an Artistic Portrait

In his report, UAU chairman Vasyl' Boroday pointed out with quite some bitterness the peculiar attitude of contemporary artists of Ukraine: their escape from, at times even panic fear of, painting or sculpturing portraits. The most profitable field enjoys the least popularity. In the words of Boroday: "Regrettably, today one is forced to ascertain an obviously unsatisfactory state of development of the art of portraits. We often speak about the need to see and portray our contemporary in all the perspective of his existence, to reveal his spiritual world, to show the scale of his personality in the social aspect, but this is far from being realized at all times. Quite often we avoid concrete portraying of our heroes, limiting ourselves to schemes of general character."

Portraits Are "Perishable Goods"

What is the problem? It has equally a moral as well as an economic side. Aside from the financial support from the UAU, as a trade union, an artist today depends more and more often on the buyer, or better still, on the one who places the order. There is a reluctance to portray blue-collar workers, collective farm workers, brigade leaders, milkmaids. Nobody wants to see them, not even in the museums. This phenomenon is analogous to the "deficit presence" of a worker or collective farmer in the contemporary Soviet literature. The so-called "common people" cannot afford to pay an artist. The only really profitable markets are the regime dignitaries and other bonzas, or large enterprises. Only they can afford to pay. Very often they pay between 5 and 50 thousand (!) rubles. There were instances when more was paid for portraits of Stalin or Khrushchev. Every first secretary of the region wanted to have a portrait of the "first man" in Moscow in his office; also in Kyiv — and he was ready to pay, with state funds, of course. But one day, what seemed like "treasures worth millions" disappeared from walls, in a week's time, literally in tens of thousands of copies, never to come to the surface again. The downfall of a dignitary also spells death for his portrait. It does not suffice, however, for an artist to be dearly paid. He strives for "some eternity," a time of duration for his artistic efforts. Under Soviet conditions an artist has no guarantee of durability. This is why they avoid portraits.

Propaganda Posters

Vasyl' Boroday also complained of the following at the Congress: "We are disturbed at the weakening of the positions of the artistic political poster. After a considerable period of active work of the editorial board of "Ahitplakat" (Agitation Placard) of the Union, after

the appearance of numerous good posters, released by the "Mystetstvo" (Art) Publishers, one notices lately a decline in the activity of poster-makers, a lowering of the criteria of ideological content and picturesque language. One must speak quite frankly about this, mentioning the former enthusiasm of our poster-makers, their fruitful searches for clarity, poetic character, compliance of their works with the important political subjects." What was said by Boroday hardly requires comment. What was said by him only expresses the fact of how deeply the people — and the artists! — resent this eternal regime "placating," decades of "guiding," a constant market place of regime outcries, watchwords, and slogans. At the same time the acknowledgment from the lips of Vasyl' Boroday is also a measure of the deep moral crisis in which the Russian regime finds itself, when ever ultimately good fees do not induce artists to tackle slogans and posters. They do not want to; more and more clearly, they simply *do not* want to.

Only Folk Art Remains

Thus, monumentalism, battalism (painting of battle scenes), heroism placatism, and portraiture are slowly dying out — all that about which the regime boasted for so long and so persistently for decades. The sole thing which remains is fundamental, *Ukrainian* folk art. It is the only thing which the country understands, accepts, and genuinely fosters. After all, let Vasyl' Boroday attest to this himself: "The attraction of free people to beauty has been intensified. Beauty made by human hands, which not only beautifies the home and the clothes but also reflects fundamental changes which occur in life. At the republican exhibitions of folk and decorative art, which are staged regularly, we can see not only a diversity of talents, a flourishing of fantasy, a triumph of genuine poetry. From one exhibition to the next one can observe organic stirring, the enrichment of plastic language, the evolution of creativity of individual craftsmen and the birth of new tendencies in traditional forms. Whole new centers of artistic activity are appearing."

Folk Industries

Boroday continued: "We note with satisfaction the development of democratic painting, carpet making, new ornamental principles of embroidery, of china decorating, the refined work of grassmakers. These changes are taking place on the basis of traditional achievements and bold innovation. The republican exhibition of folk decorative art, organized at present, provides material for careful generalization of achievements and definition of problems, in particular such as the interrelation between folk creativity and professional art, the further development of the art of gobelin, ceramics, sculpture, engraving. At the same time, it is mandatory to call greater attention to the state in which folk industries now find themselves, to coordinate efforts directed at the raising of the artistic level of folk creativity."

Failed to Pass

According to the data of those reporting to the Fifth UAU Congress, in the reporting period (6 years) 23 republican, and approximately 700 regional, group, and personal art exhibitions were held. More than 35 thousand works of all kinds and genres of fine and decorative, as well as folk art were shown. Based on quality, it is a considerable gain, although it is still far below the artistic efforts of such democratic countries of the West as Italy, France, or West Germany. Attempting to formulate a reply to the questions raised at the beginning of this article, the author comes to the conclusion, on the basis of analysis of the authentic materials from the Fifth UAU Congress, that the Russian regime has not been able so far to break into the soul of the Ukrainian nation in the sphere of artistic identity. No specifically Communist or "common" Soviet art, as the most profound basis for psychological Russification, was as yet realized by the regime. Analogically as in literature, so in imitative arts everything brought by Communist doctrine becomes more and more boring, stereotyped, uninteresting. We purposely devoted so much space to the Fifth Congress of UAU for we are aware of the fact that the struggle with Russification, Communism, atheism, and dictatorship is being waged first and foremost in the spiritual sphere, hence also in art. There are grounds to believe that in the sphere of esthetics and artistic self-fulfillment, Communism lost its imperial battle in Ukraine.

Documents smuggled out of Ukraine

THE CHORNOVIL PAPERS

Open letters to Soviet authorities, written by young Ukrainian intellectuals now imprisoned, denouncing continued violation of human rights, Russian colonialist policies and Russification of Ukraine.

Including the famous memorandum by Vyacheslav Chornovil, a young Ukrainian journalist sentenced to three years' forced labour, and his compilation of the writings of the convicted Ukrainian intellectuals entitled "The Misfortune of Intellect" (Portraits of Twenty "Criminals").

Published by McGraw Hill Company, Maidenhead, Berks.

Price: £ 2.25 net.

You can place your orders with:
**Ukrainian Booksellers and Publishers,
49 Linden Gardens,
London, W.2.
Tel.: 01-229-0140**

SOVIET NATIONALITIES POLICY IN UKRAINE, 1920-1930

(Continuation — 7)

By W. MYKULA

CHAPTER V.

“THE STRUGGLE ON TWO FRONTS — AGAINST GREAT POWER CHAUVINISM AND UKRAINIAN NATIONALISM.” (1927-1929)

1. The Dispute of the C.P.W.U. with the Comintern.

Maksymovych's¹ declaration at the March, 1927, Plenum of the Central Committee of the C.P.(b).U. in favour of Shums'kyi sparked off a conflict between the Communists Party of Western Ukraine on the one hand and the C.P.(b).U. and Comintern on the other. Signs that the Western Ukrainian Communists were unhappy about the campaign against Khvył'ovyi and Shums'kyi had already appeared in 1926. Thus, at the June Plenum of the C.P.(b).U., Maksymovych made excuses for Khvył'ovyi, whose pamphlets he called “the voice of despair,” and reproached the Party for not devoting enough attention to furthering the Ukrainian cultural rebirth. In January, 1927, the C.P.W.U. was criticized for not publicizing the condemnation of Khvył'ovyi's Nationalist mistakes. After Maksymovych had made his stand at the March Plenum, the C.P.(b).U. wrote a formal letter to the C.P.W.U. demanding that they should clarify their attitude toward the opposition of Shums'kyi and Maksymovych. The Comintern also was alarmed when a representative of the C.P.W.U. in Moscow, Turyans'kyi,² tried to justify Shums'kyi. To bring the C.P.W.U. to heel, the Comintern dispatched its emissary, Mikolos, to the Plenum of the Central Committee of the C.P.W.U., which was held in April, 1927, to explain the situation and to persuade the leaders of the C.P.W.U. to condemn Shums'kyi. Mikolos failed to

¹ Karlo Maksymovych, according to a testimony, came from a family of German colonists in Galicia, and had served in the Ukrainian Galician Army. Later, he became Secretary of the Central Committee of the C.P.W.U. and used to live in Berlin, where the headquarters of the C.P.W.U. seem to have been established during the 'twenties.

² According to the same testimony, “Turyans'kyi” was a pseudonym of Roman Kuz'ma, a physician from Peremyshl', and a member, before the first World War, of the Ukrainian Social-Democratic Party, where his nickname was “Balaban.” He served in the Ukrainian Galician Army as a lieutenant. During the 'Twenties, he lived in Danzig.

fulfill his task. Only two votes were cast in favour of the Comintern Resolution, and there were ten abstentions. The rebel majority issued a declaration, approving in general the Soviet Nationality policy in Ukraine, but at the same time emphasizing the fact that they failed to see any deviations from it in the proposals of Shums'kyi and Maksymovych. They did not answer the letter from the C.P.(b).U.

It is an abnormal situation for a Communist Party to be in disagreement with Moscow, the recognized centre of the World Communist Movement. In the months which followed, the leadership of the C.P.W.U. vacillated between the obedience they owed to the Comintern and the demands of National interest. The brief history of the underground Party in Poland was largely concerned with this dilemma. It is necessary to recall that, under pressure from Moscow, the Galician Communists had, on two occasions, in 1921 and 1922, united with the Polish Communist Party but, each time, broke off relations with them. Finally, in August, 1923, under pressure from Moscow, the second Polish Congress recognized the principle of self-determination for the Ukrainians and Byelorussians living within the frontiers of Poland, and agreed to support both these National movements. The Communist Party of Eastern Galicia was widened and re-named the Communist Party of Western Ukraine, and became an autonomous organization within the Communist Party of Poland. The C.P.W.U., under pressure from Moscow and Kharkiv, also dropped some of its Nationalist views, and subordinated itself to the Communist Party of Poland. Until 1924, the C.P.W.U. had largely a peasant character, later, however, some workers joined it. At the time, it was criticized for the so-called "sabotage deviation," which consisted in holding the view that as the Ukrainians in Poland did not have any bourgeoisie, and were, in any case, Revolutionary-minded, there was no point in working with the Polish Communist Party and waiting for a Revolution in Poland. What was needed, they thought, was rather to start a peasant partisan war immediately, and liberate the country from Polish rule, perhaps with the help of the Red Army. This view encouraged terrorist activities, which were an embarrassment to Moscow. For a time the workers' strikes which were fomented by the C.P.W.U. distracted the attention of this Party from the National question, but the objections of Khvyľ'ovyi and Shums'kyi to the C.P.(b).U.'s inadequate attention to Ukrainian cultural and political needs, coupled with the constant attacks on the Soviet Nationality policy by the Ukrainian Nationalist press in Galicia, made the leadership of the C.P.W.U. acutely aware of this problem.

Having made a stand against Moscow's decision to exile Shums'kyi from Ukraine, the West Ukrainian Communist leaders hoped that in this way they would be able to influence Soviet Nationality policy by their critical attitude, and help the Ukrainian National wing of the C.P.(b).U to prevail over the pro-Moscow wing. Their hopes,

however, were disappointed. Kaganovich and his supporters in the C.P.(b).U. considered their position impregnable, and demanded complete subordination to the decision of the Comintern.

At the request of the Executive Committee of the Comintern, the Central Committee of the C.P.(b).U. forwarded, in July, 1927, a Memorandum on its dispute with the C.P.W.U., reviewing the entire Ukrainian National problem in Ukraine, stressing the dangers of Russian Chauvinism and of the Ukrainian Nationalist deviation, tracing the latter to the "mistakes" of the Borot'bisty.¹ In its decision of August, 1927, the Comintern stated that: "The Russian Nationalist deviation in Ukraine presents the greatest danger, threatening to disrupt the alliance between the workers and peasants in Ukraine and the entire Socialist construction in Ukraine." At the same time, however, the Executive Committee of the Comintern fully approved of the National policy of the Central Committee of the C.P.(b).U. and its struggle with the Ukrainian Nationalist deviations, particularly that of Shums'kyi. The Executive Committee of the Comintern condemned the "Nationalist-opportunist" mistakes of the Central Committee of the C.P.W.U. and ordered the rectification of these mistakes.²

At the 4th Congress of the Communist Party of Poland, which was held in the Soviet Union in August, 1927, the delegates of the C.P.W.U., led by Vasyl'kiv³ and Turyans'kyi, agreed to make declarations condemning the mistakes of Shums'kyi, Maksymovych, and also their own mistakes, to liquidate the quarrel, and at the same time hoping to retain some prospect of influencing Soviet Nationality policy in Ukraine in the future. They voted likewise for the condemnation of their deviations in the Ukrainian Commission of the Comintern and at the October Plenum of their own Central Committee. In their formulations of the mistakes of Shums'kyi and Maksymovych, however, they were much less severe than the corresponding formulations put forward in Kharkiv or by the Polish Communists. In spite of the official reconciliation between the C.P.W.U. and the Comintern Parties, relations between them were strained and insincere. Both sides tried to strengthen their hold over the rank and file of the Communist Party. Kaganovich and his group in the Central Committee of the C.P.(b).U. could not feel secure against the threat of such deviations in the future until the leadership of the C.P.W.U., which had backed Shums'kyi's National Communism and thus had shown the popularity of his ideas, had been removed altogether. With the help of the Communist Party of Poland, whose leaders were only too glad to curb the autonomy of the C.P.W.U., and with the assistance of the pro-Comintern minority in the Central Committee of the C.P.W.U., intrigues were started to

1) *Bud. rad. Ukr.*, Vol. I. pp. 215-221.

2) *Ibid.*, pp. 221-223.

3) See note on p.

undermine the position of the old leadership of the C.P.W.U. Cells of supporters who were loyal to Moscow were organized behind the backs of the Central Committee of the C.P.W.U. which was, itself, practically suspended by the creation of a separate Executive Committee, in which only one member of the former leadership was included. The old Deviationist leadership started counter-measures, and condemned the so-called "fractional activity" of the minority and of the Polish leadership. Meanwhile, the dissensions within the C.P.W.U. had a serious effect on the fellow-travelling Ukrainian peasant Party "Sel'rob."¹

Seeing the disintegration and dissension in the pro-Soviet camp in Western Ukraine, the Comintern, in December, 1927, on the advice of the C.P.(b).U., expelled Maksymovych from the Central Committee of the C.P.W.U. and severely reprimanded two other members, Turyans'kyi and Vasyli'kiv. They were accused of sabotaging, among the rank and file members of the Party, the decisions of the Comintern concerning the condemnation of Shums'kyi's deviation. Maksymovych was held in the Soviet Union and was forbidden to have any contact with the West Ukrainian Communists.

At the beginning of January, 1928, on the eve of the elections to the Polish Parliament, the deviationist "majority" held a meeting of their supporters, the so-called 8th Conference of the C.P.W.U. This Conference accused the Communist Party of Poland, the Comintern, and the C.P.(b).U. of trying to break up the C.P.W.U. It accused the "Kaganovich clique" in the C.P.(b).U. of condoning Russian great power Chauvinism, and hailed Shums'kyi's views as the only correct policy for the building of Socialism in Ukraine. It decided to break off its relations with the Communist Party of Poland, to re-assert its independence, and to support its own list of candidates to the Sejm. The leadership of the C.P.W.U. was also under considerable pressure from the rank and file of the Party membership, to whom they could not explain why Shums'kyi's views were regarded as a dangerous deviation, and who therefore supported them in this defiance of the Comintern. There is also some evidence that they received a communication from Maksymovych, saying that there was a whole section of the C.P.(b).U. that supported Shums'kyism in secret, but did not dare to come into the open. In *Nasha Pravda*, their main underground press organ, the C.P.W.U. denounced the attempts to

1) This Party was formed in October, 1926, after the amalgamation of the two Leftist Parties, "Sel'soyuz" and "Narodna Volya." Although on social issues, they were both of Socialist and pro-Soviet orientation, in National matters the former, which was active in Volynia, was pro-Ukrainian, and the latter, in Galicia, was pro-Moscow. Encouraged by attacks in the Soviet Ukraine against the Ukrainian National Communists, the former members of the Muscophil "Volya Naroda" tried to carry out the same line in the "Sel'rob" Party, but all they achieved was merely to split "Sel'rob." Former members of "Sel'soyuz," shocked by what they regarded as an anti-Ukrainian campaign, dropped their pro-Soviet sympathies, and their Deputies in the Polish Sejm began to make anti-Soviet speeches.

discredit Shums'kyi and interpreted his views as the correct Leninist demand for full National equality of Ukraine in the Soviet federation. It pointed out that the verbal declarations of Kaganovich and his group of supporters in the C.P.(b).U., condemning Russian "great power Chauvinism," were insincere because they contented themselves with criticizing the outdated statements made by Rakovsky, Zinovyev, and Lebed a few years earlier, while they turned a deaf ear to the new attacks on Ukrainization that had been recently put forward by such men as Larin,¹ Yenukidze, Lunacharskiy,² Demyan Byednyy,³ and Vaganyan,⁴ and to Zatons'kyi's⁵ attacks on the Ukrainian Communists who came from other Parties, thus ignoring the current issues.⁶

All this amounted to a rupture with the Comintern, and indeed, in the elections to the Polish Parliament, the C.P.W.U. sponsored its own list of candidates, in opposition to those who had the backing of the Polish Communist Party and the pro-Comintern minority of C.P.W.U. After unsuccessful attempts had been made to induce the leaders of the C.P.W.U. to agree to arbitration in the Comintern of their dispute with the C.P.P., the executive Committee of the Comintern decided, on February 18, 1928, to expel the whole leadership of the C.P.W.U. condemning their "Western orientation," and accusing them of betrayal of proletarian unity and of the Ukrainian people, and of collaboration with the Ukrainian Nationalist bourgeoisie and the Polish imperialist, Pilsudski.⁷

The Shums'kyist leadership of the C.P.W.U. protested against their expulsion from the Comintern, but at the same time sought contact with the Communist opposition group in Germany. In the Trotskyist newspaper "Die Fahne des Kommunismus," there appeared an article, apparently written by one of the Shums'kyists.⁸ In this article, the author asserted that the affairs with the C.P.W.U. was the best proof that the "Stalinist" policy, especially in the National question, was not able to bring the proletariat to victory, and accused

1) Yu. Larin. "Ob izvrashcheniyakh pri provedenii natsional'noy politiki." (On perversions in the Execution of National Policy), *Bol'shevik*, Moscow, Nos. 23-24, 1926, pp. 50-58. No. 1, 1927, pp. 59-60.

2) Lunacharskiy declared himself against the Ukrainization in the Kuban area which belonged to the R.S.F.S.R.

3) Byednyy objected, in *Trud*, the Trade Union organ, to the Ukrainization of the Odessa Opera.

4) In his book, *O natsional'noy kul'ture*, (On National Culture) Moscow, 1927, Vaganyan declared that the development of National Culture was a Reactionary trend.

5) V. Zaton'skyi, "Materiyaly do ukraiyins'koho pytannya" (Matters concerning the Ukrainian National question) *B. U.* No. 6, June 1927, p. 9-13.

6) *Nasha Pravda*, Vol. VIII, L'viv, Jan-Feb. 1928, Nos. 1-2, Leading article "The International Situation and the Ukrainian National Question", pp. 10-49. Also articles by O. Vasylykiv (pp. 61-65), K. Maksymowych (pp. 68-79), Turyans'kyi (pp. 80-91) and a collection of documents on the dispute (pp. 92-129).

7) Resolution of the Plenum of the E.C.C.I. *Bud. rad. Ukr.* pp. 255-256.

8) The article was dated January 20, 1928, but appeared on April 20, 1928.

the "Stalinist group" in Ukraine, led by Kaganovich, of opportunism in the National question, and of deviation from the Leninist principles, which would result in "the catastrophe of the Socialist construction in Ukraine."¹ Shums'kyi, according to this author, had spoken only about the implementation of the Resolutions of the 12th Party Congress, but the Ukrainian Stalinists had condemned his suggestions as Nationalistic.

Throughout 1928 and 1929, the struggle between the West Ukrainian Shums'kyists and Stalinists continued. On several occasions, there were attempts made at reconciliation, but Moscow was adamant in her condemnation of the "Nationalist renegades," and demanded complete capitulation. A section of the membership of the C.P.W.U. returned to the fold, but the organization as a whole was seriously weakened by the dissensions, and could not play any important role in the political life of Western Ukraine during the 1930's. Finally, the C.P.W.U., together with the Communist Party of Poland, was dissolved by the Comintern in the spring of 1938, many of its leading members having perished in the meantime, under the Stalinist purges.

2. Khvyľ'ovyi's vacillation between Nationalism and adherence to the Party Line.

Soon after the removal of Shums'kyi from Ukraine, Khvyľ'ovyi's novel "Val'dshnepy" (Woodsnipes) was published in the journal *Vaplite*.² This novel, which gave rise to infinite controversy, was written, as the official Party critic Khvylyya maintained, to express those political beliefs of Khvyľ'ovyi which he was barred from having published when his pamphlet "Little Russia or Ukraine?" was confiscated.

The characters in this novel are hardly real living people, but rather representatives of certain ideologies. Thus the main hero, Karamazov, is a Ukrainian Communist with a Romantic outlook on life, who realizes more and more that instead of building a new society, he was merely helping to restore the unity of the Russian Empire. Hanna, his wife, represents Ukrainian provincialism, and Ahlaya, the girl with whom Karamazov falls in love, is a new type of strong-willed Nationalist.

In this novel, Khvyľ'ovyi identifies himself largely with Karamazov, who looks for a new ideal to serve after having become disappointed with the drab reality which superseded the exciting hopes of the Revolution. The way out of the impasse is shown to him by Ahlaya, virtually an Ukrainian Fascist. Analyzing "Val'dshnepy," Khvyľ'ovyi's most bitter opponent, Khvylyya, unmasked the symbol-

¹) Mirchak, *Na dva fronta*, p. 135.

²) *Vaplite*, No. 5, 1927, pp. 5-69. Republished in book form, Salzburg, Novi Dni, 1946, 121 + viii p.

ism with which the author tried to cloak his ideas. From the discussions between the characters, it becomes clear that Khvył'ovyi regarded Moscow's claims of the achievements of the Nationality policy in Ukraine as mere pretence and deceit masking Russia's domination, that he hated the existing reality, and saw the root of Ukraine's disastrous situation in the softness of the natural disposition of the Ukrainians and their lack of will-power. He considered the Party an organization of hypocrites. The salvation for Ukraine which would give the people the inspiration they needed lay in the slogan of National rebirth, which could be led, however, only by a strong-willed intelligentsia, able to love and to hate, hardened for a ruthless struggle. The Revolution was approaching its "Thermidorian" degeneration, and Russian Communists were getting ready to hand over to their own Fascists a "one and indivisible Russia." For the Ukrainian Communists, the only salvation was Ukrainian Nationalism, and the creation of a strong National Ukrainian state.

Ahlaya, this new type of Ukrainian Nationalist, speaks thus of herself: "I am a new man of our time. I am one of those young people who grow up like mushrooms around our Communist cells . . .

. . . You may, of course, say that I preach the ideology of the new bourgeoisie. Let this be according to your opinion. But I shall be right too, because we, I and thousands of Ahlayas in skirts and trousers, cannot live without air any longer."¹

No. 6 of the journal "*Vaplite*", which contained the second part of "Val'dshnepy," was confiscated as soon as it was printed and the journal itself ceased publication. Khvył'ovyi was allowed to go abroad to a T.B. Sanatorium near Vienna, and in the meantime, Khvylyya published a scathing criticism of "Val'dshnepy," accusing Khvył'ovyi of propagating Ukrainian Fascism.²

Khvył'ovyi was faced with the choice of either condemning his mistakes and thus saving his position in the Party and literary world of Ukraine, or becoming an exile in the West. He chose the first alternative. He was a Revolutionary by nature, and he loved struggle and risk. To stay abroad as an exile did not attract him. For him, the main battlefield was Ukraine itself. On the other hand, his Communist faith was still strong enough to reject the possibility of going over to what he regarded as the Western Bourgeoisie, against the Communist Moscow. On February 29, 1928, his letter of repentance appeared in the Kharkiv newspaper *Komunist*. In this letter, Khvył'ovyi admitted the correctness of Khvylyya's criticism of "Val'dshnepy." He admitted that his main mistake was the renewing of the old theory of the "Struggle of Two Cultures" the Russian and the Ukrainian, and demanding that the Party should support the Ukrainian competitor. Thus the purity of the Communist ideology was endangered, and the Party was drawn into an "uncomfortable

1) *Vaplite*, No. 5, 1927, pp. 47-48.

2) A. Khvylyya, *Vid ukhlyu v prirvu*, Kharkiv, 1928.

and shameful deal with Ukrainian Nationalism." "Thus, having advanced, quite correctly, the question of the necessity of widening the material and moral framework for the development of the young Ukrainian culture, I appeared, of course against my will, in the role of a spokesman of Ukrainian Nationalism," wrote Khvyly'ovyi, explaining his "mistakes." He called upon his supporters to desist from those forms which they had used in the struggle against the literary vulgarizers, because this was being exploited by the Ukrainian counter-Revolution, and he appealed to them to help form a united federation of Soviet writers. His declaration coincided with the end of the Literary Discussion, which had been going on since April, 1925. The Literary Discussion petered out after the attacks on the Deviationists, and the repentance of the latter. The closing debate took place on February 21, 1928, in Kharkiv, and the chief Party spokesman, Skrypnyk, tried to reduce it to merely aesthetic questions.

Although Khvyly'ovyi made this public repentance of his "Nationalist mistakes," his struggle for the freedom of the creative activity of a writer did not end. True, he occasionally published articles in which he castigated "Khvyly'ovyism" and Nationalism, but, on the other hand, he strove to keep the group of writers who followed him separate from the writers' organizations which were strictly controlled by the Party. In December, 1928, after a fit interval, he launched the publication of another monthly journal, *Literaturnyi Yarmarok* (The Literary Fair). monthly could not be reproached for any ideological deviations, as its authors were careful to cram it with the Communist slogans of the day, and with attacks on Nationalism; but, on the other hand, its style was so chaotic and boisterous, suggesting the atmosphere of a fairground, free and easy exchange of opinion, that in a subtle way it defeated its explicit proclamations, and seemed to suggest that all kinds of literature should be allowed to compete for a reader's attention, just as all kinds of goods and entertainment may attract one at a fair. This journal, although frequently attacked, was tolerated until 1930, when it was closed. As a last attempt, Khvyly'ovyi initiated the publication of the literary journal, *Proletfront*, which survived until 1931, when the increasing regimentation of writers finally put an end to any strivings to preserve any independent literary organizations or their organs.

3. Volobuyev's Deviation.

In the main organ of the C.P.(b).U. that was devoted to theoretical matters, *Bil'shovyk Ukrayiny*, there appeared, in Nos. 2 and 3, 1928, an article by an Ukrainian economist, M. Volobuyev, entitled "Concerning the Problem of Ukrainian Economy."¹ The author

¹ "Do problemy ukrayins'koyi ekonomiky", *B. U.* No. 2, pp. 42-72, and No. 3, pp. 42-63, 1928.

compared the economic situation of Ukraine with regard to Russia before and after the Revolution, and concluded that her colonial status had not substantially changed.

This statement of Volobuyev's views was accompanied by a reply inspired by Skrypnyk, which took the form of an article by A. Rychyts'kyi, a former Ukapits, who tried to prove that, on the contrary, Ukraine's situation within the Soviet Union was a great improvement compared with the pre-Revolutionary Tsarist regime, as well as to show that Volobuyev's argumentation lacked a scientific basis and was therefore unsound. Nevertheless, the method of airing disagreements inside the Party leadership of Ukraine, as exemplified by Volobuyev's article, was certainly rather unusual. The article was published with the full knowledge of the Politburo,¹ which seems to indicate that this was an attempt to defeat the Nationalist deviation in a frontal ideological attack, by allowing its arguments to be put forward, in order to destroy them by well-reasoned counter-arguments. This was the explanation given by Skrypnyk himself, and there is no reason to doubt that this was the overt purpose of Skrypnyk and the Politburo. If Volobuyev's views were publicized in this way, however, they must have already been widespread before the appearance of the article, for otherwise, complete silence would have been preserved on these matters. On the other hand, we must not exclude the possibility that some of those who openly attacked Volobuyev's platform were, in fact, secretly his sympathizers who, while burying their hopes of immediate success, for obvious political reasons tried to leave a testament for the future. Some substantiation of this might be the alleged information which the leaders of the C.P.W.U. received from Maksymovych and Shums'kyi about the Members of the Ukrainian Central Committee who secretly sympathized with Shums'kyi but did not dare to come out in the open. Who could these "sympathizers" have been? Besides former Borot'bisty, such as Poloz, there are certain indications that Skrypnyk himself was wavering. This can be seen from the rather moderate attitude which he adopted toward the dissenters in the C.P.W.U. While the out-and-out Centralists, like Kaganovich, condemned the C.P.W.U. and its leaders as having had a petty-bourgeois character from the very beginning, Skrypnyk condemned only their present defection and recognized their past Revolutionary character. Likewise, his attack on Volobuyev, equally with that of Rychyts'kyi, as one of the critics remarked, proceeded from the same basic assumptions as those of Volobuyev, namely, that Ukraine's adherence to the Soviet Union must be justified by the economic advantages which she derived from such a Union.

The theory of colonialism, which Volobuyev developed in his article is interesting as an attempt to express Nationalist views in

¹) See Skrypnyk's speech in the discussion on Volobuyev at the Institute of Marxism in Kharkiv, *B. U.* March 30, 1928, p. 49.

Marxist terms. Volobuyev divided the former colonies of Russia into two types: the European and the Asiatic, according to the form of the economic ties which existed between them and the Moscow metropolis. "In the latter case," he wrote, "we have on hand the exploitation of economically backward countries by an advanced Capitalist economy; in the former, the economy of the colonies is also Capitalistic."¹ From this, he concluded that while the dependence of the underdeveloped Asiatic-type colony on the former metropolis could be justified, the dependence of the European type could not. He considered Ukraine under the Tsarist rule to have been a European-type colony with a developed Capitalist economy, which tended to form a recognizable unit, and which showed the desire "to enter the world economic system directly, and not through the mediation of the Russian economy." He justified Ukraine's adherence to the Soviet Union only by the political fact that the Revolution did not succeed throughout the entire world.

"If the Revolution had been successful not only in what was formerly Russia, but throughout the world, or at least in the principal countries, the situation would have been the following: the backward (pure) type of colonies, liberated from National subjugation, would have gradually developed their economies, under the direction of advanced Socialist countries, and would have entered directly into the world economic system and its Socialist unity. The colonies of the European type, having abolished their dependence on the economy of the metropolis, would enter, on a basis of equality, as individual parts of the world economic complex. They would not be dependent on other parts of the world economy (i.e. the metropolitan centres of the Imperialist system), but on the entire world economy as a whole. The fact that the victory of the Revolution has affected only a part of the world economy complicates the situation."²

As a result of this complication, Ukraine had become a member Republic of the U.S.S.R. instead of entering directly into the world Socialist system. As the majority of the former Russian colonies were of the Asiatic type, the measures taken to rectify their status were conditioned by their backwardness and economic dependence on Russia. Ukraine's status, however, was much higher and deserved a different solution, but this fact, according to Volobuyev, was overlooked at the time of the inclusion of Ukraine in the Soviet Union and at the 12th Party Congress. "As regards Ukraine," Volobuyev explained, "our task should be not merely the raising of her rate of development to the Russian level, but the final removal of the results of the artificial barriers erected by Tsarism on the path of the development of the productive forces of Ukraine."³ He had in mind, above all, the task of developing in Ukraine her own manufacturing

1) *B.U.* No. 3, 1928.

2) *Ibid.*

3) *Ibid.*, pp. 43-44.

industry, as well as the one-sided growth of the extracting industry.¹

Volobuyev laid great emphasis on the assertion that under the Tsarist regime, Ukraine tended to become a distinct economic unit, that "the former Russian economy after the Revolution ceased to be one," and that, in fact, as a result of the "centrifugal tendencies of the oppressed national organisms" the economy of the U.S.S.R. became a complexity of National economies." In order to make his doctrine acceptable to the Party, he suggested that the construction of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. was possible, precisely because the U.S.S.R. was *not* one country but a group of countries.

Volobuyev strongly objected to the excessive centralization measures of the Union Government on the grounds that this drive, which aimed at achieving the economic autarchy of the U.S.S.R., might create "difficulties for resuming contact with the future World Socialist economy" by upsetting the world division of labour, and that it was detrimental to the economic interests of the National Republics. In particular, he objected to certain projects that would divide the U.S.S.R. into economic regions that would destroy the economic unity of the National Republics, in particular Ukraine, because they would be directly dependent on the central economic institutions. He suggested that the economic planning in the U.S.S.R. ought to proceed from the assumption that the National organisms forming the U.S.S.R. world would *inevitably* enter the World Socialist economy as direct partners. This meant, in fact, the propagation of the need of preserving economic unity and a certain measure of territorial autonomy of the National Republics, pending their achievement of complete independence.

Volobuyev maintained that as a result of the existing system of over-centralization of the Soviet Union the following mistakes had occurred: 1) the non-recognition of Ukraine as a separate economic whole, and 2) prevalence of the principle of the vertical planning of economic development (i.e. according to the branches of industry) and the neglect of horizontal planning (i.e. on a territorial basis). This meant that the interests of the individual Republics were not taken sufficiently into account. He argued that, from the point of view of Ukraine, such a (vertical) centralization of industrial planning amounted to complete decentralization on the horizontal level and therefore lack of co-ordination. As a result, "specific historical features of the Ukrainian National economy and, what is most important, specific methods of liquidating the heritage of colonial policies toward Ukraine are not taken into account," he stated. Ukraine, which before the Revolution had a tendency to form an economic unit, was being split up into fragments and held back from taking part in the world economic intercourse. He hinted that this made the colonial status of Ukraine far worse, and that the only way for Ukraine to improve her situation was for her to rid herself of the

¹) *Ibid.*

centralist direction of Moscow and to follow her own course of development. This was, of course, a translation into economic terms of what Khvyly'ovyi had said about cultural matters and Shums'kyi about Party affairs.

Volobuyev supported his analysis of Ukraine's economic situation in the U.S.S.R. by comparing the budgetary balances for the territory of Ukraine before and after the Revolution. On the basis of the figures which he took from the detailed study by the Ukrainian economist Dobrohayeiv,¹ he concluded that the expenditures of both Tsarist and Soviet central Government over this territory were 20% smaller than the revenues which they derived from it. This he regarded as proof of the colonial status of Ukraine with regard to Russia.

Although Volobuyev's practical demands overlapped with much of what the Soviet leaders of Ukraine had themselves from time to time asked of Moscow, his theoretical justifications were a real danger, as they tended to undermine the basic principle of the need for centralization in the Soviet Union, and provided a "platform" radically opposed to that officially valid. No wonder, then, that Volobuyev was accused of providing a potent weapon for the National deviationists in the C.P.W.U. and for the entire Ukrainian "Nationalist" camp, no matter what its political colouring.

E. Hirchak, the Party specialist in combatting Nationalist deviation in Ukraine, formulated the faults in Volobuyev's ideas as follows:

1) The comparison of Ukraine's economic status in the Tsarist empire and in the Soviet Union in such a way as to show, not improvement, but the deterioration of Ukraine's position.

2) His questioning of the "fact" that the October Revolution had realized its slogans of National liberation of the oppressed nations, especially of Ukraine.

3) Providing a basis for the theory of the inevitability and the necessity for Ukraine to secede from the U.S.S.R.

4) Setting Ukraine in opposition to other Soviet Republics, especially to the R.S.F.S.R.

5) Providing the basis for a theory of the struggle of two economies (i.e. the Russian and Ukrainian economies).

6) Misunderstanding the essential nature of the U.S.S.R..

7) Denial of the actual existence of Ukrainian proletarian statehood, and of the economic, political, and cultural consolidation of Soviet Ukraine.

8) Accusing the entire C.P.S.U. and the C.P.(b).U. of deviation in National matters towards Russian great power Chauvinism.

9) Fanning National enmity between the workers of Russia and Ukraine.

10) Trotskyism in the question of "building Socialism in one country" and the danger of "National Limitations."²

¹) *Khozyaystvo Ukrainy*, No. 2, 1927, p. 86.

²) Hirchak, *Na dva fronta*, p. 110.
(To be continued)

C A T A R A C T

By Mykhaylo OSADCHYY

(Conclusion)

There are the sceptics. They say, "Blow on the cat in the sack." The others say to him, "*You, despicable zek, shut up. You do not believe in your life anymore. It is not just anything; it is the 50th anniversary.*" Then the sceptic begins to doubt, and the confused "believer" begins to doubt as well. Topsy-turvy. Inasmuch as there is talk of an amnesty, there naturally must be one. "Once somebody spread a rumour that Stalin's daughter Aliluyeva has fled." Nobody knew this, but a zek knew. "If it's a rumour, say it's a rumour." Somewhere somebody has told someone the truth. For this — a knife. It follows that there will be an amnesty for zeks; a zek can smell freedom; a zek can hardly walk. One leg after another. He has become very delicate. They have found out the date when it will be granted. May 19th. All became still in anticipation. They do not ask anymore, because on the morning of the 19th, to the "little liars." The latest news. Six o'clock. The announcer: "*A representative of State Security at the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Comrade Semichasniy, was relieved of his official duties.*"

For a zek there is no greater joy than the one brought to him by a visit from his family. Then a zek diligently shaves his cheeks and brushes his teeth. A zek goes to the tailor shop and irons his clothes. Then a zek asks Ivan Hereha for flowers. A zek then sits down and thinks where should he conceal the money. He is prompted, advised, because it is tea, black coffee, sugar. A zek is then respected by all, and a zek is as emotional as a new-born child. This has already become a tradition. And suddenly, they did not come to visit one zek but all zeks. Somebody says, "Ivan Svitlychnyy has arrived from Kyiv." Commotion. They run around and ask all about him. They've heard about him just the same, but let's have something of his to read; they say he's talented, courageous; they say he has been driven into a doghouse, does not work anywhere and lives on dry bread alone. This is worse than camp.

"I have seen him already the one in the cap; he stood by the entrance and watched."

The zeks are alarmed. For the first time in fifty years, a Ukrainian literary figure comes to see the zeks. He comes, but not like Taras

Myhal had once come. They are going to work. One leg after the other. A zek can be shot, but he won't walk any faster. They've come to see the zeks. Svitlychnyy stands behind the wire entanglement. Daniel and I came closer. We began to call to him. The guard said, "*Get away, bitch, you'll get the penal isolator.*" A moment. We walked away. Svitlychnyy stands behind the wire entanglement.

They shout to him, "Oleksiyovych, cross over to us; it is better here."

"I would go, but they won't let me."

And then a zek says, "You shout, but you fail to see the barbed wire before your eyes."

Knut says, "It is out of joy that you have broken the old model of the world."

Then the zek is confused. The Kyiv artist Veniyamin Kushnir also arrives. This is already a challenge. Kushnir was taken to the watch tower, searched and told, "*Get out of here immediately to your Kyiv!*" Veniyamin had hardly time enough to "*get out of here,*" when Nadiya Svitlychna arrived. The zek has forgotten about the urinals, about the amnesty; the zek lives by freedom.

And finally, flowers in hand, the zek goes to the watch post. His wife came to see the zek. The zek is searched and his flowers are searched. "*You, Osadchyy, conduct yourself nicely.*" To see a dear person means to forget about everything. It seems that barbed-wire entanglements are no longer before your eyes.

Knut says, "It is out of joy that you have broken the old model of the world."

The zek lives by news; he soaks it up as a sponge soaks up water, and immediately forgets about it. He recalls it in a week when his happiness subsides and the old world stands firmly on its foundation. His wife would remain silent, as long as she could watch. The zek enjoys words; the zek is unaccustomed to stillness.

His wife says, "A funny thing happened at the geography department of our university. During the history of CPSU the students asked the lecturer about the 1965 arrests in Lviv. The lecturer answered, 'They were confined and rightly so; they wanted to separate Ukraine from the USSR.' Then they came to a lesson about the territorial and administrative division of the USSR. They came to the point, 'According to Article 17 of the USSR Constitution, every republic can secede . . .' There was laughter. The students laughed, while the instructor blinked his eyes in confusion, for he could not understand anything."

I recalled this story later. A representative of the KGB of Ukraine, Herashchenko, comes in. "Well, why is your husband so stubbornly refusing to return home? We are driving him to his son and wife, but he does not want to go."

Surprised eyes are turned at the zek. The zek said, "Oh, this is only a small pardon. The acknowledgment of your so-called 'guilt'."

A zek will never be pleasant; he always invents trouble for himself. The representative said, "It suffices for him just to write, and he's at home."

My wife remarked, "Nothing, I'll wait."

The wife must wait and the zek must wait. Which of them finds it harder? The zek is nourished by the spiritual ideal, the wife — by the zek's return. The representative from the threshold spoke. "Should I tell them at the watch room to permit you to hand a package over to your husband?"

The zek is upright, even when he is hungry. He is only afraid of being ridiculous and lowers his head. He tells it so: they are base. It is enough for somebody to write a petition of pardon, for the zek's case to be investigated and an extra term to be added on for the acknowledgment of "guilt." So far, the zek has denied everything, and now he can sit with a "clean" conscience. They like to play on the silly emotions of a woman.

A woman has much of a monkey's instinct. At times she does not understand much; she grieves a zek. A zek is hungry but decent. He lowers his head. That Suknovalenko is not climbing the barbed-wire entanglement yet, but it is not easier for him because of it. A representative has counted on a monkey's instinct. He told his wife that Suknovalenko will be released if he writes a petition for a pardon. A zek lowers his head. "What for?" Is a zek guilty? A zek guilty? A zek has received six years for drawing up proposals on how to improve the scandalous state of agriculture. A zek can improve it at camp! Here is even a greater decadence. His wife has interrupted the visit and left Suknovalenko. He is not yet climbing the barbed-wire entanglements, but it is not easier for the zek because of this; his wife has disowned him and has not replied to his letters for three years.

"Well, should I tell them at the watch to allow a parcel?" Don't you dare degrade a zek. Although naked, he is upright. A zek has very wise eyes and they are very deeply set. You must reckon with him. The zek pulls over a wornout jacket; the zek proudly steps down from the watchtower. He can manage without a parcel. The balanda is also a delight, if you are going to utilize it creatively.

A cemetery tomb or a tomb at the cemetery, on the left-hand side of the small road. The small road reaches up to the grass and stops; the road turns back. And then there is stirring in the tomb. An experience of stillness. It is so dark here that it is impossible to discern it from the stillness. The dead man has risen from the coffin. Cursed life, says the dead man. To lie for so long and suddenly to think of something. One can sit on the coffin and look in front and behind oneself. The grave-digger must know; the road leads as far as the grass and must turn back there, because there is a tomb on the left-hand side. Then, to put the arms around the head. To grasp for breath. To hold it and to pounce down on the grave-digger. A

trepidation in the chest. One can feel how the uneasiness leaves. The dead man moves about near the coffin, somebody has driven the dead man out. Then he begins to run around the tomb. He thinks of something. One can hear how the road turns off somewhere. Somebody is at fault: the grave-digger or the grass? Somebody is bustling around the coffin. Who? It is I, thinks the dead man, and he hastily leaves. He can feel the uneasiness; a clean piece of linen, a spot on the side and bread. Then he becomes agitated and drives himself back into the coffin, quickly throws over the lid and becomes seemingly dead. A beam of light sneaks in through the crack in the lid. Suddenly he leans against the floor and begins to crawl on it. The sun is meandering. Then the lid closes a little and the crushed little eyes peer from under; the dead man has forgotten about them. A funny apparition of the creator: two light blue streaks which do not lead anywhere. A spot which does not reveal anything. But it is enough to scrape the top, and the bottom slips somewhere. Then the tomb. The zek falls on his knees and tries to catch the sun's meandering. He falls on it, and later realizes: the zek is weak and in reality he is running away from the wall. One should show him against the background of a belfry without bells. Let him be a small disciple on the side and signify a bell. Let them beat something over him, or let him do the beating. The belfry in that case is the expression of a tomb where you cannot tell stillness from darkness.

There is one world; only it is presented in different ways. He should create a new model. Let the hand raised to the chest in admonishment be a precursor. Then Knut will slip somewhere to the side, if the belfry were cut off from him by two light blue streaks which do not lead anywhere. But they stand before his eyes annoyingly. To speed somewhere behind the horse. The zek has heard the clatter and will quickly dash to the left. He will recall the bridle and the hill. My horse, the zek will think. He will run to the horse, but there is a rider on the horse, St. George with a sword. Somebody like him cannot be thrown from the horse in order to flee on it.

The zek turns his head and then sees the tomb. Who is moving about by the coffin? It is I, thinks the dead man. Should one tell Vasyl Pidhoretskyi that he is mortally ill, that the light blue streaks, as the indiscernibility of stillness and darkness, have cut him off from the horse? The streaks which do not lead anywhere, but which hang on to the field and the grass? Then to catch the sun's meandering, so that it does not crawl about the tomb. To fall on it.

And then the zek realizes that in reality he is running away from the wall. To show that it is blacker, blacker than the stillness. To show that in it is a tiny grated window. Let there be a small face by the wall, a face to suit the zek's need. Let the zek think that it is he behind the wall, which is behind the window beyond him. Then — a cheerful man: the bright eyes of Mykhaylo Soroka. Do not paint me in the jacket; I am not an eternal prisoner. He takes two steps to the

fore and will take the stairs down. Let there be a river. But if one takes a closer look: the two blue streaks have separated him from it. Streaks which do not lead anywhere. Who is bustling about by the coffin? It is I, thinks the dead man. And the zek Soroka sees the small grated window. It is behind him; it is in front of him; it is on the side. The zek turns his head up and sees the road which drove itself into the grass and is turning back. Then a hand should not be painted on the zek. He would cover his face with it.

"You are young, Panas Zalyvakha. Your youth will destroy you, as it has destroyed many. For your picture you could have been executed at one time. I prohibit you to draw further!" Censor, oper. Should they be painted small so that they would catch the sun's meandering? So that they feel how they are retreating from the wall? *"I forgive you this time. I will simply throw your badly painted picture in the stove. Or perhaps this picture should not even be cut up; instead let it go in the Tretyakovka."*

A guard, with legs instead of arms? To drive the pushcart into the boiler room, to drive oneself into the corner, so that the foreman would shout: *"Scoundrel! Zalyvakha!"* To cut out on the linoleum a white woman wearing black clothes? They can give the penal isolator for it, but enough of that. Who is moving around by the coffin? It is I, thinks the dead man. The zek looks at the picture and sits down. One cannot view the picture standing up. One must sit down and sit in such a way that the two blue streaks would rest on the tomb. Then you can clearly sense a strange uneasiness in yourself, and after that, the sun's meandering. It must be caught, reasons the dead man. One must simply lie in wait on the floor and it will be visible. One must just not frighten it, so that it won't run away. One can come upon it from the wall and chase it to the coffin, where there could be a small bent corner, and catch it there. And if one were to proceed upon it straight from the coffin? No, then one can step on it by accident.

Who is moving about by the coffin? It is I, thought the dead man. The sun's rays are slumbering, but where is that damned crack through which it penetrated? If it could be reached, then it could be guarded there. Where there's an entrance — there must also be an exit. Then they would not bypass his hands, these meandering rays of the sun. But who is mumbling something? It is I, thought the dead man. I am quite exhausted and no good for anything. I cannot even think everything out properly. These meandering rays of the sun. I can rest a bit; I had time enough to be tired already, replied the dead man to himself. He leaned against the coffin and climbed inside. As soon as his back touched the bottom, the lid fell down. The dead man raised his head with suspicion: the noise reminded him of something. It is impossible, he thought. He touched himself with his hand and squeezed. He could hear how the air moved somewhere alongside. It is beyond the coffin, beyond the window — thought the dead man. One must just get rid of the window. And then

the dead man will find out his predestination: I failed to see them somewhere, probably over there where the road wedged itself into the grass and began to turn back, in that time I managed to be late — this sufficed for the meandering rays of the sun to leap out and for the lid to shut itself again . . . And then the dead man pressed his eyelids with all his strength.

A zek cannot be a zek when he loses his head. A headless zek can neither eat the balanda, nor work. A zek like this should be carried to the cemetery. When a zek is missing a leg or an arm, he does not cease to be a criminal. Let a legless zek go home, and he does not stop being a criminal. Let a legless zek go home, and he will climb to the balcony and will stage state revolutions from there. No. A zek must continue to serve his time and think about the cemetery. The old dotard must entrust himself to the cemetery. The old dotard. When the spring arrives, all find it easier; the old dotards do not sit for too long in the sections, do not warm up the stale air. The guard passes the section and pretends that he does not notice when the racketeers are brawling, fighting, or dragging a mattress outside. *“Up, decadence, the reactionaries are creeping to the fore. The old dotard.”* The old dotard, seventy and over. He sleeps with opened eyes; he is afraid that somebody will strangle him. When he is scolding, he closes his eyes to give more impetus to his voice. At times, when the sun becomes very hot, a zek discards the mattress and creeps like a beetle. He loses his sense of direction and is quite astonished when he discovers that after his difficulties he has again managed to find his way to the mattress. A zek would escape to freedom, if it were not for that damned mattress!

And soon the birches are already sprouting. And then each of them is a funny stork, hung with cans. When they fill up with juice, the zeks get drunk. The warden does not forbid such “alkohol.” But the juice is not sweet. It is better than water — the birches are hollow inside — and it is drinkable. Anatoliy Shevchuk likes it in particular. He philosophizes. Once he brought a fresh cucumber. From where? Together with Ivashchenko they dug a small bed behind the veneer shop and planted radishes. In addition, his brother Valeriy will bring the “golden fleece”; then they will live in bliss. Each of them — whether he smokes or not — inhales the sweet-smelling roll of tobacco.

The Yavas routine. The Yavas military camp. Between one and six years. Mainly on account of “The Trial of Pohruzhalsky.” From Lviv, Kyiv, Ivano-Frankivsk, Lutsk, Zhytomyr . . . engineers, teachers, university lecturers, research workers, men of letters, workers, medical doctors. The Yavas military camp. Without the hetman, but everyone serving a term. Ponder. All zeks gravitate toward the Ukrainians, their number is the greatest here and all of them are predominantly intellectuals. The intellectuals are liked, provided they are not “bitches.” In the Yavas military camp one can see a Chinese,

a Georgian, an Armenian, a Tatar, an Estonian, a Lithuanian, a Jew. In camp there are countless posters calling for friendship. The posters foster friendship among zeks of various nationalities. They stick together in misfortune and never wish their enemies well. A common fate. A common destiny and thirst — to survive. No matter what. Almost fifteen nationalities. Just as in freedom. They can take each others' hands and go for a cup of black coffee. The zeks of fifteen nationalities and almost as many nationalities among the wardens and supervisors. They not only read the friendship slogans, but also diligently put them into practice and raise them on their shields.

The Leningrad group of Marxists. Six at Camp No. 11. Ronkin, Smolkin, Yoffe, Hvenko. They were engineers and research workers in a technological institute. They published the periodical *Kolokol*. The followers of Herzen, pure Marxists. They formulated their program: perfect adaptation of Marx's theory to practice. They opposed the bureaucratic upper class. They received — between two and ten. The deputy commandant of the second camp detachment, Capt. Yoffe, rubbed his forehead; he could not understand the young Leningrad Jews at all. "Listen," he said, "didn't you have a good income? Didn't you have anything to eat?" Then he came closer and said, "Listen, here am I, an ordinary Jew, if it were not for the Soviet government, would I ever be the commandant's deputy?"

That senseless man wiped off perspiration from his brow. It is impossible to raise the eyes, they stand above the hall. Throw back the mane of your hair, young artist, hoodlum, or professor. To lean against the table calms one down when there are no grounds to worry. To oppose people and tell them, "No!" To act in the manner which upholds honesty is not an anachronism of feelings. To say, "No!" To look straight into the eyes, let them take you away when there is a shortage of great intellect outside the hall. When outside the hall and in the hall there is identity. The identity of stomach and brain. A reverse course. To discard the mask and say, "No!" Let them get angry, if they are not wicked. Let them eat more; food calms the nerves. Stand by me, don't be afraid, years are no hindrance, we shall survive, whether outside, in front, or from behind walls. Spiritual torment. Behind that turn there are two drops of sweat. Let the prosecutor forgive "No!" Judges, outside, from, from under, let them "forgive." "No!" Comrade attorney, don't be angry, all shall receive their due, even if they strive somehow toward truth and honour. They rated down everything, frightened you with the street, so you would be grateful for your defence and remember your debt for the entire six years. The witnesses were a bit frightened to take upon themselves somebody else's useless, human misfortune, not social misfortune. Yet, social misfortune is human misfortune. There is no need. I have honour, an honour besides my insignificant self. "No!" The judges have a new worry: the stubbornness of the accused. "No!" Demon. Shevchenko and the mother who is pounding at the closed

prison gate. That mother. How hard it is at times to stand for a long time with one's head majestically turned up. And at the same time remain a small, pleasant human being. You can talk to her about the birds and enjoy human innocence.

A human being — a demon, and a human being — innocence. Recalcitrance to evil and indocility to a prisoner who stands alongside and waits to be amused. Such people are despised. By the judges, the prosecutors, the investigators. Such people are avenged. There is a penal isolator for you, Mykhaylo Masutko. Peep out from behind the bars and enjoy God's world beyond you on the slope. I recall that Mykhaylo Masyutko has an ulcer. A few grams of sugar from each ration were smuggled to him in the penal isolator. The warden: "Let's see!" The sugar is thrown into the garbage. A prisoner with a red face, Masyutko said "It does not matter, we'll survive without glucose too. The glucose is needed by athletes. Let them chase the ball. Strength is required there. Strength, why does a prisoner need it? So as not to be able to sleep? I am not the least guilty and I shout: No!"

Six years of camps for saying "no?" And then the prosecutor rises. And then the judge rises. And then the warden rises. "No?" "No!" Zek Masyutko lifts up his head: "No!" He cannot see what's inside the deep cauldron. That the "no!" rushes forth and reverberates from the wall, that the "no" turns to the side, that the "no" returns, a threatening echo, "No!" He can see how it speeds straight at him. He draws back and suddenly feels himself on the wall, front and back. He flattens himself out on it — arms, legs, head. And in front reverberates the "No!" which will definitely obliterate.

Two months remain. Two months — and you will be set free. These days are spent by the zek in a state of numbness: two months — and Lviv, his wife, his son. A zek sleeps badly then; everything is turned upside-down inside the zek and he begins to soften shamefully like wax. Turn to him, say something to him, and he will hear you the third time around. The zek becomes solitary and withdraws into a different world, the world of freedom.

I was summoned and told to pack my rags. So soon? I have not served my time yet. Nobody ever explains anything to a zek. A zek is told to get ready for the road. Somebody's guess: the term is coming to an end; they will review the case in Kyiv and add another term. Two years is very little for a political prisoner. But they won't give you more than five. Comforting words.

Taking leave of friends. You feel strange, leaving somebody behind at camp. You feel as if it were your fault that you are being freed. That Vasyl Mykhaylovych Levkovych. He runs up and offers a bag of candy. Five rubles' worth. A zek could live on them for a month. But a zek is generous; a zek never think about himself. These sensitive people with their twenty-five years in camps.

And then the slogan: "*To freedom with a clean conscience.*" A

narrow-track railroad. Potma. The same cell. But already with new zeks. There is no chefir, they are young. On the first day when I went for a walk, they "went through" my suitcase. They talk loud. They are unhappy, because the zek is carrying nothing but books. Then, a separate "compartment" and a distant journey. Ruzaivka, Kharkiv. You grasp names alone. Everything flows somewhere on the side. Twenty days on the railroad. One can go crazy from loneliness; a single political prisoner for the whole car. All are curious. The zeks say, "*Chuvak, don't rush when you go to the toilet, give us a chance to look at you. You, political prisoners, are interesting. The corn-raiser Khrushchov said that there are no political prisoners; they only ride the railroad.*" A convoy of young people. Most likely, they are about twenty. "*Are you really a political prisoner?*" He stands for twenty minutes and stares. "*For the first time, or what? And what are you in for? Did you want to stage a revolution? Did you want to become a minister of sewers? Well, I knew that you are not imprisoned without a reason.*" And he stares again. He stands by the mesh and coughs.

These political prisoners are always taciturn; they pay no attention to conversation. At last — Kharkiv. A familiar corridor, to sense that smell. "*I have driven all over Russia, I have never met such an awful consignment.*" Sheepdogs. To recall the one "serving the law." A big-bellied warden: "*These Vyshnyas . . .*" Somebody like that will never recognize you, just the absent little eyes on the massive chair of the face.

They brought me to the major. "*I am not acting according to any points. I simply looked through your card and turned my attention to your youth. And then — these two years: what can one accomplish in these two years?*" I tell him. He listens attentively and shakes his head. I saw a grin, a sly grin on his face. "*Yes,*" he said, "*they have only ruined your life; I understand everything. But do you see this uniform,*" he crushed the tunic with his fingers, "*you can never go against its honour, remember that. Yet I do believe that you will find truth in the Soviet Union.*" I remember the word "*find*" in particular. And the fact that he said it rather protractedly. He called the warden: "*Give Osadchyy a better cell on the third floor and issue bedding to him.*"

In transit, they never issue bedclothes, but they issued them to me. The cell was dry. I sat and read; in transit they do not permit the issuance of books, but that major. A strange world of people. You never understand them, and only partially pretend to understand them without suspecting that at the same time you are falsifying their world. This is primitive. Makhmed. I do not remember last names, but I know that he was a Kazakh. He had been a lecturer of dialectic and historic materialism in Alma-Ata. In the fifth year of his work he decided to leave the university. He wrote a statement to the effect that his views conflicted with the programmed assertions

of the subject which he was lecturing. He began to search for truth in materialism. He could not set his mind at rest and turned to experts in Alma-Ata, and then in Moscow. There he was told, after a polite reception, that Makhmed lacks intensive theoretical preparation. He has erudition, he has knowledge, but he lacks a basic understanding of the depth of materialism. Makhmed came home, and after several days he was "dispatched" to a Yavas camp for seven years to acquire that depth. Quite unexpectedly for himself, Makhmed suddenly set his mind at rest. He became a phlegmatic zek; he was long frightened by creative unrest. Yet when rotten cabbage is served for supper, Makhmed wakes up completely and upbraids the cooks, leaving behind the principles of dialectic and historic materialism.

Or still another strange human whim. It was once told, that a peasant from the Ivano-Frankivsk region buried a tank under his stable, way back during the war. For over twenty years he diligently lubricated it, cleaned it of dirt and rust, but could not resist the temptation: does the tank work or not? At one time he could not restrain himself and started it during the night. Only for a moment, but even this was enough for them to take the tank away from him. Certainly, Yavas is now in store for the peasant. Such a strange attachment to things is hard to figure out.

An artist made a wooden roof on the outside of the prison window. He could have erected it according to tradition in order to conceal the essence of a prison window. But he did it in a different manner. He erected it with a certain thing in mind, as concave mirrors are placed in the hall of laughter. This could be ascertained when the sun reached it in the evening. It was enough for me to glance at the flap and I could feel a strange bent of the body on me. The projecting bars swam clearly on the plaster, red as a crushed leg of an animal. As if bewitched, I watched the confused mixture of the grating. I could clearly see how the thick red blood was dripping down from them. "Where should it drip?" thought the zek and he was seized by bitterness. "The bars are crying." The zek turned to the corner and his laughter subsided. The zek was convulsed with laughter even at midnight, long after the sun had set.

Kyiv. The capital of winds, chestnut trees, and a surprisingly well preserved Volodymyr with his cross on the hill. He gazes at the Dnipro which does not flow anymore. Good that he is with the cross: peace and meditation. A cross is a communion for meditation. From sins which destroyed him. To catch a fish on a hook and to throw it back in the river to enable it to live. After the hook? To survive after millions of communions? Everything. One can feel how the fingertips tremble.

I. Holub says, "How are you, pal?"

"Oh, good! You will receive a letter and news."

"Thank you, dear! What is it outside, morning?" And in the morning — the office of the investigator.

One can sit on the chair, throw one leg over the other, and not budge from one spot. One can doze with opened eyes. A zek is called; a zek sits down. A zek is not asked anything, therefore a zek does not think. A golden anemia. And a zek slumbers with opened eyes.

Major Lytvyn folds his hands behind his back, and turns his head. I am not dozing. I am simply keeping still for lack of something to say. Half an hour. One hour. A zek yawns impertinently. Without closing his eyes. Then he takes out cheap tobacco and rolls a cigarette with two fingers. Tiny bits of tobacco fall on his jacket. A zek carefully picks them up and puts them back on the newspaper. A zek is a sensitive owner.

Major Lytvyn comes closer. "You have been imprisoned."

The zek inhales his cigarette and disappears in the smoke. Suddenly indifferent eyes stare at him. A zek is a specter, and a specter must be killed. "Pardon me," says the zek.

Lytvyn answers, "I am not joking with you. You were in prison. You are picking up bits from your knees, and that is prison. Prison universities are two-year schools. After five they pick it up a bit differently. After five, as we know from practice, the sense is different too."

The zek is told "In several days your term is ending and, naturally you want to go home terribly. Cheer up, it does not seem like home to you. A new 'case' was instituted against you and a new term is waiting for you." Then a zek disappears in smoke. "You wrote a petition to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukr. SSR, in which you are slandering Major Halskyy."

"He attempted to strike me."

"Ha-ha! And do you know that Major Halskyy is our best worker?"

A stout, senior investigator of the KGB of Ukraine, Harbuz, enters. Then a quiet reference. A nice name, meaning pumpkin. "You have written in your petition that allegedly in 1965 the Ukrainian intelligentsia was subjected to repressions. This is a lie. Can one consider you intelligentsia? Intelligentsia are Honchar, I, Major Lytvyn, Major Halskyy. And did anybody ever repress us?" The zek inhaled his cigarette. After two years they still pick up tobacco from their knees, but after five? "But have you been in prison?"

A zek can smell a prison term; he can smell it as this smoke. A zek is used to everything, but he just cannot get used to rumours about amnesty. An investigator in the prosecutor's office. Pleasant and a bit pot-bellied. A pumpkin* walks about the garden and asks his kin "Are you alive, are you healthy — all the pumpkin relatives?" Attractive dents in his cheeks. Oh, how the women bustle around such types.

The investigator says, "Please, take a look; are these your poems?"

"Yes, mine."

*) A reference to Maj. Harbuz.

"You can read them in the typewritten form. How did you send them to freedom, to whom?"

The zek picks up tobacco from his knees. You have been in prison. These are my poems. I am pleased to read them in a printed form. But to whom has the zek sent them in letters? The investigator must already know that.

"Do you know that your poems were used by Vyacheslav Chornovil in his letter to Shelest?" How can a zek know such freedom details? The zek picks up tobacco from his knees. "Were you in prison? Are you acquainted with Chornovil?"

"Oh, yes, still, you know, a man . . ." And then the zek inhales his cigarette . . .

That bustling Tuesday. If one were to paint him, then to paint him only by parts. Every part separately. The nose, the eyes, the lips, the mouth, the hands. "Pardon us, we are in a hurry," says the eyes. "We shall meet again," say the ears. "Important matters, you understand," the nose. And in addition, all of them are so clever. The nose is the cleverest of all, and the eyes do not give way either. And it is enough to insult the lips by something and they puff up and then the moustache stands on end in a devil-may-care fashion: "Do not insult my brother." Vyacheslav and his wife in Alpine flowers up to their chest.

That bustling Tuesday. "Pardon us," say the eyes, "we are not beautiful, but how we do lough!" "How funnily you pronounce that, pal." jokes the flippant nose. Oh, that nose. And the blond hair falls back. "Also a serious chap, that nose!"

Chornovil: "No. I think Osadchyy is talking about West German imperialists."

"How can you prove that?"

"In our country they do not put up crosses, just posts with stars. Crosses are created only abroad."

"Defendant Chornovil, how did you manage, in such short time, to write five volumes of 'political intrigue'?"

The prosecutor, after going through the encyclopedia, after an interval at a court hearing, says, "I am not an Ivano-Frankivsk prosecutor, who was led around at the 'vatra,* I know that 'hobby' means favourite occupation . . ." eyelashes wickedly cover the eyes. They also smile scornfully. "The authoritative, scholarly expertise composed of the highly educated Zdoroveha, Makhovskyy, Yashchuk, Kybalchych . . . after intensively analyzing the graphic distribution of the text of the documents which passed from hand to

*) When the teacher Mykhaïlo Ozernyy was being tried in Ivano-Frankivsk, one of the factors of the indictment was the word "vatra" bonfire (camp fire) by which he called a student evening, which is normally called "Ohon'ok." The prosecutor said that he failed to find the word "vatra" in the 12-volumed Ukrainian dictionary. Ozernyy was quite astonished at the time, that in the few months of his imprisonment they had managed to publish a 12-volumed Ukrainian dictionary in Ukraine.

hand, as well as of some literary works written by Mykhaylo Masyutko has come to the only possible correct conclusion, which is not subject to refutation. Just as in the former, so in the latter manuscripts, every sentence begins with a capital letter and ends with a period. Hence, certainly, after such common properties which were noticed by them jointly, it follows that all works which passed from hand to hand were written by Mykhaylo Masyutko . . .”

Oh, these teasing lips; they pretend to be devil-knows-what, the great ladies. And the hair falls back from the forehead offended. And then the eyebrows rise up in surprise. “The prosecutor is telling us something . . .”

The final plea. Chornovil rises and says, “Lenin wrote that in our country every cook can govern the state. I wanted to convince myself of this. What were the consequences; citizen judges will now notify us.”

Then the moustache shakes in a sneaky smile; thus smiled the Cossacks, “having drunk the seventh *osmukha* (eighth part).” And then the pensioner who was duty bound by social security to be present without fail at the court hearing could not restrain himself. The pensioner first shouted from the courtroom, “*Shame, shame, you have taken up the pen, Chornovil!*” And at the end, after the final plea “*No, no matter what you say — that Chornovil ought to work at the Council of Ministers.*”

“*What, what are you saying, aren't you ashamed of it?*” came from the hall.

“*No, I have seen everything for myself; that Chornovil ought to work in the apparatus of the Council of Ministers!*”

That bustling Tuesday. If one were to paint him, then one should put each part individually on the canvas. Separately the nose, the lips, the moustache, the hands. There they will exist quite sensibly as demons, and in each of them you will recognize Vyacheslav Chornovil.

A zek is sent home. One could catch one's breath at last. A zek drags dystrophic suitcase behind him filled with books, and goes to the exit. A zek can hear how the doors slam behind him, how somebody's quick glances, lacking any individuality but existing only for the exoneration of the prisoner, are cast forward. Just to recall Yavas, the narrow-track railroad. “*These fences, they were the ones which crushed the broad railroad so that it become narrow.*” One can feel something pressing against the back and squeezing into the door.

“May God give you health!” came stealthily, as if it were not a voice. Certainly, footsteps. “Whose?” “They must be mine,” thinks the prisoner. “They are in front and in back of me.” On the side and on top. Stately doors, if you do not leap through them, will push you back by their sheer bulk. Then they will not release you anymore and nobody will ever believe that the doors have shoved you back inside

They will confine you again. They will say, "He has left the cell insolently." And so forth.

The zek steps on the sidewalk in haste and immediately feels uncertain; the sidewalk streams somewhere from under his feet. After two years, the world has become stately and full as a woman. It is swaying from side to side. The trams are running. The buildings are swinging and restless. "This is freedom," thinks the zek. But he is disposed to be silent. He thinks about the tomb at the cemetery, about the homeless cemetery which was squeezed by the buildings beyond the city. The zek takes a step, a second one. The zek is used to walking; he walked more than he stood, but the sidewalk again flows from under the zek. There, behind, are camps; in front are friends. The people are the same everywhere, but why was the unstable, ordinary stone sidewalk lost underfoot?

Lviv. March-May, 1968.

THE REAL FACE OF RUSSIA

267 Pages of Essays and Articles by well-known
authorities on East European problems

PROBLEMS OF RUSSIAN COMMUNISM ASSESSED FROM
A COMPLETELY NEW PERSPECTIVE

The book contains the following contributions:

THE SPIRIT OF RUSSIA — by *Dr. Dmytro Donzow*

ON THE PROBLEM OF BOLSHEVISM — by *Evhen Malaniuk*

THE RUSSIAN HISTORICAL ROOTS OF BOLSHEVISM —

by *Professor Yuriy Boyko*

THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM —

by *Dr. Baymirza Hayit*

BOLSHEVISM AND INTERNATIONALISM — by *Olexander Yourchenko*

THE "SCIENTIFIC" CHARACTER OF DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM —

by *U. Kuzhil*

THE HISTORICAL NECESSITY OF THE DISSOLUTION OF THE

RUSSIAN EMPIRE — by *Prince Niko Nakashidze*

UKRAINIAN LIBERATION STRUGGLE — by *Professor Lev Shankowsky*

THE ROAD TO FREEDOM AND THE END OF FEAR —

by *Jaroslav Stetzko*

TWO KINDS OF CULTURAL REVOLUTION — by *Jaroslav Stetzko*

Price: £1.25 cloth-bound, £0.90 paperback.

Order from: *Ukrainian Information Service,*
200 Liverpool Rd., London, N.1. Great Britain

UKRAINIAN HERALD, Issue VI, 1972.

WHAT IS BOHDAN STENCHUK DEFENDING AND HOW?

By V. CHORNOVIL

(66 questions and remarks to the "internationalist")*

38. "As a national-egoist, I. Dzyuba attacks party policy in the sphere of education, in particular the law "On the reinforcement of ties between school and life" (1958), the operation of which he interprets by the fact that "It was necessary to open the way for the Russification of school. Naturally, 'voluntarily,' by the 'will' of parents. But, I beg your pardon, both the first and the second have no application here," writes Dzyuba.

"Through I. Dzyuba's casuistical evasions, a reader may form the impression that here he really 'reveals' that the 'Russificatoria tyrants' are destroying national education. In reality, the October (1922) plenum of the CC CPBU** declared itself for this very character of the solution of the problem: 'The parents decide to what school, with what language of instruction, to send their children' — long before the new law, resolving that the language of instruction in schools is determined in accordance with the expressed will of the population." (Party Archives of the Institute of Party History of CC CPU, f. I, op. 13, ol. zb. 85, ark. 3). I Dzyuba calls the said point "vague," "a flagrant anti-pedagogical turn," a "pre-determined political course." Let us remind the "theoretician," however, that this point existed, too, "prior to the 'crushing' of Ukrainization, which according to I. Dzyuba began in 1932." (B. Stenchuk, pp. 101-102)

Firstly, in addition to the choice of school, the 1958 law — which the successors of Khrushchev had not called voluntaristic and had not repealed for some reason — also put to the judgment of parents the question of whether or not the children (attending) Russian schools should study *as a subject* the language of the sovereign state on whose territory they live and whose bread they eat. On this occasion, the teachers are bitterly joking that soon parents and children will be deciding whether they should study algebra and geometry or not

*) Issue V, with the first 37 questions and remarks, is not as yet available in the West.

***) CP(B)U — Communist Party of the Bolsheviks of Ukraine.

Secondly, the CPSU* or the CPU (just as the trade unions, the Red Cross, the DTSAAF,** the society for the protection of nature, and the Navy.

so forth) is not a state organization, but a voluntary union of like-minded people, whose resolutions and recommendations — prior to their acceptance by sessions or executive committees of local Soviets, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet — do not have the force of law and are binding only upon members of these voluntary organizations. Then how can you, having searched out in the party archives a resolution of the plenum of CC CP(B)U of 1922, which had never been published, place it on the same level with a *law* adopted by the Supreme Soviet?

But read even this resolution attentively. It deals with the “expression of the will of the population,” that is, of some community, and not of individual parents. The difference is obvious. Thus, in the '20s the Moldavians and Greeks who lived in the south of Ukraine expressed a wish to have their own national schools and received them (now Greeks and Moldavians in Ukraine study in Russian schools, while Ukrainians from Moldavia also in Russian schools. “Internationalism” in action!) The Ukrainian population in general, under conditions of party — and government — introduced Ukrainization of economic and administrative apparatus, of higher educational establishments and cultural life also expressed its will to have its own school — and had it. Today, however, having banned the Ukrainian language from the administration, having Russified higher educational establishments and to a large extent culture, the authorities suddenly resorted to democracy unprecedented in our country — to refer a question of state importance directly to individual parents for decision. As if they did not know in advance what the parents will say under these conditions. Carry out Ukrainization of the entire state and economic life and higher educational establishments and then ask for “the opinion of parents.” In addition, such broad democracy does not exist everywhere for some reason and not for all... Ukrainians who live in RSFSR in compact masses (as in the Kuban region), for some reason do not have the right to express their will to have school in their native language. Very likely they are hindered there by some “*national-egoists*.”

*

39. “Ivan Dzyuba is troubadouring that ‘(at least in Ukraine) there are no administrations, economic organs, and organs of government which operate in the native language.’ At the same time, the Toronto (Canada) newspaper *Zhyttya i slovo* (*Life and Word*), which under any circumstances is not a ‘Russificationist’ publication, in publishing the report (as a matter of fact, we do not agree with a portion of the

*) CPSU — Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

**) DTSAAF — Voluntary Society to Assist the Army, the Air Force and

assertions) of the Canadian CP delegation about their trip to Ukraine wrote the following: 'Never previously was the official policy any where so favourable to the all-round development of national culture and that 'we have found out that debates concerning the role of the Ukrainian language, its significance for the Ukrainian people, and its originality were summed up and conclusions from them drawn on the basis of position of the CC CPSU, which confirms the primacy of the Ukrainian language in Ukraine'."

Our affairs are bad indeed, if for proof of whether or not our institutions work in Ukrainian, you had to turn all the way to Toronto, to the newspaper of Canada's Communist Party. But try, at least once, not to believe in newspaper truth, but your own eyes and ears. You do not even have to travel to Kharkiv or Donetsk, just go out into the central avenue of the Ukrainian capital. Go from sign to sign, enter the institutions — and you will hear in what language you are answered by officials and executives when you address them in Ukrainian. And then take a peek into the documentation of these institutions, what is the state of the official language of the republic — then you can do your own 'troubadouring.' For Khreshchatyk is nevertheless closer than Toronto.

But let us return to the Canadian CP delegation, which came to Ukraine in 1967 specifically in order to familiarize itself with our solution of the national question. From the report which you quote it seems that our official persons informed members of the delegation about some debates concerning the role and the future of the Ukrainian language. By this alone the existence of the problem was officially acknowledged. But what type of debates they were, what conclusions were drawn from them, is known perhaps only to those who informed the CPC delegation. In our press, there was not even a hint of it. It is only known (not from the press) that in the fall of 1965, the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Special Education of the Ukr. SSR took a number of steps toward a Ukrainization of higher educational establishments of Ukraine (I shall speak later about Dadenkov's appearance), but these measures were stopped at the very beginning, allegedly, upon a directive from Moscow. There were several nice, albeit general phrases, about the Ukrainian language in the speeches of the Ukrainian leaders, but no tangible, practical steps were taken. Here are all the 'conclusions.'

Inasmuch as you have decided to refer to the opinion of the Canadian CP delegation, it would be worthwhile not to represent its conclusions one-sidedly. There were really many nice words about meetings, banquets, and so forth, but there was also the following (citing in translation the report of delegation member Harasym):

"... it is obvious that the national policy has not received such thorough solution as, let us say, the economic policy.

"Several times I was surprised by the question: 'Why do you raise this issue?' And this is at a time when this problem is the cause of

many international disturbances and in recent times it concerns Ukraine and the Soviet Union. Speeches at the congress of writers of Ukraine and recent closed and semi-closed trials in Ukraine have, of course, a bearing on this issue.

“Our delegation was also struck by the interpretation of various responsible workers. The view predominates that our national question is solved. Another view is that the nation’s prospects do not depend on language; language is of secondary importance, while technology and the building of socialism are of primary importance. Although much has been said about Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism, not once has it been defined. We had the impression that some use this term more to stifle discussion rather than to get at the cause.

“Although we were left with some negative impressions and although we did not receive replies to all questions, we left Ukraine with a good feeling. Undeniable is the fact that attempts are being made to eliminate shortcomings and various discrepancies. As Shelest had declared in the course of one of the discussions: ‘We still have problems, but we are struggling for their solution, of course.’ (V.Ch.)”

In order to take a rest from the serious discussion, I shall relate to you several semi-anecdotal instances, linked to the stay of the Canadian CP delegation in Ukraine.

At a Lviv television factory before the arrival of the delegation the “national question was being solved” quickly: the non-Ukrainian workers were ordered to disappear, or to keep still. And the manager of that factory, Petrovskyy, surprised his employees very much by speaking for the first time in many years in rather good Ukrainian.

In a village near Lviv, where the Canadian Communists were scheduled to arrive, a fallen-down fence around the church was ordered to be fixed quickly (!).

And in the Lviv Polytechnic Institute they overdid it, by taking down portraits of Russian writers from the walls of the corridor and hanging two portraits of Shevchenko on one wall.

The delegations studying the national question should come to us more often, at least we’d get the fences fixed.

*

40. “Press, school, and theatre, writes I. Dzyuba, are only partially Ukrainian, and even this only formally, with the Ukrainian percentage decreasing as of late, in particular so far as school is concerned, in favour of the Russian.” Data prove otherwise. If in the 1968-1969 school year, there were 5,505 schools with the Russian language of instruction in the Ukrainian SSR, then Ukrainian language schools numbered 23,036 (according to data of the Ukr. SSR Ministry of Education). (B. Stenchuk, p. 108)

About what “other” things do the data cited by you speak? After all, you are not comparing the 1968-69 school year with previous years and are not showing an increase, rather than a decrease of the

percentage of Ukrainian schools. Let us take a closer look at the figures quoted by you (as a matter of fact, not published anywhere but taken by you from some official at the Ministry). If for the sake of simplifying calculations one does not count other national schools (Polish, Hungarian), of which only a few remain now in Ukraine then on the basis of your data the Russian schools in Ukraine number nearly 20%. But this is considerably more than the percentage of Russians in Ukraine. Apparently, a few percent of Russian schools were established for Ukrainians. If you did not try to be cunning you would name not the number of schools, but the *number of pupils* who study at Russian schools and so-called Russian classes at Ukrainian schools (we do have such a paradox!), then there would be a real picture of Russification of the Ukrainian system of education. In large cities, however, the Russian schools are bursting at the seams from parallel classes, while in Ukrainian at times hardly one can be filled. Too bad, that we treat such data with no less secrecy than the calculations of the hydrogen bomb. But do turn to the same official at the Ministry and prove that I am mistaken.

*

41. "But this is not the gist of the matter. Still prior to the revolution, V. I. Lenin wrote in the article "On the 'Cultural and National' Autonomy": "As long as various nations live in one state they are bound by millions upon millions of threads of economic everyday, and legal character. When economics unites nations which live in one state, then the attempt to separate them once and for all in the sphere of 'cultural' and particularly educational problems is senseless and reactionary. To the contrary, one should strive for the unification of nations in the matter of education in order to prepare in school that which is being realized in life. One cannot be a democrat while defending the principle of the separation of educational affairs by nationalities." (Lenin, *Works*, Vol. 19, pp. 444-445; B. Storchuk, pp. 103-104)

Having fabricated Lenin, this is where you have really shown your chauvinistic teeth. You have admitted that you desire a liquidation of the non-Russian schools in general so as not to "separate educational affairs by nationalities" within the boundaries of one state (as a matter of fact, you have forgotten that according to the Constitution of Ukraine is a *sovereign* state and these words can also be interpreted as a demand to liquidate all *Russian* schools in Ukraine, as was done with Ukrainian schools in RSFSR!).

When earlier one could have thought that you do not understand some of Lenin's expressions (i.e. about the "united action of the proletariat, Great Russian and Ukrainian"), then now I have every reason to maintain that you are purposely, maliciously, falsifying Lenin. You are taking out of context a phrase addressed to the Austrian Social Democrats and Federalists who favoured the realization of the "cultural and national autonomy" of the proletariat (ar

not of the territorial autonomy of the entire population) within the boundaries of a bourgeois state. At the same time you are ignoring everything written by Lenin about linguistic construction (also including educational affairs) in sovereign Soviet republics after the triumph of the socialist revolution.

Even your Stalin in the first years after Lenin, before he removed his mask, grasped that which you cannot comprehend.

“Lenin never said that the slogan of development of national culture under *conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat* (italics present in the original everywhere — V.Ch.) is a reactionary slogan. On the contrary, Lenin always stood for *helping* the nations of the USSR to develop their national culture. Under the leadership of Lenin, and no one else, a resolution on the national question was drafted and passed at the 10th Party Congress, which frankly speaks about the following:

“The task of the Party consists in *helping* the toiling masses of the non-Great Russian nations to catch up with central Russia, which has gone forward. To help them: a) to develop and consolidate in their (countries) Soviet statehood, in forms which correspond to the national traditional conditions of these nations; b) to develop and reinforce in their (countries) the courts, administration, organs of the economy, and organs of government, operating in the native language and composed of local people who know the customs and traditions and psychology of the local population; c) to develop in their (countries) the press and *school* (italics added — V.Ch.), theatre, the matter of clubs and in general cultural and educational institutions in the native language; d) to set up and develop an extensive network of courses and schools, of *general as well as of professional and technical character, in the native language* (italics added — V.Ch.)”

Is it not clear that Lenin supported completely and fully the slogan of development of national culture *in conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat*?

Is it not clear that struggling with the slogan of national culture in bourgeois order, Lenin attacked the bourgeois *content* of bourgeois culture, and not its form?

It would be senseless to attribute to Lenin that he viewed socialist culture as a *nationless* culture, which does not have this or that national form. The Federalists really ascribed this nonsense to Lenin at one time. Is it possible that our honourable deviators have nevertheless jogged along in the footsteps of the Federalists?

What has remained after all that was said from the arguments of our deviators? Nothing, aside from juggling with the flag of internationalism and a defamation of Lenin.” (Stalin, *Works*, Vol. 12, pp. 361-363).

Thus a verdict was delivered to you through the lips of the person most dear to you: you belong to the deviators who have broken with Marxism, jogged along in the footsteps of the Federalists, juggle the “flag” of internationalism, and slander Lenin.

*

42. "In '13 (again the year 1913 — V.Ch.) in Ukraine only one newspaper and 15 periodicals were published in the Ukrainian language. Special, scientific and technical literature was not published in Ukrainian at all. Now books in all branches of science and technology are published in Ukrainian. If the number of books published in Ukraine in 1913 constituted 1 million copies, in 1928 — 37 million then in 1937 — 76.9 million copies. Of them 65 million were in Ukrainian. And all in all in the years of Soviet rule (1918-1968) 24,823 book titles numbering 3,403,506,000 copies were published in the republic, of that number 2,574,611,000 were in the Ukrainian language." (B. Stenchuk, p. 105)

Quite a lot of figures (billions, millions); one can be easily deceived by them. But let's reason it out coldly. If one is to depend on comparative figures, then one must acknowledge that Nicholas II was a great Ukrainophile in comparison with Alexander III. The year 1913 as compared with 1863 (the year of the Valuyev circular) produced a huge percentage of growth of Ukrainian books and the press.

In the years of Soviet government in Ukraine, according to your data, 75% of books were published in the Ukrainian language (for some reason you omit data about West Ukraine prior to its reunification), which does not correspond to the proportion of the population of Ukrainian nationality (consider that prior to World War II, the population of Ukraine was much more homogeneous). Comparing how many books were published in Ukrainian and Russian in one year you for some reason limit yourself to the year 1937. But why don't you cite the years 1967, 1968? They do not sound so good, is that not so?

Armed with figures, why don't you show how many books "of various branches of science and technology" are published in Ukrainian?

But I. Dzyuba, on the other hand, cites facts very unpleasant for you (more accurately unpleasant for you as a chauvinist, but useless for your pamphlet), basing himself on subject plans of scientific and technological publishers of Ukraine for the year 1966. Why don't you refute these facts?

*

43. "A large amount of literature is published in the languages of the nations of the USSR. In 1913, in the *Soviet Union* (if one views the Soviet Union as do Shulgin and Meisner, then the USSR actually did exist in 1913, as you have written — V.Ch.) 23,805 titles of books were published in Russian. And in 1958, 45,312 titles (an increase of 90%). In the languages of other peoples of the USSR in 1913 — 1,575, and in 1958 — 16,628 (an increase of 1,055%). In the same years, newspapers in Russian numbered 775, rising to 5,141 (an increase of 663%), and in the languages of the peoples of the USSR there were 59, becoming 2,521 (an increase of 4,278%).

“Where is the policy of ‘Russification’ here, we shall ask Dzyuba?” (B. Stenchuk, p. 105)

You do not see where? Even in the figures quoted by you. No matter how cunningly you are trying to act, it is not the volume and number of copies, but the number of titles (as if a thin propagandist brochure in the Yakut language in the edition of 500 or 1,000 copies and a Russian “grossbuch” (large-size book) in the edition of 300,000 copies were comparable!). You again begin dancing from Nicholas II and strike the reader with percentages. Indeed, the percentages are grandiose, “shocking” (1,055! 4,278%!!!) But it is not hard to drive them up, if one begins counting almost from zero.

Let us take a look at the correlation of the quantity of Russian and non-Russian (or, as you write now, “national,” for the Russian language is obviously considered “international” already) publications. Even on the basis of titles, in 1958 (by the way, why do you have such old data?) almost 73% of books and 68% of newspapers appeared in the Russian language, while in the languages of other nations 27% and 32% respectively. According to the 1959 census the Russians numbered 54.6% of the population.

Now do you see the policy of “Russification”?

*

44. “We do everything to insure that Ukrainians who live beyond the borders of the republic are not ‘deprived of the Ukrainian press,’ as is maintained by I. Dzyuba, but make an extensive use of it. We have “Book-by-Mail” stores which upon request send books to all corners of the country, and a subscription for works which is accepted from citizens of any republic. Book trading company “Ukrknyha” (Ukrainian book) upon agreement with local book stores sells Ukrainian books in all republics.” (B. Stenchuk, pp. 105-106)

As far as the facts about the sale of Ukrainian books in other republics are concerned, you, of course, must have gotten them from some newspaper which appears in Toronto or Rio de Janeiro. In reality, you can travel for thousands of kilometers through Kuban, Siberia, or North Kazakhstan, where millions of Ukrainians live, and see not a single book in the Ukrainian language in the bookstore. In fact you can very seldom see books of Ukrainian publishers, published in Russian.

The “Book-by-Mail” really exists, and subscriptions are accepted in Ukraine from everybody, without asking the person from what republic it came. What is more, in Moscow there is even a specialized “Ukrainian bookshop,” and in Krasnodar in the Kuban one of the bookstores has a special corner for Ukrainian books.

If we are genuine internationalists and concerned with equality of rights, then we must immediately arrange it so that the Russians who live in Ukraine make unhindered use of the “Book-by-Mail” stores, receive books from the RSFSR, permit them to subscribe books in Russian bookstores during their trips to their native land

or through friends. Then there will be equality. Otherwise it is said: in the entire Ukraine there is not a single specialized Russian bookstore!

*

45. "Perhaps he wishes that in Ukraine at higher educational establishments, at scientific research institutions, etc., etc. a percentage quota were introduced for citizens of various nationalities, as was the case during tsarism? Yet, in our republic all conditions have been created to give graduates an equal opportunity to enter the higher and secondary educational establishments. A graduate can take the examination by choice in the language in which he studied in secondary school." (B. Stenchuk, p. 108)

If one were to believe you, then a graduate of an Armenian school can come to Ukraine and take the examinations for the Kyiv or Odessa universities in his native language. But no! Such privileges are enjoyed only by a graduate of a Russian school. He can arrive in Kyiv, Lviv, Kharkiv or Odessa (and he comes *en masse* to "Russia's enchanting south") from Kostroma or Ryazan, knowing that he will not only take the entrance examinations but also hear lectures in the Russian language. A Ukrainian graduate coming to Ryazan or Kostroma does not have such opportunity, and only a few can manage to pass successfully examinations in the Russian language in subjects which they studied in Ukrainian (mathematics, history, geography, and so forth). Such certain privileges for graduates — Russians, who in their own republic are deprived of competition and, in addition, enjoy privileges at entrance to higher educational establishments of union republics, make it quite difficult for young people of non-Russian nationality to get higher education. We are dealing with a sure fact of national discrimination in the organization of higher education in the non-Russian republics of the USSR. Such outrageous practice gives impetus to the Ukrainian parents to send their children to Russian schools ("why should a child suffer later"). They are assisted in this by the school law of 1958.

So that you do not accuse me of national deviationism for such conclusions, I shall base them on a document which you most likely will not dare call slanderous and national deviationist — an instructive speech by the Minister of Higher and Secondary Special Education of the Ukr. SSR, M. Yu. Dadenkov, at the conference of rectors of higher educational establishments in August, 1955, "On the Language of Instruction at the Higher Educational Establishments of MHSSE Ukr. SSR." For the sake of conciseness, I shall summarize the lecture, quoting the most important places verbatim.

In the *fifty higher educational establishments* of the Ministry (for there are higher educational establishments not subject to the republican ministry) only 317,529 students are studying, of these 177,051 are Ukrainians, that is, 55%. (According to the 1959 census the Ukrainian population in the Ukr. SSR constituted 76.8% of the total,

which was a glaring result of the national discrimination mentioned above.) These higher educational establishments employ 18,132 regular instructors, of whom 8,932 are Ukrainians (less than 50%!)

The publishing houses of the Kyiv, Lviv, and Kharkiv universities published 2,297 titles of scientific and educational literature during 1960-1964, of which 795 titles were in Ukrainian, which constitutes only 36%. The publication of textbooks and accessories from generally technical, highly specialized, natural science disciplines and educational literature for general technical departments is realized only in the Russian language.

Further, an analysis of the situation in the universities of the republic is provided. In the eight universities of the republic there were 75,207 students, of whom Ukrainians numbered 45,954 persons, or 61% (there are 76.8% Ukrainians in the republic). The regular professorial and instructional staff of the universities constituted 4,400 persons, of whom 2,475 were Ukrainians (56%). Only 1,495 instructors, or 34%, lecture in Ukrainian.

In Kharkiv University in particular, out of 777 regular instructors, only 104 persons (13%) lecture in Ukrainian. At the Odessa University, where Ukrainian students number 55%, out of 537 instructors 53 (10%) lecture in Ukrainian.

At the Uzhhorod University where Ukrainian students number 71%, out of 362 regular instructors, only 158 persons (43%) conducted lessons in Ukrainian.

Facts about the Institutes of the Republic. The Kyiv Institute of National Economy — “the sole higher educational establishment in Ukraine which prepares specialists of this type in state planning organs of the Ukr. SSR, the activity of which, according to the Ukr. SSR Constitution, is carried out (should be carried out! — V.Ch.) in Ukrainian” — 78% of the student body in 1965 were Ukrainians. In the last five years, 90% of the graduates of the institute received appointments solely within the territory of the Ukr. SSR. Yet only 18 persons out of 335 instructors, a mere 5%, lecture in Ukrainian.

The Kharkiv Juridical Institute is the “sole special higher educational establishment in Ukraine which prepares specialists for work in the legal organs of the Ukr. SSR.” The absolute majority of the graduates of this institute (85%) remain working in Ukraine. But the entire educational process here is conducted in Russian. We must realize the fact that in a given case a disparity with the Ukr. SSR Constitution is taking place, as well as with the legal codes of the Ukr. SSR, which anticipate a guarantee that legal proceedings and jurisprudence will be conducted in Ukrainian.”

Technical Higher Educational Establishments. Thirty-six technical higher educational establishments of the republic are under the jurisdiction of the Ministry. Only in six higher educational establishments are lessons read in two languages — Russian and Ukrainian (the correlation between the languages was not indicated). In 30

institutes the Russian language dominates completely. "Teaching in Russian in technical higher educational establishments is to a large extent caused by the fact that better textbooks and accessories are written in Russian" (if this were the only problem. — V.Ch.).

In 1964, only 21% of the graduates of technical higher educational establishments of the Ukr. SSR received appointments outside the borders of Ukraine.

Further, the Lviv Forestry Technical Institute is cited as an example of a positive solution of the problem. The institute has 2,449 students, of whom 1,240 are Ukrainians, that is 50% (at a time when in West Ukraine the percentage of Ukrainian population is considerably higher than the republican average — V.Ch.). Out of the 165 regular instructors of the institute, 83 are Ukrainians, but lessons "with Ukrainian language" (the "with" is a bit incomprehensible) are conducted by 105 instructors, or 70%.

This higher educational establishment is contrasted with the Poltava Engineering Construction Institute (rector Dotsenko), in which there are 3,782 students, of whom 3,368 persons (91%) are Ukrainians. Out of the 194 regular instructors, Ukrainians are also in the majority, with 137 persons (70%). Yet courses are *not* conducted in Ukrainian at all!

The Lviv Polytechnic Institute is cited as a positive example. Over 20 thousand students study there, of whom more than 65% are Ukrainians. The professorial-instructorial staff is "bordering on 1,200 men, of whom over 60% are Ukrainians. Courses are taught in Ukrainian by 357 instructors, which is 30% (a positive example indeed!)."

At the Kyiv Polytechnical Institute, on the other hand, where there is approximately the same number of instructors and students and about as many of them are Ukrainians, lessons are not conducted in Ukrainian at all.

At the Ukrainian Institute of Water Transport Engineers (city of Rivne), the entire educational process is carried out only in Russian.

The Ukrainian Correspondence Polygraphic (Institute) is also totally Russified.

The Kyiv University and the Ukrainian Polygraphic Institute prepare cadres in the field of journalism for the Ukrainian press. The majority of the non-specialty disciplines, however, social sciences, foreign literature, logics, and introduction to the study of literature, are read in the Russian language.

At the Kyiv University in the department of Ukrainian philology, certain social disciplines, such as scientific Communism, are also read in Russian.

"Almost 70% of the total number of disciplines of educational plans of all eight universities of the republic lack textbooks in Ukrainian."

"In many higher educational establishments ideological and

educational work among the students is conducted solely or predominantly in Russian."

"The meetings of Academic Councils, the defense of candidates' (B.A. or B.S.) and doctoral dissertations are conducted in Russian. The same can be said about the organization of various student meetings, the arrangement of lectures, discussions, reports, meetings with prominent and interesting people."

"As far as official and mass measures are concerned, the keeping of records and correspondence, then we should adhere strictly to the language of the Ukrainian people — this is our state, constitutional duty."

The Ministry outlined a whole *series of measures*, which were elaborated in Dadenkov's speech, which was sent to rectors of the higher educational establishments as an instructive letter (and now rests peacefully at the very bottom of the rectors' safes).

These are the measures (citing briefly, only constructive comments, without argumentation):

1) "To convert the *educational process*, little by little, considering concrete circumstances in every type of higher educational establishment and in every educational establishment individually, *predominantly to the Ukrainian language.*" First and foremost this is recommended for realization in universities, and economic, juridical, and industrial and art institutes.

2) "In all higher educational establishments to urge the reading of social disciplines in Ukrainian.

3) "Regardless of the language of instruction at a higher educational establishment, to guarantee to graduates and students an equal use of the Ukrainian and the Russian languages in all types of activities. To introduce at the higher educational establishments, in the courses and in academic groups or systems, where the need arises, the study of the Ukrainian language as an optional form.

4) "To demand of all instructors who know the Ukrainian language well to read lessons in Ukrainian. For instructors who do not know the Ukrainian language to organize courses for the study of Ukrainian.

5) "To propose to the publishers of the Kyiv, Kharkiv, and Lviv universities, to the publishing house "Soviet School," and to other republican publishers ("Builder," "Technics," "Harvest," and so forth) that textbooks and accessories for higher educational establishments be published primarily in Ukrainian. Research notes of higher educational establishments and inter-higher educational establishment symposiums should be published, as a rule, in Ukrainian.

6) "... to include as research students at the higher educational establishments persons who know, study, or are ready to study (??? — V.Ch.) the Ukrainian language; to introduce for all employees of the higher educational establishments the passing of the candidate's minimum in all specialities in Ukrainian.

7) "To recommend to the Councils and departments of all higher educational establishments and ministries having jurisdiction over higher educational establishments while making, reviewing, and confirming school plans and educational programs to reflect in them the specifics of preparation of experts for work in Ukraine..."

8) "To propose to the higher educational establishments of the republic to conduct all official endeavours in Ukrainian: meetings of Councils, assemblies of instructors and students, academic sessions and conferences, as well as to conduct all affairs in Ukrainian..."

9) "Mass political and cultural and educational work in higher educational establishments must be conducted (primarily) in Ukrainian..."

10) "Putting into effect the above-mentioned measures, the higher educational establishments should conduct diverse educational, substantial work to further strengthen international education of youth, profound development of the feelings of friendship with the Russians and other sister nations of the USSR, to continue studying the Russian language which has become a common language of international unity and cooperation of the peoples of the USSR, to further learn the culture of the Russian people (and why not of the Estonian, or the Tadzik? — V.Ch.) parallel to the study of the culture of the Ukrainian people."

This interesting "national deviationist" document had appeared almost five years ago. Years have passed, yet none of the projected "points" has been executed, except for the tenth one. Instead, the Russification of higher educational establishment has even been intensified.

The question arises: why was this document drawn up? For propaganda?

Protest Writings from Ukraine

AMONG THE SNOWS

By VALENTYN MOROZ

London, 1971, 65 pp. Price 50p (\$1.75)

Contents: The Trial of V. Moroz; How the Trial of Moroz was Prepared; Letter to KGB from Raïsa Moroz; V. Moroz: "Among the Snows"; List of Ukrainian Political Prisoners; The Tragic Fate of Alla Horska, and other material.

From UKRAINIAN HERALD, Issue VI, 1972

AROUND THE PERSON AND THE CASE OF VALENTYN MOROZ

To the First Secretary of the CC CPU, Petro Shelest
From Political Prisoner Valentyn Moroz

S T A T E M E N T

There is an elementary political wisdom, mandatory for every social force which wants to remain on the surface of life and not find its way under the wheels of history. An eternal problem is to throw the ballast overboard, to free oneself of tendencies which pull to the bottom, and to pour into one's organism new tendencies projected by life.

This is not a political, but a biological wisdom. An organism excretes substances of decay — everything which reduces its chances in the struggle for life, deprives it of perspectives. Dinosaurs became extinct because they failed to get rid of biologic heredity which became a ballast and pulled them to the bottom. The mammals survived because they had performed this task.

It is the question of life and death for a political organism to free itself from the forces of the past, which with all their might present themselves as friends and champions of the existing order, but in reality are a time-bomb, which sooner or later will destroy the one who failed to throw it out of the house.

The KGB is preparing a new punishment. The false words: "In the name of the Ukrainian SSR" will sound again. This is a lie. The interests of the political organism called the Ukr. SSR do not demand a new act of lawlessness. In "The Report from the Beria Reservation" there is not a single word directed against Soviet government or Communist ideology. The document is directed against violations of legality. Cited are facts of crimes. And still the document was pronounced not only "anti-Soviet," but also "subversive." At last it is clear that they did not try for anti-Soviet activity. On the contrary, the breakers of the law are avenging themselves on those who expose their crimes.

The document clearly states that it is directed precisely against those who compromise (hence, undermine) the social order, and yet the document was called subversive. The one who was robbed is called a thief.

The forces which inspired the retribution are those whose time has come. They are those who would like to immortalize the Stalinist era.

They cannot destroy me physically now, as they destroyed millions of Ukrainians in the past. They are already missing half their teeth. The implacable march of history will, no doubt, crush the rest as well. But until then, they are still biting and protecting themselves by the interests of socialism. This is the main thing; so far, regrettably, they manage to screen their actions under the name of socialism, which actions in reality *undermine its position*.

The CC CPU faces the same eternal problem: to be able to discriminate as to whom you are protecting by your banner and to read the document thoroughly under which you are placing your signature. It is said that one supervisor signed (without reading) a note which said that he is transferring himself to a higher post.

There is nothing strange in the fact that the chauvinists ascribe anti-Soviet activity to us. This is an old tactic: to proclaim your opponent an enemy of the ruling system, the prevalent ideology. Even Thomas of Aquinas (the father of Christian theology, proclaimed a saint) was accused of atheism by his opponents. Russian chauvinism always assigned to the Ukrainian patriots a hostile attitude to the ruling doctrine. In the past the label "socialists" was pinned on them, when socialism was considered political intrigue; now the label "opponents of socialism" is being used.

Anyone who considers as anti-Soviet a document directed against chauvinism, Stalinism, and lawlessness thereby identifies Soviet government with chauvinism, Stalinism, and lawlessness. Anyone who persecutes an individual who exposes crime thereby takes the criminal under his protection. *Could the most zealous anti-Communist invent a more effective method of undermining Communism's positions in its ideological struggle with the West?*

To intensify an *ideological* struggle with the opponent does not mean to swing a club before his nose more intensely. An *ideological* struggle can be won only by ideological means. Sentences will not help here; on the contrary, they will hurt. Anyone defending his point of view with his fists is giving proof that he lost. "To rebuff" the ideological attacks of an opponent is not the vocabulary of the doomed. Anyone raising a club against an idea is driving the last nail into his own coffin, he is hanging a stone around his neck. A political force which wants to have prospects must be able to recognize such stones well, for on the outside they at times look like a laurel wreath.

Monarchies have been preserved everywhere in Northern Europe, but in Southern Europe they have disappeared. Is Northern Europe more backward perhaps? To the contrary. What is the point in question then? The point is that North European monarchies found strength in themselves to bid farewell to those circles and tendencies which dragged them to the bottom; they managed in time to tie their fate to new tendencies and trends in spite of the wails of those for whom changes meant death. They were able to throw the deadly ballast overboard and to raise new sails. The monarchies of Southern

Europe conducted themselves differently. They placed their stakes on those who advised them "to hold and not let go," those who advised them to stifle all opposition. Who turned out to be stronger? Not the one who, having closed his eyes and paid no attention to reality, roared about his "invincibility." This method is perhaps suitable only for suppressing your own fear.

"Not to let in" a new tendency is impossible. It will get through just the same, but in somebody else's garb, as an argument in the hands of an opponent. Not to let a spring stream into its own bed is to direct it at somebody else's mill. Not to forge a weapon for yourself from a new tendency results in placing it in the hands of the opponent.

In the centre of the ideological duel between East and West is the problem of freedom, the problem of human rights. Under such conditions, to try an individual for expressing ideas — at a time when the Ukr. SSR Constitution and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights guarantee freedom of speech — means to chop off a branch on which you are sitting. In an ideological struggle the victor is not the one who can think up more semi-obscene expressions, but the one who has opened his sluices for forces which have prospects, and not to forces which are withering.

Reality has today placed before Ukrainian Communists the very same problem which Lenin faced 50 years ago: national renaissance. Then, Artemis and Patakovs were also not lacking, who shouted that "Ukrainization" had died together with Petlyura. Lenin perceived that to accept this point of view would result in directing a mighty current (the national factor) toward the mill of the opponent.

Will the present Ukrainian Communists be able to renew, at last, the policy of Leninist Ukrainization, to declare a decisive war on Russian chauvinism in Ukraine? Success in the ideological struggle with the West depends on this very thing. One can solemnly declare as much as one likes that the Leninist norms in the national question have been fully restored in Ukraine, but as long as people are tried for opposition to chauvinism, so long will all phrases be unconvincing. There is a more recent example. The Communists of Czechoslovakia have shown the Communists of all countries how one should throw overboard that which has become a ballast and open the sluices to those forces which guarantee perspectives. *Will the Communists of Ukraine manage to learn that lesson in their own interests?*

National renaissance is the most powerful factor of the present time, and it is ridiculous to protect oneself against it by a scrap of paper, called a sentence. That wave will abate of itself, but only

"When the last chauvinist on the planet
Shall fall into an open grave."

(Vasyl Symonenko)

The new opens the door without knocking. "To let in" or "not to let in" national renaissance is not the point at issue. The question is: will he who takes it into consideration survive. He who does not want

to consider national renaissance will find himself ground under the heels of history.

The KGB is preparing a new trial. Elementary human rights will be trampled underfoot again, at a time when mankind marks the International Human Rights Year! The West will again receive a powerful argument in its ideological struggle with Communism.

Who finds this convenient?

Is it possible that the CC CPU will not stop, this time as well, those who weaken Communist positions by their actions?

Is it possible that people who consider political wisdom their profession can fail to understand an elementary truth — the truth of self-preservation?

Valentyn Moroz

Kyiv, KGB prison, May 15, 1968

*To the Public Prosecutor of the Ukrainian SSR
From Political Prisoner Valentyn Moroz*

GRIEVANCE

Article 60 of the Criminal Procedural Code of the Ukr. SSR stipulates that those who conduct an investigation are subject to a challenge "when they or their relatives are interested in the results of the case." The KGB organs, which are conducting an investigation in my case, are definitely interested in its results, inasmuch as the content of "The Report from the Beria Reservation" is aimed against violation of legality on the part of the employees of the KGB (and not against socialist and state systems as they attempt to portray). In this connection I present a petition on the *challenge of the investigating organs of the KGB*.

Article 97 of the CPC Ukr. SSR foresees that the prosecutor, the judge, and the organs conducting a hearing are obliged to start criminal proceedings in three days following the notification about a crime or to check the facts in the course of ten days. "The Report..." provides information about a whole series of crimes committed by the workers of the KGB, including the most severe crimes: murder and attempted murder.

Contrary to law, the Prosecutor's Office of the Ukr. SSR did not react in any way to the information; otherwise, I would have been questioned in that connection. What is more, the Public Prosecutor's Office of the Ukr. SSR made it possible for the KGB organs to launch a *campaign of revenge* with respect to those who expose their illegal acts. I call your attention to the fact that failing to respond to information about a crime (on the part of those who are bound by law to react to such information) is *in essence* sheltering persons who have committed a crime.

Valentyn Moroz

Kyiv, KGB Prison, May 16, 1968

*To the Chief of the KGB at the Council of Ministers of the Ukr. SSR
From Ukrainian Political Prisoner Valentyn Moroz*

REQUEST

The convicted Dr. Spock makes public appearances *in freedom*. The arrested Rev. Abernathy writes a letter of political content immediately after his arrest and *this letter freely leaves the prison confines*. It would be well if every KGB agent would keep such a photograph on his desk under glass. Maybe he would then get used to such a concept as human rights. Even the Greek junta twice granted permission to the Red Cross representatives to see the imprisoned activist Iliu.

I do not urge such opportunities for myself. I realize that the Ukrainian public will not win such rights for Ukrainian prisoners so soon. (Not so soon, but it will win them, although some cannot grasp at all how this will happen! The wheel of history does not stand still.)

At issue is something else. More than seven months have passed since my last meeting with my family. The regulations of the investigating isolator (prison) grant the convicted prisoner the right to a meeting every two months. Even in the penal Vladimir prison there are visits twice a year.

I know your reply: the investigating organs can deny any meetings to a prisoner under investigation. True enough. But when the inquest is conducted for a year and during that time only three (!) interrogations are held — this is not an investigation. It is a misuse of the very concept of investigation. It is a deliberate holding of a prisoner on the investigating status, which gives an opportunity to take away all his rights.

I demand a meeting to which I am long since entitled under law.

Valentyn Moroz
August 1, 1968

*To the Public Prosecutor of the Ukrainian SSR
From Ukrainian Political Prisoner Valentyn Moroz*

STATEMENT

Seven months have passed since my last visit with my family. The KGB organs simply did not reply to my written request. My wife and six-year-old son, who requested a meeting several days ago, were refused.

I know that I am a prisoner under investigation and that a meeting is granted to me at the discretion of the investigating organs. But is it possible that the KGB organs can endlessly misuse this right? What if the investigation should last two or three years?

Where do we live? In the jungles or in the most humane state in the

world? In 1938, when the sole privilege about which a political prisoner could dream was the possibility of remaining alive? Or in 1968, five minutes short of the promised land, in a society five minutes short of Eden, which very soon, in 12 years, in 12 years (see the Program of the CPSU) will reach the shores of Communism where all the blessings will flow in a "full stream," where there will be no coercion and violence at all? In a society whose leader, a dedicated Leninist (it stands so in the paper!), promised three years ago that in 1965 he will show the last prisoner on television?

Could not the organs called on to defend legality (i.e. the Prosecutor's Office) construct at least a small dam against the abuses of the KGB, which are pouring like full drops of sweat upon my head, guarantee human rights to me — not in the future paradise, but right now, as long ago guaranteed by law?

Valentyn Moroz
August 9, 1968

To the Association of Jurists of the Ukrainian SSR

I salute all Ukrainian lawyers on the occasion of Human Rights Day, and the 20th anniversary of the issuance of the Declaration which guarantees these rights. One official person in the Mordovian camps, having touched upon this subject at "political exercises," explained: "The UN — that's for Negroes." It seems to me that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the UN was written not only for Negroes, but also for Ukrainians. And as long as I live I shall try to convince others of this.

Valentyn Moroz
Kyiv, KGB Prison, December 10, 1968

*To the Editor's Office of the Newspaper
"Radyanska Osvita" (Soviet Education)*

Dear Comrades!

Your newspaper of August 14, 1971, contained an article by Ya. Radchenko, "An 'Apostle' and His Standards." It deals with the case of "former lecturer of the Ivano-Frankivsk Pedagogical Institute, V. Moroz, for anti-Soviet propaganda." But the reader will search in vain in the article for some concrete facts about the essence of the case, about the *corpus delicti* of the defendant, about the evidence of his guilt and the course of the court proceedings. Both the elementary factual information, to which the reader is entitled, and the ideological and legal argumentation were exchanged for the accumulation of "strong" words. In this tried art Ya. Radchenko goes so far as to attribute with a light heart to V. Moroz no more and no less than "high treason," although these words were neither mentioned during court proceedings, nor in V. Moroz's verdict.

Thus, Ya. Radchenko reasoning his own way "reclassified" at will

the official court charge, for which he should bear criminal responsibility.

Ya. Radchenko not only slanders the defendant but also other persons. He writes black on white that allegedly defendant V. Moroz denied the authorship of articles ascribed to him, "used cunning," "attempted to cover his tracks," and so forth, "and only pressed against the wall by the testimony of witnesses — B. D. Antonenko-Davydovych, I. M. Dzyuba, V. M. Chornovil — was forced to confess." From the context it follows that the above-mentioned persons are short of being Radchenko's partners in baiting V. Moroz.

In reality, all the witnesses mentioned here refused to participate in the court investigation of the case of V. Ya. Moroz and to give any evidence whatsoever, due to the fact that the court simply violated Soviet laws and tried the case in camera.

After the conclusion of the trial all three above-mentioned witnesses turned to higher legal institutions with a protest against the closed trial and the unfounded, cruel sentence, with a request to re-examine it.

As a matter of fact, in his rather wordy article Ya. Radchenko had not informed his readers about the main thing: what verdict had the court passed on Moroz. How should one explain such forgetfulness of obviously not a rank-and-file journalist, who would rather have a modest name "Ya. Radchenko"? Perhaps he cannot make ends meet here, or perhaps, whoever he might be, he is still embarrassed to publicize the fact that for writing several publicistic materials (even if terribly erroneous) a young man was confined to prison for nine years, after which five years of exile are waiting for him. This frightening fact does not "clink right" in an age when our country, as is well known to the readers of *Radyanska osvita*, heads the struggle for human rights, for a humane reformation of the world, for socialism and democracy!

The appearance of Ya. Radchenko's article proves for the *n*th time what harm and insult to the socialist public are caused by illegal, so-called "closed trials."

Aside from all else, if V. Moroz's case were tried publicly, i.e. in a lawful way, a journalist could not misinform his readers so cynically.

Perhaps it does not lie in the power of the editorial office of *Radyanska osvita* to give accurate and objective information about the trial of V. Ya. Moroz, as would be proper according to elementary civic concepts. But the well-known legal principles on the responsibility of the press give me the right to demand that it correct to a certain extent a *de facto* mistake (a mistake on its part, but a falsification on the part of the writer), which concerns me personally and which causes me moral injury.

Respectfully yours,

I. M. Dzyuba

Kyiv, Povitroflots'kyi prospect, 52, apt. 92

TRIALS AND HEAVY SENTENCES

The London *Times* of May 21, 1973, reports three new political trials in Ukraine, saying that "although there is no evidence of circumstances which would justify it under the law, the trials took place in camera. The defendants had been held incommunicado for Svitlychny, a Kiev literary critic aged 43, was given the heaviest about a year in a pre-trial detention." Mr. Ivan Svitlychny, a Kiev literary critic aged 43, was given the heaviest sentence: seven years of forced labour camp, plus five years of exile. In 1964, he was dismissed from his job at Kiev's Institute of Literature for a speech made at a memorial meeting for Vasyl Symonenko. In 1965-66, he was held for eight months in prison without trial. He was arrested in January, 1972, and sentenced in Kiev in March, 1973.

Mr. Yevhen Sverstyuk, a literary critic aged 44, was also arrested in January, 1972, and sentenced to five years of strict regime forced labour. Since the mid-60's he had been unable to publish his work in the official press because of his activities in the emerging national movement.

Mr. Svitlychny's sister, Nadiya, was sentenced to four years in a strict regime labour camp, and her husband, Mr. Danylo Shumuk, was sentenced to ten years in a special regime camp and five years of exile, mainly for writing his memoirs.

The well known Ukrainian television journalist, V. Chornovil, was recently sentenced to 12 years imprisonment and exile, after being held incommunicado for 13 months. He was tried, in camera, on charges of alleged "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda."

Mr. Ivan Dzyuba, an historian and literary critic was sentenced at a closed trial in Kiev last month to five years of forced labour and five years of exile. Mr. Dzyuba, who is 44, had his *samizdat* (underground publication) book, *Internationalism or Russification?*, published in the West in 1968. It discusses the history of Soviet nationalities policy in Ukraine from a liberal Marxist position. He has long suffered from tuberculosis, and it is uncertain how well he will survive in the severe conditions of the Soviet labour camps. (*The Times*, 12. 4. 1973, London).

Iryna Senyk has been sentenced again, this time to six years imprisonment and five years exile. The trial at the regional court in Ivano-Frankivsk lasted for three days behind closed doors.

In 1946, Iryna Senyk was arrested and sentenced by the occupation authorities to ten years imprisonment. Evidence for the trial was an essay by literary expert E. Rice, "The New Literary Wave in Ukraine," found in a search of her home.

In December, 1969, along with other Ukrainian patriots and former political prisoners, I. Senyk signed a grievance to the head of the Presidium of the Ukr. SSR Lyashko, and public prosecutor of the Ukr. SSR Hlukh, protesting against the third trial of Svyatoslav Karavanskyi, who had again been imprisoned.

Copenhagen, 13 May 1973

IN DEFENCE OF THE PERSECUTED

Communiqué of the European Freedom Council (EFC) Executive Board held on the 12th and 13th of May, 1973, in Copenhagen.

The Executive Board of the EFC strongly protests against the mass imprisonment and harsh sentences meted out to cultural leaders and fighters for national independence and human rights in the countries subjugated in the Soviet Union and the satellites, in particular in Ukraine in the last two years, against the internment of political prisoners in psychiatric clinics and prisons and concentration camps of the most severe regime and exile in Siberia ranging from 5-15 years: **Yuriy Shukhevych** after 20 years of imprisonment sentenced again to 15 years; poet **Ihor Kalynets**, 12 years; poet **Mrs. Iryna Stasiv-Kalynets**, 9 years; professor **Leonid Plushch**, life imprisonment in a psychiatric clinic; scientist **Ivan Switlychnyj**, 12 years; historians **E. Sverstiuk**, 12 years, and **W. Moroz**, 14 years, **D. Shumuk**, 15 years; priest **W. Romaniuk**, 10 years; **W. Chornovil**, 12 years; **I. Dziuba**, 5 years (both scientists and writers); **Ivan Hel**, student, 15 years; **Mrs. N. Switlychna** (scientist), 4 years; **Mrs. Iryna Senyk** (artist), 11 years; and others.

The Executive Board of the EFC asks that this matter be placed on the agenda of the U.N. General Assembly for discussion and decision, and appeals to patriots, humanitarians, and the churches of the world to organize actions for the abolition of concentration camps and the release of political and religious prisoners, who number more than 1 million in the USSR concentration camps alone.

The EFC supports the re-inforcement of NATO and fears that the so-called European Security Conference, which is desired by Moscow in order to remove the USA gradually from Europe, will open the road for further Russian conquest in the still free part of Europe and the world.

Without the self-determination and national independence of all the subjugated nations there will be no security and no peace in Europe and the world.

Executive Board of the European Freedom Council

Ole Bjørn Kraft, President

Hostrups Have 60.5

1954 Copenhagen V

Denmark.

MORTAL REMAINS OF DR. DMYTRO DONTSOV LAID TO REST IN THE BOUND BROOK CEMETERY

On Friday, March 30, 1973, the heart of the most important thinker and ideologist of Ukrainian nationalism, Dr. Dmytro Dontsov, ceased to beat. He died in the 90th year of his life in Montreal, Canada.

It is difficult with even the most deep, thoughtful, and inspired words to convey to contemporaries the meaning of the loss of great figures. Only in the perspective of time does a due appreciation of the spiritual and intellectual qualities, as well as of the deeds and accomplishments, of such exceptional figures become possible. Such figures, though they die bodily, live on in their compelling ideas, their philosophy of an heroic life, and their vision of their nation's historical mission, which succeeding generations adopt, deepen, and incarnate in their deeds. Such figures, with their steely words, their absolute faith, and their unshakable will, melt the ice of spiritual nihilism, and upon the cold ashes of indifference and faithlessness stir up in others the flame of faith in the majesty of a living example.

Such an exceptional figure was Dr. Dmytro Dontsov, the Cassandra of the Ukrainian nation, the great Ukrainian whose departure into eternity is an irreplaceable loss for the entire Ukrainian community. For Dr. Dontsov was the national ideologist — of the dead, the living, and of those yet unborn — of the entire Ukrainian nation, the ideologist of Ukrainian nationalism and of Ukraine's national independence, the ideologist of the Christian essence of the nation's being.

And it is in such a spirit and sense that one must understand and accept the higher words, ideas, and political concepts which Dr. Dmytro Dontsov consistently voiced throughout his life. In the spirit of such an understanding of his published work, of the impetus of his life's path, and of the testament left to succeeding generations, numerous representatives of Ukrainian political and social life as well as friends and acquaintances gathered upon the grave and during the funeral feast to bid farewell to a great son of Ukraine as he set out on his journey into eternity.

The Funeral Ceremonies

Dr. Dmytro Dontsov died in Montreal, and the first part of the funeral ceremonies took place there. On Saturday, March 31, a requiem was held in the funeral home by the Orthodox priest, Father Ihor Kutash, who also gave a farewell speech, and afterwards a requiem was said by Ukrainian Catholic priests. Mr. Yaroslav Pryshliak gave a farewell speech from the Ukrainian Liberation Movement.

On Sunday, April 1, the bodily remains were transported from Montreal to Bound Brook, New Jersey, USA. There, on Tuesday, April 3, a requiem was held and on Wednesday, April 4, the funeral took place at the Ukrainian Orthodox Cemetery-Pantheon.

At ten o'clock in the morning, former soldiers of the UPA and UD UNA, who formed the honour guard by the coffin, bore the

coffin to the church and monument, and following the coffin came clergy and representatives of organisations bearing wreaths and banners, among them representatives of the OUN leadership, the Liberation Front Organizations, PUN, soldiers of the UPA, SKVU, UCCA, KUK, OChSU, ODVU — and then friends of the deceased and representatives of national organizations and establishments: the delegation of the OUN leadership, led by Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko, Head of the OUN; PUN — Mr. Yaroslav Haivas and Dr. Marko Antonovych; ZPUHVR — Mr. Mykola Lebed and Dr. Myroslav Prokop; SKVU — Mr. Joseph Lesawyer and Mr. Ihnat Bilynsky; KUK — Dr. Yaroslav Kalba; UCCA — Mr. Ivan Bazarko; the League for the Liberation of Ukraine (Canada) — Dr. Roman Malashchuk; the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain and the Organizations of the Liberation Front in Europe — Mr. Hryhor Drabat and Mr. Vasyl Oleskiw; the Central Committee of the ABN — Mrs. Slava Stetsko; OChSU — Dr. Stepan Halamay; ODVU — Dr. Bohdan Shebunchak; the Society of Former Soldiers of the UPA — Mr. Mykhailo Kovalchyn; the World Board of SUM — Mr. Yevhen Hanovsky; CESUS — Dr. Iya Hikava; the World Board and Seigniorage of TUSM — Dr. Mikhailo Sosnovsky; SVU — Mr. Oleksa Kalynnyk; the “Brody-Lev” Brotherhood — Mr. H. Yaremchuk — and following them came numerous members of the public who attended in rainy weather in order to see the bodily remains of Dr. Dmytro Dontsov off on the final journey.

Upon the Fresh Gravemound

After the Mass for the Departed, which was celebrated by the Head of the Consistory of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, Father Prototropresbyter Artem Selypyna, with the cooperation of four priests, and the moving sermon of Father Mitrata Pavlo Falko as well as the profound farewell speech of Father Artem Selypyna, the participants in the funeral ceremonies bade farewell with the “final kiss” to the bodily remains of Dr. Dmytro Dontsov for his eternal rest. After the coffin was sealed, it was transferred to the nearby grave. In accordance with Dr. Dmytro Dontsov’s wish that he be interred in a modest fashion, and that there should be but one speech at the gravesite, the head of the OUN leadership, Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko, bade the deceased farewell.

Sketching in a profound synthesis the values of the indestructible spirit and the creative path of Dr. Dmytro Dontsov as the ideologist of Ukrainian nationalism, a brilliant publicist and an uncompromising battler for an Independent Sovereign Ukrainian State, whose ideas inspired the whole Ukrainian nation, especially the young generations, who in the OUN underground and with weapon in hand in the ranks of the UPA strove to realize his conception of an independent Ukrainian State, the Head of the OUN emphasized that the ideas of the great Ukrainian Dr. Dmytro Dontsov are still alive among the present young generation in Ukraine where, despite persecution,

prisons, and concentration camps, it proudly carries the banner of the immortal spirit of the Ukrainian nation in the battle for the national-state and cultural independence of the Ukrainian people. (The farewell speech of the Head of the OUN will be printed in full in "America").

In Homage to the Memory of a Great Ukrainian

After the funeral ceremonies were over, in accordance with Ukrainian custom a Feast of Mourning, attended by more than 200 people, took place in the parochial hall.

Opening this Feast of Mourning, Mr. Vyacheslav Davydenko stressed that the special quality of the funerals of great men is that no one weeps afterwards. For these figures live on in spirit and remain with those who continue the work they have begun. It matters not who first made the torch, said Mr. Davydenko, but who first took it up and lit it. Dr. Dmytro Dontsov created the concept of active nationalism. He has departed into eternity, but he has left us a golden treasure of undying ideas. He warned us that if we want to be free, we must not bend in all directions, but must be strong in spirit and pure in heart.

After the prayer led by the Head of the Consistory, Father Protospyter Artem Selepyna, the following spoke in homage to the memory of the great Ukrainian: Dr. R. Malashchuk — Ukrainian World Liberation Front; Mr. H. Drabat — SUB and the Organizations of the Liberation Front in Europe; Mr. M. Kovalchyn — Society of Former Soldiers of the UPA; Mr. J. Lesawyer — SKVU; Mr. M. Hikavyj — from the friends and colleagues of the Deceased; Dr. M. Antonovych — PUN; Dr. Yaroslav Kalba — KUK; Mr. I. Bazarko — UCCA; Mr. Ye. Hanovskiy — World Board of SUM; Dr. Iya Hikava — CESUS; Dr. M. Sosnovskiy — World Board and Seignorage of TUSM; Dr. S. Halamay — OChSU; Dr. B. Shebunchak — ODVU; Mr. O. Kalynyk — SVU.

All the speakers, representatives of various political groups, organizations, and councils, emphasized the greatness of the idea of Dr. D. Dontsov and their significance in the struggle for an independent and free life for the Ukrainian nation, stressing that in his greatness of spirit Dr. Dmytro Dontsov did not belong to any separate organization or group, but to the entire Ukrainian nation.

In closing the Funeral Feast, Mr. Yaroslav Pryshliak, who in the name of the Ukrainian Liberation Front Organizations had arranged the funeral, expressed his thanks to the Metropolitan of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in the USA, His Eminence Mstyslav, for the land donated for the grave, and to all those present for their participation in the funeral ceremonies.

In a spirit of ideological unity, the funeral rites were completed, and homage was paid to the memory of a faithful son of his nation, Dr. Dmytro Dontsov.

AGAINST THE VISIT OF ALEXANDER SHELEPIN TO FREE GERMANY

His Excellency
Chancellor Willy Brandt
Bonn

Your Excellency:

Ukrainians the world over are deeply shaken by the news that the president of the German trade union has extended an invitation to the president of the Soviet so-called trade unions to visit the Federal Republic of Germany.

Surely you are aware of the fact that in 1959 Alexander Shelepin, as president of the KGB, issued a direct order to the KGB for the murder of the Ukrainian national hero and freedom fighter, Stefan Bandera; according to Shelepin's instructions, a plan was worked out and, having approved the criminal plan, he charged KGB offices with the execution of the murder, which took place in Munich on October 15, 1959.

The German Supreme Court in Karlsruhe has clearly ascertained Alexander Shelepin's guilt as commissioner of Stefan Bandera's murder and has convicted him of being the person responsible for the crime. Due to the fact that the Supreme Court was able to establish the identity of the person responsible for the crime by presenting valid proof, Bogdan Stashinskyj, the actual perpetrator, was condemned only to eight years imprisonment for committing two murders upon Shelepin's orders. This second murder was perpetrated upon the person of the Ukrainian scientist and university professor, Dr. Lev Rebet.

All of us are deeply concerned about the fact that the head of the free German trade unions, Mr. Vetter, was permitted to invite the true murderer of Stefan Bandera and Lev Rebet to visit free Germany. By extending this invitation, he has called in question the legal verdict of the highest German Court, and has slighted and violated German administration of justice.

All Ukrainians throughout the world are vehemently aroused about the official invitation extended to this murderer, but mostly they are indignant about the fact that not only are their feelings absolutely disregarded, but that all sense of justice and righteousness can be spurned in such a way. We are supposed to live in a free democratic country where law and legal conviction of crimes are honoured and must be honoured.

Our urgent protest, Mr. Chancellor, which is being presented to you in this letter, thus is not only directed against such a slighting of German legislation and jurisdiction and against the disregard of

our feelings, but especially against such violations of all sense of righteousness and all human dignity.

This raping of justice and ethics will consequently raise a waive of protest from all Ukrainians in the free world, as well as from their American, British, and other friends. The families of Stefan Bandera and Lev Rebet are now living in the Federal Republic of Germany and in Canada, and they will be forced to submit a petition to the German attorney-general demanding the arrest of the murderer of their husbands and fathers, should he be impudent enough to set foot on German soil.

Both the murdered men and myself spent long years in Nazi concentration camps. Since all Nazi murderers and commissioners of that period are still persecuted and condemned, it is incomprehensible to us how one can even think of inviting a proven murderer who has been condemned by the highest German court for various crimes committed on German soil.

Mr. Chancellor, you yourself were once persecuted by an unlawful totalitarian regime. This fact gives us reason to hope that you will take proper measures to prevent the visit of the criminal Shelepin, who has committed himself to a regime which is just as unlawful and totalitarian. The most important reason, however, for stopping this visit should be that he committed two serious crimes — murder — on German soil and has thus violated the sovereignty of the Federal Republic of Germany. By passing such a decision, you will carry out justice and decency and give satisfaction to all upright people.

For your information, I am sending you a documentation by the U.S. Senate — “Murder International Inc.” — in which the verdict of the German Supreme Court (Karlsruhe) was published and which contains further proof of the murders by Alexander Shelepin.

In closing I should like to point out that Shelepin, as head of the KGB, also passed the order to have me murdered, as you may ascertain from Stashinskyj's statements in front of the Supreme Court in Karlsruhe. This murder plan is elaborated on pages 119-140 and 164-168 (as above).

We would be thankful to you if you would kindly consider our request which is within the scope and in accordance with the law in Germany. I am putting this request to you not only in my name, as the last head of Ukrainian government on Ukrainian soil who fought against the Nazi regime and against Soviet Russia, but also in the name of all freedom-loving Ukrainians in the whole world.

I remain,

Yours sincerely,

Jaroslaw Stetzko
Former Prime Minister of Ukraine
President of the Organisation of
Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN-Bandera-Movement)

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

- "*Harvard Ukrainian Studies Newsletter*," Vol. IV, No. 1, 1972.
- "*Bulletin of the Center For Soviet & East-European Studies*," Southern Illinois University, Nos. 9 and 10, 1972.
- "*Ecritis de Paris*" — Revue des questions actuelles, Nos. 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320 — 1972, and 321, 322 and 333 — 1973.
- "*Catholica*," Arne Frost-Hansens Forlag, Copenhagen, Denmark, Vol. 1-4, 1972.
- "*Free China Review*," P.O. Box 337, Taipei, Taiwan, Nos. 3 to 9, 1972.
- "*Lituanus*," the Lithuanian Quarterly, Nos. 2 and 3, 1972, P.O. Box 9318, Chicago, Illinois 60690, USA.
- "*Korea Journal*," Vol. 13, No.1, 1973, 50-16 2-ka Myong-dong, Chung-gu, Seoul, South Korea.
- "*Atenea*" — revista de ciencia, arte y literatura de la Universidad De Concepcion, Chile, No. 425, 1972.
- "*Digest of the Soviet Ukrainian Press*," Vol. XVI, Nos. 7-12, 1972, and Vol. XVII, Nos. 1-3, 1973, published by "Suchasnist," 8 Munchen 2, Karlsplatz 8/III, West Germany.
- "*Reports on Communist Activities in Eastern Europe*," Nos. from 463 to 477, Estonian Information Centre, Drottninggatan 85, Box 104 30, Stockholm 45, Sweden.
- "*Oriente Europeó*," Vol. XXII, No. 86, 87, 88, 1972, Claudio Coello, 129, Madrid 6., Italy.
- "*International Migration Review*," Nos. 18, 19 and 20, 1972, Center for Migration Studies of New York, Inc., 209 Flagg Place, Staten Island, New York 10304, USA.
- "*Tamkang Journal*," Area Studies 1971, Science Engineering and Business, No. 10, published by Tankang College of Art & Sciences, Taipei, Taiwan.
- "*Tamkang College of Art and Sciences 1950-1970*" — A Twentieth Anniversary Album, edited by Chun Chung Lin, November, 1970, Taipei, Taiwan, Republic of China.
- "*Chinese Viewpoint*" — Newsletter, No. 7 and 8, 1973, 82 Yee Wo street, 2nd Floor, Hong Kong.
- "*Eastern Churches Review*," Vol. IV, No. 2., 1972, published on behalf of the Trustees of the Review by Clarendon Press, Oxford.
- "*Problems of Communism*," March-April, 1973, United States Information Service, Washington, DC, 20402.
- "*The Anatomy of Exile*," by Paul Tabori, published by George G. Harrap & Co. Ltd., 182 High Holborn, London, W.C.1, 432 pages, Index, price £6:00.
- "*Canadian Slavonic Papers*," Vol. XIV, 1972, published by The Canadian Association of Slavists.
- "*The Bulletin of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee*," Vol. 21, No. 1, January-April, 1973, 456 Main Street, Winnipeg 2., Manitoba, Canada.
- "*The Light*" — the Ukrainian Catholic Monthly, published by the Basilian Fathers, Nos. 11 and 12, 1972, and No. 1, 1973.
- "*Horizon*," a quarterly magazine, published by Mykola Denysiuk Publishing Co., Chicago, Illinois 60622, USA.
- "*Liberation Path*," Ukrainian political, social, scientific, and literary magazine published monthly by Ukrainian Publishers Ltd., 200, Liverpool Road, London, N1 1LF, Vol. 25, Nos 1 to 3, 1973.

Contributions to be considered for inclusion in "The Ukrainian Review" should be marked "The Ukrainian Review" and addressed to:

The Secretary
Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain, Ltd.,
49, Linden Gardens, London, W2 4HG
Telephones: 01-229 8392 0140



The
**UKRAINIAN
REVIEW**



IV

1 9 7 3

UKRAINIAN INFORMATION SERVICE

THE UKRAINIAN REVIEW

A Quarterly Magazine devoted to the study of Ukraine.

EDITORIAL BOARD

Professor Dr. Vasyl Oreleckyj
Chairman of the Board

Mrs. Slava Stetzko, M.A.
Editor

Volodymyr Bohdaniuk, B.A., B.Litt.
Associate Editor

Professor Nicholas Chirovsky
Associate Editor

Anatol Bedriy, M.A.
Associate Editor

Professor Lew Shankowsky
Associate Editor

Oleh S. Romanyshyn, M.A.
Associate Editor

Bernardine Bailey, B.A., M.A.
Associate Editor

Price: 50p or \$1.75 a single copy
Annual Subscription: £2.00 or \$7.00

Editorial correspondence should be sent to:

The Editors,
"The Ukrainian Review"
200 Liverpool Road,
London, N1 1LF.

Subscriptions should be sent to:

"The Ukrainian Review" (Administration).
c/o Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain, Ltd.
49 Linden Gardens,
London, W2 4HG.

Overseas representatives:

USA: Organization for Defense of Four Freedoms for Ukraine, Inc.
P.O. Box 304, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.

Canada: Canadian League for Ukraine's Liberation,
140 Bathurst Street, Toronto 2B, Ont.

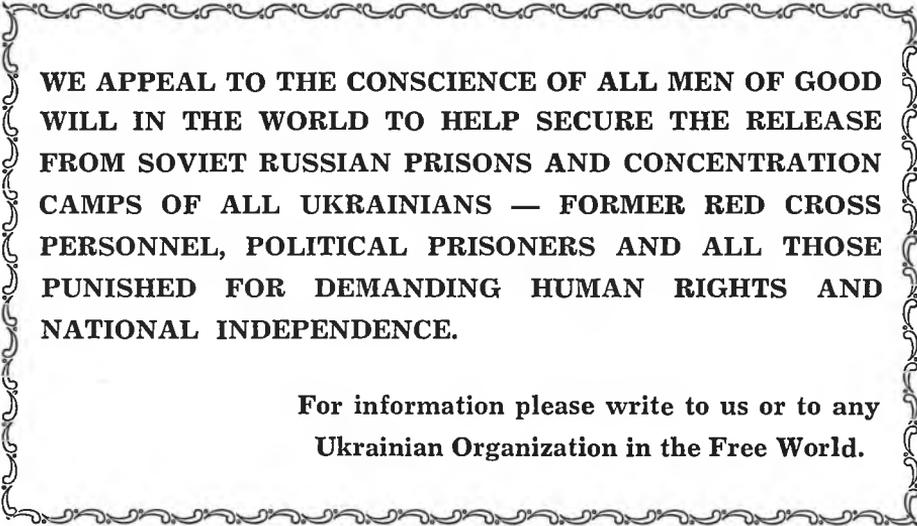
Printed in Great Britain by the Ukrainian Publishers Limited
200 Liverpool Road, N1 1LF Tel.: 01-607 6266/7

THE UKRAINIAN REVIEW

Vol. XX No. 4

Winter 1973

A Quarterly Magazine



WE APPEAL TO THE CONSCIENCE OF ALL MEN OF GOOD WILL IN THE WORLD TO HELP SECURE THE RELEASE FROM SOVIET RUSSIAN PRISONS AND CONCENTRATION CAMPS OF ALL UKRAINIANS — FORMER RED CROSS PERSONNEL, POLITICAL PRISONERS AND ALL THOSE PUNISHED FOR DEMANDING HUMAN RIGHTS AND NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE.

**For information please write to us or to any
Ukrainian Organization in the Free World.**

**Published by
The Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain, Ltd.
in cooperation with
Organization for Defense of Four Freedoms for Ukraine, Inc. (U.S.A)
and
Canadian League for Ukraine's Liberation.**

C O N T E N T S

<i>Z. Karbowych</i> : UKRAINE AND THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD	3
<i>Slava Stetsko</i> : THE THIRTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE ANTI-BOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS	19
<i>Ya. Orlovskyyj</i> : ON THE THRESHOLD OF A NEW YALTA	30
<i>W. Mykula</i> : SOVIET NATIONALITIES POLICY IN UKRAINE, 1920-1930 (Cont. 8)	37
From publication in Ukraine	
<i>UKRAINIAN HERALD, Issue VI, 1972</i>	
WHOSE MOTHER TONGUE IS MORE NATIVE	55
FACTS: THEY ARE THE PROOF!	58
IN MEMORY OF ANTON OLIYNYK	62
IVAN SOKULSKY	64
THE DEATH OF A FEMALE PATRIOT	65
COMMITTEE IN DEFENCE OF NINA STROKATA	67
WHO IS N. A. STROKATA-KARAVANSKA	69
THE CHRONICLE	72
FURTHER PERSECUTIONS IN UKRAINE	77
Melnychuk sentenced — his works destroyed	77
Iryna Senyk before the Occupation Court	79
AMERICAN PROFESSORS IN DEFENCE OF UKRAINIAN INTELLECTUALS	81
UKRAINE'S PLEA FOR HELP (Letter from Ukraine)	88
A.B.N. AND E.F.C. CONFERENCES — REPORT AND RESOLUTIONS	91

In English translation

REVOLUTIONARY VOICES

UKRAINIAN POLITICAL PRISONERS CONDEMN RUSSIAN COLONIALISM

Texts of Original Protest Writings by young Ukrainian intellectuals. Published by Press Bureau of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), Munich, 1969. Revised edition, 1971.

Order from: ABN, 8 München 8 Zeppelinstr. 67;
or UIS, 200 Liverpool Rd., London, N1 1LF.

Illustrations, 270 p. Price: soft cover \$5.00, hard cover \$6.00.

UKRAINE AND THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD

By Z. KARBOWYCH

Revolutionary Processes in Ukraine and Other Subjugated Countries

The moving force of the revolutionary processes in Ukraine from the national, social, and other aspects is the revolutionary Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) (Bandera Followers). The multifaceted processes in all spheres of life, creativity, and struggle in Ukraine are growing from the foundations provided by the actions of the OUN and UPA (Ukrainian Insurgent Army). The culturally political process in Ukraine has deeply rooted ties with the nationally political process, as its inseparable component part. It is aimed at the self-assertion of the Ukrainian, national, original, spiritual "I" in contrast to the Russian spirituality. The very fact of the penetrating reference to the millennial sources of Ukrainian spirituality, the rediscovery of its unique elements, and the separation from everything Russian is an obvious political phenomenon. It results in the rejection of everything Russian and the politicum of cultural life. Moreover, the creativity of cultural leaders does not only consist in the mere attempt to create freely, but in determining the contents of that creativity. It is a clash of Ukraine and Russia on the cultural plane, which has an echo in the political sphere, for the precondition for the realization of the Ukrainian quality in culture is to have its own state.

But side by side with original and independent cultural creativity, a struggle is being waged in all other spheres of life — economic, social, religious, political — also with military means, mass actions, and combat occupation. In that struggle, organized by the OUN, there is no appeal to the Constitution of the Ukr. SSR, nor that of the USSR. There is a total negation of the *de facto* occupation and its veil: the Ukr. SSR. In Ukraine, the anti-imperial and anti-regime, anti-Russian and anti-Communist, national, political liberation processes are taking place for the re-establishment of the Ukrainian Sovereign United State, for its content determined by the traditional Ukrainian quality and value, for the dissolution of the Russian empire into independent national states of the subjugated nations.

The essential difference between the Ukrainian resistance movement, which in a broader sense is the Ukrainian national liberation movement, and the Russian dissidents and the liberation movements of other nations subjugated by the Russians, lies in the fact that the Ukrainian national liberation forces, of which the cultural processes are also a part, are in principle toppling the empire and

Communism as a system. The Russian dissidents strive only for limited privileges for a small group of the Russian intellectual elite and a greater participation than heretofore of the Russian technocrats in the political administration of the empire. This is the reason for the unusually barbaric sentences meted out to Ukrainian cultural leaders, while the likes of Medvedev, Yesenin-Volpin, Agruzov, or the Russified Chalidze are sent abroad. It accounts for the draconic imprisonment of Lukyanenko, Kandyba, and Moroz, or the confinement for life in an insane asylum of Prof. Plushch, who is allegedly a member of Sakharov's Committee, while the head and the initiator of the said Committee, Prof. Sakharov, is free and gives interviews to the Russian emigre of Western periodicals.

The Russian Dissident Groups

It is a mistake to define the Ukrainian cultural leaders as dissidents, because this is a totally false definition contrary to the nature of their struggle and its aims. There are no dissidents in Ukraine. There are only fighters for national and human rights. They are not people who disagree in this or that matter with their own "government," but those who have a different concept of life as a whole — national, cultural, political, social, religious — and are fighting for it. They have nothing to "agree" on, as Sakharov does with Brezhnev, for they do not have a common language with the occupation regime. It does not matter that this or that one appeals to the constitution of the USSR or the Ukr. SSR, since these constitutions are the product of the occupant and for the occupant, not for the oppressed.

The chief motive of the Russian opposition to his royal highness Brezhnev is the preservation of the empire, and this already creates a basis of cooperation between Sakharov and other Osypovs and Brezhnev. Neither Sakharov nor the "Democrats of Russia, Ukraine, and the Baltic Region" have ever defended the cultural leaders of Ukraine. Sakharov had never demanded the release of Moroz or Karavanskyi or Kandyba. The goals of the policies of the USSR and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union were formulated thus by Sakharov: since the world is threatened by a) nuclear war and its destruction, b) the catastrophe of famine caused by population explosion, c) pollution of the air, water, and land by industry, d) the dulling of an individual by the products of mass culture, and e) dictatorial regimes, the drawing closer of the liberal-democratic, capitalist and socialist world (using his terminology) is mandatory by way of the liberalization and democratization of the Communist Party from the top, while preserving its dominant role, but including in the leading stratum of the USSR more technocrats, as well as intellectuals, of the so-called leftist Westerners, and "leftist" Leninists-Communists of the Roy Medvedev type, hand in hand with the

socialization of the West by the reinforcement of the leftist elements and their inclusion in the governments of the USA, France, Germany, Italy, and so forth. As the result of these processes — the process of liberalization of the USSR from the top, its Communist Party, and the socialization of capitalism — the two systems will meet half-way. Through the rapprochement of these two systems (with total elimination, of course, of the national liberation forces of the subjugated nations as well as the nations themselves and their national aspirations — the dissolution of the empire) a joint solution of world problems will come about, at least the avoidance of “catastrophes” which now threaten mankind. With respect to the national problems facing the empire, Sakharov assumes a position theoretically worse than Lenin’s, while the “Democratic Movement of the Soviet Union” assumed an even more harmful one, for it adds to Lenin’s deceptive thesis a phrase “under the supervision of a UN Commission.” In other words, the international mafia from the UN, with the participation of the Russians and the greatest enemies of the national idea, with a tendency to establish a world government of tyrants, would supervise USSR, for example. Nonsense! And the Democratic Movement of a plebiscite about a possible secession of the Ukr. SSR from the Soviet Union strives to remodel the USSR into the Union of Democratic Republics, that is, to repaint the sign. All is clear.

Essentially, all Russian dissident groups assume the “one and indivisible” position with small deviations. The neo-Slavophiles tend to, then come the neo-Communists who orient themselves on the so-called humane Communism of Dubcek, the constitutionalists, liberals, Christian socialists, and democrats, including the so-called Berdyayev groups and the action group for human rights. The number of their adherents as a whole is plied by NTS at no more than 3 to 5 thousand in the entire Russian nation. All these groups do not defend the rights of the subjugated nations. They support the idea of the “one and indivisible Russia.” They are evolutionists, limit themselves to the defence of their professional rights, do not aspire toward any revolutionary changes within the USSR, are opposed to an armed *coup d’etat*, and even more so to an armed revolutionary struggle, out of fear of the fate of the empire. Only the so-called All-Russian Christian Social Union for People’s Liberation included an armed *coup d’etat* in its program, but it was immediately infiltrated by the KGB and liquidated away back in 1968. It was chauvinistic and anti-semitic. The Russian dissident movement is unpopular among the Russian people and does not have any support from them. It is a debating circle limited to a small group of intellectuals. This is confirmed by the NTS. At its conference held in Frankfurt, West Germany, in November, 1972, in the keynote address as well as in the concluding resolution, the NTS states that the fate of Russian and not of world democracy, the salvation of mankind, etc., is of primary importance, while the national question is of remote importance for

NTS, which should be viewed through the prism of "world constructions."

There is also a Jewish group in the USSR which enjoys the support of a broad circle of Jews in the empire. Jewish emigrants who have left the USSR, such as Yoffe, Kapshytser, and Yugov, openly confirm the significance of the subjugated nations, and Ukraine in particular, emphasizing that the *Ukrainian Nationalist Movement is an indestructible nationwide movement!*

The Russian dissidents clearly declare their evolutionism, their anti-revolutionary attitude, and their loyalty to the government, wishing to be a loyal OPPOSITION, and stressing the fact that the Russian people do not want revolutionary changes in the USSR nor a change of the regime, just its amelioration. The dissident groups are limited in scope, without influence, without importance for the Russian popular masses. In addition, when we look at the national origin of the dissidents, we discover that they are mostly of non-Russian descent: Ukrainian, Jewish, Greek, Georgian. General Hryhorenko, who defends the Tatars so much, is of Ukrainian descent. Ginsburg, Daniel, Pasternak, Litvinov, etc. are Jews. Tarsis is of Greek-Ukrainian descent. Chalidze is a Russified Georgian, and so forth. Who, then, can start a revolution? The Russians. Even among the dissidents those of non-Russian descent, the political "Little Russians," are in the majority.

Counting on a Russian revolution is a vain hope. Saying that if there is no revolution among the Russians no liberation of Ukraine is possible is a Trojan Horse in the Ukrainian liberation political thought. The non-Russians have made revolution on Russian territory. For example, Perovska, Zhelyabov, and Kybalchych were Ukrainians. The March revolution of 1917 was started not by the Russians but by the Ukrainians of Volhynia, Izmailiv, and Preobrazhenskyi regiments. They toppled tsarism. Only based on their armed actions in March, 1917, was Lenin able to deceive the nations by his October counter-revolution, to which the tsarist generals, headed by Brusilov, offered their services. The Bolshevik regime was also consolidated militarily by Russian aristocrats and tsarist officers and diplomats such as Shapotnikov, Tukhachevsky, and Count Chicherin in order to save "Mother Russia." And even Milyukov and Kerensky declared, while defending Stalin, that it is better to have a bad dictator and tyrant than the "lacerated body of Russia." Now the situation is identical. Sakharov, Medvedev (now in London), Chalidze (now in the USA), Yesenin-Volpin, Aliluyeva, Agruzov, Fedosyev, a prominent electronics engineer, twice-decorated with the order of Lenin, a laureate of the Lenin Prize, a knight of the Workingman's Red Banner Order, the hero of Socialist Labour, the chief constructor and supervisor of the NIIYeT laboratory and so forth, a recent emigrant, dozens of members of the so-called third Russian emigration by the will of Brezhnev, headed by first-rate intellectuals, have as their

aim — as dissidents who were “driven out” or who remain abroad — to prove to the West that revolution does not have the least chance in the USSR. The people (discreetly, they do not say the Russian people, in order to create the impression that they mean ALL PEOPLES, including the subjugated peoples) do not want any revolutionary changes. The “third” Russian emigration performs its mission as the preserver of the empire throughout the Western world just as was done by Lenin for German and American (capitalist) money. Thus, within the empire Sakharovs and the Democratic Movement of the Soviet Union are to provide the new “one and indivisible”-style alternative. Medvedevs, Fedosyevs, Volpins, Chalidzes, Agruzovs, and Lauters are to drum into the Western world that the revolution of nations, or whatever it is called, is not desired by anyone. Therefore, it is necessary to fight together in order to achieve a world peace of tyrants and mafias, who strive to liquidate the national idea.

Recapitulating, not only is there no Russian anti-imperial, but there is also no anti-regime movement. There are only groups of those who “disagree” with the regime.

These assertions were necessary in order to comprehend the present world situation. Brezhnev took the road of destroying neo-Stalinist violence in Ukraine, in order to force the daring to keep still, for this creates a disharmony in the plan of Moscow’s global political strategy. Moscow has prepared the political and psychological ground for the present world political constellation, for the concept of so-called balance of power among the superpowers.

The Neglected Superpower

The United States is being led on the line of this Russian Brezhnev-Sakharov concept, motivated on the American side by Kissinger, the spokesman of the modern “unholy alliance” of global dimensions, the admirer of the imperialist Metternich, who tried to make friends with tsarist Russia, the despots of his time. The original concept was a three-way, and later a five-way, division of the world. From that concept stems Nixon’s visit to pay his respects to Brezhnev and Mao with a projected future “supplement” by Japan and a United Western Europe. This Metternich-like ill-fated concept of world dimensions repeats an analogous situation. Kossuth, a Hungarian revolutionary, toppled Metternich, and in order to save the Austrian empire from collapse Vienna invited the Russian tsar to help crush the Hungarians. With the taciturn agreement of the USA and upon the “invitation” of Kadar, the Russian tsar Khrushchev came to “save” Yalta. Does Nixon think that he will help Leonid Brezhnev to crush the Ukraine of Chuprynka and the young Unsubdued? As a consequence of Nixon’s understanding with Brezhnev, whose head was saved by Nixon, Brezhnev’s Stalinist violence began to rage in Ukraine, Latvia, and elsewhere. This occurred through a decision of the Politbureau and

the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in November, 1971, whose executive order was accepted by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukr. SSR or rather the Politbureau with Shelest and Shcherbytskyi. And in January, 1972, Malyuta Brezhnev began to rage just as Metternich had done in 1848, but then the result was the SPRING OF NATIONS, not the triumph of despots.

Nixon disregarded the new superpower, Ukraine and the subjugated nations and individuals, who will decide the future, and not just technology and thermonuclear arms. Moral, political, and ideological forces, the strivings of nations and individuals for freedom, are stronger than nuclear arms. The alliance of technological superpowers will have the same end as all the alliances of the oppressors. The nearly 50 nations present at the creation of the United Nations have been joined by almost 100 more, while the empires have decreased without restraint. The British, French, Dutch, German, Belgian, Italian, and Japanese empires no longer exist. But what has remained? Dwarfish "pangs of conscience" of London or Paris, the same as those of CSR, Yugoslavia, or the Poland of Dmowski and Pilsudski in the post-Versailles era, in order to provide some excuse for the continued oppression of nations of other continents by London or Paris. Mussolini is no more, while Haile Selassie rules; Hitler is gone, while the kings of Norway, Denmark, and Belgium are in power; De Gaulle has triumphed over Hitler, Ghandi over Churchill. What has remained and expanded with the help of the United States is the Russian empire, and Mao has come to power. But the subjugated peoples have put down neither their spiritual nor their actual arms.

Clearing away the forefield for a "lasting" peace, Nixon capitulates at the "periphery," in Vietnam, for, allegedly, global peace. But the SPRING OF FREEDOM does not know any peripheries. In opposition to the concept of Kissinger-Sakharov-Brezhnev-Pomerants-NTS there comes to the foreground of history a revolutionary political concept of ethical, international order in the world, totally contradictory to the Kremlin, Wall Street, and the White House, of the young, new Ukraine which for decades has been part of the basis of the actions of the OUN-UPA-ABN.

Pomerants is a Russian, and his positions are defended in exile by NTS. He maintains that national cultures no longer exist because nations have ceased to exist, because nations have been assimilated, because the Soviet or the Russian nation is being created which, according to NTS, is a supernation, a superpeople, made up of many nations and peoples as some metaphysical being (as Tyutchev had maintained "One can only believe in Russia," or "I am sorry for Russia," as Redlikh from the NTS repeats after Solzhenitsyn). If this is so, says Pomerants, then only the intelligentsia, which thinks and realizes the dangers of a nuclear war, can save the world. Thus, all bets are on it. Is it not the same with the dissident groups, which altogether, including their adherents among the Russians, number

all in all no more than 3-5,000, as maintained by NTS itself. The ideological editor of *Posev*, Mrs. Tarasova, and A. E. Chemesova maintain that today the liberation movement in Russia is a movement of the intelligentsia. It does not enjoy the support of the people.

Moroz, however, contradicts Pomerants, saying that Kosmach is a phenomenon of world order, a symbol of national culture of a millennium, of the organic order of the world based upon nations, for there is no culture without nations, and without a cultural basis there is no salvation for the world, while culture has a religious and national foundation, therefore **THE CHURCH MUST BE PRESERVED**; therefore, as another author puts it, it is necessary to preserve **THE CATHEDRAL OF OUR SOULS**. Kosmach rises against the Babylon of Pomerants, Sakharov, Kissinger, NTS, Brezhnev, the Kremlin, and Wall Street. The national idea is a universal idea. It is an accusation of all the best qualities of a nation's soul, of the organic, natural, God-given order of the world. There is no world literature. There are world literatures. It is impossible to know world literature and world culture, for they do not exist. Goethe has become a world figure because he was a German genius; Beethoven, because he reflected the soul of his nation; Shakespeare, of his. It is a self-degradation to maintain that Ukraine gets access to world literature or culture through the Russian, for Ukrainian literature or culture is as much a world literature or culture as the German or the English. The young, new Ukraine has determined world ideological, ethnical, and political principles of the new order. They have clashed on a world scale with the concepts of the materialistic, technological superpowers, at a time of the disregard of the primary source of the **ETHICAL, HEROIC, SPIRITUAL, ORIGINAL CHARACTERISTIC IN ITS QUALITIES TO EVERY NATION, AS A UNIQUE AND ETERNAL PHENOMENON OF MANKIND'S EXISTENCE. IF A NATION DOES NOT EXIST, THEN CULTURE DOES NOT EXIST; THE HEROICS OF LIFE DO NOT EXIST; IF RELIGION IS NOT A COMPONENT ELEMENT OF NATIONAL CULTURE, THEN MANKIND HAS NO PROSPECTS**, for the de-Christianization of life, the de-nationalization of life is its de-heroization, its barbarization. Patriotism, an individual and not a cog, that is, an individual — a creature like unto God, the heroic concept of life, as a precondition of spiritual and political renaissance, an ideological offensive, the nation as a cornerstone of world order — this is what radiates from the underground, and at times even ostensibly from the acts and declarations of faith, from the **CREDO** of young Ukraine and other subjugated nations.

Makukh, Palach, and Kalanta have brought the greatest sacrifice for the national, patriotic idea.

Mykhaylo Soroka is not only the symbol of the 1930s; the generations of the thirties, the sixties, and the seventies fall into the same ideological and ethical category.

This is a projection around which the healthy forces of the world are already gathering. The world anti-Russian and anti-Communist front remains a basis of our foreign policy actions. It is not a failure when at present we are still unable to mobilize to our side the government circles of great powers. Our action consists of systematic accumulation of facts covering our strength, which confirm a DIFFERENT alternative, to which the world shall return at a decisive moment. Nothing dies in vain. In the past, there was no such clear alternative as there is today. All sorts of Pentagons gather not only facts on the struggle, but also the motivation behind this struggle, the IDEAS which stir it. And this will be decisive tomorrow.

Peking-Moscow-Washington-Kyiv

A conflict between Peking and Moscow, just as any conflict with any power of the world in which Moscow is engaged, is to our advantage. Nixon commits a basic error when he tries to smooth over or to mitigate the conflict between Moscow and Peking. This was proved by his immediate courtesy call on Moscow after visiting Peking. We do not believe that it could come to a nuclear or even a conventional war between Moscow and Peking. Just as unrealistic in our opinion, is Peking's launching of an offensive guerrilla-type warfare against the Russian empire, for Mao's strategy of guerrilla warfare is unsuitable in areas where there are no Chinese or coloured people. Paratroopers dropped into the territory of the Russian empire will not receive support from the population. This is a conflict of the imperialists, as had been the one between Moscow and Berlin. A dispute over territory is a dispute for lands which belong neither to Russia nor to China, but which should be independent. There is no doubt that the fight for leadership in the imperialistic Communist movement is of extreme importance. China considered a southward expansion as its historic path. The whole of Southeast Asia is a territory of mass Chinese settlement. Moscow's strategic plan in connection with the massing of its divisions along the Chinese border after the liquidation of the Russophile Lin Piao, the highest-ranking Chinese leader after Mao, and the fall of Liu Shao-chi, is to continue to bring about an internal *coup d'etat* by the Russophile Chinese elements and to send them Russian divisions to "assist" them in a civil war, but not in the sense of an invasion of China, but in response to an "invitation" of some new Liu Shao-chi or Lin Piao. At present there are over 1,000 Chinese Communist leaders from among the party, the army and the administration on the territory of the USSR with a seat of the alternative government in Tashkent with Liu Shao-chi's son, as well as former secretary-general of the Chinese Communist Party, marshals, ministers, and so forth. The Soviet Army is waiting for the possibility of provoked intervention with prospect of helping the new supporters of cooperation with the Kremlin. Liu Piao and Liu Shao-chi were defeated, but will the Kremlin succeed?

the third time around? In the meantime, the Western borders of the empire are safeguarded by Brandt, helped by Nixon. Not only Suslov but also Sakharov, with his theory of the "convergence of the system," helped to assemble the popular front in France. The empirical and conjectural approach, as he calls it in relation to the Nixon-Brezhnev duo in world politics, whose aim is to build up one's own position as much as possible so as to checkmate the other without considering the "general good" about which Sakharov is allegedly concerned, nevertheless brings Washington and Moscow closer together via grain shipments, delivery of machinery, and so forth and particularly through the extension of credit, including the millions of dollars worth of profit from the packages sent to the USSR in order to pay for espionage activities in the USA, and strengthens the USSR, saves Brezhnev, and helps him to oppress the subjugated nations. Nixon is simultaneously helping both despotic empires. Nixon has not made any demands of Moscow with respect to the NATIONS IT SUBJUGATES. He is not waging any struggle for the souls of nations and individuals. Gen. Fuller taught the West to decrease the military potential of the USSR by captivating the souls of more than half of the USSR's inhabitants, in other words, to bring the subjugated nations to its side. Nixon has disregarded this. On the contrary, with his policies Nixon has actually helped Brezhnev to use violence in Ukraine and other subjugated nations. It was not through Nixon, but through the disturbances of the workers that Gomulka was ousted. Nixon and his wife had a picture of themselves taken before St. Sophia Cathedral in Kyiv as simple tourists. But he was afraid to say that no services are held in this temple — the most magnificent one in all Eastern Europe. He did not even mention Moroz, Chornovil, and the WOMEN IMPRISONED TOGETHER WITH THEIR BABIES, in order to pressure the fathers and husbands whose sole "crime" has been the national genius of their creativity! Brezhnev and Husak, Honecker and Co. greeted American Communist Angela Davis, the suspected murderess of American judges, as a champion of their ideas. The entire FREE, foolish world serving Moscow, the American liberals, students and professors included, stood up for Angela Davis. Her trial was denounced by members of government of the Communist countries. But Nixon, just as the Pope, is silent with regard to the persecuted cultural leaders and fighters for national and human rights and those believing in God, as for example Father Romanyuk and others like him.

At this time, Washington does not support independence for the subjugated nations. On no occasion has Peking declared itself in favor of dismemberment of the Russian empire into national states. It attacks the Kremlin's "social" imperialism when the point in question is the NATIONAL IMPERIALISM of the Russians. Nowhere was it stated so far that Peking favors a sovereign Ukrainian national

democratic state. The Ukr. SSR is not a Ukrainian state and as a satellite of Peking it will not be one either.

A conflict between Peking and Moscow, or Moscow and Washington is to our advantage. But so far no conflict exists between the USA and Russia, and although that which is taking place between Peking and Moscow is of benefit to us, it is not a clue for us, for tomorrow it could just as well turn into an alliance between Moscow and Peking. Furthermore, Communism, as a Russian imperialistic idea, had not received a decisive blow as a result of that conflict, and occasionally it was even reinforced for an impression was created that here and there Communist parties are independent from Moscow. For example in India and now France or Italy, critical remarks are expressed at times but immediately die down. This gives to some people the impression that the Communist parties of France or Italy are no agents of Moscow.

The thesis that the enemy of our enemy is our friend is not a rule. Germany of 1941 serves as proof of this. A conflict between imperialism can be exploited by us, that is, by the forgotten superpower — the subjugated nations — but imperialists are not our friends for they wish that we should take the chestnuts out of the fire for them, and they will not bring us freedom on their bayonets. Only in the case of a mortal threat of a total holocaust can the imperialism of this or that Western power, especially the USA, wager on the forgotten superpower. This can be an OPPORTUNITY, but it is not our bet. Therefore, we are not orienting ourselves either on Washington, or on Peking, or on London, only on KYIV, as a symbol of liberation of all the subjugated nations and the champion of the anti-Russian anti-imperialistic, anti-Bolshevik liberation revolution and war.

Whether despair or isolation, whether Ukraine's isolation or the ABN?

Russian imperialism knows no bounds. The division of the world into spheres of influence does not exist for it as a lasting category. USSR's Ambassador in Bonn, Falin, frankly stated that there is no longer any concept of the balance of power, but that Russia is to be dominant in Europe, that NATO and the European Economic Community must be dissolved, that the West's expenditures for armaments must be reduced, that a common European organ for control of the press, radio, and television, etc. of the still free part of Europe, must be created together with the Russians, so that the Russians might make impossible any free criticism of their terrorist system and their empire, etc. Moscow has never renounced its destructive aims, the conquest of the entire world. It dominates the Eastern Mediterranean and is already in the Indian and the Pacific oceans, in Cuba, in Latin America, Africa, and the Middle East. It not only has its beachheads everywhere, but entire countries as well and in every one of them its fifth columns. It dominates Bangla Desh

and has, for the first time in history, a navy stronger in some respects than the strongest navy of any of the Western powers, sits on Canarian islands, penetrates the Caribbean Sea. It is present everywhere. It trains and tests urban guerrillas, even in the USA (the much publicized March on Washington in 1971). As part of its training, Russia uses the most modern type of warfare — the political and psychological warfare — thus gaining control of students and universities and even high schools in the West. The United States lost the war not in Vietnam but in the streets of New York, Bonn, London, Rome, Paris, Tokyo. Moscow is on the offensive. And the West? So far it is slumbering, although here and there, under our influence, there comes sobriety and reawakening. In the United States as well. And the Vatican? It is following in Washington's footsteps and making arrangements with atheistic Moscow. But opposition is evident here as well. Communism has the least sympathizers under the Russian yoke. Moscow's strength is to be found in the weakness of the West, both the moral and ideological weakness.

Thus the wheel of fortune can suddenly turn. Moroz talked about a boomerang not only with respect to his own person.

The world needs signposts. Such a signpost is Ukraine, the OUN, the ABN. Now is the time to hold one's position and to be a fearless Cassandra, for the world has reached a crisis, and during a crisis the weak break down while the strong by spirit become even stronger. The contemporary world needs Don Quixotes for the realists only see millions of cars which we do not have, but fail to see the INDIVIDUAL who controls the MACHINE. WE ARE DESTINED to remain the world about Man, Nation, God, Heroics, the irrational, the eternal, the mission of our Nation, to increase our faith in it, to believe that flowers do grow in the midst of snows, the flowers of Ukraine.

But these are not categories of international politics, says a sceptic. This is true. But we do not live in an era where classical foreign policy is being conducted. The times have changed. In the nuclear age, the ideological and the thermonuclear have united into one. We also have weapons in our hands. Our nations are holding arms, including the hydrogen bomb. The nations need courage. Their spirit must be strengthened, their risk, their boldness. The West has technical arms; it surpasses the Russian imperialists in technology. But it lacks the fighting SPIRIT. It needs a spiritual and ethnical revolution, the restoration of its morality, the rebirth of its patriotism, the cult of the heroics of life, the revival of the original sense of values inherent in life.

Political offensive is a precondition of an armed offensive. Ideological offensive is a precondition of political offensive. A precondition of ideological offensive is the moral and ethical offensive. In order to die, one must know WHAT FOR. One must know and believe in a

different sense of life, aside from the material, comfortable life. One must revive the divine in a human being. One must rediscover in Man the spirit of the heroines from Kingiri, of the heroes of Thermophiles, of Bazar. The West needs Ciceros and Scipios. And I remind you again and again that the Russian prison of nations and individuals must be destroyed!

Moscow saves itself from vengeance of the Subjugated Nations through the efforts of the Governments of Free Countries

Russia involves Japan, Germany, Italy, France, and Great Britain in the build-up of its empire in an economic sense. It attracts them to Siberia in order to force them to defend it from Red China. It encourages investments, so that the capitalists having made them would protect them from destruction. Moscow entangles the free world ever more in its plans. Lenin taught the Russians that the fall of the capitalist world will come when it will finance the USSR of its own free will, for the sake of profits, as its own grave-digger. Bonn of Brandt and Wehner thinks of German reunification in terms of "evolution" of the Federal Republic of Germany toward Titoism. This is completely in line with Sakharov's plan. The opposition lost the elections because it failed to provide an alternative in foreign policy, namely, that Germany should proclaim that in order to make the sins of Nazism it supports national independence of all countries, including particularly those subjugated by the Russians in the USSR which had been occupied by Hitler. This concept should be broadly elaborated and placed in the foundation of its politics. Nobody could successfully oppose such a concept. It was accepted earlier by the US Congress in its resolution dealing with nations subjugated by Russian imperialism (Captive Nations Law No. 86-90, October, 1959). To correct the road taken by Scheel-Gromyko is not an alternative so far as the people are concerned. The essence is not to be found in better treaties, but in a basically different concept which is to be a cornerstone of a just order in Europe, Asia, and the world. As long as liberation, nationalism, the national principle of the organization of the world, is not placed at the bases so long there will be no way out of the crisis.

The national revolutionary forces in the world are growing

Also maturing is the new socio-political, anti-Communist, and anti-liberal-capitalist order.

We who are in the vanguard of the process of national revival are subjected to brutal attacks instigated from all sides by the enemy. He conceals himself behind the leftist liberal, the pseudo-revolutionary, and the pseudo-nationalist, but further pro-Bolshevik circles, which following the example set by the Democratic Movement of the Soviet Union (DMSU) consider the Unsubdued "agents of the KGB"

because the *Ukrainskyi visnyk* ("Ukrainian Herald") issued a statement that no Ukrainian had anything to do with the program of the DMSU. It is interesting to note that the Russians and "our own" subversive elements consider the authors of the *Ukrainskyi visnyk* as henchmen of the KGB because they do not want to join forces with the Russian imperialists from DMSU. The KGB supports the "former" and the "latter" in order to split the front of the revolutionary OUN and ABN. Today, anyone destroying the OUN-ABN front is serving Moscow.

For these provocateurs Moroz, Alla Horska, Karavanskyi, Lukyanko, and others are Bolsheviks. Anyone saying this is a Bolshevik himself. The fact that the USA is the area of such a fierce campaign against the revolutionary OUN-ABN is understandable, because various foreign, hostile forces are concentrated inside the imperial world power.

It is worth mentioning at this time that a precondition of ideological offensive among our youth is, among other things, to abandon once and for all the cult of so-called two native lands, for there can be only one native land — Ukraine, as was aptly stated by one young delegate at the Congress of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America (UCCA). And Symonenko taught that it is possible to choose one's friends and one's wife, but it is impossible to choose one's native land, just as it is impossible to choose one's own mother.

Some Conclusions

In the United States an end must be put to the division of Ukrainians and other emigrants or so-called settlers into the voters of the Democratic or Republican parties. This is nonsense. There is no difference between the parties when it comes to their policies toward the USSR. It is necessary to mobilize all national groups and to throw their votes to a third candidate, or a *third party which would firmly stand on the basis of the concept of the dissolution of the Russian empire and of support of the policy of liberation, guaranteeing this concretely, in practice, through deeds and not through election campaign phrases*. Nixon, who promised one thing and did the opposite, is the greatest disappointment. Therefore it is necessary to learn from the Negroes, the Jews, and the Irish how to consolidate our strength. We must give over ten million votes to the opponent of both Nixon and Ed Kennedy, to a person who would stand for our ideas. This is the task of the UCCA, and in particular of the Organizations of the Ukrainian Liberation Front in the United States and of the American Friends of ABN. It is necessary to conduct a Ukrainian policy, not a Democratic or a Republican one. It is necessary to conduct a policy advantageous to the subjugated nations and not benefiting this or that political party. Only then shall we be able to arouse and to lead other national groups.

Not the Anglo-Saxon, but the anti-Russian and pro-ABN interests should lie at the basis of our policies in the USA. Let us learn from the Jews who work for Israel rather than for one or the other party in the USA.

Our attitude toward Israel depends on Israel's stand toward the dissolution of the Russian empire, toward the Ukrainian Sovereign United State. We can cooperate with those Jewish circles which clearly support the Ukrainian Sovereign United State and the dissolution of the Russian empire, and declare this publicly. Without such a declaration we cannot agree to cooperation. Therefore, this must always be taken into consideration, so that we shall not become victims and be exploited in the common front with the Russians against Communism. We shall never join a common front for our objective is the Ukrainian Sovereign United State and the dissolution of the Russian prison of nations into national independent states of the subjugated nations. If this attitude does not prevail, then no common front with the Jews is possible. If the Poles desire cooperation, then the precondition is the recognition of the concept of ABN and the Ukrainian Sovereign United State, that is, the ethnographic principle between two states — Ukraine and Poland. Without a declaration as to the recognition of the ethnographic principle, that is, that all Ukrainian ethnographic territories belong to Ukraine, no cooperation with the Poles is possible. It is worth remembering that he who is loyal to his principles, who is true to his ideals is the strongest, even if he has to stand alone. He who stands alone stands the most firmly. At this time, it is essential not to permit our concepts to be watered down, not to lose quality for the sake of quantity. Great personalities (and there are few of these) attract the masses, and not a flock for it is numerous. In the multitude it is impossible to see a profile, to see grandeur, to see the standard-bearer. When there is a banner, when there are standard-bearers, the popular masses follow them. Then quality changes into quantity. A handful of the infatuated turns into millions of the infatuated.

This is what our adversaries fear at the international forum as well. In Mexico in 1972 some of our opponents said that the ABN is dominant and therefore its influence should be limited. In what respect were we dominant? Not with respect to the number of our delegates, for out of a total of 300 we were only a handful. But we dominate with our idea, with our uncompromising defence of it, with its justice and nobleness, our faith in it, and in truth.

Now we are facing a long battle in the international sector. Attempts are being made to eliminate us, not through our physical absence, but ideologically. In other words, attempts are made to create a political *mesalliance*, a mixture of imperialistic and anti-imperialistic forces, and to try to reach a compromise among them. Efforts will also be made, following the prescribed role of the third Russian emigration, to eradicate from the consciousness of the

decisive powers of the free world the possibility of the revolutionary liberation method of struggle, hence, wagering only upon evolution of the system while preserving the empire intact. This means in practice the preservation of the empire and its present regime, albeit a bit reformed. These tendencies must be combated and defeated. It is true that the WACL Charter incorporates our principles, but even in WACL attempts to bring in defenders of the Russian empire through the back door and, perhaps, here and there to defend the present socio-political system in the occupied countries will continue.

The war is not yet won, even if individual battles are being won. It will continue so long as the Russian empire continues to exist, as well as its front-line soldiers, the Russian imperialists and their friends in the world, the Trojan, Communist, and Russophile horses in the free world.

Let us not forget that the Ukrainian nationalists and revolutionaries and ABN have been destined to propagate militant, heroic Christianity, a militant faith in God, to be its vanguard force, to mobilize support for it in the subjugated countries.

Every emigration has three basic tasks:

- a) Direct, many-faceted aid to the fighting Fatherland;
- b) Mobilization of world political opinion on its behalf, broad international diverse action, for otherwise our presence in foreign countries would be useless. Such activities are necessary today and they will be necessary tomorrow, when we shall need friends in liberation war or revolution, or at international conferences of governments;
- c) Raising, educating, and training the young generation, the frontline soldiers and carriers of the idea of FIGHTING UKRAINE in the free world, also aimed at ideological and political orientation of the youth of the free nations upon Ukraine, upon its youth, upon its ideals, and the assistance by our youth and the youth of free nations to those at the front there. The young people must have a mission if they are not to be lost. They must not only study, but also act, using various methods, including the militant ones, for young people are enthusiastic, and enthusiasm must be turned into action.

Anyone denying the need of our international activities should collect his rags and join the underground in Ukraine, or be at the front here among one's own people and in particular among foreigners. We repeat: how come Russia manages to captivate a segment of the youth of free nations with its false ideas, and we, the young, new Ukraine can not captivate our youth, infatuate it with its ideas, its faith, and through it, the youth or part of the youth of the free nations.

We remind you: let us cultivate the cult of severe life, the greatest possible demands, let us not indulge in luxuries; let us demand sacrifice of ourselves and others; let us determine that the objective

of the individual's life is the heroics of life, the service to Ukraine, asceticism, heroism, and we shall win the young people over by this.

Let us not promise but demand. Let us evoke pangs of conscience in individuals and let us not pacify them. Let us not run away from suffering. Let us not forward an evasive slogan: "We must do the most for Ukraine, but not perish," for this means a false interpretation of duty. As the result of this, the arrested will betray and denounce their own ideals.

Moroz also could have said that he could do more for Ukraine in freedom, if he were to repent. UKRAINE NEEDS EXAMPLES! An idea for which one is not prepared to die will never be victorious. Christ would not have triumphed had He not undergone suffering. Christ also could have said that it is better to preach the Word longer, than to d e. But would that Word have been worth anything, if it were denied before the executioners? Would our national hero young Danylyshyn have become an example for the generation of the 1930s if, for the sake of "working for Ukraine as long as possible, he had repented?"

"There will be a trial. Well, we shall fight. Now more than ever it is for somebody to give an *example* of firmness and in one stroke to wash away the depressing impression which has been created after the departure of some people from active public life. THE LOT HAS FALLEN ON ME IT IS A DIFFICULT MISSION. TO SIT BEHIND BARS IS NOT EASY FOR ANYONE. BUT NOT TO RESPECT ONESELF IS STILL HARDER. AND THEREFORE WE SHALL FIGHT!" This should be included in the album of all cowards and those who boast: "It is necessary to live for Ukraine at all costs," and NOT SUFFER AND DIE, AS IS DEMANDED BY THE HONOUR AND DIGNITY OF A WARRIOR! The latter is taught to us by one of the imprisoned "men of the sixties."

Follow in his footsteps!

ORDER NOW

**THE CAPTIVE NATIONS
OUR FIRST LINE OF DEFENSE**

by Bernadine Bailey

The facts about the struggle behind
the Iron Curtain.

Price 30p.

THE THIRTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

By *Slava STETSKO*

We are marking the thirtieth anniversary of the Antibolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) in a time of dire attacks upon ABN by Moscow and its followers. Moreover, the Bolshevik agents become visible against the background of life. Endless lies, slander, denunciations, — these are the forms of warfare used by the Russians and their agents. It seems as if all the dark powers of hell had banded together to break up and bring down the very idea, the very concept of a common anti-Russian and anti-Bolshevik front of the subjugated nations. Moscow and its agents have set themselves the goal of liquidating this signpost — ideological, political, strategic — for the captive nations in their struggle for national state independence, for the dissolution of the Russian empire into independent national states of the subjugated peoples, and for the destruction of the Communist system as the means by which Russia rules over other nations.

Not among monasteries but among thorns, not amidst paeans but amidst lies and slander, amidst strengthened Russian terror and genocide in our lands, does ABN continue to unfold its historical activity and its struggle. The idea of a common anti-Russian front is nothing new. The Ukrainian Hetman Ivan Mazepa and especially his successor, Hetman Pylyp Orlyk, took up the idea of a common front. Ukraine's national prophet Taras Shevchenko gave it powerful expression in his "Caucasus." This issue had already become urgent in 1917-1918, but it began to take on a clearly real, crystallized aspect in 1940-1941 at the Second Congress of the OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists), when the OUN introduced the motto, "Freedom for nations — freedom for individuals!" and when the first journal in the languages of the nations subjugated by the Russians, *Our Front*, appeared.

On November 21-22, 1943, the revolutionary OUN, in cooperation with the UPA (Ukrainian Insurgent Army) on the initiative of General Taras Chuprynka-Shukhevych, called the first conference of the subjugated nations and formed a Committee of representatives of these nations for a common struggle against the captors. Within the framework of the UPA, there were formed national insurgent detachments of other captive nations, such as the Georgians, Azerbaijanians, Armenians, Byelorussians, Turkestanians, and North Caucasians, for

a coordinated revolutionary liberation struggle. The late Rostyslav Voloshyn-Pavlenko, a member of the presidium of the OUN, presided over the Conference. He died in battle against the Russians.

The Second Congress of the OUN laid the political groundwork for the concept of ABN. In its resolutions we read: "The road to the attainment of our aims is the Ukrainian Revolution in the Russian empire — the USSR — along with the liberation struggle of the nations held captive by Moscow with the motto, 'Freedom for nations — freedom for individuals.'

"The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists stands at the front of these Ukrainian revolutionary currents, and cooperates with these revolutionally movements of peoples subjugated by Moscow and with those nations that also seek to overthrow completely the USSR.

"The basis of our work and our struggle in Ukraine and in the whole USSR is the revolutionary liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people against Moscow for a United Ukrainian Sovereign State, and the platform of a common struggle of the captive nations against Russian imperialism."

In the organ *Our Front*, We read as follows: "We have a single aim: the complete political liberation of the peoples subjugated by Moscow. The way to our goal leads through the total disintegration of the Russia prison of nations, the USSR, by the revolutionary forces of the nations subjugated by Moscow.

"We must remember that Russian 'nationalism' which opposes Bolshevism is no less a threat to us than Bolshevism. It does not matter that Russian nationalists are opposed to the Bolshevik regime. It does not matter that in the Soviet prisons, Russian anti-Bolshevik nationalists very often die against the wall along with fighters for the freedom of the nations subjugated by Moscow. There is a basic difference between them and us. For this reason, there can never be any talk of cooperation of the revolutionary organizations of the nations subjugated by Moscow with the Russian anti-Bolshevik 'nationalists.' We are fighting for the independence of our peoples. The Russian anti-Bolshevik nationalists strive to preserve the integrity of the Russian empire. They are guided only by one thing: the strength of the 'one and indivisible.' In Moscow the active Russians, the intelligents'a, scholars, and professors are already now convincing everyone that those responsible for all misfortunes are not the Russian center, but only the Jews. We know that a whole range of Russians in the Party and in the NKVD are trying to channel all the struggle for the break-up of the Russian empire into anti-Jewish pogroms. We do not defend the Jews because we know what role some of them (Trotsky, Kaganovich, Chatayevich, and others) played, standing in the vanguard of Russian Bolshevism. All the same, the aims of the active Russians must in this case be clear to us: WE KNOW PERFECTLY WELL who is the true cause of all our historical misfortunes. By an effective and uncompromising battle

of the young nations capable of survival, it is possible to destroy Moscow as a center of historical violence and to attain our goals.”

Anyone who reads these lines from *Our Front* of 1941 can see that we have remained faithful to that which was decided at the Second Congress of the OUN and which was elaborated in articles in *Our Front*.

On the basis of such projections, the First Conference of Subjugated Nations of Eastern Europe and Asia, at which 12 nations were represented, was called in the forests of the Zhytomyr region. On the day before, there was a battle with the Nazi Germans, and the delegates went into battle under the command of a Georgian major. They formed a Revolutionary Committee of Subjugated Nations, which was to coordinate the revolutionary struggle of the nations. The national divisions created by the UPA should, it was decided, broaden into independent insurgent armies and pass over into their own countries in order to continue the struggle. The Conference adopted the position that only by a revolution from within was it possible to destroy the USSR. Unified strategy, simultaneous appearance, and coordinated action were indispensable for this revolution. The Conference worked out a political platform and issued a Manifesto to the subjugated nations.

The Conference decided the following: “For a swift and complete victory of the national revolutions, a single common front of all the subjugated nations is necessary. For this reason, the Conference considers it essential to create a common committee of the nations of Eastern Europe and Asia, which will coordinate all the national revolutionary forces of those nations, will work out a single line of battle with the common enemy, a single tactic for struggle, and which at the appropriate moment will give the sign for a simultaneous uprising of all the captive nations.

“The Conference of subjugated nations of Eastern Europe and Asia greets the heroic struggle of the nations of Western and Central Europe against German imperialism and manifests its full political solidarity with this struggle.

“The Conference considers it necessary to develop a broad propaganda among the nations of Western and Central Europe in order to familiarize them with the liberation struggle of the nations of Eastern Europe and Asia.”

In the Appeal of this Conference we read the following: “The present war was begun and is being waged by the German National Socialists and the *Russian* Bolsheviks . . . A state regime built upon the enslavement of one nation by another engenders a striving for further undercutting and further enslavement, and gives birth to imperialism . . . The new order must be built upon a system of independent states of each nation on its own ethnographic territory . . . This order can be realized . . . only by way of revolution . . . A rising of the million-strong masses is needed for the victory of the revolu-

tion. The enslaved nations of the East have already set out on the road of this sacred struggle... The national partisans in Ukraine, in the Caucasus, in Central Asia, and the Baltic region have raised high the banner against the imperialists, defending their peoples from robbery by the imperialist scum, liberating entire territories from the imperialists.

“With the revolutionary forces of the nations in their common front of struggle against the imperialistic usurpers we shall build a new order, based on justice and on the liberty of all nations...”

Following the First Conference of Subjugated Nations of Eastern Europe and Russian-occupied Asia, there was formed on April 16, 1946, the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), as an organic continuation of the initiative and activity of the Revolutionary Committee of the Subjugated Nations of Eastern Europe and Asia. During the thirty years of its existence and activity, ABN has always been intended as an intra-national formation, acting with its secondary arm in the free world.

The Fourth Congress of the OUN defines the concept of ABN thus: “The concept of ABN has not only the foreign-political aspect of the struggle of the Ukrainian nation, the liberation of which is not possible without the liquidation of the Russian empire, but it has simultaneously also the revolutionary concept of the struggle of the subjugated nations, as was affirmed by the First Conference of the Subjugated Nations in 1943, and the real basis for cooperation of all those peoples which are threatened by Russian imperialism and Communism and which are struggling for national state independence.

“The mobilization of anti-Russian, anti-imperialistic, and anti-Communist forces in the world to support the liberation struggle of nations enslaved by Russian imperialism and Communism, and the concrete organization of such a struggle, can be successfully realized from the positions of ABN. The ideological and programmatic principles of ABN can be accepted by all freedom-loving nations.”

The primary task of ABN is the struggle inside the subjugated countries, the coordinated revolutionary liberation activity of the national forces of the subjugated nations. It means that ABN relies on liberation revolutions. The secondary task is the external political activity in the free world, the mobilization of anti-Russian and anti-Bolshevik forces on a worldwide scale by various methods and in various actions — mass demonstrations, diplomatic steps, propaganda and informational activity, and so on. This is the inclusion of the politically concordant elements of free nations, especially of the younger generation, in the liberation struggle of the subjugated nations, especially of those within the USSR.

With such an intention the activity of ABN has continued for three decades. The raids of the UPA into neighbouring countries — Poland, Slovakia, Byelorussia, Lithuania, East Prussia, Rumania, Croatia, and also in the Caucasus, as well as into the West — were part of the

plan for the realization of the ABN concept: a common front of the subjugated nations against Russia and the mobilization of the anti-Russian and anti-Bolshevik forces of the free world. In consequence of this broadly developed concept put into action, Moscow shuddered, for the ideas of the UPA in the plans of the ABN were beginning to tear apart its empire from within. Germany was defeated, but the UPA, taking up the ideas of the ABN, threatened to bring the empire to ruin. Ideas pay no import tax.

This is why in 1947 came a pact of three states — the USSR, Poland, and the CSSR — for a common fight against the UPA, for the UPA had just realized on a large scale the common front affirmed in 1943. Had the USA understood the meaning of ideas in struggle, had it supported the UPA politically and technically, neither the Russian empire nor the threat to humanity of an atomic war would exist today. The power of the UPA lay, in a universal sense, precisely in the power of the ideas of the ABN, which the UPA raised as its standard — freedom for nations, freedom for individuals — and with its raids it mobilized other nations in support of these ideas. The uprisings in concentration camps from 1953 to 1959 were also a part of the realization of the ideas of ABN — the common front of the subjugated against the common enemy, the Russian captor and stifler. Khrushchev came to the rescue of the empire by reorganizing concentration camps. Simultaneous revolts of about twenty million prisoners had threatened to disintegrate the empire, giving impetus to a revolution of the nations throughout the whole empire.

The great mistake of the Hungarian uprising of 1956 was precisely the fact that the Hungarians did not appeal for a common front of the captive nations, did not aim their propaganda toward the underground of the East, did not announce the ideas of ABN as the goal of their efforts, but begged the West for help. They did not turn their radio stations toward the subjugated nations, and did not make known that they were fighting not only for their own independence, but for the downfall of the empire as a whole! Isolating their struggle from that of the other oppressed nations and limiting their aims to a separate liberation, they could not win! But the peoples of the satellite countries, taught by bitter experience, are becoming conscious of their common fate and their common road to liberation. Not foreign bayonets, but the captive nations' own forces, their simultaneous revolts, shall bring victory!

The consciousness is ripening in the world that the captive nations are creating a separate superpower alongside the technological and thermonuclear superpowers. For "superpower" means not simply a material and technological factor, but ideas, ethical values, and determination to stand for the truth to the very end. Our is not only a thermonuclear age, but an ideological age as well. Ours is not only the age of the atom, but also the age of the national idea. ABN is the symbol of the new superpower to which belongs the future, when

the last empires will be brought down, and when the final triumph of the national idea, of human dignity, and of social justice will come.

ABN passionately understands this, its role and duty, and strives to realize it on a world scale. It is no chance event that the idea of the break-up of the Russian empire into national states is now more and more stirring the thoughts of the West's outstanding minds as well.

On the fiftieth anniversary of the USSR, there have appeared many substantial works about the Russian colonial empire. One might mention Robert Conquest, or the article in the London "*Economist*," etc. The young generation in Ukraine, and not only in Ukraine but in all the other nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and Communism, has taken up the ideas of ABN. From its creative work we can see that this idea of ours is being re-affirmed. It is a mockery of reality when Brezhnev speaks of the creation of some sort of Soviet nation. Such a thing has never been, is not, and never will be. There are the subjugated nations, and there is the subjugator — the Russian nation! It can call itself "Soviet," but the measureless dishonesty of this nation becomes apparent everywhere, for the Russian language, as well as Russification, are everywhere imposed. And nations cannot be slain, nations with a millennium of tradition, when African tribes with no history and no tradition gain states of their own!

ABN forms the most uncompromising front against the concept of the so-called Soviet nation, that is, against the attempt to Russify nations under the label of some mythical, non-existent fantastic Soviet society! One must be an idiot, or consider others to be such, to simultaneously talk of the "great Russian nation, the big brother," and assert that there are no longer any nations, but only the Soviet nation! This is a degenerate idea, which the mind of the Russian Brezhnev alone could engender.

Gen. G. F. C. Fuller, the most outstanding military theoretician of the free world, thus defines the role and significance of ABN: "The aim of the ABN is the complete dissolution of the Soviet Empire into its ethnographical parts and the establishment of each part as a sovereign nation. The ABN is, therefore, opposed to any form of Russian Imperialism, whether Tsarist, Socialist, Democratic, Republican, or Bolshevik. Nor will it tolerate any form of Russian federation, because it fears that whatever form it may take, it will inevitably lead to the re-establishment of a Russian hegemony.

"Because in the Atlantic Pact — however defective it may be — is to be found the only potential first front against the Soviet Union, so in the ABN — however lacking in organization it still is — may be found the only potential second front. Together the two should constitute the grand strategical instrument of the Western Powers, the one being as essential as the other, for neither without the other can achieve what should be the Western aim, not the containment of

Communism, but the complete elimination of Bolshevism, without which there can be no peace in the world.

“Therefore the conclusion is, should in wartime organized guerilla war be fostered in the subjugated countries and adequately supplied by the Western Powers, the high probability is that the whole economy of the USSR would collapse.

“To think in terms of the atomic bomb is autocratic; to think in terms of liberation is democratic, and though the atomic bomb has its uses, they must be weighed against the psychological effects they are likely to produce. To use this weapon indiscriminately is to repeat Hitler’s blunder, and the way in which it is used will determine whether the millions of enslaved peoples in Europe and the USSR are to be the allies of the West or the unwilling defenders of Moscow.

“Because from past history there is no reason to suppose that a change of regime in Moscow will call a halt to the age-old urge of Russian expansion, the aim of the Western Powers should coincide with the aim of the ABN. This means that the Soviet Empire must be dealt with as was the Turkish, that is, split up into its component parts, each part becoming an independent country.

“If these things are done, the Western nations need have no fears. But if they are not done, though the West may win the next war, in its winning it will reap its own destruction and may well end in Bolshevizing the world.” (Major-general J. F. C. Fuller — *Russia is not invincible*, Eyre & Spottiswoode, London, 1951).

It is therefore no wonder that on its thirtieth anniversary, ABN has become the object of such a vicious attack and assault from the enemy.

ABN and other Continental and world-wide anti-Communist and anti-Russian organizations in which our concept is supported and recognized, indicate that only the realization of the idea of Freedom for nations, Freedom for individuals! can secure everlasting peace and freedom in the entire world.

Our concept of liberation is national revolution of the captive nations, a common front of the enslaved nations in the form of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN). We deal below with two aspects of this concept, the internal and the external.

- 1) The internal aspect: coordinated and synchronized anti-Russian and anti-Communist national liberation revolutions; anti-imperialist activity simultaneously directed against the regime — i.e. efforts to bring about the downfall of the empire and to destroy Communism.
- 2) The external aspect: the establishment of a common anti-Russian and anti-Communist front of patriotic national fighting forces of the Free World nations which recognize that the downfall of the empire and the liquidation of the inhuman tyrannical Communist system are in their own interest.

The Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) deploys manifold anti-Russian and anti-Communist activities in various countries of the Free World. Starting from the principle that Russian imperialism in the present form of Communism is a danger to all freedom-loving nations and peoples of the world, the chances for winning adherents are rather good for us.

In 1967, the European Freedom Council (EFC) was created as a coordinating centre for the activities of anti-Russian and anti-Communist organizations of the free part of Europe. It is presided by the former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, Ole Bjorn Kraft, the Chairman of the Executive Board of the free European countries; Ivan Matteo Lombardo, former Minister of Foreign Trade of Italy, the Chairman of the Italian Atlantic Committee and the Vice-Chairman of the Atlantic Committee; as well as by the President of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, Yaroslav Stetsko. The EFC has already called three international conferences — in Munich, London, and Brussels — which were offensively attacked by the Soviet press and journals, e.g. *Novoye Vremya*.

In 1943 the ABN came into being in Zhytomyr region in Ukraine when the captive nations were fighting on two front-lines, i.e. Russia and Germany. It was initiated by the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), in particular by General Taras Chuprynka — Roman Shukhevych.

An Opening of the Door to Asia

Under the presidency of Yaroslav Stetsko, the ABN was deploying manifold international anti-Russian activities in many countries of various continents. Through the ABN activity the door to Asia was opened for the nations subjugated by Russia. In 1955, Yaroslav Stetsko in the name of the ABN concluded a treaty of cooperation with the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League (APACL) in Taiwan, its purpose being the joint struggle of Asian nations against Russian imperialism and Communism. Since that time, ABN delegations have participated in numerous international conferences and congresses in Asia, where heads of states, prime ministers, ministers (especially of foreign affairs), and presidents of parliaments of anti-Communist Asian countries were present. Richard Nixon, for instance, participated in the Conference at Taiwan. Such conferences with representatives of various countries of the world were held in Tokyo (three times), Bangkok, Manila, Seoul, Saigon, Taipei, and other capitals of Asian countries. Five years ago the ABN and the APACL initiated the creation of the World Anti-Communist League (WACL) which included a basic objective of the ABN in its charter: the struggle against Russian imperialism for the independent national statehood of the subjugated nations. The statutes of the WACL also guaranteed the permanent membership of a

representative of the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism within the USSR and in the satellite countries on the Executive Board of WACL. Thus the President of the ABN became a member of the WACL Executive Board.

There is no doubt that our foreign political activity in Asia during a period of over 17 years has also contributed to Peking's bringing up the question of Russian imperialism. In all international conferences we have always pointed out that Russian imperialism is the chief enemy of mankind and that its chief enemies are the nations enslaved by this imperialism.

When, in 1970 in Tokyo, our Japanese friends carried the flags of the subjugated nations represented at the Conference during a grand anti-Communist demonstration, facing the delegations of 75 nations of the whole world, it became evident how far ABN ideas had reached. The President of ABN held discussions with presidents, prime ministers, ministers of foreign affairs of various Asian, European, and American countries. Our question is being discussed in cabinets and by governments of many countries. Through our activity we are putting forward facts, ideas, alternatives, and suggestions which are being considered by politicians and, in a decisive moment, the ABN alternative for solving the international crisis will be on the order of the day. The fact that the USA and the USSR have concluded a treaty of balance of power between the superpowers is of no decisive significance. Metternich did the same by concluding a "holy" or rather sacrilegious alliance aimed at maintaining the European *status quo* for the benefit of a balance of power with the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. Nevertheless, in 1848 Kossuth brought about Metternich's downfall and the "Spring of Nations" rose. Kissinger, the imitator of Metternich's concepts at the international level, will certainly encounter a similar fate. We are living in an era when empires will fall and national states will rise everywhere in the world.

The Forgotten Superpower

The main characteristic of a superpower is not its being in possession of strategic armaments and technologic achievements, but rather a just idea inspiring the hearts and brains of nations and people! Liberation nationalism, a heroic concept of life, the cult of man (not of a "cog"), social justice, the cult of national thousand-year-old traditions, faith in God — these are the motivating forces of the new and the old world.

What significance does the atomic bomb have in view of the heroic attitude of a leading OUN member, Mykhaylo Soroka, preferring to spend 30 years in Russian prisons and die rather than to repent! In June, 1971, he was assassinated in Mordovia. Another example is the heroic attitude of Yuriy Shukhevych who, after 20

years of severe imprisonment and forced labour, was again sentenced to 12 years because he refused to disavow his father, General Roman Shukhevych — Chuprynka, the Commander-in-Chief of the UPA. There is also the courage of Valentyn Moroz, who accepted the road to Calvary — 14 years of suffering — affirming rather than repenting his Ukrainian patriotic convictions during his trial!

Alla Horska died as a hero, too — in 1970 she was assassinated in Vasylykiv near Kyiv — proving that the Ukrainian national idea is a power inspiring idealists and confessors! Vasyl Makukh, an OUN member and UPA fighter, burned himself on November 5, 1968, in Kyiv just as did Jan Palach in January, 1969, shouting “It is better to die in flames than to live under the Russian colonialist yoke!” and Romas Kalanta on May 14, 1972, shouting “Long live free Lithuania!” They all show that there is a new national faith rendering people fanatical just as Christianity did in the first centuries in Nero’s coliseums.

We are putting on the order of the day the third superpower, i.e. the enslaved nations, armed by an idea, morals, heroism of life and faith, and, moreover, being in possession of technology and strategic armaments, since the ratio of forces between the Russian empire and its satellites (which are also part of the empire) is 1 to 2! Thus the future belongs to us!

We have already had several ABN Conferences, i.e. those held in Edinburgh, London, Paris, Rome, Malta, Frankfurt, Guatemala, New York, Washington, Montreal, Toronto, Stockholm, Madrid, and others. We have participated in anti-Communist Conferences organized by the Free World in Mexico (1958), Escorial, Lisbon, Bolzano, Paris, Rome, Madrid, Stockholm, etc. We have organized mass actions against the Russian tyrants, their agents, diplomatic, commercial, and other missions. Thousands of young and old people have been demonstrating against Bolshevik representatives. Such vehement mass demonstrations are usually organized in England, Sweden, Canada, USA, Australia, Germany, France, and Argentina. Revolutionary mass activities constitute the most appropriate method for activating our cause. Nowadays, only a revolutionary type of action is effective.

The most effective ABN foreign political action so far was organized against Khrushchev in Stockholm. Thousands of Swedish students and workers demonstrated with our flags and slogans in the streets of the city and the promoter of the action, President of the ABN Yaroslav Stetsko, together with the Secretary General of the ABN, the Georgian Niko Nakashidze, laid down a wreath on the sarcophagus of Charles XII, Hetman Mazepa’s ally. Khrushchev was forced publicly to attack Y. Stetsko, the Ukrainian nationalists, and “the spirit of Mazepa risen from the dead” in his speech.

The whole world was talking about Ukraine. We owe a great deal of the success achieved to Estonians living and being very well

organized in Sweden and to our Swedish friends. At present our activities are aimed at the defence of writers, cultural workers, and fighters for human and national rights. We won't tolerate persecutions in our countries and we will respond more and more strongly to terror in the subjugated countries. Our manifold action will counteract the KGB terror!

Diplomatic Activity Addressed to the Public at Large

The situation behind the Iron Curtain and the goal of our struggle have also been pointed out in detail in personal discussions of ABN representatives with the heads of various states, heads of governments, ministers of foreign affairs, presidents of parliaments, delegates, and senators. It should be noted that numerous press conferences and radio and television interviews have been organized in many countries. Our leaflets dealing with the persecutions are being spread by hundreds of thousands in Great Britain, Canada, USA, and other countries. We not only inform a restricted circle of politicians and intellectuals but also the public at large what we want to win for our cause. Further, we inform the military staffs of the free countries about the military potential of ABN countries, the significance of guerilla warfare, and the actual stage of the revolutionary liberation struggle in our countries. Finally, we point out the importance of political psychological warfare, i.e., the struggle for the souls of people and nations.

The mass exodus from our native countries will be justified if we carry out the mission of our fighting nations abroad by propagating their ideas and supporting them in their terrible but grandiose, heroic, and self-sacrificing national struggle — the struggle of our nations' heroes and martyrs.

PROMISE AND REALITY

50 Years of Soviet-Russian "Achievements"
An Indictment of Russian Communism

by **SUZANNE LABIN**

Price:

7¹/₂p

When the Communists seized power in 1917 they made many promises to the workers and peasants in the former Russian Imperial lands.

In "PROMISE AND REALITY", the distinguished French journalist shows the reality of the Communist world after fifty years of unlimited power.

Published by the **British Section of the European Freedom Council**,
c/o 200, Liverpool Road, London, N.1.

ON THE THRESHOLD OF A NEW YALTA

Helsinki — Setting the Stage for the Capitulation of the West

By Ye. ORLOVSKYI

Ukraine has never counted on liberation with the help of intervention of foreign bayonets. It always oriented itself on its own strength alone. Numerous immigrants to the USA stemming from the subjugated nations cast their votes for the Republican Party, in particular for Nixon, because they expected a change in the American foreign policy to the advantage of Ukraine and other subjugated countries. But things took a different turn. Nixon is conducting "his own policy" and is not concerned with nations subjugated in the USSR. Having visited Ukraine, he did not even dare to do what de Gaulle had done at one time in Kyiv, mentioning the separate history of Ukraine of the Princely Era and the marriage ties between the Ukrainian and the French monarchs. Nixon, as an ordinary tourist, holding hands with his wife, had a picture of himself taken in front of St. Sophia in Kyiv, which for him is "the mother of Russian cities." He was taught nothing by the "Ukrainian Republicans."

Against the background of such experience by Ukrainians and members of other subjugated nations, now citizens of the USA, it is mandatory to advocate a different concept of domestic American politics. The division of Ukrainians in the USA into supporters of Democrats or Republicans is unjustified. It is the same as sitting on two chairs. The Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, The American Friends of ABN, the Organization for the Defence of Four Freedoms of Ukraine, the Ukrainian Youth Association of America, and other organizations should examine their policies concerning the government of the USA and initiate a joint action of national groups from behind the Iron Curtain in order to establish their own third force in the USA, not a pro-Democratic or a pro-Republican force, but one which embarks from its own position and advances its own concept, as a new political orientation. Such a third force should have its own candidates during elections, should separate itself from the two existing US parties, which in essence do not differ when it comes to their policies toward the nations subjugated in the USSR. The third force should also put up its own candidate for president, regardless of whether or not he wins the election for only by having a clear-cut program and political platform will it become active in the ranks of the political forces of the USA.

Under certain conditions, the present US parties will be forced to reckon with this third force, which will have an influence on the

formulation of American policies benefitting nations enslaved or threatened by Russian imperialism. Nixon does not respect the resolutions of the US Congress dealing with the subjugated nations, although these resolutions are binding on each American government. Basing itself on such a Congressional resolution, the third force has good starting chances. It is just necessary for Germans, Lithuanians, Byelorussians, Cubans, and other nationalities, together with Ukrainians, to create the action center of this third party which will proclaim its political program: practical realization of the Captive Nations Law and a rejection of the US appeasement policy toward the Russian empire and Communism. During congressional elections it will put up its own candidates. It can also nominate its candidate for president. Even Negroes and Puerto Ricans, who by their resoluteness have achieved considerably more in the US than have the Ukrainians or the Germans, the Poles or the Lithuanians, the Cubans or the Bulgarians, who are loyal to the Anglo-Saxons, can serve us as an example.

Nixon has ignored the ideals of the Occident, although the US sprang from its sources and traditions. As a travelling salesman to Brezhnev and Mao Tse-tung, he only embarrassed the United States. If Nixon expects that Brezhnev will save him from the Watergate affair, he is gravely mistaken, for provocateurs and lackeys of Moscow are the hidden arrangers of this affair. Through his agreement with Brezhnev, Nixon is helping to save the Russian empire. It is well known that Roosevelt saved Stalin and Eisenhower saved Khrushchov during the Hungarian Revolution, and now Nixon is saving Brezhnev. Nixon shares the responsibility for the intensification of terror in Russian-subjugated countries, just as he shares the blame for the Russian armed occupation of CSSR. Moscow does not take any risks without the tacit consent of Washington. Simultaneously, in line with its plan of psychological warfare, it now synchronizes scandalous affairs, arranged and inspired by it, which are intended to expose the "decadence" of the West and its "decaying" elite.

Upon the heels of the Watergate affair, there "suddenly" came to light an affair involving two British ministers with call girls, as well as the Steiner scandal in West Germany. Steiner was a representative to the *Bundestag* (parliament) and a KGB agent who sold his vote to Brand for an additional 50,000 D.M. Thus Brandt won the balloting by one vote, remained Chancellor, won the elections, and gave half of Germany to Moscow.

At the same time, the Italian police revealed that three Communist electro-technicians bugged Pope Paul VI's private telephone network and registered texts of all his secret conversations with the heads of the curias and other Church and state dignitaries. All these "incidents" occurred at the same time.

Decisions affecting the fate of nations are hidden behind such "incidents." Brezhnev and Andropov want to show the moral worth of the leading elite of some Western states. Brezhnev travelled to the White House because he knew that the ground for the realization of his plans had already been prepared psychologically. And Nixon is saving the so-called USSR, an empire with clay feet, with grain, technology, and loans.

Today, the likes of Brandt and Wehner — leftist Sovietophile socialists who neglect their own nations — are symbols of the West. And Nixon, allegedly from anti-Communist positions, helps to consolidate Russian tyranny.

The great statesmen of the West are a thing of the past. They do not exist today. The West is waiting for another anti-Bolshevik Clemenceau, an anti-Russian Churchill, a nationalist de Gaulle, an Occidental-in-spirit Adenauer.

The peoples of the West do not need parties, but renaissance movements, primarily ethical and ideological, as well as political. If nationalism and the heroic concept of life are not reborn inside Western nations, then Moscow will triumph over them, not because of its might, but due to the weakness of the West. Nixon and Brandt are dictating dark pages of Occidental history.

President Nixon followed in Roosevelt's footsteps and, in spite of the sad experience in cooperation with the Russian empire, he negotiated with Brezhnev a new mobilized version of the old agreement made at Teheran and Yalta.

It is an agreement about "peaceful coexistence," about the renunciation of atomic weapons, about mutual cooperation and support, about joint intervention and division of the world into spheres of interest of the two superpowers. Two policemen of the world, striving to establish a global condominium, are conspiring. From this it follows that the two policemen are ready to intervene against China or France, for example, if those nations, defending their own interests, would threaten to resort to nuclear arms.

The two technological superpowers will supposedly preserve a lasting peace, with a basic difference. Moscow is aggressive, aiming to conquer the entire world, while Washington desires "peace and quiet." Of course, Nixon's obligations provide Moscow with an opportunity to increase its pressure against Peking, all the more so since Brandt has become a friend and a collaborator of Moscow. Thus the Western flank of the Russian empire is secured by Brandt and Nixon.

Nixon is totally disregarding the present moral superpower — the nations subjugated inside the Russian empire — just as Metternich had done in the past. For him, a man without vision, a technocrat and an admirer of technology, the national and the human soul do not exist. *Newsweek* reports that political advisors and experts from the secret service have warned Nixon that Russia can use this situa-

tion for a "surgical operation" so as to get rid of the nuclear power of China. Other "experts" believe that through such an agreement Nixon wants to "encourage" Brezhnev to attack China just as Stalin had done with the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, and to be the third, benefitting from the clashes of others.

This view is false, however, for there are no grounds to trust in the far-sightedness of Nixon's policies or in his long-range planning. Furthermore, the agreement contains clauses which exclude such a possibility. Instead, they compel the USA to help Moscow or to hinder any counter-action by China that might threaten the USSR. Nixon has also recognized Brezhnev's intervention in CSSR and Moscow's domination over the subjugated nations, and he has betrayed the ideas of the free world in favour of a tyranny.

Essentially this infamous treaty has the character of police control over the whole world, supposedly a joint police supervision, over Western Europe as well. But all the geopolitical, ideologically political, and strategic chances of the modern guerrilla warfare remain on the side of Russian Bolshevism. The free countries of Europe and the world increasingly become an open terrain for Russian aggression, while the USA even pledges to expand the economic potential of the aggressors and to defend them from "adversaries."

But no peace is possible between a static and a dynamic, aggressive, and destructive force, particularly when the USA recognizes and confirms the aggressive starting positions of the so-called USSR, thus weakening even more its ideological, political, and military positions.

The concessions of the USA and of other Western governments in favour of the Russian empire were initiated by Brandt, while the treaty between Nixon and Brezhnev weakened the positions of Red China, which can be forced to be more conciliatory toward Moscow. Nevertheless, Nixon's agreement with Brezhnev weakens the anti-Russian potential of Western Europe and certain Chinese forces and reduces the significance of those arms and technological elements which Moscow fears most. The Americans and their allies together have an advantage over Russia with respect to nuclear weapons. On the other hand, Russia has an absolute advantage over the West in conventional arms. The agreement with the USA consolidates its power even more and gives it an opportunity to extend its subversion to the whole world.

That same agreement also weakens all other Western states and their partners, with the exception of the two policemen. In the end result, however, it considerably weakens the potential of the second policeman, America, because it undermines the potentially anti-Russian forces in the world, including the USA. Nixon failed to take this fact into consideration, just as Rosevelt had failed to do so in the past.

The suggestion that Nixon will allegedly maneuver Brezhnev into

a war with China is unrealistic, for Brezhnev is no Hitler. For Brezhnev, an agreement with the "capitalists" is mandatory because he must have a gendarme for crushing the national liberation uprisings of the nations subjugated in the USSR. He plays the role of a new Metternich, who needed Russian troops to combat Kossuth. Khrushchov had won US consent for crushing the Hungarian Revolution, while Brezhnev has won it for a possible uprising of Czechs and Slovaks . . .

The agreement between Nixon and Brezhnev is a conspiracy against the nations subjugated in the Russian empire, a guarantee that Nixon will not meddle in the "domestic affairs" of the USSR and, if need be, will even help to crush those who strive for freedom and independence. All present "agreements" with Brezhnev as well as the so-called disarmament conferences are water for the mill of the Russian empire.

The expansion of NATO forces and the nuclear might of Western Europe will be torpedoed for both policemen have pledged "to eliminate the threat posed by atomic weapons." Without the development of these arms, Western Europe will be forced to seek protection from the USA, that is, become its satellite and make its interests dependent on those of the USA.

What is the benefit of NATO's concept of nuclear strategy when its very essence is being denied by the agreement? What is the point of NATO planning in general?

Agreements with Moscow and disarmament will not save the world from Russian tyranny, but the building up of nuclear and conventional weapons by West European nations and a stake on nations subjugated in the USSR will do so. In other words, the policy of liberation of the subjugated nations and dependence on their own forces. Otherwise West Europe will find itself in the role of satellite of one or the other superpower. The downfall of Brandt's government, an outpost of the Russian empire in Western Europe, thermonuclear armament, in particular the expansion of conventional armed forces, orientation upon the insurgent armies of the subjugated nations, a systematic and planned consolidation of their liberation revolutions is the sole road to liberation of the still free nations of Europe from the satellite status which is inevitably waiting for them. Here a special role falls to Ukraine and the ABN, to England and France, but a national France, a patriotic and anti-Russian France which understands the fundamental threat and the spirit of the historic epoch.

Our thesis that Ukraine is the revolutionary problem of the world is justifying itself more and more. And it is surprising that Nixon disregards this revolutionary force, that he doesn't rise in defence of its cultural leaders and freedom fighters who are also defending the liberty of the United States.

It is difficult to grasp what is happening around those having

power in the West. Why do they let themselves be slaughtered like calves? Once Churchill had said that only the most stupid slaves choose their own butchers. This is taking place right now. The Russians shout about the necessity of a conference of so-called European security and the USA and other Western states follow that call as calves to a trough. Why is Moscow so interested in the "disarmament conference"? Does it fear an attack? After all, everyone knows that nobody in the West even dreams of attacking the Russian empire. Here people are happy chewing gum, drinking Coke and Bavarian beer, dancing sexy dances; these are the dreams of a decadent society. Dancing boogie-woogie they are rolling down to the abyss. Who is preparing an attack against the Russian tyrants? Brandt, Mitteran, Fanfani, Nixon? Nixon has even capitulated in Vietnam.

"The conference of security" is needed by the Russian chieftains in order to protect themselves from the uprisings of nations they oppress, to gain a lasting guarantee of territorial *status quo* a guarantee in international law, a permanency of the *status quo* of subjugation of nearly a quarter of a billion people — members of nations subjugated in the USSR and its satellites — in order to be able to extend further its aggression and conquests.

For these reasons, it is not the Western states which need a "security conference" but the Russian empire, which is threatened by insurrections in Ukraine, Turkestan, Hungary, in the Caucasus and in other countries it suppresses. It is not the USA or Europe which have a common border with China, but the Russian empire. Why is the West rescuing the empire of tyrants? This can be answered only by the Russian espionage network which infiltrates Western States.

In this situation there are no grounds to have confidence in Western states and to orient ourselves on their "liberation policy." Therefore, we must orient ourselves only on the forces of nations subjugated in the USSR, upon our own forces, as the sole guarantee of national and social liberation from the Russian yoke.

A conflict between the Russian empire and Red China is not the object of our orientation, since it might have an unpredictable end, resulting even in an internal *coup-d'etat* in China by the pro-Russian elements (a new Lin Piao and Liu Shao-chi) and their reconciliation with Russia.

Moscow is incapable of conducting a conventional or a thermo-nuclear war with Red China. Therefore, it is counting on a civil war in China, provoked by the pro-Russian elements. Such pro-Russian Chinese elements can be found on the territory of the USSR as well. Their main concentration is in Tashkent and in other centers of Turkestan, as well as in Siberia. In the event of internal disturbances in China, they are ready to take power into their own hands, with the help of the Russians, and to reorient Chinese politics on Moscow. The Kremlin is awaiting this very opportunity.

The Russian chiefs are not afraid of any US intervention to the disadvantage of the Russian empire, for they know that the so-called treaties with Western states, especially the USA, are like a new Yalta or Teheran. Moreover, Moscow can rely on the precedents and experience of Budapest, Prague, Bratislava, the Berlin wall, and the uprising in East Germany.

Although Moscow's gamble on Lin Piao has failed, it is nevertheless counting on a similar situation after Mao's death. Therefore, the expectations of some Western opportunists that the Chinese will take their chestnuts out of the fire for them are completely unrealistic. There is no guarantee that Peking will go to war with Moscow. The subjugated nations alone are the true, irreconcilable enemies of the Russian empire. And they are the hope of the world.

The struggle of nations subjugated in the USSR for liberation is at the same time a bulwark which saves the free world from a Russian deluge. The Russian empire is a colossus on clay feet which finds itself on top of a volcano: the liberation revolutions of the subjugated nations.

UKRAINE-RUŠ AND WESTERN EUROPE IN 10th-13th CENTURIES

by

Natalia Polonška-Vasylenko
Ukrainian Free University

Published by the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain, Ltd.,
49, Linden Gardens, London, W.2.,
1964, 47 pp. + 16 pp. of illustrations.

This lucid treatise by Professor Dr. Natalia Polonška-Vasylenko on the little known relations between ancient Ukraine and Western Europe in the Middle Ages provides fascinating insight into close political, dynastic and cultural ties of the Kievan State with the countries of Western Europe.

Price: 12 s. net.

SOVIET NATIONALITIES POLICY IN UKRAINE, 1920-1930

(Continuation — 8)

By W. MYKULA

In fact, this statement of Volobuyev's views though made too explicit, was, on the whole, correct. Volobuyev believed that the only sound basis for the realization of the equality of Ukraine lay in the assurance of her unity and her freedom of development for her economy.

"The liquidation of the 'provincial status' of our language, our literature, our culture in general will come as a result of the assurance for Ukraine of a free development of her productive forces, of safeguarding for her the status of a fully formed and complete National economic organism, of putting an end to the usual view of her as a sum of districts of the one and indivisible (i.e. Russian — W. M.) economy."¹

To combat the deviation thus expressed by Volobuyev, "discussion" meetings were held and a Press campaign was launched. At first, Volobuyev sought to defend his standpoint by dropping his "practical conclusions,"² but by November, 1928, he was compelled to admit and condemn his Nationalist mistakes in a letter to the editor of *Bil'shovyk Ukrainy*,³ and also to publish articles in the Press, condemning his past mistakes.

The fact that the views of Volobuyev were not limited to a small group of sectarians but had a wider support was confirmed by Party spokesmen. Thus M. Levyts'kyi, linking up Volobuyev's views with those of the Shums'kyists, wrote:⁴

"This article (Volobuyev's — W. M.) reflects tendencies that are widespread in the circles of the Ukrainian Nationalist intelligentsia, who do not feel well in the Soviet reality and, together with the editors of the *L'viv Dilo*, dream about a Ukrainian bourgeois State with its own parliament, and even its own representative in the League of Nations . . . Shums'kyism, as an ideological movement in Soviet Ukraine, has many supporters among the Nationalist intelligentsia, but in the Party Shums'kyism has no basis and no prospects for the future."

While it is true that the overwhelming majority of the C.P.(b).U. was not inclined to follow in the footsteps of Volobuyev's deviation,

1) B. U. No. 3, 1928, p. 62; Hirschak, *op. cit.* p. 111.

2) At the meeting of the Department of the Nationality Question, at the Marxist Institute in Kharkiv, February, 1928.

3) B. U. Nos. 21-22, 1928.

4) "Shcho take shums'kyzm?" B.U., No. 6. March 30, 1928, p. 68.

there was, nevertheless, an organically Ukrainian section of its membership which was a potential reservoir of National deviations, and which could therefore serve as a rallying centre for the anti-Moscow resistance of the wider sections of the Ukrainian public. Having no open supporters in the Politburo, however, this nucleus could not exert any organized pressure on the Party Machine.

4. The Campaign against Nationalism in Historiography.

Since the early years of this century, Ukrainian historiography had developed under the impact of the historical outlook put forward by Mykhaylo Hrushevs'kyi. His views challenged the traditional Russian scheme of history which represented the Kievan State as the early stage of the history of Russia, and pointed out that this historical formation belonged more properly to the history of Ukraine, while the origins of Muscovite Russia must be sought in the Rostov-Suzdal area. He thus introduced a clear-cut separation between the history of Ukraine and that of Muscovy. Hrushevs'kyi denied the existence of a single Russian nation at the time of the Kyiv State, and tried to prove that the Russian (Muscovite) nation was formed from a different ethnic substratum than the Ukrainian one. Tracing the subsequent history of Ukraine, Hrushevs'kyi showed the disastrous consequences for the Ukrainian people of the annexation of Ukraine by the Russian Empire in the 17th and 18th centuries. As far as ideology was concerned, Hrushevs'kyi followed the populist democratic tradition and largely identified the Ukrainian people with the peasant masses.

After the Revolution, even some Russian historians, like E. Presnyakov and M. Lyubavskiy, at one time supported Hrushevs'kyi's historical scheme, and the official Marxist historian, Pokrovskiy, equally with Hrushevs'kyi, condemned the Russian Tsarist imperialism and its conquest of neighbouring countries and peoples. In the 1920's, the majority of Ukrainian historians were non-Marxists, and they grouped themselves around the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kyiv. A small group of Marxist historians, however, came into being in Kharkiv, under the leadership of Matviy Yavors'kyi. These latter tried to adapt Pokrovskiy's schematic division of Russian history and his theories of social development to Ukrainian conditions. At the same time, however, they were influenced by Hrushevs'kyi's ideas as to the relations between Ukraine and Russia.

After the difficult period of Militant Communism, which was

Note. Some of the principal articles attacking Volobuyev:

- E. Hirschak, "Ekonomichna platforma natsionalizmu" (The economic platform of nationalism). *B. U.* No. 6, March, 1928. pp. 29-43;
- M. Skrypnyk, "Z pryvodu ekonomichnoyi platformy natsionalizmu" (Concerning the economic platform of nationalism) *B. U.* No. 6, 1928, pp. 44-50.
- A. Perchyk, "Naynovishna teoriya radyans'koyi ekonomiky" (The most recent theory of Soviet economics), *ibid.* pp. 51-60.

marked by the extreme dearth of Ukrainian historical publications, the period of Ukrainization, from 1923 onward until 1930, offered reasonably favourable opportunity for the development of Ukrainian historical research and publishing. The return of Hrushevs'kyi to Kyiv from emigration in 1924 started a notable upsurge of Ukrainian historical studies, although these were limited to the themes and periods which accorded well with the current Soviet views on progressive forces in history. Thus, for example, the Cossack period of Ukrainian history¹ and the 19th century received the predominant attention of the historians, because popular movements, economic development, and Revolutionary struggles against Tsarism could be studied. In numerous publications which appeared in the second half of the 1920's, published by the Academy of Sciences and Hrushevs'kyi's historical Institutes, and especially in *Ukrayina*, a serious journal devoted to Ukrainian studies and edited by Hrushevs'kyi himself, Ukraine's history is represented from the Ukrainian National standpoint, and the antagonism between the interests of Ukraine and the policies of the Russian Empire is emphasized. The general tendency is to separate the history of Ukraine from that of Russia and to present it as a unique process. In the 1920's, this tendency ran parallel to the glorification of the Revolutionary anti-Tsarist movements in Ukraine, and for this reason it was temporarily tolerated, until Stalin's policy of centralization required the suppression of all Separatist trends.

The campaign of Moscow to gain control over Ukrainian historical science proceeded in two stages. The first step was a campaign to eliminate the Ukrainian historians who held National democratic views, and this was carried out mainly by the Ukrainian Marxists. The second stage was the elimination of those Ukrainian Marxist historians who tried to develop Ukrainian historical science independently of the views accepted in Moscow.

The preparation of the campaign against National-democratic Ukrainian historiography and historians had already begun in 1926, at the time of the struggle against the Ukrainian National-Communist deviation in the Party, symbolized by Khvyil'ovyi. At the celebrations for the 60th birthday of Hrushevs'kyi, in October, 1926, the latter offended the Soviet leaders of Ukraine by omitting to praise the Soviet regime, and although he attempted to rectify this mistake in an open letter,² at the same time he expounded some of his views on Ukrainian historical and social problems, which were soon singled out as the basis of an attack on him. A prominent Ukrainian Communist, Panas Lyubchenko, specifically attacked the "petty-bourgeois theory of the non-bourgeois character of the Ukrainian nation," put forward by Volodymyr Vynnychenko,³ the Ukrainian Social Demo-

1) The 17th and 18th centuries.

2) *Proletars'ka Pravda*, October 9, 1926.

3) In his pamphlet *Povorot na Ukrayinu*, published in emigration in 1926.

cratic leader, who was trying once more to flirt with the Bolsheviks, while still remaining in exile, and linked this theory with Hrushevs'kyi's appeal for orientation toward the history of the Ukrainian peasant masses, their history and their consciousness. Lyubchenko wrote: "To attempt to orientate us today toward the peasantry is to relegate the proletariat to second place... this means to orientate us towards the wealthy *kulak* section of society... and this means to restore in Ukraine the political movement of bourgeois democracy."¹ To understand the meaning of these words correctly, one must remember that the proletariat was largely identified with the orientation toward Russia and the peasantry with the Ukrainian National movement in Ukraine. Thus "orientation toward the peasantry" could mean orientation toward Ukrainian National democracy.

Lyubchenko objected to the open letter of Hrushevs'kyi, in which the latter declared that Ukrainians must first become a predominant force in the towns before an orientation toward the proletariat could take place.² This view formed the basis of Hrushevs'kyi's insistence that the study of Ukrainian history should in the first place be concerned with Ukrainian peasant movements and aspirations. The Marxist historians, on the other hand, laid the greatest emphasis on the history of the proletarian movements, and especially of the Bolshevik Party. The history of the C.P.(b).U. was studied as a separate subject. As far back as 1921, the so-called "Istparty" (Departments of Party History) were established in the Central Committee and in the *gubernia* and *okrug* Party Committees. They published memoirs and works on local Party history. The important journal *Letopis revolyutsii*, which had appeared in Russian since 1922 and was "Ukrainized" in 1928, as well as the journals, *Prapor marksyzmu*, *Puti revolyutsii*, and *Istoriik bol'shevik* published a considerable amount of memorist and theoretical material on the history of the C.P.(b).U. From the pen of Marxist historians appeared several general surveys of the history of the Communist Party in Ukraine, which tried to represent this Party as of at least partly indigenous growth. Thus the already mentioned M. Ravich-Cherkassky, in one of the earliest histories of the C.P.(b).U. developed the theory of the "dual roots" of the C.P.(b).U.³ This theory was criticized from the very beginning,⁴ but was generally accepted by Ukrainian Communists until it was condemned at the end of the 1920's, when the official Party view that only the Bolshevik organizations of the R.S.D.R.P. were the real parent body of the C.P.(b).U. reasserted itself fully. By admitting the parentage of the U.S.D.R.P., the Party would have had to admit that the Ukrainian Revolutionary move-

1) *Bud rad. Ukr.* p. 88.

2) *Ibid.* p. 88.

3) M. Ravich-Cherkassky, *Istoriya KP(b)U*, Kharkiv, 1923.

4) Review in *Izvestiya*, April 15, 1923.

ment had some positive value and had something to teach the Bolshevik Party. This, of course, was unthinkable, as only the Russian Bolshevik Party had the right to represent the progressive force of history, namely, the proletariat. A book with a more cautious approach to it was that of N. Popov,¹ which nevertheless emphasised the importance of the National problem in Ukraine, and the past mistakes of the Party in this respect, namely, the underestimation of the National problem, and the persistence of Russian Chauvinist tendencies. He laid stress on the tendencies in the Party which aimed at making it as independent as possible of Moscow, and which tried to make the championing of Ukrainian National development one of the tasks of the Party.

The years marking the transition from the N.E.P. to the "construction of Socialism" period were accompanied by a general drive for Party orthodoxy that was connected with the strengthening of Stalin's struggle against his opponents on the Left and on the Right. The campaign against National deviationists, which was a part of this campaign and was supported by the growing influence of the Chauvinist-inclined Russian centralists, could not bypass the field of history, which was so full of conflicting interpretations of international relations in the past. Party orthodoxy and the needs of the centralists demanded a single interpretation of the history of Ukraine and of her relations with Russia that would serve the interests of uniformity, though at the expense of historical truth. The Ukrainian historians, on the other hand, were concerned with strengthening Ukrainian National consciousness and the psychological separation from Russia. An open clash between these two schools of thought occurred at the turn of the year 1928-29, and the central figure of this conflict was Matviy Yavors'kyi, a convinced Marxist and an opponent of the National-democratic Ukrainian historical school.

Between December 28 and January 4 (1928-29), the first All-Union Congress of Marxist historians was held in Moscow. Its aim was "to unite Marxist historians of the Soviet Republics and to clarify the Marxist-Leninist method of the study of history."² Professor M. Pokrovskiy, the chief Party authority on history, declared an open war on the so-called bourgeois historians by saying that only Marxist history could be scientific. Marxist historians, however, of the non-Russian Republics, in particular Ukraine, were confronted with immediate danger, and Pokrovskiy warned them not to use the "class and nation" method.

Another Russian historian, Gorin, pointed out numerous "bourgeois survivals" in the works of the Ukrainian authors and drew the conclusion that "pure and orthodox Marxism is hardly possible in Ukraine." He accused all Ukrainian Marxists of the "mistakes" committed by an author whom he did not name but whom everyone

1) *Narys istorii KP(b)U*, Kharkiv, 1928.

2) *Novi shlyakhy*, No. 1, 1929, p. 147.

knew to have been Yavors'kyi. This accusation drew a sharp retort from the Ukrainian historians, who felt that they were in a strong position, since they came to the Congress with a report of their quite considerable achievements. The atmosphere of suspicion toward them, however, was not dispelled and the Resolutions of the Congress reflected this attitude. Despite the praise lavished by the Kharkiv press on the Ukrainian Marxist historians on their return from the Congress, the critics in Moscow resumed the campaign which dragged on during most of 1929. Gorin recapitulated his attack in an article in *Pravda*, on February 10, 1929, in which he stated that Yavors'kyi had, in his books on the history of Ukraine, concealed Nationalist tendencies, under cover of Marxism. Most Ukrainian Marxist historians rallied at first to the side of Yavors'kyi and, at their Conference in Kharkiv, on February 15, 1929, refuted these charges. Yavors'kyi counter-attacked with an article, published in the Kharkiv journal *Prapor Marksyzmu*,¹ in which he described Gorin as a "Russotyap," and criticized Pokrovskiy himself for supporting the old centralist Russian concept of history. Gorin replied in the Moscow journal *Istoriik Marksist*² with obscure hints at Yavors'kyi's past. Another author, T. Skubytskiy, denounced Yavors'kyi for having represented the history of Ukraine as "an unique process," and described his work as "a pseudo-substitute for Marxist class analysis," and "a formally Nationalist phenomenon."³

The campaign against Yavors'kyi was intensified in the course of 1929. Numerous meetings of Marxist historians were held in Kharkiv, and it became clear from the disputes in May, 1929, that Yavors'kyi's group was losing ground. Some of his former students, like M. Rubach or Z. Hurevych, went over to the side of Moscow, but others, like Sukhyno-Khomenko, tried to soften the blows against Ukrainian Marxist historiography and themselves, by putting forward a milder version of the criticism against Yavors'kyi, at the same time laying an equal portion of the blame on the Moscow historians. These tactics were unsuccessful, even though, in the middle of September, Yavors'kyi published a self-critical article entitled "My mistakes in the Concept of the History of Ukraine."⁴ In January, 1930, M. Skrypnyk himself used his voice of authority to condemn Yavors'kyi's "false" concepts and to express the Party's dissatisfaction with his insufficient repentance.⁵ Yavors'kyi was promptly excluded from the Party, condemned by the Ukrainian Society of Marxist Historians, which he himself had founded in 1928, as a pseudo-Marxist and Nationalist. He was exiled, at first to Central Russia, and then, in 1934, to the

1) No. 2, 1929.

2) No. 12, 1929.

3) Sukhyno-Khomenko, "Na marksysts'komu istorychnomu fronti", *B. U.*, No. 17-18, 1929.

4) *Komunist*, No. 204, Kharkiv.

5) *B. U.* No. 2, 1930, M. Skrypnyk, "Akademika M. Yavors'koho pomylyky i korektury."

forced-labour camp in the Solovki islands where all traces of him disappear. In the campaign against him the fact that he had happened to serve for a brief period in the Austro-Hungarian police force (he came from Galicia) was much exploited.

The defeat of Yavors'kyi's Marxist school of Ukrainian history meant the end of independent Ukrainian historical writing in Soviet Ukraine.

5. The Case of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine.

In 1929, the Soviet regime expected that the intensification of the "class struggle" would activate the resistance of the Ukrainian peasantry to the Government measures and, under certain circumstances, might make them once more easily susceptible to the Nationalist propaganda, whose potential bearers were members of the old Ukrainian intelligentsia, the survivals from the Ukrainian pre-Revolutionary and post-Revolutionary National movement, former adherents of the Central Rada, or of various Ukrainian parties, such as the Social-Democrats, Socialist Revolutionaries, and so on. In order to decapitate the Ukrainian Nationalist movement, it was necessary to remove the potential leaders who could serve as symbols of the past struggle, and to discredit the ideology they represented.

In the autumn of 1929, the discovery and arrest of the alleged underground organization, "Union for the Liberation of Ukraine," was announced. This occurred shortly before Stalin launched his collectivization drive. The question of whether such an organization really existed or whether it was merely a fabrication of the G.P.U. has not yet been finally solved. Careful weighing of the facts and documents available seems to suggest that such an organization did, in fact, exist, but that it was denounced and infiltrated by one or more G.P.U. agents, who caused its arrest at the time when it was most convenient to the Bolshevik authorities, which were making preparations for a great operation of changing the traditional individualist peasant structure of Ukraine into a pattern of collective farms, which would impose an iron control on the manpower and agriculture of Ukraine. A widely publicized show trial before the Supreme Court of the Ukrainian S.S.R. was held from March 10 to April 19, 1930, in the great hall of the Kharkiv Opera House.

Among those brought for public trial in connection with the "Union for Liberation of Ukraine" were some of the most prominent Ukrainian intellectuals, University professors, teachers, students, leaders of the Cooperative movement, and scientists. The most prominent among the accused were the following:

(1) *Professor Serhiy Yefremov*, 53, an eminent scholar, literary historian, editor of the *Rada*, the only pre-Revolutionary Ukrainian-

language daily in the Russian Empire, one of the leaders and founders of the radical-liberal Party, the so-called "Society of Ukrainian Progressives" (T.U.P.), which in 1917 had been renamed the Ukrainian Party of Socialist-Federalists. After the Revolution, Yefremov became Deputy Chairman of the Central Rada, and under Skoropads'kyi he was one of the organizers of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences and became its Vice-President. In 1927, he was removed from the Academy of Sciences because of his opposition to the Soviet reforms of the Academy. He was the author of several works on the history of Ukrainian literature.

(2) *Volodymyr Chekhiv's'kyi*, 54, one of the former leaders of the Ukrainian Social-Democratic Party, a former Premier of the Ukrainian People's Republic after the fall of Skoropads'kyi. Later, he abandoned political activity and devoted himself to religious affairs, being one of the organizers of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church.

(3) *Volodymyr Durdukiv's'kyi*, 55, a well known Kyiv teacher and schoolmaster.

(4) *Yosyf Hermayze*, 37, a historian, University professor, and a former adherent of the Ukrainian S.D. Party, in charge of the Department of Marxism at the Academy of Sciences.

(5) *Andriy Nikov's'kyi*, 44, writer, former leading member of the Ukrainian Socialist-Federalist Party, and at one time Foreign Minister in the Government-in-Exile of the U.N.R. He returned to Ukraine in 1924.

(6) *Lyudmyla Staryts'ka-Chernyakhiv's'ka*, 60, a well-known woman writer and public figure.

(7) *Oleksander Chernyakhiv's'kyi*, 60, husband of Lyudmyla, Professor of the Kyiv Medical Institute, and a former member of the Ukrainian Socialist-Federalist Party.

(8) *Vsevolod Hantsov*, 37, Professor of Philology, former member of the Ukrainian Socialist-Federalist Party.

(9) *Mykola Pavlushkov*, 26, a student of the Kyiv Institute of People's Education (University), Yefremov's nephew.

There were also other members of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences and of other educational establishments.

The trial was conducted in an elaborate manner, with all the paraphernalia of judiciary procedure. The accused were questioned at great length about their past political activities, and the prosecution tried to establish the case that the organization to which the accused belonged aimed at the overthrow of the Soviet regime in Ukraine and the establishment, with foreign help, of the Capitalist system in a Ukraine that would be dependent on foreign powers. The prosecution asserted that the ideology of Ukrainian independence was only a screen behind which the bourgeoisie wished to re-establish their rule, surrendering Ukraine to foreign, especially Polish, domination. The Union for the Liberation of Ukraine was represented as a dangerous

organization which considered terrorist methods of struggle, and was in close contact with its fraternal organization abroad to which, according to the prosecution, belonged the leading people of the Nationalist emigration. This latter statement does not correspond with known fact, because the Ukrainian emigration was divided into several political camps, which were in bitter conflict with one another, and thus it is scarcely likely that a secret body existed which united them in one organization. Both the Ukrainian Socialists in exile and the representatives of the Rightist groups denied any knowledge of such an organization or of their contacts with the accused. It is an indisputable fact, however, that some private contact existed between Yefremov and a certain Chykalenko from the Government-in-Exile of the U.N.R., and the prosecution alleged that this was maintained through a foreign (namely Polish) consulate.

The verbatim report of the trial, the first part of which was published in book form by the Soviet authorities in 1931, contains both the accusations by the prosecution and the interrogation of many of the accused. Thus it is possible to gain some idea about the origin, ideology, programme of action, and the actual work of the alleged underground organization.

It appears that the S.V.U. (Union for the Liberation of Ukraine) was a successor to a previous underground centre which called itself the Brotherhood of Ukrainian Statesmen (Bratstvo Ukrayins'kykh Derzhavnykiv — B.U.D.) which was founded in 1920 with the aim of co-ordinating the activities of the anti-Bolshevik partisans in Ukraine in order to prepare for a general rising to drive out the Soviet troops and re-establish the authority of the U.N.R. Government. In the years 1921-1922 this organization had been fairly active, but already by 1922 the Soviet regime was strong enough to make any large-scale partisan activities impossible. The organization, headed by Yefremov, limited itself henceforth to the task of re-establishing contact among the dispersed Ukrainian Nationalist activists. The general disillusionment among the Nationalist elements, however, and the "softer" Bolshevik policy toward Ukrainian cultural affairs led to the discontinuance of the B.U.D. by the end of 1924.

While the idea of a narrow conspiratorial organization was dropped as ineffective, the new idea of creating an underground organization on a wide basis was adopted. This was, apparently, the idea of A. Nikovs'kyi, who had recently returned from exile, having taken advantage of the Soviet amnesty. He believed in the "necessity of having a strong, organized, compact, and united public" in order to counteract the Bolshevik methods. The chief organizer of the new organization was once again Yefremov. In April, 1926, he allegedly received a letter from Chykalenko, a member of the Government-in-Exile, who suggested that the anti-Bolshevik work in Ukraine ought to be organized. In May, 1926, Petlyura, the head of the Government-

in-Exile, was assassinated in Paris, and Yefremov and his few academic friends decided that the moment had come to start preparations for the establishment of an organized network of anti-Bolshevik resistance in Ukraine. Yefremov was stated to have received a second letter from Chykalenko in the middle of June, 1926. This was alleged to have informed him about the formation of an organizing committee for the unification of the Ukrainian emigration, although nothing of this kind had occurred. This letter prompted Yefremov to call the meeting which founded the S.V.U., in June, 1926. Eight people, members of the former Kyiv B.U.D., took part in it and worked out the general principles and programme of work of the Society.

The chief aim of the Society was to work for an independent Ukraine. It was founded on the principle that the nation was more important than class differences. In the economic policy, its programme provided for the reinstatement of private property among the peasants, and the distribution of former large estates among the peasants in exchange for State-aided compensation. Most nationalized enterprises, with the exception of those of State importance, were to be returned to their owners. The organization was to utilize the dissatisfaction with the regime that was widespread among the people, by inciting revolts in conjunction with similar uprisings among the other non-Russian peoples of the U.S.S.R. According to the statements of the accused and of the Prosecution, the S.V.U. organization was originally constructed as a system of cells, each consisting of about five people. The membership of the S.V.U. was recruited mainly from among the staff and students of educational establishments in Kyiv and other important Ukrainian towns. By January, 1927, there allegedly existed 15 cells, including those in the following provincial towns: Odessa, Kharkiv, Poltava, Vynnytsya, Dnipropetrovsk, Kamyanyets, and Uman.

The nucleus of a youth organization, S.U.M. (Spilka Ukrayins'koyi Molodi — Ukrainian Youth Association), had already existed. It was led by M. Pavlushkov, a young nephew of Yefremov. It was included in the general scheme of the S.V.U. at the second meeting of its leading body in September, 1926.¹ As the temporary Praesidium of the organization there were chosen: Yefremov — Chairman, Chekhivs'kyi — Deputy Chairman, and Durdukivs'kyi — Treasurer. As was revealed during the pre-trial investigations, during the whole time of the existence of the S.V.U., twenty meetings of its leading body were held at which various matters of practical organizational work were discussed. The meetings were allegedly arranged on the occasions of family celebrations, in order not to evoke suspicion. Some personal contacts were established with the emigré leaders, through Chernyakhivs'kyi who went on a trip abroad in connection with his professional work.

¹) Testimony of Durdukivs'kyi. *S.V.U.*, p. 26.

In June, 1927, when the year's work was reviewed, the conspirators came to the conclusion that little had been done to give the movement a basis of wide support. In particular, the lack of organized cells in the villages was considered extremely disappointing. On the suggestion of Yefremov, it was decided, rather recklessly, to change the structure of the organization from the system of "fives," which was crippling the development of the S.V.U., to a system of branches with wider membership, established at places of work. In spite of the warnings from Staryts'ka-Chernyakhivs'ka that such a move would lead to the discovery of the organization, the decision was taken. There were expectations that the internal difficulties in the Soviet Union might come to a head in about 1930-1931. The S.V.U. did not expect an early anti-Bolshevik uprising, but considered it necessary to prepare the necessary cadres for such a possibility. The main hope was centred on an external clash of the Soviet Union with a foreign power, Poland being the most likely, and a peasant uprising in Ukraine timed to occur simultaneously with it. In the latter period of its existence, the S.V.U. turned most of its attention toward the extension of its influence on students of peasant stock, so that through them its ideas could be spread to the villages. The S.V.U. also attempted to control the internal affairs of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church and to influence the elections of its leading ecclesiastical personalities. The cells in the cooperative movement and among the agricultural experts were also considered important, for they had contact with the countryside. The conditions under which this illegal organization had to function, however, were not propitious to its development.

The prosecution made great play with the point that the youth branch of the S.V.U., the S.U.M., considered the eventuality of engaging in individual acts of terrorism against the representatives of the Soviet regime. The story of the S.U.M. is of some interest, since it reflects the situation among the Ukrainian students of some of the higher educational establishments, particularly in Kyiv. According to the statements of the most important of the S.U.M. members among the accused, Mykola Pavlushkov, a nephew of Yefremov, one has to look for its origins in the early 1920's, when anti-Bolshevik partisan detachments, sympathizing with Petlyura and with the programme of the U.N.R. were still active. The youth of the first Shevchenko School in Kyiv, whose schoolmaster, Volodymyr F. Durdukivs'kyi was an ardent Ukrainian patriot, formed, on his suggestion, a literary discussion club after finishing their course in 1922, and were thus attached to the school for one more year. The discussion club, in which strong Nationalist tendencies prevailed and which, in 1923, united about sixty students, was regarded by Durdukivs'kyi as a means of retaining the influence of Ukrainian Nationalist ideas on young people of school-leaving age. In 1922-1923, Mykola Pavlushkov also organized a group of students who were ready to create a partisan detachment. The nucleus of the underground Ukrainian Youth Association was

later formed from the members of this group. The discussion club, which was called the "Society of Unity and Accord," was not satisfactory from the point of view of the organizers, because, although semi-secret, it was known to the Bolshevik authorities and therefore was useless as well as dangerous for its members. During private discussions between Yefremov, Durdukivs'kyi and Pavlushkov in the autumn of 1924 and through the spring of 1925, there arose the idea of creating a new youth organization, which would use a better conspiratorial technique and would unite in its ranks young people with firm Nationalist political opinions. The nucleus of such an organization was formed by Pavlushkov, Borys Matushevs'kyi, and three of their friends at the beginning of June, 1925, and was given the name "Ukrainian Youth Association." The main thesis of its programme was the postulate that Ukraine must be liberated from an usurping regime of occupation and transformed into an independent Ukrainian democratic republic, with all democratic liberties, a parliamentary system, an elected government, and a president of the republic. The S.U.M. was to be a fighting organization with, for the time being, a centralized system of direction. Its members took an oath to belong to the organization for life. They were required to take an interest in military training. A part of the personal income of each member was to be set aside to form the fighting fund. Strict rules of conspiracy were to be observed. It was expected that the political tension with Poland would break out into a war, during which it would be easier to cause an uprising in Ukraine. In the meantime, its members were to conduct agitation and propaganda, publish and spread anti-regime literature, and organize occasional terrorist actions. The development of the organization was severely hindered, however, by the general distrust of Soviet citizens for each other, and only a few groups of S.U.M. are known for certain to have existed, some of them outside Kyiv in the provinces. Among the actions of S.U.M. may be mentioned the distribution on two occasions of a small number of anti-regime leaflets couched in Nationalist terms. This was done at the memorial service commemorating the death of Petlyura, celebrated in the cathedral of St. Sophia in Kyiv, in October, 1926, and camouflaged as the commemoration of the tenth anniversary of the death of the poet, Ivan Franko. The members of S.U.M. also duplicated and distributed some Nationalist literature, mostly in connection with the person of Petlyura.

6. The Policies of Centralization and the Ukrainian National Question.

The gradual limitation and, finally, the abandonment of the N.E.P., that is, of the comparatively liberal economic policies of the Soviet Government during the second half of the 1920's, were accompanied by measures designed to extend and secure the power of the central Party governmental apparatus over the political, economic, and finally, cultural spheres in their entirety. The adoption of an ambitious

programme of industrialization, outlined in the first Five Year Plan, resulted in the severe centralization of control by the All-Union Government organs over the economies of the member-Republics. To prevent the various outbreaks of opposition from becoming organized, any deviations from the "general party line" and the expression and dissemination of any ideas at variance with official doctrine began to be severely punished. In the struggle to establish himself as the unquestioned leader of the party, Stalin, in the course of 1927, defeated the opposition within the Central Committee of the Party, which was led by Trotsky and Zinovyev. In this connection, it may be of interest to discuss the attitude of the opposition to the National question, and in particular to the Ukrainian National problem.

The National question was of but secondary importance in the struggle for power between the Stalinists and the Trotskyist opposition, the main issues being "internal Party democracy" and the problem of the "construction of Socialism in one country" and international Communist policies. Among the oppositionists were many "Leftist-Internationalists," who tended to underestimate the importance of the National problem, and who held in contempt all attempts at the political and cultural development of the non-Russian Nationalities of the U.S.S.R. This attitude is exemplified in the work of Vagarshak Vaganyan, *O natsional'noy kulture* (On National Culture), which was published in the spring of 1927. In this book, Vaganyan wrote: "At present, the struggle for Communism has reached a stage where National cultures have become a powerful hindrance to us. The struggle for Communism is unthinkable without a most resolute struggle against national cultures."¹ He puts forward arguments in favour of the abolition of National cultures, and the introduction of "an international culture in a national language." Since, in his opinion, Russian culture was an international culture, he advocated that all Nationalities ought to adopt Russian culture. It may be recalled that Zinoviev expressed a similar opinion at the fifth Conference of the C.P.(b).U., in November, 1920, although he stated it in more cautious terms. Now, in the struggle against Stalin's dictatorial methods in the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., Zinoviev chose, as a useful debating weapon, to criticise Stalin's Nationality policy. From the brief and incomplete extracts which have been published from Zineviev's speech at the meeting of the Presidium of the Central Control Commission of the C.P.S.U.(b), on June 24th, 1927, it appears that he accused Stalin of conducting a mistaken and unprincipled "colonialist" Nationality policy that discriminated against the non-Russian Communists within the U.S.S.R. With reference to the Nationality policy which was being pursued in Ukraine (probably having in mind the recent affair of Shums'kyi and Khvyi'ovyi), Zinoviev stated: "Stalin violated discipline in the National question... Lenin has been proved right in the national

1) V. Vaganyan, *O natsional'noy kul'ture*. Moscow, 1927, p. 59.

question, while Stalin permitted a whole series of mistakes to occur in this matter. We still have a wrong Stalinist policy toward the National question in a number of National republics... We are not helping the indigenous non-Russian Communists to come forward, to take matters into their own hands, and to stand on their own feet. Ordering about and "colonialism" are flourishing with us. Stalin is conducting an extremely unprincipled policy in the National question. He plants "Rightists" and "Leftists" artificially, and then brings them into head-on collision. Such "Ukrainization" is being carried out in Ukraine that clearly contradicts our Nationality policy, defeats our line in the question, and aids Petlyurism, while there is no rebuff to real Chauvinism... Secretarial "discretion" has replaced a correct Nationality policy with us. The Resolutions of the well known Party Conference on the National question [the fourth Consultation with Responsible Party Workers is meant here — W. M.] which was *not* convened on Stalin's initiative, are not being realized..."¹ The purpose of Zinoviev's criticism of Stalin's conduct of the Nationality policy was assessed in a *Pravda* polemic as follows: ... "The main political sense of this outburst of Zinoviev was to provide a platform for all the offended from among the 'Nationals,' all the dismissed 'dignitaries,' all deviationists in the National question, such as the Ukrainian Shums'kyi, the Georgian deviationists, the Uzbek Nationalists, to give them a 'militant' slogan: 'The offended of all the Nationalities unite, and join the ranks of the opposition which will defend you from colonialism and from being ordered about.'"² This interpretation of Zinoviev's attitude toward Stalin's Nationality policy, however, was not maintained for long. A few months later, Zinoviev was attacked by Kaganovich at the tenth Congress of the C.P.(b).U. (held in December, 1927), for favouring Russian Chauvinism and denigrating Ukrainization as "Petlyurism." Zinoviev was also accused of defending the views of Vaganyan. What was the reason behind this complete reversal of the interpretation which the Stalinist faction put upon Zinoviev's stand? It seems likely that the Stalinists feared that too many non-Russian Communists might be impressed with Zinoviev's plea in their favour. In this case, it would be expedient to present Zinoviev as a Great Russian Chauvinist and protector of Vaganyan, by quoting some of his past sayings and omitting to quote, or else misinterpreting, his recent criticism of Stalin's treatment of the non-Russian Communists. At this time, Trotsky is not known to have shown any interest in the problems of Nationality policy in his dispute with Stalin, although there is some evidence to suppose that he was one of the chief architects of the change in the Party's Nationality policy at

¹) Akmal Ikramov, "Opportunist Sorties of the Opposition in the National Question", *Pravda*, September 6-7, 1927, also Kaganovich's speech at the 10th Congress of the C.P.(b).U., in *Pravda*, December 1, 1927, E. Hirschak, *Na dva fronta*, Moscow-Leningrad, 1930, p. 31.

²) Akmal Ikramov, in *Pravda*, September 7, 1927.

the 12th Party Congress in April, 1923, and his publications on emigration (in the 1930's) also criticize Stalin's conduct of the Nationality policy.

Stalin's struggle against the opposition within the Party to his personal ascendancy and to some aspects of his policy represented but one phase of the prevalent trend of the Soviet regime toward centralization. This centralization proceeded in innumerable spheres of the functioning of the Bolshevik Party and governmental machine. There were, of course, trends in the opposite direction, toward decentralization, and in this regard the strivings of the National Republics are particularly important but they were unable to halt or reverse for any length of time the general trend toward an ever-increasing control over the totality of public life by the central organs of power in Moscow. The Party, as created by Lenin, held the principle of strict centralization in the forefront of its attention. While the Soviet Union was theoretically a federation of equal and sovereign National States — the constituent Republics — the Party was a single organization throughout the Soviet Union. The Communist Parties in the constituent Republics enjoyed the same status as the *Oblast* divisions of the Party.

This fact was stated in the Party Statutes, and was again confirmed at the 14th Party Congress in December, 1925, when the R.C.P.(b) changed its name to the V.K.P.(b),¹ — the All-Union Communist Party (of the Bolsheviks) or, as it was known in English, the C.P.S.U.(b), until its 19th Congress in 1952, when it was renamed C.P.S.U. The principle that the leading personnel of the Communist Parties of the constituent Republics had to be approved by the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.(b) was introduced into the Statutes, thus limiting the former powers of the Republican Party Congresses. With the abolition of *gubernii*, and the introduction of smaller administrative districts (*okruhy*) in Ukraine, however, the direct interference of Moscow in the local Party branches over the heads of the Central Committee of the C.P.(b)U. diminished. This situation once again underwent a radical change in 1930, when the *okruhy* were abolished and, in the following years, new administrative subdivisions, the *oblasti*, which roughly corresponded to the old *gubernii*, were created, thus restoring Moscow's ability to exert direct control over the Party's branches in these large territorial units. Centralization in the sphere of the State was developed on the basis of the federal constitution of the U.S.S.R., adopted in January, 1924. The Union organs were invested with a wide range of powers, including the conducting of the foreign relations, foreign trade, economic planning, transport and communications, military affairs, budgetary matters, as well as the general regulation of matters pertaining to a whole series of other fields, thus leaving little scope for the legislative and executive initiative of the constituent

¹) See Andreyev's report on the change of name, *XIV-y S'yezd V.K.P.(b)*. Verbatim report, Moscow, 1926, pp. 881-882.

Republics. The Constitution did not specify any fields of State activity which fell exclusively within the competence of the constituent Republics, but merely stated, (paragraph 3), that: "The Sovereignty of the Union Republics is restricted only by the limits stated in the Constitution, and only as regards the matters referred to the competence of the Union. Outside these limits, every Union Republic realizes its State power independently. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics protects the sovereign rights of the Union Republics."¹ If one takes into account Lenin's warnings, expressed in the notes he dictated "On the Question concerning the Nationalities or 'Autonomization'," of December, 1922, with regard to Stalin's rough-shod treatment of the non-Russian Nationalities and his tendency to favour excessive centralization, it is hardly surprising that, even if Stalin were forced to modify his plans for "autonomization," and had to agree to the compromise solution of a formally federal Soviet Union, he did not change his belief in the expediency of having a strictly centralized Soviet State. The Soviet State apparatus which, according to Lenin, was full of "... that truly Russian man, the Great Russian Chauvinist, essentially a scoundrel and a man of violence, which the typical Russian bureaucrat is..."² was automatically working toward ever-increasing bureaucracy and centralization. With the increased ascendancy of Stalin, the feeble attempts within the National Republics to check excessive centralization were, in the long run, ineffective, owing to the dictatorial character of the Soviet State, especially regarding any attempt at de-centralization.

In accordance with the wide powers of the Government of the U.S.S.R., a large number of Union organs was created, which issued standard regulations for the whole U.S.S.R. Such, for example, were the All-Union Resettlement Committee, the Central Commission for the introduction of the Metric System, the All-Union Council of Housing Co-operation, and many others. The All-Union organs worked out standard codes of law: civil, penal, agrarian, etc., which were later formally adopted by the constituent Republics. Particularly important was the unification of agrarian law throughout the U.S.S.R.³

In the economic sphere, the Soviet State maintained, throughout the period of the N.E.P., a centralized direction of the vital branches of industry and commerce, even though relaxation of State control over the less important branches of industry, retail trade, and agriculture was permitted. After the formation of the Soviet Union, the Supreme Council of National Economy (V.S.N.Kh.), which enjoyed the status of a People's Commissariat of the U.S.S.R., administered

1) *Istoriya sovyetskoy konstitutsii (v dokumentakh), 1917-1956*, Moscow, 1957, pp. 458-473.

2) *Ibid.*, p. 400.

3) "General Principles of the Use of Land and Land Disposal" were approved by the Ts.I.K. of the U.S.S.R., on December 15, 1928. See *4-ya sessiya Ts.I.K. 4-go sozyva. Postanovleniya*. Moscow, 1928, pp. 32-47.

directly a considerable number of major enterprises in the Republics which were regarded of All-Union importance. In 1927, the 19 economic associations of the Republican industry of Ukraine embraced 254 large enterprises in which over 100,000 workers (including 21,000 in the mining industry and 17,000 in the engineering industries) were employed.¹ In comparison, the total number of workers in Ukrainian industry amounted to 720,500 in the year 1926-27.²

The distribution of industry in Ukraine according to subordination can also be judged from the following table³:

VALUE OF INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION OF THE INDUSTRIAL TRUSTS OF
UKRAINE

(In million roubles at pre-1914 prices)

Level of subordination	1925-1926		1926-1927		1927-1928	
	value	%	value	%	value	%
Union industry	497,3	65,0	572,0	64,7	683,9	62,9
Republican industry	183,4	24,3	211,1	23,9	261,6	24,0
Local industry	72,4	10,7	100,1	11,4	138,1	13,1
<i>Total</i>	753,1	100,0	883,2	100,1	1087,6	100,0

It is clear from this table that in the years 1925-1928, i.e. in the second half of the N.E.P. period, the value of industrial production of the enterprises subordinated to the Union organs amounted to just under two-thirds of the total production of the industrial trusts of the Ukrainian S.S.R., while that of the enterprises subordinated to the Republican organs amounted to approximately a quarter of the entire production. This relationship did not undergo any radical change until after the death of Stalin, when Soviet industry was reorganized and the regional Councils of National Economy were created. The organs of the Ukrainian Republic had little, if any, control of the sections of industry subordinated to the Union authorities, although these were situated on Ukrainian territory. Moreover, the most important mineral resources of Ukraine, such as coal, metallic ores, etc., were placed under the control of the Union organs. During the radical reorganization of industry in the years 1929-30, all more or less important mineral resources were placed under the control of industrial associations which were subordinated to Union authorities. A report of the V.S.N.Kh., which was submitted at that time to the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. stated: "The V.S.N.Kh. considers it possible to leave the mining of felspar, granite, dolomite,

¹ V.S.N.Kh. U.S.S.R., *Statistiko-ekonomicheskiiy otchet po ukrainskoy gospromyshlennosti za 1926/27 g.* pp. 47, 181.

² *Dva roky roboty uryadu U.S.S.R.*, Kharkiv, 1929, p. 23.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

limestone, clay, etc., under the subordination of the Ukrainian organs, while, on the other hand, concentrating the production and mining of kaolin and graphite under Union subordination..."¹ This shows that even such minerals as kaolin and graphite, which were of relatively minor importance, were regarded as too important to be left under the subordination of the Ukrainian organs. The latter were considered fit to administer mainly the production of building materials.

(To be continued)

New!

Order now!

New!

**Valentyn Moroz, AMONG THE SNOWS,
Protest Writings from Ukraine.**

Ukrainian Information Service,

200 Liverpool Rd., London, N. 1 1LF.

1971, 65 pp.

Price: 50 p.

THE REAL FACE OF RUSSIA

**267 Pages of Essays and Articles by well-known
authorities on East European problems**

**PROBLEMS OF RUSSIAN COMMUNISM ASSESSED FROM
A COMPLETELY NEW PERSPECTIVE**

The book contains the following contributions:

THE SPIRIT OF RUSSIA — by *Dr. Dmytro Donzow*

ON THE PROBLEM OF BOLSHEVISM — by *Ephen Malaniuk*

THE RUSSIAN HISTORICAL ROOTS OF BOLSHEVISM —
by *Professor Yuriy Boyko*

THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM —
by *Dr. Baymirza Hayit*

BOLSHEVISM AND INTERNATIONALISM — by *Olexander Yourchenko*

THE "SCIENTIFIC" CHARACTER OF DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM —
by *U. Kuzhil*

THE HISTORICAL NECESSITY OF THE DISSOLUTION OF THE
RUSSIAN EMPIRE — by *Prince Niko Nakashidze*

UKRAINIAN LIBERATION STRUGGLE — by *Professor Lev Shankowsky*

THE ROAD TO FREEDOM AND THE END OF FEAR —
by *Jaroslav Stetzko*

TWO KINDS OF CULTURAL REVOLUTION — by *Jaroslav Stetzko*

Price: £1.25 cloth-bound, £0.90 paperback.

Order from: *Ukrainian Information Service,
200 Liverpool Rd., London, N.1. Great Britain*

WHOSE MOTHER TONGUE IS MORE NATIVE?

We are unable to get rid of this alphabetical conflict in a hundred years. No doubt somewhere in the world double-tongueness is only understood as the divided tongue of a snake. Two native languages for one nation — nobody in the world understands this. But we are used to this to such a degree that we even fail to notice the intrusion of a tendency to stop the development of the native language, to halt the development of national thinking, to impose an obligatory dose of Russian songs at Ukrainian concerts, Russian words in Ukrainian texts, Russian names on the pages of our culture, and to force (upon us) the impression of our complete dependence and second-rateness.

It is well known that the Ukrainian literary language from Shevchenko down to Lesya Ukrainka and Kotsyubyns'kyi has grown tremendously, has been enriched, has expanded, and has become more refined due to intensive feeding on dialects and historical sources. In the first decade following the revolution, the national culture and the publishing, translating, and dictionary work became so lively that the people became used to thinking about the new development of their culture, to working at full strength instead of cultivating a mandatory love for everything Russian, and of making this cultural activity into a profession.

This was an atmosphere of self-esteem, above all a renaissance. It is known that the renaissance was suppressed in the 30's and gradually a fashion took root either to speak and write entirely in Russian, or in a Russian that used predominantly Ukrainian words. Development was permitted only as it led to greater use of Russian. The harvest was collected to the tune of the "divided" dictionary, which completely satisfies the bureaucratic machine, but educated people have called it Russian-Russian.

Of course in Russia they were not interested in the matter, nor in other concoctions for the purely domestic use of the national minorities. Moscow's cultural provinces contribute absolutely nothing to Russian culture, but only promise a humus on which it shall flourish someday in the wonderful future. In the meantime we must nourish that humus and call it a blossoming. For this, funds and personnel are provided.

Side by side with the cheap dependents, however, there always appear genuine workers. They gain reputation, win prestige, and can even direct development.

In Ukraine there are philologists, litterateurs, poets, and in particular translators able to work in the tradition of European culture. They need at least one condition: that nobody hampers them. But this very condition was always lacking in Ukraine. Somebody is always making a fuss over Ukrainians, to make sure that they are not too interested in their own history ("to the detriment of the Russian"), that they do not develop an "unhealthy interest" in their primary sources, that they do not love their language too much, do not take too great a care about its purity and development. Let it remain as a half-dilapidated church. It stands — so let it stand: we have freedom. But do not dare restore it yourselves, and God save you from the idea of letting people into it and reading a prayer.

The 24th Congress passed under the sign of an increase in the leading role of the party in all spheres of life. Much attention was paid to language. Somebody might think that on that level only measures concerning the introduction of the Ukrainian language into Ukrainian higher and secondary schools, into Ukrainian institutions, and so on could be elaborated. No. The leading role here turned out to be in the increased supervision of the work of publishing houses and periodicals, in the struggle with "archaization," with the exploitation of rarely used words and neologisms. In practice, it is the struggle with the deviation of the Ukrainian language from the Russian.

An average citizen, who knows the Ukrainian everyday language fairly well, although he uses Russian more under the force of adopting to circumstances which arose by no means spontaneously, becomes a criterion. He does not know, which means that the people do not know and do not understand a certain word. This is orientation upon the lowest level.

There is, it is true, the Institute of Philology. There they should know and explain what is active vocabulary and what is the vocabulary of a literary language. They should explain that a language and its vital sources are part of the national wealth of a country. The Institute of Philology of the AS Ukr. SSR, with academician Bilodid at the head, has always been the chief tool for levelling the Ukrainian literary language. It is the Institute which watches over deviations in the development of the language from a set course. Strictly speaking, however, the control over the language of contemporary authors is reduced to a minimum, for at present there are few writers who know the Ukrainian language well.

The vocabulary of Lesya Ukrainka and Kotsyubyns'kyy are a delight today, the height of classic usage. The better translators orient themselves upon these peaks. A translator must "mobilize" and activate his native language to the level of the vocabulary of the French, German, or English author (and that author also uses words which are "incomprehensible," unknown even to his average countryman). A translator constantly works on his language and extends its limits. The censors on the other hand drive him into regulated boundaries —

back to the cave. A translator tests himself on the works of someone else's talent, while the native grayness checks him according to its own criterion of "general understanding."

Today a translator finds himself in a critical situation. He surrenders his place to a wage-earner. M. Lukash, such a rare talent, is today in a state of emotional shock and unable to work. Depression, reluctance, apathy under pressure force their way into literature. An idler is catching fish in muddy waters. Today the "Dnipro" publishers avoid M. Ryl's'kyy's translations. Dovzhenko would ask, "Who is releasing you to the people, depressed, funny, half-and-half, with a divided tongue, with a bad mixture of two languages, instead of the pure native one?"

But the Institute of Philology "develops" further. It has merged together two "antiquated" departments — dialectology and history of the Ukrainian language — and in their place opened two new departments: Russian language and language culture. What will happen to departments which were intended to develop the sources of the Ukrainian language can be judged from the fact that they were combined into one and placed under the chairmanship of I. Bilodid. The meaning of the Russian language in Kyiv, its role in Ukraine, and its contribution via the new department for the development of genuine Russian language hardly need mentioning.

So far as the department of language culture is concerned, that bureaucratic product will supply anecdotes on how the representatives of the department argue about whether it is permissible to use the word "chekaty" or only "zhdaty" (both meaning to wait — transl.), or is it possible to "trymaty" or only to "derzhaty" (to hold).

In the August issue of *Literaturna Ukraina* there appeared an article, "The Blue Book of the Institute of Philology," which gives a review of the language culture of that Institute, which has become a parable.

As long as Ukrainian language in Ukraine is removed everywhere by the force of aimed inertia, by the force of well selected leading cadres armed with old labels, by the force of repressing the Ukrainian culture, the Botocudos are waging alphabetical wars to pull wool over people's eyes. Perhaps the leadership is not interested one bit in the lowest level of Ukrainian language as used in school, in the press, and on the radio. We condemn grayness in general, but not concretely. There is no control over the highest level of the language. It is regulated and pressure is applied to it, so that we, perchance, would not speak as other people do in a full voice.

The "Dnipro" publishers can be stopped or even dissolved, can they stop the Dnipro?!

FACTS: THEY ARE THE PROOF!

We have not read Dzyuba's "Internationalism or Russification?," but Dmyterko's article in *Literaturna Ukraina* and Stenchuk's brochure accuse Dzyuba of distortion of facts, revisionism, and so forth.

We do not know whether or not they are recorded anywhere in historic documents, but quite a few facts exist in our memory, which it would be better not to mention.

All know the historic fact of unification of Western Ukraine with Soviet Ukraine, while here are details of this fact which are related by the participants of the unification.

Units of the Soviet Army arrived, surrounded the village, called out the activists of the village appearing on a list, put them in railroad cars and sent them to . . . Siberia. There were tens of thousands so doomed. Both the literate and the illiterate, the peasants, the urbanites, and the intelligentsia who, at any time or any place, expressed doubts as to the need of unification, were taken and deported.

The deportation of Ukrainians to Siberia gave rise to definite resistance, intensifying the actions of so-called Banderites (Bandera followers) by whom the "Easterners" are intimidated even today.

At the beginning of the war the "united" Ukrainians in Siberia were permitted to join an active army and to fight against the oppressors.

Inasmuch as these Ukrainians were historically citizens of Poland, they joined the Polish army and, together with the Soviet troops, came as far as Berlin. After the war they were not allowed to return to their native land, but remained in Poland or reinforced the ranks of the Banderites.

At the conclusion of the war, the united Ukrainians in Siberia were "rehabilitated" and permitted to migrate from Siberia to the Saratovska region (not to Ukraine, but to the Saratovska region!)

Another fact. The higher and secondary educational establishments in Ukraine teach only in Russian. The trained cadres of specialists go into institutions and carry on all their work in Russian. For this reason, Ukrainian is not to be heard in the cities.

Here is an example: one of the Institutes of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukr. SSR conducts all its work in Russian. A strict rule exists, demanding that a research dissertation must be written in the Russian language, for if it is written in Ukrainian it will not be approved, because this is a sign of "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism." Out of a hundred staff members of the Institute, one or two (natives of Western Ukraine) speak among themselves in their native Ukrainian language. They are not called anything else except "Bandera" or "Banderites."

That same process of "internationalism"!

The Academy of Sciences of the Ukr. SSR through its publishers "Scientific Thought" publishes works in mathematics, physics, chemistry, and other exact sciences exclusively in Russian. Works in Ukrainian language, literature, and history are published in Ukrainian for "household use."

Let us look through the catalogue of publications for 1970. "Fiziko-matematicheskaya i tekhnicheskaya literatura" (physics, mathematics, and technical literature) is planned only in Russian. It is true that in 1969 out of 132 scientific works, 129 were published in Russian and only 3 in Ukrainian, that is 98% in Russian, 2% in Ukrainian. One of these three works is "Mathematical Lessons of Feofan Prokopovych — a Scholar of Peter's Era" (1681-1736). They are the lectures which Feofan Prokopovych read in 1708 at the Kyiv Academy. As you can see, 250 years ago the lessons were read in Ukrainian at a school of higher education in Kyiv.

Other publishers of Ukraine, putting out books on construction and the like, also publish in Russian.

The low proportion of scientific works published in Ukrainian is attested to by *The Reference Book* published in Moscow in 1961: "Voprosy organizatsii i metodiki nauchno-tekhnicheskoy informatsii i propagandy" (Problems of organization and methods of scientific and technical information and propaganda). In a table in that book, "Udelnyy ves nauchno-tekhniko-informatsionnykh materialov, izdavaemykh na yazyke soyuznykh republik" (The proportion of scientific, technical, and informational materials published in the languages of the Union republics), the Lithuanian Republic is in first place in regard to the number of materials published in the native language. With a population of 2.3 million in 1960, Lithuania put out 1,174 publishing sheets, of which 1,057 or 90% were in Lithuanian.

Other republics of the USSR follow, and in the last place on the table stands the Ukrainian Republic which, with a population of 42 million, put out only 510 publishing sheets, of which 102 sheets or 20% were in Ukrainian. Hence, 90% (Lithuanian) and 20% (Ukrainian).

Scientific works go to educational institutions and become the basis of the system of education in Russian.

The fact that in higher and secondary educational establishments instructions are given in Russian forces the Ukrainian parents to prepare their children in advance for entrance to these institutions. They send their children to the schools of general education, where Russian is the language of instruction, for everybody knows that graduates of village secondary schools, where teaching is done in Ukrainian, have a smaller chance of passing an exam to a university.

According to the statistics of the Municipal Department of Education for 1966, out of 160,411 pupils throughout Kyiv, 128,118 pupils or 77%,

studied in Russian schools, although according to the census the national minorities in Kyiv constitute 40%. Thus, 37% of Ukrainian pupils study in Russian schools.

In Kyiv as a whole in 1966 there were 207 schools of general education. From these, 150 were Russian schools with 128,112 pupils. Ukrainian schools numbered 57, with pupils totaling 38,299.

The very fact of existence of mixed groups is an intolerable phenomenon. In such schools there is no native language, there is a medley. At intermission and outside class, both the teachers and the children speak that horrible medley. The same picture is to be found in all other large cities of Ukraine as well.

A *third fact* is the lawless situation of Ukrainian workers who live in the Soviet Union outside the borders of Ukraine, enjoying the rights of national minorities. There are quite a few of them, more than five million. It is known that according to instructions of V. I. Lenin, through the efforts of the first People's Commissar of Education of the Soviet Union A. Z. Lunachars'kyy, thousands of schools with Ukrainian language of instruction were opened for these Ukrainians. Thus, in Kuban alone there were 746 such schools.

In 1937, by the order of Stalin and Kaganovich, all these schools were closed, while the patriots of such schools were punished as nationalists, the enemies of the people. Upon the question why aren't Ukrainian schools being opened now, the Ministry of Education of the Union replies: "Net zayavok" (no requests). But who would dare to make a request?

Russians in Ukraine have all aspects of culture in their native language: school, newspapers, literature, theatres, clubs, cinema. Ukrainians in the Union have nothing in their native language. What is this, internationalism?

In the neighbouring democratic countries, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, and Bulgaria, where there is an insignificant number of Ukrainians, there are schools for them with Ukrainian language of instruction, as well as Ukrainian newspapers and periodicals. This is as natural as breathing the air. The governments of these republics thus further the development of national minorities.

It is completely natural that the government of the Ukrainian SSR should exhibit paternal care so far as development of Ukrainian culture is concerned, wherever Ukrainians live with the rights of national minorities. First and foremost it is necessary to conduct a large educational campaign among the Ukrainian working masses by means of the press, as well as in the personal appearances of our cultural leaders, making every citizen aware that a nation disappears without its native language.

Yet another fact. A Ukrainian electronics engineer worked in his speciality while in the army and after being discharged, began working in the Institute of the Academy of Sciences as an engineer in charge of the electronics equipment department. Two technicians work under

him, producing instruments for factories, and they receive approving characterizations about the work of the instruments. The year ends. The engineer writes his annual report in Ukrainian. The director of the Institute demands that the report be written in Russian. The engineer refuses. The management fires the engineer "due to a reduction of the staff." The engineer goes to court. At the trial the director argues that the department is no longer necessary and that the engineer and his technicians are not qualified. Other engineers of that same Institute, acting as witnesses, argue that the department is needed, that the equipment built there is being successfully applied in factories, and that the discharged engineer and his technicians are qualified workers. The court denies the petition about reinstatement, because he was dismissed as a result of the "reduction of staff." The engineer and his two technicians remain in the street, without a job. The engineer is unemployed for two years. Finally he gets a job, but the stigma of "stubborn nationalist" clings to him and he is fired.

V. I. Lenin said, on December 31, 1922, "The most severe rules must be introduced with respect to the use of the national language... There is no doubt that under the pretext of unity of the railroad services, under the pretext of fiscal unity, and so forth very many abuses of truly Russian character will penetrate our present-day apparatus."

The 12th Congress of the RCP(B)* in April, 1923, confirmed Lenin's proposal "to insist that special laws are passed guaranteeing the use of the native language in all state institutions."

In the year 1927, the government of the Ukrainian Republic passed a law guaranteeing the development of Ukrainian culture and the equality of languages. This law was signed by staunch Leninists, H. Petrov'skyy and V. Chubar. The law requires that the Ukrainian language be mandatory in all educational establishments and institutions, and it has not been repealed.

"As long as knowledge is not disseminated in Ukrainian, as long as this language does not become the tool of public education — so long all our writings in this language will be brilliant, sterile flowers." (M. Kostomarov, "A Nightingale Is Not Nourished by Fables").

"To love their country, to know its wealth, its characteristics, its history — the genuine patriotism of the Soviet people is cultivated on these choice sentiments for the native places" (M. I. Kalinin).

We appeal to all honest people to put firmly into effect the Leninist teachings about the blossoming of the Ukrainian culture.

*) Russian Communist Party of the Bolsheviks.

IN MEMORY OF ANTON OLIYNYK

These days (August, 1970), it will be five years since the escape of the renowned Anton Oliynyk from the "Beria Reservation" — the Mordovian political camps.

What has brought him there? Why was he later murdered in the torture chamber of Rivne? At the beginning, work in the youth network of the OUN; later, in the district sector of propaganda (pseud. "Indis"). And constant persecutions, battles, ambushes.

In 1947, he fell into the hands of a provocative ChK squad, which posed as Ukrainian insurgents. Oliynyk is arrested. The investigation, "trial," 25-year term, stages and horror of the Stalinist camps. The Far North, Inta. There he languished until 1955. What he saw and experienced cannot be related in a few words. Entire volumes are needed.

But terror did not break Anton: he dreams only of freedom, of the continuation of the struggle. And he studies, studies, constantly works to improve himself. Several unsuccessful attempts to flee. After each — lock-up (room), prison, regime zone. And again everything from the beginning.

In 1955, he managed to escape from the 5th regime zone in Inta. This time successfully. But the zone which he overcame was only a small segment of the road of suffering which he was destined to pass. Before him, hundreds of kilometers of wild taiga, where it was possible to encounter wild beasts and . . . camps. The latter are more frightening.

Some day, when people will get access to KGB files, they will get acquainted with A. Oliynyk's diary in which every step of that road is noted — hundreds of kilometers on foot across the taiga, hundreds of kilometers by boat down the Pechora, travels under an assumed name by railroad from Kotkas to Sarn. So far, only we know about this odyssey from Anton himself.

It seemed that fate had smiled upon him. But not for long, since he was arrested at Kostopil in the Rivne region. The fact that he was captured there and not in the North saved his life. In the North, escapees are mercilessly killed for an alleged attempt "to put up resistance."

And so — a new trial, another 25 years and the Vladimir prison.

Anton made very good use of the three years in prison. This can be confirmed by those who knew him even after Vladimir. His learning became more profound, his outlook on the world became broader, especially in literature, philosophy, economics, and sociology. Now he has become dangerous not only as a potential escapee, a rebel, but also as a man who, thanks to his knowledge, could some day do more

for his nation. He could not be broken; he could only be annihilated. But these were no longer the years of Stalinist terror, but of Khrushchov's socialist legality. It was necessary to wait for an opportunity to give the murder a semblance of decency. And the opportunity did arrive.

After prison, Anton was transferred in May, 1958, to the Mordovian concentration camps. Just as in the North, Anton had one idea in mind: to escape to freedom! What strong urge for freedom must a man have, to make a new attempt, knowing that very few of the escaping prisoners remain alive.

But Anton makes preparations resolutely and carefully, ponders over each step, anticipates all surprises. The camp in which Anton was kept was so fortified that it was practically impossible to venture beyond the zone. But not for Anton Oliynyk!

In the summer of 1965, news made its rounds through the Mordovian camps: Anton has escaped again. With him was another prisoner. We Ukrainians were approached by representatives of other nationalities and congratulated; they were pleased together with us. They said, "Only Ukrainians were capable of something like this!" The joy increased when a coded message arrived from Ukraine saying that the refugees were already there.

The rage which gripped KGB agents at that time can hardly be imagined. An extraordinary thing! A man has escaped from a political camp. And at a time when the feeling of nationalism was on the increase in Ukraine. A large search apparatus was set in motion, the Chekists told us frankly, "We shall catch him — and shoot him; you will never see him alive again." They said this, knowing that for an escape it is not possible to sentence (a man) to more than three years. But what is law to the likes of them?

Anton Oliynyk spent four months in freedom, but at long last he was captured in his native Ukraine.

It is a rare instance for somebody to flee successfully from the jaws of the KGB and to make his way to his native land. But Oliynyk did it twice! He had to pay for this with his life. And he had.

He was tried (for the third time) not for an escape, but on fabricated charges of mass killings in the course of his underground activity. He was given the death sentence and executed in Rivne in June, 1966. Remaining true to themselves, they (the KGB) blackened his good name as well, telling all possible lies. This included service in the Gestapo (this at age 16), murders, robberies, and so on.

In reality, they made short work of a defenseless man whose sole guilt consisted in the fact that he ardently loved his nation and desired freedom for it and himself.

They did not say that they were taking revenge, not only upon him and his memory but, as in Stalinist times, also upon his dear ones. They convicted his sister only because she did not shut the door before her brother when he came to her in the middle of the night, but fed him and changed his clothes.

In the memory of all those who knew Anton Oliynyk personally, he remains an honest, genuine human being.

For he is a part of ourselves, our sufferings and expectations.
Let us not forget him, comrades!

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

IVAN SOKULSKYY

See the almanach "Sails — 67" for his portrait and autobiography. He is the native of the land which once bred and cultivated the Zaporizhians.

Take a close look at the feature of this high-foreheaded, well-shaped youth with a characteristically solemn expression, as if he had just dared to step on the narrow, bending, pure white path along an abyss, where each step leads up and to life, while the second stands just as firmly on the edge. Take a look at his crystal clear eyes! An oath sworn forever to the God of Truth shines in them.

Ivan Sokulskyy — let's remember this name. He is one of the closest brothers of Vasyl Symonenko, even though they missed each other in life. Vasyl suddenly fell off his white path and became a name. Ivan Sokulskyy only began to approach it at a time when the leaks in the pressure chamber were just being sealed in order to prepare in it a serial issue of sterilized poetry.

Of course, today it is easier for him to grow as a poet on the shoulders of Vasyl Symonenko and poets of his circle. But how much harder it is to live as a poet, how unbearably hard it is, can be judged from the fact that his poems are not being published; for that matter, from the fact that for six months now he has been under investigation of the Dnipropetrovsk KGB.

Obviously, there he is being re-educated as a poet dealing with social themes, as a man sensitive to national woe and human misery.

In the times of Vasyl Symonenko, the press still dealt with poetry. Today social poetry and prose have been transferred to that secret department which deals with heroic exposure, the catching and incapacitating of spies and subversives. These people do not hold degrees in literature; they do not have a claim on the press, but they spread a rumour among the frightened philistines through turbid, secretive channels that they have detained and "exposed an enemy who concealed himself cunningly from the people."

Just as in "Bad People" by Panas Myrnyy: "A rumour passed through market places that the fierce enemy of illiterate people, who counterfeited money, was caught." In the meantime, children who know this story from their readers are aware of the fact that in reality Petro Telepnya was caught because he wanted to talk frankly and directly with the people and to share their sufferings.

THE DEATH OF A FEMALE PATRIOT

Valentyna Vasylivna PETRIYENKO, a Ukrainian patriot, a talented teacher and activist in Ukrainian community life, died on July 12, 1971, in Kyiv at the age of 29.

In 1961, she studied at the Kyiv Pedagogical Institute. Together with student B. Rabovlych and others she became one of the founders of a student wandering choir, "Zhayvoronok," which played a prominent part in the national cultural renaissance of the early 60's in Kyiv.

In its first years the choir was directed, on a public basis, by M. I. Moldavin and Volodymyr Konoshchenko, a conservatory student.

Valentyna Petriyenko was a permanent member of the choir's Council (Rada), devoting much energy to winning new members for the choir, to organizing the choir's travels across Ukraine, to propagandizing native songs and ballads. She was generally liked. Choir members called her "Vala-Rada."

In the summer of 1962, the city choral society financed the choir and permitted it to make trips throughout Ukraine. Similar marches and trips through Ukrainian towns and villages occurred in the summers of 1963, 1964, and 1965 and contributed a great deal to the reawakening of the national consciousness and love of the native lyrics and songs. Much of the credit for this work goes to Valentyna Petriyenko.

In 1965, repressions showered upon the choir. The choir was not given a place for rehearsals and until 1968 choir members assembled in private apartments, in various chance lodgings.

In 1968, the choir was sent a director with the task of quelling all the initiative of the collective. The choir was forbidden to march across Ukraine, to sing in the streets, to participate in spring and summer rituals. Students were not enlisted in the choir.

V. Petriyenko felt badly about the decline of "Zhayvoronok," but did not leave the choir but kept searching for ways to lead it out of the crisis. At the same time she became interested in the newly created folkloristic and ethnographic choir "Homin," which to a certain degree had taken upon itself the former role of "Zhayvoronok," and she began to attend "Homin's" rehearsals.

After graduating from the institute, Valentyna was in charge of a kindergarten at a subsidiary farm "Chayka," under the auspices of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine. She engaged in the day-to-day work of converting de-nationalized Ukrainians to their native language and culture, and implanted the sense of national and human dignity.

Not restricting herself to the kindergarten, she conducted her work on the subsidiary farm as a whole. She organized carols, evenings of Ukrainian folk songs, and so forth. Within the collective she was

liked because of her sincerity, attention to people, gentleness toward her friends, energy in her work.

Valntyna Petriyenko died of rheumatism which attacked her heart. Left behind is her lonely mother, who works as a cleaning lady.

Although the name of Valentyna Petriyenko was not widely known since she was engaged in insignificant everyday work, she is rightly considered part of the generation of the "Men of the Sixties," who began to reawaken the slumbering national consciousness.

* * *

The funeral of Valentyna Petriyenko attracted a large crowd of people. All the employees of the subsidiary farm "Chayka" with their families as well as her Kyiv friends and acquaintances came to accompany her on her last journey.

In order to pay their last respects to their "Valya-Rada," there arrived the former director of "Zhayvoronok,* Musiy Moldavin, and the former artistic director of the choir, Borys Ryaboklyach. From Cherkasy there came the former director of the choir, Volodymyr Konoshchenko. Valentyna's friends from various cities of the Soviet Union came to her funeral.

At 16 hours the coffin was placed in the orchard in the park along Kapitanivska Street, 2. Upon the coffin's lid were an embroidered towel, bread, and guelder-roses — the traditional symbols of the Ukrainian spirit.

The veterans of "Zhayvoronok" sang the "Requiem" by composer L. Yashchenko and mournful Ukrainian songs. The closest friends took the coffin upon their shoulders and carried it to the bus to the sounds of a funeral march.

At the central cemetery, a meeting was held. At the beginning some chief said that nobody will speak because they have allegedly forgotten some scraps of paper approved by the party committee of the subsidiary farm. Valentyna's friends, however, ignored this directive and began to talk without any notes.

A eulogy was delivered by Musiy Moldavin, an employee of the city choral society. He emphasized that Valentyna loved her nation and its song above all and transmitted this love to others.

Then spoke Borys Ryaboklyach:

"Dear Friends:

It is incredibly difficult to stand over this grave and to realize that Valya is no more. A courageous and loving heart has ceased to beat. A heart has ceased to beat which was senselessly in love with its native people, its native song. Not so long ago Ukraine has bid farewell to her favourite poet and patriot, Vasyl Symonenko. And very recently the people wept over the coffin of a courageous woman and artist, a fiery patriot, Alla Horska. Today, we again experience

*) Zhayvoronok — lark.

an unspeakable pain, for we are bidding farewell forever to an individual who served Ukraine honestly and unselfishly.

It came to pass that in recent years "Zhayvoronok's" fame has begun to dwindle. I believe that it will be a worthy sign of respect to Valya, if we do not fold our hands in sweet slumber, but wake up to work. At last, efforts must be undertaken to have "Zhayvoronok" sing in full voice and without any restrictions.

Let Valya's death at least awaken us from slumber.

Let your native land be as light as a feather for you, our sister!

We shall continue your and our cause."

Overcoming his sobbing, "Chayka's" agronomist also spoke. Then the veterans, the "little larks," again sang several Ukrainian folk songs.

At a farewell after the funeral, friends again talked about Valya as an individual and citizen. They spoke about an unbroken chain: "Zhayvoronok" and Valya, Valya and song, song and Ukraine.

They also talked about the state of decline to which reaction has brought the earlier popular "Zhayvoronok."

STATEMENT ON THE CREATION OF THE CITIZENS' COMMITTEE IN DEFENCE OF NINA STOKATA

In view of the fact,

— that as of late the number of judicial persecutions for open expression and defence of convictions is on the increase in the USSR;

— that such persecutions have an anti-constitutional character and are accompanied by many violations of norms of socialist legality (publicity of legal proceedings, the right to a defence, etc.);

— that the very fact of arrest of a Soviet person for expressing convictions is contrary to the Universal Declaration of Human rights adopted by the UN General Assembly and ratified by the government of the USSR and the Pact on Civil and Political Rights;

— that official sources do not inform or falsely inform the public about the political trials in the USSR;

— that organized and pointed action of the public can make a great contribution to the improving of Soviet society in individual, especially serious cases, we have come to the conclusion that it is necessary to conduct organized activities in defence of USSR citizens persecuted on political grounds.

The arrest on December 9, 1971, by the Odessa Ukr. KGB of researcher-microbiologist, Nina Antonivna Stokata (Karavanska), is considered by us to be an unusually serious case for the following reasons:

1. Involved is an arrest of an individual known both to the Ukrainian and the Russian democratic community for her high-principled defence of healthy principles of social life and social justice.

2. Involved is the confinement in prison conditions of a *woman*, with the obvious intention of sentencing her to even more degrading

conditions of subservile existence, which a morally healthy society can allow itself to do only as an extreme measure, whether it be the American Communist, Angela Davis, or the Ukrainian patriot, Ninia Strokata.

3. Involved is an arrest of the wife of a political prisoner *de facto* only because in spite of severe pressure, she did not disavow her husband, sentenced to a prolonged term, and defended his interests (although we are aware that the investigators will attempt to conceal this obvious fact by fabricating some "dissemination" or "propaganda.")

The Citizens Committee in Defence of Nina Strokata is being created on the basis of the guarantees of the USSR Constitution, the Human Rights Declaration and the Pact on Civil and Political Rights. In all its activities, it will adhere to Soviet laws.

The activities of the Committee will consist of the following:

(1) collecting facts, documents, and materials which will pertain to the person of N. Strokata and her "case" and in bringing them to the attention of state and legal institutions and representatives of the public;

(2) organizing, if need be, signatures under a petition defending N. Strokata;

(3) collecting funds to assist N. Strokata and her political-prisoner husband, deprived of all moral and material support in view of his wife's arrest;

(4) demanding all legally guaranteed rights dealing with defence (the assignment of a lawyer to be selected by the Committee or relatives, presentation of defence witnesses, public defender, etc.);

(5) demanding public court proceedings, guaranteed by law, if it should come to this;

(6) taking the case to the court of appeals and other institutions, if a verdict of guilty should be passed;

(7) taking any other necessary actions which will be prompted by the progress of the investigation and trial.

If all these legal measures will not produce results, we shall be forced to turn to the Human Rights Commission at the United Nations.

The activities of the Committee will continue for the duration of N. Strokata's imprisonment. The Committee will dissolve itself after her complete release. The documents of the Committee will be circulated in two languages, Ukrainian and Russian; the texts will be authentic.

We call on the public actively to support the efforts of the Committee. Questions on the case as well as copies of petitions or protests are to be forwarded to one of the addresses listed below.

December 21, 1971.

Members of the Committee:

Petro Yakir — historian, Moscow.

Iryna Stasiv — philologist, Lviv, Kutuzova 118, apt. 12.

Vasyl Stus — writer, Kyiv, Svyatoshyne, Lvivska 62/1.

Leonid Tymchuk — sailor, Odessa, Industrialna 44, apt. 4.

Vyacheslav Chornovil — journalist, Lviv, Spokiyna 13, apt. 1.

WHO IS N. A. STROKATA-KARAVANSKA

Nina Antonivna Strokata was born on January 31, 1925, in Odessa in a Ukrainian family which withstood de-nationalization. Her father — an economist, a candidate of science — now retired had worked in research and educational establishments. He is about 80 years old. Her mother died several years ago.

After finishing school, Nina Strokata immediately enrolled in the Odessa Medical Institute, from which she graduated with honours. At the beginning, she worked at the Odessa Microbiological Institute; later, for six years, as a physician in Southern Ukraine.

From about 1950-52 until May, 1971, she was a research worker at the Odessa Medical Institute, specializing in microbiology. In recent times, she worked successfully toward a candidate's dissertation. She has many scientific publications in special journals and research symposiums of Moscow, Kyiv, Odessa, Rostov and others. Up to her dismissal from the institute, she enjoyed a reputation as an able scientist coping successfully with subjects of scientific research.

In 1961, N. Strokata married Svyatoslav Karavanskyy who had returned from long-term imprisonment several months before. He had been sentenced in 1944 by an Odessa tribunal to 25 years for propagandistic activity in the Odessa OUN organization during the occupation and for a short-term forced collaboration with the Rumanian secret service. Having repented for his past, he was released at the end of 1960 after an amnesty, and settled in his native Odessa where he devoted himself to research and literary work.

He concluded work on the dictionary of rhymes of the Ukrainian language, a fundamental work which was evaluated highly by leading Ukrainian linguists (R. Dobrushyn, V. Hryhoriyev, and others), and published articles dealing with language, poems, humorous stories, and translations in regional and republican newspapers. On the basis of an agreement with "Dnipro" publishers, he prepared a translation of Shakespeare's sonnets and was finishing the translation of the novel *Jane Eyre* by the English writer C. Bronte. His wife always helped Karavanskyy in his literary work.

In November, 1965, Karavanskyy was arrested for the second time for writing two articles about anti-Leninist linguistic policy in Ukraine and a statement to the leaders of the Communist Party of Poland and Czecho-Slovakia on the subject of political arrests in Ukraine in 1965.

There being no formal grounds for conviction, an ukase was applied to Karavanskyy which gave the prosecutor's office the right to return to imprisonment, without trial, prisoners with a 25-year term who had been released prematurely, if it was decided that they had not "reeducated themselves." S. Karavanskyy was sent without trial to complete almost nine years in prison.

Since then, the name of S. Karavanskyy's wife, Nina Strokata, has become well known. She became actively involved in the campaign in defence of persons persecuted for their convictions. N. Strokata familiarized the public with the scholarly works of her husband and with the circumstances of his latest imprisonment. She also defended others who were unjustly repressed, such as historian and publicist, Valentyn Moroz.

In 1969, a new "case" was started against S. Karavanskyy, who was then in Vladimir prison, for writing while in prison several articles, in particular an article about the Katyn forest tragedy, where in 1941 a mass execution of Polish officers and prisoners of war was staged.

At the trial, which was conducted right in jail and terminated with an increase in Karavanskyy's general prison term to 33 years, N. Strokata appeared as a witness, defended her husband, and accused the organizers of his cruel trial. In reply to this, a separate decision of the court was sent to the Odessa Medical Institute in which N. Strokata was accused of supporting her husband and of not doing enough to reeducate him. At the meeting of the institute's rectorship, where her case was examined, N. Strokata talked about her moral duty to defend the interests of her husband and about the amorality of demands that she disown him and condemn him publicly. In this connection she drew analogies with the persecution of wives of political prisoners in Stalinist times. Further measures against N. Strokata were postponed due to a cholera epidemic, in the liquidation of which she played a most active part.

In early 1971, however, attacks on N. Strokata were again intensified. In the Odessa regional newspaper in March, there appeared an article (in Russian) "How are you, Strokata?", in which an anonymous author, I. Petrenko (attacks against S. Karavanskyy were earlier printed under this pseudonym), accused N. Strokata of not breaking with a convicted enemy and maintaining contacts with his adherents. The article ended in a direct threat of repressions if Strokata did not change her conduct.

In May, 1971, at the meeting of the institute's scientific council, where N. Strokata again defended her views and the moral right to defend her husband, she was dismissed from the institute (the official formulation: "at her own request").

As a consequence of harassment (anonymous letters, summons for interrogations, and "conversations" of her acquaintances, etc.) and

the impossibility of finding a position in her profession, N. Strokata was forced to leave Ukraine in the summer of 1971 for Nalchyk (Kabardino-Balkaria), where she found a job as lecturer at a medical technical school.

N. Strokata was arrested on December 8 by employees of the Odessa KGB while enroute from Nalchyk to Odessa, where she went to complete the legalization of an exchange of an apartment and to dispatch her personal belongings to Nalchyk. On that day her Odessa apartment was searched. Confiscated were two poems by S. Karavansky (one called "To Descendants of Beria," another "Summer in Lviv"), some old book on ethnography, and a book of Shakespeare's sonnets published in 1966 with an inscription of translator D. Palamarchuk in which M. Strokata was called a Decabrist. A search was also conducted at Nalchyk in N. Strokata's new apartment, where former political prisoner Yu. Shukhevych and his family had been living at the time, and in Odessa at the home of L. Tymchuk, a sea-port sailor, but nothing was confiscated here.

N. Strokata's case is being conducted by the Odessa department of the Ukr. KGB; the investigator is Rubak. She was charged on the basis of Article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR ("anti-Soviet propaganada and agitation"). A formal ground for the arrest has not yet been made known, but there is every reason to believe that the pretext for the arrest was some testimony of Oleksa Prytyka, arrested on July 9, 1971. The real reasons behind N. Strokata's arrest, however, are clear to all. Several weeks prior to her arrest, information was received from circles close to the KGB about the possible arrest of N. Strokata because she lets no one forget about the "case" of S. Karavansky and maintains ties with "suspicious" persons in Moscow, Kyiv, Lviv, and other places, in particular with the Committee in Defence of Human Rights in Moscow.

Besides N. Strokata, litterateur Oleksa Piznykiv was also arrested in Odessa on November 9, on the basis of evidence supplied by O. Prytyka, and searches were conducted in the homes of a number of persons. It is believed that the investigating organs will try to organize a group case, utilizing the testimony of O. Prytyka who, in the words of the persons questioned, supplied all the evidence needed for the investigation, which at times does not make any sense and is obviously slanderous in nature. An investigator told O. Prytyka's wife that her husband will be tried in February, 1972.

Citizens' Defence Committee

P.S. Both materials were officially sent to the Odessa Regional Court.

THE CHRONICLE

On March 29, 1965, an evening of Ukrainian poetry was to have taken place in the club of the Kyiv automatic lathe factory (Brest-Litovsk Highway, 86). An announcement about it was hanging for several days.

On Sunday, the 29th, the people began to gather for the evening. But the club was closed and the announcement had been torn down. It turned out that shortly before the start of the evening, club director L. I. Brahinska was notified that the evening had been prohibited inasmuch as the evening's program had not been coordinated with the district committee of the party and had not been approved by it.

The crowd that had gathered under the doors of the club was astonished and indignant. Somebody suggested that the evening be held anyway, in the open if need be. Those present spontaneously started for the neighbouring Leninist Komsomol Park. There poets began to read verse, and the published poems of other poets were also read. The head of the local committee of the factory Glazyrin also appeared in the park. When the poets began reading poetry, Glazyrin quickly climbed to an old platform and began to abuse the crowd and to disperse those present, shouting (in Russian): "Get out of here! Comrades, don't listen to them; they're Ukrainian nationalists, Banderites! Why do they read everything in the Banderite language? Translate for me what they are saying!" and so forth.

The conduct of the official resulted in a legitimate protest by those present; he was supported only by a small group of people who came together with him. It is known that Glazyrin is a Russian from the Volohod region, a typical official-aparatchik without any profession. He came to Kyiv from the Volohod region together with a detachment returning from evacuation, received an apartment, a residence permit and so forth without any obstacles. For an extended period of time he worked as an "engineer" without any education and professional training. He was retained because he was an "activist," holding various elective posts exempt from basic work. He held everything Ukrainian in contempt and pressured workers who had not forsaken their native language.

It is known that a lawsuit was initiated against him for his hooligan, politically criminal outbreak at the Leninist Komsomol Park. But the court instances referred the summons to the district

committee of the party and there the case was hushed up. Glazyrin not only went unpunished but, as if in gratitude for his Ukrainophobia, he was soon sent to a labour union congress in Warsaw (according to other data, to Czecho-Slovakia) as part of the delegation of Ukraine in order to establish friendly ties.

At the evening in the park about 200-250 persons were present: workers of the factory, young specialists, Ukrainian intelligentsia, youth of the district; the people present at the park also joined. The condemnation of Glazyrin's act was unanimous, but when several persons wished to give Glazyrin a beating for the "Banderite language," they were prevented from doing so, and the literary evening proceeded in an orderly fashion. At its conclusion, the participants went to the center of the city singing Ukrainian songs.

The initiators of the evening to be held at the factory club were engineers Svyatoslav Fedoriv and Oleksander Mykolaychuk. For the latter, the evening ended tragically. O. Mykolaychuk, feeling responsible for the evening, attempted to calm Glazyrin down, arguing with him and at the same time becoming very excited. In addition, he became very cold, for the weather outside was wintry cold, while he was wearing light clothes, expecting that the evening would be held indoors. That night, from Sunday to Monday, he suffered a severe heart attack. Collecting all his strength, he knocked on the neighbours' wall. They immediately called an ambulance, which arrived an hour and a half later, when O. Mykolaychuk's heart ceased to beat...

O. Mykolaychuk was an able engineer, an honest and conscientious person. He was the head of the Council of Young Specialists and active in the community. He worked at the factory after graduating from the Kyiv Polytechnic Institute, enjoying the respect of the workers and his fellow engineers. A native of the Vinnytsya region, he loved Ukrainian poetry and Ukrainian songs. His next-door neighbour recounts that not too long before the tragedy, Oleksander's father visited him and all evening long, with good voices, they sang ancient Ukrainian songs.

O. Mykolayevych was buried at the Boykovyy cemetery; a monument was erected on his gravesite at community expense.

In several days S. Fedoriv was summoned to the Zhovten district party committee, and it was demanded that he name the organizers of the evening and the poets present in order that sanctions might be taken against them.

But for O. Mykolaychuk, their sanctions were no longer frightening.

* * *

KYIV. In 1970, Halyna Palamarchuk and Stanislav Chernylevskyy, students taking courses at the Ukrainian department of the Philology Faculty of the Kyiv University were persecuted, being accused of nationalistic attitudes. During his first term, Chernylevskyy was

summoned to the special department of the university, where it was suggested that he spy on classmates and receive various privileges in return, but the student categorically refused. Now H. Palamarchuk was reprimanded, while S. Chernylevskyy was forced to leave the university under pressure. In the summer of 1971, he brilliantly passed the test for the Kyiv Theatrical Institute, exhibiting the best skill among those enlisting. Nevertheless, he was not permitted to take lessons and was removed from the student rolls only because he had left the university (a totally illegal ground; no doubt here it did not go without KGB intervention).

* * *

The traditional demonstration of nationally conscious Ukrainian people at the Shevchenko monument in Kyiv on May 22nd — the anniversary of the transferring of the poet's body to his native land — had not passed without consequences this year either. Several days later, former political prisoner Lupynis was arrested, apparently because he appeared near the monument and read anti-chauvinist poems.

Those present at the monument were filmed and photographed. Then lists were compiled as to how many persons from each district of the city remained at the monument after the conclusion of the official festival. For example, from the Lenin district of Kyiv 170 persons were pinpointed, from the Shevchenko district there were 10, and so forth. These figures were later used by the secretary of the Kyiv municipal committee of the party, Botvyn, while addressing school principals, as well as managers and directors of enterprises and institutions (one such appearance occurred on July 5, 1971).

He urged that the struggle with ideological subversion be intensified, that those who come to the monument on May 22nd be punished. In order to compromise the tradition of honouring Shevchenko's memory on that day, the secretary of the municipal committee linked that day to January 22nd, the anniversary of the proclamation of independence of the UNR (Ukrainian National Republic) by the Central Council in 1918. Allegedly, this is why the nationalists gather by the monument on the 22nd.

* * *

As part of the plan of "struggle with the archaization" of the Ukrainian literary language and its reconciliation with the "living language" of the people (i.e. the Russo-Ukrainian mixture), launched upon the initiative of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, a number of steps were already taken. At the publishing houses of the republic, particularly at "Dnipro" publishers, which prints the majority of translated works, a linguistic terror has begun. During editing, even specific Ukrainian words are being thrown out

mercilessly, which in recent years have regained their citizenship rights in the Ukrainian language. A number of high-quality translations were rejected. Writer and translator Anatolii Perepadya was dismissed from work.

The Institute of Linguistics at the Academy of Sciences of the Ukr. SSR, headed by I. Bilodid, responded immediately to the campaign. Taking advantage of this opportunity, the department of the Ukrainian language and the department of dialectology were liquidated here, and instead the Russian language department and the department of language culture were created. The latter was entrusted for chairmanship to a mediocre research worker, a reactionary in linguistics, Alla Koval, known for her links with the KGB.

The Press Committee at the Council of Ministers of the Ukr. SSR issued a special resolution on the language of Ukrainian newspapers and books. In the resolution mention is also made of the need to avoid outright Russianisms, but the chief emphasis is placed on the struggle with "archaisms" and "dialectism."

* * *

The Kyiv newspaper *Vechirniy Kyiv* of July 8, 1971, published an article by I. Shpytal on the premature ejection from Ukraine of four American tourists, Ukrainians by nationality: Roman Protsyk (19), Maria Fetsio (21), Steve Osadets (26), and Hanna Protsyk-Oleksiv (35).

In an extensive article, however, it is difficult to find the real reasons for such an extreme step. The sole guilt of the tourists was the fact that one of them photographed a Russian-language shield with an advertising text near the historical museum, but did not photograph the same shield in Ukrainian, which was nearby.

In addition, it is asserted that the tourists requested Soviet citizens "to assist them in establishing contacts with the 'underground' in order to supply it with 'modern emigre literature,'" but this assertion is totally unfounded, not confirmed by any evidence. On the other hand, much is written about the tourists' parents, about their community life in America, etc. Thus, about H. Protsyk, a graduate student at Columbia University, it is said that her father was a "staunch Bandera follower," that he brought his daughter up in that spirit, and that she takes part in the so-called "Amnesty International," where she has become one of its leaders. About the three others it is stated that they are members of the youth organization SUM (Association of Ukrainian Youth). It is said that the real reason for expelling the tourists from the USSR is the fact that they have met and talked to a number of persons from among the Kyiv intelligentsia, whom the KGB considers "unreliable."

* * *

Poet V. Kordun was dismissed from work at the Ministry of Living Conditions. The reason was his use of genuine Ukrainian words

instead of Russian words thrust upon the Ukrainian language. V. Kordun worked on a departmental journal and instead of, let us say, "zakroyshchyk" (Russian — cutter) he wrote "zakroyuvach," and so forth. He was forced to submit a resignation "upon his own wish" and to leave work.

* * *

It was proposed that the senior Pioneer leader of the Kyiv school No. 139, Komsomol member Nina Lashchenko (b. 1950), leave work. Aside from her participation in "Homin" she was also accused of using Ukrainian language in a Ukrainian school! Below is a conversation she had with the party organizer of the school.

— You emphatically speak Ukrainian everywhere. Who needs it?

— But our school is Ukrainian!

— But you enter the Russian tenth grade and speak Ukrainian there as well.

— For me, a language is not a garment which I can change as a dress, this one for the theater, another one for work.

— I teach English, but I do not use it outside class.

— This is your bread. And the native language is a necessity of life for me, in the same spirit.

Aside from this, the party organizer also inquired what banned books had the Pioneer leader brought to the tenth grade. It turned out that they were collections of Drach and Vinhranovskyy, published by Soviet publishers, of which the party organizer had never heard.

* * *

Emma Lytvynchuk, a teacher of language and literature in one of the Kyiv Ukrainian schools, is being harassed. The school's principal is indignant that the Ukrainian-language teacher "ostensibly speaks Ukrainian" with the pupils and fellow-teachers of the Ukrainian school.

* * *

On October 25th and November 1st, 1971, room No. 87 in dormitory I of the Kyiv Polytechnic Institute was searched when the room's residents were attending classes. The search was conducted by the institute KGB agents — staff members of the so-called "I Department" — in the presence of the dormitory's commandant and the assistant dean of the Mechanical-Mathematics Faculty. They carefully ransacked all belongings of the students. The "ground" for the illegal search, not sanctioned by a decision of the prosecutor, was that the boys spoke Ukrainian in the room, one of them attending the "Homin" rehearsals, while the other attempted the previous year to organize an appearance at the institute of actor S. Maksymchuk, a laureat of the republican recitation competition.

*

FURTHER PERSECUTIONS IN UKRAINE

MELNYCHUK SENTENCED — HIS WORKS DESTROYED

Taras Yuriy Melnychuk from the Hutsul region was born in 1933 in the village of Yabluniv, district of Kosiv, region of Ivano-Frankivsk. In the spring of 1972 he was sentenced by the regional court in Ivano-Frankivsk to 3 years in a correctional-labour colony of severe regime for "anti-Soviet propaganda" (art. 62, Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR) Melnychuk's appeal to the court of cassation was rejected by the Supreme Court of the Ukr. SSR.

In view of the fragments of the 3-day trial which got through the closed doors of the court the young poet might be characterized as follows: Taras Melnychuk descends from a peasant family living in one of the kolkhozes near Kosiv. Having graduated from high school he had to earn his living and help his old and ailing mother who could not live on her pension (the pension of a kolkhoz pensioner amounts to about 9 roubles per month) as well as his little daughter.

He continued his studies, however, in addition to his day-to-day work. He registered for correspondence courses at the Gorky Institute of Literature in Moscow. As a third-year student, he was arrested on January 24, 1972, in Kosiv and forever prevented from continuing his studies.

Taras Melnychuk was not afraid of physical labour although it was not to his liking and beyond his strength. He worked as wood cutter, geologist, and builder. He had a very hard job in the construction of a plant in the Kryvyi Rih region. Then he went with a geodetic group across the uninhabited taiga of the ASR Comi on the Yenissei in the Krasnoyarsk region, looking for aluminium deposits for the Aluminium Works in Krasnoyarsk; he was out-of-doors in any weather, whether it was hot, raining, or snowing. During sleepless winter nights he often froze to the earth under his tent which he carried in his rucksack during the day. While working so hard Taras used to write about life and work and sent his writings to journalists and papers, i.e. directly into the jaws of attentive censors. Further, he wrote intimate poems praising the beauty of the earth and of the sun, poems about people and mankind, fatherland, love and youth and even about his own fate.

A selection of his poems appeared in a small collection entitled "Nesimo Lubov Planeti" (Let us bring love to the planet), published by Karpaty Publishers in Uzhhorod in 1967 (4500 copies only). After his imprisonment, however, two suitcases of his unpublished poems were burnt by the KGB.

In this manner cultural works of young people are annihilated

before the world gets to see them (which is not at all new). The sources of ancient Ukrainian culture were also destroyed by burning the archives of the Ukrainian Academy of Science in Kyiv.

A year prior to his imprisonment Taras Melnychuk prepared a large volume of poems for printing and sent it to Karpaty Publishers in Uzhhorod. The review of this book was favourable and it was accepted for publication, but since the author was imprisoned, its publication was stopped.

T. Melnychuk was reprovved for the first time when in the spring of 1971 he prepared for publication the volume of poems "Chaha" (420 handwritten pages) and sent it to two publishers: Soviet Writer in Kyiv and Karpaty in Uzhhorod.

This volume attracted the attention of the literary watch-dogs in Kyiv, trained by the Kozachenkos and Malanchuks. The publishers in Kyiv handed over the hand-written volume of poems to the Ukrainian Communist Party, which in turn sent it to the Obkom (regional Party Committee) in Ivano-Frankivsk. The Obkom-Secretary, Oleksander Olimpiyovych Chernov, passed the manuscript on to the KGB, which arrested Melnychuk in Kosiv on January 24, 1972, for "circulating" the manuscript sent to the publishers.

Before the author was arrested, a KGB worker, Derevyanenko, had come from Kosiv to the high school in Yabluniv in order to blackmail witnesses (later on he advanced to the post of a "religion abolisher" in the Ivano-Frankivsk region).

As prisoner under investigation the arrested T. Melnychuk fell into the hands of such "fine experts" of Ukrainian literature in Ivano-Frankivsk as the head of the KGB investigation department, i.e., the Russian Dolgikh, and the investigator of the KGB district administration, Andrusiv. What arguments could Melnychuk put forward to defend himself vis-à-vis his interrogators who had learnt from the Kyiv Review that his poems were not adapted to the socialist-realist type of literature and that 5 to 10 poems of the 420-page manuscript sent to the censors for review were "anti-Soviet" poems? In vain did Taras argue before the court that those 5 or 10 poems written in about 2½ hours truly rendered his personal experiences "of the brutal facts of reality which I myself was confronted with," and that he was hoping that an autobiographic description of his experiences would help him to be understood. The defendant was speaking to a dumb wall. The Soviet court does not judge, it sentences. It frames up a juridical setting in order to ritualistically pronounce a punishing sentence rendered prior to the trial.

The judge Vasylenko and the public prosecutor Korodko artistically pretended to listen to Taras' defensive speech — completely superfluous in their eyes — although behind closed doors there were no objective correspondents observing them. In accordance with the farcical Soviet legal procedure no witness of defence was admitted and the witnesses called upon had been frightened and threatened

beforehand and some of them had been blackmailed by Derevyanenko before Melnychuk was even arrested.

The court was not interested in examining the facts that had excited the poet's indignation and which he had expressed in 5 to 10 poems "rejected by the censor." The mere fact that these few poems were found in a large poetry collection was condemned as "systematic anti-Soviet propaganda," and the fact that they had been sent to the Kyiv Publishers was condemned as "spreading" illegal writings.

In sentencing T. Melnychuk and burning his manuscripts, the occupational "court" and the KGB have again demonstrated how Russian chauvinists are destroying Ukrainian literary works.

IRYNA SENYK BEFORE THE OCCUPATION COURT

As is known from previous reports, Iryna Senyk has been sentenced again, this time to six years' imprisonment and five years' exile. The trial at the regional court in Ivano-Frankivsk lasted for three days behind closed doors.

Some fragments of the course of the summary trial are given by special correspondent L. Ulchenko of *Prykarpatska Pravda* in his slanderous attack in the article "The Dark Glasses of a Renegade" (PP" 11. 3. 1973).

Iryna Mykhaylivna Senyk, about forty-seven years old, was tempered by the underground revolutionary-liberation struggle and the hell of Bolshevik prisons.

As an 18-year-old student Iryna, a native of Lviv, joined the ranks of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and in 1944 took the vow to battle for Ukraine's independence. "Mariyka," regional commander of the OUN women's network, introduced her into the ranks of the Organization and gave her the organizational pseudonym "Lesya."

Iryna Senyk-Lesya "developed the stormy activity of a messenger for the national command..." At night she would steal away from Lviv to the provinces, carrying out special missions for the National Command of Roman Shukhevych — whom L. Ulchenko viciously calls a "German spy" and "hangman." "Besides this, Lesya's duties included collecting the addresses of Soviet activists, and providing the *Banderivtsi* (Bandera followers) with nationalistic publications."

When one considers that the years 1944-1946 saw the total blockade of Western Ukraine by NKVD troops, the terroristic provocations of Bolshevik special forces, the resistance to collectivization, mass deportations, and large-scale battles of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), then it becomes clear that every nocturnal contact of the messenger Lesya with the underground required the extraordinary courage of a young girl.

In 1946, Iryna Senyk was arrested and sentenced by the occupation authorities to ten years' imprisonment.

After her release, she completed her secondary special education and settled in Ivano-Frankivsk. There, she made the acquaintance of Valentyn Moroz, who was then a lecturer in history at the Pedagogical Institute. In December, 1969, along with other Ukrainian patriots and former political prisoners, I. Senyk signed a grievance to the head of the Presidium of the Ukr. SSR Lyashko and the Ukr. SSR public prosecutor Hlukh protesting the third trial of Svyatoslav Karavanskyi, who had been imprisoned again, with four demands for reforming the illegal treatment of political prisoners (*Ukrainian Herald* Issue 1).

Besides her acquaintance with the historian and her signature of the grievance, Iryna was accused of giving Vyacheslav Chornovil a collection of her poems, which was found at his home after his last arrest — as if the poetess did not have the right to seek the opinion of the “much younger” literary critic, nor of the much older expert on literature and art, the “nonagenarian” Olha Duchyminska, to whom she also showed her poems. The poetess’ readings of her verses among her acquaintances was considered as circulation of illegal literature, or intent to print in the *samvydav*.

Evidence for the trial was an essay by literary expert E. Rice, “The New Literary Wave in Ukraine,” found Olha Duchyminska the profound authority on our culture, who was groundlessly imprisoned for ten years in vengeance upon the Ukrainian intelligentsia for the assassination of the traitor Halan, is of such a form of coarse police reproof as passes the bounds of logical thought: “The old woman skips around the country delivering anti-Soviet literature.” Can anyone believe this sort of vicious provocation?

All the efforts of the author of the attack to debase and to present as false affectation the courageous deportment of Iryna Senyk before the court and her cool, superior calm before the hangmen are in vain: “In the dock sits the thin, no longer young woman dressed in black. Her grave gaze passes over the faces of those present. At every question of the court and the prosecutor she slowly rises and replies with studied courtesy, and thanks each witness for his testimony, regardless of whether he spoke to her advantage or disadvantage.”

The author of the pasquil is enraged that Iryna Senyk was too proud to make a statement of repentance: “Senyk couldn’t muster the strength or the courage to admit that she had lived in error and to return to the way of truth.”

The hangmen’s court failed to intimidate Iryna Senyk’s indomitable courage by terror, to debase her human dignity.

The court only bore out its moral impotence before Iryna Senyk with its groundless decree of liquidation: *six years of prison and five years of exile*.

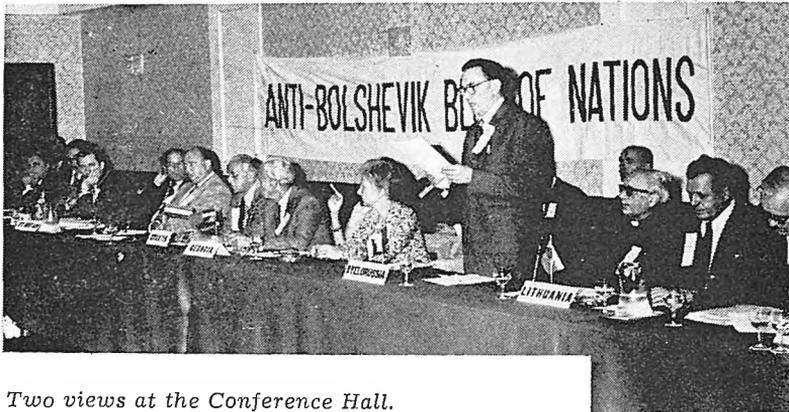
This unjust sentence from the enemy, which has decided her fate, was accepted by Iryna Senyk with dignity, fortitude, and the proud calm of a heroine.

A.B.N. AND E.F.C. CONFERENCES IN LONDON

August 24-27, 1973



*President of the A.B.N.
opening the Conference*



Two views at the Conference Hall.

*Presidium of the E.F.C.
Honorary President O. B. Kraft speaking.*



The Session of the Youth. Miss S. Zourabichvili speaking.

The floor has a voice.





*Under the Nelson's column.
Two views at the
A.B.N./E.F.C. Rally
at Trafalgar Square,
London, August 26, 1973.*



Ukrainian Youth at Trafalgar Square.



Delegates and Guests at the A.B.N. Reception.



AMERICAN PROFESSORS IN DEFENCE OF UKRAINIAN INTELLECTUALS

On the 3rd of February, 1973, The Times in London published a letter signed by eleven intellectuals from the London School of Economics, in which its authors criticised the intensification by the Soviet Russian authorities of the persecution of intellectuals in Ukraine. They stated that, according to their information, about one hundred young writers, artists and scholars of moderate political orientation were arrested during 1972, and that at least 20 of them have already been sentenced in camera to inhumanely severe terms of imprisonment and exile.

We are publishing the text of "An Open Letter To Mr. Brezhnev," written and signed by twenty-one professors of several leading universities in the United States of America. This letter appeared in the New York Times during Brezhnev's visit to the U.S.A.

Mr. Brezhnev,

You have come to the United States on a state visit upon the invitation of the President of the United States of America. You have come here for the purpose of improving mutual relations between the Soviet Union and the United States, a laudible purpose which you confirmed in your address of May 1 in Moscow:

"We shall in the future, too, facilitate a favourable development of Soviet-American relations on the principle of mutual respect and mutual advantage."

This "advantage" you speak of already was partly attained when the U.S. Government and the Government of the USSR signed a mutual trade agreement, enabling your government to buy \$750,000,000 worth of U.S. grain over a period of three years. You know that \$500,000,000 of that sum will be paid with monies generously loaned by the American taxpayer. Moreover, your representatives have been pressuring the U.S. Government and the U.S. Congress to grant the USSR the "most-favoured-nation" status (MFN), which would provide American credits for the USSR to finance Soviet trade with the U. S. It would also remove discriminatory tariffs that are in force against the USSR and other Communist countries.

All these efforts, Mr. Brezhnev, as well as the frantic search by your government for grain in Canada, Western Europe and other countries of the world, prove undeniably if embarrassingly only one thing: despite the military prowess and the alleged technological progress made by the USSR, *its economy is in a very precarious if not deplorable state*. Demonstrated again is that your Government does need economic assistance from the "capitalist" states. Demonstrated also is that the USSR needs display a measure of "good will" and "respect" towards those who are deeply concerned with the internal situation in the USSR, the overriding feature of which is the thorough repression of all the non-Russian peoples by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which you head, and by your efficient KGB, your instrument of effecting obedience and of executing genocide.

GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN UKRAINE

As part of the great American intellectual and academic community, we address ourselves to you, Mr. Brezhnev, on behalf of *hundreds upon thousands of Ukrainian intellectuals* who are being systematically persecuted by your secret police and your courts in very defiance of your own Soviet Constitution and of the U.N. *Declaration of Human Rights*, which the USSR Government and the Government of the Ukrainian SSR both solemnly pledged themselves to observe and respect. Since your representatives in the U.N. make much of human rights in their propaganda tirades against such countries as Greece, Rhodesia, Israel, South Vietnam and even the United States, why do they receive such scant notice from a state that vaunts its belief in the individual?

Only this past December the USSR observed the 50th anniversary of its founding, emphasising the theme that the "nationality problem" has been satisfactorily "solved," and that all the non-Russian peoples of the USSR, constituting over 50% of its entire population, are "happy" to live in the USSR.

Conspicuously absent from the official pronouncements were less "happy" features of your rule, as well as the rule of your predecessors, Stalin and Khrushchev, namely:

@ The Stalin-made famine in Ukraine in 1932-33, which resulted in the death by starvation of *over 7,000,000 Ukrainian men, women and children*;

@ The wanton destruction of the Ukrainian Autocephalic Orthodox Church in the 1930's, along with the arrest and execution of over 40 Ukrainian archbishops and bishops and over 20,000 priests and monks;

@ The brutal destruction of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Western Ukraine and Carpatho-Ukraine in 1945-1946, entailing the

arrest and execution of hundreds of Ukrainian Catholic priests, nuns and monks and the subordination of over 5 million Ukrainian Catholics to the Kremlin-controlled Russian Orthodox Church, against their will and belief;

@ The wholesale liquidation of members of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), the anti-Nazi and anti-Soviet Ukrainian underground, in 1945-1949, including their families: parents, wives, sisters, brothers and children.

@ The mass deportation of Ukrainians into the out-flung areas of the USSR, especially Siberia and Central Asia, many of them sent by "administrative order," without benefit of trial, never of choice.

Under your leadership, the Soviet government has been ruthlessly Russifying not only populous Ukraine, but other so-called "Union Republics": Byelorussia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Armenia, Georgia, Azerbaijan and Turkestan.

Some 3 million Soviet Jews have been subjugated to age-old persecution. A Soviet variant of the pogrom, under your tutelage, was the \$2,000 to \$25,000 "tax" imposed on Jews wishing to leave your much-propagandized democracy.

And now, Mr. Brezhnev, we have the case of the youth educated under Communism in Ukraine — the Ukrainian intellectuals.

THE CASE OF THE UKRAINIAN INTELLECTUALS

From 1965 to the present the Soviet government, under your thinking and direction, has pursued a ruthless repression of these Ukrainian intellectuals that is tantamount to a veritable cultural pogrom. The overwhelming majority of these men and women, may we stress, have been reared under the Soviet system in Ukraine. These are not the tillers of the land, the "peasants" in such alleged need of the enlightenment and liberation of a new social system. No, these are writers, poets, literary critics, journalists, professors, teachers, artists, engineers and research workers. These are presumably the flower of fifty years of Soviet rule.

Yet in 1972 alone over 100 *Ukrainian intellectuals* were arrested in Ukraine and charged, as were far more before them, with "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda." Many of them have already been tried *in camera* and sentenced to severe prison terms. Their crimes? Glorifying the Ukrainian past, reading prerevolutionary books by Ukrainian authors, now banned in Ukraine, and copying and disseminating speeches of Western leaders, including the encyclical *Pacem in Terris* of the late Pope John XXIII. Also: some of them discussed among themselves ways and means of *legally* resisting the forcible Russification of Ukraine and the continued destruction of its culture; still others protested against the unbridled persecution of the national minorities, notably the Jews.

Their crime, Mr. Brezhnev, evidently was to take the Soviet constitution at its face value. All this is legal and actual in the normal functioning of a democratic, so-called capitalistic society, such as ours. Should you occasionally browse through the pages of the Western press, which is free, you cannot but realize that ours is a society of conflicting opinions, values and hopes. We deem this turmoil democracy at its best, arresting no one as a "saboteur," anti-government "wrecker" or even as a Soviet "lackey." No self-professed Communist among us has ever been exiled to the Appalachians.

An American speaks freely. In your state, even those who profess to be Marxists and legal citizens of the Ukrainian SSR have been victimized by a double-speak regime.

For the record, let us consider:

Yuriy Shukhevych, 40, son of General Roman Shukhevych, commander-in-chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. He was first arrested and convicted in 1948 at the age of 15, serving 20 years for refusing to denounce his anti-Soviet father. In September, 1972, for further "deviation" he was sentenced to 5 years of normal incarceration and another five years in a chastening labour camp.

Svya'oslav Karavansky, 53, poet and journalist. In 1944, he received a 25-year sentence, but was released in 1960. He translated Charlotte Bronte's *Jane Eyre* and other alien works into the Ukrainian. Worse, he wrote ardent petitions to the Communist authorities protesting the persecution of Jews and other national minorities. In 1965, he was rearrested and sentenced to 3 years and 7 months at hard labour by N. Rudenko, Prosecutor-General of the USSR;

Valentyn Moroz, 37, Ukrainian historian. For "deviation" he was arrested and sentenced in 1966 to 5 years at hard labour. While in the slave camp, he wrote *A Report from the Beria Preserve* and *A Chronicle of Resistance in Ukraine*; in the latter work he assailed the Russification of Ukraine and the police terror. Released in 1960, he was rearrested in June, 1970; on November 20, 1970, he was sentenced to 9 years at hard labour;

Vyacheslav Chornovil, 35, TV journalist, publicist and literary critic. In August, 1967, he was sentenced to 3 years at hard labour for simply compiling factual material on the arrests and trials of 20 Ukrainian intellectuals in 1965-1966. His documentary book, *The Chornovil Papers*, was published by the McGraw Hill Company in 1968. Released in 1969, he was rearrested in January, 1972, and in February of the following year sentenced to 7 years at hard labour, including 5 years of "exile" from his native land of Ukraine;

Ivan Dzyuba, 42, editor, literary critic and author of such books as *Soviet Literature*, *The One Who Chased Out the Pharisees*, and

Internationalism or Russification?, which was published in English in London (1968). In January, 1972, in the wave of new arrests in Ukraine conducted by the KGB, he was arrested and interrogated on his "contacts" with Ukrainian anti-Soviet organizations abroad. He was expelled from the Union of Writers of Ukraine for "preparing and disseminating materials bearing an anti-Soviet and anti-Communist character." The following March he was sentenced to 5 years of hard labour. Early in 1963 he spoke at a meeting of the Ukrainian Jews in Kiev, denouncing the slaughter of Jews by the Nazis in 1943 at Babi Yar;

Ivan Svitlychny, 44, noted Ukrainian literary critic and author, Arrested first in 1966 while working for the Shevchenko Institute of Literature, a section of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kiev, he spent 8 months in jail. He then wrote articles for Ukrainian journals in Poland and Czechoslovakia and translated the work of the French poet, Pierre-Jean Beranger. In 1972, he was arrested and kept in isolation and in March, 1973, sentenced to 7 years at hard labour;

Evhen Sverstiuk, 45, literary critic, publicist and essayist. Arrested in 1965, he was imprisoned for several months. His essays dealt primarily with the era of Stalinist terror in Ukraine. One important work, *Cathedral on the Scaffolding*, has been widely circulated in Ukraine as an underground publication; in March, 1973, he was sentenced to 5 years at hard labour;

Leonid Plyushch, 33, Ukrainian cybernetics specialist and a member of the Human Rights Committee under the chairmanship of Prof. Andrei D. Sakharov. He was sentenced to indefinite detention in a psychiatric ward;

Ihor Kalynets, 34, poet and literary critic, and author of such poetry collections as *Poetry from Ukraine* and *Summary of Silence*. He was sentenced in November, 1972, to 9 years of hard labour;

Mykhailo Osadchy, 37, writer and university professor. He translated into the Ukrainian the poems of García Lorca and published his own collections of poems, *Moon Fields* and *Cataract*. He was sentenced in September, 1972, to 7 years at hard labour;

Nina Strokata-Karavansky, 48, a microbiologist at the Medical Institute, and wife of condemned Svyatoslav Karavansky. She refused to denounce and divorce her husband. The charge was that she maintained contacts with "suspicious" persons in Kiev, Lviv and Moscow. In May, 1972, she was sentenced to 4 years at hard labour;

Stephania Shabatura, 35, artist and specialist on Ukrainian rugs. She incurred the attention of the KGB by demanding admission to the secret trial of Valentyn Moroz and by signing a petition on his behalf. In July, 1972, she was sentenced to 5 years at hard labour;

Irena Stasiv-Kalynets, 33, college teacher and writer and wife of poet Ihor Kalynets. A writer of poetry for children, she taught Ukrainian language and literature at the Polytechnical Institute in Lviv. In July, 1972, she was sentenced to 6 years at hard labour;

Vasyl Stus, 35, poet and literary critic. In December, 1971, he joined a "Citizens Committee for the Defence of Ninia Strokata-Karavansky," who was being persecuted because she refused to disavow her husband. The reward for his convictions came in September, 1972: 5 years at hard labour.

INNOCENT VICTIMS OF TOTALITARIAN GENOCIDE

Mr. Brezhnev:

As First Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and as head of the Politburo, you cannot but know that these Ukrainian intellectuals, plus similar hundreds of others in Ukraine, are not criminals in the light of your own Soviet laws. But your courts, dishearteningly reminiscent of Hitler's "people's courts," insist on trying these young people under Art. 62 of the Ukrainian Penal Code, which spells out punishment for "agitation or propaganda for the purpose of undermining the Soviet rule."

Yet your own Soviet Constitution (Art. 125) guarantees each citizen "freedom of speech; freedom of the press; freedom of assembly and freedom of procession and demonstration on the street." If exercise of any of these rights, in the spirit of the law, is out-of-hand branded as subversion, then they are "paper rights," sop beneath, at least, the human level of the animal kingdom.

Your government and that of the Ukrainian SSR are signatories to the U.N. *Declaration of Human Rights* which, in Art. 19, states explicitly:

Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinion without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

Are these rights mere words to you, Mr. Brezhnev?

Your government is accusing these intellectuals of being "bourgeois Ukrainian nationalists" who wish to detach Ukraine from the USSR. But you and your omnipresent police assuredly know better. These people are the product of your Soviet system; they speak out in terms of it. Yet if some do envision a secession of Ukraine, this in itself is no violation of the constitution, for Art. 17 of the Soviet constitution contains the provision that each Union Republic has "the right to secede freely from the USSR."

It is plain that what they are concerned about is the *genocidal effort of your government to blot out Ukrainian consciousness through an official systematic Russification of Ukraine. The aim is no less than the destruction of the Ukrainian identity.*

These "deviationists" are actually martyrs in the cause of human freedom, for certainly they cannot be accused *en masse* of incredible stupidity. As perceptive human beings, they have recoiled from the corruption of your courts, your KGB terrorization, the overt negation of humankind inherent in the appalling, and abysmally cruel, efforts of the Kremlin to compel a wealth of nations to respond to and live by the nature of but one — the Russian. The avowed goal of a "one Soviet people," they see, is at the least the fabrication of a no-people.

On January 21, 1969, your organ in Kiev, *Pravda Ukrainy*, reported that in 1968 7,000 students were expelled from the universities, *technicums and other institutions of higher learning in Ukraine* for "ideological disloyalty."

So many, and at once?

Recently, you ousted from the Politburo Peter Y. Shelest, your erstwhile colleague and trusted viceroy in Ukraine, accusing him of fostering "Ukrainian nationalism" in Ukraine. There is national consciousness among Ukrainians, of course. But the widespread resistance in Ukraine, we submit, is generated by a totalitarian onslaught upon human rights, the basic need of an individual to be himself before he can meaningfully lend himself to others and an idea.

You have come here, Mr. Brezhnev, to seek a bettering of relationships with the United States and other Western countries. Before thrusting at short-term gains, however, why not engage in a dialogue that presupposes man and nation to be worthwhile in themselves? Any social system has merit, including one that has survived 50 years. But if fruition of all mankind is the goal, then repression and nullification of large segments of it surely must be inimical, if not fatal, to the goal. A system, however inspired, must cater to the man, never he to the system.

As Americans, this is our fundamental belief.

Prof. James D. Atkinson, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C.

Prof. Lev F. Dobriansky, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C.

Prof. Joseph Dunner, Chairman, Department of Political Science, Yeshiva University, New York, N. Y.

Prof. Julius Epstein, Lincoln University, Palo Alto, Calif.

Prof. Kurt Glaser, Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville, Ill.

Prof. Stephan M. Horak, Eastern Illinois University, Charleston, Ill.

Prof. Henry L. Hull, Department of History, University of Dallas at Irving, Irving, Texas.

Prof. Jan Karski, Georgetown University, Washington, D. C.

- Prof. *Anthony Kubeck*, Department of History, University of Dallas at Irving, Irving, Texas.
- Prof. *Peter Lejins*, University of Maryland, College Park. Md.
- Prof. *Franz Michaels*, Sino-Soviet Studies, George Washington University, Washington, D. C.
- Prof. *Michael S. Pap*, John Carroll University, Cleveland, Ohio.
- Prof. *Stefan T. Possony*, Hoover Institution, Stanford, Calif.
- Prof. *Paul Craig Roberts*, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, N. M.
- Prof. *Edward J. Rosek*, Department of Political Science, University of Colorado, Denver, Colo.
- Prof. *Joseph S. Roucek*, Queensborough Community College, Bay-side, N. Y.
- Prof. *David Rowe*, Chairman, Department of Political Science, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
- Prof. *Joseph Schiebel*, Director, Russian Area Studies, Georgetown University, Washington, D. C.
- Prof. *Peter G. Stercho*, Drexel University, Philadelphia, Pa.
- Prof. *Bertram D. Wolfe*, Hoover Institution, Stanford, Calif.
- Prof. *Richard Walker*, Director, Institute of International Studies, University of South Carolina, Columbia, S. C.
- June, 1973.

UKRAINE'S PLEA FOR HELP

The well known specialist in Communist Affairs, Mr. David Floyd of "The Daily Telegraph", of London, has recently received an appeal from Ukraine. He wrote about it in an article which appeared in "The Daily Telegraph" on the 16th August, 1973. It read as follows:

"A Ukrainian resistance movement has smuggled to the West an appeal for support against Russian oppression.

The appeal, a single typed sheet in Ukrainian, was posted in Berlin during the Communist sponsored World Youth Festival and addressed to me at 135, Fleet Street, London.

The appeal names 24 Ukrainian writers, artists, scholars and religious leaders who have been sentenced to various terms of imprisonment for their opposition to the Soviet system and domination of the Ukraine from Moscow."

West blamed

"The governments of the United States and other capitalist countries share responsibility for the increased terror against us and

a new wave of Stalinism in the Ukraine and other Soviet republics, because they are doing deals with Moscow without demanding that the Soviet Government observe national and human rights."

The appeal concludes with a demand for the immediate banning of the use of chemical and psychiatric treatment of prisoners and the liberation of all political and religious prisoners. It is signed by the "Ukrainian National Liberation Front."

Mr. David Floyd was kind enough to hand over this document to the representatives of the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain which enabled us to make this English translation in full and which is published below.

The appeal in Ukrainian has no heading and is typewritten. It is a copy, and some words are difficult to read. It reads as follows:

"Our Front is compelled to act illegally, and that is why we mail this appeal without signatures. We appeal to the public opinion of the world to raise its voice in defence of the Ukrainian people, and against Russian despotism. The U.N. Chapter and Declaration of Human Rights, which were also signed by the Governments of the U.S.S.R. and Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, guarantee to each and every nation the right to national independence and individual freedom. However, the Party and Government of both the U.S.S.R. and Ukrainian S.S.R. completely disregard their own laws. The latter is, actually, the colonial administration of Ukraine receiving direct orders from Moscow. The Government of the Ukrainian S.S.R. did not even obtain the privilege for Ukrainian convicts to serve their sentences on Ukrainian territory, for here they are citizens and here they could obtain better assistance from their families. For attempting the realisation of just rights in Ukraine, community leaders were punished, some by death (L. Lukyanenko, I. Kandyba who had their sentences commuted to 15 years of prison and concentration camps of severe regime); for attempts to free cultural creativity and for opposing Russification, several hundred cultural workers, poets, artists, scientists and scholars (such as V. Moroz, Y. Sverstiuk, V. Chornovil, I. Svitlychnyi, Ihor and Irene Kaly nec, W. Stus, Irene Senyk, Michael Osadchyi, I. Hel and others) were punished by heavy sentences of up to 15 years of imprisonment in concentration camps and exile; for protesting against unlawful court proceedings and for the defence of the rights of individuals, punishments in the form of unspecified terms within special psychiatric asylums under KGB supervision were passed (L. Plushch, professor of cybernetics, A. Lupynis, Gen. P. Hryhorenko and others); for religious convictions beaten to death were I. Moyseyev, Mykola Khmara and others, or were sentenced to long years of incarceration (priest V. Romaniuk to 10 years, and others); for refusing to denounce his father, Yuriy Shukhevych was sentenced to 15 years of imprisonment, after he had previously served 20 years; for defending her husband, the microbiologist Ninia Strokata-Karavanska was sentenced to 4 years of imprisonment; for defending the rights and freedom of their nations

were executed A. Oliynyk, P. Kovalchuk, I. Chayka and others; and tortured to death were M. Soroka, V. Malchuk and others.

For defending the rights of the Ukrainian, Tatar, Jewish and other nations, S. Karavanskyi, Gen. P. Hryhorenko and Ivan Dzyuba were punished with extreme severity.

For defending the discriminated Jewish people, Petro Yakir and others were again put behind iron bars.

In order to break the will of resistance, the KGB are using modern chemicals and medical drugs manufactured by their professional staff, or are systematically poisoning foodstuffs (P. Starchyk, I. Dzyuba, V. Moroz, L. Lukyanenko, I. Kandyba, and others).

Through the application of modern methods of breaking the will power of a human being, the terror of Brezhnev—Andropov surpasses that of Stalin—Beria's type.

The Governments of the USA and other capitalist countries are also jointly responsible for the increase of the terroristic measures used against us, for the debauch of a new wave of Stalinism in Ukraine and other Soviet Republics, because at exactly the time of massive reprisals by the KGB, they were making agreements without any demands for the realisation of national and human rights.

Through these treaties Moscow intends to guarantee its domination over the subjugated nations.

The Helsinki Conference also guaranteed the unhindered torturing, for it did not demand that the USSR observe the obligation put forward by the UN Charter and Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

We warn you that if national rights and freedom of individuals, freedom of creativity and religion are not defended not only by us, who are suffering at present persecution and cruel treatment, but also by the entire cultural world — then a massive and intensive terror will gain the upper hand in the whole world, for Russian chauvinists and Communists will not come to a standstill and shall not be satisfied with what they have conquered.

We call upon workers, writers, artists, scholars, students and young people, women and Churches and all people of good will to demand the immediate abolition of the use of chemical and medical drugs and the application of malpractices including psychiatric methods, and furthermore the release of all political and religious prisoners, the liquidation of concentration camps, the end of Russification, and the **realization of national independence for the nations subjugated in the Soviet Union in accordance with the UN Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.**

July, 1973

THE FRONT OF NATIONAL DEFENCE OF UKRAINE

Remarks: The underlined words in the last sentence were not easy to decipher since two lines were typed one upon another during apparent copying process.

ABN AND EFC CONFERENCES

To mark the 30th anniversary of its founding (November 22-23, 1943, in Zhytomyr, Ukraine), the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) convened an international conference in London, England, on August 24-27, 1973. The main theme of the conference was **LIBERATION, NOT CAPITULATION**. The ABN Conference was held in conjunction with the conference of the European Freedom Council (EFC). Both conferences included closed and open sessions at the Bonnington Hotel and a mass rally at Trafalgar Square on August 26th. Representatives of ABN branches in the following countries were present: Great Britain, United States, Canada, Australia, Germany, France, Spain, Belgium, Sweden, Denmark, and Italy.

The conference of ABN was preceded by a press conference at 11.30 a.m. on August 24th. It was led by Mr. Don Martin, Chairman of the British League for European Freedom. Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko, President of ABN, delivered a statement to the press and answered questions of the representatives of the press. Excerpts from this statement were published in **The Daily Telegraph**, a leading British newspaper, on the following day (see reprint in full).

London. The Daily Telegraph, Saturday, August 25, 1973

DETENTE WARNING TO WEST

By David Floyd, Communist Affairs Correspondent

A FORMER Prime Minister of the Ukraine, Dr Yaroslav Stetsko, declared in London yesterday that it was not in the interests of the West to improve relations with Russia.

As President of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, which unites political emigrés from the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, Dr Stetsko said at a Press conference:

"The age of empires has passed. Why then should we defend the Russian colonial empire in Europe and Asia?"

Russia's weakest point was the large number of non-Russian peoples now under Russian rule. The revolutionary movements inside the Soviet empire opened up the possibility of destroying it without resort to war on a world scale.

Moral support

"The liberation movements should have all possible moral and material support from the Free World," he said.

"The other alternative, the policy of cooperation and *detente*, which the West now practices, will never stop the Soviet-Russian aggression, as it did not stop Hitler's aggression, and it will lead eventually to war."

"Supporting the revolution within the Soviet Union means supporting peace. Supporting a policy of *détente* means encouraging war or capitulation," Dr Stetsko concluded.

The Anti-Bolshevik Bloc and the European Freedom Council are meeting in conference in London for the next three days. They plan a mass demonstration in Trafalgar Square on Sunday.

The press conference was followed by the opening of an exhibition prepared by Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Latvian, and Czech students of Toronto, Canada. It dealt with uprisings in Ukraine, Lithuania, Hungary, and Czecho-Slovakia, riots in various cities behind the Iron Curtain, and with concentration camps, organized famine, religious persecution, deportations, and Russification in the Russian-subjugated countries. Mr. Yuriy Shymko (Canada) delivered the opening remarks. The exhibition was opened for the duration of the conference.

A meeting of the ABN Central Committee was held in the afternoon. In the

evening the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain gave a cocktail party and the Ukrainian Youth Association invited all the delegates to an exhibition of Ukrainian folk art, with paintings and sculptures by Ukrainian artists both in the homeland and in exile.

The ABN Conference was opened on August 25th. President Yaroslav Stetsko delivered the opening address.

The reports on ABN activities were given by the following branches: Mr. Vasyi Bezkhlibnyk, Canada; Mr. Glinski, Great Britain; Mr. Ernest Rigoni, France; Dr. K. Drenikoff, Italy; Dr. I. Docheff, United States; Mr. W. Chopivsky, Southern United States; Mr. Carl G. Holm, Sweden; and Mr. Zenon Koval, Belgium. Mrs. Slava Stetsko reported on the activities of the Central Committee of ABN in the last two years. After discussion of the reports and recommendations for future activity, a committee was elected to elaborate the Appeal and Resolutions. At this session Mr. Stetsko was reelected president.

The EFC closed session was held in the afternoon, with the opening address by Ole Bjorn Kraft, President of EFC. After Min. Kraft's speech, Mr. Stetsko expressed the gratitude of all ABN members to Min. Kraft for his staunch support for the cause of independence of the subjugated nations and proposed that he be elected Honorary President of EFC and Honorary Member of the ABN Presidium. This proposal was seconded by Prof. Dr. Th. Oberländer. A handpainted scroll, made by Miss Oksana Volchanska, Ukrainian student, was presented to Pres. Kraft to the general applause.

The reports on EFC activities were given by the following delegates: Prof. Dr. L. Lahrish, Germany; Madame Suzane Labin, France; Mr. Bertil Wedin, Sweden; Mr. Buchuk, Byelorussian Liberation Front; Dr. S. Fostun, Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain; Mr. Watson, Anglo-Ukrainian Society; Mr. Don Martin, British League for European Freedom; and Dr. Ante Bonifacic, Croatian Liberation Movement.

At the end of the EFC closed session a statement on the international situation and the need to strengthen Western support to the oppressed nations fighting for national and human rights was proposed by Prof. Dr. Oberländer and accepted unanimously.

The EFC open session started at 4 p.m. with the address of Min. Kraft on the international situation and the tasks of EFC. It was followed by speeches of Mme. S. Labin on the Helsinki and the Disarmament conferences, Prof. Dr. Oberländer on the dangers of Western policies toward the Russian empire, and Dr. Kyril Drenikoff on what Moscow fears most.

The ABN open session commenced at 7 p.m. and included the following speeches: Mr. Volodymyr Kosyk, "Martyrs for National and Human Rights in the Soviet Russian Empire and Action in Their Defence;" Dr. B. Hayit, "The Power of Liberation Nationalism in the Russian Empire;" Prof. Dr. S. Halamay, "Nationalists and Dissidents in the USSR"; and Col. D. Kosmovich, "Subjugated Nations — The Neglected Superpower."

Both open sessions, which were attended by about 300 people, were followed by discussions. At the end of the ABN open session the ABN Statement and Resolutions were adopted.

The mass rally in defense of the persecuted and unjustly condemned was held on August 26th. Over 5,000 persons assembled at Trafalgar Square, the heart of London, many of them carrying national flags and placards demanding the release from imprisonment of V. Moroz, I. Kalynets, Ye. Sverstyuk, and other political prisoners, the withdrawal of Russian occupation troops from Ukraine, Byelorussia, Lithuania, and other countries, their liberation from the Russian colonial yoke, as well as of Croatia and other Communist-dominated countries, an end to Russification, religious persecution, and so forth. The sky was blue and the flags of the host country, the ABN, the EFC, Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia, Byelorussia, Ukraine, Georgia, Turkestan, Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, Croatia, and others of the free and the subjugated countries whose representatives participated in the conferences, fluttered in the wind.

The rally began with a prayer by the clergy of various nationalities. Then

the Ukrainian choir "Homin" from Manchester sang the hymn "Great God" and the British national anthem. The rally was officially opened by Dr. I. Docheff (Bulgaria), Chairman of AF-ABN. It was then addressed by ABN Pres. Yaroslav Stetsko, Christopher Jolin (Sweden), Yoriy Shymko (Canada) (who conveyed greetings to the participants from Rt. Honourable John G. Diefenbaker, former Prime Minister of Canada), Eric Butler (Australia), Mr. W. Bunchuk (Byelorussia), Dr. A. Ilic (Croatia), Dr. K. Drenikoff (Bulgaria), Mr. Sladchek (Chechia), Mrs. A. Lemberg (Estonia), Madame S. Labin (France), Dr. Lohrisch (Germany), Mr. L. Zourabichvili (Georgia), Mr. Tompson (Latvia), Mr. Fraskunas (Lithuania) Dr. B. Hayit (Turkestan), Dr. Yarkin (Turkey), Mr. Y. Deremen-da (Ukraine), Dr. Chopivsky (U.S.A.), and Mrs Slava Stetsko (ABN Central Committee). The speeches were interlaced by the performance of the vocal trio from London accompanied by a guitar, and the band of the Ukrainian Youth Association from Huddersfield, which played the ABN anthem composed especially for ABN's 30th anniversary. The Youth Appeal was read by Miss Slava Hryniuk. The rally was led by Mr. Illya Dmytriw, Dr. Ivan Docheff, and Mr. Mykhaylo Hryniuk.

Thousands of leaflets were distributed by young people in the course of the rally.

On the same day the youth panel was held in the Bonnington Hotel. It was moderated by Borys Yurkiv (Ukraine). The panelists were Miss S. Zourabichvili (Georgia), Askold Krushelnytsky (Ukraine), (who delivered the introduction), Carl Holm (Sweden), and John Haydon (Great Britain). Active part in discussion was taken by representatives of the Croatian, Byelorussian, and other youth.

The participation in the activities of ABN and EFC of young people representing different nationalities and organizations was a particularly pleasant and encouraging sign.

On August 27th another ABN open session was held at which the following topics were covered: Dr. Ivan Docheff, "30th Anniversary of the founding of ABN;" Mr. Levan Zourabichvili, "Eastern Policy of the West as a Promoter of the Russian World Aggression," Dr. Ante Bonifacic, "The Role of Titoism in the Communist as well as in the Free World;" Prof. David Rowe (U.S.A.), "The Present US Foreign Policy."

In the afternoon a panel was held on the situation in the countries within the Russian colonial empire. Dr. Joseph Kaskelis (Lithuania) was the moderator. The panelists were Rev. J. Garyba (Lithuania), Dr. A. Ilic (Croatia), Dr. Hayit (Turkestan), Dr. Yarkin (Turkey), Mr. G. Tompson (Latvia), Mr. Ivan Krushelnytsky (Ukraine), Dr. Lohrisch (Germany), and Mrs Adelaide Lemberg (Estonia).

During the conference a research paper, "The Threat of War," by Col. Yuriy Tys-Krokhmalyuk was read.

All ABN sessions were attended by distinguished guests from various Western and Asian countries, who conveyed greetings and took an active part in the discussions. Among them were Mr. Osami Kuboki (Japan), Chairman of the International Federation for Victory over Communism; Prof. David Rowe (USA), an expert on Far-Eastern affairs; Mr. Eric Butler (Australia); Dr. Chapin (USA); Mr. McGillick (Australia); Mr. and Mrs. Chopivsky (USA); author Bernadine Bailey; Prof. and Mrs. Schlafly (USA); Mr. Walter Patrick, General Secretary of the Freedom Council of Canada; Mr. Lee Edwards (USA); and Mr. Ira Latimer (USA).

In the evening a reception was held, hosted by ABN. It included speeches by Pres. Y. Stetsko and Mr. Don Martin, Hon. Osami Kuboki, Hon. G. Stewart-Smith, Prof. D. Rowe, Mr. Watson, and Mrs Slava Stetsko. Mr. Borys Yurkiv read an appeal clandestinely sent from Ukraine. Cultural entertainment added color to the occasion. Prof. Dr. S. Halamay (AF-ABN) was the master of ceremonies.

The ABN and EFC Conferences received numerous messages and expressions of solidarity, including those from Cardinal Josyf Slipyi, Archbishop Major of the Ukrainian Catholic Church; Metropolitan Ambrose Senyshyn, of the Ukra-

inian Catholic Church in the USA; Metropolitan Mstyslav Skrypnyk, of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church of the USA; Archbishop Ivan Buchko, Rome; Bishop Volodymyr Malanchuk, Paris; the Rt. Hon. John G. Diefenbaker, former Prime Minister of Canada; Sen. Barry Goldwater of the USA; Prof. Raimundo Gurrero, Chairman of WACL; Archduke Otto von Hapsburg; Min. Ivan Matteo Lombardo; Very Rev. J. Mc Intyre, President of the International Council of Christian Churches; John Graham; Prof. Dr John M. Fisher, President of the American Security Council; Dr. Walter Becher, Member of the West German Parliament; General Vanuxem; Sir John Rodgers, Bt. DL, MP; Tonis Kint, Acting President and Prime Minister of the Estonian Republic in exile; Sir David Renton, MP; Rev. B. J. Hargis; Vice-Chairman of CDU/CSU — Fraction in German Parliament, former Federal Minister Windelen; Laszlo Pasztor, Director of Heritage Groups Division of the Republican National Committee; Mr. N. M. Guerrero; as well as dozens of ABN branches and Croatian, Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Baltic, and other organizations and individuals from the USA, Canada, Australia, Latin America and Europe.

The Central Committee of ABN takes this opportunity to express its thanks to the ABN delegation in Great Britain for their untiring efforts to make this conference a successful reality.

The ABN-EFC conferences have disturbed the Kremlin, and the present-day tsars seated in it have instructed their mouthpiece, Radio Moscow, to broadcast a "commentary" for listeners in Great Britain and Ireland only two days after the conclusion of the activities of the ABN and EFC in London.

As it has been the Kremlin propaganda machine's custom for the past 50 years, the "commentary" tried to present the despotic rulers of the Soviet Union as innocent sheep, while accusing the West for stepping up psychological warfare despite the fact "that the principles of peaceful co-existence and non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries have received official recognition in documents signed by leaders of the USA, the FGR, France and other Western countries. The "commentary" praised Senator Fulbright for urging that Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe be shut down and also unnamed members of the Federal German Parliament for their hounding down of anti-Communist emigre organizations in West Germany.

But Moscow's anger and venom have been directed most of all against leaders of the ABN and WACL. Employing the centuries-old tactics of ordinary Muscovite thieves by crying out "catch the thief" in order to divert public attention from themselves, the Russian Communist bosses in the Kremlin accuse the ABN leaders of having "the blood of thousands of victims in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe on their hands," as if there had not been butcheries, Stalin's purges and Communist collaboration with Hitler and the Nazis not only before 21st June, 1941, but also during the Second World War in their joint extermination of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement and of other non-Russian nations, as if there had not been the rape after the war of the nations now enclosed behind the Russian Iron Curtain, or, to recall the most recent example, the bloody suppression of Czechs and Slovaks!

The relevant paragraph, expressing Moscow's anger and containing the wholesale lies about the ABN national emigre organizations, reads as follows

"On the international scale all these supposedly national emigre organizations and centres are united in such alliances as the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations and the World Anti-Communist League. At the head of many of these bodies are men who fled from the socialist countries, criminals and collaborators who during the Second World War stained their hands in the blood of thousands of victims in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. And today they have still not given up the practice of provocations and terrorist acts. What is surprising is that the governments of the Western countries which are perfectly aware of these facts still remain and support and nurture these men of yesterday. And this at a time when tensions are being normalized. What is more, there are some who are even prodding these organizations into greater activity and providing them with the chance to hold anti-Communist gatherings. Obviously

such an attitude adds no credit to those who are opposing the efforts to rid the international atmosphere of the foul vapours of psychological warfare."

It must be obvious even to the blindest of political observers in the West that Moscow's whole efforts to promote "peaceful co-existence" and preserve the **status quo** in Europe by signing documents and holding "security" conferences are only designed to lull the West into a false sense of security in which the Russian Communists could wage psychological warfare on their own terms, as a preparation for the further enlargement of their empire by subversion and use of brutal physical force.

The West must not fall into Moscow's trap.
Munich, 21st September, 1973.

Press Bureau of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN)

RESOLUTION OF THE NATIONS SUBJUGATED BY RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM AND COMMUNISM

- WHEREAS, the Russian occupants, being under the pressure of the struggle for national liberation and independent statehood of the nations subjugated within the USSR and in the satellite states and fearing that the nations subjugated by them will rise in a revolution, need the support of the Free World in order to fight the enslaved nations; and
- WHEREAS, the Russian occupants are combatting by all means liberation nationalism in all forms in the countries subjugated by them and are trying to create a so-called "Soviet" people by merging the nations into one Russian supernation; and
- WHEREAS, the Russian chauvinists and imperialists are attempting to destroy the national cultures and replace them by a so-called "Soviet" culture (i.e. de facto Russian culture) by imposing Russification by force on all fields of creative work of the subjugated nations and to abolish even the so-called national republics by establishing seven economic regions directly subordinated to Moscow; and
- WHEREAS, re-Stalinization is systematically continued and brutal terror increasingly practised, nationalists being executed and national upheavals crushed by force in the occupied countries, and in particular the terror practiced against cultural workers and fighters for national independence and human rights being intensified; and
- WHEREAS, cultural imprisonment (e.g. in Ukraine) and concentration camps of severe regime or to confinement for life in psychiatric hospitals (e.g. Professor Plyushch, Kyiv) and the KGB is using the most diabolic methods to break the prisoners' resistance by chemical devices (e.g. Lukianenko, Kandyba, Yakir, Hryhorenko, Moroz, and Dzyuba); and
- WHEREAS, on the one hand, the practice of religion is persecuted more and more cruelly, and on the other hand, the Russian Church of the Kremlin Regime (its hierarchy serving the atheist Russian imperialists) is being imposed on the non-Russian peoples; and
- WHEREAS, the primary goal of all International Security Conferences initiated by Moscow, among them the so-called European Security and Disarmament Conferences, is to safeguard Moscow against uprisings of the nations subjugated within the USSR and in the satellite states fighting Russian occupation and to provide Moscow with a base for further conquests;
- NOW, THEREFORE, the ABN Conference resolves to strengthen its activities in the Free World for:
1. the support of the national liberation movement of the nations enslaved within the USSR and in the satellite states and others governed by a totalitarian Communist regime — in their struggle for re-establishing their democratic national independent states;

2. the support of the right of each nation to establish its own state, social and political order, to create its own cultural values, to practice its religion, to realize its own social ideas in accordance with its proper historical traditions and by its free will;
3. strongly protest and condemn Russification, the concept of the so-called "Soviet" people, national and cultural genocide, the destruction of historical traditions and historical monuments of the subjugated nations, denationalization and the annihilation of religion, resulting in the disintegration of culture and the barbarization of life, its deprivation of heroism and humanity when the traditional roots are taken away from the people;
4. with special firmness protest and condemn the assassinations and executions of fighters for national independence and their imprisonment, the confinement in prison, concentration camps, or psychiatric asylums of cultural workers and fighters for national and human rights, the use of barbaric chemical devices for breaking their resistance in order to obtain declarations of repentance, the persecution of Christianity, Islam, Buddhism, and the Jewish religion as well as of faith in God in general, and the crushing of nations' aspirations to independence and freedom by armed coercion;
5. appeal to:
 - (a) the governments of the free nations of the world to place for decision on the agenda of the UN General Assembly the violation of the UN Charter and the Declaration of Human Rights, especially with respect to the cultural workers persecuted in the USSR and in so-called satellite states and the fighters for national and human rights;
 - (b) world public opinion, including various types of organizations, to organize worldwide activities of protest in defense of all those who are being persecuted;
6. urge the governments and parliaments of the Free World to set as a prerequisite for any conference or agreements the realization of the right to national independence of the nations subjugated within the USSR and in the satellite countries, and not to disarm in a situation when the Bolshevik aggressors are arming;
7. support the Captive Nations Law No. 86-90 of October 17, 1959, enacted by the U.S. Congress, supporting the liberation struggle for the national independence of Ukraine, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Byelorussia, Hungary, Poland, Czechia, Slovakia, Bulgaria, Croatia, Albania, Rumania, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Turkistan, Northern Caucasus, Cuba, and all other nations enslaved within the USSR and in the satellite states or governed by a totalitarian Communist regime, for reunification in freedom of East Germany, Vietnam, and Korea, being in favour of the Congressional activity of U.S. Senator Jackson, who requested the right for the nationals of all subjugated nations to freely move abroad, support the U.S. House Resolution 106 dated January 9, 1973, introduced by Congressman Daniel J. Flood on establishing a special captive nations' committee of the U.S. Congress;
8. warn the Free World of the dangerous consequences of the so-called European Security Conference and Disarmament Conferences, as well as of any agreements with the USSR, whose goal is to consolidate its rule over the subjugated nations with the prospect of further usurpations of the still free part of the world.

**Adopted by the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations
(A.B.N.) Conference in London, August, 1973.**

For the first time in such an excellent translation!

SONG OUT OF DARKNESS

Poems by Taras Shevchenko, the greatest
Ukrainian national poet (1814-1861),
translated into English by Vera Rich.

The Mitre Press, London, 1961, xxxii + 128 pp. Illustrations.
Price 80p net.

Order from: **Ukrainian Booksellers and Publishers,**
49, Linden Gardens,
London, W.2.

THE GUN AND THE FAITH

**Religion and Church in Ukraine
under the Communist Russian Rule**

A Brief Survey by
W. Mykula, B.A. (Lond.), B.Litt. (Oxon)

Ukrainian Information Service,
200, Liverpool Road, London, N1 1LT.

1969

48 pp. + 37 illustrations.

Price: 30p (USA and Canada \$ 1.00).

Read

Read

ABN Correspondence

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

Munich 8, Zeppelinstr. 67, Germany

Annual subscription: 60p in Great Britain, Australia A/\$1.08, 6 Dollars
in U.S.A., DM 12.- in Germany, and the equivalent
of 6 Dollars in all other countries.

AMONG THE SNOWS

by Valentyn Moroz
Protest writings from Ukraine

Price 50p.

