

*The*  
**UKRAINIAN  
REVIEW**



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# THE UKRAINIAN REVIEW

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

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**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 Ukrainian 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.

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

# THE UKRAINIAN REVIEW

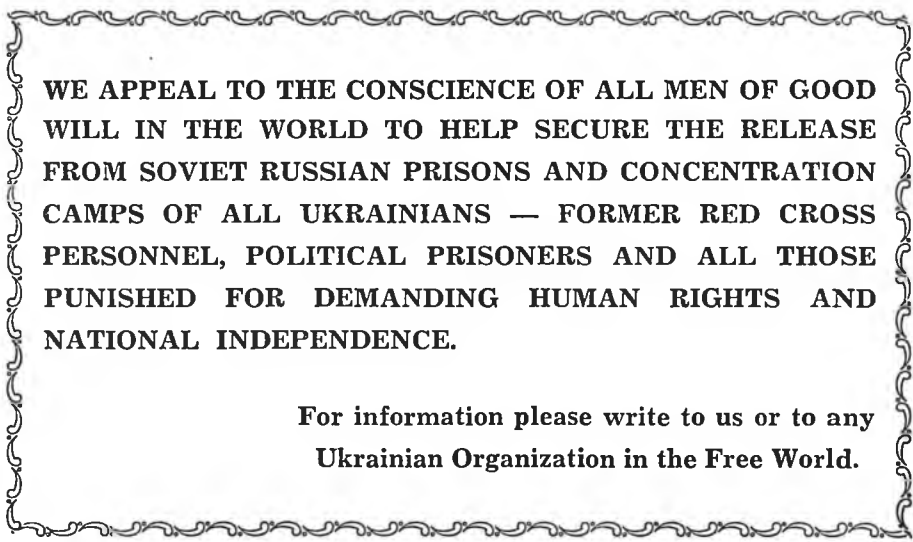
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Vol. XXI No. 1

Spring 1974

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A Quarterly Magazine



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**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.**

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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.



# THE PRESENT STAGE OF THE NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLE OF THE SUBJUGATED NATIONS

*By Zenon KARBOVYCH*

## **The Nations Rise**

Stalin died on March 5, 1953. In the summer of 1953 the Russian empire was shaken by uprisings in the concentration camps of Vorkuta, Norylsk, and Karaganda. They were followed by uprisings and disturbances in Kingiri, Balkhash, and other places, which were crushed by the MVD-KGB troops in 1954. A leading role in the organization of these uprisings was played by the Ukrainian nationalists (Bandera followers), as well as Lithuanians and prisoners of other nationalities.

On June 17, 1953, the Germans revolted, while in Magdeburg the Chekists shot 18 soldiers of the Soviet Army who helped the rising workers.

In 1956, there took place a revolution in Hungary and the disturbances in Poland. Ukrainian, Turkestani, Byelorussian, and other soldiers sided with the Hungarian freedom fighters, turning their tanks against Russian aggressors. On the foundation of the nationwide uprising in Ukraine (1942-1953) and Lithuania — for both of these nations waged guerrilla-type warfare on two fronts, against Soviet Russia and Nazi Germany — in line with the traditions of armed struggle of the UPA (Ukrainian Insurgent Army) and OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, Bandera Followers), on the foundation of the struggle in concentration camps and the uprisings in 1953-1959 of prisoners, the revolutionary liberation movements increased in strength in the subjugated countries.

At the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU, February, 1956), Khrushchev was forced to "dethrone" Stalin, while on June 30th, the Central Committee of the CPSU adopted a resolution "on the combating of the personality cult and its consequences." So as to save the empire from an erupting volcano, he also began to reorganize the concentration camps, fearing a chain reaction of uprisings of 17 million prisoners. The young generation of the subjugated nations, hand in hand with the unyielding older generation, launched the struggle on a broad front.

*The Fear Has Been Overcome.* The possibility of an uprising, even inside a totalitarian empire, has been documented by facts. Only a lack of synchronization, coordination, and their extension to more subjugated countries prevented the downfall of the empire and the system. A realistic guidepost, however, has remained: simultaneous and not separate, isolated revolutionary uprisings of the subjugated peoples are the surest road to liberation. The occupational regime will be powerless when confronted with such uprisings for it will not be able to use nuclear arms, which would be self-destructive (also because of radioactive fallout). Moreover, the administrative machinery itself is infiltrated by anti-imperial and anti-Communist elements. The Soviet Army is composed not only of Russians but also of soldiers from the subjugated countries, while the satellite armies — as shown by the Hungarian revolution, the disturbances in Poland, and the events in Czechia and Slovakia — will not take a stand against their own rebelling compatriots, but on the contrary will themselves rise against the occupant. What is more, the soldiers of the Soviet Army, which is based on universal, compulsory military service, are tightly bound with their nations, living by the same ideals as their fathers and mothers. It is not an isolated incident that three years ago, on August 31, 1970, in a military court of the Baltic Military District there ended a trial of an underground organization inside the Army which had its branches in Poland, Azerbaijan, and other places. The resonance of the national liberation struggle of the subjugated nations will be heard in the Armed Forces. Neither the KGB nor the party will be able to protect it against this, since the soldiers of the Soviet Army are an inseparable part of the nations from which they come. It was not a chance occurrence that in the first half of 1973 over 15,000 young Ukrainians of military age were thrown into punitive detachments along the Sino-Soviet border.

It is worth recalling that the March, 1917, revolution, which toppled tsarism, was effected in Petersburg by three regiments composed of Ukrainians (the Volhynia, the Izmailiv, and the Preobrazhensk). The present-day Army with its technology and modern weaponry, with the concentration of material and fire power in individual strategically important locations, but primarily because of its multinational, heterogeneous human component, the majority of whom are from the subjugated nations, has its special role and significance. In addition, the Army is particularly important because it provides a meeting ground for the young people of various strata, including the professional intelligentsia, the workers, the collective farmers, and so on.

The fact that the highest-ranking spokesman of the Armed Forces Command, Marshal Grechko, the KGB chief Andropov, and the administration chief Kosygin are in the New Politburo of the CC CPSU speaks for itself. All elements of violence have been united in the center of the tyrants.

A characteristic of the national liberation struggle of the subjugated nations is its nationwide scope. The struggle is not limited to a narrow circle of intellectuals. A massive counteroffensive is being waged against the occupant's total offensive upon the entire content and way of life of the subjugated nations. This means that there is in progress a struggle for a farmer's right to the private ownership of land, at least for an increase in the size of so-called private plots of land, versus the collective system imposed by force and terror. There is a return to the national traditions, to the individual sources of spirituality of each nation; in opposition to militant atheism there comes the cult of the ancestral religion, the millennial or centuries-old traditions; against the Orthodox Church, subservient to the Kremlin regime, which serves the atheist government and whose mission is to become the third Rome, each nation's own religious traditions combined with the national idea are fearlessly defended. Side by side with the ideological, cultural, intellectual, literary, and artistic struggle in the sphere of the humanities which encompass the entire complex of spiritual creativity, side by side with philosophical idealism, with so-called historism — i.e. the cult of great national figures during the period of state independence and the historic grandeur of past centuries — there come the student rebellions (Tahanrih, August 9, 1956), in which the students openly take an anti-government stand at seminars. There are also disturbances among the peasant youth, as confirmed by the Soviet press, while revolutionary attitudes become rampant among former prisoners (*Izvestia*, April 19). In the Chernihov region, collective farmers refused to give up their private plots of land, winning an increase in their size (*Izvestia*, May 19). In some state farms of the Kazakh SSR, the workers systematically reduced their time of work (*Selskoe khozyaystvo*, July 17). In the Stalin region the miners forced the management to increase their wages (*Pravda Ukrainy*, March 6). In Dniprodzerzhynsk the workers of a metallurgical plant protested against the increase of work norms. Beginning with 1956 and up to 1973, there are countless such examples. What is the heart of the matter?

The decisive factor, it must be emphasized, is that various strata within the subjugated nations have joined in the struggle. They are fighting to realize fully their idea of the substance of each sector of life. Such a fulfillment can be achieved only in their own independent states. A precondition of essential changes in every sphere of life is each nation's own government in its own land. Without the sovereign rule of a given nation there is no land and no freedom. Therefore the new slogan is not "land and freedom" but "sovereign rule, land, and freedom." This is self-evident to all strata of the subjugated nations. Without a political revolution, that is, without the assumption of power by those staging it, i.e. the subjugated nations, there is no fulfillment of the aspirations of any stratum of a people. The essence

of the present stage of the liberation struggle is a spontaneous and systematic mobilization of the broad circles within the subjugated nations in order to reach the zenith — the renewal of national statehood, which only then will make an all-round development of a modern nation possible. The slogan, "freedom," alone is insufficient. Freedom is a framework which must be filled with the content. Freedom is a prerequisite, an opportunity to make a choice among diverse values, with a guarantee of the possibility to realize the chosen values. It is mandatory to define clearly for what values and for what qualities one stands. The peoples have been deceived for many decades. A struggle for justice, for lawfulness — this is a revolutionary slogan which mobilizes the moral sentiments in a system of "legalized" lawlessness and disfranchisement. Political self-determination is not a mobilizing slogan, for Lenin even added "including secession" to it yet he was able to deceive the people. Therefore, the only rallying cry is national independence — complete separation from Russia. There is no other alternative. The disintegration of the empire and the reestablishment of independent national democratic states is the goal which attracts. A struggle is being waged for sovereign rule, for freedom and justice, for the realization of the nations' own ways of life in their own states. In this aim there is simultaneously concentrated the definition of the contents of every phase of national life, the principles of its organization, for never in the history (e.g. of Western empires) was there a situation where a subjugated nation had to fight not only against military occupation and economic exploitation, but also against a hostile spirituality, sociality, a contradictory way of life, an entirely different system of life and beliefs. Bolshevism, Communism, Sovietism, the Russian way of life, the spiritual, cultural, and religious Russification are neither a Lithuanian, nor a Georgian, nor an Estonian, nor a Byelorussian, nor a Turkestani, nor an Azerbaijani nor a Ukrainian way of life. A characteristic phenomenon of the contemporary era of the liberation struggle of the subjugated nations inside the Russian empire and in the Communist-dominated countries is that hand-in-hand with the direct forms and methods of struggle, such as demonstrations, strikes, revolts, mass actions, and armed clashes, goes the ideological, political, cultural, and religious struggle, a struggle of two opposite concepts of life: the Russian, Bolshevik, Communist concept and that of the subjugated nations. It is a clash of total national organisms, of the captor and his captives, who are not only physically oppressed and economically exploited, but attempts are also being made to deprive them of their national soul. And this is essential in that struggle. The struggle for the souls of nations!

The greatest achievement of our liberation struggle, a guarantee of our victory, is the fact that the struggle for the soul of the subjugated nations was taken up by the YOUNG generation, many of whom were born of parents who had grown up under the Bolshevik

occupation, a generation which has never seen the free world, but on the contrary was reared in an atmosphere hostile to its own nation, in the spirit of the occupant.

The banner of a 1000-year-old traditionalism, the primacy of the spirit, the immortality of the soul, the banner of the nation, of the eternity of a nation was raised by the generation of the sixties and the seventies and carried by sons and daughters not only of inmates of prisons and concentration camps, but also of average workers, collective farmers, and even technocrats.

This is the greatest blow suffered by the Communist ideology and system of life, the Russian system of occupation, in recent decades. This is all the more so, since the realization of one's own national quality, of one's own inherent substance, of one's own values of traditional spirituality, culture, lawfulness, society, and statehood of the past, the reawakening of national self-respect, the discovery of one's own millennial tradition of statehood, the treasures of one's own land not only of the present but also the richness of all-round state-political, cultural and socio-political creativity of the past make for the final ideological victory over the enemy's system of ideas.

For this reason, it will be impossible to crush the national aspirations. As a rule the revolution of soldiers has been preceded by the revolution of poets and creators of spiritual values.

The ideological, spiritual, moral, and political revolution is a precondition of armed revolution. The creativity of the young generation has a clear national political aim: the national state.

The so-called *samvydav* (self-publication) from the subjugated countries, widely known in the world, is proof of this. The *Ukrainian Herald*, an uncensored publication of the Ukrainian patriots, besides political statements and documentation also carries literary works, while the *Chronicle of Current Events* limits itself only to an informative content. The *Exodus*, dealing with Jewish affairs, and other periodical and non-periodical publications outside censorship published in Estonia, Lithuania, Armenia, Georgia, Turkestan, and Latvia revealed a similar purpose as that of the *Ukrainian Herald* and the creativity in Ukraine in general uncontrolled by censorship.

### Metaphysical and Ethical Concept of the Liberation Struggle

The facts of struggle are deeply rooted in its ideological and political motivation. It also determines the quality and the substance of freedom toward which the young fighters of the subjugated nations aspire. The struggle is neither being waged from the positions of dialectical and historical materialism, nor from positions of philosophical materialism, but just the opposite. Two concepts of the world, two systems of value, are clashing. This is no longer the question of "pure" and "betrayed" Communism, of "pure" and "betrayed" Marxism, but of Christian — or more broadly — of

religious metaphysics and philosophy, of religious faith, of theism vs. atheistic materialism. This is the ideological and philosophical backbone of the struggle. It did not help any that in the textbooks of world history the Russians did not dedicate a single line to the greatest revolutionary event in the history of the world: the birth of Christ, whose religion encompassed more than half a billion people. They also disregard other religions — Islam, Buddhism, Judaism — persecuting them as the “opium of the people.” It is not an accident that the intellectual elite of Ukraine, for instance, cultivate the Christian philosophy of H. Skovoroda (1722-1794). This is what the young generation teaches: “God has created man . . . When there is no God, there are no people . . . Christians while building the kingdom of God have resurrected the dead spirituality . . . Happy are those who have God . . . The basis of morality is the idea of God and the immortality of the soul . . . Spiritual life is the only genuine life . . . The Church, the bearer of the spirit, must be preserved . . . The main thing is to defend the Church . . .”

The young generation has reached the level of ontology. In the face of imposed Marxist materialism it would be a mistake to remain without an answer to the problem of man's origin.

Ethics motivated by religion has a lasting foundation. It is not by chance that one underground author in Ukraine writes: “We shall build the holy cathedral, send our spirit to heaven, and it will stand for centuries . . . How much did our ancestors have to sacrifice while inculcating in their children human ideals, beliefs, selfless love of truth, and respect for the God of their ancestors . . .”

“What have you created for your people in exchange for persistent agitation against religious beliefs and rites, ancient customs, traditions, and holy days — i.e. all that which in the past a foreigner had to respect, if he wanted to show his respect for the people . . .”

Religion has been placed at the foundation of cultural creativity: “It is impossible to imagine traditional cultural treasures outside the Church . . . A struggle against the Church means a struggle against culture . . . How many times was the nation saved by the Church alone . . . Under the conditions (prevalent) in Eastern Europe, the Church was the only force independent of the government . . .”

The apotheosis of Man as a creature like unto God and not a “cog”: How can Stone-Age despotism be ingrained in the soul of a Ukrainian, who as early as the Middle Ages elected and deposed the Cossack chief “Koshovyy” and could himself become a “Koshovyy,” who gave birth to the philosophy of Skovoroda — a hymn to human individuality, with the maxim ‘know thyself’ . . . Philosophy for which the Ego is the basis of everything, even of the kingdom of God, and even God Himself is nothing other than the fully developed Ego. He who knows himself has found the desired treasure of God . . . The true man and God are one and the same!”

In the face of these and similar documentary revelations of the

point of view of the young generation inside the subjugated nations, the Sovietology of most of Western research institutes with their thesis about the "new" Communist and later even the "Soviet" man can declare their bankruptcy. For us, Sovietology is the study of lies and deception, the exposure of falsehood. Regrettably, this is not so for Western statesmen.

Fifty years must have done their job, maintain the Sovietologists, i.e., they must have re-educated man. But they forget that Christianity has been re-educating man for two thousand years and has not transformed him into an angel. Why should a diabolical system be more successful, provided such comparison can be drawn at all?

### **The National Idea and the Heroic Concept of Life**

To our regret, we cannot cite the authors' names, for some of them are languishing in prisons while others are still free. Nevertheless, the authenticity of all the quotations is guaranteed by our conscience.

A young underground author says the following about the national idea: "The national idea exists and will continue to exist. It is real for us today and means the fullness of the sovereign state and cultural existence of the Ukrainian nation... The national idea... encompasses countless other ideas common to mankind... And the very absorption by the national idea, a dedication to it, leads at the same time into the most secret depths of other social and spiritual needs..." "The national question is knitted together by thousands of the finest threads with the most essential questions of human conscience... Nationalism is an inseparable part of the nation itself. Without nationalism there is no progress; without nationalism there is no nation... The liberation movement in the whole world — the most outstanding phenomenon of the present — is occurring under the banner of nationalism. More than half of mankind considers it as its banner..."

The late Vasyl Symonenko, a poet of Ukraine, most likely killed by the KGB ten years ago, at the age of 29, called: "My nation exists! My nation will always exist! Nobody will eradicate my nation!" Or: "Be silent Americas and Russias, when I speak with you (Ukraine)!"

Lev Lukyanenko, a young lawyer condemned to death (later commuted to 15 years of hard labour), declared in Mordovia: "If I were the sole Ukrainian in the world, I would still fight for Ukraine..."

A young Estonian prisoner in Mordovia proudly says, "Do you know Estonia is one thousand years old? Once, there were sixty Estonians and Estonia survived. Estonia has survived in camps as well." And on one occasion, presenting a bouquet to a representative of the government, which when unwrapped turned out to be a mesh of barbed wire, a prisoner shouts: "Long live free Estonia!" — and then all know that the prisoner is an Estonian. This incident from camp life is related by Prof. Osadchyi, sentenced to 10 years after already having served two years of imprisonment, in the essay

"Cataract." "The Ukrainian Kalynets — a poet sentenced to 12 years — creates a new model of the world," says the brave Latvian poet Knut Skuenis, a prisoner himself in a Mordovian concentration camp.

Or Ali Khashahulhov, a North Caucasian (Ingushet) sentenced as a young boy for anti-Russian nationalist (Ingushet) activity says mournfully: "If our nation does disappear, a skeleton of a wolf will harden high up in the mountains. Of a giant wolf. This will be the last wolf of the world. Wolf means the native land, its symbol, its flag. When the Ingushets were deported to Kazakhstan during the war, the wolves also disappeared from the Waynakh hills. The wolves could not live without the Ingushets, who were deprived of their fatherland. The wolves did not wish to become a flag for foreigners... If I knew, says Ali, that my language would die tomorrow, I would die today..."

The Wolf and the native land... The Russians — Foreigners. Where can one find Bolshevik "successes" here? These are testimonials of the total bankruptcy of Communist Sovietism and the Russian "older brother" theory.

"If Yurko, the son of Gen. R. Shukhevych, commander-in-chief of the UPA, had denounced his father he would be in the Crimea long ago..." "Go away, scoundrel," says Yurko to an overseer from the KGB who tries to talk him into signing a statement renouncing his father; "go away or I'll send you to a mausoleum..." And his father told him: 'You grow up, it is not yet certain what will happen in your lifetime'... And since the age of 14, Yurko has languished for his father for 19 years in camps of severe regime (1968)... After serving his 20-year sentence, Yurko Shukhevych was sentenced anew on Sept. 9, 1972, to 15 years!

The young people have revived, have renewed themselves, have gained new life. They have grasped the great idea and revived faith in it.

"A nation is a temple, the desecration of which constitutes the greatest crime... Let the tenth part of a nation remain, but with full-valued spirituality, this is not yet fatal. A whole willow grove grows from a piece of a full-valued willow twig. We live in the spontaneously irrational, in the depths, by roots alone which continuously sprout but rarely reach normal blossom," says one of the greatest heroes in the field of cultural creativity, Valentyn Moroz, sentenced to 14 years." Denationalization, teaches one underground author, is tantamount to deculturalization... Denationalization is deheroization... De-Christianization, collectivization, colonialist industrialization, mass resettlements from village to city — all this constituted a destruction unprecedented in Ukraine's history of traditional Ukrainian structures, whose catastrophic results have not yet been fully revealed..."

This formula summarizes the position of the young generation so



far as its program and outlook on the world are concerned. It is deeply rooted in the traditional national spirituality. "An individual who respects, knows, and loves the history of his nation lives not only his own lifetime but as long as his people and his land . . . The nation is immortal, it will live . . . Know yourself in your people . . ."

The young generation is captivated by the heroism of its ancestors. It gave rise to legends which were revived by the young people. "Legends which cultivate and raise our spirit above this abyss," writes a young author . . . "Legends about the transmigration of souls, contemplation of the soul's immortality, legends about the continuity of the kin, about the immortality of a people . . . We are speaking about the legend of the nation's eternity . . ."

The entire class theory, Marxism, Sovietism with its theory of the traditionless "Soviet" people, the world proletariat, of the withering away of nations, the class struggle, are useless!

### **Traditions of the Subjugated Nations and Their Own Way of Life**

In their literary, historical, philosophical, and sociological works, the young persecuted authors express the following views: "The past is our greatest treasure, a spiritual shield, a highly tested experience. An individual with just the present is like a tree without roots . . . We deposit into the immortal national treasury our very best and take from it as much as one can . . . We pour ourselves as a drop into its (national) sea and think about the eternity of the sea . . ." And an underground author makes a typical assertion: "Our nation did not follow the older brother (the Russian people — Y. S.) but chose a difficult, thorn-covered spiritual path — but ITS OWN"

"The past is our treasure, the roots, the veins which nourish us with sap, and without which we shall disperse and wither . . . The knowledge of the PAST gives us an opportunity to perceive more profoundly our nation and ourselves in it . . ."

The young generation discovers the road of reawakening in the struggle for the assertion of its own values. It declares, "The present events in Ukraine are also a turning-point: the ice of fear which firmly bound the spiritual life of the nation for many years is breaking . . ."

"Spiritual slavery," says another author, "is the greatest national calamity; prosperity makes a man neither great nor happy. What does it all weigh in comparison with freedom and with the right to think! Wealth is to be found within ourselves, and not in money, property, or deeds . . . CONSCIENCE IS THE WORST TORTURE..."

"No matter where you go," writes still another author, "there are foreign bayonets . . . the Russians stand in regiments. The stronger think and strive to counteract evil. The weaker only pray. We have no right to die as long as our people live in slavery. The earth will not receive us, it will throw us out."

In the face of Brezhnev's neo-Stalinist terror, also toward the creators of cultural values, such a mighty: "But, why do they now fear the WORD more than hundreds of swords? The bonfires . . . were turning into ashes, concealing every spark for the conflagrations to come, which will yet raise the flames as crimson banners and herald the Great Day. All of us are precursors. The Messiahs will follow in our footsteps. They cannot help coming. Nothing is permanent in the world, including falsehood. The Messiah will come soon and through his sufferings save the people and their freedom."

Persecution, suffering, and death form the road which leads toward resurrection.

"Jesus was seized . . . And crucified . . . And He rose forever in the hearts of the unfortunate . . . We are but precursors . . ." say the Unsubdued of our days about themselves. We live in the pre-revolutionary era in the Russian prison of nations and individuals, a colossus on clay feet, a colossus on a volcano.

And today our purpose is to point out its weak spots in order to help liberate the free world from the fear of a rabbit hypnotized by a boa constrictor.

"Tyrants love tears and repentance, while somebody's uncrushed dignity is the same for them as a knife in the heart! . . .

"Without freedom, comrades, there is no soaring, no creativity," declares another young writer.

Just as in the early stages of Christianity, the enemy-tyrant is afraid of the WORD, that is, of ideas and of the faith backing them. The thermonuclear age is an ideological age and requires an ideological struggle.

### **The Truth is Dead Without its Carriers**

Truth does not triumph of itself. It triumphs when its carriers are ready to sacrifice their lives for it. The problems of Man, characters, examples, symbols, apostles, the alternatives of government are matters of no lesser significance.

The unbroken Valentyn Moroz, himself a banner of Man and Nation, writes that in I. Dzyuba's book the people "did not search for arguments, they searched there for FAITH, for a charge of infatuation. Outwardly it seems that an individual is first being convinced, and then he begins to believe. In reality, the opposite is true: first a person flares up, becomes infected with faith and only then are arguments selected for a ready-made conviction. What is IMPORTANT IS TO BELIEVE, THE ARGUMENTS WILL FIND THEMSELVES. No apostle has ever converted anyone by arguments. Not a single spiritual revolution has occurred without apostles. Contemporary renaissance is also impossible without them."

And on January 10th, 1965, in a speech delivered in Kyiv on the occasion of V. Symonenko's 30th birthday, Ivan Dzyuba urged: "The

people are not waiting for anything so much as for a living example of heroic public conduct. The people need this example and today such heroic actions are possible, and today as ever, the madness of the courageous is the wisdom of life. And today, or perhaps today as never before, one can and one ought to fight. There are epochs when decisive battles are fought in the sphere of social morality and public conduct, when even the elementary human dignity resisting brutal terror can become a revolutionary force. Our age also belongs to such epochs."

And Valentyn Moroz continues: "It is possible to have great spiritual treasures, but they simply will not be noticed if they are not taken by an INFATUATED person and melted down in the furnace of his infatuation. Contemporary Ukraine needs apostles, not accommodators, not realists with their 'arguments.' Not one spiritual revolution has taken place without apostles. If we want to be Ukrainians, let us fear a 'realist' like fire. Ukraine is a flower which has grown among the snows. An idea is not enough. An idea is bare and dry — what is needed is its living embodiment."

The truth is known, what is needed is faith. Faith needs absolute truth, dogmas. "Dogmas," says V. Moroz, "are gladly criticized by all, and this is understandable in our reality, but while pursuing this petty occupation they somehow failed to notice that an individual without any dogmas, an individual who does not believe in anything, has become the main danger. Nihilism has set in, a product of mass culture. In a human being the technical function is being developed hypertrophically at the expense of the spiritual and this for some reason is called progress."

"Let us look at national history," writes a young philosopher of history currently in prison, "had not those become its heroes who with a child's smile have passed over abysses and have raised highest the spirit of NATIONAL IMMORALITY? Have not the practical, the down-to-earth, and the well-adjusted been forgotten... those who ridiculed the Don Quixotes. For legends are created by a Don Quixote, who glances with a fiery look beyond the summits of life. And the rash Don Quixotes become heroes of folk tales and national history. But the people collect the traces of the great, often futile efforts of a Don Quixote into a legend, singing praises to the madness of the courageous."

When I. Dzyuba issued a statement of repentance, V. Moroz declared to the court: "Well, we shall fight. Just now, when one has signed a statement of repentance, another one reclassified himself as a translator, just now it is necessary for someone to give an EXAMPLE OF FIRMNESS. 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 — this is more difficult yet. And therefore we shall fight!"

As can be seen from the facts of direct struggle, the subjugated nations possess those who believe in the idea of national liberation, its

apostles and carriers. Therefore, neither the idea nor its carriers can be killed anymore.

### The Contrasting Worlds

In 1825 Herzen wrote, "Centuries of serf dependence were not able to eradicate everything independent and poetical in the celebrated Ukrainian nation. It has more individual development, more local coloring than we (the Russians); in our country the ill-fated uniform carelessly covers national life. Our people have no knowledge of its history, while every village in Ukraine has its own legend. The Russian people know only Pugachev and the year 1812."

And in 1971, the *Ray of Freedom*, 1/71, an uncensored Russian periodical criticizing "The Program of the Democratic Movement" of the USSR of Sakharov and Co., said that "the Russian people is the only one in history which destroyed its genuine intelligentsia or permitted it to be destroyed, in 1918-1921, 1928-1931, 1937-1939. The people as a whole are philistine slaves who often idealize their slavery and are at the same time capable of being cruel tyrants. If we were to establish a democratic order, then filled with vengeful hatred toward their 'nachalniks' of yesterday and contempt for today's 'soft' government, they would start a vicious, bloody orgy, as was the case in 1917-1921. And then the newly emerged political adventurers, playing upon the evil passions of the mob, will thrust aside the 'slaverers' democrats in order to institute a new tyranny, with a new evolution of terror and cruelties in the course of decades.

"The traits of the Russian Church: cringing before the state, inactivity and non-resistance to evil, religious egoism and anti-sociality. At this time, can voices of protest of the clergy be heard against the harassment of the dissidents? Do we hear anything about self-immolations, hunger-strikes, demonstrations, attacks on illegality, arbitrariness, imperialism, the invasion of Czecho-Slovakia, the persecution of religion and so forth?

"In the country half the population is non-Russian, having its own interests and expectations. The question must be raised concerning the realizations of the right to separation of developed peoples into independent states. In our everyday life there is alcoholism, sexuality, epicureanism. In the event of the first hard test there is repentance, testimony against friends. Dobrovolskiy against Ginsburg and Galanskov, Zinovyeva against Pimenov and so forth. A moral and political renaissance is needed... cultivation of moral purity in oneself... spiritual depths... unyielding courage... indestructible energy."

Fearing unity of the national and the Christian ideas, *Robitnycha gazeta* of March 13, 1973, wrote: "Priest and former Ukrainian Uniate monks attempt to conduct illegal religious activities, disseminate religious leaflets, small calendars, and prayerbooks with anti-Soviet and anti-Communist contents, urge (people) not to work in Soviet

institutions, refuse to accept passports, military cards, and other Soviet documents."

### The Road to Liberation

The spiritual and moral revolution is a real fact. It is a precondition of a political revolution. The national political revolution is unconquerable provided it grows out of the traditional original elements of spirituality and sociality of a given nation. Synchronization of the national and social revolution is a guarantee of its success. Cultural revolutions do not occur because culture is created in the course of centuries. What occurs are the culturally political revolutions, i.e. a forceful removal of the enemy-occupant, who makes impossible the development of national culture from the nation's own traditional historic roots.

Now a particular struggle is being waged in the cultural sphere, for it is a battle for the national and human soul. Before the soldiers take up arms, a revolution is staged by poets and artists. There was Shevchenko before the year 1918 in Ukraine. Without Petofi and his brilliant revolutionary songs and deeds, there would not have been a Kossuth. Without Mickiewicz and Sloacki, there would not have been a Pilsudski. Nevertheless, paralleled to this struggle of ideas, there is an active struggle in various spheres of life, including armed clashes and mass demonstrations, strikes, and resistance to a hostile occupation and system in life generally.

A consequence of this is the inclusion of the spokesman of the extensive police and terror apparatus, Andropov, and that of Bonapartism, Marshall Grechko, in the highest party organ. The presence of Gromyko in that body testifies to the success of the policy of weakening the West. This policy also furthers the intensification of terror inside the country. Brezhnev (Party) and Kosygin (administration), Andropov (KGB), Grechko (the military), Shelepin (trade unions), and so forth — all organized forms of violence are united in the highest body of the party. Their chief aim is to save the empire from revolts of the subjugated nations. Re-Stalinization, intensified Russification, mass imprisonment of fighters for national and human rights, national and cultural genocide, linguicide, modernized methods of terror; psychiatric clinics, chemical and medical means of breaking an individual's willpower, the use of arms in crushing national and social resistance, as well as open revolt of the masses (e.g. Lithuania) — all this characterizes the era of Brezhnev.

Counting for national and religious rights on reformism, evolution, the "human" face of Communism, constitutionalism and democratization from above has proved disappointing. Those who fought for the fulfillment of rights guaranteed by the constitution are behind bars.

There is noticeable one basic difference between dissidents and fighters for national rights, between reformists and nationalists. The

former strive to repair the existing empire and system; the latter wish to topple it, by re-establishing independent national states. For this reason many of the former belong to the so-called third Russian emigration, while the latter are either executed or languish in concentration camps for 15, 20, and even 35 years, as the Ukrainian nationalist Oleksa Bil'skyi, imprisoned since the age of 19 now in Potma, who went blind while in prison. Oleksa Bil'skyi, 55, is suffering imprisonment solely for his nationalistic views, for which he refuses to repent.

The appearance upon the surface of life of DARING individuals who stand up for their convictions, defend human and national rights, and risk their own lives and freedom — all this is of crucial importance. Of course, if the struggle were limited only to the forms and methods employed by them, it would have no prospects. It must always be borne in mind that these figures could have appeared only on the foundation of the two-front struggle of the UPA-OUN, the Lithuanian insurgents, the nationwide resistance of the Georgian, Turkestani, Armenian, North Caucasian, Azerbaijani, and other nations.

The underground organizations continued to exist and still exist. Some were short-lived, others not. The OUN in Ukraine and anywhere else where Ukrainians live is consistently active in the underground.

If the essence of an underground revolutionary organization is primarily ideological unity and political guidelines for action, and afterwards only in the last row technical contacts for the sake of following these guidelines, which to a large extent can be done openly, then it is impossible to destroy it. If our concept of liberation is not a palace revolt but a general revolt of nations, then the guidelines for their mobilization must be transmitted openly. A description of mass armed action in Novochoerkask, Nalchyk, or Tiflis broadcasted over the radio constitutes a guideline for analogous actions in Dnipropetrovsk, Tashkent, or Kaunas and vice versa. In such actions, new leaders emerge. Underground organizations provide an ALTERNATIVE AUTHORITY to that of the occupant. It is also created by LEADERS of spirit and action who have come to the fore openly. This results in the occupant's attempts to force statements of repentance and to discredit the underground as a foreign agency in order to do away with SYMBOLS, with ALTERNATIVE leadership, with the ALTERNATIVE OF THE SUBJUGATED NATIONS' SOVEREIGN RULE.

In order to prevent the enemy from resorting to his wicked techniques of deception, the Lithuanian heroes took out medical certificates prior to their self-immolation attesting that they were MENTALLY healthy. Such instances of courage as that of the young student-worker Kalanta, or student Palach, or the fighter of UPA-OUN Makukh are rare in history.

In the main, the liberation movements of the subjugated nations are nationwide movements. This is confirmed by those who appeared in the West, particularly the Jews; the Ukrainian nationalist movement of the Georgians, Lithuanians, Turkestanis, Tatars, Jews, Byelorussians, Estonians, Latvians. Before our very eyes was the liberation movement of the Croats, the struggle of an entire nation for its independence.

The 1972 disturbances in Dnipropetrovske and Dniprodzerzhynsk (Ukraine), Nalchyk (North Caucasus), Kaunas (Lithuania), Moldavia, Tashkent, and Bukharra (Turkestan) and in 1973 in Tiflis (Georgia) and Erivan (Armenia) and earlier along the Don (Cossackia), or the toppling of Gomulka in 1971 following a workers' revolt, the student disturbances in Budapest in 1973, the posture of the Czechs and Slovaks who have not given up their struggle for independence in 1968 and later the Bulgarians and Rumanians who resolutely combat imposed Communism just as the Poles or the Germans who perish at the Berlin Wall prove that the liberation movements of the subjugated nations are not only movements of the intelligentsia but of the people in general. The fact that the young intellectual elite is united in a common front with workers and collective farmers is a guarantee of the invincibility of the popular revolution of nations. In his book, *Will the USSR Survive the Year 1984?* Andrey Almarik mentions that out of 134 signatures protesting imprisonments in Kyiv, 25% were those of workers.

"'Glory! Glory! Glory!' shouted the crowd which filled the entire Pekarska street in Lviv (this occurred throughout the five days). Flowers were tossed to us. They fell on the metal roof of the car, through a crack in the door upon us. When we proceeded to the court building, we walked on a carpet of fresh spring flowers," writes M. Osadchyi about the trial of the cultural leaders (*Cataract*, p. 42).

Without discrediting anybody's struggle for freedom we would like to recall that in Moscow only several persons demonstrated against the sentence passed on Bukovsky, the majority of them being Jews.

The world-renewed Estonian declaration of the spokesmen of national freedom about the fact that all three Baltic states are resolutely in favour of independence, that Marxism is bankrupt, while Christianity is invincible, that the time will come when tanks will not be marching on Prague or Bratislava but on Moscow or Leningrad, proposes the only realistic road to liberation: the armed struggle.

### **To Expect or to ACT?**

The maneuvers of MVD troops held in the fall of 1970 near Moscow under the motto "Crushing Revolts in Concentration Camps" point to the preparations of the occupant for a confrontation with its greatest threat. Vasyl Symonenko points to armed struggles as the

only road to liberation. "Oh Kurd, save your cartridges, but do not spare the life of killers!... CONVERSE WITH THEM WITH BULLETS... Oh, Kurd, save your cartridges. Without them you won't be able to protect your kin!"

There is no path to liberation other than the simultaneous national liberations of nations subjugated in the USSR and the guerrilla strategy is the only realistic one. Nuclear bombs cannot be dropped on revolutions and revolutionaries, for this is tantamount to the occupants' committing suicide. The greater the growth of classical military technology, the greater becomes the significance of armed people, the "primitive" method of warfare. On the heels of the general call for further development of conventional arms, there will come a time when voices will be raised in support of uprisings inside the empire of tyrants, as a way of avoiding a nuclear war.

In the nuclear age, ideological, psychological, and political warfare is becoming more intensive. In military technology and strategy, this is reflected by guerrilla warfare. Both Moscow and Peking are aware of this. This awareness, however, is still lacking among the official circles of the West.

The processes of development inside the subjugated countries normally proceed along the lines of popular uprisings and a joint front of the captives against their captors. It was not by chance that while in a concentration camp, a young Ukrainian poet dedicated to Jan Palach his poem "about a virgin killed by the occupants in Golden Prague."

Another dedicated his poems to Georgia, Latvia, Moldavia, Byelorussia, and still another wrote: "If you want your nation to be free, express solidarity with those who are liberating themselves and you will find support among them."

The invincibility of the spirit and a joint front of struggle of the subjugated is a guarantee of victory.

"Long live free Ukraine," said Vasyl Makukh;

"Long live independent Lithuania!" said Romas Kalanta;

"It is better to die in flames, than to live under the Russian yoke," shouted Czech Jan Palach.

How deeply were they inspired by an idea when they were capable of this kind of sacrifice?!

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# A POLICY OF DETENTE LEADS TO WAR—A LIBERATION POLICY LEADS TO PEACE

*By Yaroslav STETSKO*

The Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) was formed thirty years ago on the 21-22nd November, 1943, in the forests of Ukraine's Zhytomir region. The initiative came from the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), under the command of General Taras Chuprynka-Shukhevych (who, in 1950, fell in battle with MVD forces) and from the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), under the leadership of Stepan Bandera (who was assassinated by a KGB agent at the orders of Shelepin in 1959). The revolutionary committee of the subjugated nations was formed, consisting of representatives from the revolutionary movements of 12 nations.

The activities of ABN were directed, at the time, against two aggressors: Nazi Germany and Bolshevik Russia. The realisation of ABN's main idea of a common front against the common enemies was achieved by the formation of military detachments of the various peoples subjugated by Russia and Nazi Germany, which fought under the general Command of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA).

Relying exclusively on its own forces, the ABN has fought for the last 30 years, both in its homelands and abroad.

**ABN's Goals are:** The disintegration of the Russian empire, the USSR, into independent, democratic nation-states, the restoration of full national independence to the so-called "satellite" countries, and the liquidation of artificially built states, such as Yugoslavia and Czecho-Slovakia (CSSR).

At the time when the colonial systems all over the world have been or are being liquidated, there is no room for such a system in today's Europe.

**ABN's Conception of Liberation.** The synchronised national-liberation revolutions of the subjugated nations, directed against Russian occupation and Communist totalitarianism, will destroy, from inside, the Russian empire and the Communist regime.

The isolated uprisings of separate nations cannot be successful, as they could easily be suppressed by Russia, e.g. the uprisings in East Germany, Hungary, and Poland in the past. On the other hand, a synchronized chain of uprisings of the subjugated nations, supported by a liberation policy of the Western countries in favour of the sub-

jugated nations, would be successful and would bring the revolution against the Russian occupants to a victorious conclusion.

We feel that the Western countries, in helping the nations oppressed by Russian Communism, would also be serving their own interests.

The subjugated nations form a first line of defence of the free world. Had it not been for the resistance and liberation struggle of these nations in the past, the Russian aggressors and totalitarians would by now have dominated all of Europe.

The Achilles' heel of the Russian Empire and the Communist system is the liberation struggle of the subjugated nations and oppressed peoples. As the ratio of Russians to non-Russians in the Russian sphere of influence is one to two in favour of the subjugated peoples, the only way in which the Russians can keep the Empire together is by a policy of terror.

### **The Russian Empire is not Invincible.**

The ideals of Freedom, which motivate the subjugated nations, are stronger than terror and mightier than any nuclear weapon. The essential point is that one should be aware of the weaknesses of the Russian empire and awkwardness of its system. The West should recognise these weak points of the Russian empire and thus remove the myth of the "invincibility" of communism and the Russian empire.

To attack the weak points of the USSR, and especially its nationality policy, is a procedure which we recommend to the governments of the Free World.

Nuclear weapons cannot be used against the revolutionaries for obvious reasons. On the other hand, the simultaneous revolutionary struggles in many subjugated countries give the insurgents a chance to destroy this prison of nations and peoples without a world war and nuclear holocaust. There is no other more appropriate way (with the least sacrifices and dangers involved) than the path of liberating revolutions to get rid of the last major aggressor and the last most vicious colonial empire of all times. For this reason, the liberation movements should have the moral and material support of the free world.

The other alternative, the policy of cooperation and detente which the West now practises, will never stop the Soviet-Russian aggression, as it did not stop Hitler's aggression and will consequently lead to war. Right now a policy of *detente* makes it possible for Moscow to infiltrate the free nations and conquer them later at an appropriate moment.

George Meaney the President of the American Federation of Labour and Congress of Industrial Organisations, in an interview on May 30, 1973, with the German Television Network, gave an accurate analysis of Russia's world expansionist policy:

"Brezhnev himself explained what *detente* means to the Kremlin

and what the Soviet rulers are trying to get out of it. Addressing a conference of select Communist representatives at Karlovy Vary, the Soviet dictator said on April 24, 1967,

'Experience teaches, in particular, that the cold war and the confrontation of military blocs, the atmosphere of military threats, seriously hampers the activity of revolutionary, democratic forces. In conditions of international tension, in bourgeois countries, the reactionary elements become active, the military raise their heads, anti-democratic tendencies and anti-communism are strengthened.

And conversely, the past few years have shown quite clearly that in conditions of slackened international tension, the pointer of the political barometer moves left. Certain changes between Communists and Social Democrats in certain countries, a noticeable falling off in anti-communist hysteria, and the increase in the influence of West European Communist parties is most directly correlated with the reduction in tension which has taken place in Europe!'" (AFL-CIO *Free Trade Union News*, June, 1973). There can be no lasting coexistence, not to speak of cooperation, between tyranny and freedom. Sooner or later, it will come to a conflict, because they are two totally contradictory worlds. To prepare a victory for one's own plans is sensible, but to wait for a chance outcome when the enemy is already actively engaged in a course of action is suicide.

We consider that the West, in its policies towards the present-day Russian empire, should take note of some existing facts and respect the moral principles. The age of empires has passed, there are no more Western empires. The U.N. Charter and Universal Declaration of Human Rights condemn in principle any imperialism or colonialism. Why then defend the Russian colonial Empire in Europe and Asia?

The constant and persistent efforts of Western governments should be directed toward the restoration of national independent states of the subjugated nations in the USSR and the realization of Human Rights in Ukraine, Estonia, Lithuania, Latvia, Turkestan, Byelorussia, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Northern Caucasia, and elsewhere.

The West should aim for the restoration of full independence and the realization of Human Rights in Bulgaria, Poland, Hungary, Slovakia, Czechia, Rumania, and other satellite countries.

The West should stand for the reunification in freedom and independence of the German people and the removal of Russian occupational forces and terror apparatus from all the subjugated countries, so that the liberated nations can have free elections and may recover all the attributes of sovereignty that every independent country in the world enjoys.

Without the fulfillment of these demands, no agreements or talks with the Russian imperialists or Communists tyrants should be indulged in. Such an attitude if adopted by the free world, would

create an unbearable atmosphere of pressure on Russian and Communist tyrants and would drive them into a dead end. Simultaneously, the nations subjugated by them, having regained their strength and confidence, would disintegrate the empire from within. Then the free nations would gain lasting allies in the subjugated nations and last but not least, a true and just peace.

Unfortunately, the present-day policy of the Western world towards the Russian empire is inconsistent, often contradictory, and does not serve its own best interest. As a consequence, the western policy is leading toward war as surely as our liberation policy leads toward peace. Why? Because the strong national revolutionary liberation movements inside the Empire paralyse the aggression of Russian imperialism and Communism.

On the other hand, the weakening of the revolutionary movements within the Russian empire, via *detente* policy, creates for the said empire a possibility of consolidation without any danger from the outside and this inevitably leads to the extension of aggression to ever new territories. The time will come when, as in the case of Nazism, the West will not be able to retreat any further and war will be the only solution.

Hence, supporting the revolution within the USSR by the ways and means stated above means supporting peace; supporting a policy of *detente* means encouraging war or capitulation.

Ours is the age of ideologies; it is also the age of thermonuclear weapons, of national liberating and anti-imperial revolutions, and the age of guerrilla warfare. Along with the development of military technology, the meaning and importance of the guerrilla type of warfare is also growing.

In conclusion it should be emphasized that the Helsinki Conference surpasses all other previous international conferences or agreements with Moscow, for it acknowledges all the Soviet Russian conquests in Europe and Asia and gives Moscow a free hand to carry out acts of terror, Russification, and extermination upon the subjugated nations, acts needed by the empire for furthering its existence.

The hope that such a confirmation of the *status quo* at the Helsinki Conference will provide "the possibility of an exchange of ideas, information, and people" between East and West and thus lead to a lasting peace, is merely an illusion.

No country in the world is intending to attack the USSR! Should the Soviet Russian aggressors be standing on the very shores of the Atlantic, they would still not feel "safe" and would then perpetually desire new guarantees of their current conquests, until they had captured the whole world.

A compromise will always be to the detriment of the free world and the subjugated nations.

As the crude facts of the present day have demonstrated, the treaties with Moscow have caused greater intensification of the terror

against the subjugated nations (e.g. the recent "Ukraine's plea for help").

Since the official circles of the free world render neither practical assistance nor human compassion and moral support to those who suffer and fight, we appeal to the Western man in the street, to the young people, to the mass media, and to the intellectuals to support the subjugated nations in their fight for national independence and human rights.

We especially appeal to the press, radio, and T.V. to come to the defence of all those who have been incarcerated, banished from their homelands, or locked up in psychiatric clinics because of their uncompromising stand against all violators of national and human rights.

We give our full support to an appeal recently received from Ukraine by Mr. David Floyd of *The Daily Telegraph*. The full text of the said appeal is available for your kind attention and consideration.

*Press statement, London, August 14, 1973.*

## ***THE VULNERABLE RUSSIANS***

by

**Lev E. Dobriansky**  
*Georgetown University*

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## NATIONALISM—AN UNCONQUERABLE FORCE

*By Slava STETSKO*

Neither the terror of Stalin nor Brezhnev has crushed the nationalism of the subjugated nations. The Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), the Lithuanian, Turkestanian, Georgian, Armenian, North Caucasian, and Estonian insurgents are an undeniable proof of this.

The extent of the nationalist idea can be seen by protest and self immolations:

On November 5, 1968, *Vasyl Makukh*, 50, a father of two children, a fighter in UPA and OUN, and a long-term prisoner of Russian prisons and concentration camps, burned himself in Kyiv with the exclamation: "Long live Free Ukraine!"

On January 20, 1969, a Czech student, *Jan Palach*, immolated himself in Prague while shouting: "It is better to die in flames than to live under the Russian yoke!"

On February 10, 1969, a Ukrainian patriot and former prisoner of the concentration camps, *Mykola Beryslavskyi*, 55, the father of three children, attempted self-immolation as a protest against Russification, for which he was sentenced to two and a half years of imprisonment.

On May 14, 1972, the self-immolation of a Lithuanian nationalist student *Romas Kalanta* in Kaunas who exclaimed, "Long live independent Lithuania!"

On May 29, 1972, Lithuanian worker, *Stonis*, 29.

On June 3, 1972, a Lithuanian worker, *Andrus Kukavicius*, 60.

On June 9, 1972, the attempted self-immolation of the *Zalish Kauskas*.

The heroic conduct before the trial of the Lithuanian sailor, *Simonas Kudirka*, who was sentenced to 10 years of harsh imprisonment and who greeted his verdict with the statement, "I demand freedom for my fatherland, Lithuania!"

*Oleksa Bilskyi*, who spent 35 years in prisons and concentration camps which caused total blindness, sentenced at the age of 19 and is now serving the remaining two years of his sentence for nationalistic beliefs.

The heroic conduct of the young Ukrainian historian, *Valentyn Moroz*, in a Russian court, with his by now famous expression, "There will be a trial. Well, we shall fight. Now more than ever it is necessary for someone to set an example of inflexibility! The lot has fallen on me. It is a difficult mission. Being behind bars is not for anyone. But

not to respect oneself is still more difficult. AND THEREFORE WE SHALL FIGHT! The only Moroz which would really be of any use to you is a submissive Moroz, who will have written a declaration of repentance. But you will never see such a Moroz. If having placed me behind bars, you are counting on creating something of a vacuum in the Ukrainian renaissance, then this is not serious. Try to understand at last: THERE WILL NOT BE A VACUUM ANYMORE!"

The fall of 1971 and the year 1972 brought an increasing wave of repressions, particularly in Ukraine and the other subjugated countries of the USSR. Numerous instances of imprisonment, searches, and interrogations are taking place among the prominent and prestigious leaders in the field of Ukrainian culture, among the patriotic Ukrainian intelligentsia, and among the students and workers. Brezhnev, the former chief of political instructors at the 4th Ukrainian Front during Stalinist times, is reviving, quietly but consistently, the Stalinist practice of repressions. At the same time he is attempting to revitalize the Philistinized and bureaucratized cadres of Party bosses by an exchange of Party cards, so as to renew in Ukraine a pogrom of the scope of the Postyshev squeeze with sharpened claws of the Party apparatus and henchmen of a Shcherbytskyi type. A return to the rough police methods in order to reinforce the shaky ground so as to maintain state power and to put into effect the plans of its domestic policy is a proof not of the totalitarian empire's strength but of its weakness.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which has experienced 50 years of totalitarian dictatorship in a multi-national empire, has been unable to find at least one new satisfactory political solution in the intricately complex of internal contradictions inherent in its domestic policy.

The Constitution of the Soviet Union has long been obsolete. It was never put into effect because it was stillborn. From the first day of its solemn proclamation to the present day, it was disregarded in everyday practice. Elections have not been elections, but appointments of DEPUTIES ASSEMBLED BY THE PARTY. Trials have never been trials, only ceremonial and almost secret convictions of those whom the police apparatus confined to prison as politically inconvenient and designated for them the necessary term of imprisonment, which the prosecutor then grounded by an article. Civil liberties have not been and are not liberties, but prohibitions of religion, of independent scientific conclusions, of expression of opinion and criticism, of the form and contents of literary and artistic creativity, of a change of place of employment, restriction on higher education, etc. Civil rights have not been rights, but obligations of obedience to the Party, the police, the factory manager, the head of the kolkhoz. A "union" has not been a voluntary union of nations, but the conquest of the subjugated Russian peoples through wars, both Tsarist and Russian-Leninist.

When Lev Lukyanenko, a lawyer, was sentenced to death in 1961 (later commuted to 15 years) for writing a draft of the program of the still-to-be founded party, "Ukrainian Workers and Peasants Union," the chief aim of which was the realization of Article 17 of the USSR Constitution about secession of Ukraine as a "Union republic" from the Soviet Union, his act was classified as high treason. KGB agent Denisov told him, "The Constitution exists for abroad." The KGB agent of the Mordovian camp knew on the basis of long experience that the Constitution never had and still does not apply within the USSR.

The same is known from everyday experience by all thinking citizens, with the exception of careerists, conformists, and henchmen. This state of constant lawlessness and arbitrariness is the basic source of steady expansion of diverse oppositional and resistance movements, independent of those outside censorship.

The will of a despot — the ukase of the Tsar-strangler, of butcher Stalin, or a decision of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party — has always been the supreme law and sole source of law in the Russian empire. The citizens of the subjugated nations never had any civil rights or any influence on legislation. They have been and are considered as "inhabitants," as cogs in the machine used for production. They cannot live on with the feeling of provisionality and uncertainty toward the capricious changes which may affect the present or the new despots tomorrow.

The Russian leadership under Brezhnev attempts helplessly to return to the point where the period of Stalin and his life had ended, as a dog who follows his own tail. "Most likely, they will have enough strength left to strangle the prisoners," wrote L. Lukyanenko, "but it is impossible to imprison the contemporary spirit which constantly gives birth to the likes of us."

The national idea is embodied in the concrete action, in the direct struggle of the subjugated nations in their native lands and in the concentration camps, as for example, the much publicized hunger strike in Potma in March, 1972, in which the Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Jewish, and other political prisoners participated; street revolts and disturbances in Dnipropetrovsk and Dniprodzerzhynsk in 1972.

Over 10,000 people took part in disturbances in Dniprodzerzhynsk, damaged the KGB and Ministry of State Security buildings, destroyed all the political documents, passports, and citizens' personal data; smashed windows; broke doors and tore down portraits of Brezhnev, Lenin, and other Soviet leaders, killing one KGB agent. Other groups of demonstrators destroyed the building that housed the regional administrative, party, and military (including the Komsomol) bodies.

The riots in Dniprodzerzhynsk on June 25 and 26, 1972, involved between 10,000 and 12,000 people, half of whom were young men and women. The units of the KGB opened fire, killing 10 people and injuring hundreds of others. One Ukrainian died in the fire at the



KGB building. Several of the KGB agents and military police also died in a similar manner, while about 50 were injured.

The trouble began with the arrests of several youths who teased one of the soldiers as being identified with the Russian occupation of Ukraine. The Russians used everything they had against the demonstrators — the local military garrison, units of the KGB, and the fire brigades. Within two days, nine buildings were either destroyed or damaged. Many people were arrested afterwards.

On September 19, 1972, in Dnipropetrovsk a large-scale strike broke out among the workers and the population which gathered in masses and surrounded the headquarters of the regional Communist Party, protesting and demanding a higher standard of living and more national freedom. The regional Communist Party called out military and police units which opened fire on the demonstrators.

During a May 1st parade in Lviv, someone blocked the sewers. All the sewage came into the streets just around the main platform and along the streets, which were full of people at the time.

In several towns and cities in Western Ukraine, carvings of Ukrainian national emblems — Tryzub — have appeared. They were carved in the stones and bridges in such a way that it was difficult for the authorities to remove them. These emblems appeared in Lviv, Ivano-Frankivsk, Khust (Carpatho-Ukraine), and in Rachiv.

In the beginning of 1971, at a military factory near Ivano-Frankivsk, a certain number of small arms disappeared. But the KGB managed to locate the place where members of the Ukrainian underground were guarding them. In the shooting that developed, several people were killed. Later the KGB made a number of arrests in the district.

There were armed clashes of Georgian nationalists with the Russian occupation detachments in Tiflis; and armed clashes in Erivan, Armenia, also occurring in recent months. Riots have taken place during which shots were exchanged between the rioters, army, and police forces. Both workers and students are in the forefront of the violent expression of discontent. Incendiary bombs were thrown in the centre of the capital city of Tbilisi and the national opera house which had been burned out.

The root of the trouble appears to be the increasing opposition to the continuing Russification of the country. Georgia is known to be one of the most nationalistic of the so-called Soviet republics, very proud of its statehood, which is more than two thousand years old, and its traditions which are firmly rooted in its own folklore and cultural development.

Opposition against centralist rule by the Kremlin has from time to time been expressed in colourful acts of sabotage; economic side-stepping included even outright fraud and deceit on a large scale. It was Tbilisi which had a tram running within the public transport

system for over a year, from which the fares collected went into the collector's pockets, because the tram was officially "in repair."

Zorya Vostoka, a Russian-language newspaper published in Georgia, carried a report about a widespread purge of Party and state cadres of the Georgian SSR, which is being affected by the newly appointed boss, Eduard A. Shevardnadze.

In June, 1971, a revolt broke out among the Kabardinians (North Caucasus) in the city of Nalchyk. It was crushed by military units of the Russian KGB, and a woman was executed by shooting after a closed trial.

In December, 1972, in Derbenti in Dagestan (North Caucasus), armed kolkhoz workers forced the KGB to release the head of the kolkhoz, who had given meat to a starving peasant. In June, 1971, in Tyraspol, the Moldovian students demonstrated for two days demanding the secession of Moldavia from the USSR and its annexation to Rumania. During the 1972 Jewish Passover, the KGB organs provoked racial disturbances between the Kabardinians and the Jews in the course of which the KGB killed 8 Kabardinians and two Jews in Nalchyk.

In Estonia, there appeared the renowned letter of the representatives of the Estonian intelligentsia defending the right of the Estonian people to independence, and threatening that the time will come when tanks will not be marching on Prague and Bratislava but on Moscow and Leningrad.

The pace at which Russification is being intensified and accelerated, however, is revealed by the fact that the latest Soviet statistics indicate that today Estonians constitute barely 66.6% of the population of Estonia. Hence, even allowing for natural population growth, the proportion of Estonians appears to be declining at the rate of more than one percentage point per annum. As I cite these statistics it should be pointed out that, for census purposes, Soviet military garrisons in the Baltic States are not counted, even though these garrisons are enormous, especially in the areas of Riga and Tallinn, and even though Soviet military personnel bring their families with them to the Baltic.

In Turkestan, in May, 1969, the Uzbeks while shouting, "Russians get out of Uzbekistan," revolted in the concentration camps. These disturbances, crushed by the KGB, spread across Tashkent and Bukhara. The bitter struggle of Crimean Tatars, defended by the Ukrainian General Hryhorenko, is by now widely known throughout the world. The Armenian groups, "SHAND," "In the name of the Fatherland," and "Paros" (Torch) fought in 1969-70 for the independence and unity of Armenia, publishing a periodical and leaflets. Its members included both students and workers.

The heroic national and religious efforts and decisive resistance to Russification are renowned throughout the world. Lithuania has not

and never will put down its arms in its struggle for independence and the Christian religion.

Russian chauvinists are also attacking Byelorussia where the First Secretary of the aggressors' regime ordered all Christian symbols, especially the crosses on all the churches which had already been closed down, to be immediately destroyed. At a time when in Moscow many ancient churches were restored, primarily for tourist excursions and for the establishment of museums therein, anything reminding people of Christianity is being destroyed in Byelorussia.

In Byelorussia, the writer Bykov strongly protested against the Russification of the country. Byelorussian youth raised its voice in protest, and an underground organization was founded by the Latvians in 1962. Called the "Baltic Federation," its aim was to fight for the independence of the Baltic Nations — Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia — and to counteract the Russian occupants jointly. In Bulgaria and Rumania, national resistance is constantly growing.

Hungarian police arrested 41 young people during "nationalist demonstrations" in Budapest involving several hundred people. In Hungary, there were new student disturbances this year. In Poland, a revolt by workers in 1971 was responsible for the toppling of Gomulka.

The incidents followed official celebrations marking the 125th anniversary of the 1848 revolution against Habsburg rule, the Budapest News Agency reported.

The demonstrators were dispersed and police checked identities. Forty-one "instigators" were taken to the Budapest central police station.

Hungary's regime had taken special trouble this year to commemorate March 15, the anniversary day.

This is because 1973 is the 150th anniversary of the birth of Sandor Potoefi the national poet. He joined the national revolution and died on the battlefield, aged 26. The poet's monument on the Danube has traditionally been the meeting place for young demonstrators.

It must be stated that the national liberation movements of the subjugated nations are popular movements, in which an active part is taken not only by students and intellectuals, but also by workers and collective farmers. According to Andrei Amalrik, out of the 134 signatures appearing under one Kyiv protest letter in defense of prisoners, 25% were those of workers from the Kyiv factories.

In the early part of December, 1972, a protest by prisoners in the form of a hunger strike took place in several Soviet Russian concentration camps. The hunger strike lasted for five days and was to have ended on December 10, which is International Human Rights Day.

According to the information received, "Ukrainian nationalists, sympathizers of religious opposition, and Baltic separatists, as well as various other persons convicted for anti-Soviet propaganda,"

participated in the hunger strike. One of the names of the organizers has become known, Mykola Bondar. The prisoners who declared a hunger strike protested against the inhuman conditions of camp regime, especially against such treatment of prisoners which leads to the death of some individuals.

The underground periodical *Democrat* (*Democrat*) No. 4, which is published in the USSR by the Russian chauvinist circles united under the banner of the so-called Democratic Movement of the Soviet Union (DMSU), carries a polemic article of an alleged Ukrainian Insurgent Army veteran from 1943, "Yuriy," attacking the position of the *Ukrainian Visnyk* (*The Ukrainian Herald*), No. 3. 1970, which denies that Ukrainian circles have anything to do with the formulation of the program of the DMSU. Among other things, it says the following:

"The manifestations of protest are considerably broader than is generally known to the public. They appear in the form of written protests and proposals directed to the party and state organs, dissemination of leaflets, multiplied by hand, by typewriters, by typographical methods, verbal propaganda of individuals, the creation of underground groups and even parties, including those of terrorist character and even in terror (for instance, the assassination of city oblast "fathers" in Arkangelsk) during the May first demonstration, in the attacks on the militia detachments in Latvia with the execution of several militiamen and the confiscation of arms, sabotage on the railroads of Ukraine in 1968, disarming of militiamen and soldiers, the procurement of arms from army barracks and depots, attempts at armed crossing of the borders individually or in groups, including a total destruction of the frontier post in the Murman oblast in 1970, a rather widespread trading with weapons, and so forth."

In January, 1973, blue-yellow flags were hoisted and leaflets were distributed when the Declaration of the Restoration of the Ukrainian Independent State of January 22, 1918-1919, was commemorated in Chortkiv; these events caused general alarm among the occupants.

In Volhynia, 3 persons died after the visiting assizes.

In June, 1972, there was an uprising in Dniprodzerzhynsk lasting 7 days.

In Dnipropetrovsk, the Secret Police tried to arouse the population against the Jews by shouting the slogan "Beat the Hebrews!" The revolting population, however, shouted: "Beat the Russians! Long live Free Ukraine!"

In Kyiv, 17 persons were arrested when arms were found in the basement of a public building.

In February, 1972, Galanskow died at the age of 33, allegedly during an ulcer operation. His death was not an exception. Undernourishment and hard labour have caused the death of the Latvian mathematician Jan Kapitsins, and the Orthodox priest Boris Talantov.

Other prisoners who were not able to withstand these conditions committed suicide, such as Juozas Lankauskas, in 1969, at the age of 56, after spending 18 years in concentration camps. Others have inflicted self-injuries. Este Juri Kimmel amputated his ears and posted them to the Communist Party Congress in Moscow.

The deceptive expectation that it is possible to realize human rights in the so-called democratic Russian empire in the form of a proposed Union of Democratic Republics advocated by the self-styled Democratic Movement of USSR (claiming to have support also of Ukrainians, Balts, and others) has also dissipated. The clandestine publication *Ukrainian Herald* No. 3, an underground publication of the nationally-minded and democratic circles of Ukrainian intellectuals, denies that any Ukrainians have had anything to do with the said "Democratic Movement of the Soviet Union" or with the elaboration of its programme. This is also true of the Estonian, Lithuanian, and Latvian intellectuals, who will certainly not give up the right of their Republics to sovereignty in favour of a future Russian non-communist empire under the disguise of a Union of Democratic "Republics." In the pamphlet "To Expect or to ACT," written by a group of Estonian intellectuals, they criticize the position that the Academician Sakharov holds in the outline of his political program. The program has much to do with Marx and Lenin, while the Estonians defend the spiritual and Christian values, show the bankruptcy of Marxism and dialectical materialism. The aims of the Baltic Nations are precise: a) sovereignty; b) primacy of spiritual Christian values; c) liberation through revolutionary armed struggle and not waiting for the evolution of Communism towards democracy or "humane Communism."

A section of the opposition in the "national republics" makes an attempt to base its demands on the ambiguous clauses of the legally existing Constitution of the USSR and of the Union Republics, thus trying to minimize the risks of cruel reprisals by the regime.

Thus for instance in Ukraine, a group of lawyers who founded the underground Ukrainian Workers and Peasants Union in 1960 tried to mobilize the Ukrainian public for demanding secession of the Ukrainian SSR from the Soviet Union by utilizing the appropriate abstract and perfidious articles of the Constitutions of the USSR and Ukrainian SSR. They had in mind to put the motion for the secession of Ukraine from the USSR at a session of the Supreme Soviet of Ukraine.

The Ukrainian Workers' and Peasants' Union, headed by the lawyers L. Lukyanenko, I. Kandyba, and propagandist S. Virun, was discovered by the KGB in 1961 and liquidated. Seven of its members were convicted, and two of them sentenced to death. The death sentence was later commuted to 15 years imprisonment. One of the members of this group suggested action among the Soviet Army and preparation of an armed struggle.

"The Ukrainian National Front" was a declared revolutionary

organisation, ideologically akin to the old Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), and during the years 1964-66 published an underground journal *Freedom and Fatherland*.

In 15 issues this journal reprinted many publications of the OUN and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) from the years 1947-49. In 1967, this group was arrested at the trial in Ivano-Frankivsk and three of its leaders — D. Kvetsko, Z. Krasivskyi, and M. Dyak — were sentenced to death. Later the sentences were commuted to 12-15 years imprisonment. Others were sentenced to shorter terms.

"The Ukrainian National Committee" which was liquidated in December, 1961, was a revolutionary nationalist organisation. Two of its leaders — Ivan Koval and Bohdan Grytsyna — workers from Lviv, were shot. The death sentence of two other people was commuted to 15 years imprisonment, and 16 other young workers and students also received long sentences.

In 1958-59, students and workers in Ivano-Frankivsk founded the "United Party for the Liberation of Ukraine." Its aim was sovereignty and independence of Ukraine. At a secret trial in March, 1919, they were sentenced to terms of imprisonment ranging from 10 to 17 years. Their leaders were Bohdan Harmatiuk, Yarema Tkachuk, and Bohdan Tymkiv.

Apart from these, there were many less well known groups, some of them with a more radical revolutionary platform, e.g. the Ukrainian group from Novorossiysk, which advocated partisan struggle for independence and rejected the tactics of pseudo-legal struggle on the basis of the Constitution of the USSR.

Similar centres of organised struggle exist or are in the process of formation in other countries enslaved in the USSR and in the satellite states. There is widespread opposition to Russification policies of Moscow. And it is not by chance that the Byelorussian writer Bykov criticised "giant power assimilators" at the Congress of Byelorussian Writers, and the same was done by Abashidze at the Georgian congress.

*Robitnycha hazeta* of March 13, 1973, among other things, writes: "Priests and former Uniate Ukrainian Catholic monks who have not joined (the official Russian Orthodox Church) attempt to conduct illegal religious activities. Yosyp Slipyi, who headed the Uniate abroad, together with the former criminal, Stetsko, took pains to revive the Union on the territory of Soviet Ukraine." Having driven the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church into the catacombs by terror, the Russian tyrants also attempted to liquidate the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church in Ukraine, which has a Ukrainian national character. Therefore, the above-mentioned propaganda sheet in Ukrainian is very alarming because: "As of late, the activity of the former Uniate clergy has risen considerably in individual regions of Ukraine, where they conduct illegal agitation for the re-establishment of the Uniate Church. These priests project them-

selves in the eyes of the faithful in the role of martyrs for their faith, disseminate among former members of the Uniate Church religious leaflets, small calendars, and prayer books with anti-Soviet and anti-Communist contents, which are delivered to the people with the aid of 'tourists.' One of the most repulsive variants of Uniatism is the so-called Penitentialism. ("The Penitents" — a name stemming from the word "penance" — sharply denounce the pro-Russian politics of the Vatican — Ye. O). Penitentialism's organizers — former Uniate priests Soltys, Potachnyak, Syretskyi, and others — staged the miracle of the appearance of the Mother of God near a spring on the Serednyany Mountain on December 22, 1954. In their instructions, the chieftains of the Penitents urge not to work in Soviet institutions, refuse to accept passports, military cards, and other Soviet documents while allegedly bearing the stamp of the devil."

Here we have still another proof that Moscow fears Christ and the national idea. But the ideological bankruptcy of Communism and tyranny are obvious to the point that even terror and persecution of Ukrainian national Churches and their faithful will no longer save the Russian empire.

Christianity and the national ideas have already penetrated the broad popular masses, as an invincible force. The Russian empire and its atheist Communist system find themselves on the verge of collapse and will be destroyed under the blows of the national liberation forces of the subjugated nations. The subjugated nations are the disregarded power to whom the future belongs. The designation of Russian imperialism of various shapes and colours is enemy No. 1 and the mobilization of the world anti-Russian and anti-Communist front have proven to be correct.

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### 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.

## EUROPEAN FREEDOM COUNCIL

## S T A T E M E N T

**DANGERS IMPLIED BY THE INTERNATIONAL SO-CALLED  
SECURITY AND DISARMAMENT CONFERENCES AND  
TREATIES WITH THE USSR**

Treaties between the USSR and the free Western countries, in particular the USA and the Federal Republic of Germany, strengthen the military potential of the Russian empire, contribute to the intensification of Russian terror in the countries enslaved in the USSR and in the satellite states, and intensify national, cultural, and physical genocide. The main goal of the Russian imperialists is to be at liberty to suppress the national liberation movements of the captive nations. Treaties with the West provide this liberty. Furthermore, by guaranteeing the *status quo*, the West allows the Russians to continue their usurpations and to obtain formal approval for Brezhnev's doctrine of military intervention by the West, if such intervention should be in the interest of Russian imperialism.

The so-called European Security Conference initiated by Moscow is nothing other than an insidious attempt to include the free countries in a common front against the captive nations or at least to obtain their favourable neutrality in case the enslaved nations' rebellions are suppressed. For none of the western countries has any aggressive intentions, and only Russia's "security" vis-a-vis the subjugated nations is at stake. This Conference is concerned with the security of Moscow against revolutionary liberation movements of the enslaved nations within and without the USSR, i.e., with security guaranteed and supported by the West but directed against the West's safest allies. Its object is to consolidate Russian influence in Central and Northern Europe and in the Mediterranean region in order to enable the Russians to continue infiltration, subversion, and occupation by modern strategic methods from these bases. Another aim of the Conference is to remove U.S. forces from Europe.

The so-called Disarmament Conference, similar to the last treaties between the USA and the USSR (Yalta and Teheran), is intended to fulfill the Russian aim of liquidating the free world's atomic shield. Officially, the West would give up its first line of defence — the nations enslaved within the USSR and in the satellite states — in the "Security" Conference, although the Russian empire by far surpasses NATO in conventional armaments. Nor does the West conduct any liberation policy based on guerilla warfare (the most modern type) within the empire.

As the experiences of World War II and the post-war period show, any promises made by Moscow (after dictating the *status quo* and



systematically removing U.S. forces from Europe) concerning the exchange of ideas, information, and human facilities will not be kept.

We therefore appeal to the governments of the free states to demand:

- 1) the removal of occupational Russian forces stationed in the CSSR, Hungary, Poland, East Germany, Ukraine, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Byelorussia, Turkestan, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, and the other countries occupied by Russian forces;

- 2) the realization of the right of the nations subjugated within the USSR and in the satellite countries to national independence, including nations in Yugoslavia, and the putting of the Declaration of Human Rights and the UN Charter into practice;

- 3) the cessation of military provocations, mutinies, divisive and disintegrating activities on the part of the USSR, within any free country, and in particular the withdrawal of the Russian Navy from the Mediterranean, Indian, and other oceans.

Furthermore we request the Western states, which have no aggressive intentions towards any country of the world, to develop an offensive policy for liberating the nations subjugated within the USSR (i.e. the Russian empire) and in the satellite states. Only thus can they insure that in the age of the downfall of empires and the creation of national states throughout the whole world, will colonialism be liquidated in Europe and Asia as well.

We draw the attention of the governments of the free Western countries to the fact that any agreements with the Bolshevik tyrants and imperialists make the free nations accomplices in the tyrannical enslavement of nations and people. Thus the defensive potential of the West is weakened, while colonialism is consolidated even on nations which have a 1000-year-old culture.

We appeal to the free European nations to develop their own military power, including thermonuclear and in particular conventional weaponry, in order to avoid falling victim to sudden Soviet Russian aggression, for Moscow is constantly supplementing its arsenal. We also appeal to these nations to weaken the military potential of the Bolshevik empire by winning over soldiers of the Soviet and satellite forces through a liberation policy, bearing in mind that the nations subjugated in any empire are its Achilles' heel.

We remind the governments of the free countries of the world that a lasting and just world peace is possible only if insatiable Russian imperialism is eliminated by the disintegration of the Russian empire and the re-establishment of independent states of all the nations enslaved within that empire, and if colonial empires and artificial state structures such as Yugoslavia and Czecho-Slovakia disappear in Europe. We wish to emphasize that although the Russian imperialists and chauvinists speak of peace and friendship, they are in reality arming with all kinds of offensive weapons which far surpass those of the free world.

The Russian empire is built on a volcano. Its pillars are rotten, and its only strength lies in the ideological, political, and moral weakness of the West. The West has failed to rely on the captive nations, its most faithful and strongest allies. For prisoners never defend their prison.

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**FREEDOM FOR NATIONS!**

**FREEDOM FOR INDIVIDUALS!**

## **AN APPEAL TO THE CONSCIENCES OF FREE MEN**

Before your very eyes, national and cultural genocide is taking place in countries subjugated by the Russian aggressors and Communist totalitarians. This is facilitated by political and economic agreements of the free countries of the world, in particular the USA and the USSR, as well as international conferences such as the conference on so-called European Security, which are attended by the USSR and its satellites. Not a single state in the world intends to attack the USSR. Against whom, then, does Moscow want a guarantee of "security"? It wants it against the nations it subjugates in the USSR and the satellite states, against their liberation revolutions! The national liberation struggle of these oppressed nations and individuals is the Achilles' heel of the Russian empire and the despotic Communist system. The aim of the Helsinki and other similar conferences is not only a *de facto* recognition of the frontiers of the contemporary Russian colonial empire, but also its legalization in international law.

When Western empires have ceased to exist, why should the Russian empire — whose avowed intention is to encompass the entire world — be preserved in Europe and Asia? Imperialistic Russia will feel "secure" only after it conquers the whole world. When Russian Communist armies will stand on the shores of the Atlantic, the Kremlin tyrants will demand "security" for the expansion of their colonial empire as far as the Atlantic. What is Russia looking for in the Mediterranean Sea, the Indian Ocean, the Northern seas, in Latin America (Cuba and so forth), in Africa, the Near East, and the Pacific Ocean? Why is it building up the strongest navy in the world? The strongest conventional land army? Thermonuclear weapons of the widest range? Neither the US nor Great Britain intend to attack anyone! Why does Russia provoke civil, class, and peripheral wars, urban guerrilla warfare, wildcat and political strikes? Why does it interfere in the internal affairs of every national state of the world, corrupting its people from within? Obviously, all this is a means of and a road to the conquest of the world! Political, economic, and technological support to the Russian empire on the part of free

countries of the world is a boomerang against those who extend such aid. The West is preparing its own doomsday, at the same time depriving itself of the confidence of its most trusted allies — the subjugated peoples — and thus weakening itself in the decisive encounter with the aggressive Russian and Communist power!

A prominent military theoretician of the West, British General G. F. C. Fuller, writes:

"If the West is to gain the sympathies of the enslaved people, it must inspire them. 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 people in Europe and the USSR are to be the allies of the West or the unwilling defenders of Moscow. What they seek is liberation and not obliteration — let the Western nations remember this."

The first line of defense of the West are the nations subjugated in the Russian empire and its sphere of domination.

Friends! The free world also shares the responsibility for intensified terror, Russification, mass imprisonment of fighters for national and human rights, faith in God, the freedom of spiritual creativity, for deportations to Siberia, for the almost two million prisoners in concentration camps who were imprisoned for their national, political, and religious convictions, for the destruction of national cultures and religions, and for the intermingling of nations within the empire. The governments of great Western powers, even Western churches, negotiating with and supporting the Russian empire and Communist system and thus confirming the *status quo* of subjugation and imperial boundaries, share the blame for cultural and national genocide. Not a single state, in particular the USA, has placed any preconditions before the Russians while extending all types of assistance to them.

In spite of this, the subjugated nations have not bowed to their oppressors. Their struggle for liberation continues. The peoples, in particular the youth, have overcome their fear.

Since the official circles of the free world do not render practical assistance, nor human compassion and moral support to those who suffer and fight, we appeal to the Western man in the street, to the young people, to the mass media, and to the intellectuals who are aware that their freedom to create, and the very spiritual values which they hold themselves, are defended by the inmates of Russian concentration camps, prisons, and KGB psychiatric prisons — we appeal to them to join the broad front of protest and defense of the subjugated nations' fighters for national independence and human rights. They can help in the following ways:

SEVERELY CENSURE AND TOGETHER WITH US URGE THE LIQUIDATION OF ALL CONCENTRATION CAMPS!

DEMAND THE RELEASE OF ALL PRISONERS CONDEMNED AND IMPRISONED FOR THEIR NATIONAL, POLITICAL, AND RELIGIOUS CONVICTIONS!

DEMAND THE TERMINATION OF THE APPLICATION OF CHEMICAL AND MEDICAL MEANS OF BREAKING THE WILLPOWER OF POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS PRISONERS IN ORDER TO EXTORT STATEMENTS OF REPENTANCE FROM THEM!

VIGOROUSLY DENOUNCE THE PRACTICE OF CONFINING FIGHTERS FOR NATIONAL AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN INSANE ASYLUMS!

DEMAND AN END TO PERSECUTION OF BELIEVERS IN GOD AND CULTURAL LEADERS WHO DEFEND THE ESSENCE AND SPIRITUALITY OF THEIR OWN NATION, WITHOUT WHICH A NATION PERISHES!

DEMAND THE WITHDRAWAL OF RUSSIAN OCCUPATION FORCES AND THE COMMUNIST TERROR APPARATUS FROM THE RUSSIAN-SUBJUGATED NATIONS WITHIN THE USSR AND ITS SATELLITES!

DEMAND A RETURN OF NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY TO ALL THE NATIONS SUBJUGATED BY RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM AND COMMUNISM IN THE USSR AND THE SATELLITE STATES, AS WELL AS FOR THOSE NATIONS ENSLAVED IN THE ARTIFICIAL STATE OF YUGOSLAVIA!

*A just and lasting peace in the world is impossible without national independence and statehood for each nation and without the liquidation of the colonial empire — the USSR — in Europe and Asia! If you don't want to see an end of culture in general and the reign of barbarity in the world, fight for the Freedom of Intellectuals of the Subjugated Nations! Without national culture there is no world culture! If you don't want to see a chekist gun and the law of the jungle prevail in the world, fight for humanism and for morality based on religion! Our day of protest against Russian and Communist crimes and of solidarity with the Subjugated Nations and of all noble-minded people of the world is dedicated first and foremost to the imprisoned and persecuted fighters!*

Of the countless political prisoners of Bolshevik death camps, prisons, and insane asylums, we shall name the following martyrs:

a) Those imprisoned in insane asylums for an indefinite period: Gen. P. Hryhorenko, Prof. L. Plyushch, a community leader A. Pypynis — all of them Ukrainian;

b) Prisoners of Mordovian concentration camps in Potma: poets Zaur Kabali (Georgian), Ali Khatahulhov (North Caucasian), Knut

*Skueniks* (Latvian), *Waldur* (Estonian), and heroic Lithuanian sailor *S. Kudirka*;

c) Further, *Andrei Almarik* and *Pyotr Yakir* (Jew);

d) The most consistently persecuted Ukrainian intellectuals, sentenced to 10-15 years of prison, concentration camps and exile: *Yuriy Shukhevych* — after serving a 20-year sentence, sentenced again to 15 years because he refused to disavow his father, the commander-in-chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA); *Valentyn Moroz*, historian, after 5 years to another 14 years; *Ivan Hel*, student, after 3 years to another 15 years; *Prof. M. Osadchyi*, after 2 years to another 12 years; *V. Chornovil*, after 3 years to another 12 years; literary critic *I. Svitlychnyi*, to 12 years; *D. Shumuk*, after 27 years to another 15 years; *Iryna Senyk*, artist, after 10 years to another 11 years; *Ye. Sverstyuk*, historic philosopher, 12 years; *Ihor and Iryna Kalynets*, both poets; *Rev. Vasyl Romanyuk*, sentenced to 10 years; poet *V. Stus*; literary critic and scholar *Ivan Dzyuba*; as well as members of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and commander of UPA *Ivan Ilchuk*, who has languished in prisons for 25 years; nationalist *O. Bilskyi*, who has been in prisons for 35 years and has become blind as the result; and nationalist fighter *Maria Palchak*, imprisoned for 25 years;

e) The imprisoned Croatian intellectuals: *Prof. M. Veselica*; 7 years; *Prof. S. Djodan*, 6 years; and numerous Czech, Slovak, Rumanian, Bulgarian, Byelorussian, East German, Hungarian, and Turkistani patriots. In lieu of thousands murdered by the Russian occupant we shall name artist *Alla Horska*, architect *Mykhaylo Soroka*, leading member of the OUN, commander of UPA *A. Olynyk*, and soldier *Ivan Moyseyev*, for openly declaring his Christian beliefs.

Their heroic death and the sufferings of others in prisons, concentration camps, and insane asylums for the sake of human rights and the national independence of their peoples is a great warning to all freedom-loving mankind!

THE OPPRESSED DO NOT BEG FOR HELP. THEY FIGHT AND CALL ON YOU TO JOIN THEM IN THAT STRUGGLE! HE WHO HELPS THEM HELPS HIMSELF!

Otherwise, the Russian Communist deluge will inundate the still free part of Europe and the world!

FREEDOM-LOVING NATIONS AND INDIVIDUALS OF THE WORLD UNITE IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM AND COMMUNISM AND FOR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND PERSONAL FREEDOM!

DECRY THE RUSSIAN PRISON OF NATIONS!

LONG LIVE FREEDOM FOR ALL NATIONS AND INDIVIDUALS OF THE WORLD!

*The Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN)*

August, 1973

# MAJOR ASPECTS OF RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM TOWARDS UKRAINE

In the Writings of V. I. Lenin

By Anatole W. BEDRIY, Ph.D.

(Continuation — 4)

## 5. Lenin's Imperialist Theory of National Self-Determination

Lenin's earliest pronouncement of the theory of national self-determination for Ukraine was as follows:

It is to the interests of this class struggle that we *must subordinate the demand for national self-determination*. The Social-Democrat will always and everywhere *ruthlessly expose this bourgeois illusion*, whether it finds expression in an abstract idealist philosophy or in the unqualified demand for *national independence*.<sup>144</sup>

Lenin's propaganda degraded the importance of Ukraine's national self-determination. He belittled the importance of a Ukrainian national state. He tried to convince Ukrainians that they are not enslaved nationally, that national liberation from the Russian colonial state is unnecessary and unimportant. Ukrainians should forget about their national self-determination! It is a useless illusion, Ukraine has no need for state independence!

Lenin pointed out very early that *his* right to national self-determination for the nations enslaved in the Russian empire was intended for strengthening the unity of conquered nations with the nation-conqueror:

The demand of 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 prerequisite 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*.<sup>145</sup>

He clearly stated: "While recognizing this right (of every nationality to determine its own destiny — A. W. B.) we *subordinate our*

<sup>144</sup>) "The National Question in Our Programme," 1903, v. 2, p. 324.

<sup>145</sup>) In "Iskra," 1 February 1903, S., 3d ed., v. 5, p. 243.

support of the demand for national independence to the interests of the proletarian struggle . . ."<sup>146</sup> The liberation of the Ukrainian nation from Russian colonial yoke should be discarded, and instead a proletarian society should be established within the Russian imperial-colonial state."

"Self-determination" could be realized *only* within this state. As democrats Lenin considered:

People, who candidly stand for full self-determination of the people *in the state*, who are capable of fighting with enemies of people's self-government not for life but to the death, with defenders of tsarist self-government . . . The working class could and should be a fully consistent democrat. The working class proved with blood — spilled in the streets of Petersburg, Riga, Libau, Warsaw, Lodz, Odessa, Baku, and many other cities — its right to play the role of vanguard in the democratic revolution . . . To us, proletarians, the democratic revolution is only the first step toward complete liberation of Labour from any exploitation, toward the great socialist goal.<sup>147</sup>

"Self-determination" can be accomplished *only* on the "international" scale, i.e., the conquered nations must completely fuse themselves with the Russian people and then as one society, one population, should express their will by overthrowing the tsarist system and replacing it with a Social-democratic system. Such a "self-determination" of Ukraine is equal to her national genocide.

This is how Lenin applies the theory of national self-determination in reality: "... our minimum program demands, when it calls for the self-determination of nations, wide regional local government . . ."<sup>148</sup> Ukraine could not get more than "wide regional local self-government" or the status of a province in the Russian empire. He never said that Russia should enjoy "local self-government," for it was his imperial nation.

Lenin wrote in 1913 an article entitled "Cadets on the Ukrainian Question." In it he attacked a member of the Russian Constitutional Party, M. Mogilansky, for writing an article against the resolution adopted at the congress of Ukrainian students in Lviv, 1913, on the grounds of undisguised Russian chauvinism. Lenin confessed that he agreed in substance with Mogilansky, but disagreed with his method:

Marxists should never let themselves be taken in by the national slogan regardless of whether it is Great-Russian, Polish, Jewish, Ukrainian, or any other. But Marxists should not forget the elementary duty of every democrat to fight against any defamation of a nation for its 'separatism,' but to fight for recognition of full and unquestioned equality of nations and the right to their self-determination."<sup>149</sup>

He was teaching his followers not to combat national sentiments and consciousness head-on, but, to the contrary, to give formal

<sup>146</sup>) "The National Question in Our Programme," *op cit.*, p. 329.

<sup>147</sup>) "Revoliutsionnaia armiia a revoliutsionnoe pravitel'stvo," 1905, in *Lenin ob Ukraine*, p. 253-4.

<sup>148</sup>) *The Agrarian Program of Social-Democracy in the First Russian Revolution, 1905-07, 1907*, v. 3, p. 248.

<sup>149</sup>) "Cadets on the Ukrainian Question," 1913, in *Lenin ob Ukraine*, p. 306.

recognition to these tendencies. On the other hand, nationalism had to be undermined by practical deeds, as for example, bringing Russified elements of the subjugated nations to the Russian side by giving them equal treatment in the Russian imperialistic camp.

His new theory of preservation of the Russian empire as applied to Ukraine was quite simple:

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 bonds and union of the Ukrainian and Great Russian proletariat now existing within the borders of one state.<sup>150</sup>

Make the subjugated nations equal with the Russian nation under law. Then it would seem that all nations are completely free, and then organize a legal multi-national union of these "free" nations within one state. In consequence, nations would "freely" transfer all the sovereign power due to sovereign nations to the "union" government. This whole scheme would be executed by the Bolshevik party, a trusted keeper of the "indivisibility" of the Russian empire.

Lenin explained further:

"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 of the constitution of a democratic state. Separation is not at all our plan.* We are not advocating separation... The right to self-determination is an exception from our general principle of centralism... *There is nothing, absolutely nothing, except the right to separation, and there cannot be anything.*<sup>151</sup>

The right of self-determination of nations has the purpose of preventing the nations subjugated by Russia from establishing their national states. by a simple vocal or paper declaration.\*

By 1914, Lenin perceived the rise of the liberation movement of the nations subjugated by Russia:

In Eastern Europe and in Asia the period of bourgeois-democratic revolutions began only in 1905. Revolutions in Russia, Persia, Turkey, China, the Balkan wars — there is the chain of world events of our period, of our "East." And only a blind man could fail to see in this chain of events the awakening of a whole series of bourgeois-democratic movements, aiming at the creation of national-independent and national-unified governments.<sup>152</sup>

<sup>150</sup>) "Critical Notes on the National Question," 1913, in *Lenin ob Ukraine*, p. 321-2.

<sup>151</sup>) Letter to Shaumian, 6 December, 1913, *S.*, v. 16; *S.*, 3d ed., v. 17, p. 90.

\* ) P. Fedenko concluded on the above theory: "From this we see that Lenin used the slogan of national self-determination purely as a demagogic formula without any meaning. He desired to unite the workers of all peoples of the Russian empire into a Bolshevik party and to save Russia as an indivisible multi-national state through a centralized, disciplined All-Russian party. In addition, Lenin was an adherent of assimilation (Russification) of the non-Russian peoples. He considered the process of Russification as progressive and called L. Yurkevych 'nationalist bourgeois' when the latter exposed the falsity of Lenin's 'theory of national question.' (P. Fedenko, *Ukrains'kyj rukh u 20 stolitti*, p. 72).

<sup>152</sup>) *On the Right of Nations to Self-Determination*, 1914, *S.*, 2d ed., v. 17, p. 436.



Lenin circumscribed the area of Russian influence (which had nothing to do with Marxism) and then recognized the strength of nationalism in the subjugated nations, inclining to the position that Russian Marxists must bring this liberation nationalisms to their side. He immediately branded these liberation movements as bourgeois movements, viz., reactionary — for the exploitation of people. He called upon his associates not to belittle their strength but to decompose them by means of class struggle, so that they would not endanger the “indivisibility” of the Russian empire, but to the contrary, could be used for its furtherance.

Lenin realized that the Ukrainian people wanted to establish their own national economy, but he intended to prevent this from happening:

... the Marxists cannot ignore the powerful *economic* factors that give rise to the aspiration to create *national states*. It means that ‘self-determination of nations’ in the program of the Marxists *cannot*, from an historical-economic point of view, have any other meaning than political self-determination, political independence, the formation of a national state.<sup>153</sup>

His method consisted of a formal, verbal recognition of a tendency by Ukrainian economic circles to self-determine themselves, but in reality he wished to tie the Ukrainian economy to the Russian economy as much as possible. For this reason he used the Marxist phraseology of an alleged trend toward an “international proletarian” economy.

The aim behind Lenin’s concept of national self-determination as applied to Ukraine was to keep her under Russia’s rule by promises and abstract dialectics and to diminish anti-Russian hostility among Ukrainians.

The demand for an answer ‘yes’ or ‘no’ 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*.<sup>154</sup>

“The negative demand” meant recognizing the “right” in theory, but failing to give Ukrainians anything that was kept in Russian hands. But Russians controlled Ukraine and for that reason Lenin would not give Ukraine to Ukrainians. He wanted to prevent the establishment of an independent Ukrainian state (“separation”) and refused to guarantee what he promised. He called his theory “a negative demand” which cannot be realized, because it should be subordinated to the more important matter, namely, the so-called class struggle. He was allegedly against oppression but he also was against a free, independent, and sovereign Ukraine.

To the extent that the bourgeoisie of the oppressed nation struggles against the oppressing one, to that extent we are always, in every case,

<sup>153</sup>) *Op. cit.*, v. 4, p. 254.

<sup>154</sup>) *Ibidem*, p. 264.

and more resolutely than anyone else, for it, because we are the staunchest and the most consistent enemies of oppression. Insofar as the bourgeoisie of the oppressed nation stands for its own bourgeois *nationalism we are against it*.<sup>155</sup>

Only in such a light should the statement be understood: "From the point of view of socialism, it is absolutely a mistake to ignore the tasks of national liberation in a situation of national oppression."<sup>156</sup> It was designed to convince Ukrainians that his kind of Russians were against oppressing Ukrainian people, but were for closest union of the two peoples on the basis of full equality. It was a masterful trick, because what he proposed in place of "oppression" amounted to an indential oppression.

Lenin was willing to extend the declarative right to national self-determination to the nations subjugated by Russia:

... the *principal* practical task both of the Great Russian proletariat and of the proletariat of other nationalities; the task of everyday agitation and propaganda against all state and national privileges, for the right, the equal right of all nations to the national state — this task is (at present) our principal task in the national question, for only in this way do we defend the interests of democracy and of the alliance of all proletarians of all nations based on *equal rights*... In reality, it is precisely this propaganda, and only this propaganda, that ensures the really democratic, the really socialist education of the masses. *Only such propaganda ensures the maximum chances of national peace in Russia, should she remain a heterogeneous nation state*; and such propaganda ensures the most peaceful (and for the proletarian class struggle, harmless) division into the various national states should the question of such division arise.<sup>157</sup>

Lenin's right to national self-determination remained declarative, unrealizable, for Russia was to retain full sovereignty over these nations which thus were unable to exercise in practice this declarative right.

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 recognize 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.<sup>158</sup>

While saying that he opposed Russian nationalism, Lenin opposed nationalism of the enslaved nations as well, but he did not say that he opposed Russian imperialism under the leadership of the so-called Russian proletariat. He opposed the Ukrainian national liberation struggle directed against Russian imperialism and favoured

<sup>155</sup>) *Ibidem*, p. 266.

<sup>156</sup>) *Op cit.*, S., 2d ed., v. 17, p. 456.

<sup>157</sup>) *Op. cit.*, v. 4, p. 268-9.

<sup>158</sup>) *Ibidem*, p. 292-3.

“preserving the unity” between the Russian and the Ukrainian proletariat and “amalgamating” their organizations into “an international community” in one state dominated by the Russian proletariat.\*

A classical document which proved the dependent subservient position in the Russian empire assigned by Lenin to Ukraine is the following:

Follow Ukrainian workers! *We shall not be deceived by any nationalists* — neither Great Russian, who forbidding our language take away from us the means of real development and spread hostility among ourselves and the Great Russian workers. *We shall neither be deceived by Ukrainian nationalists*, who allegedly declare they are also against national oppression, and appear as friends of workers and dupe them with their national ideas. No! We know that the conscious Great Russian workers will not recognize any special state privileges for the Great Russian nation, but demand the rights of national self-determination, namely, the right of the nations subjugated within Russia to establish their own free life, workers do not have another or a better way than to unite all together in brotherly organisations.

\*) “Official doctrine always mentioned two ‘deviations’ which should be equally avoided: ‘Great Russian Great Power chauvinism’ and ‘local bourgeois nationalism.’ The proletariat of each nation must oppose the policy of its own bourgeoisie. Thus, since the Russian bourgeoisie had wished to keep non-Russian peoples in subjection to Russia, the Russian proletariat must insist on the right of these peoples to independence: since the bourgeoisie of the non-Russian people had wished to create separate states under their own domination, the proletariat of those peoples must insist on the necessity of union with the Russian proletariat in one socialist state.”

(To be continued)

### Documents smuggled out of Ukraine

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## SOVIET NATIONALITIES POLICY IN UKRAINE, 1920-1930

(Continuation — 9)

By W. MYKULA

Complaints against the excessive centralization of planning and of industrial management were frequently voiced by the spokesmen of the Soviet Ukrainian Government. Thus, for example, at the 15th Congress of the C.P.S.U.(b), which took place in December, 1927, Chubar, the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian S.S.R., stated: "... This centralization of planning is somewhat outdated in some of its parts, at least in those where, under the concept of planning, operational management is understood. For when planning reaches the stage when 73,000 roubles have to be allocated from here, from the centre, it loses the character of planning and becomes petty tutelage. There was a decision that up to one million roubles worth of construction might be carried out on the Republican scale, without the approval of the centre. Gradually this was whittled down, and now our Republics, like the local Trusts, can hardly manage to undertake anything, even up to a sum of a thousand roubles, because everything has been 'planned' already... It seems to me, that the covering of suppression by the term 'planning,' the restriction of any possibility of local maneuvering, and the mechanical approach must be abandoned. We must free our Central organs for real planning..."<sup>2</sup> The problem of the budgetary rights of the Republics is closely connected with the role they play in the planned industrial expansion of the Communist system. As is clear even from what Chubar had to say on this matter, Ukraine had very restricted opportunities to shape

<sup>1</sup>) "The Preliminary Results of the Reorganization of the Administration of State Industry of the U.S.S.R. May 2, 1930." *Sovyety narodnogo khozyaystva i planovyye organy v tsentre i na myestakh (1917-1932)*, A Compendium of Documents, Moscow, 1957, p. 205.

<sup>2</sup>) *Pravda*, December 17, 1927.

her own budget or allot her financial resources. As has been stated earlier, the budget of Ukraine was shaped by the Union organs, both in Republican and local matters. According to paragraph 72 of the Constitution of the Ukrainian S.S.R., "The allocation of expenditure, as well as revenue collected on the territory of the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic, toward the expenditure and revenue contributed to the All-Union budget and to the budget of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, is laid down according to the legislation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics."<sup>1</sup> Similarly, regarding the local budgets, the same Constitution stated in paragraph 76: "All local revenues and all local expenditure are pooled in the local budget, according to the legislation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic."<sup>2</sup> The narrowness of the budgetary powers of Ukraine and of the other Union Republics was not only determined by the unitary and strict nature of the Soviet budget, but also by the failure of the Union authorities to allocate sufficient revenue to the Republics to cover the expenditure provided for in their budgets, so that the Republican budgets were rarely fulfilled. Thus, for example, in the budgetary year 1927-28 the discrepancy became particularly striking. While expenditure of 342.2 million roubles was approved for the Ukrainian republican budget, the revenues were collected only to the sum of 267.9 million roubles, leaving a deficit of 74.3 million roubles.<sup>3</sup> The Soviet Ukrainian Government had then literally to beg the Union Government to cover this deficit from its resources. It is natural, therefore, that the Republican governments demanded a definite allocation of sufficient revenue toward their budgets, but the Union Government was reluctant to define the budgetary rights of the Republics clearly, because this would, naturally, make the latter less dependent on the Central Government.

The small size of the Republican budget as compared to the Union budget was also a factor which limited the opportunities of the Ukrainian S.S.R. in taking any significant initiative in the conduct of its internal economic or cultural affairs. Thus, for example, the share of the Republican budget of the Ukrainian S.S.R. in the total budget of the U.S.S.R. decreased from 6% in the year 1927-28 to 4.7% in 1928-29,<sup>4</sup> although the population of the Ukrainian S.S.R. amounted to 20% of the total population of the U.S.S.R. Speaking on the budget at the session of the Soviet of the Union of the Ts.I.K. on December 5, 1928, Petrovsky refuted the accusation that the Ukrainians were making excessive demands, and asked for the budget to be increased to satisfy the minimum needs.<sup>5</sup>

Owing to the centralized control of Moscow over the budget of the

<sup>1</sup>) *Istoriya sovetskoy konstitutsii v dokumentakh*. Moscow, 1957, p. 257.

<sup>2</sup>) *Ibid.*, p. 528.

<sup>3</sup>) *Dva roky roboty uryadu U.S.S.R.*, Kharkiv, 1929, pp. 126-131.

<sup>4</sup>) *Pravda*, December 6, 1928.

<sup>5</sup>) *Ibid.*

Ukrainian S.S.R., over the planning of industrial expansion, and over the growing area of other economic fields, the economy of Ukraine developed one-sidedly, in accordance with the general needs of the U.S.S.R., as laid down by the Central Government, and not in accordance with the most pressing needs of Ukraine. Complaints about this were frequently voiced in Ukraine, even by the leading Communist officials. Thus, in the political report of the Central Committee of the C.P.(b)U. to the 11th Congress of the latter, in June, 1930, the First Secretary, Stanislaw Kossior, stated that Ukraine must demand the development of light industry to match the development of heavy industry, that the agricultural zone of Right-Bank Ukraine be developed industrially and, most important, that the power and water supplies to the Donbas be improved. With reference to the latter demand, Kossior said: "... And I must say that all our efforts to attain a corresponding tempo of work in the matter of constructing power stations in the Donbas and of its water-supply foundered against the wall of all kinds of talks, of the fixed plans of some of our Central organs, such as the State Planning Commission, and even the V.S.N.Kh., and others..."<sup>1</sup> *Ukrayins'kyi Ekonomist* (The Ukrainian Economist) reported that the Presidium of the State Planning Commission of the U.S.S.R. rejected the proposals for the construction of textile mills in Ukraine, on the grounds that "... the problem of the development of the textile industry in Ukraine must be viewed in close connection with the prospects of the development of the textile industry in the Soviet Union and in the R.S.F.S.R."<sup>2</sup>

With the abandonment of the N.E.P. in 1928-29, especially with regard to the peasant farmers, and the launching of the campaign for large-scale collectivization of the latter, the policy of centralization reached a particularly acute stage. The direction of the campaign rested wholly in the hands of the Central Party and Government authorities in Moscow, with the Republican organs playing merely an executive role. Although, according to the Soviet Constitution, agricultural affairs belonged properly to the Republican competence, the Union Government created a number of specialized All-Union organs dealing with this branch of the national economy. Among them were the trusts "Zernotrest," "Skotovod," "Ovtsevod," "Selkhozsnabzheniye" and others. Finally, the Ts.I.K. of the U.S.S.R. created a unified Union-Republic People's Commissariat for Agriculture of the U.S.S.R., charging it with the task of directing agricultural affairs down to comparatively minor details. The subordinate People's Commissariats for Agriculture in the Republics were left with but purely executive tasks.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, in 1932, the State farms were withdrawn

<sup>1</sup> S. Kossior i L. Kartvelishvili (Lavrentiy), *Politychnyi ta orhanizatsiynnyi zvit Tsentral'noho Komitetu XI z'yizdovi KP(b)U*, Kharkiv, 1930, p. 44.

<sup>2</sup> *Ukrayins'kyi Ekonomist*, No. 167, 1927.

<sup>3</sup> Decree of December 7, 1929, reprinted in *Istoriya sovyetskoy konstitutsii*, Moscow, 1957, pp. 612-614.

even from this subordinate control by the Republics, when the All-Union Commissariat of State Farms was created.

The creation of new Union organs, in particular the organs relating to agricultural matters, did not pass without a protest on the part of the Ukrainians. Interesting light is thrown on this fact by P. Postyshev who, speaking at the November, 1933, Plenum of the Central Committee of the C.P.(b).U. accused Skrypnyk, who had already committed suicide, of having objected to this All-Union Law on the Use of Land, when it was first debated, on the ground that it stipulated that the land was not the property of the Republics, but of the Union. "If this law is adopted," Skrypnyk had stated, "it would mean that the sovereignty of the individual Republics will be reduced to the mere fact that they have their own Government, without having their own territory."<sup>1</sup> Likewise, Skrypnyk objected to the creation of the All-Union Academy of Agriculture.

The matter of the sovereignty of the Ukrainian S.S.R. was the subject of a heated debate in the forum of the Constitutional Commission of the V.U.Ts.V.K. on March 23, 1929, discussing the draft of a new Constitution for the Ukrainian S.S.R. A recent Soviet publication writes about this as follows:

"Skrypnyk and Khvylya, who were present at this session, produced certain incorrect proposals and amendments which, in reality, were directed against the Leninist principles of the Soviet federation and against some clauses of the draft Constitution of the Ukrainian S.S.R.

"They suggested that the fundamentally important formulation: 'The Ukrainian S.S.R. declares its full solidarity with all Soviet Republics and... unites with them in one federal State' should be excluded from the projected Constitution of the Ukrainian S.S.R. on the grounds that an analogous article was already in the Federal Constitution.

"This was a repetition of the attempt of the Trotskyist and bourgeois-nationalist elements, already discovered during the discussion of the project of the 1924 Constitution of the U.S.S.R., to undermine the might of the close State association of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. The Constitutional Commission rejected this proposal.

"At the same session a proposal was made of constructing the Constitution of the Ukrainian S.S.R. in a manner not in accordance with the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. The reason given was that the requirements of Article 5 of the 1924 Constitution of the U.S.S.R., that the Constitutions of the Union Republics should be amended in accordance with the first Federal Constitution, had already been carried out in 1925. In reality this led to the opposition of the Constitution of the Ukrainian S.S.R. to that of the U.S.S.R. and to the

<sup>1</sup>) P. Postyshev, *Ot XVI do XVII s'yezda, statyi i rechi*, Moscow, 1934, p. 223.

undermining of the foundations of the single federal State, laid down in the Constitution of the U.S.S.R.

"The Constitutional Commission, having revealed the true meaning of these proposals, and having resolutely rejected them, passed the Resolution that the Constitution of the Ukrainian S.S.R. must be constructed according to the Constitution of the U.S.S.R."<sup>1</sup>

It is obvious that Skrypnyk and his associates made an attempt to widen the written guarantees of Ukrainian sovereignty by trying to amend the Constitution of the Ukrainian S.S.R. The attitude of their opponents is illustrated by a proposal of the latter to delete from the Constitution of the Ukrainian S.S.R. the reference to the famous "Declaration of the Rights of Peoples," proclaimed on November 2, 1917 (O.S.), because, allegedly, there never was such a declaration. Not until Skrypnyk produced the printed text, with Lenin's and Stalin's signatures below it, was this proposal withdrawn.<sup>2</sup>

The 1929 Constitution of the Ukrainian S.S.R. embodied in its clauses the principle of the supremacy of the Federal legislative acts over the laws of the Ukrainian Republic. As a compensatory measure, clauses guaranteeing the sovereign rights of the Ukrainian S.S.R. were introduced. Such, for example, were Art. 3, on the right of Ukraine to voluntary secession from the federation, which also stated that the sovereignty of the Ukrainian S.S.R. was restricted only by the limits laid down in the Constitution of the U.S.S.R., and Art. 22, which stated the right of the Ukrainian S.S.R. to adopt independently its own Constitution, in accordance with the Constitution of the U.S.S.R., as well as guaranteeing that the territory of the Ukrainian S.S.R. could not be changed without her agreement. These exercises in casuistry had very little practical significance, owing to the dictatorial nature of the Soviet regime and the absence of any real guarantee, at least in the form of a free public opinion, against the abuses of the Constitution by the Central Government. Subsequent events in the 1930's have shown that the powers of the Central authorities could be expanded at the expense of the constituent Republics almost without limit, leaving hardly any area of public life where the sovereignty of a Republic could be exercised. This period, however, does not fall within the compass of the present work, but a few of the landmarks of centralization heralding the later period should, perhaps, be mentioned. Thus we have the subordination of the Ukrainian Co-operative Alliance to the All-Union co-operative centre in January, 1930, the administrative reform and abolition of the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs of the Ukrainian S.S.R. in December, 1930, with the accompanying increase in the sphere of activity of the O.G.P.U. on the All-Union scale. The year 1930 also marked the dissolution of the Ukrainian Auto-

<sup>1</sup> A. P. Taranov, *Istoriya Konstytutsiyi Ukrains'koyi R.S.R.*, Kyiv, 1957, p. 104.

<sup>2</sup> XVI *s'yezd V.K.P.(b)*, (16th Congress of the C.P.S.U.(b), Verbatim reports), Moscow, 1931, Skrypnyk's speech, p. 242.



cephalic Orthodox Church independent of the Patriarch of Moscow.<sup>1</sup>

The year 1929, toward the end of which the great campaign of collectivization was inaugurated, was also a year when the campaign of Moscow against "local" Nationalisms was sharply intensified. The drive to compel independent peasant farmers to join the State-controlled collective farms went hand-in-hand with the campaign against "bourgeois" Nationalism. There were two basic reasons for this: on the one hand Bolshevik theory, as expounded by Stalin, taught that the "petty-bourgeois" independent farming class was the mainstay of Nationalism in the non-Russian Republics, and that therefore it would use the ideological weapon of Nationalism in its resistance to the revolutionary social changes introduced by the proletariat based on the industrial metropolis, i.e. Russia proper; and, on the other hand, the drastic measures of compulsion applied to the Ukrainian peasantry drove the latter, in fact, to a hatred for the initiators and executors of this policy, i.e. for the body of Communist rulers, the bulk of whom was, or was thought to be, Russian or Russified, and whose centre was Moscow, the capital of Russia. One must not forget the continuity of history and the fact that the memory of the anti-Communist and anti-Russian peasant uprisings in Ukraine during the so-called "Civil War" still lingered in the minds of both the Russian Bolsheviks and the Ukrainian population. Personal factors also played a role here, as always. Stalin's suspicious and fear-torn mind probably dreaded the repetition of peasant uprisings under Nationalist slogans at a time when the international situation was far from favourable to the Soviet State, and wished to prevent it at all costs. Prevention of consolidation of any opposition at all costs was Stalin's secret of success as the helmsman of the "dictatorship of the proletariat." Even before the Nationalist slogans became widespread enough and radical enough to warrant any repression by the State, which had the power and the will to suppress National independence movements within its frontiers, Stalin took measures to prevent the occurrence of such things. Any possible leaders of a Nationalist revolt had to be removed. As the Ukrainian intelligentsia, especially the National-Democrat faction, was the obvious potential leader of the Ukrainian peasantry, they were the first to suffer in the fight against Nationalism. At the same time, too, the struggle against the Nationalist deviations in the Party, both in their Russian and Ukrainian varieties, was propagated. There was a significant difference of degree, however, as regards this latter struggle. The campaign against the Great Russian Chauvinists in the Party did not go much further than mere declaration and general deprecations and threats. Only a small number of individuals were publicly reprimanded or suffered some penalty for showing an attitude

<sup>1</sup>) The subject of the Ukrainian Autocephalic Orthodox Church, which is closely linked with the subject of Ukrainian Nationalism, has been adequately, though not always objectively, discussed by Heyer, in his book *Die Orthodoxe Kirche in der Ukraine*.

of Russian Chauvinism, and these were mostly minor officials in the non-Russian Republics. There were very few causes where anyone in the Central or R.S.F.S.R. Party or Government was reprimanded for such an attitude. On the other hand, there were numerous instances in the non-Russian Republics where Party functionaries, officials, and even writers and Co-operative members were not merely reprimanded, but were dismissed from their posts or suffered other penalties as a result of the campaign against Nationalist deviations. This was particularly true in Ukraine, as the cases of Shums'kyi, Khvyl'ovyi, Volobuyev, Yavors'kyi, and many others testify.

At the 16th Party Congress, held June 26 — July 13, 1930, Stalin laid down the new Party line on the National question by calling attention to the danger of the Nationalist deviations, placing them on a level with the Trotskyist and Bukharinist deviations, placing particular emphasis on the danger of "local" Nationalism to the unity of the Soviet State, and pointing out the task of combating them.<sup>1</sup>

While the campaign against Ukrainian Nationalism, and the Nationalist deviation within the Party gathered momentum, as collectivization entered its decisive stage, formal Ukrainization did not end, but was continued and even extended until the beginning of 1933, when it was abruptly halted, and even partially reversed. The reasons for its continuation at a time when the Nationalists were being persecuted was that the regime wanted to deepen the split between the "rightists" and the "leftists" in the Ukrainian nation, to create artificially, in fact, what Lenin had called "two nations" within one nation, having a "Socialist" and a "bourgeois" culture respectively. This, from the point of view of the regime, was necessary in order to prevent national unity from emerging.<sup>2</sup> By favouring the "left" and luring it with the prospects of further Ukrainization, the regime could much more easily get its approval for the liquidation of the "right" (which had a much wider social basis, the peasantry, and was therefore, in the long run, much more dangerous). After the "right" was defeated, and its leaderless social basis, the peasantry, regimented in the State-controlled collective farms, the regime could turn its attention to purging the "left" of any potential leaders of the now "Socialist" Ukrainian nation. That, however, is the story of the 1930's.

(To be continued)

1) XVI s'yezd V.K.P.(b), *Verbatim report*, Moscow, 1931, pp. 54-56.

2) A confirmation of this may be found in Stalin's letter, written on March 18, 1929, "The National Question and Leninism. An answer to Comrades Meshkov, Kovalchuk, and others" (J. Stalin, *Works*, Vol. XI, pp. 348-371), which outlined Stalin's new conception of the National Question in the past, present, and future. As regards contemporary tasks, he outlined his concept of the development of the "Socialist" nations in the U.S.S.R., radically different from the "Bourgeois" nations which had existed in the Tsarist Russian Empire.

## **TOTAL NEO-STALINIST ATTACK OF RUSSIAN IMPERIALIST CHAUVINISM UPON THE UKRAINIAN NATION**

*By Y. VILSHENKO*

In a new form, but with old and tried methods, a total neo-Stalinist attack of Russian imperialist chauvinism upon the Ukrainian nation by means of widespread terror, mass arrests, searches, and the tightening of control over all those active in the national culture, has begun. It began in accordance with an order of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in January, 1972, and continues to the present.

Then after U.S. President Richard Nixon's visit to the USSR in May of last year, Moscow began an attack on the Party-government élite of the so-called "sovereign" Soviet Ukraine as well.

Since then, the Red Russian chauvinists, raging with fury, have led a total terroristic attack on everything that contains the slightest national, traditional, or Christian Ukrainian element, from archeology through the cult of Christianity right up to ethnography, from the academician to the enslaved collective farm worker.

Simultaneously, with the help of its agents and lackeys in Ukraine and beyond, Moscow has carried out actions and a provocative and defamatory campaign of unprecedented dimensions against the patriotic Ukrainian emigration, particularly against the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, the Head of its Presidium Yaroslav Stetsko, the Liberation Front Organizations, and against the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church and the Ukrainian Catholic Church, especially against Archbishop-Major Cardinal Josyf Slipyi.

The extent of this attack demonstrates that imperialistic Russia considers national Ukraine as its enemy number one, and from this point of view is carrying on a total attack against her. Thus has the hard struggle between godless totalitarian Russia and captive but freedom-loving Christian Ukraine come ablaze. It is a shame for the 20th Century that the free world — not realizing that this struggle can have much greater consequences than is thought in the West, not only for Ukraine and the captive nations but also for the remaining free world itself — maintains an overly passive attitude.

### **Concerning the Sources of the Russian Terror in Ukraine**

It is generally known that nationalism is a spiritual and historical phenomenon and that for the powerful impulse of the awakening of the peoples' national life, national feelings, their pride and indestructible will to preserve their national and historical identity, this is the force of the unconquerable striving for an individual sovereign national life, dependent on no one. In the 20th century, nationalism

has in fact enveloped the whole world, and Ukraine especially. This is all the more so because it was already under the banner of nationalism that Ukraine's long war of liberation from 1918 to 1922 and above all the armed revolutionary liberation struggle of the OUN and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) were waged. It is under this banner that the deep-seated nationalist underground in Ukraine, which already carries a long tradition of practice and heritage, remains active.

For this reason it is entirely natural and logical that in contemporary Ukraine, even under the conditions of the Russian Bolshevik system of terror, the greatest the world has ever known, there has grown on the national basis a young, independent, nationally healthy active group. It has not only thoroughly recognized the true nature of Russian "internationalism," under the cloak of which there blooms luxuriantly Russian national chauvinism, aiming to swallow up all the subjugated nations, but has at the same time resolutely opposed Russian imperialist chauvinism and uncompromisingly stood up in defence of the national-historical independence of the Ukrainian nation, demanding that it have the same rights as the free nations. But even in the legal demands for legitimate rights the Russian chauvinists see a threat to their empire. And again today, as in the past, Russian chauvinism, blanced with fury, becomes a brake to the natural historical development of nations and of humanity, and, artificially aided by coarse lies and physical strength, it tries to turn back the wheel of history. It is obvious that the Russian imperialists can slow down this development, but they are not strong enough to stop it. The *samvydav* literature, especially that of such authors as Valentyn Moroz, Ivan Dzyuba, Yevhen Sverstiuk, and others, illustrates this very clearly and proudly.

Even some perceptive foreign observers are drawing more or less felicitous conclusions from contemporary events in Ukraine. For example, *U.S. News and World Report* of December 18, 1972, writes thus: "Nationalism has grown to such an extent in the national republics that in Ukraine, KGB forces fired upon demonstrators twice during the summer of 1972." There were similar cases in the Baltic States. The *New York Times* of December 11, 1972, published an article by its Moscow correspondent in which he states that "the principal aim of the repression begun by the Russian KGB (in 1972) against Soviet dissidents is first of all the suppression of the national movement in Ukraine... and the destruction of the movement in defence of human rights in the USSR." The London *Times* of December 22, 1972, dwelling upon the Russian terror in the republics, says that the mass persecutions, arrests, and convictions of dissidents were not, so to speak, directly related to the economic crisis in the USSR, but that they in fact had a negative effect in that they created a subdued and uncertain atmosphere which discouraged initiative and stimuli, especially among the intelligentsia, and in this way caused

an even greater deepening of the economic crisis, from which the USSR could hardly have emerged without the aid of the Western capitalists. The Montreal periodical *Le Press* of March 19, 1973, writes that "Ukraine, where national feelings have been preserved in a special form, has become the object of the most severe persecutions." One can cite many similar statements and thoughts of foreign authors and periodicals.

Many writings of the enemy itself testify to the dynamic and indestructible might of nationalism and of the freedom-loving movements of the nations subjugated by Moscow, which more and more and with ever increasing strength work to disintegrate and shake the Russian totalitarian empire. For example, in the article "Against Anti-Historicism" by O. Yakivlev, which appeared in a Russian periodical and was then reprinted in *Literaturna Ukraina* (November 21, 1972), the author sets himself the task of disproving the existence of Russian chauvinism, but in reality he directs his attack against the captive nations. Among other things, he is forced to admit that in spite of all the measures taken by the Party and the government, "So far we have not succeeded in eliminating nationalistic tendencies... the national spirit of inter-class considerations... national sentiments... the dressing-up of certain representatives of the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists, the Georgian Mensheviks, the Armenian Dashnaks." And we may add that Moscow will never succeed in eliminating or destroying the Ukrainian national spirit which, like the mythical Phoenix, is re-born from its own ashes.

Somewhat similar is an eleven-page article by V. P. Cherednychenko entitled "Anti-Sovietism — the basic direction of the Subversive Activity of Ukrainian Bourgeois Nationalism," printed in the *Ukrainian Historical Journal* (Kyiv, No. 3, March, 1973). In it, the author clearly states that "nationalism... is the antipode to Soviet Communism," — which is to say, to Russian imperialism, — and that "the attempts of the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists remain futile..." For this reason, the lackey Cherednychenko calls for an intensified "struggle against anti-Communism, anti-Sovietism, and the 'left-wing' revisionists and nationalists, which is an important task for Communists" at the present.

In the last two years, many similar articles have appeared in Soviet periodicals. In them, the Russian chauvinists and their lackeys bend over backwards to discredit the nationalism of the subjugated peoples, and attach different label to it, such as the invented "lackeying to foreign powers," as if, for Ukraine, Russia were not a foreign occupying power, as if subjugation by Russia were any less oppressive for Ukraine than subjugation by some other power. In his work *Annexation or Reunion*, the historian M.Y. Braychevskiy clarifies this question very accurately, demonstrating with historical facts that the Russian captivity, if not more oppressive to Ukraine than any other, is certainly not less so.

### **Mass Repressions by the Occupants, Persecutions, Terror, Arrests, and Secret Convictions of Ukrainian Patriots**

In earlier articles, we have tried to provide current information about the Russian terror, arrests, and secret convictions of distinguished representatives of the Ukrainian intelligentsia and about the Ukrainian people's resistance to the occupant. We shall therefore only bring in the latest facts concerning the Russian terror, which has broadened significantly, and about the Draconic sentences and the barbaric attack on Ukrainian national life.

So far, the following Ukrainian patriots are known to have been sentenced by the occupant:

1. **Antonyuk, Zinovij**, philologist, arrested in January, 1972, sentenced in Kyiv in November, 1972, to seven years of imprisonment and three years' exile.
2. **Bondar, Mykola**, university lecturer in philosophy, sentenced in Kyiv on May 12, 1971, to seven years in concentration camps.
3. **Hromlyak**, insidiously murdered by the KGB in 1972 in the Ivano-Frankivsk region.
4. **Gluzman, Semen**, psychiatrist, arrested in May, sentenced in Kyiv on October 20, 1972, to seven years in concentration camps and three years' exile.
5. **Dzyuba, Ivan**, literary critic and publicist, arrested on April 17, 1972, and sentenced in Kyiv in March, 1973, to five years of imprisonment and five years' exile.
6. **Dyak, Volodymyr**, engineer, arrested in the Stryi region in 1971, sentenced in Lviv in April, 1972, to seven years in concentration camps and five years' exile.
7. **Kalynets, Ihor**, poet, arrested on August 11, 1972, and sentenced in Lviv in November of the same year to nine years of concentration camps and three years' exile.
8. **Katala**, engineer, died on May 28, 1972, in a prison in Lviv; he "committed suicide" during interrogation.
9. **Kovalenko, Leonid**, philologist and writer, arrested in March, 1972, and sentenced in Kyiv in July of the same year to five years of imprisonment and three years' exile.
10. **Lupynis, Anatoliy**, administrator and active community member, spent ten years in concentration camps, was again arrested in Kyiv on May 28, 1971, on unspecified charges and dispatched to the KGB's psychiatric clinic.
11. **Moroz, Valentyn**, historian, underwent a five-year punishment, was again arrested on June 1, 1970, and sentenced on November 18 of that year to nine years of prison and concentration camps and five years' exile.
12. **Melnychuk, Taras**, poet, arrested on January 12, 1972, and sentenced in Ivano-Frankivsk in July of the same year to three years in concentration camps.
13. **Moyseyev, Ivan**, soldier, tortured to death in the Crimea on July 16, 1972, for his Christian beliefs.
14. **Osadchyi, Mykhaylo**, lecturer at the University of Lviv, journalist and poet, was sentenced in 1965 to two years in concentration camps, was again arrested in January, 1972, and in September of that year sentenced in Lviv to seven years' imprisonment and three years' exile.
15. **Plushch, Leonid**, professor of cybernetics, arrested on January 17, 1972, and sentenced on January 30, 1973, to unlimited confinement in a psychiatric establishment.

16. **Prytyka, Oleksander**, medical doctor, arrested on July 9, 1971, and sentenced in Odessa on May 19, 1972, to two years of imprisonment.
17. **Ryznykov, Oleksa**, writer, arrested on November 9, 1971, and sentenced in Odessa on May 19, 1972, to five years' imprisonment.
18. **Rohynskiy, Volodymyr**, arrested in March, 1972, and sentenced in Kyiv in July of that year to five years in concentration camps.
19. **Romanyshyn, M.**, television engineer, sentenced in Lviv in July, 1972, to two years' imprisonment.
20. **Romanyuk, Vasyl**, Orthodox priest, arrested in Kosmach in January, 1973, and sentenced in Ivano-Frankivsk in July of that year to seven years of imprisonment and three years, exile.
21. **Sverstuk, Yevhen**, literary critic and teacher, arrested in the village of Boryanrka in the Cherkasy region on January 12, 1972, and sentenced in March, 1973, to seven years' imprisonment and three years' exile.
22. **Svitlychnyi, Ivan**, literary critic and translator, was under investigation by the KGB for eight months in 1965-66 and was released for lack of evidence of guilt. On January 12, 1972, he was again arrested, and sentenced in March, 1973, to seven years' imprisonment and five years' exile.
23. **Svitlychna-Shumuk, Nadiya**, philologist, arrested in Kyiv on May 19, 1972, and sentenced in March, 1973, to four years' imprisonment.
24. **Senyk, Iryna**, arrested in December, 1972, and sentenced in Ivano-Frankivsk in the winter of 1973 to six years' imprisonment and five years' exile.
25. **Serhiyenko, Oleksander**, teacher, arrested on January 12, 1972, and sentenced in Kyiv in July of the same year to seven years of concentration camps and three years' exile.
26. **Serednyak, Lyubov**, typist, arrested on January 12, 1972, and sentenced in Kyiv on October 20 of that year to one year of imprisonment.
27. **Stasiv-Kalynets, Iryna**, poetess, lecturer in an institute, was arrested on January 12, 1972, and sentenced in Lviv in July of that year to six years of concentration camps and three years' exile.
28. **Strokata-Karavanska, Nina**, microbiologist, wife of Svyatoslav Karavanskyi, who is serving a twenty-five-year sentence in a concentration camp, arrested on December 6, 1971, and sentenced in Odessa on May 19, 1972, to four years' imprisonment.
29. **Stus, Vasyl**, poet and literary critic, arrested on January 12, 1972, and sentenced in Kyiv in September of that year to five years of imprisonment and three years' exile.
30. **Chornovil, Vyacheslav**, journalist and literary critic, served a three-year sentence, was arrested again on January 12, 1972, and in February, 1973, was sentenced in Lviv to seven years in concentration camps and five years' exile.
31. **Shabatura, Stefaniya**, artist, arrested on January 12, 1972, and sentenced in Lviv in July, 1972, to five years' imprisonment and three years' exile.
32. **Shumuk, Danylo**, spent twenty-seven years in prisons and concentration camps, was again arrested on January 14, 1972, and sentenced in Kyiv on July 5, 1972, to ten years in connection camps and five years' exile.
33. **Shukhevych, Yuriy**, son of Ukrainian Insurgent Army commander Roman Shukhevych-Chuprynka, spent twenty years in prisons and concentration camps, was again arrested in March of 1972, and on September 9 of that year was sentenced to ten years in concentration camps and five years in exile.
34. **Hel, Ivan**, student of history, served a three-year sentence, was again arrested in Sambir in the spring of 1972, and was sentenced in Lviv in July of that year to ten years' imprisonment and five years' exile.

35. **Reshetnyk, Anatoliy**, teacher, lecturer in political economy, sentenced in April of 1972 in Kyiv (length of sentence unknown).
36. **Plakhotniuk, Mykola**, scientist, arrested in Kyiv in January, 1972. At present in psychiatric institute in Dnipropetrovsk.
37. **Romanyshyn, M.**, engineer, arrested in Lviv in early July, 1972, sentenced to 2 years imprisonment for anti-Soviet propaganda.
38. **Kovalenko, Ivan**, teacher, arrested in Kyiv in 1972, and sentenced to 5 years imprisonment of a strict regime.
39. **Spodaryk, Stepan**, worker, sentenced in the summer of 1973 in Mykolayiv, to 8 years hard labour, for active anti-soviet activities.
40. **Vasylyk, Kornylo Maxymovych**, builder, sentenced to an unknown period of detention for religious activities.
41. **Stepa, Bohdan Petrovych**, electrician, sentenced in Lviv for an unknown period of detention for religious activities.
42. **Chakovshkiy, V.**, sentenced to 7 years of concentration camps.

**Arrested in Ukraine in 1972 — no exact information as to fate  
heretofore received:**

43. **Balashiv, Mykhaylo**, arrested in Chernihiv in August, 1972, for his religious convictions.
44. **Volotska, Atena**, engineer, arrested in Lviv in the spring of 1972.
45. **Hel, Olga**, sister of Ivan Hel, arrested in Lviv in the spring of 1972. Apparently released through ill health.
46. **Hryhorenko, Vasyl**, arrested in Kyiv in January, 1972.
47. **Hulyk, Stephania**, student, arrested in Lviv in January, 1972.
48. **Dashkevych, Yaroslav**, scientist, arrested in Lviv in the winter of 1972.
49. **Ivashiuk**, worker, arrested in Ivano-Frankivsk for his religious convictions.
50. **Kendzhor, Yaroslav**, trade-union worker, arrested in Lviv in early 1972.
51. **Kovalenko, Fedor**, teacher of the English language, arrested in Zoyarch on January 12, 1972.
52. **Konchynshkij, I.**, arrested in Rivne in March, 1972.
53. **Machovych, Stepan**, arrested in Chernihiv in August, 1972.
54. **Minyaylo, Hryhoriy**, worker in the Kyiv Institute of Micrology, arrested in Kyiv in January, 1972.
55. **Lisovyj, Vasyl**, scientist, arrested in Kyiv in 1972.
56. **Proniuk, Yevhen**, scientist, arrested in Kyiv on July 6, 1972.
57. **Smishko, Markian U.**, archaeologist, arrested in Lviv early in 1972.
58. **Tymchuk, Leonid**, sailor, arrested in Odessa in 1972.
59. **Tymchuk, Khrystyna**, member of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukr. SSR., arrested in Kyiv in 1972.
60. **Chornovil, Andriy**, brother of Vyacheslav Chornovil, disappeared without trace in January, 1972 (probably kidnapped by the KGB).
61. **Yurchenko**, arrested in Kyiv in 1972.
62. **Karazin, Natalia**, pensioner, invalid 2nd class, arrested, 1972.
63. **Kochurova, Anna**, student, arrested in Kyiv in February, 1972.
64. **Kochur, Hryhoriy P.**, translator, arrested in Kyiv in 1973.



65. **Reshchenyk, Anatoliy**, lecturer, arrested in Kyiv in early April, 1972.
66. **Chubay, Hryhoriy**, poet, arrested in Lviv.
67. **Antonenko-Davydovych, Yevhen Borysovych**, graduate, arrested.
68. **Lukash, Mykola**, writer, arrested in Kharkov in 1973.
69. **Hrynkyv, Dmytro**, worker, arrested in Kolomyia in March, 1973, for nationalism.
70. **Kabysh, Mykola**, arrested in 1972-73 for religious activities in Zhovtykh Vodakh, under interrogation.
71. **Kushnarchuk, Ivan**, arrested in Fruzne in 1972-73 for illegal religious activities, under interrogation.
72. **Petrenko, Anatoliy**, arrested in Shostka in 1972-73 for illegal religious activities, under interrogation.
73. **Scherbyna, Vasyl**, arrested in Marhanetch in 1972-73 and sentenced to 3 years hard labour for illegal religious activities.
74. **Zerov, Dmytro**, member of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukr. SSR., died suddenly after a lecture on Russification.

According to various sources of information from Ukraine, from the begining of January the organs of the KGB arrested not less than 300 Ukrainian patriots.

The trials of the accused are being 'in camera,' surreptitiously, hidden from the Ukrainian public, so that outsiders, even members of the accused families, could not be living witnesses of the illegality, and were not able to report to the public or the Free World their accounts about the wrongdoings of the KGB and the illegal acts of the occupationalist procurators and judges.

The accused, usually, are accused and tried under article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR. ("for anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation") and article 187(1) of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR. ("for purposely circulating untrue facts which place the Soviet national and public order into disrepute").

Some of the imprisoned are sentenced and susequently dispatched to KGB psychiatric institutions; many of the arrested have already been under constant KGB supervision for the last 17 months, and under pressure from them to confess their "wrongs" and to publicly "repent."

Apart from long-lasting and exhaustive investigations, the KGB also employs "the newest methods" in their investigating procedures. Firstly they totally isolate the accused from the outside world and from his inside feelings, and in stages exhaust him physically, and mentally in such a way as to bring him to the edge of insanity, at which time a person becomes ignorant and apathetic even of his human dignity; he ceases to respond intelligently to all the suggestions given him by the KGB, and unwittingly signs the "confession of guilt" prepared by the KGB, the "repenting statement," and the provocative "evidence" against others etc. In addition to the use of psychiatric methods, the KGB also adopts physical tortures. Their agents work on the unbroken detainees, as well as on the broken ones,

to force them to give false evidence. Regardless of all the modern methods of torture used by the KGB, however, only three of the arrested have been broken and have signed "statements of repentance," and have "agreed" to falsify their evidence against others. All the others who have been arrested and convicted are holding their own and have not admitted their guilt, but have in fact shown at their trials the cruelty of the KGB, and the illegality of the procurators, and the lack of knowledge of the law on the part of the occupationalist judges in Ukraine.

The Russian occupant places into a separate category those arrested and convicted in Ukraine for fighting for the freedom of Ukraine — the members of OUN and UPA, who lived legally, hidden behind various surnames in many parts of the USSR, or who lived underground even up to the present days. The list of underground nationalists who were uncovered and arrested in the years 1972-73 were probably tried under 48 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR for "treason" and on the basis of a special "Directive of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR" ("About the punishment of those who take part in military anti-Soviet formations"), and were sentenced to the highest levels of punishment, including, in some cases, the death penalty. Among those who have been arrested and convicted, there are some who are serving their second sentence for the same "crimes," but this fact the occupationalist courts did not take into account.

During interrogation the KGB brutally torture the imprisoned, and as a result many of them die from the effects of the torture. In January, 1973, the Kyiv newspaper *Pravda Ukrainy*, writing about the convictions of members of OUN/UPA, namely P. Kovalchuk and I. Chayka, said that in the past 2 years 30 Ukrainians had been sentenced to death for similar "crimes."

In the group of underground-nationalists who have been arrested and sentenced in the past two years are included:

1. **Boychuk, Yuriy**, former member of OUN, sentenced on February 21, 1971, in Ternopil to 15 years of concentration camps and 5 years exile.
2. **Demyanchuk, Tykhon**, former member of OUN, sentenced in 1972 in Volyn to long-term imprisonment (the term is not yet decided).
3. **Kryshstal, Pavlo**, former member of OUN, sentenced in 1972 in Luchk to 12 years concentration camps of a severe regime.
4. **Kucharchuk, Oleksa**, former member of OUN, sentenced in January, 1973, in Volyn to 15 years concentration camps and 5 years exile.
5. **Luch, Konstantyn**, former member of OUN, sentenced between 1970-72 to 15 years concentration camps of a severe regime.
6. **Kovalchuk, Petro**, participant of the UPA war, sentenced in January, 1973, in Volyn, to death. Sentence carried out.
7. **Malchuk, Vasyl**, participant of the UPA war, arrested in 1972 in Luchk, died under torture of the KGB.
8. **Tovchak, Ivan**, former member of OUN, sentenced in July, 1972, in Volyn to 12 years of concentration camps of a severe regime.

9. **Teliuk, Semen**, former member of OUN, in 1972 again sentenced to 15 years of concentration camps.
10. **Chayka, Ivan**, participant of the UPA war, arrested in 1972, sentenced in January in Volyn to the death penalty. Sentence performed.
11. **Yarema, Mykhaylo**, arrested in 1972 in Zaporizha, for hiding his brother member of UPA in his home from 1945 to 1972.
12. **Yarema, Mykola**, member of UPA, hid himself in Zaporizha for 28 years, discovered in 1972. His further fate is unknown.
13. **Yarema, Yuriy**, member of UPA, lived underground in Zaporizha, uncovered in 1972. His further fate is unknown.
14. **Osadchyi, M. I.**, former member of OUN and UPA. After the war was sentenced to 10 years imprisonment. Re-arrested in 1973 and sentenced to 15 years of concentration camps.

Beginning in 1972, the Russian occupational forces are returning to the Stalinist methods in full, not only to terror, blackmail, and repression, but also to the methods of public and moral destruction of those who have already served long terms of punishment for their affiliation with OUN and UPA, and who have returned to their towns and villages, and to their families. For example: commissars of the party come from the Region or Province to the village, or township, through some excuse or even without any excuse; they call the people together for a public meeting, and they forcefully talk of the contribution made by that village, a one-time member of the underground movement. A Propagandist comes forward and talks of events of the "national revolution" and purposely turns to the activities of "bands of members of the UPA and OUN," and then asks if there are any former members of the underground nationalist movement. At this point one of the collaborators stands up, points his finger at the undefendable "criminal" and tells of the "wrongdoings of OUN and UPA." From this begins the public criticism by the KGB, who demand the conviction of the village's former members of OUN and UPA, who are "criminals." They demand the public "repentance" and the like. Then begins the baiting and victimisation of the whole family of the "criminal," the dismissal from work, the harassment of the children in their studies, and the suspension of the parents old-age pension.

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On the basis of facts from various sources, it is established that in the past two years in Ukraine, about six thousand Ukrainian scientists, cultural workers, students, priests, and people from various other professions are constantly living under the repression of the KGB. It is also known that the number of oppressed is constantly rising. Verified facts show that the "guilt" of the terrorised lies mainly in the fact that they are conscientious Ukrainians who respect their national and human dignity. For this the occupationalist press, in an unveiled and open manner, continuously criticises them and blames them for various "deviations," makes public denunciations of them;

the KGB carries out searches of their homes, calls them for talks, that is, for interrogation, and persecutes and blackmails them. At the orders of the KGB such people are dismissed from work, students are expelled from their schools, writers fail to have their work printed, artists and scientists have their work confiscated. Even the pensioners and invalids from the "national revolution" have their pensions cancelled and are "removed" from the lists of pensioners and invalids. In such ways the Russian oppressors remove from these people their material means of support, and then these people are called to answer a charge of "vagrancy."

Here we will name some scientists and cultural workers of Ukraine, who together with their families are constantly living under the terror of the KGB, and are never sure of tomorrow's day:

Writer Adriyashyk Roman, writer Berdynyk Oles (dismissed from the "Writers Union of Ukraine" for "antisocial activities"), scientist Dovhar, writer of prose, Zakharchenko Vasyl, scholar in literature Ivanysenko Viktor, the son of historian Krypyakevych Roman, teacher Lysak Ahrepyna, professor Proniuk Yevhen, composer Sysyatel Vadym, teacher Yuvchenko Volodymyr, artist Honchar Ivan, prose-writer Chendey Ivan, engineer Lobko Vasyl, poet and translator Telniuk Stanyslav, historian, senior lecturer in the institute of the Academy of Sciences Braychevskiy Mychaylo, director of history Kompan Olena, undergraduate in history Dzyra Y., member-journalist of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukr. SSR. Shevchenko F., writer and translator Antonenko-Davydovych Borys, undergraduate in history Apanovych Olena, worker in the Institute of Philosophy of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukr. SSR Kyrychenko Svitlana, librarian of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukr. SSR Tymbal Viktor, composer Yashchenko Leopold, poet Zhylenko Iryna, writer and pedagogue Malyk Volodymyr, ethnographical scientist Skrypka Vasyl, craftsman Horyn Bohdan, journalist Chemerys Pavlo, lecturer in literature and language Lytvynchuk Emma, poet Kordun V., journalist and writer Danyleyko Volodymyr, agronomist of the academy of agriculture Lyshchenko Nina, writer Bilyk Ivan, poet and philologist Skuntch Petro, student Sheremetyeva Ludmyla, craftsman-poet Chubay Hryhoriy, writer and translator of foreign literature Kochur Hryhoriy, Meshko Oksana, Zahorodnyi Borys, Selezenko Leonid, poet Kholodnyi Mykola, student Yavir Mykola, Ksehar, translator Steshenko Iryna, Moroz Raisa, student Popadiuk Zoryan, writer-translator Perepadya Anatoliy, pensioner Duchyminska Olia, translator Dmytruk Vira, writer Mushketyk Yuriy, historian Butych I. L., historian Mayevskiy A. M., historian Kozhukalo I. P., historian Yaroshenko A. D., writer Nekrasov Viktor, Kovalska Maria, journalist Kruzhanivskiy V., writer Kharchuk Borys, writer Makhnenko Y., Zub Ivan, writer Huzar Iryna, student Kobiv Yosyp, Pachovskiy T., lecturer Lastovetzka Hanna, lecturer Khudash, student Honushchar Vasyl, student Udovychenko Volodymyr, student

Rokychkyi Bohdan, student Yavorskyi Volodymyr, student Yaremych Halyna, student Korniychuk Valia, student Svarnyk Ivan, student Kozoryv Volodymyr, student Dolhevskyi Marian, student Petryna Ihor, journalist Kochur, writer Petrenko, student Oleksiuk, proff. Oleksiuk Myroslav, writer Andriashyn Roman, journalist Chemeryc Pavlo, journalist Danyleyko Volodymyr, prof. Yampolskyi Stepan, writer-poet Shevchuk Vasyl, writer Burbak Mykola, Kharchuk Borys M., scientist Maxymiv Luba, worker of the Academy of sciences of the Ukr. SSR., writer Maxnivech Leonid, specialist in Ukrainian literature Myshanych Olexa, Valo Mariyka, worker Nudha Hryhoriy, specialist in literature — Krekotniya V., Popadiuk Lubomyra, and many, many others. They are accused of "deviations from the principles of Party-spirit in literature," "departing from the class appraisal of the past," the advancement into teaching, literature, and art of "bourgeois-nationalist theories," "the idealisation of the past Ukraine," "the archaism of the Ukrainian language," and similar "sins."

Under the pressure of the KGB and the party-administration, whole institutes, educational establishments, artistic-cultural associations, friendly societies and associations, press organisations, and publishers have literally become whips. Here it must be reminded of the constant checking of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukr. SSR., which is already fearly Russified into institutes of archaeology and philosophy of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukr. SSR., into united associations of educational research and project-construction institutes, into republican musical-choral and theatrical societies, into a long line of regional theaters, into the society for the protection of history and culture. In the Institute of Languages two sections of dialect and history of the Ukrainian language have already been "incorporated" and to them two new sections have been added: The Russian language and the culture of language. The Kyiv ensemble (ethnographical) "Homin" has been ruined. Into the firing line have come the film corporations, radio, and television programs. The Lviv television programs are still more confined, but in Ukraine the number of television programs from Moscow has increased, and they are of course in the Russian language. Everywhere the occupationalist forces see "idealistic divergences," "the pressure of national recognition," "anti-Soviet agitation," and the like.

In the same way there is the direct assault of the occupationalist forces onto the Ukrainian kolkhoz peasantry and workers, more particularly on the whole Ukrainian nation. This assault is led with the mottoes: "The fight against the survival of nationalistic and religiousness in the consciousness of the people," "for the re-education of the working-classes in the international and materialist spirit," "for the triumph of Lenin's commandments," etc.

About the present terror of Moscow and the destruction of the Ukrainian national life, a group of Ukrainian citizens in their letter,

published in the *Chronicle of Current Events* May 25, 1972, said this: "The smothering of national consciousness, the numerous arrests of well-known representatives of the Ukrainian intelligentsia, the threats, the blackmailing, the victimization and constant large-scale searches — all this dreadfully reminds us that the year 1973 began in 1933 with repressions against the promoters of national culture. In this lies our warning..."

But here it is also revealed that after the 50-year existence of the Moscow-Bolshevik empire, the question of nationalism is still the platform of the greatest war for national identity in the world, and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union still "solves" the question of nationalism with the help of the brutal terroristic organs of the KGB. It is clear to everyone that the so-called USSR still has the ancient imperialistic aim: the liquidation of any opposition and the freedom-loving nationalist powers, who demand equal rights with the Russians, who with brutal force and terror force enslaved nations and freedom-loving people to total silence, as it was in feudal Russia and in the Stalinist era.

The extensive neo-Stalinist terror in Ukraine once again confirms that whatever expectations for so-called liberalization and humanity of the Soviet system, in which the Russians have the privileged position, have become not only without aim, but also harmful. Moscow still restrains everything and in this way controls the laws of the so-called National Republics of the USSR and stubbornly guides them to the "merging of nations".

Obviously the imperialistic plans of Moscow toward the enslaved nations confirm, among other things, such facts as the following. In Ukraine the rights of individual "Ministries" engulf all that is large, and some "Republican" ministries plainly change into "all-Soviet." In the journal *Voprosy Yekonomu* of December, 1972, there was an article by V. Kistonov, in which he proposed the review of the borders of the National Republics, relating them to the economic needs of the Moscow empire. In Moscow in some "competent circles" of the imperialistic khanate, the question of the cancellation of the divisions of the USSR into separate national republics has been discussed, which would mean the liquidation of even external signs of separatism of the enslaved nations in the USSR. But here it must be emphasized that Moscow is now incapable of realizing its imperialistic nation-murdering plans even by recurring neo-Stalinist terror. This is already the pre-death mask of Moscow's tyranny, which sees and feels the mortal danger of the liberation movements of her enslaved nations. Even the fighters in the concentration camps and prisons of the Moscow Empire are no less dangerous than the free, which is clearly shown by the strikes and uprisings in Bolshevik concentration camps in the years 1953-1956.

### **Moscow announces the stepping up of terror in Ukraine**

On the 16th March, 1973, an Extraordinary meeting of active members of the Kyiv Regional and local party organisations was held in which members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine took part. The main speech was given by Moscow's footman, V. V. Shcherbytzkyi. He declared that the party will employ terror to those who make "whatever attempts to stop the process of the merging of nations," those who demand "to strengthen their national identity," and those who stand against Russification, defend their rights for this native language and culture and the national rights of Ukraine. He admitted that the Kremlin was "dissatisfied" with the directed work done by the "party staff" in Ukraine. Therefore, in agreement with orders from Moscow, he called for "the decisive fight against the enemy's ideology, revisionism, opportunism, Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism, and the like. He presented a list of those educational institutes, societies, and associations, including the party's in which it was necessary to carry out a total purge, declaring that here much could be, and should be done by the administrative organs," and obviously with the help of the KGB. Similar consultations were held in all regions of Ukraine, at which the Moscow occupationalists and their collaborators gave the same orders to the party staff. ("Radyans'ka Ukraina" from March 17, 1973, and subsequent issues).

One did not have to wait long for the results. On the 23rd March, 1973, in Kyiv the IV Plenum of the Committee of the Association of Ukrainian Writers was held, at which U. Smolycha was removed from his post as chairman of the association and his place was detailed to the former partisan-member of SMERSH from Kirovohrad, and the present commissar of literary affairs, V. Kozachenko. This plenum, under orders from Moscow, was to free itself from "unreliable" writers in Ukraine. The collaborator with Moscow strongly attacked the writers I. Bilyk, R. Andriyachuk, Iryna Zhylenko, H. Kochur, O. Berdyanka, V. Zaremba, and a number of others. He "warned" the writers that the party would not tolerate even the smallest "Deviations" from the "party line" specified by Moscow, the advancement in literature, the ideals of "independence of the Ukrainian Nation and culture," or the "idealisation of the Ukrainian past." He obliged the Ukrainian writers to "carry out an irreconcilable fight against Bourgeois-nationalism" (but why not against Russian nationalism-chauvinism?). As can be seen from the Soviet (Ukrainian-language) press, this plenum was held with a certain pattern — grey — and the "directives" from Moscow were accepted by the writers more than coldly, treating them as a red attempt to suppress the remains of individual expression of nationalism in a creative mood. Similar "plenums" were held in all the regional writers' organisations.

An even more severe campaign against the powers of nationalist

Ukraine was shown at this year's April Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine. In it "friends" from Moscow took part, so as to personally convince themselves how the occupationalist and serving powers in Ukraine perform their orders. That is why V. Shcherbytzkyi in his speech demanded the performance of all the present norms of Moscow's servant. He attacked party committees, individual ministries and departments, Soviet trade-unions, komsomol committees, educational establishments, artistic and cultural associations, tele-radio communications, and a line of other organisations, who "do not correspond with their given functions, who move the party and national discipline, do not respond to the manifestations of idealistic obscurity, permit mistakes in ideological works, and the educated weekly concentrate on the process of merging socialist nations, of slanderous ideologies of anti-communism, revisionism, Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism, zionism." He abused the writers for "manifestations of national limitedness," littering the Ukrainian language with "archaisms" and "artificial" expressions (not a word about Russification!), for "idealisation of the past" . . . This stooge Shcherbytzkyi further praised that "the party committees severely punished those who, with neglectful demands of the statutes of the party and Soviet law, with their behaviour discredit the position of the members of the party . . ." Here he had on his mind those who in defence of the rights of the Ukrainian nation have already found themselves behind bars or are repressed by the KGB.

The width of the Moscow attack on the nationalist Ukraine does not in any way differ from a similar attack in the Stalinist era. On the other hand, this confirms that the national process in Ukraine has captured all the activities of life and they are obviously deeper and more forceful than many foreign people can grasp and evaluate.

### **The Devastation of the so-called Communist Party of Ukraine**

Unprecedentedly violent and hypocritical chiefs began a true devastation of the so-called Communist Party of Ukraine. They introduced through terror their "orders," totally disregarding the Ukrainian citizens, but also their own servants, party servants, who are regarded only as typical pieces of weak apparatus, that can only function at a nod from Moscow, otherwise they are useless.

This devastation began from a short bulletin in the "Radians'ka Ukraina" (May 21, 1972) about the fact that "on the 19 of May, 1972, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR had decided "to appoint friend Shelest P. U. as the deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers in the USSR," and that is all. This was the indisputable sign that the days of the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, Shelest, were numbered. And true enough, at the orders of Moscow on May 25, 1972, in Kyiv the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukra-



ine was called, at which Shelest was "relieved" of the post as first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, and for the time being moved to Moscow. In his place a collaborator with the L. Brezhnev clique was assigned an even bigger servant and russifier, V. V. Shcherbytzkyi.

The Soviet press did not mention a word about the reasons for the dismissal of P. Shelest, but around him developed a discussion in the western press, and for that matter in the Ukrainian emigrant press, that suggested various reasons for Shelest's dismissal. For example: "because Shelest convinced the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR about the need for a military invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968." The inopportune time of such a statement is obvious, when we see that such news came from Moscow itself, so as to justify the representative of the naked imperialism of Moscow, L. Brezhnev. Further: "Shelest was against the visit of R. Nixon to Kyiv in 1972," and stood by the hard line of the external policies of the party," "went against the plans of Kosygin for economic reforms," "felt himself to be the equal of Brezhnev, and even demanded to sit on his chair," "sympathized with Ukrainian nationalists," etc. . .

Even in the event of the dismissal of Shelest and the havoc in the Communist Party of Ukraine, one should not forget that the Moscow imperialist-chauvinists painstakingly keep to the inherited customs of the white tsars: it is not allowed to trust even the highest of its servants in Ukraine, and especially those who spend long years in high posts. Secondly, the fight for influence in the Kremlin always ate up party sacrifices, mainly in Ukraine, because with the coming to power of a new god, the last secretary of the Communist Party of the USSR, he firstly protects himself with "his people," and thus removes or destroys people of his predecessor.

The present "shake up" of the so-called Communist Party of Ukraine is tightly connected with the fact that Moscow is very concerned and unhappy with the existing situation in Ukraine, where national-liberation movements have captured all the activities of life, have begun to radiate on other enslaved nations and to capture, in the free world, sympathizers of their liberation fight. Moscow has for a long time made checks on even the so-called Communist Party of Ukraine because it is showing itself incapable of stopping the expansion of the national-liberation movement and has not realized the Russification policy in Ukraine to such an extent that the Kremlin's control had unhindered hands with the constant, actual, national question and without a greater foothold to realize its insane plans for the liquidation of individual "Republics" and the total reform of the USSR into one united Russian Empire, only with subdivisions on an economic basis. Instead of completing Russification in Ukraine, the so-called minister of higher and middle education of the Ukr. SSR., M. Dadenkov, under pressure of the citizens had to turn to the Central Committee of the Communist party of the USSR with the

proposition of strengthening the plan of the Ukrainization of higher education in Ukraine. Obviously, chauvinist Moscow did not accept the plan of the minister of the "sovereign Ukr. SSR," and could not forgive its servant for such "sub-russian insolence." In order further to carry out its hypocritical propaganda about "humanism, democracy, the idealistic solving of the national problem" in the USSR, Moscow did not candidly go against it but surrounded the Ukrainian party staff from the flanks and began to destroy it.

In this way Moscow removes from high posts all of those party men in Ukraine who are suspected of whatever, even imaginative "deviations," and in their places appoints even greater weak-minded servants and russifiers of the type of Malanchuk, Kozachenko, Hrushetzkyi, Shcherbytzkyi, Kondalenko, Tanchera, and similar ones, who at a nod from Moscow are prepared to sell their own mothers. What is the fate of Moscow's janissaries? This is best shown by the fact that of all the previous 14 "first secretaries" of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine only one, Mykola Podgorny, is alive, existing weakly in his old age on the hierarchial ladder.

*Komunist Ukrainy* (No. 4, April, 1973) printed a critical editorial entitled, "About the Serious Deficiencies and Mistakes of a book," referring to P. Shelest's book, *Ukraine our Soviet*, which was published in 1970 with a circulation of 100,000 copies. Now Shelest is being attacked for the fact that his book "has become the criterion of interpretation of separate events of the past and present (in Ukraine) for the educated, artists, propagandists" but in fact it is a "line of idealistic mistakes and serious defects of historical approach to separate events, lack of important class-party criterion." Further: Shelest as if "idealised Ukrainian Cossacks and the Zaporizhka Sich," but "about unification of Ukraine and Russia (1654) talks as if about another ordinary fact," not one word in the book is "said about the fact that due to this act the Ukrainian nation was saved from foreign occupation, having joined a unified-centralized Russian state." Here it is strongly emphasized, that neither history, culture, literature, or any other activities of Ukrainian life can be viewed separately from that of Russian life, because it had on them "it's noble influence of the advanced Russia." As can be seen, the naked Moscow chauvinism covers all possible boundaries. No greater form of total slavery and servitude than Ukraine was given by Moscow after the Treaty of Pereyaslav has existed in the world, and probably never will. It was this critical article in *Komunist Ukrainy* against Shelest for his "deviations" from the general line of the party in the context of national politics that finally stamped his fate.

At last, on the 27th April, 1973, a Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR was held in Moscow, at which was "relieved" friend P. U. Shelest from his duties as a member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of

the USSR in conjunction with his move to a pension." Shelest could not compare himself with the Moscow chauvinist-imperialist Brezhnev, that is why he not only lost his fight with him, but also ended up on the trash heap of his "native party."

Having removed Shelest, at the orders of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR, under the eye of the newly arrived commissars from Moscow, there began in Ukraine the cleaning up of the whole party. Due to this a candidate for membership of the Politburo and secretary of ideological matters of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine, Fedor Ovcharenko, was removed from a leading position and in his place has been assigned V. Malanchuk, who at the same time is to be "the eye and ear" of Moscow together with Shcherbytzkyi. The first secretary of the Kherson provincial communist party, Anton Kochubey, and the first secretary of the Poltava regional communist party, O. Luzhnytzkyi, have been removed. The head of the selection committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, P. Pancha, was released from work as the head of administrative staff of the ministry of Trade expansion of the Ukr. SSR, and ended up under fire from the Voroshylovhrad provincial communist party, criticised for "serious movement of party principles," party organisations, and ministerial organs of Odessa, Kherson, Poltava, Chernivetz regions. There has begun a checking of the Stryi region communist party, a line of responsible editors of publishing houses and journals was removed, as well as workers in educational establishments, even the head of the "Society of cultural ties with Ukrainians abroad," A. Kysil, and in his place O. Pidsukh has been assigned. Removed is the chief editor of the journal, *Komunist Ukrainy*, V. M. Terletzkyi, and in his place has come V. F. Sukarenko, who in 1969 slandered the Dnipropetrovsk youth group. The position of Nykyfor Kalchenko was shaken and earlier Mykola Sobolia, a member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, was pensioned off. The minister for higher and middle special education of the Ukr. SSR., U. Dedenko, in November, 1973, was removed for "deviations." He was replaced by an even worse russificator of Ukraine, Heorhiy Yefemenko. The chief of the administration of the river fleet, S. S. Synycha, who was in the Council of Ministers of the Ukr. SSR., was also removed in November, 1973, for "deviations." Under fire came a line of party cells, komsomol committees, and staff of the administrative machinery. Under heavy pressure came the so-called Association of Writers of Ukraine.

In this way Moscow deals with Ukrainians, but on the other hand Russians who live in Ukraine and who constitute one-third of the party membership are not touched. They are allowed everywhere to declare strongly their Moscow chauvinism, because they are part of the occupationalist forces who are enslaving Ukraine.

The deviation of the so-called Communist Party of Ukraine which

is in a confused state, is only now gaining effect, which is shown in the statement of the servant of Moscow, V. Shcherbytzkyi: "The strictness to those communists who accidentally were enrolled into the party must be tightened. No party letter should fall into the hands of those who are not capable of holding the high position of a communist." (*Workers newspaper* March 17, 1973). In other words the party must be cleared of those who are not yet the weak-willed apparatus and the glorifiers of Moscow's imperialism-chauvinism. One must underline yet one more much-talked-about fact: In the roots of Russia Russian nationalism is strongly found, they are praising the feudal tsars, Moscow's past, etc., but no one is arrested for touching the "international" basis of communism.

Today's communist party of the USSR is a large band of criminals careerists, adulators from lower ranks to the higher, it is thickly flowering corruption, the drive to personal livelihood, and the absolute fall of morality and idealism.

The so-called USSR is in fact held together with lies, brutal force and the renewed life of Moscow's imperialism-chauvinism. Internationalism and communism, as fabricated theories, serve the Moscow imperialist-chauvinists only for the hiding of the true nature of its empire.

The new doctrine issued by Brezhnev about "the peaceful co-existence of the USSR with states that have different social and political systems" is nothing else (writes the *Sunday Telegraph* on May 13 1973) than a way to save itself, with the help of capitalists, from a trade-economic craze, which leads the empire to disaster, to protect its back in the event of a war with Red-China, and at the same time to have a free hand in the destruction of middle powers who, no doubt, are the number one problem of the Empire.

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*From UKRAINIAN HERALD, Issue VI, 1972*

## ANATOLIY LUPYNIS

### AND OTHERS

Anatoliy LUPYNIS was arrested in Kyiv at the end of May, 1971. He comes from the Kyiv area and was first arrested and sentenced in the late 50's or early 60's on political charges. In camp his viewpoint became totally Ukrainian. He actively protested against the maltreatment of prisoners. He announced a hunger strike, demanding a re-examination of his case and the democratization of life in the USSR. The hunger strike lasted for almost two years (!!!). All this time Lupynis was kept in a hospital and fed intravenously. He terminated his hunger strike only at the end of his term of imprisonment. By that time he had become an invalid as a result of the prolonged hunger strike.

After his release from prison he attempted several times to enroll in higher educational establishments, passing his exams very successfully, but each time upon the instructions from the KGB he was failed. The KGB took care of him constantly. He was summoned for talks, urged to cooperate with them, and so forth. He found a job with the choral society, where a provocation was staged with respect to him: concert tickets worth a considerable sum of money were stolen.

On May 22, 1971 at a spontaneous demonstration at Shevchenko's monument in Kyiv, A. Lupynis read an anti-chauvinist poem, of which he himself was allegedly the author.

We cite the poem read by him:

Several days after this, Lupynis was arrested.

In connection with the Lupynis case several of his acquaintances, friends, and even people distant from him were searched and questioned.

In particular, a search was made at the home of Volchak, an aspirant of the geography department of the Council of the Raising of Productive Forces, in whose possession nothing substantial was found. Yukhym TYMCHUK, an engineer who did not even know Lupynis, was also searched. His dormitory room and three apartments where he was previously a tenant were searched. Non-published poems, especially those of Symonenko, were confiscated, as well as some old books and so on.

In the same case a student at the Kyiv Polytechnic Institute, Volodymyr Bzhezovskyy, was interrogated. He was detained and kept in the hotel "Ukraina," where, as maintained by Bzhezovskyy himself, he was questioned in his sleep, in an uncontrollable state.

This was witnessed by a KGB representative from the polytechnic institute. On the following day, Bzhezovskyy's father was brought in from the Kherson region to exert moral pressure on the son. As a result of the application of such illegal methods, V. Bzhezovsky suffered an emotional shock.

A. Lupynis is still in the republican KGB prison, and the investigation continues.

In connection with the Lupynis case, an engineer of the Kyi Scientific Research Institute of Polygraphy, Yukhym Tymchuk most likely born in 1948, a native of the Zaporizhzhia region, was searched although Tymchuk had not even been an acquaintance of Lupynis. The search was conducted in three localities: the dormitory and the apartment where he had lived previously and his present dormitory. A magnetic tape with recordings of the poems of V. Symonenko, I. Drach, and L. Kostenko was confiscated, as well as notebooks in which poems of Soviet poets were written, a diary and a list of people who had paid for a trip to the Kupalo celebrations at one of the villages of the Cherkasy region. After the search interrogations continued for several days. His ailing father was brought to the inquiry from Zaporizhzhia, and as a result he became even more critically ill.

No mention of Lupynis was made at the inquiry. His arrest was used only as a pretext for searching and interrogating Tymchuk and a number of other people.

Tymchuk was questioned about his friends and about the participants of the ethnographic collective "Homin." He was asked in detail about his trips to Lviv and Odessa, whom he had seen, whom he talked to, what he talked about, and so on.

Below is a recapitulation of questions posed by the KGB agents: Why do you speak only Ukrainian? What has prompted you to speak Ukrainian; after all, we know that during the first three years at the institute you spoke Russian? Don't you know that Russian is the official language of our state and that all peoples will change to the Russian language in the future? Why have you grown a mustache? Why do you attend "Homin"? Why aren't you getting married? Allegedly the agents proposed to help him in marrying a girl who owns a three-room apartment and a car.

Tymchuk was questioned in the Republican KGB (Volodymyrska 33), and taken for the night to Hotel "Ukraine." Waking up in the middle of the night at the hotel, Tymchuk saw an investigator at his bedside, who questioned him in his sleep.

The summoning of his father disturbed Tymchuk very much. He said something incriminating about his friends, about which he is very much distressed at present. Not very long ago, Tymchuk was called to the military registration and enlistment office and told that he would be drafted into the army. Immediately after this, he

was telephoned by the KGB and they proposed to assist him in becoming an officer.

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Oleksa Prytyka, a physician, was arrested on July 9 in Odessa and charged with "anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation with the aim of undermining or weakening Soviet government" (Art. 62, CC Ukr. SSR).

O. Prytyka is about 40 years old, he is a native of the Vinnytsya region and served in the Red Army for an extended period of time, and had been an officer. After demobilization, he began to live and work in Odessa and enlisted in the Odessa Medical Institute. In recent years, he worked as a physician in one of the Odessa polyclinics.

Some years ago, O. Prytyka, at that time unknown to anyone, appeared at T. Shevchenko's monument in Odessa, placed flowers, fell to his knees, and in bad Ukrainian began to beg Shevchenko's forgiveness for coming to him so late. At the time, Odessa Ukrainians took this to be a provocation. Since then, O. Prytyka was constantly present at Ukrainian concerts and evenings, made friends with Odessa Ukrainians, and attempted to organize a Ukrainian amateur choir.

During a search in the attic of the 5-story building in which O. Prytyka had lived, a number of documents of Ukrainian and Russian *sambydav* were found, in particular, the article "On the Occasion of the Trial of Pohruzhalsky," V. Moroz's articles "Moses and Dathan," "The Chronicle of Resistance," "Among the Snows," and his prison sketch, "The First Day," as well as speeches delivered at the funeral of Alla Horska, issues I and II of the *Ukrainian Herald*, and other materials.

His wife, a student of the Odessa University, Avdiyevska (sister of the director of the Veriovka choir), and others were interrogated in regard to O. Prytyka.

In the interrogations it would seem that an attempt was made to link the case of O. Prytyka to that of S. Karavansky and his wife. During the questioning, particularly of his wife, the investigators conducted themselves brutally. They discussed Prytyka's sentencing before his wife as if it were an accomplished fact.

\* \* \*

On September, 1971, the regional court in Lviv examined the case of Semen Korolchak and Ostap Pastukh (Pastukh was arrested in January, and Korolchak in April, 1971). The case was tried at a closed court session, but a group of Lviv residents who waited for two days beside the court's doors were admitted for the passing of the verdict.

The investigation in the case of Korolchak and Pastukh was conducted by the Lviv Ukr. KGB. After a six-month imprisonment,

O. Pastukh was released on probation and came from freedom to the trial.

The defendants were tried by Judge (Zubar?), people's representatives Korniyenko and Rokonenko. The prosecutor was Volochagin.

From the verdict the case of Korolchak and Pastukh can be seen in the following light. In 1967, when the UNF (Ukrainian National Front) group was exposed, the investigators were aware of the fact that one of the arrested in the case, Lviv economist Ivan Kubk, maintained contacts with S. Korolchak, a gynecologist at the regional institute for the protection of motherhood and childhood, and gave and received from him banned literature. The KGB arrested S. Korolchak and kept him in prison for three days.

Frightened by the arrest, S. Korolchak told everything: that I. Hubka gave him five issues of the illegal UNF publication *Homeland and Freedom*, as well as the periodical *Suchasnist* (Munich) that in his turn, having received the *samvydav* article "On the Occasion of the Trial of Pohrutzhalsky" from Dr. Vasyl Kebelyuk, he gave it to I. Hubka, and the latter passed it on for publication in the periodical *Homeland and Freedom*.

S. Korolchak led KGB agents to his parents in the country, where he himself opened a cache where the periodicals were kept. All this was photographed and shown to the people being questioned in Korolchak's case in 1971.

In view of his conduct, S. Korolchak was released at the time and appeared only as a witness at the trial of I. Hubka.

S. Korolchak's repeated arrest in 1971 aroused astonishment inasmuch as the KGB had no new evidence of S. Korolchak's "anti-Soviet" activity and did not present it in court. *De facto*, S. Korolchak was sentenced in 1971 for the same thing for which he was released in 1967. Some are inclined to see in this a further advance of reaction, when the KGB organs are correcting their recent "liberal" mistakes. To the 1967 evidence, the investigation added only S. Korolchak's several later oral conversations about Russification, about the fact that it is necessary to know Ukrainian history and to read M. Hrushevsky (!), and also the fact that he listened to and related foreign radio broadcasts — in other words, the kind of "facts" on which hundreds of thousands of people in the Soviet Union can be tried. In addition, Korolchak himself, while confirming facts connected with I. Hubka's case in 1967, denied all these conversations as well as the character of their presentation and illumination by the investigation. It is quite obvious that such meager "evidence" was needed by the KGB only to create the impression that Korolchak had not stopped his "activity" and that he was arrested not only for the 1967 facts.

Even before Korolchak was arrested, the KGB was rather open in making preparations for this arrest. Dozens of his acquaintances were questioned in order to find such people among them who could



say something compromising about S. Korolchak. He knew about these multiple interrogations and was demoralized by them. During the investigation and in court he begged and argued that he had done nothing illegal after 1967, that he had dedicated all his efforts and learning to medicine (he is a highly qualified physician); he even wept.

But the case was nevertheless passed on to the court, which sentenced S. Korolchak to four years of imprisonment in severe regime camps. Those present in the courtroom during the reading of the verdict greeted with laughter those places in the verdict which dealt with S. Korolchak's "anti-Soviet interest" in Hrushevskyy's works and the confiscation from him of a transistor for listening to foreign radio broadcasts.

The case of O. Pastukh, convicted together with S. Korolchak, seemed even more strange. So far as he was concerned, all his criminal "activity" boiled down to several conversations about the Russification of schools and universities in Ukrainian cities, a fact which it is impossible to deny and about which people even talk out loud, even from official rostrums. But "the honor of the uniform" did not allow the KGB to let O. Pastukh go without punishment, having compensated him for moral and material losses during his groundless imprisonment. He was nevertheless tried and "sentenced" to six months, which he had already served while under investigation.

It is typical that when setting O. Pastukh free before the trial, the KGB investigators told him that he had nothing to worry about because he would be sentenced to six months, which he had already served.

This is yet another proof that not only the "guilt" but also the term of punishment is determined prior to the trial by the KGB and that the trial is a purely formal affair, called to give the KGB decision the appearance of legitimacy.

The persons who agreed to testify about their oral conversations with Korolchak and Pastukh included Yavorskyy, Saliy, Khrobak, Matkovskyy (?), and Lyaskovskyy (?). Witness Vasyl Kobelyuk denied that he gave S. Korolchak the article "On the Occasion of the Trial of Pohruzhal'skyy," but confirmed the oral conversations with him. Witness I. Hubka, a prisoner of the Mordovian camps, confirmed the 1967 facts. Other witnesses were Savenko and Bruchovska.

*Radomyshl, Zhytomyr region.* \* \* \* George Veremiychuk, an engineer of the republican civil aviation administration, is a native of Radomyshl, where he finished school. KGB Major Yakymenko turned to his friend and former classmate in Radomyshl proposing cooperation. The boy was instructed to spy on Veremiychuk when he came to visit his parents and to inform on what Veremiychuk read, what he talked about, and so forth.

G. Veremiychuk was born in 1946. He is an able engineer, defended his diploma at the institute in English, uses Russian in work (transportation and communications in Ukraine are totally Russified but off duty speaks Ukrainian and has "undesirable" friend. Because of this alone, the KGB suspects Veremiychuk of being unreliable."

*Rivne region, village Bilyatychi of the Sarn district.* Serhiy Fedorovych VERES was born in 1947. He is a physical culture teacher, unmarried, and a fourth-year correspondence student at the Ternopil Pedagogical Institute. He was arrested in April, 1970, and the closed trial was held on October 25-27 (Article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR.) Accused of agitation and propaganda with the aid of leaflets, he was sentenced to 2 years of imprisonment and is now in camp No. 19 in Mordovia.

Hryhoriy Vasylovych KALOSH is about 35 years old, a draftsman and job teacher. He was arrested in August, 1970, in the same case. A week after the arrest, he was taken to the Kharkiv Psychiatric Hospital. He has a wife who teaches in an elementary school, and two children. His father worked as a watchman in a warehouse, but he was fired from work after his son's arrest. It is not known whether or not Kalosh was tried. Rumours were circulated that he was tried in camera and given 10 years. It is known for certain that he has been in a psychiatric hospital until now, though prior to his arrest he was a completely sane man.

At that time, a teacher of Russian language and literature, age about 40, a native of Transcarpathia, was arrested. His name has not been ascertained and his fate is unknown. He had not returned to school, and it is rumoured that he was released in due time and sent to Transcarpathia.

Detained and questioned in the same case were Mykola STELMAKH, a student at the Dubrovyskyy professional technical school in the Rivne region; Vasyl MARKO, a ninth-grade student of the Sarn secondary school; KALOSH, a graduate of tenth grade and KRAVCHUK, a young tractor driver.

From the accounts of these people, it has become known that those detained at the Sarn KGB have been tortured. One method of torturing is by having a person lie face up on the ground, placing a board across his chest and a sack full of sand on the board. After some time the load is removed and the interrogations are continued. It is known that pupil Vasyl Marko announced a three-day hunger strike as a sign of protest against murders and arrest, through which he won release but suffered an emotional shock and now does not feel well.

After the arrests, half of the faculty of the Bilyatychi school was dismissed from work for "failure to be vigilant." The school principal, Stepan Pavlovych Nohachevskyy, was transferred to the village of Plyasheva in the Chervona Armiya district.

The KGB group from Sarn (and perhaps from Rivne as well), which journeyed to the village to investigate the case led amoral lives themselves.

\* \* \*

KYIV. Ivan Makarovych HONCHAR, a deserving scholar of the Ukr. SSR, candidate of Art, member of the Artists' Union, sculptor and Communist, has been subjected to persecution in recent years.

The chief reason is a private collection of folk art assembled by I. Honchar. He was constantly being summoned to the party committee of the Artists' Union and also for "a workover" to the Pecherskyy district committee of the party and to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine. Finally he was ordered to keep people from viewing the collection.

It is known that I. Honchar's private museum numbers 7000 exhibits, which the sculptor had collected in the course of many years. His museum became a creative laboratory both for himself as sculptor and art critic and also for many other artists. The museum was often visited by admirers of Ukrainian folk art. At one time positive articles about the museum were carried in the periodicals *Narodna tvorchist ta etnografiya* (Folk Creativity and Ethnography), and *Ranok* (Morn), the newspapers *Radyanska Ukraine*, *Literaturna Ukraina*, and *Vechirniy Kyiv*. A full length film "Sonnet of an Artist," was made and shown in Montreal at the World's Fair.

Now, however, at the meetings of the party committee and the district committee, it is unanimously being charged that I. Honchar's museum has become a center of nationalism, has brought nationalists together, and so forth. The party functionaries were particularly angered by I. Honchar's introduction to viewing the museum, which covered several typewritten pages and was suggested as reading matter for the visitors.

The Pecherskyy district committee of the party entrusted Halyna Yizhakevych, a Ph.D. in Philology, V. Dyachenko, a Ph.D. in History and the director of the department of feudalism at the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukr. SSR, and senior research worker H. Serhiyenko with reviewing I. Honchar's introduction. I. Honchar was later familiarized with these reviews.

Particularly reactionary was the review by H. Yizhakevych, who was also known to have appeared at V. Moroz's trial in Ivano-Frankivsk as an expert in philology, establishing Moroz's authorship. Although H. Yizhakevych had never visited Honchar's museum, she accused the artist of all mortal sins. Unashamed, she described individual types of folk art of the past as "attributes of bourgeois nationalism." She accused I. Honchar of propagating the "theory of a single stream," and of distorting Ukrainian Soviet culture, although in Honchar's collection there are samples of pre-revolutionary art and in his "Foreword" he had not written about Soviet art.

H. Yizhakevych's review contains a whole series of gross blunders and demonstrates a lack of knowledge of the subject. At the end, the "review's" author demanded that the museum be taken away from Honchar and transferred to the state.

At the meeting of the Pecherskyy district committee of the party, I. Honchar made a sharp reply to the reactionaries in science.

He was ordered to keep the museum closed to visitors. In addition, I. Honchar was groundlessly accused of organizing a demonstration at the funeral of Alla Horska.

\* \* \*

In recent years the number of fires in active churches of West Ukraine has increased. As a rule, the guilty are not found. At times, arson is effected during a thunderstorm to put the blame on lightning.

There were several instances of arson in the Ivano-Frankivsk region. A church was burned in the Snyatyn area; in 1961 a church was burned in the village of Kobaky; and in 1968, in the village of Bereziv in the Kosiv district.

It is said that Derevyanenko, a deputy of the representative on Church Affairs of the region, is mixed up in the latter arson. As a rule, the renovation of the church after a fire is not permitted.

For example, in 1971 in dubious circumstances a church burned in the village of Serhij of the Putyliv district in the Bukovyna region, the homeland of the folk hero Lukyan Kobylitsya. The church congregation petitioned the district executive committee to permit it to renovate the church, which had not been completely destroyed, but they were severely prohibited from doing so. Upon requesting permission to conduct services in the belfry, which remained intact, the faithful received a reply that this issue will be examined only after the partially burned church is torn down.

In Lviv the architects who granted permission to a partial reconstruction of an active church on Artem Street were severely punished. Instances of the destruction of crosses have also become more frequent, including memorial crosses in honour of the abolition of serfdom in Halychyna. In the village Budyviv, of the Snyatyn district, a memorial Shevchenko cross, erected by the community in the time of Poland or Austria, was destroyed. The crucifix was taken down, while the bas-relief on the pedestal was spattered with cement. For the account of Bohdan Keyvan's arrest, see *The Ukrainian Review*, No. III, 1972, p. 84.

\* \* \*

On November 7, 1971, the 54th anniversary of the October Revolution, a worker of the Khodoriv sugar plant in the Lviv region, named LABINSKYY, ended his life with suicide due to persecution of a political nature.

Labinskyy came to the October demonstration, as required of workers and public servants, who are persecuted in various ways if they refuse, but he refused to carry a sign with a slogan. The secretary of the party committee of the plant attacked Labinskyy coarsely in public, called him an enemy, said that no doubt he would gladly carry the blue and yellow flag (Ukrainian national colors), and finally threatened persecutions, mentioning some shortcomings in production and so forth.

After the demonstration, Labinskyy complained that now accounts will be squared with him and he won't be permitted to work for several years until his retirement. That evening, when he was to substitute for someone at the night shift, Labinskyy came to work and hanged himself in the locker.

His body was found two days later. An examination was conducted which "established" that Labinskyy was mentally ill although during life no signs of mental illness had been evident. I. Tochin was the secretary of the plant's party committee, and V. Podlesnyy was the plant's director.

\* \* \*

For an incident in ZHYTOMYR, see *The Ukrainian Review* No. III, 1972, p. 84.

\* \* \*

Articles in the Russian press about the results of the last census, according to which the number of the non-Russians who called Russian their native language has increased, produced sharp reaction in the midst of the Ukrainian intelligentsia. The article in *Pravda* for July 19, 1971, M. Kulichenko's article in *Voprosy istorii*, No. 9, and others write about it with delight, calling it the triumph of "internationalism." For the first time and quite frankly it is acknowledged that this is not a spontaneous process but regulated by the party (see Kulichenko's article) and this process is openly called "assimilation."

"The great success of the convergence of nations and nationalities of our country as the result of the *consistent realization* of the Leninist *nationality policies* of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, has created the necessary preconditions for the manifestation of particular elements of assimilation" (*Voprosy istorii*, No. 9, p. 23).

\* \* \*

Father Vasyl Romanyuk, a well-known social activist, was under arrest in Ivano-Frankivsk for three days (Sept. 29 to Oct. 1).

As had already been reported, upon the orders of the representative on Church Affairs, Father Romanyuk was transferred from Kosmach to the Kokyttya. From there he was allegedly summoned by the bishop; in reality he was stopped on the street in Ivano-

Frankivsk by employees of the KGB and thrown in jail for three days.

At the interrogation he was presented with some 10-year-old letters which V. Romanyuk had allegedly written to radio "Liberty" in the early 60's when still working in the Kharkiv region. V. Romanyuk denied the authorship of these letters. The talk about the letters and some poems, which were discovered in V. Romanyuk's notebook during a search in Kosmach in 1970 in connection with the V. Moroz case, served to intimidate Father Romanyuk — a well-known social activist — as far as appearing in defence of the persecuted and appeals to preserve the works of folk art etc. were concerned.

\* \* \*

In Kosmach, the standard (blue and yellow) "Viterets" was repainted upon orders from the secretary of the party organization of the village, school principal DIDYKH. For the same reason the head of the church council Vartsabyuk, who painted the church yellow, was called to the district executive committee and was forced to repaint the church white, "or else you'll make the windows blue and place a trident (Ukrainian national emblem) on the top."

In Sheshory — Ivanyshyn as well.

\* \* \*

In June, 1970, in the town of Snyatyn in the Ivano-Frankivsk region, three schoolboys of the local secondary school were tried. They were 8th-grade pupils Marderovych and Chepiha and one from the seventh grade, whose name has not been ascertained. On May 9 of that year, these schoolboys cut up portraits of party and government leaders in the town's center. On the following evening they wanted to set flags on fire that were being displayed in honour of Victory Day, but they were detained.

They were held under arrest for three days, then were released and permitted to complete the school year. During the investigation two pupils repented their deeds, but student Marderovych argued that in Ukraine Russification was taking place and the Ukrainian language and culture were being suppressed and therefore his act was a protest against chauvinism. He said, in particular, that Russians had arrived in Snyatyn in large numbers and had filled all the good jobs, while local residents had to look for work somewhere else. Because of this his father, who was a teacher, could not find work in Snyatyn and had to travel everyday to work in a village.

At the trial the Snyatyn school principal, Hryshko, complained that these schoolboys had dishonored the school and urged that they be sentenced to imprisonment in a special colony. Even the lawyer protested against this, declaring that the "criminals" were mere children and should be re-educated in school.

The court decided to give the schoolboys a suspended sentence and to give them the opportunity to finish school. Young Mardero-vych's father, however, was dismissed from school in the village of Budyliv in the Snyatyn district and is still unemployed.

\* \* \*

In September, 1971, on the anniversary of the extermination of Jews at Babyn Yar in Kyiv by the Fascists, a group of Kyiv Jews, especially those wishing to emigrate to Israel, staged a sit-in demonstration near the obelisk at Babyn Yar. Ten persons were arrested and sentenced to fifteen days, while one was fined.

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For the case of Yuriy Shukhevych, see *ABN Correspondence*, No. 1, 1973, pp. 16 and 17.

### MYKHAYLO SOROKA'S LETTER

In the year 1949, they tried to enforce obedience through blackmail and intimidation. The spectre of the past was to serve as a warning. They tried to persuade me that I have always been opposed to those in power. The best proof of this was the fact that I am constantly in prison. My excuse was that prior to 1939, the national minorities, of which I was one, suffered quite innocently.

Since 1940 I have been isolated for no reason whatsoever and have been a victim of circumstances. I was in the government for only two weeks. For a week-and-a-half I was detained without any sanctions for an arrest. I suspect that they planned to turn me into an informer. They proposed a choice of any city in which to work for the price of "becoming their friend." They were very much interested in whether or not my parents and I knew where my daughter is. I thought that she might be abroad. Why didn't I try to find out where she was? I inquired where I could, first of all of my parents, but they told me that they did not know and I calmed myself down. The authorities said that this was not true and that I should have kept on asking. I stated that my parents' words never needed verification and in themselves constituted an undeniable truth for me. I did not talk with my parents about anything else. It ended at that.

Now in a few words I shall tell about the situation and the background against which further events developed. The year 1948 was very disturbing, and from the measures which we observed in camps we felt that contradictions between the West and East might overflow into a conflict.

We thought that Ukraine could find itself in a situation that was

not to be envied. The fact that it was deprived of blood was considered by those of us in prison as the greatest misfortune for Ukraine. We believed that too great a percentage of Ukrainians beyond the borders of Ukraine were light-hearted about the situation. On the other hand, from past experience we were convinced that no one would come to our country to grant freedom and happiness to the people. All pursued their own interests. The same thing can happen in the future as well, when the interests of the conquerors may be totally opposed to the interests of the lawful owner of Ukrainian territory: the Ukrainians. This means that the time may come when it will be necessary to *convince* the occupiers that they should take the opinions and interests of the native population into consideration. Again there arises the problem of a return to the Ukrainian territory of those Ukrainian forces which at present are dispersed throughout the world.

For this reason we were faced with the problem of how to protect and preserve Ukrainians from annihilation in the event of a conflict. Thus an organization arose which should have taken care of the realization of vital needs.

The organization of new so-called special camps gave all prisoners reason to suspect that the worst might happen to prisoners. The conversations of camp officers and employees at the table at home were taken into the street by the children and it was often possible to hear shouts of individual children: "Uncle, you will be shot soon." This was the period when spontaneous self-defence organizations emerged. There was a need for prisoners to restrain themselves from being provoked by various shady characters into needless internal clashes and external acts.

And so the organization set itself the following tasks: the moral and physical preservation of Ukrainians at camps and the safeguarding of their return home should they find themselves beyond the confines of barbed wire.

I was arrested in 1949 at this stage of work. In 1952 I was arrested anew on the basis of testimony by various witnesses.

Halyna Didyk was the first witness. In 1950, she informed that in 1948-49 I met with members of the Presidium and conducted negotiations of some kind, received money in 1948 and was to have received some in 1949. Besides the money, I received a passport for a prisoner in order to abduct him from camp. The other witnesses who were arrested in the 1952-53 period for seven to ten months gave evidence as to my participation in the Vorkuta organization.

I was arrested on December 28. At one of the first interrogations I was given articles to read which formed the basis of the charges against me: 58-1a, 2, 10 Part II, and 11. These meant high treason, agitation against the state, organization of an underground, and preparation of an uprising. Besides this, on the basis of witnesses' testimony I was accused of being the "founder, inspirer, and



organizer." After my complete denial of the charges, the investigating department and the prosecutor's office issued a statement that I am an "irreconcilable foe of the Soviet system." I denied all testimony by witnesses for several months until I discovered all the materials which they had against me, so that I might make a plan of defence.

For the duration of the investigation I was allowed to sleep only one to two hours a day. For the first three months the investigation was conducted in Krasnoyarsk, the remainder in Syvtyvkar, where all the defendants and witnesses were brought.

The trial was held on September 5-16, in Syvtylvkar. In the course of the investigation one witness died, one became insane, and two were prevented from committing suicide. I feared that I would not last until the trial, for I had pains in my chest.

Those who saw me at the trial later related that my eyes were inflamed, thick veins protruded on my forehead, and my lips burned with fever. Many defendants could not endure the tortures, and they incriminated themselves by signing protocols in which they were charged with espionage and insurrection. Altogether there were 16 defendants.

At the trial I considered it appropriate to make a statement on my relationship to the OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists). I feel that each nation has the right to be in command of the work and wealth which it creates. Each nation has the right to arrange life as it sees fit. Each nation can develop and grow spiritually and mentally only when its citizens enjoy full freedom of conscience, thought, speech, and assembly. On the basis of my own and my acquaintances' observations, I maintained that the Ukrainian people did not enjoy the rights of a free nation, while its "state" — the Ukr. SSR — could not even dispose of its own citizens, the proof of this being our trial on non-Ukrainian territory. After all, nobody was accusing us of striving to annex the Komi ASSR to Ukraine. Why weren't we tried by an open Ukrainian national court on charges that we were enemies of the Ukrainian people?

Hence, if the Ukrainian nation can gain its rights only in an independent state, not dependent on anyone, then I am for an independent state. Because the OUN is the only real force which strives for attaining independence for the Ukrainian nation, I am in favour of OUN, in spite of the fact that I was not and presently I am not a member. At one time, however, I agreed to cooperate with it.

At the opening, everyone stated that he rejected charges of espionage and preparation for an uprising. I protested against the unfounded and brazen slander that we allegedly intended to launch an uprising and allegedly had served foreign interests. What I told people from the underground about life in camps was not a secret to anyone.

1. The fact that Vorkuta exists and its location is known to all schoolboys from their textbooks. The books also tell what it is famous for.

2. The names of those at Vorkuta and the role played by prisoners in the Soviet economy were reported by the Poles to the whole world as early as 1942.

3. The fact that Ukrainian prisoners are in Vorkuta is known to Ukraine at large from letters of their relatives and acquaintances.

4. How Ukrainian prisoners live is indicated by the food parcels that come from Ukraine to Vorkuta in an incessant stream, and not the other way around. Only a morbid mania of suspecting one and all could cause one to see espionage everywhere.

With respect to an insurrection we asserted the following. The way in which prisoners are treated in the Soviet Union when it is impossible to evacuate them is known to the whole world. There was no instance on the territory of the Soviet Union where the administration would voluntarily disband prisoners or leave them alive in places which were to be occupied by an enemy. In all prisons which remained in the rear, all prisoners were murdered in a bestial manner. It is entirely natural for any living creature to try to defend its life. Our "guilt" was to be found only in the fact that we decided to die standing up and not lying down, because we considered it undignified to give our lives to the violators without a protest. In spite of the fact that we were deprived of freedom, we preserved our dignity and if we are not attacked, we will not need to defend ourselves. We can anticipate results and are aware of the fact that machine-guns, grenades, and planes are stronger than bare hands or wooden clubs. If we were convinced of the contrary, then it would be impossible to keep us in camps, but in insane asylums.

In all speeches we declared that we do not consider ourselves criminals. Those who entered camps as supporters of the Soviet regime became its confirmed enemies, because the camps are a visible proof of the fact that injustice and the latest brand of "fascism" exist in the Soviet Union. It is the duty of every honest man to disapprove of everything he sees in camps. The fact that there are prisons, camps, and other places where people are tormented and suffer does not bring honour and pride to the citizens of a state; it brings shame to their faces. Why don't you ponder over the reasons which compel a state to maintain a special internal army, armed with modern types of destructive weapons to be used against its own population?

Aren't you ashamed that prisons and camps are packed with the healthiest element and that an army of young boys is guarding them instead of their all creating values together, working toward the happiness of the nation?

Nobody is accusing us of having a negative attitude toward work in general or that we failed to love our relatives, parents, and

children. What is more, here it was proved that in us the love of our neighbour has been developed to a greater degree than in other people, that we were the first to overcome the survivals of the past, and that our major concern was to help our neighbours and to live for our neighbours. In spite of all this we find ourselves on the defensive, surrounded by a thicket of bayonets.

What is the reason? Perhaps we live in a world of illusions, apparitions, mirages? Perhaps our eyes are shrouded? Perhaps outside it is day and we think it is night? But it won't get brighter in our eyes if you hit us on the head with a club and lock us up in dark dungeons. There we won't convince ourselves that it is day outside. We maintain that peasants live badly, that workers can live better, that in the state people dream of nothing but freedom. Convince us that we are mistaken, and we shall become adherents of the Soviet system. We are not social criminals; we are not thieves or bandits. Our misfortune is only the fact that we were taught to call white — white, and black — black.

Perhaps our misfortune is also in the fact that our ancestors handed down to us an inborn insubmissiveness and a sense of justice. Were it not for this, the Ukr. SSR surely would not exist today, for not so long ago you maintained that "There was no, there is no, and there will be no Ukraine!" Now you yourselves are witnesses of the fact that Ukraine does exist, and not only one, but two: the official Ukraine and the one fighting for its lawful rights. We are aware of the fact that you are unable to change anything or to help, but we ask you to pass on to others our ideas and desires.

Such, in brief, were the statements at the trial. The verdict was read on September 16: three death sentences (Bilynsky, Petrashchuk, Soroka); one imprisonment for 5.5 years; one for 10 years; two for 15 years; and nine for 25 years each.

On November 30 the death sentences were commuted to 25 years in prison. The supreme military board confirmed the following articles: 58-la and 10- Part II. The rest was rejected.

From the protocols of Halyna D.'s testimony I found that my parents had met with my daughter, often helping her with food. It was also said that my father asked my daughter to leave the underground. After my daughter's arrest, Hal. delivered money to my son through O.

I also glanced over my daughter's protocol. In March, 1954, I travelled to Korov where I spent two months. After this, via Sverdlovsk and Petropavlovsk I was transported to Dzhezkangan (the Kingir settlement) in Southern Kazakhstan. There I was confined to prison. The camps in that region had the appearance of a prison system. The entire camp was surrounded by a wall five kilometers long, and inside the camp there were barracks which were locked up at night. They were also separated by walls. Unbearable conditions (terror, groundless executions, "a miracle of a

prison" without the admission of air) resulted in the fact that on May 16 under machine-gun fire the prison was demolished and all the walls were pulled down between individual barracks and separate zones. Three zones had been joined together by a common wall.

Thus I found myself in a zone among people. In the first days the entire camp administration was driven out of the zone and our own self-rule was organized. Representatives of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the central camp administration, and the prosecutor's office flew in from Moscow. General Bychkov, General Dolgikh (commandant of all camps), deputy minister Yegorov, and deputy prosecutor-general Vavilov arrived.

The following demands were put forth: punishment of those responsible for the May 16 executions; the abolition of the 25-year sentence; the release of minors, elderly, and invalids; the granting of full citizenship rights to the children of the arrested; permission for families of the convicted to return home from deportation; and the release of all those who have served five years.

The representatives replied that it was not within their power to grant these demands, and they insisted that the strike be ended and that the men return to work. The prisoners, who numbered 7,000, then barricaded themselves against provocations, stopped further negotiations with the representatives of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the prosecutor's office, and demanded the arrival of a representative of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. They were joined by 12,000 striking prisoners who worked in mines 20 kilometres away from Kengir.

The prisoners supported the following platform: Some circles of the Soviet administration, namely, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Ministry of State Security, the prosecutor's office, and the camp administration are interested in the preservation of the *status quo*, i.e. for the sake of their own selfish interests they are attempting to keep prisons, camps, and deportees and migrants in the existing state in order to live as parasites on their bodies. Otherwise, all those working in these various ministries and institutions would have to earn their living by the sweat of their brow.

In order to detain the maximum number of prisoners the officials attempt by various provocations to prove the incorrigibility of the prisoners and the danger that would follow if they were freed.

From these ministries there always emerged those enemies of the people who forged evil, sowed hatred, and induced provocations. From their ranks there came Yagoda, Yeshov, Beria, Ryumin, and others. Therefore, the prisoners did not wish to continue talking to those who for decades had bathed in human blood and whose single concern was to build stronger prisons and to chain the people more securely.

The strike lasted until June 26. During that time the prisoners

persuaded soldiers through loudspeakers and speaking trumpets not to shoot on their fathers, brothers, and relatives since they are children of peasants and workers. There are no sons of generals and ministers among them, they do not have big fat bellies like the officers do, and they do not take trips to health resorts.

On June 26 at 4 A.M. the tanks forced their way in, followed by the army, tossing grenades and showering machine-gun fire and so (as the Chekists later joked) the CPSU made good the request of the prisoners. Those who remained alive were dispatched to Kolyma. In the port of Vanino we were detained for two months. Illness helped me to leave Magadan with the invalids and to come here where I am at present. Regrettably, this route stretching for 700 km. from Taishet to Lena belongs to the worst places of imprisonment in the Soviet Union. In July of this year, for example, those who refused to disembark in a penal camp (for they were being transported unjustly and illegally) were machine-gunned in closed railroad cars. Later the cars were broken open and the living were pulled out with hooks.

Are the endless stages to serve as a method of keeping prisoners in a state of fear and obedience? I regret very much that I have left Magadan. Nowhere are there so many scandals, abuses, and want of justice as here.

Consciously, I have not done any harm to anyone. If anyone did have to suffer on my account, then this was contrary to my wishes, aspirations, and deeds. I feel serene since my conscience is clear, because I have had personally to suffer so much for what is called truth. A sense of justice in one's own deeds will always be a source of equilibrium and spiritual peace.

When you receive this, please let me know immediately. Aside from what was said, they have nothing else against me. And this, in my opinion, is a matter of conscience of each individual.

As long as injustice, slander, abuse, and oppression prevail, so long will I have a bad life, for I will struggle against these things. And since power is often in the hands of those who make use of the above-mentioned, then those who are opposed will always be kept under lock and key.

Remaining yours forever,

(Signature)

I am enclosing a few words written to me. Surely you will find them interesting. I must rush for they are advancing desperately.

## STATEMENT OF POET MYKOLA KHOLODNYY

To the secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, Ovcharenko, and the head of the Union of Writers of Ukraine, Honchar, October 26, 1970.

(We are citing the section in which M. Kholodnyy provides a picture of suppression of a large group of Ukrainian literary figures, whose work is not offered to the readers at all.)

A "publishing ban" has been slammed on a whole pleiad of young Ukrainian poets, *recognized by the public*. Thus at "Radyanskyy pysmennyk" (Soviet Writer) the planned books by Mykola Vorobyov and Viktor Kordun were stopped. Their selections were published in newspapers and almanachs more than once. Ivan Drach acquainted the readers of *Literaturna Ukraina* with V. Kordun. Recently, a positive article in *Voprosy literatury* was devoted to both.

The "Veselka" (Rainbow) Publishers stopped production of M. Vorobyov's collection automatically, to prevent trouble.

At "Radyanskyy pysmennyk," a planned book by Ihor Kalynets, known for his collection *Vohon Kupala* (*The Fire of Kupalo*) ("Molod" (Youth) Publishers), was stopped.

The collection *Lyabirynt* (*Labyrinth*) planned right here by Vasyl Holoborodko — a unique poet whose name figures in dozens of articles in republican and all-union press — did not appear. The entire edition of that poet's collection *Letyuche vikontse* (*Flying Window*), published by "Molod," has been lying for several years at a book factory in Bila Tserkva, just as Mykhaylo Osadchyy's collection ("Kamenyar" Publishers) in Lviv.

In the *Vitryla* (*Sails*) reprinted by "Molod," the poetical selection of Mykhaylo Skoryk was suddenly cut out.

The collections of Viktor Mohylnyy and Mykola Klochko, known to the reader from contributions in *Dnipro*, *Vitchyzna*, *Ranok*, etc., included in the thematic plan, have not seen the light of day.

The talented poet Mykola Rachuk was told by "Molod" that the publishing house "has no funds available for a review" and returned the manuscript to the author without familiarizing itself with it.

At the publishing house "Radyanskyy pysmennyk," manuscripts of the Kyiv poets Vasyl Stus (extensively printed in republican newspapers), Borys Mozolevskyy (author of an already published collection and of the Dniprodzerzhynsk poet Volodymyr Sirenko and humorist Mykola Kucher (publications in *Literaturna Ukraina*) and many others have not been acted upon for years or have been returned without explanation.

Stanislav Zinchuk's collection was eliminated from the plan by one of the "Radyanskyy pysmennyk" editors, only to put his own in its place.

So far, a collection by the poet-innovator, former prisoner of Buchenwald (Nazi concentration camp) and long-time editor of "Derzhlitvydav" [State Literary Publishers] (now "Dnipro" Publishers) Fedor Boyko, about whom Vitaliy Korotych had once published an article in *Ranok*, has not been published. Failing to overcome the publishing wall, Fedir Boyko became mentally ill and, forgotten by the world, lives out his numbered days in a village in the Mykolaiv region.

In the publishing house "Mayak" [Beacon], the publication of a book by talented Odessa writer Oleksa Riznykov is being postponed for a decade.

The Kyiv writer Yaroslav Stupak, the Donbas prose writer Stanislav Tsetlyan, the Sumy poet-Communist Mykola Danko, the Lviv poet Hryhoriy Chubay (published in "Vitryla-68"), a long-time author of "Molod Ukrainy," Nadiya Kyryan, and Vasyl Ruban, represented in *Molod Ukrainy*, Petro Kutsenko from the Kirovograd region, the Kyiv poets Mykhaylo Sachenko, Hryhoriy Tymenko, and a number of others have been waiting for publication for years.

It is interesting to note that Hryhoriy Tymchenko's poems received a high grade during a report at the Union of Writers, published in *Vitryla*.

Ivan Semenko was denoted by Anatoliy Makarov, a leading Ukrainian critic, as a poet with prospects in one interview with Ivan Drach, as well as from the podium of the Union of Writers this winter. From 1960 to this day M. Sachenko's poems are allotted pages in republican newspapers and magazines, and recently all Ukraine saw a television program about him. Also painful is the fact that for five years no discussions on the creativity of the young are being conducted.

### THE CHASTISEMENT OF "HOMIN"

The ethnographic ensemble "Homin" arose spontaneously in Kyiv, having united people who love Ukrainian folk songs, traditions, and rituals. It began with the preparations for carolling. Separate groups of young people gathered in private apartments or at the clubs of their universities or institutions for rehearsals. Lacking were directors who could have prepared ritual songs, so someone suggested that all groups come together and that Leopold Yashchenko, a candidate of Art and a prominent expert on folklore and ritualism, be invited to conduct rehearsals.

After a successful conclusion of the carols, the young people wished to learn the vesnyanky (spring songs) and the Kupalo songs, to revive mass ritualistic singing. Thus the ethnographic ensemble "Homin" came into being. It differed from other collectives by the fact that it did not prepare normal concerts for the stage but came out into the

open, an organic environment for such works. When non-members of the ensemble joined in the games, the games became mass.

But soon the incredible occurred. The security organs and later also the party organs began to see "bourgeois nationalism" in the activity of "Homin" and in its repertoire. Persecutions of the participants of the ensemble began. Some were summoned for a "going over" by party committees in their places of work or study, others were dismissed from work without an explanation, with still others "conversations were held" at KGB headquarters.

As it was revealed in the course of conversations in party committees, the KGB had given party organs obviously distorted information on the task and the repertoire of "Homin," having set in motion dirty inventions and slanders.

Thus Ruban, the party organizer of the Faculty of Journalism at the Kyiv State University, declared at a party meeting that "Homin" was an underground organization (this at a time when the municipal committee of the party and the city choral society had assigned quarters to the collective at the palace of culture "Kharchovyk"! ). And L. Yashchenko, member of the Composers' Union of Ukraine and a candidate of science, was called by that same Ruban an unqualified worker, "who does not work anywhere and for whom five-ruble donations are collected for living expenses."

So far more than forty instances are known when during "conversations" with members of the ensemble at party committees it was stated that the repertoire of the choir "Homin" is nationalistic. The functionaries often expressed sincere astonishment when they learned that the choir sings only ritualistic and Ukrainian folk songs referring to the life of the people and meets for rehearsals not in the "underground" but at the palace "Kharchovyk," under the protection of the choral society. One participant of the choir, for example, was told at the party committee: "You belong to a nationalist choir." "Why do you consider it nationalist?" "Because it has a nationalist repertoire." "I could agree with you only if you consider 'Oh, dill do not grow' as a nationalist song" and so forth.

The persecutions began early in 1970, first after carolling, and later after the anniversary of Lesya Ukrainka. Below is a partial enumeration of repressive measures with respect to the participants of the ensemble.

Raisa Hryhorivna MORDAN, born in 1939, wife of poet V. Mordan, a music teacher at kindergarten No. 504, taught kindergarten children several Ukrainian folk songs and took them to the concert, dedicated to the anniversary of Lesya Ukrainka at the palace "Kharchovyk" on February 25, 1971, where "Homin" appeared with great success. For this Raisa was dismissed from work. At the Darnytsya district committee of the party she was told (in Russian): "It's a nationalist choir, singing hostile songs. You got mixed up with nationalists, and in addition have brought the children with you!" They talked to her in a brutal manner.



One of the reasons for dismissal from work of writer and journalist, staff member of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukr. SSR, Volodymyr DANYLEYKO, born in 1930, was his participation in the choir "Homin."

Nadiya VOLKOVYCH, born in 1947, member of the Komsomol, teacher at kindergarten No. 464, was dismissed from work for her involvement in "Homin" and refusal to be an informer. This proposition was made to her by KGB agents, having called her in the "Homin" affair.

The teacher of Ukrainian language and literature, Maria *Hlushchuk*, born in 1944, was fired from work at secondary school No. 38 in Kyiv for her participation in "Homin."

Iryna MONKEVYCH, born in 1935, was discharged from her position as agronomist at the Ukrainian Agricultural Academy.

A proposition to leave work was made to senior Pioneer leader of Kyiv school No. 139, Nina LASHCHENKO, born in 1950.

The following persons received "a going over" at party committees (or the KGB) and were categorically forbidden to attend the choir under a threat of dismissal from work:

Maria HRYSHCHUK — student of a polytechnical institute, born in 1948, member of the Komsomol.

Nila VASHKARINA — born in 1948, member of the Komsomol, laboratory assistant of the factory "Komunist."

Tetyana KOVALCHUK — born in 1951, student of Kyiv State University, laboratory assistant at the Leninist RVNO.

Tetyana HAYDUK — born in 1948, student of Kyiv Polytechnical Institute, member of the Komsomol.

Alla ROLYANOVO — born in 1946, member of the Komsomol, philologist, staff member of the Kyiv State University publishers.

Lyudmyla TESLENKO — born in 1952, member of the Komsomol, employee of a hydrometeorological observatory.

Manoliy HUDYMA — born in 1947, construction engineer at Kyiv's CD-1.

Bohdan ISKIV — born in 1936, candidate of Medical Science, staff member of the institute for the improvement of physicians. He was categorically forbidden to sing in the choir at the party committee of the institute, being told that the choir is nationalistic. Iskiv argued that the choir's repertoire is purely ethnographic and there is nothing nationalist in it, to which he heard that religion is also not banned, but a struggle against it is being waged.

Andriy MAZUR — born in 1929, an engineer, employed at the school of the "Bilshovyk" factory.

Lyudmyla SAVCHENKO — born in 1934, an engineer at a photographic paper factory. Besides a prohibition to attend the choir, she was blamed in the party committee for going to the Carpathians for her vacation instead of to the Crimea, as well as for buying O. Honchar's novel *Sobor* (*Cathedral*).

Halyna SAMUTINA — born in 1929, artist at “Veselka” publishers.

Olha SENCHENKO — born in 1942, artist at “Veselka” publishers.

Many persons were summoned to the party committees and the KGB for “discussions” in connection with their involvement in “Homin” and although they were not prohibited directly from attending rehearsals, nevertheless the choir was called nationalistic and it was “recommended” not to attend it, often openly threatening it with possible sanctions.

Among the persons thus summoned were the following:

Valentyna VYATETS — born in 1934, an engineer at the institute of electrodynamics.

Nadiya HOLODNA — born in 1948, member of the Komsomol, student of the Institute of Foreign Languages.

Alla KOVAL — born in 1943, an operator of a railroad postoffice.

Lidiya OREL — born in 1937, employee of the Museum of Folk Architecture. Discussions about “Homin” were conducted when she was still working as a teacher in one of the Kyiv schools.

Ivan DEBELYUKH — born in 1941, worker of the ZZhBK-2 of the Home Construction Trust.

Mykola DYKYY — born in 1942, an engineer at the “Radioprylad” plant.

Hryhoriy KNYABYUK — born in 1946, worker at DVK-3.

Mykola KRAVETS — an engineer at the Ukrdiplastmash Institute.

Ivan MAKHOVETS — born in 1940, a biologist, Institute of Botany, Academy of Sciences of the Ukr. SSR.

Ihor PONOMARCHUK — born in 1960 (? probably 1950), student at the Kyiv Polytechnical Institute. An illegal search was conducted in his dormitory room.

Serhiy TAUZHNYANSKY — born in 1929.

Ivan SHAMATIYENKO — born in 1945, Artem factory. Employees of the party committee and the KGB talked with him. Upon the boy's remark that the choir had not been banned, he heard the reply: “Here religion is also not prohibited, yet we are combating it.” And a KGB agent present hinted: “Keep in mind that in our country capital criminals are released sooner, while political serve till the end.”

Orysa BELINSKA — born in 1949, member of the Komsomol, student at the Kyiv Institute of National Economy, management worker of the state archives of the Kyiv region.

Zoya BORYSYUK — born in 1947, member of the Komsomol, studying at the Institute of Foreign Languages.

Hanna KOVALENKO — born in 1939, an engineer the Ukrdiplastmash Institute.

Emma LYTUVYNCHUK — born in 1933, teacher at secondary school No. 134.

Mykola HOROSHO — born in 1943, member of the Komsomol, technician at the NDIASV, student of a polytechnic institute.

Ivan HURENKO — born in 1938, an engineer, atomic systems constructor.

Mykhaylo YERMOLENKO — born in 1926, an engineer at the "Bilshovyk" plant.

Mykhaylo ZIOLA — born in 1937, chemist at the ENIIKPN (oil chemistry), an engineer.

Adam RUDCHYK — born in 1935, candidate of Physics and Mathematics, Institute of Nuclear Research.

Nadiya TKACHENKO — born in 1944, a restoration artist at the Museum of Folk Architecture and Mode of Life.

Yuliya CHERKES — born in 1947, member of the Komsomol, an engineer at the Institute of Cybernetics.

Olena YANOVSKA — born in 1931, worker of the General Post Office.

Halyna YAROVENKO — born in 1944, member of the Komsomol, technologist at the Dzerzhynsky plant.

Finally, "Homin" was *de facto* dispersed on September 20, 1971, although officially nobody said anything about it. That day a meeting of the collective in the presence of party leaders was called in the place "Kharchovyk." Choir director and composer L. Yashchenko and several choir members made an attempt to defend both the collective and the idea of an ethnographic ensemble, not bound to a stage, as such, but they were silenced. In her concluding remarks, Kharchovyk's director Karasiova said (in Russian): "Nobody will do any advertising for any 'Homin.' We have our own choir at the palace of culture, come, we'll work, we'll sing Ukrainian folk songs, songs by Ukrainian Soviet composers, songs about the fatherland and songs about the party." This was tantamount to a *de facto* disbanding of the choir.

A week later, on September 28, 1971, a meeting of the presidium of the Composers' Union of Ukraine was held, where L. Yashchenko was expelled from the Composers' Union of Ukraine. The following participated at the meeting of the presidium: A. Shtoharenko, K. Dominchev, O. Bilash, A. Filipenko, V. Homolyaka, secretary of the party committee of the Union (levelled a particularly strong attack), A. Kolodub, Yu. Znatokov, Yu. Malyshev, M. Mykhaylov, I. Draho, O. Kokariov, N. Zhukova, D. Karasiova, and Ya. Sydorenko. Among the aforementioned, several were not members of the presidium, but were representatives of party organs, the choral society, or the palace "Kharchovyk."

L. Yashchenko was expelled because:

1. He failed to react to the recommendations of "Kharchovyk's" administration as to the repertoire of the ensemble.
2. Made demagogic claims on the persecution of choir members(!!!).
3. Because several choir members were at the Shevchenko Monument on May 22, and one of them read Symonenko's poem (the choir did not perform at the monument and L. Yashchenko was not there).

The meeting was led by Shtoharenko. No one spoke in defence of L. Yashchenko, although some (O. Bilash, for instance) kept silent, while others abstained from voting.

Following the September pogrom, the choir did not function, although the palace of culture "Kharchovyk" put an ad in the papers about an additional enrollment for the ethnographic choir (already without the name "Homin"). None of the former participants joined the "ethnographic" choir which will sing about the "fatherland."

The participants of the disbanded "Homin" wrote a collective letter to the Kyiv municipal committee of the party and to the presidium of the Composers' Union of Ukraine, dealing with unfounded attacks against "Homin" and its director. There was no reply.

In the meantime, various rumours are still spread about the non-existent collective. Thus, on October 25, for example, "minister" of foreign affairs of the Ukr. SSR, Shevel, spoke at the institute of agitators. The speech stressed that now the enemy No. 1 is Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism. As an example of internal political intrigue, the choir "Homin" was named, which allegedly "under cover of a repertoire of folk songs conducted nationalist propaganda among the youth." This claim was not substantiated by anything.

On October 19, 1971, L. Yashchenko addressed a letter to the chairman of the revisional committee of the Composers' Union of Ukraine, a copy of which he sent to the Kyiv municipal committee of the party. The letter was concerned with the significance of such traditions (folk) and the benefits of such collectives as "Homin." Further, mention was made of the unfounded persecutions of the participants of the collective and the letter's author himself, and about the fact that the collective, which only six months previous included over 50 persons, in fact did not exist.

L. Yashchenko complained about the unfounded and for him completely unexpected expulsion from the Composers' Union. From the letter, we ascertain that the expulsion from the Union had not been everything.

As of late, the works of L. Yashchenko are not being performed, and are not being included in the radio and television programs nor in the publishing plans. The works which had already been accepted for radio by the artistic council and recorded were even thrown out. Excluded were his older songs which are in discotheques and had been performed earlier.

Rejected were songs written for the Committee on Rituals at the Supreme Soviet of the Ukr. SSR, which had been accepted and were being rehearsed. Immediately after his expulsion from the Union, a number of Yashchenko's works (original and folksongs, adapted by him) were removed from an already finished collection of "Folk Choir Songs," which is to be published by "Muzuchna Ukraina" publishers.

L. Yashchenko cites a paradoxical example. It turns out that he

entered "Homin's" repertoire in a competition of ritual songs and scenarios. He had not submitted it under his own name but under a catchword as the rules of the competition had required. And these works, which the KGB and party organs proclaimed "nationalistic" received four prizes at the republican competition.

L. Yashchenko requested that his case be examined objectively, so that a worthy undertaking not be permitted to die. He proposed, too, the founding in Kyiv of a Club of Folk Song Lovers and offered his services in organizing the activities of such a Club. It is not known whether or not any reply to that letter was received. Operation "Homin," launched by the organs of the KGB and party organs two years ago, has now been completed.

\* \* \*

Mykola TROTSSENKO, a fourth-year student of the Ukrainian department of the Philologic Faculty, was expelled from the Kyiv Pedagogical Institute on charges of "nationalism."

M. Trotsenko is a member of the Komsomol, a son of a collective farmer from the Myroniv district of the Kyiv region. On May 22, 1971, he read a poem by Vasyl Symonenko at the Shevchenko Monument in Kyiv. This one act sufficed for the boy to be subjected to persecutions, he was summoned for a workover to the party committee of the institute and reprimanded.

In October, 1971, when M. Trotsenko was practicing in one of the schools of the town of Boryspil, the secretary of the institute's Komsomol committee arbitrarily searched Trotsenko's room in his absence and confiscated a magnetophone tape with a recording of the article, "Reunification or Annexation?" by scholar M. Braychevskyy, which the student recorded because he had no chance to type it.

On November 23, upon instructions from the party committee, a Komsomol meeting was held again which was addressed by the dean of the faculty, the lecturer of Ukrainian language and literature, the lecturer of history (who, as a matter of fact, teaches history in the Ukrainian department in Russian and despises everything Ukrainian) and the secretary of the party committee. They branded Trotsenko as "nationalist." The evidence of his "nationalism" was his appearance at Shevchenko's monument on May 22, the reading of historian Braychevskyy's article, and also the fact that Trotsenko regularly spoke Ukrainian. The above-mentioned leaders submitted a proposal to the meeting to expel Trotsenko from the Komsomol and to request the rector's office to expel him from the institute. Members of the Komsomol, however, voted down this proposal, limiting themselves to a reprimand.

On the following day, upon the directives of the party committee, the institute's active members were assembled and expelled Trotsenko

from the Komsomol, over the head of the initial organization, and "petitioned" the rector's office to expel him from the institute, which was done on the spot.

The students of the course attempted to protest such an arbitrary decision, but the secretary of the party committee told them that their protests were in vain, for orders for Trotsenko's expulsion came "from above."

\* \* \*

At the same Komsomol meeting which examined Trotsenko's "case" for the second time, the "case" of Lyudmyla Chyzhuk, a student of the course in the Ukrainian department, was also heard.

She, a native of Kyiv, first enrolled in the Russian department, but in the second year transferred to the Ukrainian. This became the object of discussion and accusation of nationalism. In addition, the girl had read V. Symonenko's poem, "The Swans of Motherhood," at Shevchenko's monument on May 22.

Here is a transcript of the questions put to L. Chyzhuk at the meeting:

Instructors' question: Why did you transfer to the Ukrainian department?

Answer: I met people who made me feel that Ukrainian literature is worth being studied profoundly.

Question: Name these people.

Answer: We have many such people. I do not remember their names.

Question: Did your mother know of your decision to transfer to the Ukrainian department?

Answer: No, she did not.

This aroused indignation that the girl concealed "hostile views" from her mother.

Student Volodymyr Yatsyuk spoke in defence of Trotsenko and Chyzhuk. He recounted that during practice in a Ukrainian school of Kyiv he saw for himself to what state the teaching of the Ukrainian language in the cities had been reduced to. It was being treated with contempt.

Teachers of Ukrainian language and literature speak only Russian with students during intermissions. To this a retort by the lecturer of history was heard (in Russian):

"Well, what's wrong with it?"

Only the lecturer of Ukrainian literature, Prof. K. Velynsky, supported V. Yatsyuk in this, calling this state of affairs "an abnormal phenomenon."

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**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 Ukrainian 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.

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

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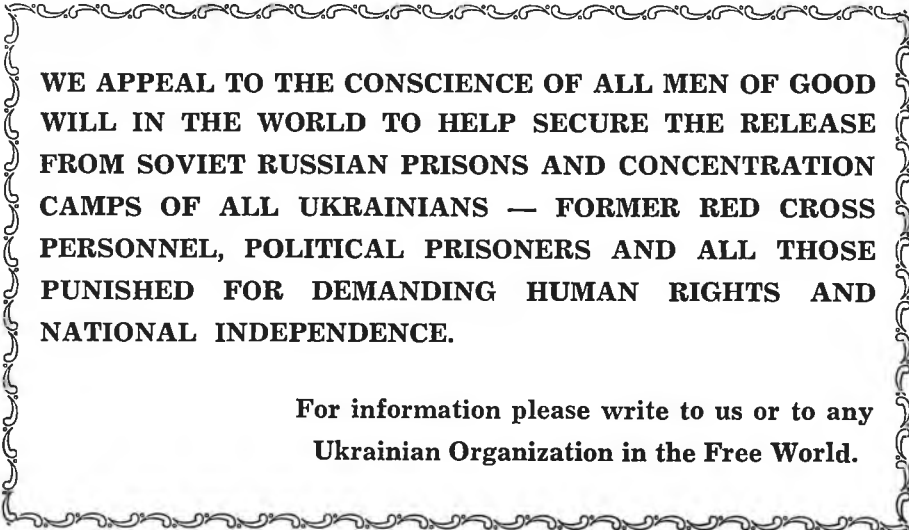
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### UKRAINIAN POLITICAL PRISONERS CONDEMN RUSSIAN COLONIALISM

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.

Z. KARBOVYCH

## THE ERA OF NATIONALISM

### Western Defeatism Enhances Moscow's Power

Moscow is living on a volcano. The ideological, ethical, and political weakness of the elite of the free Western nations renders Moscow strong. The Occident has lost its faith in its own ideological messianism. There is no offensive on the part of the Western states in intellectual, ethical, cultural, socio-political, and ideological respects. The Occident does not spread its qualities, its ideology and its way of life. Is its cult of heroism and patriotism no longer alive? Is it really better to be red than dead? In some countries the crosses of the brave heroes fighting for their fatherland are crushed and martyrs are laughed at. The Occident no longer believes in its truths.

The fate of Western Christianity is tragic, too. Has it ceased to strive for truth, for absolute truth? Countenancing human weaknesses is justified by modern concepts of our technological, supercivilized, materialistic society. Nevertheless, the absolute *human* values have remained unchanged since the rise of Christianity, characterizing the spirit of Western nations. What is justified by the so-called progress of civilization and technological advance are different categories of values. Spiritual and moral values, however, do not grow proportionately to the progress of civilization; on the contrary, they decline.

All religions have spoken of eternal and hard life, of self-sacrifice and self-denial. Christianity and Buddhism highly esteem asceticism in particular. Islam values fighting, through self-sacrifice just as Christianity praises heroic life. Although Confucianism was not a religion — constituting a social moral philosophy with respect to man's relationship to state, society, family, friends, and himself — its fundamental principles of social ethics were quite similar to those of ethics based on metaphysical sources. It is quite possible that Communism with its dialectical, philosophical, and metaphysical materialism succeeded in penetrating the basically idealistic mentality of the Chinese elite, filling the metaphysical emptiness of Confucianism with philosophical materialism. This led to a profound conflict between philosophical materialism and the idealistic content of Confucian social ethics. Probably the metaphysical basis of Confucianism is waiting to be filled with Christianity or Buddhism.

The ideological, ethical, political, and even religious crisis of the

elites of Western nations is strengthening Communism, which is completely bankrupt in the captive countries as its Russian chauvinist and imperialist make-up has become apparent. Nazi ideologist Rosenberg, with his ideas of the Trojan horse, was turned down in England which, at that time, was immune to an ideology hostile to the nation. Nowadays, however, the ideas of the enemy of the freedom-loving world are propagated by Western universities as progressive ideas, although they practically disarm the free nations of the West. On the other hand, those Western ideas that have made the West great do not exert an offensive ideological and political influence. Such an offensive, however, is absolutely necessary in our *thermonuclear* era, which is also an ideological era.

The reduction and absolute weakening of the war potential of the Russian aggressor, by winning over the souls of the nations subjugated by this aggressor, i.e. fighters of the Soviet Army whose majority is of non-Russian nationality, is a decisive element in psychological warfare which will not cease in any case. Never will prisoners reach an agreement with prison guards nor will they cease to aspire to live in freedom, in particular those nations that are "thoughts of God," as a well known Western philosopher put it. Consequently, no agreement between the thermonuclear and technological powers by means of reinforcing the subjugation of nations and men will last. Never did prisoners defend prisons, nor did nations defend empires! Why should it be different in the case of the Russian Empire? The proportion of Russians to non-Russians, even in accordance with Soviet falsified statistics, within the Russian empire (which also comprises the satellite states) is at least 1 to 2.

Not only the captive nations' aspiration for freedom and independence makes them strong but also the fact that their fighters dispose of technical arms as well, including the most modern type thereof, as it is impossible to exclude 200 million captive nationals from technological production. It is the unsolvable contradictions of the imperialist Russian and the Communist system that constitute a decisive weakness on the part of the subjugator. Openly turning to Russian chauvinism and attempting to completely Russify the captive nations proves the weakness and bankruptcy of Communism in the USSR. Can one expect any nation, even the most insignificant one, to idolize its subjugator and exploiter as "elder brother" as the Russifiers are constantly demanding and repeating? The young Ukrainian scientist, Ivan Dzyuba, dared to describe and condemn this situation in his work, *Internationalism or Russification*, published in English by Weidenfeld and Nicholson of London, and in other languages as well.

Is it possible to stop the process of the disintegration of world empires into so many independent national states (the number of United Nations members has already tripled) for any reason whatsoever at the frontier of the totalitarian, anti-religious Russian

empire? The fundamental contradictions of the empire and the system are realized and felt by the subjugated nations every day. They are no longer illiterate; on the contrary, the average person is highly educated, all the more so as these captive nations are in possession of ancient, thousand-year-old cultures (such as Ukraine, Georgia, Lithuania, Turkestan, Armenia, and others). The Soviet and Communist propaganda with respect to sovereignty for the newly created African states — encouraging an army of their own, separation from the “metropolis” and from the empire, sovereign foreign politics, withdrawal of imperialist armies from the former colonies, and soon — reminds even a primary pupil in Byelorussia or Azerbaijan, Estonia or Latvia of the complete contradiction between windy rhetoric and the reality, i.e. the colonialist situation of those nations which are constantly exposed to the Russian KGB, Russification, the Russian occupational army, the lack of any sovereignty as to decisions concerning their own affairs, and so on. Even among the children of the subjugated nations the question of national independence is always uppermost. When attacking the Western states’ non-existing colonialism and imperialism, the Russian occupants are employing a two-edged sword. Consequently, liberation of the subjugated nations from the cruel Russian empire is not only stimulated by the unborn striving towards creating their own way of life, but is also favoured by current world developments. The national principle as opposed to the imperialist one is the slogan of the present era.

The international political situation is dangerous for the captive nations because of the treaties concluded between the USA and USSR governments, between Bonn and Moscow, in Helsinki and Vienna, and also because of conferences aiming not only at the consolidation of the state of subjugation but even at creating a favourable starting position for further Russian usurpations, disregarding the intentions of Great Britain and France, which of course want to build up an inevitable European thermonuclear power. Nevertheless, *the current evolution from empires into national states according to established principles* is opposed to the attempts of the superpowers to come to terms with each other, at the cost of the captive nations, and to divide the world in an egoistic manner.

In retrospect, Metternich, not Koshut, was the loser. A new “Spring of Nations” will overthrow the present anachronistic imitators, on the international level of bankrupt Metternichs who have been building up a sacrilegious alliance with Russian tyrants, inviting the troops of Tsarist despots to crush the strivings of the Hungarian nation for freedom and independence. Despots and Metternichs, Brezhnev and Kissingers will pass, but nations striving for freedom and independence will never die out! Hitler has gone, but the German nation is very much alive! Even Stalin realized this. Why do the official bodies of the West not realize that the captive nations exist, that they will fight and never give up. What do they have to lose

except their chains? How do the Western governments take into consideration — if they do — the factor of this neglected superpower in their strategic planning?

Many people talk of the power of the Russian Empire and seem to be hypnotized thereby, as a hare would be by a boa-constrictor. Why should not the essential *weaknesses* of the empire and system be taken into account when planning the political and military strategy? Never did any imperialist nation permanently impose its way of life on the subjugated, starting from its metaphysical conceptions to the collectivist principle, from its atheism to the kolkhoze, from Surrealism in literature and art to Marxist-Leninist interpretation of all phenomena of life, thus attempting to destroy the original essential features of each nation. This kind of subjugation is dangerous for all other nations in the world; it also weakens the Russian aggressors themselves, because when the spiritual and material substance of the nations is subjected to such a severe strain these nations are incited to fight back with all their strength.

The young poet Vasyl Symonenko, holding national views, wrote the following: "We — not a great number of standard I's but a great number of different universes...". He was born and grew up under the Russian Communist yoke and was probably liquidated by the KGB at the age of 29. Another author from Ukraine characterizes the contrasting values in the following manner: "There was an encounter between two worlds (Ukraine and Russia): 1) the world that considers personality as the essential basis for any force, and 2) the world that views it as the main evil."

### **The Achilles' Heel of the Empire and the System**

The striving for national liberation is a force tearing apart the Russian empire from within, including Yugoslavia and CSSR. The programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (*The Communist*, 1961, p. 21), states that "the main political and ideological weapon used by international reaction forces as well as the remaining internal reaction forces is NATIONALISM." Thus the XXIVth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union resolved that "an important Communist goal must be the struggle against anti-Communism and anti-Sovietism as well as against right and "left" wing revisionism, nationalism..." (*Materials*, 1972, p. 218).

On the occasion of the 50th anniversary celebrations Brezhnev stated: "it must not be forgotten that nationalist prejudices are a very vital phenomenon rooted in people's psychology. One must also take into consideration the fact that manifestations of nationalist tendencies are often interwoven with messianism, which in turn is associated with nationalism. We must not forget either that any nationalist hang-over is incited from outside by politicians and propagators of the bourgeois world."



Brezhnev denotes "local patriotism" as a relative of "nationalism" in the *economic* sphere. The new First Secretary of the Central Committee of the CP of Ukraine, Shcherbitsky, the successor of Shelest, stated after the mass arrests in Ukraine during the April Assembly of the CC of the CP of Ukraine in 1973, that many authors revealed national conceit and limitation, idealized the patriarch system and interpreted the history of Ukraine in the light of depraved ideological views on "originality." The Party Secretaries of Georgia, Lithuania, Latvia, Uzbekistan, and other republics were removed from their posts because they had not been successful in fighting the captive nations' liberation nationalism. *The Communist* (No. 4, 1973) sounds the alarm bell and orders that any manifestations of nationalism be overcome. The *Ukrainian Historical Journal* (No. 3, 1973) states in the essay entitled "Anti-Sovietism, the Chief Trend of Ukrainian Bourgeois Nationalist Subversive Activity," that nationalism cannot be repressed. The author, V. P. Cherednychenko, is quoting from Lenin: "Bourgeois nationalism and proletarian internationalism are two slogans which irreconcilably oppose each other and express two different policies (rather: two world outlooks) with respect to the national question."

In order "to overcome any manifestations of nationalism in the *economy*" the Russian imperialist leadership is also by force unifying the economic geography according to the Tsarist model. The theoretical sovereignty of the republics is being violated, and seven economic regions are created: the Far East, Siberia, Kazakhstan, the Northern Center, Volga-Ural, Central Asia, and the South. The so-called "UG" (South) of the USSR exactly corresponds to the "UG" of Tsarist Russia. It includes, among others, Ukraine, Georgia, Azerbaijan, and the North Caucasus.

The presently existing famine in Ukraine (1973) — the richest European country — proves the bankruptcy of the system as well as the imperialist extermination policy. So does the purchase of grain in the USA, Canada, and Germany. There have not been natural catastrophes in the USA, England, or France causing famine. Besides, the goal of forced collectivization, 1931 to 1933, was not the modernization of agriculture in Ukraine, the Don region, the Caucasus, and Byelorussia; rather it was dictated by military and political, but not economic, interests. Forty years ago the Russians forcibly imposed collectivization on Ukraine and other captive nations to such an extent that they exterminated seven million Ukrainians and a total of ten million peasants belonging to the captive nations. The peasants revolted against forced collectivization by not planting crops and thus creating a famine. Moreover, during the 13th Congress of the CP(b) of Ukraine, its First Secretary, Kossior, openly declared that millions of people would be exterminated. "Our success in 1933/34 is primarily due to the fact that we succeeded in crushing the hotbeds of Ukrainian nationalism."

The empire is undergoing a period of *economic* recession, too. A Roosevelt saved it formerly, President Nixon is now protecting it from the advance of national liberation. After forty years the captive nations still hate the collective system which suppresses man's "ego," his individualism, and his creative initiative, transforming people into a flock and the individual into a "small screw" as a well known writer from Ukraine puts it. One of the young poets, presently in prison, writes: "And the soil became a torment for Ukraine, just as the kolkhozes became a modern compulsory service for a land lord, ... but the landlord received only three days of compulsory service, while the kolkhoz receives seven; therefore, three buckwheat sowers out of three do not sow."

*Having failed in the economy*, Brezhnev proclaimed from the national-political viewpoint in December, 1973, on the occasion of the so-called celebrations of the creation of the USSR, some kind of phantasmagoria as the "patriotic" goal: "the overall national pride of the Soviet man..." (what is meant by Soviet man? Z. K. "international patriotism of the Russian people" (this is somewhat clearer; read 'imperialism and messianism,' whose aim is to change the world. Z. K.), "the fatherland" realizing the union of the unitary state with the "Soviet people;" Moscow is to be the "*heart of this fatherland*," and Russia the heart of friendship." This reminds us of the Slavophile Tucheve writing in the past century: "One cannot understand Russia by using one's brain nor measure her by normal standards. She is individual; one can only believe in Russia." In 1876, Dostoyevsky wrote in *The Diary of a Writer*, "First of all, all people must become Russian. Universal humanity is a Russian national idea and, therefore, everybody must above all become Russian."

*Internationalism or Russification?* I. Dziuba, a Ukrainian intellectual, asks this question in his book. The answer seems to be clear. The final goal is to melt the nations into one supranation, the Russian one with some kind of mythical or mystic appearance.

A similar goal has been conceived in the cultural sphere. *Izvestia* (No. 78, 1973) states: "For the time being there is no national literature in our country expressing the strivings of a nation. Literature is indispensable for the whole society; it is Soviet not only with respect to its ideological content and its political tendencies, but it belongs to society as a whole." It is important to note that the Russian opposition holds similar views. Thus the well known dissident Pomeranz asserts that in view of the intermixing of nations there are no chances whatsoever for the development of national culture and nationalities, and that some kind of "anational" intellectual elite is supposed to eliminate the danger of thermonuclear destruction by rational means for the sake of preserving people physically. Pomeranz' theory is reactionary, degrading cultural

activity on the whole and nations and religion in particular.

V. Moroz, the defender of the national principle of world organization, traditionalism, religious foundations of culture, and the defender of one of the oldest centres of Ukrainian pre-Christian and Christian culture, i.e. Kosmach, opposes Kosmach to Babylon, that is, the organic, natural, and national concept of world organization as contrasted to the nation-confusing concept. Megalopolis effaces individuality and kills freedom. As Ihor Kaly nec, poet and philosopher, proposes a new model for world order, the historian Moroz advances a universal concept for saving the world, in another complementary aspect. Neither of them, however, has been offered the Nobel Prize so far. Knut Skueniks, a well known Latvian intellectual, staying in the Mordovian concentration camps, characterizes Ihor Kany nec's work as follows.

"The Ukrainian Kaly nec also presents a new world model. He has created it in a surprisingly quiet and profound way. You may enter it and leave it perplexed. You may fail to understand it but you will remain perplexed. You will start looking for something. If you find it, you are lucky; if you don't, you deny, at your pithecanthrope's low level, his new world and you brand the poet as being 'antique.' You exclude him from society, but one day your grandchildren will cling to this new world and you will be helpless."

"The art must be created and managed by artists. If some other manager, such as a dogmatist, takes over an art it will perish. Art does not tolerate ignoramuses; it belongs to the scope of a jeweller, not of an artisan."

"When you enter into literature, clean your shoes," says Vyshnia (a famous Ukrainian humorist and a longtime prisoner of Stalinist prisons). Knut writes: "Art is created by those who have a free mind. An enslaved mind can only create an ingenious model of everyday life in enslavement and reproduce its frame and bars. It will never be able to produce an advanced world model, i.e. a model people will understand later on." ("Bilmo" *Cataract*, pp. 69-70, M. Osadchyj, writer and university professor, sentenced in 1972 to 10 years).

By means of brutal terror — hundreds and thousands of patriots and cultural workers being its victims, — by throwing them into mental asylums, using chemical and medical devices for breaking man's will power, assassinating fighters for independence, deporting 15,000 young opponents of the regime to camps of severe regime at the Soviet-Chinese border for a period of 6 years in the first half of 1973, applying national and cultural genocide, Russification, another artificial famine in Europe's richest agricultural country, imposing a phantom-like concept of a Soviet people, artificially creating and imposing a new unified system of economic geography in the empire, intermixing the nations by mass deportations, by all these means the Russian usurpers are trying in vain to counteract the national liberation efforts of the captive nations.

## Western Intellectuals: The Era of Nationalism

The Russian occupants and their serfs are frightened by the fact that American and British intellectual elites are beginning to understand and appreciate the liberation nationalism. Nationalism is not Nazism, Facism, imperialism, colonialism, anti-Semitism, and the like, but their opposite ideological and political philosophy. It implies the independence of each nation, patriotism, true democracy residing in the nation and including the entire nation, not just a stratum, class, or group; it also means the right of even the smallest nation of the world to independence, as well as the abolition of exploitation of any nation in the world. It is an anti-Communist, anti-capitalist, an anti-totalitarian ideology stressing heroic humanity and social justice, idealism, anti-Marxism, the primacy of the national and social elements over egoism, and national heroism. For all these reasons nationalism frightens Moscow. An American sociologist, Hans Coe, quite often referred to by Bolshevik theoreticians, says that nationalism is a social phenomenon "wherein all problems of recent and contemporary history are condensed."

The well known English economist investigating the problems of international politics, Barbara Ward, maintains that "Nationalism is undoubtedly the most powerful political force today" (*Five Ideas that Change the World*, New York, 1959, p. 19). The former Executive Director of the CIA, L. Kirpatrick, Jr., shares this view; in 1969 he wrote: "We no longer doubt that nationalism is the most powerful explosive force in world society. W. Kollarz says, 'Nationalism is a kind of explosive against Communism' and 'finally Communism must capitulate before nationalism at the international scale' (see *Communism and Colonialism*, London/New York, 1964, p. 13).

In 1972, the *New York Times* wrote (as reported by *Novoe Vremya*, No. 42, p. 21, edited by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR in Moscow in various languages): "In such relatively hostile regions as the USSR and its Bloc, the Organization of the Warsaw Pact, vigorously support nationalism. Encouraging nationalism not only fosters the hidden hostility between Russians and their allies — i.e. of the Warsaw Pact — but also the hostility between Russia and Ukrainians, Latvians and Uzbeks, respectively, . . ." V. Rostok, the former adviser of the President of the United States, stated in his book, *View from the Seventh Floor* (New York, 1964, p. 154) that it was absolutely necessary to "consolidate nationalist impulses within the Communist Bloc"; and R. Masters, PhD., from Yale University, advised the American government "to support nationalist ideas in the Communist countries."

In ideological, historical, and political journals, published in the USSR, especially in Ukraine, Georgia, Uzbekistan, Latvia, and Armenia, any relevant Western views realizing the importance of the anti-Communist idea of national liberation are analyzed in detail.

The psychological warfare conducted from these positions represents the greatest danger for the empire and the system. Unfortunately, this warfare is entirely neglected for the time being. On the contrary, Washington and Bonn are the first to conduct a policy of cooperation with tyrannies and usurpers, thus in fact contributing to the consolidation of the enslavement of nations. In this way they weaken their own positions in the international confrontation of the two superpowers because they give up their allies as victims to their enemies. This is the tragic *quid pro quo* of history! The West is surrendering the first line of its defence by shooting its defenders in their necks!

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On the 20th Anniversary of the Heroines of Kingir

Lyubov BERSHADSKA

## FORTY DAYS

AN EYE-WITNESS REPORT BY LYUBOV BERSHADSKA

I dedicate my account to my Ukrainian brothers and sisters who just as I, find themselves in a foreign land, waiting and fighting for the liberation of their native land.

The unforgettable forty days about which I would like to tell you are the forty-day-long strike of 13,500 prisoners in the Kingir Settlement of the Dzhezkangan region of Kazakhstan, held from May 1 to June 26, 1954.

The Kingir Settlement, where our camp was located and where only political prisoners were interned, was part of the system called "Steplag" in the so-called "hungry steppe" of Kazakhstan. All around there was neither tree nor stalk. Sandstorms literally tumbled an individual from his feet.

In the summer the heat reached 60° C; in the winter on the other hand there was — 60° C with gusty winds.

In that camp each prisoner had four numbers on his camp garment. Jobs were heavy and exhausting. No contacts with relatives were allowed, with the exception of two letters a year. Eighty-five percent of our camp were Ukrainians from Western Ukraine.

Hungry, tired, and sad-eyed, the 2,500 Ukrainian women in our camp never forgot their melodious songs. Sitting on plank-beds in their free time, they embroidered Ukrainian designs on small white pieces of linen and softly sang.

They lived in harmony among themselves. When a quarrel did break out among Ukrainian women, however, it was a great event discussed by all.

The male camp was located on the other side of a ten-meter-high partition and contained 11,000 political prisoners who laboured hard, expending strength and health.

In 1954, the system of special camps which existed in the "Steplag" was abolished in the Soviet Union.

This meant that the numbers were removed from prisoners, barracks were not locked up at night, and a letter to relatives could be sent once a month instead of twice a year.

As is well known, in the Soviet Union all laws are passed for the benefit of the state alone. Nobody cares about the people. Everything is done to suit the state. The state even decided to exploit the unfortunate prisoners in its own interest.

After the liquidation of special camps, which were exclusively for political prisoners, 75 criminals were sent to camp, criminals with whom no prison was able to cope. Seventy-five professional killers, who were reared by the Soviet system, were sent to the political camp for "re-education."

In the beginning, 11,000 political prisoners endured robberies, assaults, and terror at the hands of the criminals. Finally, however, the majority of political prisoners won; the criminals were beaten up, tied, and gotten rid of. The authorities confined them to a barrack of strict regime.

With the approaching feast of Easter, many Ukrainians received parcels from home and, manifesting their national kindness, each contributed what he could and a group of people departed for the barrack of strict regime to treat the criminals and wish them a Happy Easter.

Peace was concluded and the criminals were released from the barrack of intensified regime.

The criminals, who found themselves in jails already as 12-year-old boys, had grown wild, had lost their human face, and their personal life as well as the lives of others had absolutely no meaning for them. When they found out that there were women behind the partition they agreed among themselves to overcome this barrier and to pay a visit to the women.

When the political prisoners learned of this, they immediately chose a hundred men who were to jump over the partition together with the criminals, in order to prevent the latter from defiling the women. All the one hundred men were Ukrainians from Western Ukraine.

We women were not aware of all this. We did not even know that criminals had been sent to the male zone. We learned about it all later.

On Easter Day, May 16, 1954, when the women, exhausted by the heat, rested in the barracks, there was no one from the authorities on duty except wardens at 11 o'clock. In the morning we saw men jumping over the dividing wall, some with ladders, some with rope, and others in whatever way they could. In half an hour the camp was filled with men.

The excited women, failing to understand anything, rushed to them and showered them with questions, while all the men dispersed into the barracks.

The two female wardens became frightened, sounded an alarm, and soon a large number of armed troops with dogs and officers entered the camp.

We did not know that there were criminals among the men. To us they were all fellow-sufferers and we surrounded each man with attention and warmth. There was no end to conversations.

Through loudspeakers the authorities demanded that all men return immediately to their own camp, but only through the watch post and not through the wall.

The prisoners knew that to pass through the watch post was unsafe. The Soviet Chekists practiced the following method: when a prisoner approached the watch, he was shot and killed. Later he was photographed against the background of barbed wire and the picture was captioned: "Killed in an attempt to flee." Thus they liquidated all those who were not to their liking.

The men agreed to return to camp, but not through the watch post. It was announced through the loudspeakers that if the men failed to leave camp by four o'clock, the troops would open fire on the barracks.

Some women managed to learn from soldiers that they had orders to shoot only at men, not at women. Then the women tied kerchiefs around the men's heads and concealed them among themselves.

It was stuffy inside the barracks. Nobody had eaten lunch. They smoked everything they had in stock, but nobody left the barracks.

Four o'clock was slowly approaching.

I and several of my companions went to the toilet, which was located very close to the dividing wall, which separated us from the male camp. Upon leaving the toilet we saw a note on the ground, rolled as a scroll. The note had to be picked up, but this was dangerous: the soldiers were watching us.

Taking advantage of the hot weather which prevailed then, I pretended to faint and fell face down on the ground. My companions carried me to the barrack in their arms.

I had the note. When we opened it in the barrack, we read: "Do not surrender; there will be no executions. Men, do not go out!"

Hastily we tore away the wall of the barrack and the note went from hand to hand. Nevertheless, we nervously awaited 4 o'clock.

At four o'clock we saw that upon orders from their officers the troops formed themselves and left the zone in a trained military step. They were followed by the supervisors and wardens. We women remained alone.

Cautiously and mistrustfully at first, the women began to come out of the barracks. At the bottom of the wall we saw a hole. Several bricks had been removed and from there the men crawled into the female camp. Because they crept through that hole very slowly, anxious to get to the female side as soon as possible the majority of



them jumped over the dividing wall, as their predecessors had done. But this time they were fired upon from the watch towers.

The wounded and the dead, covered with blood, fell from the partition, but some supernatural force pushed them forward. They fell shot to death, perished, but continued to leap. The women shouted hysterically, begged them not to jump, but to no avail. The men continued to leap, and the female camp soon became crowded with such a great number of people.

The women carried the dead and wounded from the wall, administering first aid to whomever they could. All barracks were filled with the odor of blood; the people died, desperate moaning and cries were heard; everyone wept. The women used everything possible for bandages: sheets, underwear, shawls. Everything served as bandages.

The camp infirmary refused to help people, and we ourselves tried to save our brothers as best we could: we bandaged them, gave them to drink, washed off blood, comforted them and wept together with them.

Meetings were called spontaneously; the men made certain proposals, decided on something, while the women helped as they could.

Suddenly I heard a voice saying, "Assemble the people and let's storm the prison."

In the camp prison and the lock-up room 150 men were confined. The walls and doors were broken down; the people were released.

The voice which I heard was authoritative and decisive and that man spoke in Ukrainian. It was Mykhaylo Keller, whom I saw for the first time then: tall, handsome, dark-haired, with a large nose and pensive eyes. Mykhaylo spoke little, but there was always an idea. His lips were sealed so as not to betray a secret which he alone knew.

When the women met the men, Mykhaylo came face to face with his fiancée, Nusya Mykhaylevych, unexpectedly for both of them. They poured all their longing, all the grief which they had experienced, into their embrace, into tears with which they washed each other.

It was impossible to quiet them down for a long time. The picture of their meeting is vivid in my mind to this very moment.

The authorities, having left the camp, shouted through loudspeakers the whole time: "Stop this disorder immediately."

The prisoners paid no attention to this.

They talked all night; they cried here and there; here and there the wounded died; here and there laughter could be heard.

By morning two slogans had been written. In large black letters upon white sheets the prisoners had drawn: "Death, or freedom!", "We do not wish to speak to the MVD, we demand a representative from the CC (Central Committee)!"

The signs were raised to the height of 15 meters.

Pickets made up of prisoners were posted around the camp, along all walls. They decided not to let the authorities enter camp until a CC representative arrived.

The women washed clothes, washed and cleaned their barracks, laughed, showing one another that flowers which previously could not be seen through the dirt were emerging on the pillowcases.

Nobody thought about what was in store for us. We lived for today, for the present moment.

After three days high officials flew in to Kingir: the chief of the central administration of all camps in the Soviet Union (GULAG), Col.-Gen. Dolgikh; the chief of regime of all camps, Lieut.-Gen. Bochkov; two deputies of the prosecutor-general of the USSR, generals of justice Vavilov and Samsonov; and they were joined by the Internal Affairs Minister of Kazakhstan, Maj.-Gen. Gubin, the prosecutors, and the local chiefs of Kingir.

We were notified through loudspeakers that the high authorities from Moscow wished to speak to us. Without concealing their anxiety, the generals entered the zone in a large group. 13,500 prisoners seated themselves on the roofs of barracks, and wherever they could find a place.

Maj.-Gen. Gubin spoke. He said that the generals could not talk with such a large number of people and proposed that we elect representatives and tomorrow the negotiations would begin.

Twelve persons were selected: ten men and two women. Nusya Mykhaylevych and I were part of that number. Among the men there were seven Ukrainians, two Russians, and one German. Mykhaylo Keller headed our delegation.

The prisoners instructed us to make efforts to obtain a representative from the Central Committee, inasmuch as the chiefs of the MGB (Ministry of State Security) were firmly opposed to this.

The representatives of prisoners talked with the generals almost every day, presenting their demands, while the generals insisted on theirs.

Normally these negotiations were conducted in the camp accounting building, in a rather large room on the first floor.

Once, at one of these sessions, when Nusya and I sat in one corner of the room and Lieut.-Gen. Bochkov sat on the opposite side, also in the corner, and spoke, urging prisoners to resume work immediately, a troubled, pale lieutenant rushed into the room and having saluted reported, "Comrade Major-General, the prisoners have almost finished breaking down the wall!"

Indeed, it was possible to hear how the men, having gotten a large iron rail somewhere, were breaking up the camp to the command of "One, two, capture."

White with rage, General Bochkov jumped from his chair and shouted, "Shoot!"

I was picked up from my chair as if by the wind. In one leap I found myself beside Bochkov, seized him by the cuff of his single-breasted general's jacket, and began to shout at the top of my lungs, "Don't you dare to shoot at unarmed prisoners, don't you dare!"

Mykhaylo Keller, Nusya, and our other friends stood behind me, separating me from other generals in order to prevent them from dragging me away.

Bochkov, sweating profusely, said, "Drop it."

I lost consciousness. When I came to, Nusya was sitting beside me and crying. All the others were also sitting here. The generals were no longer in the zone; the wall had been destroyed.

The strike continued. The prisoners resolutely refused to go to work, while the generals demanded that they do just that.

For many evenings and nights the men and women sat together and related their experiences to each other. They mentioned the following incident as well. It happened in 1947 in the town of Mariyinsk in the Kameronovsk region of Western Siberia. There were 320 women, all young, all from Western Ukraine. They were all arrested in various towns and villages while pregnant. They bore their children in prisons in various cities of the USSR. When their babies were four or five months old, the women were all collected into one of the Russian transient prisons and told that they would have to give up their children and that they themselves were to be transported to labour camps.

The mothers resisted and steadfastly refused to give up their children. Then the authorities became "soft" and told them that they would go to camp with their children and would work there and bring up their young.

In March, 1947, when blizzards and severe cold were still prevalent in Siberia, 320 mothers with babies under six months were brought to the deportation point in the town of Mariyinsk.

For a week the mothers kept quiet, awaiting further developments. The babies, bundled in rags, cuddled close to their mothers' breasts, silent as frightened animals, as if understanding what was in store for them.

After a week, sleds filled with hay were brought to camp. The mothers were told to lay their children in the hay, to cover them as warmly as possible, and to stand five abreast, as is customary in transferring to another camp.

The trusting mothers carefully placed their children, covered them as best they could, and then spread themselves across the entire camp. The gates opened, the sleds sped forward, and the gates of the guardhouse suddenly slammed behind the last one.

At first the dumbfounded mothers failed to grasp what had happened, but after a moment it became clear to them that their children had been kidnapped before their very eyes: 320 babies taken away from their mothers in the most savage and base way.

The perfidious, bloody plan of the Soviet Chekists was executed promptly and accurately.

For three days the mothers did not go away from the guardhouse, weeping, shouting, beating their heads against the gates, but all to no avail. The hearts of the criminals were bound by ice just as the gates of the guardhouse.

Only after three days, exhausted by lack of sleep and lack of food, did the mothers begin to disperse, while some had to be carried away on stretchers.

This is the type of memories that the people told each other during the course of the strike in Kingir.

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The Ukrainian gorup composed an anthem and the melody, and all prisoners enthusiastically picked up the words and the music and sang at the top of their lungs, in spite of the endless orders of the authorities to stop singing.

In the hot steppes of Kazakhstan  
The special camps rose in agitation,  
The tired backs have straightened up,  
For this is no time to groan.

*Chorus* The abscesses have burst in a sacred striving,  
We shall not, we shall not be slaves, and shall not carry a yoke.

Brothers, the blood of Vorkuta and Norylsk,  
Of Kolyma and Kingir,  
Has overflowed the chalice of violence  
And united all camps.

We swear today to those who have fallen for freedom,  
That we shall not, shall not be slaves, and shall not carry a yoke.

The walls which separated us have fallen  
And brother and sister have met,  
Father and daughter, wife and husband,  
And a girl kisses a lad,

The first burst of freedom had united all nations.  
We shall not, we shall not be slaves, and shall not carry a yoke.

All languages have interwoven into one,  
One faith moves their hearts,  
In anxiety and on the barricades  
A lass is shoulder to shoulder with a lad.

Our slogan — freedom for the whole nation,  
We shall not, we shall not be slaves, we shall fight it out to the  
end.

Thus the prisoners lived for forty days. The authorities made no concessions, while the prisoners decided not to surrender for anything. Tired, persecuted people longed for freedom. They had had enough of penal servitude, chains and sufferings.

Nobody thought of returning to inhuman hard labour. All attempted to lift up each other's spirits, not thinking about what was in store for them but rather focusing all their attention on their friends without thinking of themselves.

On June 26, 1954, at 4 o'clock we heard on the radio: "Attention! We're shooting!"

At that moment two fire engines rushed into the zone spraying people with hot water. All scurried for the barracks where, from the opposite side, the soldiers were tossing tear-gas grenades through the windows. Frightened, confused, the people dashed in all directions.

The gates were opened and one after another four tanks rolled in and ran over people at full speed. In a short time I began to see on the walls of barracks and on the ground human intestines, brains, severed arms, legs, and heads of my companions with whom I had shared my fate for ten years.

In the midst of this mad fury individual voices could be heard: "Woe!", "God have mercy!" "Help!"

This entire murderous process of the Russian executioners lasted for forty minutes.

The tanks were manned by drunken bandits from the "punitive brigade" who were called out by the chief bandit, Gen. Bochkov, to suppress the defenseless prisoners.

Against the shocking background of the dead, the wounded, and people in the agony of death, Bochkov ordered his "heroes" to assemble and conveyed to them "his gratitude for irreproachable service!" Probably no history in the world has known barbarity equal to this. The camp was transformed into a mixture of human bodies, blood, and earth.

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Prisoner Julian Fuster, a Spaniard by nationality, was staying in camp, and the authorities ordered him to save those who could still be saved. In blankets, in their arms, and on their backs the prisoners brought the wounded to the surgical department. Everything was ready in the operating room. Dr. Fuster told me to put on a surgical mask, a coat, and a cap and ordered me to stand by the operating table with a notebook in order to record the names of those who could still name themselves.

But there were only a few who could speak their name. In most cases they had lost all blood before they were delivered here. With bullet-ridden stomachs (the bandits knew where to shoot), with dried lips, and with cloudy eyes, the wounded died here on the table.

Only from some subconscious words uttered in the wake of death we could tell that 90% of them were Ukrainians.

On that day, June 26, 1954, in forty minutes, the Russian Chekists had crushed 500 persons, primarily women, in an unprecedented, brutal manner, by tanks. The 750 persons who became insane on the spot were loaded on a train and dispatched to Tashkent. It was impossible to count all the wounded.

The generals, having performed their black, dirty deeds, flew back to Moscow, and in their stead there appeared a group of investigators, headed by the chief MGB investigator of the USSR.

With a bird-like face, his hair combed smoothly, wearing American clothing and a coat, he summoned Nusya and me for an interrogation to determine who was the organizer of the strike. We kept silent, as if stricken dumb. He raged for a long time and at last shouted, "To the maximum security prison in Kurgansk!" Upon leaving the interrogation, Nusya could not restrain herself from telling the investigator, pretending to be half-witted, "We were told that a moron came to us. Is that you by any chance?"

We were interned in a cell pending our transfer to the Kurgansk prison.

The men who were on the negotiations commission were interned in a different building. We did not know anything about them except that their building was located along the way to the bathhouse where Nusya and I were taken. We had cigarettes ready in case there was an opportunity to smuggle them to the men. Once, while passing there, we spotted the pale face of Mykhaylo Keller in the tiny window behind bars. I still don't know how I managed to jump up to the window. My hand found itself in his friendly hand and with it the cigarettes. In a voice shaken by emotion he whispered, "Is there any news?!" But the overseer was already shouting. Nusya was fighting with him. I jumped down instantly and we did not see Mykhaylo any more. On the following day, the brave, proud Mykhaylo Keller and his associates were led out to be executed.

Completing a year in the maximum security prison in Kurgansk, Nusya and I were sent to the Mordovian SSR, to Potma, from where we were released in 1956. Nusya went to Western Ukraine, while I set out for Moscow. Since then we had not seen each other.

The picture of everything experienced in concentration camps with my Ukrainian friends will always remain alive in my memory. I recall their songs, their lyric characters, their beautiful soft speech, and in particular the dialect peculiar to Western Ukraine.

Nusya liked to tell me: "You almost seem like a Ukrainian."

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Lev SHANKOVSKY

## COMRADES AGAINST MOSCOW

**(On the twentieth anniversary of the beginning of the strikes and uprisings in Soviet Concentration camps)**

The year 1973 marks the twentieth anniversary of the beginning of the strikes and uprisings of political prisoners in Soviet concentration camps. They began in the year of Stalin's death with the "earthquake" in Norilsk of May 7, 1953, in the first regime camp on the river Yenisei, known to all the prisoners of Tsarist Russia, whose 3,000-kilometer length was strewn with prison camps from Krasnoyarsk all the way to the Arctic Ocean. The prisoners' revolt in Norilsk lasted ninety-three days, until August 11, 1953. Besides this uprising, there was also one in Vorkuta which began on August 1, 1953, and an uprising in five regime camps in Viatka on January 6, 1954.

During the years 1954-1956, strikes and uprisings of prisoners in Soviet concentration camps continued. They were a massive phenomenon, not limited to any one geographic region of the USSR. They occurred in all the larger groups of camps: in Siberia, within the Arctic Circle, in northern Kazakhstan, on the Taishet route, in "Dalstroi" in the Far East, and also on Sakhalin. In the prison camps engulfed by the strikes and uprisings all the prisoners struck, regardless of their national and social origins. They formed strike committees made up of prisoners of various nationalities and drafted their demands to the authorities. The authorities tried to bargain with the prisoners, but as soon as they mobilized their forces, they ordered the suppression of the strikes and revolts by force; military units were brought in to attack the helpless prisoners with tanks. In Vorkuta, Norilsk, Viatka, and Kingir, where Soviet tanks crushed Ukrainian women, the prisoners sustained heavy losses.

Considering these great losses among the striking and rebelling prisoners, can one speak of any positive balance?

We leave the word on this matter to Karl Heinrich, a German participant in the Norilsk uprising, who writes thus in the Bonn journal *Das Parlament* (January 6, 1956, pp. 360-361):

The greatest success of the strike, along with immediately granted improvements in the conditions for prisoners, lay in the fact that the strike could be organized and carried out at all for up to this time the active resistance of the prisoners had seemed impossible. The striking prisoners understood what a force they were creating and what a danger each strike presented for the Soviet regime. The reactions of the authorities, the population, and the soldiers were also instructive.

After the first trial-by-fire the prisoners were hardened in their

determination and their action, more critical and conscious in their opposition to every arrangement and machination of the Chekists. Besides this great moral strengthening of the prisoners, one may cite as a success of the strike the obvious uncertainty of the government. One must not underestimate the propagandistic effect of the strike upon those not in captivity, especially upon opposition groups among the free population. Also important is the fact that the local guard divisions were almost exclusively rated by the government as unreliable in battle against the prisoners."

There exists in the West a large enough literature about the strikes and uprisings of prisoners in Soviet concentration camps, written by German, English, French, and Japanese participants. Throughout all this literature there is expressed an amazement at the inmates of the prison camps who rose against the Soviet regime. In this literature one encounters the term "prisoners' army," which underscores the fact that the mass of prisoners acted in an organized manner over a great expanse of territory. Finding themselves face-to-face with the organized mass of the prisoners' army, the Russian authorities must have felt that uncertainty of which Karl Heinrich wrote. In the German literature there is a whole treatise in which Bernhard Reder, a participant in the prison camp revolts, tells of the organization of the prisoners' Army (*Concentration Camp Prisoners. A Treatise on Modern Captivity*. Köln and Berlin, 1956).

In all places where strikes and uprisings occurred, they were preceded by organized liquidation of the camp dictatorship of criminals and the destruction of the heads of administration. The Prisoners' Army had its flag: black with red, bearing the colours of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). This was no accident. Former officers and soldiers of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and fighters in the revolutionary underground of the OUN, as well as their friends and sympathizers, formed the leading "contingent" of insurgents. There are many eye-witness accounts of this in the literature on the subject. The contemporary French historian Roland Gauchet, in the chapter, "Strikes and Uprisings in the Camps," of his book *Opposition in the USSR, 1917-1967* (p. 406), thus evaluates the Ukrainian prisoners in the Soviet concentration camps:

The Ukrainian nationalists came to the camps with an exemplary will to fight. They had fought with weapon in hand against the Germans, against Moscow, against the Poles. They took advantage of the support of their people. In this struggle, they took orders from a military-political general staff and used every form of illegal struggle to the attainment of a specific aim: the independence of Ukraine. The UPA fighters knew very firmly what they were fighting for."

There are many similar characterizations of the Ukrainian prisoners in Soviet concentration camps, in the literature.



*The Dead Return*, by the German Josef Scholmer, in which so much is written about the Ukrainian prisoners in Vorkuta, has been translated into various languages. But the book by the British motorcycle champion, V.E.R. Piddington, who joined the Ukrainian underground in Vorkuta and solemnly took the UPA soldier's oath, has already been forgotten. And who has taken the trouble to read the memoirs of the American, John A. Noble and Father Walter Ciszek?

Every historian who studies the strikes and uprisings of 1953-1956 will be struck by the discovery that the contemporary processes in Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Rumania, and Ukraine, and their important political, spiritual, and ideological elements, were formed in the strikes and revolts in the USSR concentration camps by prisoners of various nationalities, who struggled together as comrades against Moscow, the symbol of hateful Communism and colonialism. This was a "spiritual International" of the captive nationalities, comrades against Moscow. As one of the Japanese participants in the strikes and rebellions bears witness, prisoners of thirty-two different nationalities took part. And he, the historian, shall have to recognize the fact that for the "de-Stalinization" to take place in the Kremlin, at the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, it had first to take place in the prison camps, and it did. This was "de-Stalinization" from below, not from above.

This de-Stalinization from below in the first place forced the administration of the Soviet prison camps to make concessions to the prisoners and to introduce numerous improvements in conditions demanded by the strike committees. And though the strikes and revolts were suppressed by force, they frightened the government to such an extent that it began to extend the de-Stalinization from above as well, decreed it at the meetings of the CPSU, and began to unload the concentration camps, freeing a significant number of the prisoners and carrying out a partial rehabilitation . . . The blow to the Stalinist system was a mortal one, and from this point of view the fearless inmates of the Soviet concentration camps won a great moral victory, which again testifies convincingly to the fact that only by an uncompromising struggle can the subjugated gain any rights whatsoever.

For the historian who comes to know precisely the course of the strikes and rebellion in the Soviet prison camps, there will be no doubt that in the flames of the strikes and uprisings there was born on a mass scale a new kind of man. Nor can he doubt, looking closely at this new individual, that he is historically, politically, and ideologically related to the contemporary person in the USSR. Indeed, it is upon the shoulders of the heroes who dealt the death blow to Stalinism that there stand today the heroes of Budapest, Prague, Kyiv, Lviv, and Warsaw, the heroes of the Sixties and the Seventies, the *unvanquished*.

# MAJOR ASPECTS OF RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM TOWARDS UKRAINE

In the Writings of V. I. Lenin

By Anatole W. BEDRIY, Ph.D.

(Continuation — 5)

While Russians are presented as friends of Ukrainians, the real villains and enemies of Ukrainian workers are the Ukrainian nationalists. Lenin praised his own letter in the "editor's note," adding:

The false advisor of the workers is the petty-bourgeois intelligentsia from *Dzvin* (Ukrainian monthly — A. W. B.) who does everything in order to split Ukrainian Social-Democratic workers from Great Russian workers. *Dzvin* does the work of nationalistic townsmen. But we shall do the job of international workers: to unite, to join, to fuse the workers of all nations in a common united cause. Long live a close, *brotherly union* of workers, Ukrainian, Great Russian, and all the other *nations of Russia*!<sup>159</sup>

Ukrainians could enjoy legal equality with the Russians, but had to live under the Russian sovereign rule.

... to brush aside national mass movements once they have been started and to refuse to *support what is progressive in them*, means in effect pandering to nationalistic prejudices, viz. recognizing 'one's own as the model nation' (or, we will add on our part) as the nation possessing exclusive privileges or forming a state.<sup>160</sup>

Lenin recognized the possibility of the existence of national movements which have no relation to capitalism. In that case he urged the Bolsheviks to infiltrate these movements in order to bring them under Russian domination. "Progressive" was anti-national,

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<sup>159</sup>) Hugh Seton-Watson, "From Lenin to Malenkov," p. 85. *Trudovaia Pravda*, 12 July, 1914, S., v. 20, p. 462.

<sup>160</sup>) *On the Right of Nations to Self-Determination*, 1914, S., v. 17, p. 460.

pro-imperial, pro-"internationalist," friendly to the Russian great-power statehood.\*

Lenin stressed many times that his theory did not have the purpose of assisting the enslaved nations in liberating themselves from Russian colonialism, but of maneuvering them in such a way, as to retain these peoples in the Russian empire:

*If we do not announce and carry into life the agitation for the slogan of the right to separation, we would play into the hands not only of the bourgeoisie, but of the feudalists as well and of the absolutism of the oppressing nation... Being afraid not to help the nationalistic bourgeoisie of Poland, Ross Luxemburg helps them in fact by her denial of the right to separation in the program of Russian Marxists and helps the opportunistic appeasement with privileges (and even worse than privileges) of the Russians.<sup>161</sup>*

His theory had a tactical, not substantive, aim of fooling the subjugated nations.

*We demand freedom of self-determination, i.e. independence, or freedom of secession for the oppressed nations, not because we dream of economic disintegration, or because we cherish the ideal of small states but on the contrary, because we are in favour of large states and of the closer unity and even the fusion of nations, on a truly democratic, truly international basis, which is inconceivable without the freedom of secession.<sup>162</sup>*

Lenin wished to preserve the Russian empire by the free and voluntary acceptance of slavery by the non-Russian nations which would lose their identity in the Russian imperial society.

*... such a point of view consistently carries through the struggle against all oppression of nations, removal of distrust between oppressed and oppressing nations, brings to the solidarity of international struggle for socialist revolution (i.e., for the singularly practicable regime of full na-*

\*) The consequences of Lenin's policy are shown very well by Mykola Skrypnyk, a Ukrainian Bolshevik, who spent many years in Lenin's services and had tremendous experience: "... at the Second Congress of the Comintern we adopted a resolution on the nationality question. It was precisely the Russian delegation that proposed this resolution which said that in the sphere of the nationality question the proletariat must be ready for enormous self-sacrifice in order to form an alliance with the colonial peoples and with the peasants of oppressed nations... Well, has this readiness for self-sacrifice been demonstrated? Not at all. There are only theoretical acknowledgments on the part of the majority, but when it comes to action we have neither the strength nor the will. *Great-Power prejudices imbibed with their mother's milk* have in the case of many, many comrades become second nature... They feel that every reference to Great-Power chauvinism must always be compensated by a counter-reference to the chauvinism of stateless peoples... They always try to dismiss every mention of Great Russian chauvinism by advancing the counter-claim: 'try to overcome your own nationalism first.' Thus in point of fact we have waged no struggle against Great-Power chauvinism." (1923, "12th S'ezd RKP(b)," Moscow, 1923, p. 524-5). According to I. Dzyuba (*Internationalism or Russification?* p. 36-7), Skrypnyk in fact exposed and indicted Lenin's ideology and policy towards Ukraine as being the policy of Russian imperialism. Skrypnyk concluded: "This absolute contradiction between theory and practice, this line from the Party morass must be seared with a red-hot iron; our theory, our line of principle, must be genuinely put into practice." (*Ibidem*, p. 536). A few years later, Skrypnyk was executed by the Bolsheviks as a traitor to the Russian empire which he served so well, helping to enslave Ukraine.

<sup>161</sup>) *O prave natsij na samoopredelenie*, Moscow, 1949, p. 20.

<sup>162</sup>) *Revolutionary Proletariat and Self-determination*, 1915, v. 5, p. 289.

tional equality), and *not for the bourgeois utopia of freedom to all petty states* under capitalism in general.<sup>163</sup>

He was "against all oppression of nations" and for "full national equality." but at the same time he favoured "removal" of distrust between oppressed and oppressing nations," "solidarity of international struggle," and refusal of "freedom to all petty states." His Ukraine could not, in other words, really determine her own way of national life, but had to follow Lenin's prescription. She could enjoy "equality" with the Russian nation in a common state, but could not establish her own sovereign state. The sovereign power over Ukraine was thus to rest beyond the grasp of Ukrainians.

Lenin's theory of national self-determination was to be a temporary, transitory stage in the establishment of an international socialist society:

*In Russia* — where no less than 57 per cent, i.e., over 100,000,000 of the population, belong to 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 mediaeval 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.<sup>164</sup>

The promise of the right of "free secession from Russia" by the subjugated nations was considered by Lenin to be sufficient reason to demand that these nations establish together with Russians a common socialist state, that is, that they will not secede (read: will not liberate themselves).\*

Lenin pointed out that the main task of the Socialists of Ukraine and other enslaved nations is to work for a "free union" with the Russian nation:

The victorious socialism should indispensably realize complete democracy, which means not only the achievement of complete equality of rights of nations but also the realization of the right to self-determination of oppressed nations, viz., the right to free political separation. Socialist parties, which will not prove by all their activities now, during the revolution and after its victory, that they will liberate the enslaved nations and will establish such relations with them which will be based on *free union* — but free union is a false phrase without the freedom to separation — such parties would act treacherously in regard to socialism.<sup>165</sup>

"Free" union was pre-determined by Lenin. Ukraine could not choose any other international course! She could not deal with other

<sup>163</sup>) "Question of Peace," 1915, in *Lenin on Ukraine*, p. 427.

<sup>164</sup>) *Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination*, 1916, v. 5, p. 278-9.

\*) One writer called Lenin's theory of the nation as a "divided" idea of self-determination of peoples (the 'word' and the 'spirit'). On the one hand he favoured the principle of self-determination of peoples itself... but on the other hand, he opposed the exercise of this right by the non-Russian peoples of Russia." (B. Tsiutsiura, "The Leninist Concept of a Multi-National State and the National Rebirth of Ukraine" in *Rozbudova Derzhavy*, Denver, Zarevo, 1955, v. 2 (17), p. 98).

<sup>165</sup>) "Sbornik S.-D.Ts.O.R.S.-D.R.P." October, 1916, p. 1.

nations from the position of her own state sovereignty! Lenin wanted to prevent Ukraine from leaving the Russian imperial state.

Lenin accepted the existence of nations as basic social units. This fact is discernible in the passage:

It would be ridiculous not to desire the acceptance of the legality of wars which could break out at the present time of the oppressed nations against their oppressors, as for example, an uprising of the Irish against England, or an uprising of Morocco against France, of Ukraine against Russia, etc.<sup>166</sup>

Both the Ukrainians and the Russians are accepted as fact. Lenin's problem was to find a solution to the Russian imperial status over Ukraine. His solution envisioned a new form of Russian imperialism, for he acknowledged that the tsarist one was bankrupt.

The assurance of formal equality with the Russian nation alone to all nations subjugated by Russia should have removed immediately without any other action all obstacles to the creation of a union of "socialist" nations:

Just as mankind can realize the abolition of classes only through the transitional period of the dictatorship of the oppressed class, so mankind can realize the *inevitable fusion of nations only through the period of complete emancipation of all the oppressed nations, i.e., self-determination*.<sup>167</sup>

Lenin stressed the phrase "inevitable fusion," meaning that the nations formerly enslaved by Russia are bound to unite themselves with the Russian nation, once all oppressing factors are removed, and that it is their duty to unite themselves into one entity with Russia.\*

Lenin constantly repeated his "negative demand" in very plausible words, acceptable to Ukrainians. What he actually meant was the removing of all national sovereignty and the organizing of an international society under the rule of the "chosen" Russian proletarian vanguard. He associated himself with Ukraine's struggle against her colonial status, but not with her unqualified struggle for full national independence.

Victorious socialism must achieve *complete democracy* and, consequently, not only bring about the *complete equality of nations* but also give effect to the right of oppressed nations to self-determination, i.e., the right to free political secession.<sup>168</sup>

The aim of his theorizing was obviously to keep Ukraine in the "indivisible Russian imperial state. Therefore Lenin opposed secession of Ukraine from Russian domination by trying to convince her that from now on she will be treated on a par with the Russian nation.

Realizing that the old Russian empire is not to be saved, Lenin

<sup>166</sup>) Letter to the French Socialist, Boris Souvarine, December, 1916, S., 1949 — ed., v. 23, p. 187.

<sup>157</sup>) *Sobranie Sochinenii*, v. 19, p. 72.

\*) One scholar aptly remarked: "The question of the Ukrainian right to self-determination became one of the foremost and difficult problems of Bolshevik nationality policy." (Georg von Rauch, *A history of Soviet Russia*, rev. ed., New York, F. A. Praeger, 1957, p. 81). This theory was artificial, opposed by the actual deeds of Bolshevik Russia, which went with force and conquered Ukraine, while Ukrainians of their own will were unwilling to fulfill Lenin's theory.

<sup>168</sup>) "Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination," 1916, v. 5, p. 267.

formulated a new imperial system based on formal "liberation," i. e., equality of the subjugated nations with the Russian nation without granting them any actual sovereignty and power: "We stand for giving Finland complete liberty, that will *increase their confidence in Russian democracy*, and when they are given the right to secede *they will not do so.*"<sup>169</sup> The conquered nations were to be given promises, slogans, propaganda, and dialectics.

Lenin recognized both the fact of the Russian enslavement of Ukraine and many other nations and their right to establish their own nation-states. But he opposed the realization of this right on the grounds of Socialist-Marxist theory, allegedly in the interests of the "international proletariat."

As regards the national question, the proletarian party first of all must 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, 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 organises itself into a Republic of Soviet 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.<sup>170</sup>

He favoured the liquidation of the subjugated nations through their "fusion" with the Russian nation.

Lenin's theory of national self-determination of Ukraine consisted of a hollow phrase about this right, followed by the speculation on the need of Ukraine's union with Russia, thus preventing the exercise of this right in any other direction: "Not a single democrat can deny the *right* of Ukraine to free secession from Russia: namely, the *unconditional recognition of this right alone gives us an opportunity to agitate for a free union of Ukrainians and Great Russians for a voluntary unification of these two peoples in one state.*"<sup>171</sup> Accordingly, Lenin gave Ukraine the "right" to place herself "voluntarily" under Russian rule. He opposed Ukraine's choice of full national sovereignty.

For propaganda reasons Lenin said:

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.*<sup>172</sup>

<sup>169</sup> "Speech on the National Question," 1917, v. 5, p. 310.

<sup>170</sup> *Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution*, 1917, v. 6, p. 61.

<sup>171</sup> "Ukraine," in "Pravda," n. 82, of 28 (15) June, 1917, see *Lenin on Ukraine*, p. 442.

<sup>172</sup> "Materials on the Revision of the Party Program," 1917, v. 6, p. 108.

The whole phraseology aimed at "attracting" Ukraine into the fold of the Russian state, voluntarily if possible. Consequently Russia would give paper promises of "fair" treatment of the enslaved nations, but these nations should agree to remain under Russian domination.

Lenin's theory of national self-determination in the case of Ukraine was similar to that of Finland:

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.*<sup>173</sup>

Russians conquered Ukraine by force because of their self-proclaimed mission, allegedly to give Ukraine an "opportunity" to join the Russian state voluntarily, although the conquest by force predetermined Ukraine's decision, that is, her freedom to choose was taken away from her.\* \*\*

A document prepared by Lenin reveals how his theory of national self-determination really worked: Ukraine could establish her own national-state, but Russia would be its actual ruler through intervention in its internal affairs:

Taking into consideration the interest of the *unity and brotherly union* of the working and exploited masses in the struggle for socialism, and taking into consideration the recognition of these principles by numerous decisions of the organs of revolutionary democracy of the Soviets, and above all, of the Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets — the *socialist government of Russia* — the Soviet of People's Commissars once more reaffirms the right to self-determination of all peoples, who were oppressed by Tsardom and the Russian bourgeoisie, and the right of these peoples to separation from Russia. Therefore, we, the Soviet of People's Commissars, do recognize the Ukrainian National Republic and its right to complete

<sup>173</sup>) "Speech at the First All-Russian Conference of the Navy, 22 November (5 December), 1917," in *Izvestiia TsIK*, n. 235, 25 November, 1917; also in *Lenin ob Ukraine*, p. 450.

\*) On 12 December, 1917, Stalin stated: "It is necessary to limit the principle of free self-determination of nations by granting it to the toilers and refusing it to the bourgeoisie. The principle of self-determination should be a means of fighting for socialism." (Stalin, *S.*, v. 4, p. 31-2). This formula was applied in such a way that in conquered nations Stalin's proposal was strictly followed, while in Russia it was broadened to include the majority of the population, for in Russia the majority of the population soon accepted and gave its support to the "proletarian" government.

\*\*) A scholar revealed the nature of Lenin's theory of the right of nations to self-determination: "Lenin left little doubt that he considered any secessionist movement during the 'proletarian' revolution hardly justified from the viewpoint of proletarian and socialist interests, though he was willing to uphold the right of the border nationality to secede. (Alfred D. Low, "Lenin on the Question of Nationality." New York, *Bookman*, 1958, p. 94). Therefore he actively combated Ukrainian forces which were trying to liberate Ukraine from Russian domination and to set up an independent sovereign state. "Lenin combats nationalism in every respect. Struggle against it is one of his main concerns. And he holds the right to national self-determination to be not an encouragement of nationalism, but rather a weapon to fight it." Ibidem, p. 121).

separation from Russia or to conclude a treaty with the Russian Republic on a federative or similar relationship. All that concerns the national rights and the national independence of the Ukrainian people is recognized by the Soviet of People's Commissars immediately, without limitation and unconditionally.

We accuse the Rada that under cover of national slogans it conducts a definite bourgeois policy, which for some time has *not been recognized by the Russia of the Soviets and the Soviet authority in Ukraine*. Among other things the Rada has refused to call a congress of Ukrainian Soviets despite the demands of the Soviets of Ukraine.<sup>174</sup>, \*, \*\*, \*\*\*, \*\*\*\*

<sup>174</sup>) Ultimatum of 17 December, 1917, according to M. Stakhiv, *Ukraine and Russia*, pp. 22-24.

\*) The actual realization of the national self-determination principle is reported by V. Zatonksi: "Each organization and virtually every member of the party resolved all questions pertaining to the tactics toward the Ukrainian national movement according to his own fears and risks, while that movement steadily grew and became on increasingly more important factor of political struggle in Ukraine, and it came to light that the serious principle of self-determination of nations (not of the proletariat), which should have guided us according to the writings and oral transmission of the fathers of the church, is very beautiful so long as the matter regards India or Egypt, for we had no opportunity to work there (in Tatar-Bashkiria we have much trouble with it already.)" ("Iz nedavnego proshlogo," in *Kommunist*, n. 3-4).

\*\*) Alfred D. Low wrote: "The Bolshevik Party gave life to national self-determination only to kill the infant... By making the unitary, centralistic Party by its very nature hostile to separation and independence of any sort, the ultimate judge of the advisability of secession in 'each case.' True national self-determination departs from the scene and 'democratic centralism' makes a triumphant return." (Lenin on the Question of Nationality," *op. cit.*, p. 102).

\*\*\*) He concluded: "The nationality, which has cast its lot with the multi-national state has, as analysis of Lenin's respective views reveals, thus relinquished any further right to national self-determination." (*Ibidem*, p. 123). When Russia "self-determined" Ukraine, it then "voluntarily fused" Ukraine with Russia and proclaimed that Ukraine renounced her sovereignty in favour of the "multi-national" state once and for all, which in fact became the *new* Russian empire.

\*\*\*\*) A student of Lenin's theory of national self-determination concluded that to Lenin it was primarily a strategy of conquest, covered up by ideological terminology. National existence of the Ukrainian people in a national state was to him a transitory, temporary phenomenon, not a constant one. It was an aggressive political theory allegedly based on changing conditions. On this basis he opposed Ukraine's right to national sovereignty. "Lenin emphasized the principle of self-determination and on this basis divided all countries into three classes. To the first belong all advanced states of Western Europe and of the American continent where the national movement has already become *l'histoire passée*. The second group included the countries of Eastern Europe where the problem of nationality is still alive and represents one of the vital issues of the day; finally, the third class is represented by colonies and dependencies, where the question of nationality is a problem of the future. He shows, further, the three stages through which the self-determining entities must pass in the process of acquiring sovereign existence. Typical of the first stage is the mobilization of national sentiment and the interjection of the peasantry into the struggle for political liberties in general and for national rights in particular. The second stage is characterized by the antagonism cultivated by the internationally concentrated labour movement working against international capital. Finally, the advent of the third stage will be indicated by the victory of the proletariat in one of the great nations." (T. A. Taracouzio. *Soviet Union and International Law*, p. 27).

(At this point we discontinue the serialisation and the full study will appear shortly in bookform.)



# SOVIET NATIONALITIES POLICY IN UKRAINE, 1920-1930

By W. MYKULA

## Ukrainization at the end of the 1920's.

In spite of the growing propaganda campaign against Ukrainian Nationalist deviations within the Party and against Ukrainian Nationalist ideology and its real or imagined bearers outside the Party, toward the end of the 1920's the official policy of Ukrainization in the sphere of culture, and to a more limited extent in public life, was continued. Since the failure of the Ukrainian National-Communists of the Shums'kyi-Khvylovyyi type to inaugurate their programme of a forceful type of Ukrainization, the control over the day-to-day running of the policy of Ukrainization was in the hands of People's Commissar for Education, Skrypnyk, who painstakingly tried to reconcile the satisfaction of moderate Ukrainian National aspirations with the demands and overriding interests of the Moscow headquarters of International Communism. His efforts in this field achieved considerable success, though from the point of view of Ukrainian Nationalists, they were inadequate.

The most spectacular results were achieved in the field of education where, in the year 1929-1930, the Ukrainian-language primary and seven-year schools embraced 83.2% of all school children in Ukraine, although it must be noted that about 25% of all children of school age in Ukraine were still unable to attend school owing to the lack of both schools and teachers. The position in the higher educational institutions was even less favourable to the Ukrainians, although Ukrainization had made considerable progress there too. While, in the year 1926-1927, only 33% of all subjects were taught in Ukrainian, in 1928-1929 this had risen to 58%. The number of Ukrainians among the students of the higher educational institutions increased from 51% in 1927-1928 to 56% in 1929-1930.<sup>1</sup>

The Ukrainization of the Press also made considerable strides, as the following table will illustrate:<sup>2</sup>

1) S. Kosior and L. Kartvelishvili, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

2) A. Khvylya, *Do rozv'yazannya natsional'noho pytannya na Ukraini*, pp. 63-65; quoted in Borev, ed. *Natsional'ne pytannya*, Kharkiv, 1931, pp. 118-119.

Date	Total No. of Newspapers.	Ukrainian		Russian		Others.	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1. 1. 1928	85	51	60	24	28	10	12
1. 1. 1929	85	54	63.5	20	23.5	11	13
1. 1. 1930	102	70	68.6	20	19.6	12	11.8
1. 5. 1930	116	88	76	14	12	14	12

The growth of circulation of the Ukrainian-language newspapers was even more impressive. Between January 1, 1928, and May 1, 1930, the total circulation of the newspapers published in Ukraine trebled from 1,086,000 to 3,344,000 copies of a single issue. At the same time, that of the Ukrainian-language newspapers increased almost fivefold, from 606,000 to 2,960,000 copies, or from 55.8% to 88.5%, while the circulation of Russian-language papers fell from 440,000 to 302,000, or from 40.5% to 9.0%. One must bear in mind, however, that the above figures do not include the large number of central Moscow newspapers, published in Russian, which also circulated in Ukraine, and the share of the Ukrainian-language press in the total circulation must be reduced accordingly. Moreover, one must note that, compared with Western Europe, the circulation figures are relatively low. The same reservations must be made regarding the circulation of books in Ukraine. Though the Soviet statistics show an increase in the share of Ukrainian books published in Ukraine from 54% in the year 1927-1928 to 80% in the year 1929-1930,<sup>1</sup> the share of the Ukrainian books in the total number of books circulating in Ukraine was much more modest, since great numbers of Russian books published in the R.S.F.S.R. were also sold in Ukraine. At the end of the 1920's, the share of Ukrainian books in the total number of books published in the U.S.S.R. amounted to about one-tenth, although Ukrainians constituted one-fifth of the population of the U.S.S.R. This implies (granted that the demand for books was equal over the entire Union) that about 50% of the books being distributed in Ukraine at the end of the 1920's when Ukrainization was at its height, were Russian. In 1928, for example, out of 35,000 titles of books published in the U.S.S.R., 3,201 or 9.1% were Ukrainian, and out of 270,000,000 copies, 27,018,000 or 10% were Ukrainian.<sup>2</sup> In 1927, the Ukrainian titles of books published in the U.S.S.R. amounted to 7% only. In the early 1930's the percentage of Ukrainian books published approximated the proportion of the Ukrainian population in the U.S.S.R., but later it declined once again to the 10% level.

There was a significant increase in the percentage of Ukrainians in the Party and the administrative apparatus. Between the summer

<sup>1</sup>) *XI z'yizd KP(b)U, Rezolyutsiyyi ta postanovy*, p. 25, quoted in Sluts'kyi, *op. cit.*, p. 197.

<sup>2</sup>) *Narodnoye khozyaystvo SSSR v 1958 g*, Moscow, 1959, p. 94; Nykolyshyn, p. 44.

of 1923 and January, 1930, the Ukrainian membership in the C.P.(b).U. rose from 24% to 52.9%, according to the official data.<sup>1</sup> These figures must be lowered somewhat, however, to allow for a considerable number of fictitious "Ukrainians" who were registered as such for opportunist reasons. The percentage of Ukrainians in the Central Committee of the C.P.(b).U. rose, meanwhile, from 16% in May, 1924, to 43% in 1930.<sup>2</sup> The percentage of Ukrainians in the Komsomol increased from 31.8% in 1923 to 66.6% at the beginning of 1929. The leadership of the Komsomol remained predominantly non-Ukrainian, however, since Ukrainians on the Central Committee of the Komsomol of Ukraine amounted to only 33% in 1929.<sup>3</sup>

The economic reconstruction and the beginning of the drive for industrialization contributed toward a significant drift of Ukrainian rural population to the towns. As a result, the proportion of Ukrainians in the urban population of Ukraine increased considerably. The census of Trade Unions in Ukraine, which took place at the end of 1929 and which covered about 2,000,000 workers and employees, showed that between 1926 and 1929 the percentage of Ukrainians in that category rose from 50% to 57% and in the industrial and building Trade Unions from 41% to 48%.<sup>4</sup> According to the general census of the population of 1926, the urban population of Ukraine included 1,931,370 persons who regarded Ukrainian and 2,389,935 persons who regarded Russian as their respective mother-tongues.<sup>5</sup> There are no general statistics to show the growth of the proportion of Ukrainians in the urban population as a whole, but there are figures for a few major towns, shown in the following table:<sup>6</sup>

Town	1923		1926		1933	
	Ukrainians (thousands)	% of total pop.	Ukrainians (thousands)	% of total pop.	Ukrainians (thousands)	% of total pop.
Kharkiv	122	37.9	160	38.3	330	almost 50
Stalino	2.2	7	27.5	26	86	over 31
Zaporizhzhya	12	28	26.5	47	60	56
Luhans'k	9.5	21	31.2	43	71	60
Dnipropetrovs'k	24.5	16	33	36	185	48

1) V. Holub, "Konspektyvnyi narys istoriyi KP(b)U", *Ukrayins'kyi zbirnyk*, Munich, 1957, p. 136.

2) Kosior and Kartvelishvili, *op. cit.*, p. 73, Sluts'kyi, *op. cit.*, pp. 77-8.

3) B.U., No. 6, 1928, p. 64, *Natsional'ne pytannya*, Kharkiv, 1931, p. 121.

4) Kosior and Kartvelishvili, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

5) *Ukrayina, Statystychnyi shchorichnyk za 1928 r.* p. 32, Sluts'kyi, O. B., p. 70.

6) *Ch. Sh.* 1933, No. 8-9, p. 211.

Altogether, the average percentage of Ukrainians in the four largest towns in Ukraine — Kharkiv, Kyiv, Odessa, and Dnipropetrovs'k — rose from 25.2% in 1923 to 39.2% in 1926, and if the figures for Kharkiv and Dnipropetrovs'k in the above table can be taken as representative of Kyiv and Odessa as well, that percentage rose to just under 50% in 1933. This means that in the early 1930's, Ukrainians were about to attain an absolute numerical preponderance in the major cities of Ukraine, which had earlier been the most heavily Russified.

The Soviet government of Ukraine devoted considerable attention to the problem of the minorities, which constituted 19.9% of the total population of Soviet Ukraine. According to the avowed policy of the transformation of Ukraine into a "model Republic" to serve as an attraction to the Soviet system and the solution it offered to National problems for the Central European peoples, elaborate steps were taken to emphasize the protection of the National interests of even the smallest national minorities in Ukraine. The most important move in this direction, which was expected to have a great propaganda effect in Rumania, was the creation of the Moldavian A.S.S.R. in 1924, comprising 11 *rayony*, in a territory of 8,288 sq. km, and with a population of 572,339 people (1926), of whom only 30.1% were Moldavians (Rumanians), and the relative majority (48.5%) were Ukrainians, with 8.5% Russians and 8.5% Jews. For the other minorities, "National Rural Councils" were created, and groups of these were joined into "National *Rayony*" wherever this was feasible. By the beginning of 1930, there were 9 Russian, 6 German, 4 Bulgarian, 3 Greek, 2 Jewish, and one Polish National *Rayon*, out of a total number of 579 *rayony* in Ukraine. Altogether, out of 10,958 rural councils, 9,912 were Ukrainian, 391 — Russian, 244 — German, 150 — Polish, 94 — Jewish, 71 — Moldavian, 46 — Bulgarian, 30 — Greek, 12 — Czech, 4 — Byelorussian, 3 — Albanian, and 1 — Swedish. Schools, newspapers, and local administration in the languages of the minorities were encouraged. Some of the leading Ukrainian Communists had a particular reason to favour this policy, as they hoped in this way to reduce the use of the Russian language in Ukraine and to strengthen the relative importance of Ukrainian. Moreover, they hoped to place themselves in a stronger bargaining position with regard to the R.S.F.S.R., where the special cultural and political needs of the 6-million-strong Ukrainian minority were, for the most part, ignored. The number of Ukrainian schools which had arisen spontaneously in the first years following the Revolution within the R.S.F.S.R. began, subsequently, to decline, owing to lack of support from the local Government authorities. Thus, during the brief existence of the Far Eastern Republic, in which Ukrainian settlers played a significant role, there were 200 Ukrainian primary and 20 secondary schools. After the liquidation of the Republic in 1922, education in the Ukrainian language almost completely

disappeared. According to incomplete data, there were 508 primary and 16 secondary Ukrainian schools in the school year 1923-1924, but a year later there were only 293 primary and several secondary Ukrainian schools in all the Soviet Republics outside the Ukrainian S.S.R. At most, only about 5% of Ukrainian children outside Ukraine were able to receive instruction in their native language. The situation in the Kuban area, with its majority of Ukrainian-speaking population, was different, but even there only about 20% of the schools were Ukrainian.<sup>1</sup> Particularly obstructive were the local authorities of the Kursk and Voronezh *gubernii* (later parts of the Central Black Earth Region with its centre in Voronezh), who resisted the recognition of the one-and-half million Ukrainians who were settled compactly in the Bilhorod (Byelgorod), Rossosh, and Ostrogozhsk *okruhy* adjacent to the Ukrainian S.S.R. as in any way distinct from the Russians, and the central authorities in Moscow did not care to intervene with any insistence in favour of the Ukrainian claims. After many representations of the Ukrainian Communists in Moscow, the Party Committee of the Central Black Earth Region in Voronezh finally arrived, in October, 1928, at a decision to "Ukrainize" the administration and education in some of the *rayony* with a majority of Ukrainian population and to publish several newspapers in Ukrainian.<sup>2</sup> The realization of these decisions was slow, however, and was abandoned altogether in the early 1930's. More was done in this respect in the North Caucasus area, where, on a territory of 293,176 sq. km. there lived, according to the census of 1926, 8,363,491 people, of whom 3,841,063 (46%) were Russians and 3,106,825 (37.2%) Ukrainians. The Ukrainians were in the majority in the western districts, particularly Kuban. National consciousness among the Ukrainians in the North Caucasus was not strong, but was growing due to the work of a number of Ukrainian Nationalist teachers who had escaped from the political repression in Ukraine to the comparatively quiet conditions in the Kuban. The growth of Ukrainian national consciousness in the Kuban from 1922 onwards is reflected in the growth in the numbers of Ukrainian-language schools, as can be seen from the following table:<sup>3</sup>

Year	No. of Ukrainian schools.
1922-1923	52
1923-1924	104
1924-1925	152
1925-1926	205
1927-1928	192
1928-1929	295

<sup>1</sup> *Nova Ukrayina*, 1926, No. 1-2, pp. 129-131, quoting *Radyans'ka Osvita*, Kharkiv, November 1925; *Sovyetskaya kultura*, supplement to the journal *Krasnaya Niva* for 1924, Moscow, 1924, p. 178.

<sup>2</sup> "Ukrainizatsiya trekh okrugov Ts.Ch.O", *Pravda*, October 24, 1928.

<sup>3</sup> O. Panchenko, "Ukrayins'ka knyzhka na Kubani", *Ch. Sh.* 1929, No. 5-6, p. 267.

The more intensive Ukrainization of schooling and administration was hampered by the local officialdom, among whom the Kuban district education officer, Yemelyanov, seems to have been particularly obstructive. In 1925, a Ukrainian newspaper, *Radyans'kyi Stanychnyk*, appeared in Krasnodar for the first time since 1919, when *Kubans'ka Zorya*, a National-Democratic Ukrainian paper, had been suppressed. In 1926, *Radyans'kyi Stanychnyk* was transferred to Rostov, the centre of the North Caucasus area, where it appeared as *Chervona Hazeta*, the only Ukrainian newspaper for the entire North Caucasus area. In Krasnodar a pedagogic journal, *Novym Shlyakhom*, was started. In other districts of the North Caucasus in which the population was predominantly Ukrainian-speaking, such as the Tahanrih (Taganrog), Donets, Don, Sals'k, and the Black Sea (Novorossiysk) districts, practically nothing was done on the part of the administration to carry out "Ukrainization."

In February, 1929, a ceremonious meeting between Ukrainian and Russian writers took place in Moscow. On the Ukrainian side, 37 writers, 11 critics and journalists, and 4 representatives of the cinema and theatre took part. The meeting was intended to symbolize and strengthen the "fraternal unity" of the Russian and Ukrainian writers and implied the recognition of Ukrainian literature and culture by the Russian cultural elite. It had also some relation to the further course of the Nationality policy toward the Ukrainians. A delegation of the writers called on Stalin and Kaganovich on February 10 and had a three-hour talk with them. "In the course of the talk, Comrade Stalin elucidated in detail the National question and Nationalities policy of the Soviet regime under the conditions of the transition period of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat," says a report.<sup>1</sup> It is believed that he reassured the Ukrainian writers' delegation that social transformations would not change the Party's policy of Ukrainization, and promised full support for the development of Ukrainian culture.

During their stay in Moscow, a group of the Ukrainian writers, led by Desnyak, objected to a speech by A. V. Lunacharsky, the People's Commissar for Education of the U.S.S.R., in which he asserted that the language of the Kuban Cossacks was not Ukrainian at all, and warned against a Nationalist attitude toward the Ukrainization of the North Caucasus. This evoked indignation on the part of the Ukrainians and Desnyak accused Lunacharsky of "Great Power Chauvinism." In this matter, too, Skrypnyk had occasional clashes of opinion with Lunacharsky, who resisted Skrypnyk's demands for the Ukrainization of the schools for the Ukrainian population in the North Caucasus and the Crimea.<sup>2</sup> For the time

<sup>1</sup>) "Yednannya radyans'kykh kul'tur." (Union of Soviet Cultures), *Ch. Sh.*, 1929, No. 3, pp. 144-146.

<sup>2</sup>) "Pamyati Bil'shovyka-Internatsionalista" (In Memory of a Bolshevik-Internationalist), *Ch. Sh.*, 1934, No. 1, pp. 188-199.

being, the Ukrainian viewpoint was supported, to some extent, by Stalin, and Ukrainization was permitted in the Kuban until 1933, when it was abolished and its most active exponents were arrested or physically liquidated. Between 1929 and the middle 'thirties, Ukrainization in the Far East was permitted and made some progress. According to the 1926 census, out of a total population of about 1,800,000, 304,000 were registered as Ukrainians, though it is reasonable to suppose that there were considerably more of them in this area, since the National consciousness of these peasant settlers was very weak. When a policy of Ukrainization was inaugurated there late in 1931, under the direction of A. Butsenko, the Chairman of the Far Eastern Area Executive Committee, and formerly a leading official in the Soviet Ukrainian Government, 6 *rayony* out of 40 were "Ukrainized," and one major Ukrainian newspaper, *Sotsiyalistychna Perebudova*, began to be published in Khabarovsk, and thirteen Ukrainian newspapers were started in the *rayony*.

The paradox of the two fundamentally discrepant lines of policy running side by side between 1929 and 1933, cultural Ukrainization (although ideologically disciplined along Soviet lines) on the one hand, and all-embracing centralization and the restriction of numerous aspects of National autonomy and individual liberty on the other hand, must be explained. Collectivization, the fight of the Soviet State against the basic reserve of Ukrainian Nationalism, the individualistic nature of the Ukrainian peasantry, at the same time that cultural "Ukrainization" was the official policy, made the latter sound hollow and unreal. One is forced to conclude that the Soviet regime, personified by Stalin, in carrying out the centralization of the U.S.S.R., a policy fundamentally opposed to the free development of the non-Russian Nationalities, outwardly maintained the policy of cultural "Ukrainization" in order to camouflage the process of centralization and thereby reduce the chances of a violent National resistance.

## CHAPTER VI

### Conclusion

The Nationality (or National) policy of the Soviet State is one of the aspects of its internal policy. It concerns the non-Russian peoples of the U.S.S.R., who constitute about one-half of the population of the U.S.S.R. and inhabit, for the most part, the peripheral territories of the latter. Throughout the history of Russian Communism, the central question of the Nationality policy was how to adjust the reality of the growing national consciousness of the non-Russian nationalities and their strivings to National independence from Russia, to the principal aim of the Russian Communists, namely the construction of an international Communist society, starting from

the territories of the former Russian Empire to embrace the whole world eventually. The Bolsheviks solved the dilemma by recognizing, in theory, the principle of self-determination for all nations, but subordinating that right, in practice, to the "interests of the proletariat," which they alone felt entitled to interpret. And although the Russian Bolsheviks admitted the right of the non-Russian nations of the former Russian Empire to self-determination "up to and including secession," they employed every means of political warfare and force at their disposal to prevent the disintegration of the former Tsarist empire into independent national states. Generally speaking, two methods were used alongside one another: on the one hand, there was the use of the compulsive power of the Soviet State — military occupation, organized terror, administrative centralism etc., — and, on the other hand, the method of propaganda and persuasion, as well as some concessions to Nationalist aspirations. During different periods of the existence of the Soviet regime, the emphasis varied between these two methods, depending on international development and the internal political situation.

Ukraine has always occupied a key position in the Soviet Nationality policy. This is due to the fact that the Ukrainians are numerically the second largest nation of the U.S.S.R. (the Russians being the largest), that the Nationalist strivings in Ukraine have been comparatively strong, and that the territory of Ukraine is of crucial economic and strategic importance. Significant events and changes in the Soviet Nationality policy in Ukraine justify its division into a number of periods.

The decade 1920-1929 in the Soviet Nationality policy in Ukraine embraces, in fact, two periods of its history, divided by the 12th Congress of the R.C.P.(b) of April, 1923. The earlier phase was a somewhat modified continuation of the policy followed during the military struggle for the possession of Ukraine after the Revolution of 1917, and was characterized, on the one hand, by a formal maintenance of the fiction of an independent Ukrainian S.S.R., while real power and centralized control were exercised by Moscow, and, on the other hand, an indifferent or negative attitude toward the Ukrainian National revival. During this period, the formal independence of the Ukrainian S.S.R. served the propaganda purpose of neutralizing the effect of the Nationalist slogans propagated by the anti-Bolshevik Ukrainian forces. Bolshevik victory meant a complete suppression of National Ukrainian political parties, with the exception of small pro-Bolshevik splinter-groups, which were soon compelled to merge with the C.P.(b)U., which was, at the time, predominantly a Russian Party, a local branch of the R.C.P.(b).

When the resistance of the Ukrainian non-Bolshevik forces and of the peasant partisan bands was broken, the incorporation of Ukraine in the formally federal U.S.S.R. was effected. Meanwhile, the Bolshevik regime launched the New Economic Policy to placate the



peasantry and to save the country, with the help of private enterprise, from complete economic ruin. As a part of the policy of placating the non-Russian peasantry, the 12th Party Congress introduced a new Nationality policy which was to further the political, cultural, and economic development of the Nationalities and which, in the conditions of Ukraine, was known as "Ukrainization." Thus, with the formation of the U.S.S.R., Ukraine lost formal independence, but acquired a limited degree of regional autonomy controlled by the Communist Party. In this second phase, from 1923 to 1929, the avowed aim of the Communist Party and of the Soviet Government was to help the development of Ukrainian culture and statehood, not because this was considered a worthy aim in itself, but because it served the purpose of forging an alliance between the Russian proletariat and Ukrainian peasantry. This concession to Ukrainian Nationalism gave an opportunity for Ukrainian cultural life to make rapid progress and in turn stimulated a resurgence of Ukrainian Nationalism even in the ranks of the C.P.(b).U. At the same time, Moscow's reluctance to part with the controls of political and economic power gave a stimulus to the growing belief, even among certain Ukrainian Communists, that Ukraine remained in a subordinate position with regard to Russia in the U.S.S.R. and the suspicion that the U.S.S.R. Government was pursuing a "Colonialist" policy in Ukraine, since it failed to decentralize the federal organs sufficiently, and to transfer the power in Ukraine into the hands of Ukrainians. This opposition of certain Ukrainian Communist to Moscow's centralism was viewed by the latter as Ukrainian Nationalist deviation, and was combated by means of propaganda, agitation, and administrative measures such as censorship, dismissal from office, and threatened or actual arrest and deportation. The "Nationalist Deviation" of the Ukrainian Communist was but a Marxist reflection of the Ukrainian Nationalism existing among the wider circles of the Ukrainian people, and which was expressed in literature, scholarship, the activities of the Ukrainian Autocephalic Orthodox Church, etc., as well as the recurrence of clandestine anti-Bolshevik activities.<sup>1</sup> How widespread was Ukrainian Nationalism among the population of Ukraine is not easy to judge, owing to the inadequacy of reliable data on the subject and, above all, owing to the censorship of all publications in the Soviet Union and the lack of opportunity for a free expression of public opinion there. The general impression that remains after investigating the inadequate sources of information that are available is that the number of active Ukrainian Nationalists during the period in question was relatively small. The reservation must be made, however, that the number of adherents of any ideology, including Communism, which was the ideology of the dominant group, were

<sup>1</sup>) The expression of Ukrainian Nationalism in literature has only been discussed occasionally in this thesis, as the subject has been treated thoroughly in George Luckyj's work *Literary Politics in Soviet Ukraine, 1917-1934*.

also small. The greater bulk of the population were aware of their Ukrainian Nationality (as we can see from the census figures) but were politically passive. This passivity was due mainly to the predominantly peasant character of the Ukrainian population, the prevalent illiteracy, and the political conditions of the preceding period and the period discussed here.

In view of the political passivity of the bulk of the Ukrainian peasant population, were the Bolsheviks justified in attaching so much importance to the Nationality problem, especially during the period of so-called "Ukrainization?" There is no doubt that they were prompted by the long-term view of the inevitability of the growth of nationalism among all subject or colonial peoples in the present historical epoch, and wished to prevent the harm which such nationalism might cause to the internal stability of the Soviet regime by applying a timely prophylactic treatment, in particular by way of concessions to the less dangerous aspects of Ukrainian nationalism. The struggle for Ukraine at the time of the so-called "Civil War," and the difficulties of the pacification of the Ukrainian countryside served as a serious warning to the Bolsheviks that the potentialities of the Ukrainian Nationalist movement had not been exhausted and that its existence and potential growth under certain circumstances had to be reckoned with. Moreover, in the 1920's, Moscow had to rely to a considerable extent on the support of the Ukrainian Communists who came from Ukrainian socialist parties "infested" with Ukrainian Nationalist ideas. In their dealing with Moscow, the latter demanded concessions to Ukrainian National aspirations. Moreover, Moscow's policy in Ukraine had to be formulated with one eye toward the millions of Ukrainians outside the Soviet Union, in Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Rumania, as well as overseas (primarily in Canada and the U.S.A.). As Ukrainization gathered momentum toward the end of the 1920's, it became evident that Moscow was willing to grant the appearance but not the substance of National autonomy to Ukraine, and it also became clear that many leading Ukrainians, including some members of the Communist Party, were not prepared to remain satisfied with such a solution. Their opposition proved ineffective, however, owing to the lack of any sound framework of organization and the command of the means of power, such as the army, secret police, or economic organizations, which were commanded largely by non-Ukrainians and controlled by Moscow was able to deal with this opposition without great difficulty and to embark on an all-out drive for collectivization which, in the conditions of Ukraine, meant the deprivation of the Ukrainian peasantry of their economic power. Up until this time, the Ukrainian economic power had been limiting the centralist tendencies of the Soviet State and had served as a kind of primitive guarantee of the most elementary National rights of Ukraine. Having largely disarmed the National opposition in Ukraine by the introduction of the N.E.P. and Ukrainization in the early 1920's,

Moscow was able to carry out the campaign against Ukrainian Nationalism and, from the late 1920's onwards, to proceed with collectivization under the more favourable conditions of the general disorientation and disarray of the leading Ukrainian strata.

The question "To what extent were the policies of Moscow regarding Ukraine moulded by Russian Nationalist considerations?" remains to be answered. There is no doubt that, in the majority of cases, the "interests of the proletariat," which was the avowed criterion of the Russian Bolsheviks, coincided with Russian national interests, and in cases where this was not entirely or not evidently so, the interests to be favoured were the interests of the U.S.S.R. as a multinational state in which the Russians were the leading nation. Ukraine's interests were considered only insofar as they did not clash with the interests of the U.S.S.R. as a whole and the R.S.F.S.R. in particular. While the interests of the U.S.S.R. were largely identified with those of the R.S.F.S.R., the interests of Ukraine were made subordinate to the latter. Even if this were not always a conscious thought behind the policies of the Soviet Government, the frame of mind of the Russian Bolsheviks, owing to the heritage of Tsarist Russia, was moulded in such a manner that it worked along the accustomed lines of "Great Russian Chauvinism." Even if the Bolshevik Party at times adopted an official policy which recognized the principle of the national equality of Ukrainians and Russians, in practical politics the Ukrainian problem was regarded as the problem of a minority which, in cases of doubt, was to be subordinated to the interests of the Russian majority. The story of "Ukrainization" with which this thesis is mainly concerned, shows the path of the Soviet Nationality policy in Ukraine to lie between the claims of Ukrainian nationalism on the one hand and the logic of the Russian preponderance in the U.S.S.R. on the other hand.

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## **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).

A. SHIFRIN

## IN THE SAME CAMP WITH UKRAINIAN PRISONERS

(EXTRACT)

Below we are publishing a passage from the book *The Fourth Dimension*, by A. Shifrin. For many years Mr. Shifrin was a prisoner of the Russian concentration camps of the Arctic, where he was confined with Ukrainian political prisoners.

\*

Today, too, when you read these lines, the same things are occurring there: special camp No. 410 is located in Vykhoverka; "Hitler" is still its commandant, while Buryak is the chief of regime.

Boys who were confined with us from Kolyma, Norylsk, and Vorkuta, where they were also interned in special camps and where lawlessness also reigned. "We have not seen anything like this yet," they said. Indeed, it is hard to imagine anything more horrible than our indefinite imprisonment in that concrete freezing casemate without air and light. We felt that the gray, reinforced concrete was constantly sucking our strength and our life.

I found out from the boys that Semen Korektor had also been interned here but had been transferred. I managed to inquire how the KGB had found out about the documents in my suitcase.

It turned out that in Semen's cell there was a man who, during one of our escape plots, became frightened but conducted himself brazenly. At the time I scolded him, and later on he began to slander me in the cell. Semen gave him a beating for this and in a fit of anger said, "Shifrin sits on a bomb; he carries a bunch of counterfeit documents for all of us in the wall of his suitcase and you, scoundrel, are letting your tongue go!"

A week later the search had taken place, and now everything became clear to me.

Having had a serious talk with the boys in the cell, we decided to save ourself as best we could and gave an ultimatum to the smokers: either you stop smoking, or transfer to another cell, with smokers. In addition, we introduced a ban on conversation and abusive language in the period between meals, which time was intended for work. And we initiated a series of lessons on history and religion. The task had fallen on me to relate as accurately as possible the contents of the Bible, which I knew rather well. Edik and the Ukrainian boys divided the subject matter of other lessons among themselves.

Such strict regime was not to the liking of two thieves and Baranov. In a week they began demanding a transfer to another cell.

"What's the matter?" inquired Buryak. We explained it to him.

"You will stay where I've put you," answered the sadist and then left.

A month later, however, there was a surprise and an unprecedented event took place here. In the daytime the doors were opened and a woman in a prosecutor's uniform entered. "Hitler," Buryak, and the guards crowded in after her.

We were dumbfounded. As a former jurist, I was familiar with that uniform. I recognized that this was the prosecutor, responsible for the supervision over prisons, so I said, "Don't be afraid, please come in for five minutes at least, for we have to live here permanently."

I saw genuine fear on the face of the aging woman. The sight of yellow dimness in an ice-cold cell and gray people-skeletons could have startled anyone.

The prosecutor entered, sat down uncertainly on a bench, and then she was approached by Baranov.

"I have active tuberculosis. Is it possible for me to stay here?" he asked hoarsely.

"Is he really sick?" the woman asked "Hitler."

"Yes, he is sick," he confirmed calmly. "My job is to keep them, not to treat them."

We showed her the ice on the walls and the floor, told her about our request to sit without smokers, about the maltreatment of women, about the brawls inside the cells, about the lack of justice in everything.

Without hearing us to the end, the prosecutor left. Everything remained the same, of course. But, funny as it may seem, the smokers were taken from our cell and Karl Frusin, who was literally dying in a cell with dozens of thieves, was brought in in exchange.

The second to be transferred to our cell was Mykhaylo Soroka, whom I had already known as one of the very pleasant and modest leaders of the Ukrainian national underground.

This man never talked about himself. He was always friendly and even-tempered and never told anyone about his misfortune. I was very much impressed when I found out from his friends that Mykhaylo's wife — Katrya Zarytska — had been languishing in solitary confinement in Vladimir prison for over ten years. Yet he bore his pain without complaints and always tried to help his friends. He and I became close friends. How painful it is that I must write about his death. Mykhaylo died in captivity in 1971, after being in prison for 23 years. His wife was finally released after having completed 25 years in prisons.

We also requested that Metropolitan Josyf Slipyi or Volodymyr Horbovyi be transferred to our cell, but this was not permitted.

Instead, we were given Walt Mytreykin, who promised not to smoke.

From that day on we had a "regime": silence all day, then half an hour before bedtime we were allowed to exchange views. A small section of the window was open all day, and in the morning we had exercises and massaging with water. It was not easy to force oneself to strip to the waist, and it was hardly pleasant to sleep under an open window. Walt and I slept in the middle and whirls of cold gray air fell upon us. Walt slept with his cap on, his clothes bundled around his chin. But fresh air saved us all. In the year we spent in this cell, none of us got sick, became insane, or tried to commit suicide.

And, of course, we had a "common kettle": all food, whether bought in the store or received accidentally in parcels, was shared. This greatly fostered an atmosphere of unity and friendship in the cell.

I would like to finish this difficult chapter as soon as possible, but I must relate one more thing.

First is the walk. We were all let out at the same time into a common yard, fenced by barbed wire. There was an open, stinking hole — the latrine. An ice-covered board with a rail was thrown across the hole. Our clothes absorbed dampness in the cell and immediately froze in the bitter cold, becoming stiff. How did we ever manage to take care of our needs in the cold, on the ledge, at — 60° C. Indeed, this now seems impossible to me. I can still feel my numb fingers, the killing cold, the stiff frozen clothes. The women "took a walk" the same way. Ponder over this horror!

Second is the food and bath. Thieves had been especially brought in to do our cooking. They ruthlessly stole everything which could be stolen and we received spoiled salted fish and "vegetable" soup, which contained muddy water without fat and at times a piece of frozen potato floating in it. "Vinaigrette" — frozen sourkraut with rotten potatoes and beets — was a feast.

And the bath — once every ten days — was a real torture. Thirty people, from three cells, were crowded into a room no larger than 15 square meters, and after three to five minutes the shouts of the guards began: "Finish your washing! That's enough! Make room for others!" Having burned ourselves with boiling water we rushed out, with lather still on our bodies, into the icy cold chamber, the antebath, where closely packed people hindered each other in dressing.

Once after a walk Karl and I were left behind to chop wood. We were not taken to work, knowing that work of any kind is a pleasure in comparison to staying in an icy cell. Exhausted and weak, we almost fell with each blow of the ax against the log. All of a sudden I heard Buryak's voice behind me.

"What, is it hard?"

"Of course, it's not easy," I replied.

"But on the other hand, you are breathing fresh air," said this

sadist. He thus "paid" us for the job by permitting us to breathe fresh air for an extra hour.

At times a doctor came to us. At one time I also asked to see him. I met a man I had known, a surgeon from the camp hospital who knew my illness and the fact that the cooling of my feet, which were hardly reached by blood, was very dangerous for me. He said to Buryak, "This man must be given a hot-water bottle two or three times a day. He is very sick."

"I am not running a sanatorium," retorted Buryak, and I was led away to my cell.

We spent our days studying languages and reading. Karl managed to learn a new language in three months. He worked almost continuously from 6 a.m. to 9 p.m. One could only admire his perseverance and clarity of purpose. I also tried to read, and at the same time rubbed my feet, which were frozen to numbness. Having rubbed one, I worked on the other, and kept this up all day long. To do it I had to get up several times during the night, which I did automatically, while half asleep.

We had our joys too. Once in March in the course of our walk I found twigs from some taiga tree. They had broken away from a broom. We placed them in a mug of water and watched with pleasure how the buds of the cheated plant ripened and the leaves appeared. But the leaves were delicate and absolutely white for there was no sun in our cell.

But spring finally came. In May the sun melted the ice on the window and each day its rays slid around the cell for an hour from the left to the right wall. We divided this time among us and laid down on the bench so that our face was in the sunshine. And each one had in his hand on his chest the mug with the branches. In a week the leaves turned green, and this was a small triumph for us. But not for long. During a subsequent inhuman search some guard angrily tossed the green twigs — a piece of freedom — into the corridor, where they were crushed by insensitive boots.

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**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.**

Anatoliy RADYGIN

## VALENTYN MOROZ CONTINUOUSLY TORTURED

The Chekists have made a mistake. Accidental meetings of prisoners in the prison's corridors are strictly prohibited, but this time something broke down in the well constructed mechanism. The doors in the vestibule of Block II slammed, and Valeriy Ronkin and I found ourselves vis-a-vis a man wearing the striped clothes of a recidivist. A momentary confusion, an unbearably painful recognition of one another and a sudden leap of friend to friend: "Valeriy!" "Valentyn!" A brief semi-embrace and already the furious and grim wardens, cursing in low voices (God forbid that the authorities find out that they permitted such a meeting), pull apart the two old friends.

When the doors slammed behind us and the prisoner we encountered, respectively, Valeriy asked me if I had recognized him. I replied that I had never met him, but had heard about him and respected him without seeing him and sympathized with him. Even I, who had seen quite a lot in the ten years in prison, could scarcely imagine that a man could be brought to such a state as he was in.

This was Valentyn Moroz. Every Ukrainian is surely familiar with that name, and probably every Ukrainian abroad had seen his portraits. Now do not believe these portraits! The Russian gendarmes have seen to it that this man with a fine, intelligent face and bright eyes will never look like his portrait. His emaciated, morbid, and frightful appearance, together with the striped uniform, reminds one of the photographs of the barely alive victims of Auschwitz. The prison robe hung loose on his tall body, as on a thin wire carcass. There was a thin, bushy bristle on his pallid, dried-out skin, while the skin itself, greenish, parchment-like, and horrible as that of a mummy, covered the high forehead and pointed cheek-bones. Eyes? No, I cannot express what I saw in these eyes in only a few short moments.

Later we found that Valentyn had been thrown into a cell next to ours. Osyp Terelya, for whom Moroz was an idol, manifested unusual perseverance. Disregarding danger, for a whole month we attempted to establish contact with Valentyn, to signal to him by knocking on the wall, or to call to him. The poor wretch had been so intimidated by informers and cell provocateurs that until he accidentally reassured himself that it was really we in the neighbouring cell, and not provocateurs who speak Ukrainian fluently, he would not reply to our knocking and would not take our notes from hiding places. He was so accustomed (if one can get used to this at all) to the daily Chekist provocations, to blackmail, to the glaring and



persistent inventiveness of prison inquisitors, that only after one month, having seen us personally through an open "kormushka," did he begin to call to us and to exchange periodicals and notes. And even then, he did it only when his cell-mates had been summoned for questioning, had gone to a doctor or for a walk. Then Valentyn was led alone past our cell and, having outpaced his escort, he managed to half-whisper a prepared phrase for which we were waiting, hiding behind the door.

It was hard to believe that this was the same strong-willed, temperamental, and intelligent Moroz whom we knew from narrations and from his books, quotations from which had reached us. Screams and the noise of a brawl often came from his cell. The wardens from the "butskomanda" (an operative pacification group) frequently burst in there stamping their feet, dragging somebody somewhere, and then somebody complained vigorously. Everything quieted down for a while only to begin anew in a few hours.

In several months I was to leave prison; therefore I constantly asked Valentyn what I should relay to freedom. He wrinkled his face painfully and repeated with persistent stubbornness.. "Relay just one thing: I am confined with the insane; a permanent hell is being created for me. They are attempting to make me as crazy as those who are thrown in. I have nothing to breathe with!" He said this several times, in the very same words.

And so I am repeating that one of the most honest and talented Ukrainian publicists is reduced to a state of complete exhaustion, bordering on insanity. His present existence is a frightful mixture of a starvation prison cell and a room in a mental asylum. He is subjected to attacks by half-beasts who have completely lost their human image, who have lost all national and social traits. Valentyn Moroz's physical and moral tortures do not cease even for one day.

Remember this!

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## MOROZ IN PRISON

Following is an excerpt from an account by a former Soviet political prisoner, which describes the condition of Valentyn Moroz in 1973. The author of this account, as yet unpublished, is Anatoly Radygin, a former captain of a fishing vessel. In 1962, Radygin was sentenced to ten years imprisonment for attempting to leave the USSR. He served three years of his sentence in Mordovian hard-labour camps and eight years in Vladimir prison. There he met Moroz. After his release in 1973, Radygin obtained permission to emigrate to Israel.

Naharia, (srael  
October, 1973

... "I, who had been witness to a great deal in my ten years in prison, found it difficult to imagine that a person could be brought

to such a state. This was Valentyn Moroz. Every Ukrainian is surely familiar with his name. No doubt Ukrainians abroad have seen his portrait. But do not believe those portraits now. Russian gendarmes have seen to it that this person with the thin face and intelligent eyes will never again resemble his former self. The gaunt figure in the striped uniform of a repeater, sickly and ghastly, reminded one of the frightful photographs of the surviving victims of Auschwitz. The prison rags hung on him as if on a wire skeleton. Short, stubby hair on his dried scalp and greenish, parchment-like skin, terrifying as that of a mummy, covered his high forehead and prominent cheek bones. And the eyes — no, I cannot convey what I saw in his eyes during this short encounter. Later, we found out that Moroz had been cast into the cell adjoining ours.

For a whole month, regardless of the danger, we attempted to establish contact with Valentyn by tapping and calling, but he had been persecuted by informers and provocateurs so much that he did not dare to respond. It was by accident that he discovered that the adjoining cell held us and not some provocateurs who fluently conversed in Ukrainian. He had become accustomed to daily Chekist provocations, to the blackmail and the ingenuity of the prison inquisitors (if one can at all become accustomed to this), that only after one month, having discovered us through a peep-hole that was accidentally left open, he began to exchange notes and journals with us. But even this he did only when his cell-mate was taken out for questioning, to the doctor, or for exercise. Then Moroz would be escorted alone. When passing our cell, he would quickly step ahead of his escort and whisper a pre-arranged phrase, for which we waited, hiding behind our door.

We often heard screams and sounds of scuffling from his cell. Often the guards of the special 'pacification squad' would burst into his cell, someone would loudly cry out and be dragged away. Everything would then be quiet, only to begin again in a few hours.

I was to be released in a few months, and I repeatedly asked Valentyn what message I should pass to those on the outside. He would grimace painfully and urgently repeat:

Tell them only this: I am kept with the insane, they are creating a constant hell for me; they are trying to drive me to the insanity of those with whom they have locked me up. I cannot breathe. . . .

Moroz is in a state of complete exhaustion and on the verge of insanity. His existence is a frightful combination of starvation and confinement to a ward of an insane asylum. He is subject to attacks by creatures who have lost all human and social traits. The mental and physical tortures of Moroz do not cease for even a day!

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## PATRIARCH OF THE UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC CHURCH



On the 17th February, 1974, the Patriarch of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, His Eminence Joseph Slipyy, has reached the 82nd year of his life of great genius and still greater self-sacrifice, a many-sided and unique life of struggle, filled with suffering and indestructible emulation for the strengthening of Ukrainian Christian beliefs and values.

The servant of God, Andrey Sheptytskyj, told him, along the Christian road, "The greatest irresponsibility before God and Ukraine is the rejection of responsibility for Church and Country during difficult times."

Confessor of the Faith, Cardinal Joseph Slipyy, was a worthy follower of his great teacher. He took upon himself the responsibility of protecting Church and Country before a deadly enemy — Russian, genocidal, atheistic imperialism — and he went on his own way, about which one can relate through the words of our imprisoned poet, "through love of us, he took upon himself such a terrible punishment, so as to redeem us from the greatest of sins: indifference to fire."

The devil tempted Christ with the riches of the world, and the Confessor of the Faith always had this in mind when he was tempted with bait, the alluring throne of the Patriarch of all Russia, at the price of betrayal of his Faith and Nation. "Go away, wretch, or I shall send you to a mausoleum!" said another, and a foreigner wrote about our martyrs, "There are still knights in Ukraine."

The Confessor of the Faith stood above all, short-lived, untimely, earthly. He was Archbishop in the prison and concentration camps for Ukrainians of both beliefs. One foreigner said of him "In prisons and concentration camps he was a good priest for the Catholics as well as for the Orthodox. He was a fighting Christian Bishop, without regard to creed, not only for Ukrainians, but for all sufferers and believers."

Another, the Jewish author in the book *The Fourth Dimension*, writes: "... and Metropolitan Joseph Slipyy looked stately even in his prison clothes. His conduct forced even the army guards to refer to him courteously. Sedate, highly cultured, he was imprisoned already for a second ten-year term and was very ill. This respect to others and benevolence attracted people to him. I remember when he read us lectures on religious philosophy." With a broken hand, by NKVD, MVD and KGB, he bravely bore the strikes of Moscow on his nation and church, for Christian Ukraine. For 18 long years, he was an unbroken banner and symbol. Finding himself, against his will, in foreign lands, as Patriarch of Ukrainian souls, as an all Ukrainian figurehead which belongs to no group except to his nation, he pro-longs the battle for the Ukrainization of his Church, for unity and ecumenism, for the persecuted churches and for the Patriarchate.

Bishops of Ukrainian souls, without discrimination as to parties, Joseph Slipyy, Andrey Sheptytskyy, Vasyl Lypkivsky, and Mykola Boretsky are great martyrs and confessors of our Faith. They are all Ukrainian figures, leaders of souls, of one united Christian Ukraine.

On the anniversary of his birth, we give our respects and very best wishes to the Patriarch of the Ukrainian Catholic Church!

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UKRAINIAN HERALD, Issue VI, 1972.

## WHAT IS BOHDAN STENCHUK DEFENDING AND HOW?

*By V. CHORNOVIL*

**(66 QUESTIONS AND REMARKS TO THE  
"INTERNATIONALIST")\***

*Continuation from Ukrainian Review No. III/73*

Of course, the CPU and the government of Ukraine (for it is naive to suppose that such a serious step which, in fact, gave rise to the Ukrainianization of the entire life in Ukr. SSR could have been taken by Minister Dadenkov on his own initiative) had a sincere intention of returning to the Leninist norms in the matter of education. And then, perhaps, to the entire state life and cultural development in the Ukr. SSR. But it is said that letters containing "the opinion of the parents" (of the Russian and Russified, or rather "internationalized" segment of the population) were sent to the CC CPSU; in Moscow brows were raised in dissatisfaction, and the "sovereign" state organs of Ukraine directed all their efforts to the fulfillment of point 10, having hidden away as far as possible the "seditious" document.

There you have it, Bohdan Stenchuk, both the equality of rights and the "equal opportunity" of graduates and students of various nationalities in the higher educational establishments of the Ukr. SSR.

\* \* \*

46. "In your opinion, data on the number of pupils and students who had studied before and are studying now in the individual union republic will help to create a genuine and realistic picture that shows in whose interest the policy of education, culture, and science is being conducted.

Statistics of school attendance show that the party devotes the greatest possible attention to the development of former underdeveloped borderlands... and this is rightly so; this is absolute adherence to Leninist orders."

(B. Stenchuk, pp. 108-109)

And once again you are dancing around Nicholas II! But there also exist scientific, and not only propagandistic, principles of calculation.

\*) Issue V, with the first 37 questions and remarks, is not as yet available in the West.

So let us see how many students of higher educational establishments and pupils of secondary special educational institutions there are, per ten thousand inhabitants, in each republic.

Making these calculations as carefully as possible on the basis of figures quoted by you, we can see that in the eight republics selected by you, only in tiny Armenia are there proportionally more students and pupils of special educational institutions than in Russia. All the other republics, to which "the greatest possible attention" was devoted, lag far behind the RSFSR in the following order: Uzbekistan, Kirgizia, Ukraine, Tadzikistan, Turkmenia, and Byelorussia, which "received" even greater attention than Ukraine.

Thus in Ukraine there are fewer higher educational establishments and special educational institutions than there should be, in line with the average norms of calculation. Beside this, as we could see from Minister Dadenkov's speech, as the result of discriminatory phenomena at entrance and in study, only half the students of Ukrainian higher educational establishments are Ukrainians. And you dare call this "absolute adherence to Leninist orders!" Do not blaspheme, my dear!

\*

47. "... about every seventh scientist in the USSR, and of them every eighth Ph.D. and seventh Bachelor of Arts are working in the Ukrainian SSR. Where is Ukraine's "dramatic lagging behind in the sphere of education?"

(B. Stenchuk, p. 111)

Again it (the fault) lies in your figures, for the population of Ukraine composes a fifth part of the population of the Union, and not a seventh or an eighth. Moreover, as we have seen in the example of the university scholars (in the speech by Minister Dadenkov), barely a half of research workers in Ukraine are Ukrainians and only an insignificant percentage of them use the Ukrainian language.

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48. "He writes: 'The second factor which decreases the attractiveness of Ukrainian culture for the multi-million reader is an artificial impoverishment of its past achievements and traditions, in essence, a pillaging of the cultural history of Ukraine.' Pompously said! And here is a confirmation: 'Which other nation in the world,' Dzyuba asks, 'can boast of a situation where its greatest scholars in the field of social sciences — M. Hrushevs'kyi and M. Drahomanov, people with a world name and world recognition — are unknown in their own country? The name of the former is still banned, while a secret ban was lifted from the latter only recently, but the works of both are not published and it is impossible to get them,' (I. Dzyuba, above-mentioned work, p. 179).

"As far as Hrushevs'kyi is concerned, then he was dealt with above. As a matter of fact, in 1966 our community, primarily the

academic (community) marked rather extensively the anniversary of M. S. Hrushevs'kyy as a scholar. It is generally known that nobody scratched out Drahomanov from the cultural history of the Ukrainian people. An extensive literature does exist about him."

(B. Stenchuk, pp. 112-113)

"And the works of Ukrainian historians — Antonovych, Maksymovych, Bodyans'kyy, Kostomarov, Lazadevs'kyy — where are they?" wails I. Dzuba. Perhaps the Ukrainian nation was really 'robbed,' deprived of its superior culture of the past? Let's analyze it closer.

In regard to M. I. Kostomarov, it is untrue that this companion of T. H. Shevchenko has been forgotten. Without referring to the pre-revolutionary publications about Kostomarov, let us mention at least the Soviet researchers in order to ascertain whether I. Dzyuba is dishonest or simply ignorant (hold the thief! V. Ch.).

"About Maksymovych there is quite an extensive bibliography (titles of several articles about Maksymovych or those in which Maksymovych is only mentioned as a footnote. V. Ch.). The point is that I. Dzyuba either does not know or does not wish to mention this.

"The same can also be said of Dzyuba's knowledge of the works of Yosyp Bodyans'kyy, a philologist-Slavist, historian, and writer, who is given his due by the Ukrainian and Russian students of literature (as a footnote, titles of two articles about Y. Bodyans'kyy, V. Ch.).

"There is doubt whether or not I. Dzyuba is acquainted with the works of historian O. M. Lazarevs'kyy, who refuted bourgeois-nationalist concepts. Our literature contains quite a bit about O. M. Lazarevs'kyy as well; researchers call him 'a prominent historian of Ukraine' (in the footnote, titles of two articles about Lazarevs'kyy, V. Ch.).

"As for the name and heritage of V. B. Antonovych, a separate discussion is in order. V. B. Antonovych is known for his ultra-nationalistic point of view. Antonovych's works (four titles are mentioned, V. Ch.) are to be found in the Central Research Library of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukr. SSR and it is possible to get acquainted with them."

(B. Stenchuk, pp. 114-117)

"'And the works of the Ukrainian social scientists, sociologists, and economists — M. Pavlyk, S. A. Podolyns'kyy, F. Vovk, O. Terlets'kyy, M. Ziber (who was held in such high esteem by Marx) and many others?' asks Dzyuba rhetorically.

"When the issue was raised already, it is not hard to enlighten I. Dzyuba about them as well. Ukrainian writer, publicist, and civic leader, M. I. Pavlyk, is well known to every educated person not only in Ukraine, but also in the entire USSR and far beyond its borders.

"O. S. Terlets'kyy, publicist, specialist in literature, companion,

and adherent of I. Franko and M. Pavlyk, has also not been forgotten by the Ukrainian people. The same can be said of the Ukrainian progressive scholar S. A. Podolyans'kyy, one of the first propagators of K. Marx's economic doctrine in Ukraine.

"Hence, we are convinced that I. Dzyuba himself is 'maroudering' with respect to the cultural history of Ukraine, distorting the attitude of the Soviet public toward it."

(B. Stenchuk, pp. 117-119)

You probably consider your readers to be the greatest simpletons possible. Yet, even from your quotations, without speaking of the context of Dzyuba's work, it is evident that Dzyuba was not concerned with the fact of whether or not this or that name now is mentioned. At issue are not chance appraisals or even special investigations in which contemporary authors give their own interpretation of the creativity of the Ukrainian scholars of the past, calling some progressive and prominent, while describing others as reactionary and bourgeois-nationalist. At issue is the republication of the actual works of the prominent scholars of Ukraine, which are a priceless treasure of Ukrainian science and have long ago become a bibliographic rarity. Therefore, having copied a short bibliography from the *Ukrainian Soviet Encyclopedia* and flavoured it all with abusive words directed at I. Dzyuba, you have not convinced anyone of anything. Therefore, let us "analyze it closer," as you have suggested.

In reality, the anniversary of the great historian of Ukraine, a scholar with a world name, Mykhaylo Hrushevs'kyy, "was marked" by two or three short, semi-invective articles in periodicals (and this occurred a year after Dzyuba's work had been written, perhaps even under its influence).

After the death of the persecuted scholar, however, we have not published a single line written by him. Instead more than one generation of our historians grazes on the extremely rich practical material of his creativity.

After a pause of many years, we recently began to write about Drahomanov, but we have not published Drahomanov's works themselves since the '20s, and then we only managed to reprint a small part. Only two volumes of Drahomanov are planned for 1970, and this is but a drop in the ocean. After all, it is still unknown whether or not the same fate awaits Drahomanov as that of the prominent historian of the Zaporizhian Sich, academician Yavornyts'kyy. His works were also being planned several years ago, yet they are not yet accessible to the reader.

M. Kostomarov has not been published by us since 1931, while his scholarly works were in fact not published by the Soviet government at all. Only in 1967 (two years after the writing of Dzyuba's work and its submission to the CC CPU) there appeared two volumes of his works of *art*. But Kostomarov works of history are accessible today



only to readers using certain academic libraries, such "ignorant people" as I. Dzyuba, but not to the general public. This is how matters stand with the "companion of T. H. Shevchenko."

As to Maksymovych, there is a small bibliography which you have accurately copied from the USE. But Maksymovych as a scholar is not there, aside from the songs collected by him and photo-reproduced in 1962.

"The same can be said" about Y. Bodyans'kyy who, as you write, "is given his due" and therefore has not been reprinted since 1903. The last person to publish him then was Ivan Franko in *Our Ukrainian Tales of Zaporizhian (Cossack) Is'ko Materynka*.

Is it enough just to call O. Lazarevs'kyy a "prominent historian of Ukraine?" After all, even this most acceptable (to you) of the pre-revolutionary historians is not being published!

You advise readers to get acquainted with four works by V. Antonovych (an insignificant part of his total work) at the Central Research Library of the AS Ukr. SSR Apparently the "vigilant eye" has not looked in there and has not branded these works "ideologically harmful." Antonovych's historical pamphlet was "removed" in 1965 and after a nine-month study it was confiscated as anti-Soviet. And the "anti-Soviet" Antonovych had died in 1906. (The logic of the Lviv "guardians of security" then was killing. Antonovych was confiscated because he had been the teacher of M. Hrushevs'kyy, "the chief of the Ukrainian counterrevolution!" The works of the "chief of counterrevolution" himself were left to rest peacefully on my bookshelf!

Much has been written about M. Pavlyk, and dissertations on him are being defended, but the author himself, with insignificant exceptions, is published only as the writer of artistic works (where he is not the strongest) and not as a publicist and scholar.

Possibly the Ukrainian people have not yet forgotten O. Terlets'kyy, but somebody wants him to be forgotten for good, for Franko published him last in the *Literary and Scientific Herald* in 1903.

The same pertains to the Ukrainian progressive scholar A. S. Podolyns'kyy, one of the first propagators of K. Marx's economic doctrine in Ukraine, about whom we did not write very much, while his works have not been reprinted since the time of their writing, nearly 100 years ago.

Thus, you see, having "analyzed it closely," it is not difficult to conclude who are the "ignorant people" (in spite of such solid scientific base as the USE) and who is "marauding."

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49. "I am not talking," says I. Dzyuba indignantly, "about the total concealment of documents and figures about the national political struggle of the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries. For the sake of servile gratification of the anti-scientific,

chauvinistic concepts all this is classified as zoological nationalism.'” (I. Dzyuba, the above-mentioned work, p. 180).

“Indeed! Ivan Dzyuba would obviously like to see published the scribbling of the chiefs of the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists in order to spread nationalist ideology today. The aspiration is all too clear!”

(B. Stenchuk, p. 121)

If one is not satisfied with a brief quotation but peeks into the original, then one sees that among “the chiefs of the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists” there were not only I. Nechuy-Levyts’kyy and B. Hrinchenko, but also I. Franko, for I. Dzyuba includes them in “the figures of national political struggle of the end of the 19th and the beginning of 20th centuries” and proposes that their as yet unpublished or shortened publicistic works (such as *Letters from Eastern Ukraine* by B. Hrinchenko, *Ukraina irridenta* and *What Is Progress?* by I. Franko) be published. You, of course, would like to remove from Ukrainian literature B. Hrinchenko, I. Nechuy-Levyts’kyy, and I. Franko. “The aspiration is all too clear?”

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50. “Large gaps have been made — and they still gape — in Ukrainian literature and art of the pre-Soviet and Soviet times,” charges I. Dzyuba. Let us try to make sense here as well.

I. Dzyuba is right in saying, “large gaps gape,” but not in Ukrainian literature. The gaps are in his own knowledge of it and of the achievements of even the recent past.”

(B. Stenchuk, pp. 121-122)

Making such a categorical statement, you are trying “to make sense,” but you resort to unbelievable confusion and, at times disregard even the most recent opinions of the literary scholars. You, for some reason, categorically contrast the “neo-classics” P. Fylypovych (“white”) and Dray-Khmara (“black”), although in reality their works were harmonious both ideologically and artistically. Without a shadow of a doubt you evaluate negatively the works of V. Podmohyl’nyy. You declare that we publish M. Johansen, while I. Dzyuba is allegedly unaware of this, and as proof you introduce a fragile collection of poetry for children, published three years after the appearance of Dzyuba’s work. The same is true with Geo. Shkurupiy, whose selected poems were published only in 1968. You are absolutely not refuting Dzyuba’s opinion that many writers of the pre-revolutionary and post-revolutionary years, the majority of whom perished in Stalinist torture chambers and who are entitled to present-day readers, have so far not been re-published, or they have been published in such small editions that they have remained unknown to the mass of Ukrainian readers.

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51. "But our knight is not without fear and not without reproach (how witty! V. Ch.). I. Dzyuba shouts at the top of his lungs that even the encyclopedist Zerov essentially does not exist. Why not? His works, collections of articles, have been and are being published in our republic."

(B. Stenchuk, p. 126)

From the time of the tragic death of the poet and scholar in the Stalinist camps and up to the appearance of Dzyuba's work, M. Zerov actually "did not exist." His "selected works," which include poems and translations, appeared later. But about which "collections of articles" are you talking? Since the mid-20's no one has republished these "collections" (except abroad), and it is M. Zerov, as a brilliant scholar of literature, who is still unknown to the present-day reader.

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52. "All who are interested, with the exception of I. Dzyuba, of course, have heard of V. D. Koryak, a Ukrainian Soviet literary critic and historian. 'Ukrainian literature has taken many roads from Shevchenko to Shapoval,' said Koryak. 'The Ukrainian bourgeois poets have driven the Ukrainian artistic word, the Ukrainian literature, into some abyss from which there was no way out; all the last representatives of the Ukrainian bourgeois literature — Oles', Vynnychenko, Chuprynka — have taken to politics automatically. Therefore at present they *cannot be called representatives of the Ukrainian national culture*.' " (Italics added, B. S.).

(B. Stenchuk, pp. 127-128)

Indoubtedly not "all who are interested" could have heard of V. Koryak (also a victim of the Stalinist finale of "Ukrainization"), for in spite of his orthodoxy, quite a bit of the "ideologically erroneous" was found in his works and he is not republished at all. Only occasionally are little quotations pulled out which are most marked by vulgar sociology, fully solidifying themselves with such ideas.

But you have made a good step backward, Bohdan Stenchuk, if contrary to modern study of literature you do not consider Oles' (and V. Vynnychenko, for that matter) as representatives of the Ukrainian national culture.

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53. "I. Dzyuba writes in his work: 'As long as Bunin was recognized and published in Soviet Russia long ago, then in Soviet Ukraine one should not even have to talk about V. Vynnychenko, incomparably more leftist in pre-revolutionary times.' We shall not polemize with Dzyuba concerning the publication of Bunin's works. We shall only say that Vynnychenko was not simply a writer, but an ideologist of the bourgeois-national counterrevolution and reflected its ideas in his works."

(B. Stenchuk, p. 128)

But in vain you do not want to polemize with I. Dzyuba about Vynnychenko and Bunin. For Vynnychenko was indeed much more "leftist" than Bunin and not only "in the pre-revolutionary time," as Dzyuba writes, but also in exile. If any "nationalism" without classification into grades would not evoke in you blind fear and the same sort of hatred, you would realize that to the end of his life Vynnychenko remained true to the ideals of socialism, which were always hostile to Bunin. In the years of Stalinist despotism, Vynnychenko even turned to Stalin with open letters, filled with alarm for the fate of socialism and the destiny of the Ukrainian people, for which he was sharply chastised by the rightist circles of Ukrainian emigration (Dontsov, for example).

So that you do not accuse me of having a prejudicial attitude toward Bunin, let's hear what the above-mentioned Russian emigre D. Meisner, who under no circumstances can be accused of exaggeration writes: "Not so long ago in the Soviet country there was published yet another collection of selected works by the deceased in exile, I. A. Bunin, with a remarkable Foreword by the Soviet writer Paustovsky. In that foreword, maximal recognition and esteem are expressed for Bunin. The author of the foreword writes about Bunin's faults and errors, his love and hatred, with great understanding and utmost softness.

"I think that I shall be only just when I say that the Soviet country turned out to be more understanding and feeling than Bunin himself had been in the controversy which for long years divided Soviet Russia (for this gentleman who is being published in Moscow the concept Soviet Union does not exist, V. Ch.) and abroad.

"At one emigre meeting in Paris which I attended and which its participants often recalled with excitement, Bunin formulated his attitude to the Russian revolution in very bitter unjust words, and as is often the case when feeling and passion turn out to be stronger than reason, his words were far from profound.

"Extremely irreconcilable and utterly blind words were uttered at times by Bunin in the first years of exile, when hatred was stronger than love itself. Something of that irreconcilability remained to the very end of his life.

"From here (from the "passionate character" — V. Ch.) stems this great love and that often blind hatred, which are justly mentioned by all who write frankly about Bunin." (D. Meisner, *Mirages and Reality, Notes of an Emigrant*, Academy of Political Sciences, Moscow, 1966, p. 211).

Do understand me correctly. The point is not that the Russians stop publishing Bunin, an outstanding master of the word, but that you and those like you learn from "the older brother" with "maximal recognition and attention" how to treat (at least after death) artists who enriched the Ukrainian culture and with whom it is not a shame

to go out into the civilized world. Their faults, as the Russians teach you, should be treated "with utmost softness."

54. "I. Dzyuba also places in the category of M. O. Maksymovych the forgotten a prominent Ukrainian intellectual, a natural scientist, philosopher, historian, folklorist, and writer. M. O. Maksymovych, defending the friendship of the Ukrainian people with the Russian, the close unity and cooperation of the two sister cultures, opposed the attempts by P. O. Kulish to falsify the works of M. B. Hohol, T. H. Shevchenko, and H. F. Kvitka-Osnovyanenko. He harshly denounced the so-called theory of the aristocratic descent of the Cossacks as put forth by the Ukrainian bourgeois historian V. B. Antonovych."

(B. Stenchuk, pp. 114-115)

"Maksymovych, Mykhaylo Oleksandrovyh, prominent Ukrainian intellectual, natural scientist, philosopher, historian, folklorist, and writer. M. supported the friendship of the Ukrainian people with the Russian, the close unity and cooperation of the two sister cultures.

"He opposed attempts by P. Kulish to falsify the works of M. Hohol, T. Shevchenko, and H. Kvitka-Osnovyanenko.

"He submitted to sharp criticism the so-called theory of the aristocratic descent of the Cossacks as put forth by the Ukrainian bourgeois historian, V. B. Antonovych."

(*Ukrainian Soviet Encyclopedia*, Vol. 8, pp. 414-415)

"Proceeding from the class interests of the Ukrainian bourgeoisie, he falsified the historic process in works dealing with the history of the Ukrainian Cossacks, defended and developed the bourgeois-nationalist theory on the 'classlessness' and the 'non-bourgeoisness' of the Ukrainian nation, had a hostile attitude toward the revolutionary popular masses, calling them 'destructive rebellions.' Contrary to historic reality, Antonovych denied the unity of the Ukrainian and the Russian peoples, contrasted the Ukrainian with the Russian people in various ways, denied the progressive meaning of their joint struggle against internal and external oppressors.

"The bourgeois-nationalist concepts of Antonovych were taken advantage of and transformed into the basic principles of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism by his pupil, M. S. Hrushevs'kyi."

(B. Stenchuk, pp. 116-117)

"And, proceeding from the class interests of the Ukrainian bourgeoisie, (he) falsified the historic process. A.'s reactionary concepts manifested themselves most clearly in his works on the history of the Ukrainian Cossacks, in which he developed the bourgeois-nationalist theory about "classlessness" and "non-bourgeoisness" of the Ukrainian nation, had a hostile attitude to the revolutionary actions of the popular masses, calling them "destructive rebellions." In contrast to historic reality, A. denied the unity of historical

development of the Ukrainian and the Russian sister nations, contrasted the Ukrainian people with the Russian in various ways, denied the progressive meaning of their joint struggle against internal and external oppressors. A.'s bourgeois-nationalist concepts were taken advantage of and transformed into the basic principles of the ideology of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism by his pupil, M. S. Hrushevs'kyi."

(USE, Vol. I, p. 128)

"M. Pavlyk called workers of various nationalities to unity, pointing to the necessity of organizing workers for the liberation movement. He was a tireless champion of friendship and equality of nations, in particular of the Ukrainian and Russian. 'Nationalism which would attempt to separate us from such a union with the civilized nations,' wrote Pavlyk, 'is considered by us as a harmful trend.'"

(B. Stenchuk, p. 117)

"P. called workers of various nationalities to unify, pointing to the necessity of the organizing of workers for the liberation movement. P. was a tireless champion of friendship and equality of nations, in particular of the Ukrainian and Russian. 'Nationalism which would attempt to separate us from such a union with the civilized nations,' he wrote, 'is considered by us a harmful trend.'"

(USE, Vol. X, p. 448)

"In his articles, 'The Ukrainian People in the Past and Present' (1916), this 'wolf' in the field of anthropology advanced profoundly false, erroneous assertions, that allegedly according to the anthropologic type Ukrainians are sharply different from the Russians, and he degraded the commonness of the Ukrainian and Russian cultures."

(B. Stenchuk, p. 119)

"In his articles about anthropological and ethnographic traits of the Ukrainian people published in the collection 'The Ukrainian People in the Past and Present' (1916), V. advanced a profoundly false, erroneous assertion that allegedly, according to the anthropological type, Ukrainians are sharply different from the Russians, and he degraded the commonness of cultures of the Russian and Ukrainian peoples."

(USE, Vol. XVIII, p. 124)

"P. F. Symyrenko was an owner of a sugar factory, one of the technical managers of the firm, The Yakhnenko Brothers and Symyrenko. Making the acquaintance of T. H. Shevchenko in 1859, he loaned him 1,100 rubles for the printing of the *Kobzar*. The loan made it possible for Shevchenko to refuse the one-sided agreement proposed to him by the Petersburg publisher of his works."

(B. Stenchuk, p. 121)

"Symyrenko, Platon Fedorovych, Ukrainian sugar-factory owner, was one of the technical managers of the factories of the firm, Yakhnenko Brothers and Symyrenko. Making the acquaintance of T. H. Shevchenko in 1859, S. loaned him 1,100 rubles for the printing of the *Kobzar*. The loan made it possible for Shevchenko to refuse the one-sided agreement proposed to him by the Petersburg publisher, D. Yu. Kozhanchykov (a fee of 1,000 rubles and copyright on the publication of his works)."

(*USE*, Vol XVIII, p. 124)

In addition see:

B. Stenchuk, pp. 115-116 *USE*, Vol. VII, p. 550 (on O.M. Lazarevs'kyy)

B. Stenchuk, pp. 118-119, *USE*, Vol. V, pp. 280-281 (on Ziber);

B. Stenchuk, p. 118, *USE*, Vol. XIV, p. 358 (on O. Terlets'kyy).  
etc., etc.

He had a very bad character,  
Acted against his conscience for gain.  
Delivered somebody else's under seal:  
Without shame, without God,  
And forgetting all the Commandments,  
He set out to earn his living at another's expense.

(I. Kotlyarevskyy)

And I wondered at first what an encyclopedic mentality and way of expression you have, one to be envied! In the good old days they slapped you in the face for such "loans" and challenged you to a duel, and now they institute a lawsuit. But I do not believe that anyone of the employees of the encyclopedic publishers (let us say M.P. Bazhan) will dare to do this. They will fear that you, arming yourself with some Stalin-affiliated edition of *The Great Soviet Encyclopedia*, will write a brochure, *What Is M. Bazhan Defending and How*.

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55. "I. Dzyuba is simply a man of little education" (Stenchuk, p. 114). "The same could be said about I. Dzyuba's 'knowledge' of the works of . . ." (*ibid*, p. 117). "When it has come to this, it is not hard to enlighten I. Dzyuba about them as well" (*ibid*, p. 117). "Obviously, because of ignorance I. Dzyuba raises . . ." (*ibid*, p. 119). "Any decent researcher would burn with shame to set forth everything written by I. Dzyuba." (p. 121) "'Huge gaps gape,' but not in Ukrainian literature, but in his own knowledge of it" (p. 122). "Dzyuba reveals his incompetence when he states . . ." (p. 125). "But enough, for these notations are not a course for the liquidation of I. Dzyuba's cultural backwardness" (p. 131). "Therefore, it is not superfluous to stress I. Dzyuba's exceptional theoretical and literary and artistic ignorance . . ." (pp. 131-132).

It is believed that the problem stems from the fact that at the time when subscriptions were being accepted for the USE, I. Dzyuba was unemployed for some time and could not acquire this solid publication which would help him, just as it has helped you, to become erudite and competent, to become "a decent researcher" and to "enlighten" others.

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56. "He attempted to prove that any free and public discussion of the national question and national policy in our country is suppressed and persecuted. All said by I. Dzyuba is pure rhetoric. Facts say the opposite."

(B. Stenchuk, p. 136)

In this respect, you are right. I for instance, freely discussed our national policy not only in the office of the investigator and in court, but even in the cell with other prisoners. And I was not afraid of anyone.

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57. "For instance, as early as 1963 (prior to Dzyuba's writing of his work) in the city of Frunze an all-union coordinational meeting of sociologists was held, dealing with the national question, which *justly put to criticism* (our italics — B. S.) serious shortcomings in the *scholarly elaboration of a series of problems of development of international relations* (and here the emphasis is already ours, V. Ch.) under conditions of transition from socialism to Communism."

(B. Stenchuk, pp. 136-137)

Criticized, you see, was not the actual practice of national construction, not the fault in the solving of the problem, but only "shortcomings in scholarly elaboration." For indeed, such theoreticians of your "internationalism" as Abilov, Desheriyev, Kaltakhchyn, and Malanchuk clearly do not succeed in practice, do not succeed in adapting Lenin to "the needs of the present." Why shouldn't they be criticized? So that they may become more operative and more flexible.

58. "Proposing to change the so-called Russification into Ukrainization, I. Dzyuba, in fact, urges a '*substitution of one bourgeois form of construction of national interrelations for another*, no less reactionary."

(B. Stenchuk, p. 140)

Having talked so much, you have not noticed how aptly you called the Russification continued in our country "a bourgeois and reactionary form of construction of national interrelations."

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59. "Extremely rich and melodious Ukrainian language does not need forced dissemination among the population, as is demanded by nationalists, for any coercion with respect to any language can only



result in hostility toward it. This is what V. I. Lenin handed down to us."

(B. Stenchuk, p. 141)

Evidently, only because the Russian language "is not extremely rich and melodious," it "needs forced dissemination among the population," as is done by the chauvinists, forgetting that "any coercion with respect to any language can only result in hostility toward it. This is what Lenin handed down to us."

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60. "V. I. Lenin demanded that all officials in Ukraine *know* (underlined by Stenchuk, V. Ch.) how to speak Ukrainian, and this was a necessary measure, for then in many Soviet institutions persons were employed who were brought up on the policy of forced Russification and contempt for national languages. V. I. Lenin, however, does not indicate that all officials who work in Ukraine speak exclusively in Ukrainian or any other language. Under conditions in which several languages are being used in every republic and where a state language is absent, a directive about some particular privileges for a specific language would be a violation of the principles of socialist democracy, equality of rights of the socialist countries, and their languages."

(B. Stenchuk, pp. 142-143)

Firstly, explain on what policy were the persons brought who are *now* working in many institutions of Ukraine, not knowing the Ukrainian language at all and not speaking it? If you don't believe me, let's stroll together through Ukrainian institutions in large cities of Ukraine (with the exception of Halychyna, perhaps). For that matter, refer to the materials of the 1970 census.

Secondly, you distorted Lenin of course. For he demanded that all officials who work in Ukraine *know* how to speak Ukrainian. (I have already cited such concepts of Lenin and even Stalin; more of them are introduced by I. Dzyuba).

Nobody expects officials to speak Ukrainian at home or on the street, while not carrying out their official duties (let them speak even Esperanto) or that they answer in Ukrainian visitors who address them in Russian or Hebrew, if they themselves know Russians or Hebrew.

Formally, we really do not have an obligatory state language for the entire USSR (although *de facto* it does exist), but according to the constitution in every union republic there is a state language and it is *not* Russian (except for the RSFSR), but Georgian in Georgia, Ukrainian in Ukraine, and so forth. Aren't you aware of this? Why all this talk about "special privileges?" This is the same as if a German, having taken up residence in Paris, would be indignant that the French language has "special privileges," for it is used in the administration, the press, the schools and universities, and so on,

and this insults his German internationalist feelings. He would be told, "Study our language or go back to your Germany!"

In Ukraine, on the other hand, they are so concerned with the "equality of rights" of the visiting Russian that they have kicked out the native (state) language so that it would not enjoy "special privileges."

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61. "The culture of Soviet Ukraine, national in form and socialist in content, could not help but draw closer to the sister socialist cultures of the peoples of the USSR, to Russian culture, as one of the most advanced in the world, in order to enrich themselves mutually, to reach even higher development."

(B. Stenchuk, p. 143)

Forget the "high style" for a moment and give an answer to the question occasioned by the "*mutual* enrichment," which I. Dzyuba had already asked you. How, for all that, are Russian culture and language approaching Estonian or Armenian culture and language? And how should one interpret your words that Russian culture is the "most advanced" in the world? If the point in question is its socialist content, then the culture of the Chuckchees or the Zaguls is also "the most advanced" and the Ukrainian culture should also draw closer to them so that they might mutually enrich themselves. If you are thinking of the wealth of achievements and traditions, then why should not the Ukrainian culture approach French culture, for example, which is much richer than the Russian and has much deeper traditions?

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62. "... the course which is presently defended by I. Dzyuba means forced Ukrainization, the institution of some close frontiers between Russia, Ukraine, and other republics. And, as it is known (most likely from the encyclopedia, V. Ch.) — only I. Dzyuba apparently does not know it — that in Ukraine now the dwellers of farmsteads gradually move to large settlements and villages."

(B. Stenchuk, pp. 144-145)

The "closed frontiers," which I. Dzyuba allegedly advocates, have been invented by your frightened fantasy; there is nothing of the sort in Dzyuba. But let us assume for a moment that a "separate independent Ukr. SSR" does exist, a possibility which V. I. Lenin did not exclude. If it could be called a farmstead, then what should one call "separate socialist" Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, or Rumania, much smaller than Ukraine? Did you plan to "resettle them in a large village?"

If one can speak about farmsteadism which is measured on the scale of Ukraine, a large European state, then apparently it is possible (according to your logic) to speak about farmsteadism on the scale

of the USSR as well, for our borders (even with socialist countries) are "closed" well indeed. (I can already anticipate how you will shout that I would like to open the frontiers for imperialist intelligence services, bourgeois propaganda, and so forth. But this is not the point, the point is your logic).

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63. "... any artificial separation of one nation from another by language barriers inside a single Union would lead to national hostility, the feeling of national exclusiveness, toward which the bourgeois nationalists aspire so much and which is unacceptable to Marxists-Leninists."

(B. Stenchuk, p. 145)

Evidently, the Czechs and the Slovaks have still not been dragged to "genuine" Marxism-Leninism, for they have rather clearcut language barriers between the two republics and no national hostility or feelings of national exclusiveness exist. But in our Baltic region or in Transcaucasia, in spite of the absence of language barriers, you must explain to the local residents that you are not a Russian so that they begin treating you better (I know this from personal observation). Why is this? Are they still "survivals" or already consequences of your "internationalism" and the aspirations to erase "language barriers?"

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64. "The internationalization of economic, political, and cultural life of Soviet nations and nationalities is contrasted by him with 'healthy socio-economic competition of independent republics (as a substitute for the present egalitarianism and facelessness' .... Socialism knows only one form of struggle: toiling."

(B. Stenchuk, p. 151)

In that event, it must be finally decided that Yugoslavia is not a socialist country, as your "father and teacher" Stalin said in the past, for it is there that the socio-economic competition of the union republics is practiced.

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65. "Opposing the single community of Soviet nations and nationalities, he proposes instead that it is necessary to return to 'national military formations.' He does not even wish to know that military formations are subject to a single military command and, thanks to this, a promising defence from external aggression is guaranteed."

(B. Stenchuk, p. 152)

Allegedly, if national military formations which, as a matter of fact, would also be subject to a single union command (in the army such centralization is really mandatory) did exist, then defence from

external aggression would be less promising! With a single union command and the absence of national formations, why is it that the inhabitants of Ukr. SSR cannot serve on the territory of their own republic and why cannot the politico-educational work among them be conducted in Ukrainian? Certainly the army has become one of the most active means of Russification.

If one is to touch upon the "national military formations" which you denounce so much, then this is not Dzyuba's idea at all, but Lenin's. In the 20's such formations did exist; there were several Ukrainian divisions, as well as divisions and regiments of other nations. There were national formations, too, during the Great Fatherland War; Georgian divisions, Armenian, and others, some of which continued to exist up to the early 50's.

When it was necessary to give the republics the appearance of greater "sovereignty" and to send at least some of them to the UN, Stalin even legislatively formulated the creation of military formations of the republics.

"Comrades Deputies!

"Until now the union republics participated in the common cause of creating, organizing, and arming the Red Army. Our army has been created as an all-union army, when separate military formations of the republics did not exist. Now proposals are made to introduce military formations of the republics which should be component parts of the Red Army. In this connection a need arises to create the People's Commissariats of Defence in the union republics.

"The proposed transformation of the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs and the People's Commissariat of Defence is a new step forward in the solution of the national question in the Soviet Union. This transformation directly corresponds to the principles of our Leninist-Stalinist national policy. The realization of this type of measure at a given time means that the Soviet state has reached a new level of development, transforming itself into a more complicated and full-blooded organism." (From a speech by V. M. Molotov in the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, February 1, 1944).

You see, even Stalin (through the lips of Molotov) "acknowledged" only 25 years ago that the establishment of national military formations is a "new step forward." It's a different story that this new step ended the same way as the Ukrainization of the universities of the Ukr. SSR, planned by the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Special Education in 1965.

\*

66. "If one were to draw an analogy between what the hack-writers from the nationalist leaflets say and what I. Dzyuba preaches, than one can say with certainty: as a tree, so the fruit." (Stenchuk, p. 18). "I. Dzyuba in reality propagates national mistrust and with wicked sarcasm opposes versatile exchange among sister Soviet nations" (p. 22); "I. Dzyuba, who turned out to be a falsifier, supports

these very trends which are developed by bourgeois ideologists, attacking the national policy of the CPSU" (pp. 64-65). "Imitating the methods of the yellow press, I. Dzyuba attempts to prove that in Ukraine today there exists a lack of knowledge of things Ukrainian. I. Dzyuba accuses almost the entire Russian nation of cannibalism" (p. 133). "... he accuses the Communist Party of Ukraine and the Government of the Ukr. SSR before the whole world of allegedly permitting Ukrainophobia in Ukraine. This can be stated either by a fool, or a *political provocateur who, apparently, would like to organize pogroms and fratricide in Ukraine* (p. 133). "... he does not stop at *hostile attacks, abusive language addressed to the CPSU...*" p. 139). "Nowhere at all does he speak in positive terms about Communism, but only *ridicules Communist ideas*" p. 153). "Inasmuch as he always opposes the existing 'party institutions,' whose centre is in Moscow, insisting all the time upon separation from it, then the *latter can be interpreted in any political sense*" (p. 154). "Bourgeois nationalists, I. Dzyuba included, propagate the idea that the Soviet Union, the peoples which inhabit it, need other rights and other freedoms than those which we possess — bourgeois, nationalist (*it seems that there are also "nationalist" freedoms — V. Ch.*). "... so as to distort the national sentiments and, as a result, to exploit them as a tool of struggle for a *change of state regime of the USSR...* This idea is conveyed by I. Dzyuba in between the lines" (p. 158). "The resorting by contemporary nationalists, including I. Dzyuba, to Marxist-Leninist documents and terminology in order to camouflage their ideas and attitudes is not accidental" (pp. 164-165). "I. Dzyuba attempts to revive the bankrupt ideas of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism; he re-sings the anti-Soviet appearances of contemporary anti-Communists" (p. 167), etc. etc.

"Oh what a strong scent of human flesh!" And after all this, I. Dzyuba still had not been broken on the wheel, had not been executed, had not been walled in for 25 years into a stone sack!

No, no matter what anyone might say, our punitive organs have become considerably more democratic, more loyal, and even more lenient toward such terrible enemies than they were in the times of Yagoda, Yezhov, and Beria. Writing only a tenth as much would cause a person to disappear into non-existence. Poltorats'kyi, Khinkulev, and literary informers like them did not need so many harsh words to get a tangible result.

Their laurels do not let you sleep, Bohdan Stenchuk!

Aside from an increased fee from the publishers, due to a "solid researcher," you are not going to get any other reward.

Except, perhaps, for popular contempt!

\*

These remarks had already been written when I accidentally learned several interesting things.

First, sensible people were found and allegedly prevented your "serious research paper" from going abroad, so as not to disgrace themselves in the eyes of the world. Instead, they sent your brochure to some party organizations in order to mobilize them against the "hydra of nationalism" (they acted according to the maxim: here's for you, miser, what's unsuitable for people).

Second, I heard something which I refuse to believe and consider an obvious lie. Allegedly you as a person do not exist. Apparently there is no Bohdan Stenchuk in real life, a concrete person with his own hands, feet, his own head and his own intellect. Allegedly this is not even a pseudonym of some concrete individual, but a name thought out for themselves by a whole group of people in consonance with one nice English word,\* for the Ukrainian emigrants for whom you had written know English well.

I do not believe this, however. I do not believe that such a categorical tone and such serious political accusations could be indulged in by a NOBODY, something which is not responsible for its words and which cannot be questioned. Such an idea is a hostile invention.

Also for this reason I kindly request you, if you do not reply to me to the point, at least to make a sound. I am mailing these notes to the address of the Society for Cultural Relations with Ukrainians Abroad, which organization published you.

It would be far better for us to meet and have a discussion over a cup of coffee. If you had read Poltorats'kyy, then do not believe that I shall come to this meeting with a knife in order to inflict "bodily injuries" on you.

I BEG YOU ONCE AGAIN: DO NOT BELIEVE FOOLS!!!

March, 1970

*Vyacheslav Chornovil*

\*) Stench.

### Documents smuggled out of Ukraine

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## UNDER CHAUVINISTIC PRESSURE

(Concerning teaching in Ukrainian in the schools of  
Ukraine's capital)

Detailed statistics of all economic and demographic phenomena have not, regrettably, become accessible to all in our country and have not become public treasure, as should have been the case in a genuine socialist society. Individuals who collect data on the number of pupils in Ukrainian and Russian schools of Ukraine's capital are viewed almost as spies who are interested in secret bases, with all the possible consequences.

But even the data collected here in a number of districts and in individual schools of Kyiv, as well as some general observations, will give the reader an opportunity to get the correct answer to the question: Is consistent internationalism or uncereemonious Russification dominant now in the Ukrainian school system?

### 1. Shortage of Instructors

At the start of the 1969-70 academic year, in many schools of Kyiv Ukrainian was not even taught as a subject. This inadmissible situation was "justified" by the statement that schools are not manned by Ukrainian instructors.

A particularly grave picture is given by the situation in the largest industrial district, Darnytsya-Dniprovs'kyy, and in the city's central district, the Leninist. The Ukrainian language and literature are not taught at all in many schools of these and other districts of the city.

In order to remedy in some way the violation of the academic program, teachers of other subjects at day and evening schools were forced to teach the Ukrainian language as a second job. Contrary to the existing pedagogic norms these teachers were burdened with 42 hours a week. Even this measure helped but little, for teachers of the Ukrainian language were still in short supply.

At the end of November, 1969, the Municipal Department of Public Education submitted a petition to the City Council about fully staffing the schools with teachers from the suburban zone who do not have a Kyiv residence permit but who live in the Kyiv region within the 50-70 kilometer radius of the city. Such a method of recruiting workers has been practised by many enterprises of Kyiv for over ten years. As a rule, these are enterprises with a lower pay scale, and the workers are deprived of the right to a Kyiv residence permit,

of getting a place in a hostel, and of other privileges accorded to residents of the city.

One City Council categorically refused to let instructors of the Ukrainian language come to Kyiv from the suburban area. Therefore it was impossible to staff the schools fully with teaching cadres till the end of the school year.

The situation was not much better in the 1970-1971 academic year. A small number of Ukrainian language teachers were recruited from the graduates of the philologic faculty of the KSU.\* This was the first time that the graduating philologists were given an appointment in Kyiv, although a shortage of instructors has been felt for many years. Such half-measures have not solved the problem.

## 2. The Situation in "Ukrainian" Schools

In all schools of Kyiv where instructions are given in Ukrainian, a single linguistic system is not adhered to; the entire educational process is carried on in violation of the generally accepted pedagogical norms.

These are not isolated instances when the district DPE\*\* appoints to schools with Ukrainian as the language of instruction teachers of such basic subjects as mathematics, physics, chemistry, and biology) who do not speak Ukrainian at all and are not trying to learn it, although they have been working in Ukrainian schools for more than ten years.

All nonessential subjects (drafting, drawing, singing, handwork) in Ukrainian schools are taught in Russian as a rule. Ideological and physical education, as well as the Pioneer and Komsomol work, are conducted in Russian. All out-of-school and extra-curricular activities — the entire educational process in the day extension groups — are also conducted exclusively in Russian. Even announcements, photo-mountings, and other types of visual teaching aids are very often formulated in the Russian language; there is no use discussing the internal school records.

Among themselves and with pupils, during intermissions and while on duty, the teachers communicate in Russian. The level of linguistic culture, even of philology teachers, is very low.

Some "Ukrainian" schools remain such only on signs. Thus, the Shevchenko Republican School of Art (Podil'skyi district, Konstantyniv's'ka 2, 350 pupils is officially recorded as "with Ukrainian language of instruction." In reality, all special subjects are read in Russian, as well as mathematics, drafting, social studies, physical culture, and others. Out of 35 instructors, two read (their lessons) in Ukrainian. Other "Ukrainian" schools are not far removed from this same situation.

\*) Kyiv State University.

\*\*) Department of Public Education.



### 3. A Few Statistics

Not only the non-existent "Stenchuks," but also the official Party and Soviet leaders combatting "bourgeois nationalists" cite deceptive statistics about the state of the school system in Ukraine. They do not provide separate data on the situation in cities and villages (in the villages the schools are still predominantly Ukrainian), data according to regions (in West Ukraine the situation is a bit better), and this affects the indices of the republic as a whole. They do not mention how the several-million-strong Ukrainian population in Russia is being provided with native education.

The main thing is that they give data on the number of Ukrainian and Russian schools but not on the number of pupils in Ukrainian and Russian schools. Obviously, they wish to conceal the fact that the number of pupils in Russian schools is considerably greater than the percentage of Russians who came in large numbers to Ukraine and that Russian schools were established to a large degree for Ukrainians.

Below are facts about the central district of Kyiv — the Leninist.

#### Ukrainian schools:

<i>Ord. No.</i>	<i>School No.</i>	<i>School Type</i>	<i>No. of Pupils</i>	<i>Address</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
1	117	Anglo-Ukr. secondary	350	Engels St.	Named after Lesya Ukrainka. Named after I. Franko.
2	92	secondary	350	Lenin St.	
3	87	secondary	330	Gorky St.	
4	132	secondary	130	Darwin St.	One class each. Fewer pupils than normal.
5	58	secondary	200	Lenin St.	
<i>Total:</i> schools — 5; pupils — 1,360.					

#### Russian schools:

<i>Ord. No.</i>	<i>School No.</i>	<i>School Type</i>	<i>No. of Pupils</i>	<i>Address</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
1	57	Anglo-Russian secondary	1,600	Lenin St.	Newly built school. "Central Com." Children or grand- children of Shelest, Shcherbyts'kyy, Drozdenko, Paton, and other elite study there.

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2	86	secondary	1,000	Kruhlo-university St.
3	58	secondary	900	Lenin St. Four or more parallel classes, each class having 40 or more pupils. Forcing out Ukrainian I. Franko School.
4	48	secondary	1,000	Sverdlov St.
5	79	secondary	1,000	Sh. Rustavelli St. Former Institute of Theatrical Art named after Karpenko-Karyy.
6	33	secondary	1,000	Volodymyrska St.
7	se 78	secondary	1,200	Besarabka St. The schools are attended by children or grandchildren of the elite (Porgorny and others).
8	147	secondary	1,000	Engles St.
9	?	secondary	300	
10	?	secondary	800	
11	?	secondary	800	
<i>Total:</i> schools — 11; pupils — 10,600.				

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In the central district of the city of Kyiv there is a total of 16 general-education secondary schools with 11,960 pupils. With respect to the number of schools, the Ukrainian ones make up 31.3%, while with respect to pupils, only 11.4%.

The schools with Ukrainian language of instruction are situated in small, old buildings; the number of pupils in each class is much lower than the established school norms; at times they have parallel classes; in the lower and the first grade there is a shortage of pupils; micro districts do not have kindergartens with Ukrainian as the language of training.

Therefore Ukrainian schools cannot compete with the neighbouring, newly built Russian schools. Unable to guarantee the necessary contingent of pupils during the fall enrollment, these schools die quietly and systematically.

As an illustration, let us take the Ukrainian-English school No. 132 of the Leninist district (Darwin 2, principal T. I. Bilychenko). This school was established in 1966 on the basis of a Russian school. All kindergartens of the district (with the exception of two, at Kropyvnyts'kyi and Darwin Sts.) are Russian. Two Ukrainian kindergartens

could not guarantee the necessary replacements for the school, and in four years it came to naught. At the end of the 1969-1970 (academic) year, only 132 pupils remained here, and these mainly came to school from the entire city.

The question arose: "to be or not to be for school No. 132?" The district DPE found "a way out." The 132nd school was merged with the neighbouring 147th Russian school by moving into the school premises of the Russian school. A Pioneer palace was opened in the former building where, of course, the whole activity is conducted in Russian, yet the sign "Ukrainian-English school No. 132" was preserved.

Taking advantage of the situation, Urilov, the principal of the Russian school, quickly dissolved the first grades of the new enrollment, declaring that both schools were being closed down, although he knew very well that the resolution only talked about merging. The Ukrainian school remained without the first grade. Urilov retired, and his action was discussed at a stormy teachers' meeting and much later with great hardship the first grade was filled.

Thus, under the common "Ukrainian" sign there turned out to be two schools: a Russian one with 350 pupils and a Ukrainian one with 150 pupils (without the seventh grade in which only 18 pupils remained, who were forced to transfer to another Ukrainian school). Not only the sign is shared, so also are the laboratories, the offices, the gym, and even the instructors. What influence this has on the pedagogical process and what perspectives it opens for the Ukrainian school is not hard to guess.

In January, 1971, at the January faculty meeting of the Leninist district, the speech by the head of the local committee of school No. 132 was also planned, dealing with the painful question of how to promote in practice the enrollment of pupils in the first grade of the school. The leadership of the district executive committee, however, prevented the discussion of such an acute problem. The speech was rejected, after promising the principal of the 132nd school that all kindergarten of the district would be converted to the Ukrainian language.

Of course, nobody hastens to realize these promises . . .

#### *The Kurenivka Network of Schools of the Podillya District DPE*

##### **Ukrainian schools:**

<i>Ord. No.</i>	<i>No. of School</i>	<i>Type of School</i>	<i>No. of Pupils</i>	<i>Address</i>
1	34	eight-year	830	Vitryani Hory
2	156	ten-year	1,000	Zapadynka
3	16	ten-year	1,200	Vyshhorods'ka
4	8	ten-year	1,120	Vyshhorods'ka
5	123	ten-year	850	Kopylivs'ka
<i>Total: schools — 5; pupils — 5,000.</i>				

**Russian schools:**

<i>Ord. No.</i>	<i>No. of School</i>	<i>Type of School</i>	<i>No. of Pupils</i>	<i>Address</i>
1	193	secondary	1,545	Vitryani Hory
2	2	eight-year	600	Kopylivs'ka
3	114	secondary	1,000	
4	118	secondary	1,000	Frunze
5	14	secondary	800	Frunze
<i>Total: schools — 5; pupils — 4,945.</i>				

So far as the number of schools and the number of pupils in Ukrainian and Russian schools are concerned, we have about an equilibrium.

The residents of Kurenivka are almost exclusively Ukrainians, who have lived there for a long time and speak Ukrainian, albeit imperfectly (without forgetting at the same time that it is "laid down" to speak "Russian" with various supervisors at work). In the past they were gardeners or farmers; now they are the working class.

Kurenivka is an important industrial district; the labour contingent was supplemented as the result of the urbanization of the rural population of the suburbs and the Kyiv region. Ukrainian parents willingly push their children to Russian schools, being aware of the privileges as well as legal and material advantages that result from attending such schools. Of the five Russian schools three are new, which include laboratories, gyms, and dining-rooms. They are also equipped with movie cameras and they have approved staffs of laboratory technicians and movie mechanics. The Russian schools are staffed with highly qualified teachers of math and physics, and they are more liberally subsidized by district treasury departments.

Territorially, the Russian schools are located near Ukrainian ones and are successfully displacing them by taking away pupils from year to year.

The Russian schools are overcrowded. More than 1,500 pupils study in school 193 on Vitryani Hory. There are 40 or more children in each class, with a number of parallel classes, particularly of the first grade. This shows the trend in the school system in Karenivka, one of the most "Ukrainian" districts of the city.

The situation in Karenivka's Ukrainian schools with Ukrainian language is most discouraging. Let us take school 123, for example (Korylivs'ka St., principal, S. L. Tryholov). It is considered a Ukrainian-German school, although lessons in drafting, handwork, and physical education, as well as extra-curricular and out-of-class work are conducted in Russian. The German-language teachers, K. Dyriyeva (party organizer) and T. Afonina, have worked in this school for over ten years and still have not managed to learn Ukrainian. The teachers converse in Russian not only among themselves but also with

the pupils during the intermission, while on duty in hallways, and so on.

Records, as well as announcements, portraits, posters, and so forth are kept in Russian. The pupils, too, communicate among themselves mostly in Russian.

A similar situation concerning the Ukrainian language exists in all "Ukrainian" schools of Kurenivka, as well as throughout Kyiv.

#### 4. Some Conclusions

Proceeding from the quoted facts, as well as from the knowledge that a still worse situation (so far as the Ukrainian language is concerned) exists in the schools of the Donbas and in the industrialized regions along the Dnipro, Kharkiv, Odessa, and others, it is possible to conclude that the process of Russification of the Ukrainian school system is not slowing down and is not being stopped, but rather is progressing constantly.

This process is not spontaneous, as some attempt to explain it, but is channelled consciously and is stimulated by further Russification of pre-school institutions, universities, state institutions, and cultural life in general.

Wide publicity, familiarization of the public with the real state of affairs, organized protests against chauvinistic, anti-Leninist courses in the Ukrainian school system would, most likely, help in changing the situation.

The school question should be placed along with a demand to Ukrainize the entire cultural, educational, administrative, and economic life in Ukraine.

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### FROM UKRAINIAN UNDERGROUND PUBLICATIONS

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

The newspaper *Radyanska osvita* (Soviet Education) for August 14, 1971, published an article, "The 'DISCIPLE' and His Standards," bearing the signature of Ya. Radchenko. We are forced to react to it, if only because our names are mentioned in it in a slanderous context.

Radchenko's article appeared as a reply to the voices of the Western press on the occasion of the court proceedings against historian and publicist Valentyn Moroz, arrested in June, 1970, and in November of that year sentenced by the Ivano-Frankivsk Court to nine years' detention in prison and camp of special regime and five years' exile, a total of fourteen years of punishment.

It would have been natural to expect the author of the article to reveal, one way or the other, the factual side of this extraordinary

court case, to give it a qualified judicial interpretation, and to step forward to combat bourgeois falsifiers.

But no! Similar expectations turned out to be naive. The author of the article in his spiritual simplicity apparently believes that common sense and elementary logic are not absolutely necessary, while factual authenticity and truth are a completely superfluous luxury. Here, he thinks, all methods are allowed. Therefore, he considers it possible not to penetrate into the specific substance of the court case, its factual side, juridical argumentation, and so forth, but, skipping these sad stages in the subject's development, immediately gives a maximal load of his imagination, painting the most horrible "portrait of the adversary," just as Hohol's blacksmith Vakula had painted devils by whom the trusting peasant mothers frightened their children.

The level of the above-mentioned article does not afford us an opportunity to carry on a serious discussion with its author; therefore, we shall briefly recount only the basic conscious distortions of fact on the part of Ya. Radchenko.

1. In the article, V. Moroz was called a "disciple of treason" and it was emphasized several times that he was convicted for high treason. This assertion has no political or juridical substance. It is perhaps a figure of speech. But what right does the author have to resort to "rhetorical figures" where the fate of an individual is at stake as well as the genuine information of the public?

Furthermore, the Constitution of the land and the Criminal Code accurately define the concept "high treason," and here there should be no place for fantasy and arbitrariness.

In reality, V. Moroz had not been tried on the basis of Art. 56 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR (high treason), but according to Art. 62 (anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation). He had not been charged with espionage, subversion, acts of terror, and so forth, but merely with writing several literary and publicistic articles dealing with the problems of the preservation of culture and spiritual traditions of the nation. At the trial, Moroz's articles were classified as anti-Soviet according to Art. 62 CC Ukr. SSR, which in our opinion, was done without adequate grounds. But why "high treason" here?

2. Failing to find convincing arguments to justify the punishment of Moroz in 1970, Ya. Radchenko quotes from somewhere V. Moroz's examination records in the first case (1965), when the accused allegedly admitted having had the intention of establishing, with the help of imperialistic countries, an independent, Ukrainian, bourgeois state. Ya. Radchenko's method is unethical and illegal for two reasons.

First, the evidence of V. Moroz's present guilt must be sought in his present case, and not in the former, in which he fully served his term of punishment.

Second, if the quoted testimony is really recorded in the protocol

of 1965 (although we do not exclude the possibility of falsification), then its author is not V. Moroz at all, but the investigator who conducted the case at the time. After all, the inquiry is conducted on the basis of the questions of the investigator. He is the one who formulates answers and records them in the protocol. In addition, it is known that the majority of those convicted in court actions in 1965-1966, including V. Moroz, sent statements from their places of imprisonment to legal institutions, in which they wrote about the illegal methods of conducting an investigation and trial and refused to admit guilt and also disclaimed the "testimony" ascribed to them.

We call attention to the fact that perhaps for the first time in post-Stalinist years the press is citing investigation records. Heretofore such a method was known primarily from the "experience" of the 30's.

3. V. Moroz's desire "to separate Ukraine with the aid of imperialistic states" was supposedly confirmed in that first investigation by witness D. P. Ivashchenko (a teacher).

A lie again. There was no *witness* Ivashchenko in V. Moroz's case then. There was prisoner D. Ivashchenko, who could not have appeared as witness against V. Moroz, because he was being tried in one and the same case. The author should know such juridical axioms.

4. Analogous "intentions" of V. Moroz are allegedly explained in greater detail in some anti-Soviet writings stemming from his pen, "Moses and Dathan," "Among the Snows," "The Chronicle of Resistance," and others. But in V. Moroz's articles there was nothing even close to these "intentions." The lie is calculated upon the fact that not all who read Ya. Radchenko are also familiar with V. Moroz's articles.

5. Having picked half-phrases from the context of the article, "The Chronicle of Resistance," Ya. Radchenko writes that V. Moroz urged the "placing of the Uniate denomination at the head of the spiritual life of the people," "the imposition of the Union upon Soviet Ukraine," and so forth.

Fantasy worthy of better application! For V. Moroz mentioned the Union only superficially, writing not about Soviet Ukraine, but about the Hutsul region of the second half of the 18th century, where after the division of Poland, the Union ceased to be the means of Polonization and assumed a Ukrainian character. This type of "anti-Soviet" ideas can be found in many research works of contemporary Soviet scholars.

6. The same manipulation is performed by Ya. Radchenko with the article "Among the Snows," distorting V. Moroz's words in an effort to prove that he called the entire Ukrainian nation "primitive." In reality, V. Moroz polemizes with such fantasies. Even in the halfphrase quoted by Ya. Radchenko, the word "primitives" is in quotes.

7. For Ya. Radchenko there is absolutely no doubt that V. Moroz "not only has systematically written slanderous anti-Soviet 'works,' but he himself illegally disseminated that poison among certain elements on the territory of Ukraine and passed them on for publication abroad."

What the investigation could not establish in five months was "established" by Ya. Radchenko with one stroke of his pen. The investigation did not establish any instance of circulation of his articles by V. Moroz personally (aside from a single instance of his turning to B. Antonenko-Davydovych with an unfinished article for literary consultation). The court had not established any evidence of "dissemination" either. In the same way, it was not even mentioned that Moroz personally handed over something abroad or asked anybody else to do so.

8. It is maintained that V. Moroz avoided socially useful work. A lie again. V. Moroz not only was not given work in his profession, but he was hindered in finding jobs far removed from ideology (an observer at the meteorological station, an apprentice of a sculptor, and others).

9. It is also not true that at the beginning V. Moroz "covered the tracks" and denied his authorship. In reality, he did not give any evidence during the investigation, considering his arrest as illegal.

He also boycotted the illegal, closed trial, but, as if anticipating the possibility of slander, at the beginning of the trial he nevertheless made a statement to the effect that he was the author of four articles: "The Report from the Beria Reservation," "Moses and Dathan," "The Chronicle of Resistance," and "Among the Snows."

10. Finally, Ya. Radchenko arbitrarily made us — B. D. Antonenko-Davydovych, I. M. Dzyuba, and V. M. Chornovil — his adherents and partners in his attacks on V. Moroz. We allegedly "pressed" V. Moroz "against the wall" and forced him by our testimony to admit the authorship of the articles. Not only have we not "pressed" V. Moroz "against the wall," but on the contrary we have announced a protest against the illegal, closed trial and refused to give any kind of testimony at such a trial.

The question arises: what was the author of the article, "The 'Disciple' and His Standards," counting on, slandering not only an individual deprived of a chance to reply, but us as well? Perhaps on the fact that more people will read the newspaper than our reply?

Above we have enumerated only a few instances of obvious distortion by Ya. Radchenko of concrete facts which are not suited to double interpretation and for subjective evaluation.

We leave upon the conscience of the author the fact that in V. Moroz's articles he saw "nationalistic day-dreaming and racism," "threats and insults," "a call for the destruction of all our achievements," and so forth.

False accusation can be made not only by speaking but also by



keeping silent. And Ya. Radchenko keeps silent about a great deal: that V. Moroz was tried at an illegal, closed trial; that contrary to law none of the defendant's acquaintances, not even we, the witnesses, were admitted to the reading of the verdict, thus providing an opportunity to falsify our position as well; that V. Moroz was actually tried not for the works mentioned in Ya. Radchenko's article, but primarily for "The Report from the Beria Reservation," which contained sharp criticism of KGB activities; that V. Moroz was sentenced to an unbelievably harsh term of punishment — 14 years' imprisonment and exile and so forth.

Ya. Radchenko's article could be viewed as an accidental excursion into the newspaper practices of the 30's if this were the only such article. But it is worth just mentioning the infamous article by O. Poltoratskyi, "Whom Are Certain 'Humanists' Protecting" (*Literaturna Ukraina* for July 16, 1968), the articles by John Vir (*Visti z Ukrainy*, May, 1969), Ya. Radchenko and Ya. Klymenko (*Radyanska Ukraina* for January 31, 1971) and others in order to notice a growing tendency. One thing is characteristic of such publications: an absence of polemics, but "persuasion" of the reader by means of a standard set of abusive language. Is this not an antiquated weapon?

After the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, it was announced that the organs of the KGB would cease to be a state within a state, and that effective control of party and state organs would be instituted with respect to their activity. Then why should not somebody from the republican leaders of the highest rank personally check any one of the political cases, without being satisfied by the one-sided information of the KGB but only by the intelligence data of the security organs, which could be selected tendentiously?

Due to the fact that V. Moroz's case has produced an unusually strong reaction, both inside the country as well as abroad, this very case could have been checked upon. Read all the articles by V. Moroz, the materials of the investigation and the trial, the officially sent protests by Soviet and foreign public, the reports of the press, and so forth.

We are convinced that after such full and unbiased familiarization you will take steps toward the release of V. Moroz or the maximal mitigation of punishment, thus neutralizing the great moral injury inflicted upon our society and Communist ideology by the very fact of such cruel punishment.

B. Antonenko-Davydovych  
I. Dzyuba  
V. Chornovil

September 29, 1971.

*To the Head of the Supreme-Court of the Ukrainian SSR*

On November 17-18 of this year (1970) a trial of author and publicist Valentyn Moroz was held in Ivano-Frankivsk. The total sentence was 14 years. I was present under the doors of the court and am a witness of the violation of the norms of socialist legality. I believe that in our country, which recently celebrated its 53rd anniversary, closed trials and such cruel sentences to writers constitute an anti-humane and anti-national phenomenon.

I request the court of appeals to annul the verdict of the Ivano-Frankivsk Regional Court.

*Mariya Kachmar-Savka*  
Lviv, November 25, 1970.

*To the Head of the Supreme Court of the Ukrainian SSR  
Re: the appeal of the case of Valentyn Yakovych Moroz,  
sentenced in Ivano-Frankivsk to 14 years.*

In November in Ivano-Frankivsk the trial of Valentyn Moroz was held. I am deeply disturbed by the term to which this young writer was convicted, for it is hard to believe that in our times it is possible to punish people so harshly. Yet, if someone is sentenced to such a term, then the motives by which the court was guided and the charges against Valentyn Moroz themselves should have been officially reported to the broad circle of the public.

Meanwhile, the majority knows that the trial of Valentyn Moroz was closed, that none of his friends and acquaintances was permitted (to attend). It is hard to believe in such arbitrariness. I believe that the versions now appearing in the papers are not entirely accurate, for it would have been more proper not to conceal the entire case from the beginning.

I hope that the verdict of the Ivano-Frankivsk Regional Court, which rather uses some special extra-legal motives, will be annulled.

And this will justify Soviet justice, whose authority is being undermined by the workers from Ivano-Frankivsk through their provocative actions.

*Mariya Voytovych*  
Lviv, December 5, 1970.

*To the Supreme Court of the Ukrainian SSR*

Not so long ago, Valentyn Moroz was sentenced in Ivano-Frankivsk to 9 years of imprisonment and 5 years of exile. I feel that this sentence contradicts the principles of socialist society at the present stage of its development.

As proved by the new program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, our country has reached the level of general democracy.

We do not have a social basis for socio-political antagonism. Hence, V. Moroz *objectively* could not have done anything which would merit such a harsh punishment, which would constitute a real threat to society. Obviously, this sentence is the result of a hasty approach to the case or of deep emotion, which occurs quite often in practice.

Therefore, I turn to the Supreme Court of the Republic with a request to reconsider V. Moroz's case. In my opinion, it would be unjust merely to reduce the term of punishment of V. Moroz. He must be *fully released*. This very decision would be to a greater degree a statesmanlike decision.

In our times, to pass unjustifiably harsh sentences on one's fellow-countrymen, supposedly in the interests of Soviet government, means in practice to slander and compromise Soviet government in the eyes of the world as well as in one's own eyes. Malice is not a councillor in a case where moderation, human conscience, the sense of responsibility for one's actions before one's people and Country should dominate.

Faith in the principles of socialist legality and humanism gives me grounds to expect that the Supreme Court of the Ukr. SSR, while examining V. Moroz's case, will not treat these well-meaning remarks with contempt.

Respectfully yours,  
Pavlo Chemerys, journalist  
Lviv, November 30, 1970.

## UKRAINE-RUŚ AND WESTERN EUROPE IN 10th-13th CENTURIES

by

**Natalia Polonśka-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 Polonśka-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.

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## NEWS FROM UKRAINE

### MEMOIRS OF THE IMPRISONED DANYLO SHUMUK ARE NOT LOST

The name of Danylo Shumuk, born in Volhynia in 1914, long-term prisoner of the Polish and Russian prisons, is widely known among Ukrainians, both at home and abroad.

In the time of the Polish occupation of Western Ukraine, he was arrested on charges of Communist activity, which was banned by the Poles, and sentenced to eight years in prison. He served his sentence prior to the downfall of Poland. In the course of the first Bolshevik occupation of Western Ukraine, he worked in Lyubomlya, Volhynia, until 1941. During the German occupation Shumuk became an active member of the UPA (Ukrainian Insurgent Army) using the pseudonym Boremskyi. Arrested by the Bolsheviks, he served his ten-year sentence in 1945-1955. Two of his children perished during the war, when Shumuk was in jail, and his wife disappeared without a trace.

Two years after his release, the Russians found the first volume of his memoirs. For this they sentenced him the second time in 1957, again to ten years. Having been released from imprisonment in 1967, Danylo Shumuk took up residence near Kyiv and married Nadiya Svitlychna, the sister of the well-known literary critic Ivan Svitlychnyi. During mass arrests in January, 1972, Shumuk was arrested again. During a search the second volume of his memoirs was confiscated and he was accused of circulating articles by M. Djilas and I. Dzyuba, making critical remarks about Soviet order, and writing a letter to I. Svitlychnyi, which allegedly was a "program document."

On July 7, 1972, Shumuk was sentenced for the third time, on the basis of Article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR, to a new ten-year term in special regime camps and five years' exile. In October, 1972, he was dispatched to a Mordovian camp in Potma, where he was systematically fed hunger "ration 100," which weakens a prisoner. Since then there has been no information about him.

Also, there is no news about his wife, Nadiya Svitlychna, who was dismissed from work because on May 22, 1968, she visited Shevchenko's monument. Later, on March 28th, the second part of Atorkhanov's book, **Technology of Power**, and Solzhenitsyn's novel, **The First Circle**, and a typewriter on which she was copying that novel were confiscated from her at work. Finally she was arrested in January, 1972, and sentenced to four years. Her baby boy was taken from her.

The second volume of Danylo Shumuk's memoirs has 427 typewritten pages and encompassed the author's life in the years 1943-1970. It describes the dramatic arrival of the Red Army in Volhynia, the struggle of the UPA with the "strybky" (special Russian units engaged in combating the Ukrainian Insurgents), the march of the Shumuk-Boremskyi group to Eastern Ukraine,

the population's attitude to the Russian occupation, his arrest and life in the concentration camps, Shumuk's meetings prior to his arrest with outstanding leaders of the OUN-UPA, such as Rostyslav Voloshyn, Gen. Stupnytskyi, Yaroslav Harasymenko, Andriy Mysechko, and others.

The Ukrainian language newspaper **Svoboda**, appearing in the U.S., states in its Nov. 1, 1973, issue that "D. Shumuk's Memoirs are the credo of his life. It is most likely for this reason that the KGB classified this work as his program for the current resistance movement in Ukraine."

The newspaper quoted the following from works by Shumuk: "I need such freedom that every individual can arrange his life for himself in a way he wants to live and where he wants to live, that everyone has a guaranteed chance to do good for himself, that the law forbids certain people any kind of privileges at the expense of others, that is, at the expense of evil to others. Where an organization and party does good for people, then this is no longer good, but misfortune and slavery, because for this so-called good they demand servile obedience from the entire nation and all sorts of obligations throughout life, demanding in return continuous praise and glorification, as if it were only because of the party that there are heroes in this world."

#### **MUSEUM IN A CAVE**

An expedition sponsored by the Academy of Sciences of the Ukr. SSR, which is conducting excavations, uncovered a stone grave near the city of Melitopol in Ukraine. The grave consists of a number of old caves. On the walls of many of the caves one can see wonderfully preserved paintings of people and animals from the Stone Age. Aside from many objects of everyday life, the expedition managed to find more than thirty stone vessels in the shape of fish. According to the beliefs of people living in the Stone Age, everyone should carve this type of vessel during his life in order to be happy after death.

After the completion of work by the scientific expedition, a museum of regional studies will be opened on the site.

#### **CONVICT DMYTRO KVETSKO**

Dmytro Kvetsko, young Ukrainian historian and publicist, is confined to a Russian concentration camp in Potma, Mordovia. He was brought to the concentration camp from the Vladimir prison, known for its cruel, inhuman, medieval regime, in an undermined state of health. Recently, Kvetski's health deteriorated even further, so that his fellow inmates who suffer together with him fear for his fate. The Russian camp authorities pay no attention to the state of health of this Ukrainian prisoner, whom they force to work hard since he is on their list of the most dangerous prisoners.

Dmytro Kvetsko, born in 1935 in the Ivano-Frankivsk region, was a history teacher and publicist. He graduated from the Department of History of Lviv University, was arrested by the organs of the KGB in early 1967 and sentenced in that same year, for his membership in the Ukrainian National Front (UNF), to five years of security prison, ten years of strict regime concentration camp, and five years of exile. The Russian occupation regime indicted Kvetsko as one of the founders of the UNF and charged him with being its chief ideologist. During long and inhuman KGB and court interrogations, at which Kvetsko refused to give any kind of testimony, he and other members of the UNF were

accused of continuing the nationalist activity of the OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists) and of the fact that their ideology and program are in no way different from those of the OUN.

In 1965/67 the Ukrainian National Front not only published the periodical **Fatherland and Freedom** (16 issues are said to have appeared), which reprinted **samvydav** materials and articles of the National Executive of the OUN, but the UNF also disseminated among the population thousands of leaflets found in the Carpathian forests, which were published by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA).

At the Bolshevik trial, Kvetsko was also strongly accused because he was a former political prisoner of the Stalinist concentration camps. He and his associates (Zynoviy Krasivskiy, Mykhaylo Dyak, Hryhoriy Prokopovych, Yaroslav Lesiv, Ivan Hubka, Myron Melyn, and Vasyl Kulynyn), who were tried for sympathizing with the UNF, were accused of committing the "national crime" and were therefore tried on the basis of the following articles of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR: 56 (High treason), 55, and 62. They all received long terms of harsh imprisonment.

Unbroken in spirit, although with undermined health, and harshly persecuted by the enemy, Dmytro Kvetsko is now most concerned and worried by the fate of his aging mother. In her old age she has remained alone, deprived of the care of her only son, who was driven by fierce enemies into harsh captivity for many years only because he stood up in defence of the sacred rights of his subjugated Ukrainian nation.

#### MYKHAYLO DYAK IN A PERM CONCENTRATION CAMP

Young Ukrainian Mykhaylo Dyak (born in 1935) is serving his term of punishment in one of the Russian concentration camps in Perm in the Urals. Formerly residing in Ivano-Frankivsk, he was a senior lieutenant of the militia.

Together with others he was arrested by the KGB in March, 1967. That summer he was sentenced by the Russian occupation court in Ukraine to five years of security prison, eight years of concentration camp of severe regime, and five years of exile. Mykhaylo Dyak, who occupied a position of authority as senior lieutenant of the militia, was accused of belonging to an underground nationalist organization, the "Ukrainian National Front" (UNF), which as a continuation of the revolutionary OUN attempted to separate Ukraine from the USSR and to establish a "bourgeois order." The main charge against Dyak made by the organs of the KGB and the court was that he, a person to whom the Soviet government had entrusted a leading position in the militia, was not only an ordinary helper, but a leader of the revolutionary, conspiratorial organization, the UNF. Although as a militia officer M. Dyak was permitted to carry arms, it was added to the indictment that he was in possession of weapons which could have been directed against "Soviet people."

The primary charge was levelled against Dyak for belonging to the leading cell of the UNF and for being chiefly responsible for dissemination of liberation literature of the UPA, which was found in the Dovbush Cave in the Carpathian forests near Yaremche. These leaflets and the illegal periodical, **Fatherland and Freedom**, which was allegedly published by the UNF, called on the Ukrainian

people to fight with Russian aggressors for the establishment of the Ukrainian Independent Sovereign State.

Cruel interrogations lasted for many days and nights and were attended by special KGB investigators from Kyiv and Moscow. The former militia officer, M. Dyak, was groundlessly accused by their forcing him not only to admit his guilt but also to repent. Their purpose was to prove to the Ukrainian public, which commented broadly on the case of Dyak and his associates from the UNF, that as a militiaman he was allegedly secretly sent by the KGB to uncover the underground organization.

The enemy made a mistake in this case, however. Ukrainian patriot Mykhaylo Dyak endured, with the dignity and honesty befitting a Ukrainian individual, all the psychological and physical tortures of the KGB and faced the court which deprived him of the best eighteen years of his life. After sentencing, M. Dyak served his five-year prison term in the infamous Vladimir prison. Later, exhausted and with undermined health, he was transferred to the Mordovian camp, Potma, and from there to a newly establish strict regime concentration camp for political prisoners at Perm.

The young Ukrainian patriot, together with his fellow inmates driven into captivity by Ukraine's enemies, is destined to follow his difficult road of slavery. He did not hesitate in choosing it, although he knew that he would be severely punished by the enemy. The service to one's subjugated country is stronger than all sufferings and tortures.

#### **A STRIKE OF KYIV WORKERS**

According to reports from Ukraine, there was a strike of workers in May, 1973, at a machine construction plant on the Brest-Litovsk Highway in Kyiv, who demanded a raise in wages. At 11 a.m. more than ten thousand workers announced a strike urging negotiations with the plant's managers, who in turn alerted the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine. In an hour a member of the Politburo of the CC CPU came to the plant and, after talks with the representatives of the workers, he promised to fulfill their basic demands. At 3 p.m. the majority of the plant's managers were fired and an hour later the workers received a raise in wages.

The strike had an organized character and this, people believe, was responsible for its success, the regime allegedly feared that the strike could turn into a new Novocherkask.

#### **YET ANOTHER CHURCH CLOSED**

Recently there are more and more instances of objections by the Russian regime to the renovation or opening of churches in Ukraine. Thus, for example, all attempts since 1971 to open a church in the village of Konyushky near Dubno in Volhynia have been unsuccessful. In 1970, the authorities closed the parish Church because the local priest said the Mass in Ukrainian and, what is more, mentioned Metropolitans Lypkivskyi and Polikarp instead of the present bishops of the Russian Orthodox Church.

#### **LONG-TERM PRISONER DMYTRO VERKHOLYAK**

Ukrainian prisoner Dmytro Verkholyak, born in 1928, a hospital assistant by profession, is confined to a Russian concentration camp in Perm. He was

arrested in 1948 for belonging to the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and given the death sentence by the Russian occupation court. Later, the death sentence was commuted to twenty-five years of hard labour in a concentration camp.

For many years D. Verkholyak performed difficult, exhausting work in a concentration camp in Potma. As the result of fatigue in that harsh camp, he suffered a heart attack and the doctors barely managed to save his life. After this serious illness Verkholyak was not able to do hard work and was declared an invalid of the second category. At that camp the Russian overseers were disturbed that the ailing Verkholyak did not perform hard labour. From the Potma concentration camp he was later transferred to a concentration camp in Perm. He was regularly subjected to cruel treatment but was not given the lighter work of a hospital assistant, in line with his profession.

What is more, although his health had not improved very much, in 1972 he was deprived of his invalid-of-the-second-category status and although he was a sick man he was forced to do hard labour again. Verkholyak was also forbidden to meet his wife, on the grounds that he was married in church and such marriages are considered illegal by the Soviet government.

It is hard to describe how much misfortune and harsh persecution were suffered by this man in the Russian death mills in the course of his stay at the camps. The Russian "humanists" not only treated him cruelly during his captivity but, knowing his 25-year term of imprisonment is running to a close, they insisted that after his release he does not return to his native Ukraine, for the sake of which he had endured such great suffering.

#### **TO TURKEY IN A BOAT**

According to reports of the Western press, 26-year-old aeronautics engineer Valeriy Yanin fled to Turkey, in a rubber boat from the cruise ship "Ivan Franko" on the Black Sea. After a three-day voyage he asked for political asylum. He was taking his vacation trip on the passenger ship, but the nationality of the fugitive is so far unknown.

#### **TWO MEMBERS OF THE MOSCOW OPERA ESCAPE**

The Western press and radio report that two people fled from the Moscow Opera Ensemble which was appearing in Milan, Italy. The first to flee on October 20, 1972, was dancer Anatoliy Kleymenov, who fled upon his arrival in Milan and asked for political asylum. The other was 38-year-old Renata Babak, a mezzo-soprano singer. She requested political asylum at the police headquarters in Turin. The police took her to a camp for refugees near Trieste, where she is to await the decision of the government. She is a native of Kharkiv.

#### **RUSSIA'S VICTIM MYKOLA KOTS**

Mykola Hryhorovych Kots, a young Ukrainian born in 1930, belongs to the countless innocent Ukrainian patriots who have fallen victim to the imperialist Bolshevik regime. He was a teacher at the agricultural technical school in Ternopil.

The Russian KGB arrested Mykola Kots at the end of 1967 and the Occupa-



tion court sentenced him in the spring of 1968 on the basis of Article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR to seven years of severe regime camps and five years of exile.

The young teacher was charged with "anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation." He was accused of revising Symonenko's poem "To the Kurd Brother," substituting "Ukrainians" in place of "Kurds," and of circulating seventy copies of the poem.

During a long KGB investigation lasting several months, Kots failed to admit his guilt. Various means of persuasion and evidence which the KGB tried to fabricate did not help. Whatever Kots had said was not taken into consideration. The main thing for the Russian henchmen was to convict somebody for Symonenko's poem, which was circulating in large numbers. The lot had fallen on the nationally conscious young Ukrainian teacher who spoke Ukrainian at all times.

Mykola Kots was arrested, convicted, and deported to a concentration camp at Potma, in cold Mordovia. Here the Ukrainian teacher was destined to live the hard life of a convict and perform hard physical labour for years under harsh climatic conditions and in a constant state of starvation. From Potma, Kots was transferred to a similar strict regime concentration camp in Perm, where he languishes to this day as the victim of the Russian misanthropic regime. Only his strong faith in God and Ukraine, in the great truth of eternal principles to serve and suffer for his native land give strength to the convicts to endure and to carry their heavy cross of slavery. They had to undergo all these sufferings in defence of their own nation.

### TWO PREACHERS CONVICTED

In Lviv there was a trial of electric welder Bohdan Petrovych Stepa and construction glass-cutter Korniylo Maksymovych Vasylyk. Both were skilled workers and besides working hard for a living, for three years they were unnoticed by the KGB and its spies while they were preachers among members and sympathizers of a particular religious sect. What were they accused of?

By organizing "illegal meetings" in apartments of their "adherents," they "violated" Soviet laws, had a "missionary" influence upon children and young people, and attempted to "recruit" them for their sect. "Insulting remarks about civic organizations and local government organs" were a great crime, for allegedly the party "aristocracy," even at the lowest level, is "infallible." A further "offence" consisted of "provocative statements about the quickly approaching end of the world." How can this be? Russia is sharpening its insatiable imperialistic teeth, and some "provocateurs" are preaching an end of the world.

It was also a provocation "to tell the under-aged Soviet citizens about the last judgment, hell, and punishment" in store for the infidels. Prayer, to which the defendants "forced" the members of the sect, was a particular crime. In a report about this trial, published in Ukraine, it is said that "at the time when the defendants performed religious rites, they forced members of the congregation to pray ardently for an extended period of time, and this caused a mass psychosis and hallucinatory conduct." The court ascertained that "prayer caused nervous tension and ruined health."

For this reason both preachers were sentenced not only for "transgressing applicable laws and for anti-social activity," but especially for "corporal and moral crippling of people." In the official report about this trial the degree of punishment was not given, but no doubt it must have been great, for it is known that just for "anti-social activity" the court can declare a person "mentally ill."

Reading the indictment carefully, one is particularly struck by the accusation that "prayer caused moral and corporal crippling." Every devout Christian knows that, to the contrary, fervent prayer reassures, cheers up, lifts the spirit, gives hope and moral strength even in the most difficult situations.

The trial of these two preachers cannot be taken lightly. To the contrary, it must be taken as a warning, for using similar arguments, the Soviet courts could proclaim all group prayer a "dangerous crime."

### **TERROR CONTINUES TO RAGE**

News from Ukraine brings new data on the situation of Ukrainian political prisoners and on Russian national persecution and harsh social exploitation of the Ukrainian people.

The Russian Bolshevik terrorist machine, the KGB, received greater authority from the party leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which gave it an opportunity to use terror and uncontrolled violence toward the population. All legal enactments which should allegedly protect the rights of individuals — which are so often referred to by deceptive Russian propaganda in its struggle against so-called "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism" — are constantly being disregarded. And since one can put even such people who speak Ukrainian in the category of "bourgeois nationalism" it is not amazing that in recent times a number of innocent Ukrainian citizens in Kyiv and Lviv have fallen under the "control" of the KGB, i.e., they are being persecuted in various ways. The main charge against them is the fact that they have taken part in mass Shevchenko demonstrations.

Many university students of Kyiv and Lviv, even those who were in their last year of studies and were getting ready for final examinations, were drafted into the army and sent to the Far North and East of the Russian empire. A number of research workers were dismissed from work or demoted in their position due to their Ukrainianism. Thus, in Kyiv, for example, Leonid Makhnivets, a researcher of literature of the 16th-18th centuries and author of works on Skovoroda, was dismissed from work at the Academy of Sciences of the Ukr. SSR. Also V. Krekoten, a researcher of literature of the 16th-18th centuries, and Oleksa Myshnych, a researcher of Ukrainian literature of the Transcarpathian region, were transferred to a lower position. A purge was conducted in Lviv and among others, Maria Val'o, a specialist in baroque literature, was dismissed from work. She was a research worker in the Institute of Social Studies. Lyuba Maksymiv, Hryhoriy Nudha, and Yaroslav Dzyra were also discharged from work at the Institute.

Many Ukrainian nationally conscious students were expelled from school, while others were deprived of their scholarships, thus depriving them of their livelihood. At party and Komsomol meetings there is much shouting about the advance of "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism," which together with "Zionists,

Maoists, and capitalists," wants to topple the Soviet Union. At the universities of Ukraine the network of KGB informers, who are mostly recruited from the Russian and non-Ukrainian elements, has been reinforced. The KGB lets other nationals attack the Ukrainian students, allegedly because Ukrainians make study difficult for them since they demand that instructions be given in Ukrainian, which they do not understand. In this respect, at universities where lectures are given in both Ukrainian and Russian, two openly opposing fronts have been created.

In Dnipropetrovsk, a general strike of workers broke out in the Petrov plant in June, 1973. A worker who for many years did hard labour at the plant threw himself into a boiler of melted iron and burned before the eyes of all the workers. He did this as a sign of protest against the severe discrimination against the Ukrainian workers. The worker, a nationally conscious Ukrainian, for ten years had requested a larger apartment for his numerous family, but he was constantly refused, while the Russians who come from Russia for employment received such apartments immediately. Psychologically driven to an end — when all petitions and protests were ignored — he chose a horrible death. This greatly disturbed the workers and as a sign of protest they activated all sirens at the plant and discontinued work. The KGB immediately surrounded the plant and ordered the strikers to resume work, otherwise the workers would all be arrested for rebellion against the state. Also it was forbidden to participate in mass at the funeral of the unfortunate worker, who was a victim of the inhuman Russian system.

Discouraging news has also been received about further horrible persecution of the arrested, or already convicted, Ukrainian cultural leaders. Ukrainian political prisoners — we informed our readers about the harsh fate of some of them — are further confined under inhuman conditions. The Russians, who deceive the naive public of the West with their so-called "humanism," actually mistreat, torture (both psychologically and physically), and finish off people who had the courage to tell them the truth to their faces. With the help of various renegades they attempt to crush those who stand in the way of their imperialistic goals. The infamous concentration camps in cold Mordovia and Perm and the Vladimir prison with its medieval regime, horrify Ukrainian political prisoners with their inhuman treatment. As of late, food rations have been on the starvation level. With rations decreased and production norms raised, making them hard to achieve, the prisoners are permanently mistreated and sent to camp prisons. Sick prisoners must live almost totally without medical care and the indispensable medicine. With cruel treatment and hunger the prison wardens try to break the will of the sick people, making them repent. This was done with the ailing Ivan Dzuba. Ivan Svitlychnyi is being tortured so that he "repents" and denounces himself and his associates. Poetess Iryna Stasiv Kalynets, wife of the well-known poet Ihor Kalynets, who is confined to a concentration camp, has become seriously ill in prison. Their daughter, left behind, is growing up without her parents. The ailing Iryna Kalynets is confined to a strict regime prison. All delivery of food and medicine is prohibited. Thus they are trying to force her to sign a "statement of repentance." Valentyn Moroz, who in the course of his imprisonment was severely

wounded by criminals sent to his cell by the KGB, is also in a serious condition at the Vladimir prison.

Ailing at the Perm concentration camp is Zynoviy Antonyuk, a philologist, who was arrested in Kyiv in January, 1972. During a search, the samvydav materials were confiscated from him. Ailing in prison and without medical care are Danylo Shumuk and Mykhaylo Ssachyi. Yevhen Pryslyak is in an unenviable state of health at the Perm concentration camp since 1972. Sentenced to twenty-five years of imprisonment for belonging to the OUN, he is considered a second-category invalid. After the death of dissident Yuriy Galanskov in the Mordovian camps, together with twenty-three other prisoners, Pryshlyak signed a letter of condolences to his family.

Mykola Bondar, severely exhausted after a hunger strike which lasted thirty-four days as a sign of protest against the arbitrary rule and terror of the KGB, is also to be found in the Perm concentration camp. Mykola Bondar, born in 1939, was a lecturer in philosophy at the Uzhorod University. He was dismissed from the university for criticizing excessive celebration of Lenin's anniversary. Since 1969, he worked in the mine in Cherkasy. He was later arrested and sentenced on May 12, 1971, in Kyiv for "slandering the Soviet Regime" on the basis of Article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR to seven years' imprisonment.

The 70-year-old Ukrainian Catholic priest, Father Roman Bakhtalovskyi, who had been sentenced to three years' imprisonment and five years' exile, was transported in a sick state to the Krasnoyarsk region to serve his harsh term of exile in his old age.

The life of long-term prisoner Yuriy Shukhevych is under a question mark. At the time of his renewed imprisonment by the Russian henchmen, Yuriy Shukhevych became seriously ill with intestinal ulcer and his condition is precarious. Treatment demands not only a quiet, nervously non-exhausting life, but dietetic food and appropriate medication are also absolutely necessary. All this is lacking in the harsh prison.

Ukrainian political prisoners, languishing in Russian captivity, who suffer in defence of Ukraine's rights in spite of the cruel, inhuman persecutions, carry their heavy cross with dignity, honesty, and perseverance, conscious of the fact that their sufferings will not be in vain. They firmly believe that they are not only swaying the conscience of their slumbering countrymen, but also that they will finally move the conscience of the entire world and will open its eyes to what Russian Communism really represents.

#### **MIXED MARRIAGES — A MEANS OF RUSSIFICATION**

The Russian authorities are convinced that in the creation of so-called "Soviet people," mixed marriages can be a helpful method. Therefore, as of late the party favours and in various ways supports such marriages in the awareness that in such mixed relationships the national factor ceases to act and the national differences are obliterated. For example, in the last census in the USSR it was revealed that for every 1,000 families there are 100 mixed marriages. This is in general, for in some republics the percentage is much higher, namely: Ukraine — 150 for every 1000; Lithuania — 158; Moldavia —

135; Kazakhstan — 244. In Kyiv, where 10,102 marriages were registered in 1972, 4000 of them were mixed marriages. The greatest percentage of mixed marriages was recorded in the so-called "virgin" lands of Kazakhstan and in Siberia, where in recent times entire cities are being constructed. For this purpose there exist special statistics bureaus which study the distribution of the population in the USSR. It is upon their directives that from time to time whole transports of Ukrainian youth are allegedly "voluntarily" dispatched from Ukraine to Kazakhstan or other distant "republics."

The Soviet Army plays a large role in the process of Russifying the subjugated nations. Young draftees into the army are sent without fail beyond the borders of their countries in order to become Russified. After discharge from the army, the party constantly takes steps to prevent these young people from returning to their native lands, urging them to remain in foreign territories where they are forced to speak Russian.

It is not necessary to speak about the Russian imperialistic spirit in the Soviet Army of the old tsarist type for it is well known to all.

#### **EIGHT YEARS OF CONCENTRATION CAMPS FOR THE NATIVE LANGUAGE**

The newspaper **Leninska Molod**, organ of the Lviv regional committee of the Komsomol of August 23, 1973, which was recently received from Ukraine, published a "court report" which tells of the fate of a 22-year-old Ukrainian youth, sentenced by the visiting criminal assize of the regional court to "eight years" imprisonment in a correctional labour institution of intensified regime. The regional court found him guilty of crimes stipulated by Articles 101, Section 1, and 206, Section 2, that is, of "malicious hooliganism." What did this "malicious hooliganism" consist of and why did the visiting assize of the Lviv regional court convict this youth in the town of Mykolayiv to such a long term of imprisonment? Below we are reprinting excerpts from materials published by the Soviet newspaper of Lviv, for the data cited in the article speak for themselves and throw a considerable amount of light on Soviet reality.

The affair began with the fact that "vigilante" P. I. Horak intervened in a fight of two young boys in the village of Rudnyky, Mykolayiv district. In a letter to the newspaper Horak states that he attempted to stop the fight:

'Boys, why are you fighting, break up the fight!' Then the one who was punching his friend raised himself, came up to me and said in brutal language: 'Look, that Russian speaks to me in Russian!' — and unexpectedly punched me in the face. I grabbed him by the shoulder, asked why he had hit me, informed him that I am a vigilante (voluntary auxiliary police force made up of Komsomol members) and suggested that we go to the militia. Then the lad instantly threw me over the hip onto the stones scattered about in the yard. I felt a severe pain in my right side and lost consciousness for a moment. I was taken in a police car to the Mykolayiv district hospital. I am here for a week now... The hooligan was caught. His name is Stepan Sporadnyk. He is a young boy, born in 1951, a Komsomol member. Today he works at the industrial-technical corporation, Electron."

Farther down in the letter Horak expresses his views on why Stepan Sporadnyk "hates the 'Russians' so much," although, as he maintains, these "Russians" have brought prosperity and freedom to Ukraine. Horak further states that he does not feel hatred toward Sporadnyk but he writes "I am angry at the evil which he carries in himself and which is called Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism."

Having cited the full text of Horak's letter, the Soviet paper gives a rather extensive report about the course of the court proceedings at which the prosecutor informed the court that the defendant fell upon the plaintiff "with hostile, dirty language... only because he addressed you in Russian," adding that "malicious, hostile shouts prior to the assault on citizen Horak are empty belchings of little notions of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism." Addressing himself to the defendant the prosecutor said the following:

"Our enemies have attempted and are attempting to drive a wedge between the fraternal Ukrainian and Russian peoples, in particular in the question of language, and you are humming in a malicious nationalistic voice. Your acts are a relapse of nationalism in the form of hooliganism."

The newspaper's correspondent informs readers that S. Sporadnyk attempted to refute the assertions of the prosecutor, but "facts are a stubborn thing, and witnesses one after the other confirmed the defendant's repulsive conduct toward P. I. Horak, his malicious, hostile hissing, the basis of which are the petty theories of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism. It is a fixed fact that the phrases: 'If I had a knife, I would cut all Russians to pieces!' appertains to this 'upright' and 'active' youth."

Obviously, in such a situation and with such accusations, the fate of the Ukrainian youth who actively dared to oppose Ukraine's Russification was sealed. "In the name of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic" the court found him guilty and sentenced him to eight years' hard labour in concentration camps.

**Leninska Molod** gives the following loquacious commentary: "The incident which occurred in the village of Rudnyky goes beyond the limits of relations between two people. That evening in Rudnyky there collided in this unusual manner not two compatriots but two concept of the world: the Communist and the stale and mouldy ideology of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism. The sailor, an internationalist, putting aside personal insults and complaints, raised in his letter before the Komsomol members of the region the sharp and justified questions which require a profound analysis and an accurate scientific solution."

"Ponder over this unusual story: Sporadnyk had not hit the captain of the motor ship 'Komsomolets', P. I. Horak — he raised his head against our temple — against our sacred friendship with the great Russian people. And although how pitiful the attempt of a pigmy-moron may seem, we should nevertheless draw conclusions on principle from this story. This is proved by the story of the Rudnyky renegade."

One must agree with the conclusions of the special correspondent of **Leninska Molod**: the Rudnyky story is unusually significant and suggests much to reflect upon. Primarily it is important as a glaring manifestation of resistance of the Ukrainian younger generation to the Soviet policy of Russification.

### POISONING OF CHILDREN IN CHERKASY

On August 22-24, 1973, a dreadful incident occurred in Cherkasy. At that time 330 Ukrainian children were poisoned in a Ukrainian dormitory. Nobody among the staff or cooks was sick, just the children. Out of the 330 children poisoned by an unknown substance, seven children died and the remainder were hospitalized. This is obviously a planned policy of the Russian chauvinists intended to frighten parents from sending their children to Ukrainian child-care centers and dormitories and thus in a genocidal manner forcing them to send their children to Russian child-care centers and other dormitories, which are primary centers of Russification of Ukrainian children.

In the course of this tragedy, four students protested by almost openly hanging on one of the towers a blue and yellow flag and the trident with the inscription that the Ukrainian children died for the ideals of the Ukrainian flag and trident. At the time of the raising of the flag and trident one student was killed, one captured, and two managed to escape.

From a different source it is reported that in the summer of 1973 in several localities of Western Ukraine flour and yeast, poisoned by chemicals and spoilt, appeared on the market, calling out a general panic among the population. The news report clearly states that this was purposely planned Russian genocidal policy, directed against the peaceful Ukrainian population in order to weaken its national substance and resistance to the occupant in various ways.

In Ukraine a discussion is still going on concerning the dismissal of P. Shelest from the post of first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine for writing the book, **Our Soviet Ukraine**, which was removed from all bookshops and libraries and destroyed. Immediately after the appearance of this book nobody wanted to read it knowing who wrote it and what could be expected from such a quisling. Everything had changed after P. Shelest's removal from office, however, and the appearance of a critical article in the periodical **Komunist Ukrainy** on this book, following which many rushed to read it. Soon it attracted attention to such a degree that today on the black market it sells for 30 to 50 rubles and sometimes even more.

On the heels of numerous provocations, harassment, and constant persecution of outstanding Ukrainian writer and translator Hryhorii Kochur, the KGB began a systematic persecution of his son who works as a journalist. He is accused solely on account of his father.

A popular Lviv writer of fairy tales, Varnyk, finds himself in a similar predicament. The KGB intimidates him through his son, Ivan Svarnyk, a student who was expelled from Lviv University for demanding Ukrainian language courses in schools. He was banned from further studies.

### THE SEAL OF PRINCE MONOMAKH FOUND AND STOLEN

The Soviet press of Moscow reported that a group of Russian archaeologists carried on excavations in five sites along the shores of the River Sula in the Sumy region of Ukraine. **Golos Rodiny** calls these small towns "ancient Russian

towns." In the place called Vyakhan, among the various items found by the Russian archaeologists, such as knives, arrowheads, glassware, and so forth, the seal of Prince Volodymyr Monomakh (1113-1125) was also uncovered. One side of the seal depicts Prince Monomakh, while the other carries an inscription which indicates that the seal belonged to Prince Monomakh.

The settlements being excavated were part of the third line of defence fortifications in the system constructed by Prince Volodymyr Monomakh, which were to protect Kyiv and other cities from the Pechenigs and the Polovtsi.

The Russian archaeologists handed the seal of Prince Monomakh to a museum of the Institute of Archaeology of the Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Union in Moscow.

It is not the first nor the last such incident. Ukrainian historians and students of art should keep an accurate register of stolen Ukrainian historic documents and art treasures in order to demand their return from the occupants at the appropriate time.

### **A WARNING AGAINST THE COMMUNIST SECRET SERVICES**

The Swiss Ministry of Internal Affairs is disturbed by the fact that many people visiting Communist countries fall an easy prey to the Communist secret services. It issued a circular letter in which it warns its citizens against the danger of political harassment. The circular explains that the following are the goals of the Communist secret services:

(1) gaining information about the research experiments of the West, in particular, research conducted with respect to atomic energy, rocket technology, aeronautics, electronics, and modern branches of industry;

(2) obtaining data on the types and numerical state, equipment, place of stationing, and methods of training of Western troops;

(3) obtaining information in the sphere of international relations of Western countries, especially in the political, military, and economic fields;

(4) finding out "the weak spots" in certain individuals or groups in the population which could be utilized in the future for the purpose of espionage or propaganda;

(5) acquiring official documents such as passports, identity cards, official permits, and so forth with the aim of their falsification and use by their own agents who are constantly infiltrating the Western world.

The Communist secret services are guided by the principle that each person can give "interesting" information or at least can have access to "interesting" information some day. Therefore, each individual is equally important to them.

### **LVIV UNIVERSITY UNDER KGB TERROR**

Persecution of Ukrainian cultural leaders and students continues unabated in Ukraine. In recent times the Lviv Ivan Franko University was particularly pressured by Moscow. More than thirty students were expelled from the university on charges of "anti-Soviet" activity, "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism," and publication and dissemination of leaflets which sharply criticized the Bolshevik regime. On the basis of a provocative denunciation of



a KGB spy, it was alleged that the said group of students produced the underground periodical **Progress**. Some students were arrested; others were expelled from the university after a KGB hearing. Among others, the following Ukrainian students were mentioned by name: philology students Valentyn Korniychuk, Halyna Yaremych, Vasyl Hanushchak, Volodymyr Yavorskyi, Bohdan Rokytskyi, and Volodymyr Udovychenko; students in the departments of history and journalism: Ivan Svarnyk, Leonid Filonov, Volodymyr Kozovyk, Mariyan Dolnevskyi, and Ihor Petryna.

Everyone is aware of the fact that strong pressure is applied against nationally conscious Ukrainian students who dare to defend the rights of the Ukrainian people, in particular, those who oppose intensive Russification in Ukrainian schools. The occupation regime in Ukraine follows a policy along the lines of so-called "fusion of nations," that is, of forced Russification, and for this reason Russians and other nationals are sent to Ukrainians there. People who do not know Ukrainian were assigned as instructors to Ukrainian schools, while Ukrainians are assigned to Russian schools. This aroused great indignation among Ukrainians who clearly see Moscow's intentions. Those who protest are persecuted by the Russians together with turncoats. Many professors and instructors of schools of higher learning were dismissed from work or transferred to other posts. The purge was carried out by a special party committee under the leadership of a well known janissary and traitor of the Ukrainian people, Valentyn Malachuk, secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine for ideology.

Previously in Ukraine the question of ideology and struggle against so-called "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism" was handled by a special committee from Moscow.

Recently a purge was conducted among professors and students. Besides the discharge of people mentioned earlier, the following were victims of the recent Russian purge: M. Oleksyuk, a Lviv University professor; Iryna Huzar, Ph.D., born in 1905, assistant professor, author of textbooks for the study of German, and a lecturer in German grammar at Lviv University since 1940; Yosyf Kobiv, born in 1910, candidate of philology, assistant professor at Lviv State University since 1945, chairman of the department of Latin, editor of the non-periodical collections **Questions of Classical Philology**, translator and author of many works, dismissed from work on charges of heading a chess players' club in Lviv during the Hitlerite occupation; Oleksander Huts, lecturer in the physics department, dismissed from work on the pretext of being acquainted with V. Chornovil, M. Osadchyi, and others; Lyubomyra Popadyuk, lecturer of German, was fired under the same pretext as O. Huts. Her son Zoryan was arrested in 1972. Teoktyst Pachovskyi, born in 1907, literary critic, candidate of philology, assistant professor at Lviv State University, author of numerous works on the history of Ukrainian and Polish literatures, was dismissed from work on the ground that his father was a priest. Hanna Lastovetska, born in 1923, candidate of philosophy, lecturer of Polish in the department of Slavic philology since 1954, author of numerous works, including some from the history of Czech language. Khudash, assistant professor, lecturer in psychology.

Yevhen Ivantsiv, former director of the Lviv branch of the Academy of

Sciences of the Ukr. SSR Library, was driven to his grave. Prior to his death he was dismissed from work. In his place, Kaspus was appointed the library's director. He is known for his servility to the Russian occupation regime. The wife of KGB General Poluden, chief of the Lviv region, was made Kaspus' assistant. The Lviv Academy of Sciences Library, which houses many valuable ancient books and manuscripts which Russia tried to rob for many years, finds itself in the custody of Russian henchment. The Ukrainian community is greatly disturbed by the state of the library because all know what type of men are KGB General Poluden and his deputy Baykal, who rendered services to Moscow and in 1973 became KGB chief for the Ivano-Frankivsk region. The rector of Lviv University, Prof. Maksymovych, who faithfully serves Moscow for fear of losing his position, is also despised by the Ukrainian community. At no time has he defended his lecturers or students whom the KGB ordered expelled without any guilt on their part. Maksymovych made a career and became rector of the university thanks to his wife, Maria Kish, who served in the Kovpak guerrilla detachment during the war. She is now a deputy to the Supreme Soviet and maintains business contacts with the KGB, primarily along the lines of struggle against so-called "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism."

This is the source of V. Malanchuk's "friendly" contacts to traitors. Malanchuk now heads a commission of KGB "scholars" of the type of "Stenchuk" (an unknown name) which, under the supervision of the KGB from Moscow, is currently working on the book for Ivan Dzyuba (which should bear the title **Dzyuba Versus Dzyuba or There is no Third Alternative**) intended to refute and condemn Ivan Dzyuba's book **Internationalism or Russification?** The Russian janissary, V. Malanchuk, a hater of everything Ukrainian, attacks Ukrainian patriots at every opportunity, breathing hatred to nationalists (Bandera followers). It is said that he is seeking revenge for the death of his father who was punished for treason in 1947 by a Ukrainian popular court. He has many innocent victims upon his conscience, Ukrainian patriots, including the recently expelled and arrested students of Lviv University and the Ukrainian professors who were fired from work. This was his infamous accomplishment, in conjunction with the KGB. Also, upon the orders of these "experts," in addition to the secret network of KGB spies, who are recruited mainly among non-Ukrainians, additional guardianship by professors or lecturers was introduced at universities. Together with the Komsomol they are to take care of the "educational" level of students.

The entire reinforced Communist "system of education" under the supervision of the KGB and the party, which persecutes, arrests, and dismisses students and lecturers from universities, paints a picture of reality in which students and research workers of subjugated Ukraine must live.

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



# THE UKRAINIAN REVIEW

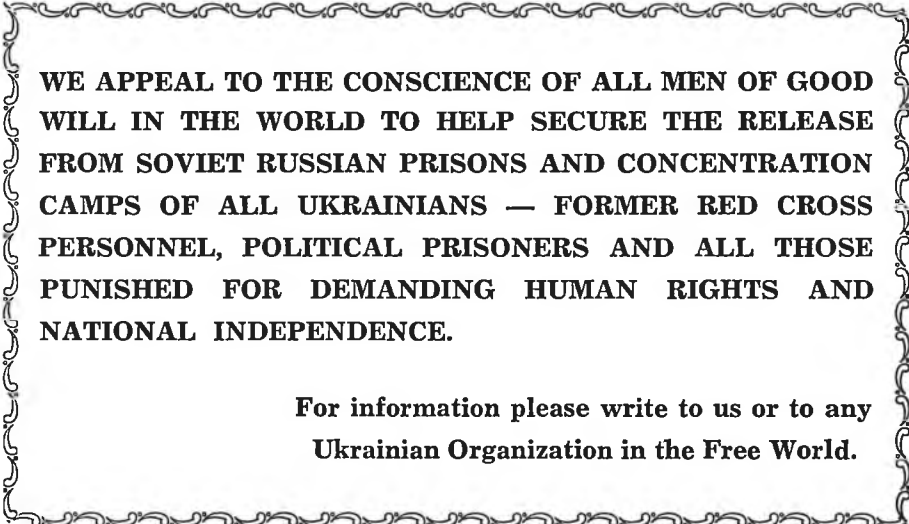
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Vol. XXI No. 3

Autumn 1974

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## 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.



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## UKRAINE AND WORLD POLITICS

# NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLE

By Zenon KARBOVYCH

We are all here united by the common ties of Fear, Hope, and the Struggle to liberate our respective subjugated nations from the rule of the Russian Empire. Sceptics do not believe that this is possible; they think that the only alternative to thermonuclear war is capitulation before the tyrants or appeasement or detente. They do not take into account and are not concerned with the fate of the hundreds of millions of people of the subjugated nations.

Is there not a superpower in the world that will stand up against this Russian tyranny like David against Goliath? Yes, there is! Although the existence of this superpower has gone unnoticed so far, because it is not rich in terms of material and technological achievements, have no doubt that such a superpower exists. It exists and it is growing because it is strong in spiritual, ideological, and political values and it will soon play a decisive role in the developments that are irrevocably upon us.

This spiritual superpower consists of all the subjugated nations within the Russian Empire and under the Communist rule who are desirous of freedom and justice and will sacrifice everything to achieve this goal. They do not want to have imposed upon them the Russian way of life and the Russian thinking, beginning with metaphysical doctrines and ending with the kolkhoz system. The Ukrainians, Turkestani, Georgians, Azerbaijani, Byelorussians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, Bulgarians, Hungarians, Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, Jews, Tartars, Rumanians, Croats, Albanians, Don Cossacks, and Germans are not Russians and they all want their national independence and their own sovereign state. Prof. Sakharov, who is in the forefront of the fight for human rights within the USSR, has acknowledged the mighty power of the idea of national liberation. According to his book, *Statement*, which will be published by the Molden Publishing House in Vienna in April, 1974, the national and religious movements are the first to appear and are the most conscious. It is their representatives that fill the concentration camps and are the most persecuted.

"Nationalism," writes Solzhenitsyn in his well known letter to the Kremlin leaders, "was declared by your ideology already dead in 1848. But is it possible to find today a greater power in the world than nationalism?" He calls upon the Kremlin leaders to abandon Com-

munism as an unworkable political philosophy, dismantle the Soviet Union, and focus on the development of Russia as a separate state. If this is not done, Russia, according to Solzhenitsyn, will not survive in the impending conflict with China.

Nationalism has become the symbol and banner of our age, for without it there would be no nations. Nationalism is deeply rooted in the traditional national spirituality of each subjugated nation and has captivated the young generation of "Soviet" youths who have grasped this great idea and are willing to die in order that it may bear fruit.

At a speech at the fiftieth anniversary of the Soviet Union Brezhnev stated: "Nationalist superstition is an unusually vital phenomenon which has a firm grip on people's psychology... One must also take into consideration that manifestations of nationalist tendencies are often interwoven with local patriotism that in turn is associated with nationalism."

This idea of nationalism, which seems so repulsive to the Kremlin leaders, has been eagerly embraced by the young generation in all the subjugated nations, a generation brought up in the philosophy of Marxism-Leninism. Is it possible that the young people have seen for themselves the discrepancies between Communist slogans and Communist reality? Is it possible that the young people want to believe in something deeper, something more meaningful, something more real than the empty slogans chanted on each anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution? The answer to that question can only be *yes*. "The national idea encompasses countless other ideas common to mankind... and the dedication to it leads at the same time into the most secret depths of other social and spiritual needs... The national question is knitted together by thousands of the finest threads with the most essential question of human conscience," writes a Ukrainian underground author. Moroz writes, "An individual who respects, knows, and loves the history of his nation lives not only his own lifetime but as long as his people and his land... The nation is immortal, it will live... Know yourself in your people."

If these are the ideas by which the young generation in the subjugated nations lives, is it any wonder that the struggle between nationalism and Russian imperialism rages with such intensity within the Soviet Union? This struggle is embodied in concrete actions in the concentration camps, in street revolts and disturbances in Dnepropetrovsk and Dnieproderzhynsk in 1972, in the armed clashes of Georgian nationalists with the Russian occupation detachments in Tiflis, in armed clashes in Erivan and Armenia, in the self-immolation of Lithuanians, Czechs, and Ukrainians, in student demonstrations in Moldavia, student disturbances in Hungary in 1973, and countless other examples from each of the subjugated nations, all proving the growth and the strength of the struggle against Russian imperialism.

The national liberation movements of the subjugated nations are popular movements in which students, intellectuals, workers, and peasants take an active part. It is a struggle of nation-wide scope, a direct response to the Communist total offensive upon the entire contents and way of life of the subjugated nations. The struggle encompasses the farmer's right to private ownership of land, the worker's right not to be exploited, the artist's right to express freely his creativity, the right of each citizen to worship, the right of each student to explore many and diverse ideas. All the various strata within the subjugated nations have joined this struggle for national liberation, for they see that all their goals can only be accomplished within a sovereign and independent national state. This is a total struggle, a clash of different national organisms, of the captors and the captives, of the exploiters and those exploited not only of their birthright but of their national soul and spirituality. The greatest achievement of this struggle and the best guarantee of our victory is the fact that it was taken up by the young generation, born of parents who have grown up under the Bolshevik occupation, a generation that has never seen the free world but, on the contrary, was reared in an atmosphere totally hostile to everything that they are now fighting for. The banner of freedom and independence for the subjugated nations was raised and is being carried by the generation of the sixties and the seventies, not only by the sons and daughters of prison and concentration-camp inmates but by the sons and daughters of workers, peasants, and technocrats.

This ideological, spiritual, moral, political revolution is a precondition of the armed revolution that will undoubtedly come, for the young generation has a clear national political aim: the national state. This can only be accomplished, in the era of thermonuclear weapons, by well planned and coordinated revolutionary uprisings within each and every nation within the Soviet Union and behind the Iron Curtain. The tactics that will best serve in these uprisings will be those of guerrilla warfare, for this "primitive type of warfare" is extremely effective against an army that possesses a high degree of technology and of sophisticated weapons. An excellent example of the success of guerrilla warfare against a technologically well equipped opponent was observed in the Vietnamese War.

This path of simultaneous revolutions and guerrilla warfare in the countryside and the city is the only path that is open to us. None of the Western Powers has expressed any desire to help us or support us in our struggle for national liberation. Only a few people in the West have raised their voices in the defense of human rights, religious freedom, and cultural creativity for the subjugated people. On the whole, neither the press, the politicians, the governments, the churches, the Vatican, nor any of the numerous humanitarian and judiciary institutions have issued any protests or statements against the tortures, imprisonments, and persecutions that are daily occur-

rences within the Russian empire. They all remain silent and mute, afraid to say *J' accuse* to the Kremlin tyrants. It is sad and tragic to witness this decline of the West. This continued indifference to the fate of millions of people and of the subjugated nations will sooner or later destroy all support for the West among the subjugated nations. General Fuller wrote: "If the West is to gain the sympathies of the enslaved people, it must inspire them." If no one in the West will help the subjugated nations in their struggle then we will have to rely upon our own forces, but we must warn the West that if national rights and freedom of individuals, freedom of creativity



*The ABN Delegation at the 7th WACL Conference. Delegates from the right: Yaroslav Stetsko, Slava Stetsko (Ukraine), L. Zourabichvili (Georgia), Dr. I. Docheff (Bulgaria), Dr. Baymirza Hayit (Turkestan).*

and of religion are defended not only by us, who are suffering persecutions and cruel treatment, but also by the entire civilized world, then a massive and intensive terror will gain the upper hand in the whole world, for the expansion of the Russian empire will not come to a standstill and Communism will not be satisfied with what it has already conquered. We call upon the workers, writers, artists, scholars, students, women, religious leaders, and all people of good will to demand the immediate abolition of chemical and medical methods, including the malpractice of psychiatry, as a means of suppressing opposition to the Soviet regime. Demand — in accordance with the UN Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights — 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.

Without national culture there is no world culture. If you do not want to see KGB terror and Moscow's oppression prevail throughout the world, fight for humanity and morality based on religion and traditionalism. We ask you to join us in the protest against Russian and Communist crimes and in the defense of the imprisoned and persecuted fighters for human and national rights.

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## **JOINT COMMUNIQUE OF THE VIIth CONFERENCE OF THE WORLD ANTI-COMMUNIST LEAGUE**

At the Seventh Conference of the World Anti-Communist League convened on April 8-11, 1974, in Washington, D.C., Capital of the United States of America, we, delegates and participants representing 65 nations and international anti-Communist organizations, jointly reviewed the world situation and mapped out anti-Communist strategies and guidelines to champion throughout the world the cause of peace based on freedom and justice for all mankind.

The current objective of WACL's struggle is to strengthen the determination of the free peoples and promote their solidarity in opposing elements detrimental to mankind — Communist thinking, slavery system, and totalitarianism — for the preservation of freedom, democracy, and peace in the entire world. Through seven years of joint efforts, the WACL has made extensive and firm contributions to heightening free peoples' vigilance, promoting the solidarity of freedom forces, and providing assistance to the enslaved peoples' struggle against Communism. The WACL has thus shaped and enhanced the main current of this age for the preservation of freedom and democracy.

Careful examination of the present confrontation between the forces of freedom and those of Communism results in the following unanimous observations:

(1) The present confused international situation is mainly due to two major factors: Communist military aggression and its united-front stratagem for expansion, combined with the free nations' mistaken policy of appeasement and negotiation. The WACL has been consistently of the view that confrontation of freedom forces against Communist forces is fundamental and can never be accomplished through negotiation. Facts have proven that talks with the Communists have without exception met with failure.

(2) The Russian and Chinese Communists still share the unchanging common goal of world communization and the enslavement of mankind. This has not changed despite the contradictory views and confrontations between the two regimes, and irrespective of their

internal power struggles. Although the Russian and Chinese Communists are still continuing their diplomacy of smiles, their expansionist moves and their attempts to create disorder in the world have never ceased.

(3) In the fluctuating struggle between freedom forces and Communist forces, more people have now awakened to the need to protect freedom and justice and, because of the continuous growth of strength for freedom, the tide of appeasement is being checked and turned back. With the surge for freedom gathering momentum across the world, Communist totalitarianism is now beginning to disintegrate from within. As history has repeatedly testified, tyranny is destined to perish and freedom shall ultimately be victorious.

In view of these facts, we of the 7th WACL Conference now call for the further growth of the new anti-Communist situation and for the accomplishment of the great mission to bring peace with freedom and justice for all, as follows:

1. *Freedom is indivisible and cannot coexist with slavery.* A world that is half free and half slave is intolerable and is charged with unavoidable dangers for man's society. The WACL Conference, therefore, solemnly declares that efforts to reach peace should be guided by the principle of freedom. Peace must be built upon freedom and justice for all.

2. *The whole human race must be free from slavery.* The Iron Curtain that curtails man's freedom should be torn down. Against the terroristic means of suppression perpetrated by the Russian and Chinese Communists, the free world should raise its indignant voice of reproach. The Chinese Communists should also be condemned for their current campaign of criticism against Confucius and of praises for Shin Huang-ti, despot of the China Dynasty. Encouragement and support must be given to the anti-Maoist and anti-Communist actions on the Chinese mainland and to the national independence campaigns of all peoples behind the Soviet Iron Curtain as well as to the rising tide of liberal thinking in all the satellite countries. Political asylum and other effective assistance should be afforded to all those fleeing the Iron Curtain for freedom.

The WACL Conference supports the actions of the European Freedom Council and associated organisations which demand that Western Governments make clear to the USSR at the European Security Conference that they:

a) Condemn Russian colonialism as being inimical to European security and world peace.

b) Demand the right of every nation within the USSR and satellite states to re-establish in freedom their national independence with their own government, social and political system, culture and religion.

c) Protest against all manifestations of Russification and obliteration of national identities.

d) Give notice that failing immediate and satisfactory Russian response to these demands, Western governments should officially recognise national liberation movements within the Soviet empire (in the same way that the Russians support various movements in Asia, Africa, and Latin America) which seek to remove the Russian colonialist yoke and re-establish democracy and national independence.

Only a policy of liberation of nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and Communism can and will guarantee a just and lasting peace in the world. Therefore, the 7th WACL Conference expresses its solidarity with and invariably supports the liberation struggle of Ukraine, Hungary, Lithuania, Bulgaria, Estonia, Georgia, Turkestan, Byelorussia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Latvia, North Caucasus, Czechia, Rumania, Slovakia, Croatia, Poland, Albania, Cuba, and other subjugated nations for their national independence and human rights, the reunification in freedom of Germany, Vietnam, and Korea, and the liberation of mainland China from Communism.

The 7th WACL Conference sharply denounces and protests against mass imprisonment and harsh sentences meted out to cultural leaders and fighters for national independence and human rights in the countries subjugated in the USSR and the satellite states, especially that of last year in Ukraine, against Russification and barbarous internment of political prisoners in psychiatric clinics (e.g. poets: Z. Krasiwskyj, O. Terela, General H. Hryhorenko) and prisons and concentration camps of the most severe regime (e.g. Valentyn Moroz, Yuriy Schuchevych, Swiatoslav Karavanskyj, Iryna Senyk, Iryna Kalynets, Nadia Shumuk), demands the placing of this matter on the agenda of the UN General Assembly for discussion and decision, and appeals to the patriotic, humanitarian, and religious circles of the whole world to stage mass actions for the liquidation of concentration camps and the release of political and religious prisoners, who now number more than two million in the USSR concentration camps alone.

The WACL Conference notes that it was the Soviet leaders who clamoured for a European Security Conference, yet it is they, with their illegal and immoral occupation of formerly free nations, who pose the real threat to stability and true peace in Europe. The time has come to arraign Russia in World Courts for the crime of colonialism, of which she has not only accused others for more than half a century, but remains herself almost the sole example today. Russian double standards have been tolerated, and even excused, for far too long in international forums.

After nearly 30 years the Kremlin has finally ratified the U.N. Declaration of Human Rights, merely to utilise it to subdue dissidents who are increasingly demanding their constitutional rights. There is in the USSR a total derogation of even those human rights which are supposedly protected by the Soviet Constitutions, and the Russians

employ the U.N. Charter to suppress any opposition whatever to their dictatorship, which opposition they classify as "a threat to state security." No economic aid should be given to any state consistently violating human rights.

3. *Results of Communist aggressions should never be accepted as fait accompli.* Such aggressions are continuing without letup in such areas as South East Asia, the Middle East, Latin America, Europe, and Africa. Free nations should discard their wishful thinking about negotiations and detente with the Communists. Also to be cast aside are neutralism, isolationism, and policies of non-alignment. Similarly to be abandoned are secret diplomacy and power politics that contravene international morality and sacrifice the rights and interests of small nations. Also to be regarded as harmful is the so-called balance of power politics among big powers, which the Chinese Communists, for example, are, in their own words, using to aggravate "the contradictions" within the camp of free nations! The Chinese Communists have stated that "It is for making the people of the United States a major target of ours that we invited Nixon to China."

4. *Free nations should establish an alliance of universal brotherhood* for the preservation of freedom, justice, and peace. Strong and mutual measures of military defense should be enforced against Communist threats and nuclear blackmail. The USSR is aiming to achieve military superiority in all advanced weapons in order to vanquish and conquer the Free World. Thus they cannot be neutralized by SALT-type arms-control agreements, none of which has ever worked. Freedom can be preserved only if the Free World regains military superiority over the Communist camp.

The policy of anti- anti-communism, which advocates weakening Western military strength in the face of the Soviet threat, weakening the ideological struggle against Communist tyranny, and profiting from the low wages paid to Soviet workers by the Communist slave-masters, will result in the ultimate destruction of civilization and the creation of a world Communist barbarian regime.

The Communists often speak of "relaxation of tensions." This may be translated as "relaxation of our guard." Detente is a policy of meeting the "barbarians" at the gates and selling them the battering rams to knock down the walls.

As regards economy, free and developed nations should step up cooperation with free and developing nations for the acceleration of the free world's overall economic growth rates. Steps should be taken for the further formation and implementation of increasingly effective global strategies for the free world to cope with the confused and contradictory Communist bloc.

5. *With regard to the present struggles of free peoples against the Communists:* the WACL Conference expresses deep respect and



support to the Republic of Vietnam and the Khmer Republic for their heroic anti-Communist fighting, to the Republic of China for its strong and unswerving struggle, to the Republic of Korea, the Kingdom of Thailand, and the Republic of the Philippines for their strengthened preventive measures against the Communists; to the Chileans for overthrowing the Marxist government of Salvador Allende, to the people of Cuba for their fight against the tyranny of the Communist Castro, to the Latin Americans in general for their positive escalation of anti-Communist strength, to the Japanese people and Diet Members for their powerful anti-Communist activities, and to those people in Europe and Africa who are striving hard for stronger anti-Communist determination and actions. Sincere respect goes to those Senators and Congressmen of the United States who have issued stern warnings against Communist aggressors and Free World appeasers, and to the American youth for its gallant sacrifices in Korea and Southeast Asia in anti-Communist wars to defend freedom and justice. The WACL Conference requests the United States to further manifest its moral courage and traditional national spirit as it leads the forces of freedom to a brilliant accomplishment of the historic mission against the Communists.

The WACL believes that the time has come for the dissolution of the United Nations since this body has not been able to establish international peace and justice all over the world, but rather has fomented Communist slavery and colonization in all parts of the globe. The United Nations is not united. It is time to replace it with a new association of peoples truly united in the belief that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights should govern all men's lives.

6. *This WACL Conference declares that the absurdity of referring to Russia as a Super Power becomes evident* in the face of the proven fact that it is the Free World which currently holds the Communist empire together. The free world is thus subsidising tyranny and its own eventual downfall. Numerous researches have incontrovertibly established that there is no such thing as Soviet technology. Almost all — perhaps 90-95% — comes directly from the United States and her allies. In effect, the NATO countries and the United States have built, and continue to maintain, the USSR and its industrial and military capabilities. This has been achieved through trade and the sale of plant, equipment, and technical assistance. Without these crutches Soviet Russia would still have no more than an agrarian economy. This particularly applies to computer technology, which should be totally embargoed from supply to Communist countries.

This Conference, therefore, condemns the continuance of such trade and aid and believes that without this assistance the artificially created and maintained Soviet empire would collapse from within through its own failures.

Russia's status, therefore, as a Super Power is entirely fraudulent. Similarly, Red China is a paper tiger. Communist power is growing only because the Free World makes it grow.

The prolongation of the Communist system increases the risk that it will use war as a solution to its internal problems.

The WACL conferees are deeply indebted to the American Council for World Freedom for its meticulous preparations for a successful conference. Last but not the least, heartfelt thanks are due to the U.S. Government and Congress, and the American people for their gracious hospitality.

The 7th WACL Conference solemnly declares that the anti-Communist struggle for the defense of freedom, justice, and peace is the common sacred mission of all the people, irrespective of race, locality, nationality, religious creed, or occupation. All the freedom-loving nations and peoples of the world should, therefore, strive for unity and cooperation and exert the greatest combined efforts for the attainment of this holy mission.



*The Ukrainian Delegation at the 7th WACL Conference (7-11 April 1974, Washington). From the left: Dr. S. Halamay, Mr. J. Deremenda, Dr. A. Bedriy, Dr. M. Kushnir.*

## PEACE IS NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE, FREEDOM AND JUSTICE FOR ALL

*Remarks by Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko  
7th World Anti-Communist League Conference  
Tuesday, April 9, 1974, 11:30 A.M.*

### Introduction

Common to all of us are fear, hope, and the endeavour to find some way out of the critical situation in which subjugated nations in the Russian Empire, and others as well, have found themselves.

I am speaking not only about problems concerning one part of the world but also about people and nations who are both subjugated and free! It is said that humanity is confronted with the possibility of being destroyed by thermo-nuclear war. Does such a danger really exist? Is there no way out other than capitulation before the tyrants or appeasement and detente at the cost of hundreds of millions of the subjugated people and dozens of the subjugated nations recognizing their slavery and the rule of the Russian tyrants.

Do we not have another superpower not so much in material and technological terms as in spiritual, ideological, and political values — whose existence has gone unnoticed, but which plays a decisive role in the developments that are irrevocably coming upon us?

Shall the world crisis be solved by detente with tyrannies and balance of power on a world-wide scale, i.e. capitulation before tyrants, or by reliance upon the eternal spiritual values of man and nations?

Besides the technological elements of superpowers, especially the thermo-nuclear elements, there is another which is more important: the spiritual element.

The spiritual superpower is that of the subjugated people and nations in the Russian Empire and under the Communist yoke, who are ready to sacrifice everything material, even their own lives, to obtain freedom and justice.

Why should the process of the disintegration of empires stop at the frontiers of the Russian prison of nations?

The way in which this Russian Empire imposes on the subjugated people and nations its own way of life, from the metaphysical doctrine down to the kolkhoz system, is something unprecedented in the entire history of empires. Why should this empire not finally become bankrupt, instead of being preserved as a "new world system of ideas and values"?

The spiritual and political superpower of our epoch — consisting of hundreds of millions of human beings and dozens of subjugated nations in the Russian Empire and under the Communist yoke — is the real factor of world politics which will decide the future of mankind.

Is there, besides the U.S.A., a second superpower in the world? The so-called superpower made up of the Russian prison of nations is a 'colossus with feet of clay.'

General Fuller, writing about Russia, quotes Theodor Mommsen: "The Russian Empire is a dustbin that is held together by the rusty hoop of czardom." And General Fuller writes. "Break that hoop and its imperium is at an end."

It is not sufficient to have the most modern type of weaponry and warfare technology; it is also necessary to possess the sympathy of people and of nations.

Does Russia or Communism possess on her side the souls of Ukrainians, Turkestani, Georgians, Azerbaijani, Byelorussians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, Bulgarians, Hungarians, Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, North Caucasians, Jews, Tartars, Rumanians, Croats, Albanians, Don Cossacks, and Germans? Even Professor Sakharov (Russian) has to acknowledge the mighty (disruptive) power of the national liberation idea although he is fighting for human rights only, not for the rights of nations.

In his book, *Statement*, which will appear from the Molden Publishing House in Vienna in April, 1974, Prof. Sakharov writes, "Sooner than anywhere else and most conscious are national and religious movements. Those who fill the concentration camps and are the most persecuted are the most faithful to God and the representatives of national minorities." (not minorities but subjugated nations, J. S.)

We raise as the central problem the right of nations to liberation nationalism, because never have the human rights of a subjugated nation been realised unless the precondition was first realised of national independence, and above all a democratic sovereign state. We support the movement for human rights but the ideas of this movement will not be realised in the nationally subjugated countries in the empire.

In order to realise human rights, George Washington had to gain national independence for America. There does not exist any other individual in the world without a concrete national imprint and there are no human rights realised without the realisation of rights of the nation to which the human being belongs. And what of the democratic empires? Did they guarantee human rights in the countries they subjugated in the past?

The slogan of our epoch: independence versus empires! Nations versus prison of nations! Human rights as the consequence of the realisation of a nation's independence and democratic order! Self-determination is not a revolutionary slogan of our epoch. Lenin

proclaimed a far more advanced slogan: "Self-determination including separation," and be deceived the people.

Not the plebiscite by ballots but plebiscite of blood, starting a thousand years ago and constantly renewed through liberation and defensive wars and revolutions against the aggressors — of Ukraine, Georgia, Lithuania, Turkestan, Bulgaria, Latvia, Estonia, Hungary, etc. — self-determined these people with their millenium or many hundred years old traditions as nation-states!

The power relationship in the Russian Empire, including the satellites, is 1:2 to the advantage of the subjugated nations. Not only the occupiers but also the subjugated are in possession of weaponry. Democratic order and modern techniques make it practically impossible to wage the classical type of war in the style of Clausewitz. Modern techniques are ousted by partisan insurgent warfare.

General Fuller teaches: "If the West is to gain the sympathies of the enslaved peoples, it must inspire them. To think in terms of the atomic bomb is autocratic; to think in terms of liberation is democratic. 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 people in Europe and the USSR are to be the allies of the West or the unwilling defenders of Moscow. What they seek is liberation and not obliteration — let the western nations remember this."

In the *International Herald Tribune* of March 3, 1974, we read: "Alexander Solzhenitsyn, the Russian dissident writer, has addressed a long letter to the Soviet leaders asking them to abandon Communism as an alien, unworkable political philosophy, dismantle the Soviet Union, and focus on developing Russia proper as a separate state.

"In addition to abandoning the Soviet sway over the countries of Eastern Europe, the Kremlin would also be expected by the author to drop its control over the Soviet Union's fourteen non-Russian Republics.

"They are Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania in the Baltic; Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia in Transcaucasia; Kazakhstan, Kirghizia, Tadzikistan, Turkmenia, and Uzbekistan in Central Asia; Ukraine and two republics not mentioned by Mr. Solzhenitsyn — Byelorussia and Moldavia. All have strong nationalist sentiments."

"Nationalism," writes Solzhenitsyn in the well known letter to the Soviet leaders, "was declared by your ideology already dead in 1848. But is it possible to find today a greater power in the world than Nationalism?"

Frightened by the growth of the Nationalist Movement inside the Russian Empire, one Bolshevik historical journal (*Ukrainskyi Istorychnyi Zhurnal*, Kyiv, No. 3, 1973) writes: "The Ideologists of anti-communism openly maintain that nationalism is a type of 'Explosive

against communism' and that allegedly, at long last, communism can capitulate before nationalism on the global scale..."

And Brezhnev in a speech on the 50th anniversary of the USSR said that "Nationalist superstition is an unusually vital phenomenon which has a firm grip on people's psychology." He also stated that "It must not be forgotten that nationalist prejudices are also a very vital phenomenon rooted in people's psychology. One must also take into consideration that manifestations of nationalist tendencies are often interwoven with local patriotism that in turn is associated with nationalism."

Liberation Nationalism — opposed to Imperialism — has become the symbol and banner of our age. "Without nationalism," write the fighters in our native lands, "there is no progress; without nationalism there is no nation." Under the banner of nationalism, a national liberation movement in the whole world is taking place. More than half of humanity considers it its own banner.

### **The Invincibility of the National Idea**

A young Ukrainian underground author says the following about the national idea: "The national idea exists and will continue to exist. It is real for us today and means the Fullness of the Sovereign Nation and Cultural Existence of the Ukrainian Nation. The national idea encompasses countless other ideas common to mankind and the very absorption of the national idea, a dedication to it, leads at the same time to the most secret depths of other social and spiritual needs. The national question is knitted together by thousands of the finest threads with the most essential question of human conscience. Nationalism is an inseparable part of the nation itself."

The late Vasyl Symonenko, a poet of Ukraine, most likely killed by the KGB ten years ago at the age of 29, proclaimed: "My nation exists! My nation will always exist! Nobody will eradicate nations!" And "Be Silent, Americas and Russias, when I speak with you (Ukraine)!"

Lev Lukyanenko, a young lawyer condemned to death (later commuted to 15 years of hard labour), declared in Mordovia (1972): "If I were the sole Ukrainian in the world, I would still fight for Ukraine!"

A young Estonian prisoner in Mordovia proudly says, "Do you know Estonia is one thousand years old? Once, there were sixty Estonians and Estonia has survived in camps as well." On one occasion, when presenting to a representative of the government a bouquet which when unwrapped turned out to be a mesh of barbed wire a prisoner shouted: "Long live free Estonia!" Then all knew that Estonia is alive. This incident from camp life is related by Prof. Osadchy, sentenced again to 10 years (*Cataract*, 1972).

Ali Khashahulhov, a North Caucasian (Ingushet) sentenced as a young boy for Anti-Russian nationalist (Ingushet) activity, says mournfully: "If our nation does disappear, a skeleton of a giant wolf will harden high up in the mountains. This will be the last wolf of the world. Wolf represents the native land and is its symbol, its flag. When the Ingushets were deported to Kazakhstan during the war, the wolves also disappeared from the Waynakh hills. The wolves could not live without the Ingushets, who were deprived of their fatherland. The wolves did not wish to become a flag for foreigners. If I knew," says Ali, "that my language would die tomorrow, I would die today."

The wolf and the native land . . . The Russians — foreigners. Where can one find bolshevik "successes" here? These are testimonials of the total bankruptcy of communist sovietism and the Russian "older brother" theory.

"If Yurko, the son of Gen. R. Shukhevych, Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), had denounced his father he would have been in the Crimea long ago."

"Go away, scoundrel," says Yurko to an overseer from the KGB who tries to talk him into signing a statement renouncing his father, "Go away or I'll send you to a mausoleum . . ." Yurko has languished for his father for 19 years already in camps of severe regime (1968). After serving his 20-year sentence, Yurko Shukhevych was sentenced anew on September 9, 1972, to 15 years!

The young people have revived, have renewed themselves, have gained new life. They have grasped the great idea and revived faith in it.

"A nation is a temple, the desecration of which constitutes the greatest crime. If only the tenth part of a nation remains, but with full-valued spirituality, it is not yet fatal. A whole willow tree grows from a piece of a full-valued twig. We live in the spontaneously irrational, in the depths, by roots alone which continuously sprout but rarely reach normal blossom," says one of the greatest heroes in the field of cultural creativity, Valentyn Moroz, sentenced to 14 years of severe regime imprisonment. *"Denationalization is de-heroization, de-christianization, collectivization, colonialist industrialization, mass resettlements from village to city. All these things constituted a destruction unprecedented in Ukraine's history of traditional Ukrainian structures, whose catastrophic results have not yet been fully revealed."*

This formula summarizes the position of the young generation so far as its program and outlook on the world are concerned. It is deeply rooted in the traditional national spirituality. "An individual who respects, knows, and loves the history of his nation lives not only his own lifetime but as long as his people and his land. The nation is immortal. It will live. Know yourself in your people."

The young generation is captivated by the heroism of its ancestors.

This heroism gave rise to legends which were revived by the young people. "Legends which cultivate and raise our spirit above this abyss," writes a young author. "Legends about the transmigration of souls, contemplation of the soul's immortality, legends about the community of kin, about the immortality of a people. We are speaking about a legend of the nation's eternity."

The entire class theory, Marxism, Sovietism with its theory of the traditionless "soviet" people, the world proletariat, of the withering away of nations, the class struggle, are useless!

### **Bolsheviks Were Unable to Change the Soul of the Subjugated Nations**

The struggle is deeply rooted in its ideological and political motivation. It also determines the quality and the substance of freedom toward which the young fighters of the subjugated nations aspire. The struggle is neither being waged from the position of dialectical and historical materialism, nor from position of philosophical materialism in general, but just the opposite.

I will not use my words, but those of representatives of the young generation, showing what they write and speak regarding ideological, political, and strategic positions. I am sorry for not being able to give their names, but some of them have still managed to escape arrest.

This is what the young generation teaches: "God has created man... when there is no God, there are no people... Christians while building the kingdom of God have resurrected the dead spirituality... Happy are those who have God... The basis of morality is the idea of God and the immortality of the soul... Spiritual life is the only genuine life... The Church, the bearer of the spirit, must be preserved... The main thing is to defend the Church..."

The young generation has reached the level of ontology. In the face of imposed Marxist materialism it would be a mistake to remain without an answer to the problem of man's origin and being.

Ethics motivated by religion has a lasting foundation. It is not by chance that one underground author in Ukraine writes: "We shall build the holy cathedral, send our spirit to heaven and it will stand for centuries... How much did our ancestors have to sacrifice while inculcating in their children human ideas, beliefs, selfless love of truth, and respect for the God of their ancestors..."

Religion has been placed at the foundation of cultural creativity. "It is impossible to imagine traditional cultural treasures outside the Church... A struggle against the Church means a struggle against culture... How many times was the nation saved by the Church alone... Under the conditions (prevalent) in our countries, the Church was the only force independent of the government..."



"The apotheosis of man as a creature like unto God and not a cog. How can stone-age despotism be ingrained in the soul of a Ukrainian, who as early as the Middle Ages elected and deposed the Cossack chief, 'Koshovyy,' and could himself become a 'Koshovyy' who gave birth to the philosophy of Skovoroda — a hymn to human individuality, with the maxim 'Know thyself' . . . Philosophy for which the ego is the basis of everything, even of the kingdom of God, and even God himself is nothing other than the fully developed ego. He who knows himself has found the desired treasure of God . . . The true man and God are one and the same!"

In the face of these and similar documentary revelations of the point of view of the young generation inside the subjugated nations, the sovietologists of most of Western Research Institutes with their thesis about the "New" Communist and the "Soviet" man can declare their bankruptcy.

### **Traditions of the Subjugated Nations and their own way of life**

In their literary, historical, philosophical, and sociological works, the young persecuted authors express the following views: "The past is our greatest treasure, a spiritual shield, a highly tested experience. An individual with just the present is like a tree without roots . . . We deposit into the immortal national treasury our very best and take from it as much as one can . . . We pour ourselves as a drop into its (national) sea and think about the eternity of the sea . . ." And an underground author makes a typical assertion: "Our nation did not follow the older brother (the Russian people — Y. S.) . . . but chose a difficult, thorn-covered spiritual path — but *its own* . . ."

The young generation discovers the road of reawakening in the struggle for the assertion of its own values. It declares, "the present events in Ukraine are also a turning-point: the ice of fear which firmly bound the spiritual life of the nation for many years is breaking."

"Spiritual slavery," says another author, "is the greatest national calamity; prosperity makes a man neither great nor happy. What does it all weigh in comparison with freedom, with life for which you strive, and with the right to think! Wealth is to be found within ourselves, and not in money, property, or deeds. *Conscience is the worst torture.*"

"No matter where you go," writes still another author, "there are foreign bayonets. The Russians stand in regiments. The stronger think, strive to counteract evil. The weaker only pray. We have no right to die as long as our people live in slavery. The earth will not receive us, will throw us out."

In the face of Brezhnev's neo-Stalinist terror, also toward the creators of cultural values, such a mighty: "But, why do they now fear the *word* more than hundreds of swords? The bonfires were

turning into ashes, concealing every spark for the conflagrations to come, which will yet raise the flames as crimson banners and herald the great day. All of us are precursors. The messiahs will follow in our footsteps. They cannot help coming. Nothing is permanent in the world, including falsehood. The messiah will come soon and through his sufferings save the people and their freedom."

Persecution, suffering, and death is the road which leads toward resurrection.

"Jesus was seized and crucified and he rose forever in the hearts of the unfortunate. We are but precursors," say the unsubdued of our days about themselves. *We live in the pre-revolutionary era in the Russian Prison of Nations and Individuals, a colossus on clay feet, a colossus on a volcano.*

*"And today our purpose is to point out its weak spots in order to help liberate the free world from the fear of a rabbit hypnotized by a boa constrictor.*

"Tyrants love tears and repentance, while somebody's uncrushed dignity is the same for them as a knife in the heart!"

*Just as in the early stages of Christianity, the enemy tyrant is afraid of the word, that is, of ideas and of the faith backing it. The thermo-nuclear age is an ideological age and requires an ideological struggle.*

The young generation of the subjugated nations has been re-born. It has stood up in ideological and active defence of national traditionalism, of the national heroism of life, of heroic religiosity, and heroic humanity of the individual.

"It is impossible to break people, to turn them into slaves, until you steal their holy days, until you destroy their traditions, until you trample on their cathedrals," state the contemporary Ukrainian intellectuals.

And in contradiction to the thesis about the so-called Soviet Fatherland, the young generation firmly declares, "One can choose one's friends and one's wife, but not one's fatherland," and "a human being has but one mother, or none at all!" (V. Symononko).

After forty years the nations still hate the collective system which suppresses man's "ego," individualism, and creative initiative and transforms people into a flock and the individual into a "small cog," as a well known writer from Ukraine puts it. *One of the young poets, presently in prison, writes: "... and the soil became a torment for Ukraine, just as the Kolkhozes a modern compulsory service for a landlord ... Compulsory service — 3 days, Kolkhoz — 7 days; three buckweat sowers out of three do not sow."*

V. Moroz, the defender of the national principle of world organization, of traditionalism, Christian — or rather religious — foundations of culture, and the defender of one of the oldest centers of Ukrainian pre-Christian and Christian culture, the old town of Kosmach, opposes Kosmach to Babylon, the organic, natural, and national concept of world organization as opposed to the concept of the fusing of nations.

Megalopolis effaces individuality and kills freedom. Ihor Kaly nec, poet and philosopher, proposes a new model for world order, while Moroz, the historian, advances a universal conception for saving the world, in another complementary aspect. Neither of them, however, has yet been offered the Nobel Prize. Knut Skueniks, a well known Latvian intellectual, staying in the Mordovian concentration camps, characterizes Ihor Kaly nec's work as follows: "The Ukrainian, Kaly nec, also presents a new world model. He has created it in a surprisingly quiet and profound way. You may enter it and leave it perplexed. You may fail to undersand it, but you will remain perplexed. you will start looking for something. If you find it, you are lucky; if you don't, you deny, at your Pithecanthrope's low level, his new world and you brand the poet as being 'antique.' You exclude him from society, but one day your grandchildren will cling to this new world and you will be helpless.

"Art must be created and managed by artists. If some other manager, a dogmatist, takes over the art it will perish. Art does not tolerate ignoramuses; it belongs to the branch (scope) of a jeweller, not an artisan."

"When you enter into literature, clear your shoes," says Vyshnia (a famous Ukrainian humorist, a longtime prisoner of Stalinist prisons). Latvian Knut Skueniks writes: "Art is created by those who have a free mind. An enslaved mind can only create an ingenious model of everyday life in enslavement and reproduce its frame and bars. It will never be able, however, to produce an advanced world model, a model people will understand later on." (M. Osadchyj, *Cataract*).

### The Truth is Dead Without its Carriers

Truth does not triumph of itself. It triumphs when its carriers are ready to sacrifice their lives for it. "What is *important is to believe, the arguments will find themselves*. No apostle has ever converted anyone by arguments. Not a single spiritual revolution has occurred without apostles. Contemporary renaissance is also impossible without them," writes the unbroken Valentyn Moroz.

And Ivan Dzyuba said: "There are epochs when decisive battles are fought in the sphere of social morality and public conduct, when even the elementary human dignity resisting brutal terror can become a revolutionary force. Our age also belongs to such epochs."

Valentyn Moroz continues: "It is possible to have great spiritual treasures, but they simply will not be noticed if they are not taken by an *infatuated* person and melted down in the furnace of his infatuation... contemporary Ukraine needs apostles, not accommodators, not realists with their 'arguments.' Not one spiritual revolution has taken place without apostles. If we want to be Ukrainians, let us fear a 'realist' like fire. *Ukraine is a flower which has grown among*

*the snow.* An idea is not enough. An idea is bare and dry, what is needed is its living embodiment."

"The truth is known, what is needed is faith. Faith needs absolute truth, dogmas. Dogmas," says V. Moroz, "are gladly criticized by all, and this is understandable in our reality, but while pursuing this petty occupation they somehow failed to notice that an individual without any dogmas, an individual who does not believe in anything, has become the main danger. Nihilism has set in, a product of mass culture. In a human being the technical function is being developed hypertrophically at the expense of the spiritual and this for some reason is called progress."

"Let us look at national history," writes a young philosopher of history currently in prison, "Had not those become its heroes who with a child's smile passed over abysses and have raised highest the spirit of *national immortality*? Have not the practical, the down-to-earth, and the ill-adjusted been forgotten, those who ridiculed the Don Quixotes. For legends are created by a Don Quixote, who glances with a fiery look beyond the summits of life. And the rash Don Quixotes become heroes of folk tales (sagas) and national history... But the people collect the traces of the great, often futile, efforts of a Don Quixote into a legend, singing praises to the madness of the courageous."

When I. Dzyuba issued a statement of repentance, V. Moroz declared to the court: "Well, we shall fight. Just now, when one has signed a statement of repentance, another one reclassified himself as a translator. Just now it is necessary for someone to give an example of firmness. 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, this is more difficult yet. And therefore we shall fight!"

As can be seen from the facts of direct struggle, the subjugated nations possess those who believe in the idea of national liberation, its apostles and carriers. Therefore, neither the idea nor its carriers can be killed any more.

### **Nationalism, an Unconquerable Force**

How inflammatory is the national idea is evidenced by protest self-immolations. On November 5, 1968, *Vasyl Makukh*, 50, the father of two children, the fighter of UPA and the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), long-term prisoner of Russian prisons and concentration camps, burned himself in Kyiv with the exclamation: "Long Live Free Ukraine!"

On January 20, 1969, the Czech student, *Jan Palach*, immolated himself in Prague while shouting: "It is better to die in flames than to live under the Russian colonial yoke!"

On February 10, 1969, the Ukrainian patriot and former prisoner of concentration camps, *Mykola Beryslavskyy*, 55, the father of three

children attempted self-immolation as a protest against Russification, for which he was sentenced to two and a half years of imprisonment.

On May 14, 1972, the self-immolation of the Lithuanian nationalist student *Romas Kalanta* in Kaunas with the exclamation, "Long Live Independent Lithuania!"

On May 29, 1972, Lithuanian worker *Stonis*, 29.

On June 3, 1972, Lithuanian worker *Andrus Kukavicius*, 60.

On June 9, 1972, attempted self-immolation of the Lithuanian *Zalizh Kauskas*.

The heroic conduct before the court of the Lithuanian sailor, *Simonas Kudirka*, sentenced to 10 years of harsh imprisonment, who greeted his verdict with the exclamation: "I demand freedom for my fatherland, Lithuania!"

The heroic conduct of the young Ukrainian historian, *Valentyn Moroz*, in a Russian court, with his by now famous expression: "If having placed me behind bars, you were counting on creating something of a vacuum in the Ukrainian renaissance, then this is not serious. Try to understand at last: there won't be any vacuum any more!"

The national idea is embodied in concrete action, in direct struggle of the subjugated nations in their native lands, and in the concentration camps, as for example, the much publicized hunger strike in Potma in March, 1972, in which the Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Jewish, and other political prisoners participated; street revolts and disturbance in Dnipropetrovsk and Dniprodzerzhynsk in 1972; the armed clashes of Georgian nationalists with the Russian occupation detachments in Tiflis; and armed clashes in Erivan, Armenia, also occurring in recent months.

In June, 1971, a revolt broke out among the Kabardinians (North Caucasus) in the city of Nalchyk. It was crushed by military units of the Russian KGB, and a woman was executed by shooting after a closed trial. In December, 1972, in Derbenti, in Dagestan (North Caucasus), armed Kolkhoz workers forced the KGB to release the head of the Kolkhoz, who had given meat to starving peasants. In June, 1971, in Tyraspol, the Moldavian students demonstrated for two days for secession of Moldavia from the USSR and its annexation to Rumania. During the 1972 Jewish passover, the KGB organs provoked radical disturbances between the Kabardinians and the Jews in the course of which the KGB killed 8 Kabardinians and two Jews in Nalchyk.

In Estonia, there appeared the renowned letter of the representatives of the Estonian intelligentsia defending the right of the Estonian people to independence, and threatening that the time will come when the tanks will not be marching on Prague and Bratislava, but on Moscow and Leningrad.

In Turkestan in May, 1969, the Uzbeks, shouting "Russians get out of Uzbekistan," revolted in the concentration camps. These disturb-

ances spread across Tashkent and Bukhara. The famous struggle of Crimean Tartars, defended by Ukrainian General Hryhorenko, is by now widely known throughout the world. The Armenian groups, "SHAND," ("In the name of the fatherland") and "PAROS" (Torch) fought in 1969/70 for the independence and unity of Armenia, publishing a periodical and leaflets. Its members included students and workers.

These and other heroic national and religious efforts and decisive resistance to Russification are renowned throughout the subjugated world. Lithuania has not and never will put down its arms in its struggle for independence and the Christian religion.

In Byelorussia, the writer Bykov strongly protested against the Russification of the country. Byelorussian youth raised its voice in protest.

An underground organization was founded by the Latvians in 1962 called the "Baltic Federation," whose aim was to fight for independence of the Baltic Nations — Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia — and to counteract the activities of the Russian occupants.

In Bulgaria and Rumania, national resistance is constantly growing. In Hungary, there were new student disturbances in 1973! In Poland, a revolt by workers in 1971 was responsible for the toppling of Gomulka.

Is it possible to stop the process of the disintegration of world empires for any reason whatsoever at the frontier of the totalitarian, anti-religious Russian Empire? The fundamental contradictions of the empire and the system are realized and felt by the subjugated nations every day, for they are no longer illiterate but, on the contrary, the average person is highly educated. These captive nations (such as Georgia, Ukraine, Lithuania, Turkestan, Armenia, and others) are in possession of ancient cultures more than a thousand years old. Does the permanent Soviet and Communist propaganda with respect to the attributes of sovereignty for the newly created states on the African continent — including the right to have armed forces of their own, separation from the "metropolis" and from the empire, a sovereign foreign policy, withdrawal of imperialist armies from the former colonies, etc., — does this propaganda not remind even a pupil of a primary school in Byelorussia or Azerbaijan, Estonia or Latvia of the complete contradiction between windy rhetoric and the reality? In reality those nations are constantly exposed to the Russian KGB, Russification, and to the Russian occupational army, while they lack any sovereignty as to decisions concerning their own affairs. Among the children of the subjugated nations, the question of national independence is always uppermost. When attacking the Western states' nonexistent colonialism and imperialism, the Russian occupants are employing a two-edged sword.

Consequently, the Liberation Nationalism of the subjugated nations in the cruelest Russian Empire is not only stimulated by the inborn

striving towards the creation of their own way of life but it is also conditioned by international developments. The national principle as opposed to the imperialist one is the slogan of the present era.

V. A. Kapshytser, a recent Jewish emigrant from the USSR to Israel, writes: "One of the major questions facing us is the national question. The national forces are breaking the Communist empire apart."

Brezhnev denotes "Local Patriotism" related to "Nationalism" in the economic sphere. The first secretary of the central committee of the CP of Ukraine, Shcherbytsky, the successor of Shelest, stated after the mass arrests in Ukraine during the April assembly of the CC of the CP of Ukraine in 1973 that many authors revealed national conceit and limitation, idealized the patriarchal system, interpreted the history of Ukraine in the light of depraved ideological views on "Originality." The Party Secretaries of Georgia, Lithuania, Latvia, Uzbekistan, Armenia, and other pseudo-republics were removed from their posts because they had not been successful in fighting those nations' Liberation Nationalism. *The Communist* (No. 4, 1973) sounds the alarm bell and requests that any manifestations of nationalism be overcome. *The Ukrainian Historical Journal* (No. 3, 1973) states in the essay entitled "Anti-Sovietism — The chief trend of Ukrainian bourgeoisie nationalist subversive activity," that nationalism cannot be repressed. The author, V. P. Cherednychenko, is quoting from Lenin: "Bourgeois Nationalism and Proletarian Internationalism are two slogans which irreconcilably oppose each other expressing two policies (rather, two world outlooks) with respect to the national question." In order "to overcome any manifestations of nationalism in the economy" the Russian imperialist leadership is also by force unifying the economic geography according to the Tsarist model. The theoretically existing sovereignty of the "Republics" being violated, seven economic regions have to be created: The Far East, Siberia, Kazakhstan, The Northern Centre, Volga-Ural, Central Asia, and The South. The so-called "UG" (South) of the USSR exactly corresponds to the "UG" (South) of Tsarist Russia. It includes among others Ukraine, Georgia, Azerbaijan, and the North Caucasus. Food shortage in Ukraine (1973), the richest European country, proves the bankruptcy of the system as well as the imperialist extermination and exploitation policy. So does the purchase of grain in the USA, Canada, and Germany.

The empire is undergoing a period of economic recession, too.

W. Kollarz says "Nationalism is a kind of explosive against Communism" and "finally Communism may capitulate before nationalism at the international scale" (see *Communism and Colonialism*, London/New York, 1964, p. 13).

## Popular Movements (Nation Wide)

It must be stated that the National Liberation Movements of the Subjugated Nations are popular movements, in which an active part is taken not only by students and intellectuals, but also by workers and collective farmers.

According to Andrei Almarik, out of the 134 signatures appearing under one Kyiv protest letter in defence of prisoners, 25% were those of workers in the Kyiv factories.

The strength of our movement was always to be found in the people, who continuously produced ever new heroes.

It is significant that the city is also becoming a part of the liberation struggle. This is an important phenomenon. The countryside was the mainstay of the OUN-UPA to the greatest extent. It is a good turn of events that the city is taking over its proper role. To demoralize the village is the enemy strategy. Ukraine's reply: while defending the village, a successful advance upon the city is made. The intellectual elite, the students, the workers are standing on the frontlines. Not only an ideological but also an active struggle has developed, as shown by the actions of students and workers. The same things are occurring in Lithuania (Kaunas), Estonia, Georgia, Turkestan, Croatia, North Caucasus, Byelorussia, Poland, Slovakia, Czechia, Hungary, Rumania, and Bulgaria.

The so-called *Samvydav* (Self-Publication) from the subjugated countries, widely known in the world, is proof of this. The *Ukrainian Herald*, an uncensored publication of the Ukrainian patriots, besides political statements and documentation also carries literary works, while the *Chronicle of Current Events* limits itself only to an informative content. *The Exodus*, dealing with Jewish affairs, and other periodical and non-periodical publications outside censorship published in Estonia, Lithuania (*Lithuania Herald*), Armenia, Georgia, Turkestan, and Latvia reveal a similar purpose as that of *The Ukrainian Herald*.

What is the heart of the matter? Yuriy Yofe, an emigrant from the USSR to Israel, stated: "The democratic movement (in Russia) is a purely intellectual phenomenon, which was never so popular as, for instance, the Ukrainian Nationalist Movement."

We repeat, that a characteristic trait of the National Liberation Struggle of the Subjugated Nations is its nationwide scope. In connection with the occupant's total offensive upon the entire contents and way of life of the Subjugated Nations, a massive counteroffensive is being waged. This means that there is in progress a struggle for a farmer's right to the private ownership of land, at least for an increase in size of the so-called private plots of land, versus the collective system imposed by force and terror. In contrast to compulsory socialist realism, that is, the cultivation of the reality of slavery in spiritual creativity, there is a return to the national



traditions, to the individual sources of spirituality of each nation; in opposition to militant atheism there comes the cult of the ancestral religion, the millennial or centuries-old traditions; against the Orthodox Church subservient to the Kremlin regime, which serves the atheist government and whose mission is to become the Third Rome, each nation's own religious traditions combined with the national idea are fearlessly defended. Side by side with the ideological, cultural, intellectual, literary, and artistic struggle in the sphere of the humanities which encompass the entire complex of spiritual creativity; side by side with philosophical idealism, with so-called historicism, that is, the cult of great national figures of the age of national independence and historic grandeur of past centuries, there come the student rebellions (Tahanrih), in which the students openly take an anti-government stand at seminars. There are disturbances among the peasant youth, as confirmed by the Soviet press, while revolutionary attitudes become rampant among former prisoners (*Izvestia*). In the Chernihiv region, collective farmers refused to give up their private plots of land, winning an increase in their size (*Izvestia*). In some state farms of the Kazakh SSR, the workers systematically reduced their time of work (*Selskoe Khozyaystvo*). In some Ukrainian regions the miners forced the management to increase their wages (*Pravda Ukriny*). In Dniprodzerzhynsk the workers of a metallurgical plant protested against the increase of work norms. Beginning with 1956 and up to 1974, there are countless such examples. What is the heart of the matter?

The decisive factor, it must be emphasized, is that various strata within the subjugated nations have joined in the struggle. They are fighting to realize fully their idea of the substance of each sector of life. Such a fulfillment can be achieved only in their own independent states. A precondition of essential changes in every sphere of life is each nation's own government in its own land. Without the sovereign rule of a given nation there is "no land and no freedom." Therefore the new slogan is not "land and freedom," but "Sovereign Rule, Land, and Freedom." This is self-evident to all strata of the subjugated nations. Without a political revolution, that is, without the assumption of power by the subjugated nations, there is no fulfillment of the aspirations of any stratum of a people. The essence of the present stage of the liberation struggle is a spontaneous and systematic mobilization of the broad circles within the subjugated nations in order to reach the zenith — the renewal of national statehood — which only then will make an all-round development of a modern nation possible. The slogan, "FREEDOM," alone is insufficient. Freedom is a framework which must be filled with the contents. Freedom is a prerequisite, an opportunity to make a choice among diverse values. It is mandatory to define clearly for what values, for what qualities, one stands. The peoples have been deceived for many decades. A struggle for justice, for lawfulness, is a revolutionary

slogan which mobilizes the moral sentiments in a system of "legalized" lawlessness and disfranchisement. Again we emphasize that political self-determination is not a mobilizing slogan, for Lenin, even, added "Including secession" to it, yet he was able to deceive the people. Therefore, the only rallying cry is national independence, complete separation from Russia. There is no other alternative. The disintegration of the empire and the re-establishment of independent national democratic states is the goal which attracts. A struggle is being waged for sovereign rule, for freedom and justice, for the realization of the nations' own ways of life in their own states. In this aim there is concentrated simultaneously the definition of the contents of every phase of national life, the principles of its organization, for never in the history of Western Empires was there a situation where a subjugated nation had to fight not only against military occupation and economic exploitation, but also against a hostile spirituality, sociality, a contradictory way of life, an entirely different system of life and beliefs. Bolshevism, Communism, Sovietism, the Russian way of life, the spiritual, cultural, and religious Russification are neither a Lithuanian, nor a Georgian, nor an Estonian, nor a Byelorussian, nor a Turkestani, nor an Azerbaijani, nor a Jewish, nor a Ukrainian way of life. A characteristic phenomenon of the contemporary era of the liberation struggle of the subjugated nations is that hand in hand with the direct forms and methods of struggle, such as demonstrations, strikes, revolts, mass actions, and armed clashes, there is the ideological, political, cultural, and religious struggle, a struggle of two opposite concepts of life: the Russian, Bolshevik, Communist concept and that of the subjugated nations. It is a clash of total national organisms, of the captor and his captives, who are not only physically oppressed and economically exploited, but attempts are also being made to deprive them of their national soul. This struggle for the souls of nations is essential.

The greatest achievement of our liberation struggle, a guarantee of our victory, is the fact that the struggle for the soul of the subjugated nations has been taken up by the young generation, many of whom were born of parents already grown up under the Bolshevik occupation, a generation which has never seen the free world, but on the contrary was reared in an atmosphere hostile to its own nation, in the spirit of the occupant.

The banner of traditionalism of a millennium, the primacy of the spirit, the immortality of the soul, the banner of the nation, of the eternity of a nation was raised by the generation of the sixties and the seventies, was carried by sons and daughters not only of inmates of prisons and concentration camps, but also the children of average workers, collective farmers, and even technocrats.

This is the greatest blow suffered by the Communist ideology and system of life, by the Russian system of occupation, in recent decades. For this reason, it will be impossible to crush the national aspirations.

As a rule the revolution of soldiers was preceded by the revolution of poets and other creators of spiritual values.

The ideological, spiritual, moral, and political revolution is a precondition of armed revolution. The creativity of the young generation has a clear national political aim: The National State.

### **Revolution Possible**

In the thermo-nuclear and the ideological age, the most timely concept is the liberation, revolutionary, insurgent idea which will destroy the empire and the system from within. In the fall of 1970, manoeuvres of MVD forces took place near Moscow under the slogan, "Suppression of uprisings in concentration camps."

The uprisings in concentration camps of Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Turkestanian, Georgian, Armenian, Byelorussian, and other prisoners in 1953-1959, the disturbances and revolutionary upheavals in East Germany, Hungary, Poland, Czechia and Slovakia, the nationwide insurrection in Ukraine in 1942-1953, and the partisan warfare in Lithuania have established that revolutionary struggle is possible, even in the Russian totalitarian imperialistic system. The courageous acts of Croatian nationalists have proven the weakness of Yugoslavia as an artificial, forced, colonial structure in Europe.

Simultaneous and not separate, isolated revolutionary uprisings of the subjugated peoples are the surest road to liberation. The occupational regime will be powerless when confronted in this way, for it will not be able to use nuclear arms, this being self-destructive (and because of radioactive fallout also). Moreover, the administrative machinery itself is infiltrated by anti-imperial and anti-communist elements. The Soviet Army is composed not only of Russians but also of soldiers from the subjugated countries, while the satellite Armies — as shown by the Hungarian Revolution, the disturbances in Poland, and the events in Czechia and Slovakia — will not take a stand against their own rebelling compatriots, but to the contrary will themselves rise against the occupant. What is more, the soldiers of the Soviet Army, which is based on universal, compulsory military service, are tightly bound with their own nations, living by the same ideals as their fathers and mothers.

It is not an isolated incident that four years ago, on August 31, 1970, in a military court of the Baltic Military District, there ended a trial of an underground organization inside the army which had its branches in Poland, Azerbaijan, and other places. The resonance of the national liberation struggle of the subjugated nations will be heard in the armed forces. Neither the KGB nor the party is able to protect the Soviet Empire against this, since the soldiers of the Soviet Army are an inseparable part of the nations from which they come. It was not a chance occurrence that in the first half of 1973 more than 15,000 young Ukrainians of military age were thrown into punitive detachments along the Sino-Soviet border.

Not only the captive nations' aspiration for freedom and independence makes them strong but also the fact that their fighters have technical arms as well, including the most modern type thereof, since it is impossible to exclude more than 200 millions of captive nationals from technological production. It is the unsolvable contradictions of the Imperialist Russian and the communist systems that constitute a decisive weakness. Openly turning to Russian chauvinism and attempting to Russify completely the captive nations proves the weakness and bankruptcy of Communism in the USSR. Can one expect any nation, even the most insignificant, to idolize its subjugator and exploiter as "elder brother" as the Russifiers are constantly demanding? The young Ukrainian scientist, Ivan Dzyuba, dared to describe and condemn this situation in his work *Internationalism or Russification*, published in English in London by Weidenfeld and Nicholson, and in other languages as well.

It is interesting to note that Prof. Sakharov writes in his book on the renewal of Russian chauvinism and hostilities of the Russians to non-Russians: "Russian anti-semitism is an example of this."

The Russian occupants and their serfs are frightened by the fact that American and British intellectual elites are beginning to understand and appreciate liberation nationalism. Nationalism is not nazism, fascism, imperialism, colonialism, anti-semitism, and the like, but their opposite ideological and political philosophy. It implies the independence of each nation, patriotism, and true democracy residing in the nation and including the entire people, not just a certain stratum, class, or group. It also implies a respect for the right of even the smallest nation to independence and the ending of the exploitation of any nation in the world. It is an anti-communist and anti-totalitarian ideology stressing heroic humanity and social justice, idealism, anti-Marxism, the primacy of the national and social elements over egoism, and of national heroism of life. It is therefore not surprising that nationalism frightens Moscow. An American sociologist, quite often referred to by Bolshevik theoreticians, I. E. Hans Kohn, says that nationalism is a social phenomenon "wherein all problems of recent and contemporary history are condensed." The well known English economist investigating the problems of international politics, Barbara Ward, maintains that "Nationalism is undoubtedly the most powerful political force today" (*Five Ideas that Change the World*, New York, 1959, p. 19). The former executive director of the CIC, L. Kirkpatrick, Jr., shares this view; in 1969 he wrote: "We no longer doubt that nationalism is the most powerful explosive force in world society."

All these quotations have been from Soviet journals, which show that Moscow is afraid of possible Western interest in liberation nationalism.

By means of brutal terror — thousands of patriots and cultural workers being its victims — by throwing them into mental asylums,

using chemical and medical devices for breaking their will power, assassinating fighters for national independence, applying national and cultural genocide, Russification, artificial famines in Europe's richest agricultural area, imposing a phantom-like concept of a Soviet People, artificially creating and imposing a new unified system of economic geography in the empire, and by intermixing the nations by mass deportations, the Russian usurpers are trying in vain to counteract the Liberation Nationalism of the captive nations.

### **The Road to Liberation**

The spiritual and moral revolution is a real fact. It is a precondition to political revolution. The national political revolution is unconquerable provided it grows out of the traditional elements of spirituality and sociality of a given nation. Synchronization of the national and social revolution is a guarantee of its success.

Now a particular struggle is being waged in the cultural sphere: a battle for the national and human soul. Before soldiers take to arms, a revolution is staged by poets and artists.

A consequence of this is the inclusion of the spokesman of the extensive police and terror apparatus, Andropov, and that of Bonapartism, Marshall Grechko, in the highest party organ. The presence of Gromyko in that body testifies to the success of the policy of weakening the West. This policy also furthers the intensification of terror inside the country. Brezhnev (party), Kosygin (administration), Andropov (KGB), Grechko (the military), Shelepin (trade unions), and so forth — all organized forms of violence are united in the highest body of the party. Their chief aim is to save the empire from revolts of the subjugated nations. Re-stalinization, intensified Russification, mass imprisonment of fighters for national and human rights, national and cultural genocide, linguicide, modernized methods of terror; psychiatric clinics, chemical and medical means of breaking an individual's willpower, the use of arms in crushing national and social resistance, as well as open revolt of the masses (Lithuania) — all this characterizes the era of Brezhnev.

Counting on national and religious rights on reformism, evolution, the "Human" face of Communism, and constitutionalism and democratization from above has proved disappointing. Those who fought for the fulfillment of rights that had been guaranteed by the constitution are behind bars.

There is noticeable one basic difference between dissidents and fighters for national rights, between reformists and nationalists. The former strive to repair the existing empire and system; the latter wish to topple it by re-establishing independent national states. For this reason many of the former belong to the so-called Third Russian Emigration, while the latter are either executed or languish in concentration camps for 15, 20, and 35 years, as the Ukrainian na-

tionalist Oleksa Bilskyi, imprisoned since the age of 19, who went blind while in prison. Oleksa Bilskyi, 55, is suffering imprisonment solely for his nationalistic views, for which he refuses to repent.

The underground organizations continued to exist and still exist. Some were short-lived, others not. The OUN in Ukraine and anywhere else where Ukrainians live is consistently active in the underground.

If the essence of an underground revolutionary organization is primarily ideological unity and political guidelines for action, and afterwards only in the last rank technical contacts for the sake of following these guidelines, which to a large extent can be done openly, then it is impossible to destroy it. If our concept of liberation is not a palace revolt but a general revolt of nations, then the guideline for their mobilization must be transmitted openly. A description of mass armed action in Novochoerkask, Nalchyk, or Tiflis broadcast over the radio constitutes a guideline for analogous actions in Dnipropetrovsk, Tashkent, or Kaunas and vice versa. In such actions, new leaders emerge. Underground organizations provide an *alternative authority* to that of the occupant. It is also created by *leaders of spirit and action* who have come to the fore openly. This results in the occupant's attempts to force statements of repentance and to discredit the underground as a foreign agency in order to do away with *symbols*, with *alternative leadership*, with the *alternative of the Subjugated Nation's Sovereign Rule*.

In order to prevent the enemy from resorting to his wicked techniques of deception, the Lithuanian heroes took out medical certificates prior to their self-immolations attesting that they were mentally healthy. Such instances of courage as that of the young student worker Kalanta, or student Palach, or the fighter of UPA-OUN Makukh are rare in history.

"Glory! Glory! Glory!" shouted the crowd which filled the entire Pekarska street in Lviv (this occurred throughout the five days). "Flowers were tossed to us. They fell on the metal roof of the car, through a crack in the door upon us. When we proceeded to the court building, we walked on a carpet of fresh spring flowers," writes M. Osadchyi about the trial of the cultural leaders (*Cataract*, p. 42.).

Vasyl Symononko points to armed struggle as the only road to liberation. "Oh Kurd, save your cartridges, but do not spare the life of killers! . . . *Converse with them with bullets* . . . Oh, Kurd, save your cartridges. Without them you won't be able to protect your kin!"

There is no path to liberation other than the simultaneous national liberation revolutions of nations subjugated in the USSR and the guerrilla strategy is the only realistic one. Nuclear bombs cannot be dropped on revolutions and revolutionaries, for this is tantamount to the occupants' committing suicide. The greater the growth of classical military technology, the greater becomes the significance of armed people, the "primitive" method of warfare. On the heels of

the general call for further development of conventional arms, there will come a time when voices will be raised in support of uprisings inside the empire of tyrants, as a way of avoiding a nuclear war.

In the nuclear age ideological, psychological, and political warfare is becoming more intensive. In military technology and strategy, this is reflected by guerrilla warfare. Both Moscow and Peking are aware of this. This awareness, however, is still lacking among the official circles of the West.

The processes of development inside the subjugated countries normally proceed along the lines of popular uprisings and a joint front of the captives against their captors. It was not by chance that while in a concentration camp, a young Ukrainian poet dedicated to Jan Palach his poem "About a virgin killed by the occupants in Golden Prague."

Another dedicated his poems to Georgia, Latvia, Moldavia, and Byelorussia and still another wrote: "If you want your nation to be free, express solidarity with those who are liberating themselves and you will find support among them."

The invincibility of the spirit and a joint front of struggle of the subjugated is a guarantee of victory.

### **An Appeal from the Underground**

An appeal from Ukraine, smuggled to the West, appeared in *The Daily Telegraph* (London) August 16, 1973: "Our front is compelled to act illegally, and that is why we mail this appeal without signature. 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. charter and Declaration of Human Rights, which were also signed by the governments of the USSR 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 USSR and Ukrainian SSR completely disregard their laws. The latter is, actually, the colonial administration of Ukraine receiving direct orders from Moscow.

"The government of the Ukrainian SSR 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 realization of just rights, Ukraine community leaders were punished, some by death (L. Lukyanenko and 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 Kalynech, 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 Nina 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, Tartar, Jewish, and other nations, S. Karavanskyi, Gen. P. Hryhorenko, and Ivan Dzyuba were punished with extreme severity.

For defending the discrimination against Jewish people, Petro Yakir and others were again behind bars.

"In order to break the will of resistance, the KGB are using modern chemical 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.

"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 means 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." *The Front of National Defence of Ukraine*, July, 1973.

And at the end, I would like to express our bitter disappointment. Only a few people in the West raised their voice in defence of nations



and Human Rights, for the freedom of religion and cultural creativity of members of the subjugated nations: Ukraine or Latvia or Lithuania or others. Neither press, nor politicians, nor governments, nor Vatican, nor Churches, humanitarians or judiciary institutions do this — they all remain silent and do not accuse the draconic sentences of Moscow against one of the most famous cultural leaders of Ukraine, Valentyn Moroz, who is sentenced to 14 years severe regime, or on the Lithuanian Simas Kudirka. No one from the Western world published the works of Valentyn Moroz or Yevhen Sverstiuk or Ihor Kalynets or Vasyl Stus, whose works are of great artistic value, but on the other hand they publish Solzhenytsyn, Medvedyev, and Sakharov. The reason for this is that the authors from Ukraine or Latvia stand not only for Human Rights but also for the Rights of Nations.

It is a kind of “decline of the West” if it defends the representatives of the ruling Russian nation and not the subjugated nations. Therefore, I am seriously afraid that such ignorance of Ukraine and other subjugated nations may bring representatives of these nations in the free world to desperate acts, but for this the West will be responsible. The West is indifferent to the lot of hundreds of millions of oppressed peoples and dozens of subjugated nations. It is only our warning.

### **Urgent Action Needed in Defence of the Persecuted**

In news just received from Ukraine we have learned about a new Moscow-Bolshevik crime: “At present Sviatoslav Karavanskyi (writer and literary critic, sentenced to 25 years of concentration camps, released in 1960, but again arrested in 1965 to serve the rest of his sentence. In 1970 his term was prolonged for another 5 years of imprisonment) is serving his unlawful imprisonment in a political concentration camp of a particular special severe regime. Such a concentration camp, where people are buried alive, could only have been thought up by the devil himself. In this concentration camp the prisoners constantly live and work under lock, without any fresh air, because they are never taken out for exercise.

In this concentration camp the prisoners are forced to work long hours in a glass-grinding workshop, from which dangerous dust unceasingly penetrates the lungs of the undernourished prisoner and seriously threatens his life. This threat is increased also by the fact that the glass-grinding workshops are situated in the same buildings, adjacent to the prisoners’ living quarters. The cells, populated by this poisonous dust, are also a hazard to human life. This dust is everywhere: in the air, on the beds, in the clothes, and in the food. The prisoners regard that in comparison with this death-dealing prison the Vladimir Prison was a real blessing.

Another report from behind the Iron Curtain is that three prominent Ukrainian women, Stephaniea Shabatura, Nina Strokata,

and Iryna Kalynets, imprisoned in Soviet Mordovian prisons, have appealed to the General Secretary of the United Nations, Mr. Waldheim, by letter dated May 10, 1973, in which they protest against the enslavement of the Ukrainian nation and demand for themselves an open trial in the presence of a U.N. representative. The text of their appeal is as follows:

"To the General Secretary of the United Nations

"An Appeal:

"Stephania Shabatura, born 1938, sentenced to 5 years imprisonment in camps and 3 years forced exile, an artist from Lviv.

"Nina Karavanska-Strokata, born 1925, sentenced to 4 years imprisonment in camps, a scientific worker from Odessa.

"Iryna Kalynets-Stasiv, born 1940, sentenced to 6 years imprisonment in camps and 3 years forced exile, a poetess from Lviv.

"The day January 12, 1972, was the beginning of a new wave of repressions against the Ukrainian intelligentsia. We are being persecuted and imprisoned simply because we, as Ukrainians, stand for the preservation and advancement of the Ukrainian national culture and language in Ukraine. All arrests conducted during that year in Ukraine are violations of the Declaration of Human Rights by the Soviet authorities.

"We are defenseless before the Soviet unlawful court. We are tried illegally and at present are serving our sentences in the Soviet political camp No. 3 in Dubrovlag, Mordovia. We refute all the charges that were brought against us. We are not asking for a favour, only for a normal, fair, and open trial in the presence of a representative of the United Nations.(May 10, 1973. *Stephania Shabatura, Nina Karavanska-Strokata, Iryna Kalynets-Stasiv.*)"

During his last months in prison Anatoly Radygin (his memoirs entitled *Episodes from Mordovian Concentration Camps*, Nagaria, Israel, October, 1973) repeatedly asked Valentyn Moroz what message he could deliver to the Free World. Pain-stricken as he was, Valentyn Moroz frowned and repeated insistently:

"Let people know only one thing: I am being retained together with insane people and my life is like hell! They are trying to make me mad just like those who are thrown into my ward. They are assassins and cannibals! I do not have any air to breathe!"

Radygin, the author of the memoirs adds the following:

"Thus I repeat, too: one of the most honest and talented Ukrainian publicists is reduced to a state of complete exhaustion approaching insanity. His present existence comprises a frightful mixture of hungry life in jail and the miserable existence in a room of a mental asylum where he is constantly attacked by semi-animals that have completely lost their human look and have no national or social distinguishing features whatever. Valentyn Moroz is being physically and morally tortured day by day."

"Remember this!" the author concluded this passage.

## Appeal to the Conference

In view of these alerting reports, we ask the Conference to:

Severely condemn and together with us urge the liquidation of all concentration camps!

Demand the release of all prisoners condemned and imprisoned for their national, political, and religious convictions!

Demand the termination of the application of chemical and medical means of breaking the will power of political and religious prisoners in order to extort statements of repentance from them!

Vigorously denounce the practice of confining fighters for national and human rights in insane asylums!

Demand an end to persecution of believers in God and cultural leaders who defend the essence and spirituality of their own nation, without which a nation perishes!

Demand the withdrawal of Russian occupation forces and the communist terror apparatus from the Russian-subjugated nations within the USSR and its satellites!

Demand a return of national sovereignty to all the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and communism in the USSR and the satellite states, as well as for those nations enslaved in the artificial state of Yugoslavia!

Without national culture there is no world culture!

If you don't want to see a KGB gun and the law of the jungle prevail in the world, fight for humanity and for morality based on religion!

We ask you to join us in the protest against Russian and Communist crimes for the defence of the imprisoned and persecuted fighters for Human and National Rights!

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## U.S.S.R UNDER THE MICROSCOPE

### THE SOVIET FIVE-YEAR PLAN FULFILMENT BY 1973

*By Nicholas L. Fr. CHIROVSKY*

#### **I. Introduction**

It seems to be proper to begin this paper with quoting one of the jokes from behind the Iron Curtain. The story relates that a comrade died, and since he would not be admitted into Heaven for obvious reasons, he applied at the gates of Hell. After having been admitted, he entered and found the road there branching to left and right with markers: Communist Hell on the left and Capitalist Hell on the right. He turned right. The devil at the gate advised him differently. "I had enough Communist Hell on earth and I am going to the Capitalist one now," argued the new arrival.

The attendant then began to explain the situation by telling him that although the fires were equally intense in both places, things were not very efficient in Communist Hell. Deliveries were not always on time; if there was wood, then there was a shortage of sulphur or coal or oil; or the matches were missing; or the devils got drunk and did not come to work; or they were detained at the party meetings. As a result, fire burned there only two or three days a week. In Capitalist Hell everything worked much more efficiently; all the devils were on time and all deliveries were prompt. Hence the fires burned all the time, twenty-four hours a day, every day. The new arrival decided to follow the attendant's advice.<sup>1</sup> This anecdote describes rather well the economic situation in the Soviet Union at the present time, two years after the ninth Five-Year Plan was adopted in early 1971.

Nevertheless, it would be absolutely false to assume that the Soviet planning procedures and the process of the plan fulfillment have not improved over the years since 1928, when the first Five-Year Plan (FYP) was adopted, and in particular since the early 1960's, after the new techniques, such as the input-and-output tables approach, linear programming, computers, electronic devices, and other methods of the so-called "scientific management," such as the Liberman-motivated liberalization of initiative and marketing,

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<sup>1</sup>) Kolasky, J., *Look Comrade — The People are Laughing*, Toronto, 1972, p. 128-129.

demand research, etc., were adopted, improved, and perfected. On the other hand, the scope of the Soviet national economy has been growing due to the growth of population, rising demand, expanding technology, need of new resources and their applications, the pressure of foreign competition, growing political and economic responsibilities of the USSR toward its own peoples, the satellite and friendly nations, the ideological commitments, and in particular the heavy taxation imposed upon the Soviet economy by the arms race among the world super-powers. Consequently, the planning has become so extensive and complex that its results have been disappointing, although its techniques have been vastly improved and ably assisted by long experience.

In order to evaluate realistically the state of the Soviet economy in the middle of the ninth FYP, it is necessary to go back a few years and examine the economic situation of the USSR then, to identify its accomplishments, shortcomings, and problems on the eve of the adoption of the eighth FYP in the spring of 1966 and to see what success it had met by the end of 1970. With these facts in mind, one has a basis for evaluating the economy of the USSR at the beginning of 1973, and one can look realistically at the progress made in two years after the inauguration of the ninth FYP.

After following the basic routine of the previous plans, the eighth FYP was somewhat different in its scope and planning targets. It is understandable that it had to be that way, because the time and the conditions were different. First of all, it came immediately after the Seven-Year Plan, adopted by Nikita Khrushchov, which had ended in a fiasco, although the invocation to the eighth plan tried to imply that it had been an economic success.<sup>2</sup> Hence the latter had to follow a somewhat different path.

The eighth FYP seemed to be more realistic than all its predecessors. The Stalinist principles of maximums in planning made it almost impossible to meet the targets in most cases. Khrushchov had not only insisted on maximum goals in his Seven-Year Plan, but he was absurdly confident about his approach. His over-all bombastic bent was echoed in his economic measures as well. As a result, his planning targets were largely ludicrous in view of the technical capacity of the Soviet economy at the time. Brezhnev and Kosygin, then the new leaders of the USSR but not yet fully settled and sure of themselves, considered it mandatory to correct that deficiency of the traditional planning practice. Let us compare a few planning targets as envisioned by Khrushchov in 1961 for the year 1970 and the targets for the same year as planned by the Brezhnev-Kosygin Directives of 1966:

<sup>2</sup>) The Directives for the 1966-1970 Five-Year Plan, *Current Digest of the Soviet Press*, Vol. XVIII, Nos. 7-8, p. 3.

Table One.<sup>3</sup>  
Planning Targets for the Year 1970.

Item	Khrushchov's	Brezhnev-Kosygin's
Electricity (billion kwh hours)	900-1,000	830-850
Steel (million metric tons)	145	124-129
Oil (million tons)	390	345-355
Natural gas (billion cubic meters)	310-325	225-240
Cement (million tons)	122	100-105
Leather footwear (million pairs)	825	610-630
Meat (million tons)	25	5.9-6.2

The moderation and relative realism of the eighth plan were striking as compared to Khrushchov's inflated figures. Hence the chances of a plan's fulfillment had never been greater. Bush underscored the sober realism of the new leaders in various planning areas of the Soviet economy such as budgeting, production quotas, prediction of crops, and investment expenditures.<sup>4</sup>

The Libermanist flavour of liberal "revisionism" of the orthodox, Soviet-styled Marxism-Leninism in planning, traditional for so many years, represented another novelty in the 1966-70 plan, as pointed out previously, along with the substantially improved planning techniques.<sup>5</sup>

The new plan, however, had to take into account various deeply rooted and habitual faults of the Soviet industrial constitution, such as its dual character caused by the continuous use of the most advanced technology alongside the most primitive methods. The very first FYP sought a "liquidation of small establishments as deficient and backward." Nevertheless, some thirty-odd years later, in 1966, Smolinsky quoted several interesting cases of that completely unbalanced technology of production in the USSR. For example, out of 80 small steel mills still in operation in the Russian SFSR at that time, 77 worked with the most primitive technology, dating back to the 19th and 18th centuries, their efficiency being only 1/20 or 1/30 of that of a dozen giant and most modern steel establishments. This despite 50 years of the Soviet obsession with industrialization and sheer size and 40 years of the Soviet heavy industrial investments. The same situation did prevail in electric power production and other fields.<sup>6</sup> There was also another aspect to this very problem. The dual character of the old alongside the new technology plagued not only various industrial fields, but was also to be found under the roofs of single establishments, which were

<sup>3</sup>) *The Directives*, p. 6; *The New York Times*, October 20, 1961, p. 2.

<sup>4</sup>) Bush, K., "The Budget and Plan for 1966," *Bulletin*, Institute for the Study of the USSR, Vol. 13, April, 1966, pp. 32-43.

<sup>5</sup>) Chirovsky, N., "First Stage of the New Soviet Plan, 1966-1970". *The Ukrainian Quarterly*, Winter, 1967, p. 304; also the same, "Liberman vs. Marx," *Studies for a New Central Europe*, 1966, No. 4, pp. 34-48.

<sup>6</sup>) Smolinsky, L., "The Soviet Economy; In Search of a Pattern," *Survey of Soviet Economy*, No. 59, April, 1966, pp. 88-98.

using modern and up-to-date production processes but whose shipping, repair, accounting, and office work were done in the most backward ways, almost without any mechanization or automation at all. Hence the productivity of various industrial establishments and various departments of even the seemingly most advanced plants varied widely, ranging from a high to an incredibly low one.<sup>7</sup> Many other faults of the highly centralized planning, such as poor allocation of resources, poor coordination and synchronization of various related production and auxiliary processes (deliveries, repairs, quality, timing of services and materials, and deficient marketing) continued to harass the fulfillment of the eighth Five-Year Plan. Meanwhile some new and unexpected developments during the 1966-70 era largely upset the plan fulfillment process, such as the permanently growing Sino-Soviet split, the war in Vietnam, the internal, intra-establishment resistance to the Libermanist spirit of economic "liberalization" on ideological grounds, the conservatism and rigidity of the leading echelon of the USSR economy,<sup>8</sup> bad weather, and, in particular, the so-called "Black-dust storms" in 1969 and others like those.<sup>8</sup>

## II. The fulfillment process and the results.

Only by following the reports of the Soviet press could one have easily detected the enormous adversities which the Soviet centrally planned economy met on its road toward meeting the planning targets. During 1967 the press complained about the low quality of agricultural production, the deplorable state of affairs in raising the stock, the inadequate mobilization of labour and technology in farming, serious breakdowns in crop processing, either because of shortage of trucks and combine-harvesters and other technical equipment or because of delays and chaos at the grain-delivery station — where the inadequate number of weigh-bridges prolonged the receiving and registering of the grain brought from the fields, while the trucks and drivers waited for hours to unload — the deplorably wasteful use of soil in agriculture, and other deficiencies.<sup>9</sup> In the area of the manufactures, similar difficulties were encountered. For example, inferior fur coats could be bought in summer but not in winter; hats and caps were just not available in the stores; children's footwear was in short supply; glues did not adhere; refrigerators, sewing machines, and other appliances did not work; spare parts were in short supply and repairs meant waiting for many months; television and radio parts were simply unavailable; labour

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*,

<sup>8</sup> Chirovsky, N., "Sioma piatyrichka v ostannyi stadii zavershennia," *Vyzvolnyy Shlachh*, Nov.-Dec., 1960, pp. 1199-1218.

<sup>9</sup> *Molod Ukrainy*, July 16, 1966.

discipline was low and workers qualified to handle superior equipment were also in short supply.<sup>10</sup>

Throughout 1967 and 1968, similar difficulties harassed the Soviet economy: shortage of farm machinery and implements; shortage of spare parts and long-delayed repairs; low productivity; shortage of specialists and skilled workers; poor marketing practices; shortage of high quality manufactured goods; lack of freight cars; an insufficiency of basic kitchen and household appliances; heating systems in the state-owned apartment buildings that did not work; transistor radios that did not work; furniture of an ugly style and inferior quality; arrogant and impolite sales personnel; customers forced to waste many hours by waiting in the stores; working people exposed to all kinds of harassment; irregular bus services, and dirty, unheated trains. There was no end to the infinite number of complaints.<sup>11</sup>

The Soviet leaders were seriously concerned about the poor performance of their centrally planned economy. Hence a series of new legislative measures was carried out and special appeals were directed to the people to promote an increase of productivity throughout the Soviet Union. On September 26, 1967, the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Council of the Ministers of the USSR announced the *Decree about the New Measures in Raising the Welfare of the Soviet People*, which was supposed to give the broad circles of the population some additional social benefits. A few weeks later, on November 4, another document was published, *An Appeal of the CC of the CPSU and the Council of Ministers of the USSR to the Soviet People*, on the eve of the fiftieth anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution. This appeal called upon the Soviet people to appreciate the great achievements of Communism and to keep in mind the fact that they were the bearers of the Marxist-Leninist ideology. On November 24, the *Decision of the CC of the CPSU and the Council of Ministers of the USSR toward Enhancing the Fulfillment of the Five-Year Plan* was announced. It was quite evident that something was wrong, if still further official measures were needed to make the planned economy work. Since the end of the eighth FYP would coincide with the 100th anniversary of Lenin's birth, it was felt that the efforts for meeting the planned targets should be doubled. Newspapers, journals, periodicals, television, radio and other means of communication were called upon to take part in the large-scale propaganda campaign to meet the anniversary successfully.<sup>12</sup> Yet the results of economic progress in the USSR have remained mediocre throughout 1968, as indicated by the figures

<sup>10</sup> Chirovsky, *First Stage...*, pp. 310-311.

<sup>11</sup> *Silski Visti*, Aug. 8, 31, Dec. 30, 1976; *Robitnycha Hazeta*, Dec. 13, 1967; *Sovetskaya Belorussiya*, Dec. 15, 1967.

<sup>12</sup> Chirovsky, N., "Another Five-year Plan was completed," *The Ukrainian Quarterly*, Autumn, 1971, p. 350.



published in *Pravda*. The year 1969 was a very bad one so far as the plan fulfillment was concerned. Some Soviet leaders, including the academician Sakharov, thought that the state of the Soviet economy was close to "a catastrophic one."<sup>13</sup> During the first months of 1970 the Western press reported that a sharp power struggle had developed among the party leaders, caused largely by the economic misfortunes in the USSR; that supposedly Shelepin, Suslov, and Mazurov had prepared an official indictment of Brezhnev and Kosygin, making them responsible for the collapse of the FYP and other disappointing domestic and foreign developments. Although Brezhnev and Kosygin succeeded in overcoming the opposition, at least for some time, the fact of a disappointing Soviet economy still remained. In January, 1970, *Pravda* published an alarming editorial entitled "Toward the New Creative Achievements" which was no doubt caused by the almost complete failure to carry out the plan, as clearly pointed out by Brezhnev in his speeches.<sup>14</sup>

The never-ending complaints were the same as before: the quality of merchandise continued to be poor and the quantity inadequate; clothing was unvarying and unimaginative; children's clothing was notoriously in short supply; styles and assortments were announced but unavailable; shoes and knitwear were crude; dresses were poorly sewn and unattractive; goods were often damaged; everyday items were not available; railroad services lagged behind the growing demand; cars did not start properly and could not be readily repaired because of lack of spare parts; and there were no spare parts for television and radio sets.<sup>15</sup> In order to correct the bad economic situation new legislative measures were again adopted. Late in 1969 the new *Model Collective Farm Statute* and in July, 1970, a new *Fundamental Labour Law* were enacted to force the peasant and industrial worker to labour harder and more effectively toward meeting the planning targets and commemorate fittingly the 100th anniversary of Lenin's birth. The fifty years of experience had not taught the Soviet leadership that economic productivity cannot be legislated. Something more is needed than mere acts of law.

<sup>13</sup> *Pravda*, Sept. 27; *Radianska Ukraina*, Sept. 27, 1967; *Pravda*, Nov. 5 and *Robitnycha Hazeta*, Nov. 5, 1967; *Pravda*, Nov. 25, 1967, and *Robitnycha Hazeta*, Nov. 28, 1967.

<sup>14</sup> *Pravda*, January 13, 1970.

<sup>15</sup> Michurin, K. and Fiodorova, N., "The Why of Some Consumer Goods Shortages," *The Current Digest of the Soviet Press*, Vol. XXII, No. 46, p. 23; *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, Jan. 24, 1970; Reader's letter in *Vestnik Statistiki*, No. 10, October 1968 and 1969; Gudinov's article on car service: *Ekonomicheskaya Gazeta*, Feb. 10, 1970; *Sovietskaya Torgovlya*, No. 10, Oct. 1970, pp. 46-47; Talinev's article on shortage of consumer goods; *Pravda*, Nov. 22; *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, Jan. 22, 1970; *Izvestiya*, Nov. 12, 1970.

### III. The plan fulfillment figures

The invocation to the publication containing the official figures of the Five-Year Plan of 1966-1970, which appeared in February, 1971, used the same bombastic phraseology as appeared in the previous years, except in 1970:

"The workers of the Soviet Union, having developed their zeal to honour Lenin's anniversary and to meet properly the 24th Congress of the CPSU, achieved major labour successes in 1970. The tasks of the state plan in the overall production and national welfare have been over-fulfilled."<sup>16</sup>

The publication then listed various economic fields where the over-fulfillment had taken place, such as shoe production, leather articles, furniture, vegetable fats, and house articles; the fields where the planned targets had been met, such as petroleum, gas, coal, metal production; tractors and other farm machinery, automation equipment and tool production; and finally the fields where only a considerable progress had been achieved, such as farming, including the production of grain, meat, butter, and eggs. Having emphasized the achievements, the publication could not omit a very familiar phrase:

"In some industrial areas the targets of the FYP have not been met so far as the use of the production capacity and the output of certain types of products were concerned."<sup>17</sup>

One may greatly doubt the reliability of the statement as the following table would indicate:

*Table Two.<sup>18</sup>*

#### *The Five-Year Planning Targets in 1966 and their realization in 1970*

<i>Sector</i>	<i>Planned in 1966 for 1970</i>	<i>Achieved in 1970</i>
Electric power (billion kwh)	830-850	740
Oil (million tons)	345-355	353
Gas (billion cubic meters)	225-240	200
Coal (million tons)	665-675	624
Steel (million tons)	124-129	116
Plastics and synthetics (thousand tons)	2,100-2,300	1,672
Chemical indust. equipment (million rubles)	780-830	463
Oil industrial equipment (thousand tons)	210-240	126
Motor vehicles (thousand units)	1,360-1,510	916
Tractors (thousand units)	600-625	459
Agricultural machinery (million rubles)	2,500	2,112
Paper (million tons)	5.0-5.3	4.2
Cement (million tons)	100-105	95.2

<sup>16</sup>) *Pravda*, Feb. 4, 1971.

<sup>17</sup>) *Ibid.*

<sup>18</sup>) *The Directives*, p. 6; *Pravda*, Feb. 4, 1971.

Textiles (billion sq. meters)	9.5-9.8	8.6
Leather footwear (million pairs)	610-630	676
Meat (million tons)	5,996.2	1253
Butter (thousand tons)	1,160	963

In most of the quoted cases the results of 1970 certainly lagged behind the planned targets set up in 1966. There has been definitely a plan underfulfillment where the official statement claimed either meeting the targets or overfulfillment. The above discrepancy has been explained in terms of the periodical adjustments which reduced the planned quotas, whenever the realization of the original targets proved unattainable. It was normally done by the responsible Soviet state-economy authorities. The Soviet public soon forgot the original targets, not having been allowed to keep the papers that might show unpleasant discrepancies in the official statements, and consequently the regime could have sold it any official evaluation of the achievements of the Eighth FYP. In that respect there has been a considerable credibility gap.

Nevertheless, it would be absolutely wrong to assume that the Soviets did not accomplish anything worthwhile by their planned economy in general and during the eighth planning era in particular. Having taken the year 1965 as the basis from which the Eighth FYP had started and noting the accomplishments achieved by 1970, one may see that the Soviet economy had been growing substantially during that time.

*Table Three.<sup>19</sup>*

*Production in selected sectors in 1965 and 1970*

Sector	1965	1970
Electric power (billion kwh)	507	740
Oil (million tons)	243	353
Gas (billion cubic meters)	129	200
Coal (million tons)	578	624
Steel (million tons)	91	116
Motor vehicles (thousand units)	616	916
Tractors (thousand units)	355	459
Meat (million tons)	9.6	12.3
Butter (thousand tons)	1,180.0	963.0
Radio sets (million units)	5.2	7.8
Television sets (million units)	3.7	6.7
Generators (million kw.)	14.4	10.6

Having calculated an approximate 30 to 32 percentage of growth over the five years (1966-1970) for the Soviet economy as a whole, the average yearly growth was 6 per cent. Making allowance for the inflation of the ruble, the annual rate of growth could be easily reduced to 5 per cent. Furthermore, statistical editing of the official

<sup>19)</sup> *Pravda* and *Izvestiya*, Feb. 3, 1966; *Pravda* and *Izvestiya*, Feb. 4, 1971.

figures by the Soviet economic and political authorities on various levels of administration in order to present the fulfilment process in a more favourable light, would suggest another per cent of reduction, leaving the annual growth rate at 4 per cent. The Soviet authorities had hoped for some 8 to 10 per cent. Hence the official talk about having met the planning targets or having overfulfilled them does not deserve any serious consideration.

No doubt, the Soviet economy was growing between 1966 and 1970, but at a much slower rate than expected or than announced by the Soviet leadership, and having not done as well as such capitalist countries as the United States, Japan, and the nations of the European Common Market. It simply proves that the Soviet planned system can work and grow, but that it is not better or more efficient than the capitalist system, and that it is way behind schedule in catching up with America. As a matter of fact, this catching-up may not be possible even in the distant future. Although Khrushchov's dreams may be unrealistic, nevertheless competition between the two systems has been going on, causing the West considerable concern. In the late 1950's, the Soviet GNP amounted to one-third of that of the United States, while in the early 1970's it had grown to be one-half of the latter. Obviously, the Ninth FYP, 1971-1975, of the USSR was supposed to close the gap even further.

#### IV. The over-all targets of the Ninth Five-Year Plan

On April 11, 1971, *Pravda* and other Soviet papers published *The Directives of the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) about the Five-Year Plan toward the Development of the National Economy of the USSR for 1971-1975*.<sup>20</sup> Having ascertained some substantial achievements of the previous plan (1966-1970), it established the goals for the economic growth of the Soviet Union for the next five years. The fundamental targets of the national economy were:

1. To raise the people's standard of living on the basis of the over-all growth of productivity.
2. To increase the national income by 37 to 40 per cent, backed 80 to 85 per cent by the growing efficiency.
3. To raise personal income by 30 per cent.
4. To develop further the labour resources of the land.
5. To equalize the living standards of the urban and rural population.
6. To accelerate scientific and technological progress in the economy.

On the basis of these fundamental targets, the more specific goals

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<sup>20</sup>) *Pravda*, Feb. 14, March 23, and April 11, 1971.

to be achieved by individual branches of the Soviet economy were enumerated by the said Directives:

*Table Four.<sup>21</sup>*

*The economic targets for the USSR by 1975*

<i>Sectors</i>	<i>Production target</i>
Heavy industry (Group "A"), productivity increase	41-45 per cent
Light industry (Group "B"), productivity increase	44-48 " "
Industrial productivity (total)	42-46 " "
Labour productivity (increase) providing 87-90 p. c. in GNP growth	36-40 " "
Electric power (billion kwh.)	1,030-1,070
Oil (million tons)	480-500
Gas (billion cubic m.)	300-320
Steel (million tons)	142-150
Coal (million tons)	685-695
Chemical materials (thousand tons)	1,050-1,100
Construction materials (million tons)	122-127
Textiles (billion sq. m.)	10.5-11.6
Leather footwear (million pairs)	800--830
Grain (million tons)	195
Tractors (thousand units)	1,700
Trucks (thousand units)	1,100
Combine harvesters (thousand units)	2,300
Meat (million tons)	14.3
Milk (million tons)	92.3
Eggs (billion units)	46.7
Transportation (increase in volume)	32-35 per cent

Analyzing those targets in comparison with the production plans in the previous planning eras, one cannot find any great novelties. The targets were, as usual, set too high for almost every economic field, as well as for each individual union-republic, as the subsequent statistical table will show. Perhaps setting up a higher growth target for the light industries than for the heavy industrial sectors may be considered a planning novelty. For decades, the Soviet leadership stressed the growth of the heavy and armament industries in preference to the light and consumer industrial branches. The change in the new direction, however, as shown in the new ninth plan, was already indicative of the fulfillment process of the previous, eighth Five-Year Plan.

<sup>21)</sup> *Pravda* and *Izvestiya*, Feb. 14, 1971.

Table Five.<sup>22</sup>*Economic Targets for individual union-republics for 1975*

<i>Union-republic</i>	<i>Rate of growth</i>
Russian SFSR	44-47 per cent
Ukrainian SSR	38-41 " "
Byelorussian SSR	53-56 " "
Uzbek SSR	46-49 " "
Kazakh SSR	57-60 " "
Georgian SSR	39-42 " "
Azerbaijan SSR	43-46 " "
Lithuanian SSR	46-49 " "
Moldavian SSR	56-59 " "
Latvian SSR	35-38 " "
Kirghiz SSR	45-48 " "
Tadzhik SSR	37-40 " "
Armenian SSR	60-62 " "
Turkman SSR	55-58 " "
Estonian SSR	36-39 " "

Considering the plain fact that the fulfillment of the ninth FYP on the union-republican basis made a worse showing than by the individual economic fields, it is easy to see that the above planning targets for 1975 are absolutely unrealistic; they are definitely too high. It is interesting to note that the Ukrainian SSR has been assigned the lowest rate of economic growth, although its economic potential by far exceeds that of most of the other republics of the USSR. In Ukraine the internal dissent and opposition to the Russian-Bolshevik rule have been most resolute of all, and for this reason the central regime in Moscow may wish to reduce the rate of economic growth in Ukraine as a means for liquidating its resistance. The Ukrainian dissent has always been as much an ideological (anti-Communist) one as national one; that is, Ukrainian national interests versus Russian imperial interests.

So far as the fundamental targets of the national economy of the USSR are concerned, these targets represent a standard government challenge to boost the morale of the people and to improve the performance of the permanently ailing planned economic system.

On January 23, 1972, *Pravda*, *Izvestiya*, and many other papers in the Soviet Union published the official results of the first year of the ninth FYP. Again, the invocation to the publication followed the traditional pattern:

"The main assignments of the annual plan were fulfilled, and for a number of indices the plan was fulfilled ahead of time. The increase in national income used for consumption and

<sup>22</sup>) *Pravda*, April 11, 1971, pp. 5-6.

accumulation came to about 6 per cent. More than four-fifths of this increase was obtained through increased labour productivity. The measures outlined for 1971 to improve the people's well-being were carried out."<sup>23</sup>

Going over the individual items of plan fulfillment by industries and by union-republics, one may easily get the impression that the rate of growth of the Soviet economy during the first year was an average one; no spectacular achievements took place in 1971. The Soviet press continued to report all kinds of serious shortcomings in all fields of the national economy, but at the end the economy managed to score an average rate of growth of 3-4 per cent per annum, having taken all things into consideration: inflation, adjusting the figures, and outright falsification of statistics at various levels of management.

"In comparison with the preceding year, increases were as follows: electric power — 59,000,000 kwh; petroleum — 23,000,000 tons; gas — 14,000,000,000 cubic meters; coal — 17,000,000 tons; steel — 4,800,000 tons; chemical fibres — 53,000 tons; trucks and buses — 42,000 units; fabrics of all kinds — 390,000,000 sq. meters; butter — 59,000 tons."<sup>24</sup>

These official figures would scarcely guarantee that the targets of the ninth FYP will be met by 1975 if the situation does not improve.

## V. The state of affairs in 1972

On January 30, 1973, *Pravda* and other Soviet papers as usual published the official annual plan-fulfillment figures for 1972 according to the announcement of the Central Statistical Bureau of the USSR. Before analyzing these figures for 1972, however, it is expedient to study the developments in various economic fields and industrial branches during that year in order to get a more reliable basis for a final evaluation of the Soviet economy.

There has been no doubt that the Soviet economy scored some successes in the course of the last two years of planning (1971-1972). Serious efforts have been undertaken to expand capital construction in farming, manufacturing, trade and services (transportation in particular) and civilian dwellings; large-scale prospecting has been done, especially in the Far East, to uncover new mineral resources; automated management systems, aided by computers, have been introduced to raise the effectiveness of production; the State Seal of Quality has been introduced effectively to improve the quality and assortment of consumer goods; in order to increase the crops per acre in farming, substantial irrigation work has been continued in various parts of the U.S.S.R.; with new capital constructions in

<sup>23</sup>) *Pravda* and *Izvestiya*, Jan. 23, 1972.

<sup>24</sup>) *Ibid.*

various economic sectors a considerable reduction of the unit-costs and an increase in efficiency have been achieved; a tremendous expansion of the electric-power supply has been realized in order to eliminate any danger of power shortage, though no surplus has been achieved because of the over-all economic growth; progress has been made in construction and operation of the atomic-power stations; in spite of bad weather conditions, draughts and torrential rains in various parts of the U.S.S.R., some regions achieved good crops, even above the planning targets, such as in the Kazakhstan virgin lands (Altay district), some parts of Byelorussia, and other regions; considerable efforts have been undertaken to combat the water, air, and solid waste (environmental) pollution; new commercial buildings have been constructed to improve the marketing process and to accommodate the consumer; servicing and repairs have been improved a little; by constructing new railroad tracks and new highways in congested areas, the transportation system has been slowly raised to the standards of the modern age; expanding the commercial fleet has been attempted; the available quantity of consumer goods has been increased over these two years; new public-health centres have been constructed; the New Modern Internal Labour Rules have been adopted in order to raise the labour discipline and labour productivity.<sup>25</sup>

Nevertheless the Soviet papers were full of complaints about numerous shortcomings in almost every sector of the country's economy in the course of 1972, exactly as it was in 1971, 1969, 1967, 1964, or any other year of the Soviet planned economy and its highly imperfect fulfillment, during all Five-Year, or Khrushchov's Seven-Year Plan, periods. The heavy shortcomings in the Soviet economic and business process did not allow any plan to be completed to the satisfaction of the Kremlin leaders, although, in order to boost the morale of their own peoples throughout the USSR to present the planned system in a more favourable light to the outside world, they pretended to be happy and content with the results. At times, however, they were forced to admit openly some bad mishaps.

The Socialist economic system of the Soviet Union was supposed to eliminate the "capitalist" thinking of men and to educate them in full understanding of the socialist-minded, community-interest thinking. An article in *Pravda*, entitled "Television sets for Grisha," disclosed highly selfish and shady dealings among the managers of business firms and ministerial officials, who exchange among themselves all kinds of favours, such as television sets and other presents, vacation privileges and other things like that. It was certainly not in the spirit of collective-minded Socialism.<sup>26</sup> M. Kozenko complained in his letter to the editor of *Pravda* about wrong wage scales, no work for young people, higher pay for unskilled work than for

<sup>25</sup>) *Pravda*, Sept. 29, 1972.

<sup>26</sup>) *Pravda*, July 2, 1972; article by A. Sukontsev, p. 6.



skilled.<sup>27</sup> Obviously, such conditions have not been agreeable with the philosophy of Socialism, and in particular, the socialist ideal of justice in distribution. The same paper asserted three months later that there was a large labour turnover among the young people, who were not happy with the prevailing labour conditions, such as the low positions for them, the lack of opportunities for promotions, bad working conditions, and old, outdated factory equipment. The very idea of planning was there violated.<sup>28</sup> An absolutely unfair treatment of the collective-farm workers was another example of a lack of Socialist justice in the USSR. A mother of a six-year-old child (who had not been accepted in the kindergarten), whose two grown daughters and husband were working, was ordered to get a job herself, meanwhile being called a "parasite" and threatened with penalties for non-compliance. In 1972 such instances were by no means isolated cases.<sup>29</sup>

At the same time the Soviet press, having reflected the views and feelings of the government officials, the management, and the public, complained about the inefficient organization of work, the waste of time, the low quality of the things produced, and the poor labour discipline. It also reported the search for new routines and new approaches to labour organization. Although a new *Fundamental Labour Law* had been enacted in September, 1972, the *New Model Internal Labour Rules* were adopted by the Council of Ministers and Labour and Wages Committee, in coordination with the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, as a means of strengthening labour discipline under the changing conditions. In these Rules the concept of the violation of labour discipline was newly defined and penalties for the violation were newly regulated. A non-performance or unsatisfactory performance or a direct omission were supposed to be punished by reproof, reprimand, severe reprimand, transfer to a lower-paid job, or temporary demotion and dismissal, dependent upon the degree of transgression.<sup>30</sup> In many instances the Communist party had to assume the responsibility for streamlining the inefficient labour situation and production process in some business units. It seems that the Soviet regime has always looked to the Party for a panacea which could solve any and all problems.<sup>31</sup>

After reading the Soviet press, one might easily conclude that in every business sector the Soviet system shows a highly imperfect economic performance. Although there has been a continued search in the USSR for new resources, *Pravda* reported on June 9, 1972, that "The scale of oil prospecting in the Far East has been clearly inadequate for present needs, not even considering tomorrow's

27) *Pravda*, July 6, 1972, p. 3.

28) *Pravda*, Oct. 14, 1972, p. 3.

29) *Pravda*, June, 20, 1972, p. 3.

30) *Pravda*, Sept. 29, 1972.

31) *Pravda*, Oct. 15, 1972, p. 2; July 26, 1972, pp. 1-2.

demand." The costs of prospecting have not been properly evaluated; the searches should have been centred in the southern regions and not in distant and costly out-of-the-way districts.<sup>32</sup> The progress in extracting chromite ore has been unsatisfactory in various regions, and a similar situation prevails in other extractive industries.

The capital construction process, being heavily emphasized by the Soviet leadership and being at the top of the priorities on the economic schedule, has not developed satisfactorily, especially in the areas of food and light industry. Only some 41 per cent of the plan was fulfilled in this area, while in the meat and dairy industries some 44 per cent of the planned capital construction target has been met. Out of 623 new construction projects which were supposed to go into operation in 1972, only 67 were actually built and ready to assume work, *Pravda* reported on July 30. Other industrial branches suffered similar although not such serious setbacks. The light, meat, and dairy industries faced a particularly unpleasant time, when their construction projects lagged behind their completion deadlines. In the Armenian SSR, the construction projects were in trouble in the knitwear, textile, and accessories production plants. "The republic's construction workers simply let the first quarter of the year slip away," *Izvestiya* asserted. A few days later the same paper stated that the situation in the construction industry is alarming throughout the USSR; that in the area of light, food, meat, and dairy industries only 67 out of 134 planned construction projects will be actually put into operation in 1972. Lack of proper attention, shortage of construction materials, belated deliveries of materials, waste of time on the sites, and the lack of proper equipment and production process documentation largely caused the common trouble.<sup>33</sup>

The situation in agriculture was also pitiful.

*Izvestiya* stated on June 17, that Soviet agriculture was short of grain elevators for storage purposes, although some progress had been achieved in this respect. The plans for the construction of additional storage elevators were made in 1965, but there is little hope that those elevators will be put into operation by 1975 because of endless delays. It has been found that the unfortunate situation was caused by belated supplies of metals and other construction materials, inadequate equipment, violations of deadlines all along the line, shortage of funds, too prolonged delivery times, and deficient design and estimate documentation.<sup>34</sup> In the campaign for conservation and anti-pollution, a similar situation developed. The sites for constructions were cleared by sacrificing the natural beauty of the land. Many acres of orchards and trees, for which some 800,000.00

<sup>32</sup>) *Pravda*, June 9, 1972, p. 3.

<sup>33</sup>) *Pravda*, May 17 and July 25, 1972.

<sup>34</sup>) *Izvestiya*, June 6, 1972, p. 1.

<sup>35</sup>) *Izvestiya*, June 17; while on June 26, 1972, *Pravda* reported a more successful approach to construction.

rubles of state money had been paid, were destroyed to provide the site for the constructions which are not yet started.<sup>36</sup> The purification of water and air has been substantially delayed, because the proper facilities were not constructed. In this case, the lack of incentive was apparently the cause, and the government was accused of having a wrong approach to the problem.<sup>37</sup>

The situation in the marketing and distribution area is not much different. Out of 670 new constructions for marketing purposes scheduled for commissioning in the Kazakhstan Republic during the last five years, 224 buildings have been started but are not yet completed. In other words, not even a third of the plan there has been fulfilled.<sup>38</sup>

## VI. The shortcomings in meeting the planned targets by individual industries

Every area of industry has exhibited serious shortcomings in meeting the planned targets. In manufacturing an attempt was made to improve and streamline the production process by means of an automated management system, as already pointed out. *Pravda* had the following comment to the point:

"The adoption of automated control systems should bring concomitant changes in the system of evaluating the operations of enterprises and their subdivisions. Unfortunately, the criteria for evaluation remain unchanged and are out of line with the new possibilities inherent in the adoption of automated control systems."<sup>39</sup>

The insufficiently trained personnel was blamed for the unfortunate situation. Some serious deficiencies must have caused the passage of the new regulation "On Improving Design and Estimate Work" by the CC of the CPSU and the Council of Ministers. It was directed toward streamlining and improving the work of "a creative collaboration of designers, contractors, and clients to increase the technical levels and quality."<sup>40</sup> Currently one may find in the Soviet press the complaints about insufficient incentive systems, too high labour costs, inadequate growth of efficiency in production, shortage of specialists, poor work and supervision organization (where highly skilled people waste their time away on simple routine work), poor workmanship, and the poor quality of manufactured products.<sup>41</sup> Poor work organization and poor production quality harassed the Soviet

<sup>36</sup> *Izvestiya*, June 23, 1972, p. 3.

<sup>37</sup> *Izvestiya*, Oct. 22, 1972, p. 3.

<sup>38</sup> *Izvestiya*, June 15, 1972, p. 3.

<sup>39</sup> *Pravda*, June 14, 1972, p. 2.

<sup>40</sup> *Pravda*, June 17, 1972, p. 1.

<sup>41</sup> *Pravda*, June 12 and 14, 1972, p. 2.

manufacturing industries in 1972 as they did in preceding years. The following was reported by *Pravda* on June 23:

"The fact is that the enterprises receive the plan assignments in terms of tons, and then try to put out what is simplest and heaviest to produce. Yet the people are in need of small saucepans, coffee pots, and teapots. These items must therefore be planned in terms of individual units and also in terms of specific assortments."<sup>42</sup>

Incentive wages were paid for tonnage, while they were supposed to be given for fulfilment of assortments, said Machurin in the above article published in *Pravda*. The whole argument reminds one all too vividly of the famous complaint, made by N. Khrushchov in 1959, about the extra heavy chandeliers that weighed up to 36.1 pounds. Khrushchov then asked a rhetorical question: "Who needs this plan? For whom does it provide light?" Later on he repeatedly criticized the practice of planning by quantities only, until in 1962 he first openly suggested that efficiency might be learned from the capitalist West.<sup>43</sup> Now in 1972, the same question was faced by the Soviet economy, indicating its perennial illness.

A penetrating analysis of the causes of poor quality disclosed that in agriculture, the procurement system was initiating inadequate quality of products of the meat processing and leather industries. Furthermore, most industries were still using "the quantity and sales volume in rubles" as basic criteria, no matter that the articles were faulty, unattractive, unfashionable and poorly finished, while the newly adopted State Seal of Quality did not guarantee proper quality planning.<sup>44</sup>

The State Seal of Quality system was introduced in January, 1972. It identified three qualities of production: the top, first, and second. The second quality goods, if found in the warehouses or on the shelves, were supposed to be removed and not suggested for sale. The quality ratings were supposed to be comparable with the Western standards. During 1972 and 1973, however, the factories were still concentrating on the quantity criterion and not on quality. As Mironenko asserted in his article, "The quality aspects demanded a very broad work front, and this actually delayed the action of the new approach." It happened that the quantity was doubled in some production instances, while the quality continued to be highly unsatisfactory, as before. Furthermore, the overproduction of some goods or assortments and the shortage of others, plus the reluctance on the part of management to attempt to produce new types of goods, remained perennial problems of the Soviet economy.<sup>45</sup> There were

<sup>42</sup>) *Pravda*, June 23, p. 2: Machurin's article.

<sup>43</sup>) Crankshaw, E., "Russia Discovers the Customer is always Right," *The New York Times Magazine*, March 28, 1965.

<sup>44</sup>) *Pravda*, June 23, 1972, p. 2.

<sup>45</sup>) *Ibid.*, also January 1 and June 24, 1972.

numerous washing machines manufactured during 1972, but no automatic ones, for which there was a consumer demand.<sup>46</sup> Automatic washers were on display, but no serious attempt was undertaken by any plant to make them. Similarly, though the quantity of the chemical raw materials was increasing in use, their quality was very mediocre.

*Izvestiya* reported, for example, that in the Casting Plant of Odessa the quality of production was very bad. A total of 847 tons of casting was rejected by the quality and production control in the first half of 1972. The Klin Thermometre Plant used most unsatisfactory calibration techniques and produced far below the planning target. Millions of rubles were lost in the Russian SFSR alone because of the substandard production methods and production output. Acute shortage of specialists in all industrial fields, inadequate training programs, shortage of accountants because of the unpopularity of the profession, shortage of people with advanced degrees in the industry, and lack of management's understanding for research constitute the leading problems faced by the Soviet economy midway of the current FYP.<sup>47</sup>

In its editorial of October 11, 1972, *Izvestiya* drastically exposed the deficiencies in the technical progress in manufacturing. It was stated that although innovations were introduced and made available, scientific institutions and manufacturing firms don't make any worthwhile use of the opportunities, while at the same time charging higher prices to consumers.<sup>48</sup> The consumer industries in particular lack skilled and trained personnel and work with obsolete equipment.<sup>49</sup> Low progress was reported in extracting the chromite ore in various places; the operation of breweries and other food establishments had serious defects.<sup>50</sup> The economy of the gas industry in the Turkmenian SSR was poor.<sup>51</sup>

*Pravda* related on October 27 a most serious situation of the Tadzhik Industrial Complex, which in itself being a great plan, was threatened with some catastrophic developments. Hundreds of thousands of rubles improperly spent to prevent waste might result in losses running into millions of rubles. So far the work was delayed for various reasons, such as poor management, inadequate power supply, and deficient transportation.<sup>52</sup> *Izvestiya* ran a series of articles to expose serious shortcomings in the textile and garment industries, asking for modernization of consumer goods, which otherwise nobody wanted to buy, to improve the planning system in order to suit the

46) *Izvestiya*, June 20, 1972, p. 3.

47) *Pravda*, June 21, 1972, p. 3.

48) *Izvestiya*, Oct. 11, 1972, p. 1.

49) *Pravda*, Oct. 18, p. 3.

50) *Pravda*, May 17 and July 25, 1972, also July 1, 1972, p. 3.

51) *Izvestiya*, June, 22, 1972, p. 1.

52) *Pravda*, Oct. 18 and 27, 1972, p. 2.

merchandise to the public demand and to improve the quality of products<sup>53</sup> In spite of the quality and production inspection and control, the merchandise continued to be of poor quality.<sup>54</sup>

Shoddy goods, not wanted by the customers, permanently hopeless emphasis on quantity rather than quality, third-class output, even actual decline of quality merchandise, bonuses paid for unrealistic planning targets, disregard for the wishes and suggestions of the trade organizations, frequent shortages in some areas, like footwear and paper, and a complete indifference of the management to the complaints received were the leading features of the disgusting situation.<sup>55</sup>

Furthermore, the Soviet press complained about the unevenness of the production organization. There were still in 1972 many small industrial establishments which had to produce with worn-out and outdated equipment and to turn out small quantities with low efficiency, while at the same time large city plants were equipped with the latest technology and best modern equipment. Meeting the planned targets of separate industries was greatly hampered by such unevenness of the production technology. Back in 1966, at the start of the eighth FYP, Smolinsky had published an article "The Soviet Economy, in search of a pattern," in which he stated that in the Soviet steel and electric-power production, in spite of the Kremlin's obsession with industrialization, many small establishments operate with the utmost primitive technology, dating back to the 19th and 18th centuries, their efficiency being but 1/20 or 1/30 of that of the giant modern establishments. The same discrepancy in Soviet manufacturing was prevailing in 1972, some six years later. Yet the very first Five-Year Plan, in 1928, had sought a "liquidation of small establishments as deficient and backward." But to achieve this aim proved to be beyond the power of the Soviet planning economy for a solid 45 years of its existence.<sup>56</sup>

Farming has been always the number one weak spot of the national economy of the USSR, and in 1972 the situation was even more dramatic than in recent years, with the exception, perhaps, of 1969. In the sixteen agricultural trusts of the Russian SFSR alone, in spite of new planning techniques and new incentive systems, the quality of work remained low, work interruptions and stoppages being the cause.<sup>57</sup> Because of the bad living conditions on the collective farms, nearly all of them had an acute shortage of labour. People left their home villages and moved to towns and cities in pursuit of better earnings and better living.<sup>58</sup> Farm labour laws were not enforced, while the collective-farm workers preferred to work on their side

53) *Izvestiya*, August 4, 1972, p. 1 and other issues.

54) *Pravda*, July, 25, 1972.

55) *Pravda*, June 23, 24 and Oct. 22, p. 2.

56) See reference note 6.

57) *Izvestiya*, June 15, 1972, p. 1.

jobs.<sup>58</sup> In addition, the collective farms suffered a real shortage of spare parts for their farm implements, motor vehicles, tractors, and other agricultural machinery, since the factories did not fill their production quotas or produced low quality or outright defective parts. The USSR State Planning Commission, the USSR State Committee for Material and Technical Supplies, and the All-Union Farm Machinery Association and individual industrial ministries worked together to overcome those deficiencies.<sup>58</sup> Furthermore, the Collective Farm Councils of individual districts, territories, and the All-Union Collective Farm Council, involving some 2,500 elective bodies and some 83,600 employees, worked on improving the economy of the farm operations, to strengthen the labour discipline, to raise the effectiveness of land and machinery utilization, and to increase the inter-collective farm ties. The results of that nationwide effort were questionable.<sup>59</sup>

Several times praise was given to people and farms for good achievements in grain, potatoes, and vegetables, as well as in harvesting and livestock breeding, while it soon became evident that in all those cases there was actually a decline in yield and an increase in costs of production. The awards were thus badly out of place.<sup>60</sup> The party organizations were called upon to watch over the agricultural economy and the ideological "growth" of the agricultural specialists was stressed as the means toward achieving better results in farming.<sup>61</sup>

Bad crops in 1972 substantially aggravated the task of meeting the planning targets of Soviet farming for that particular year, while the first year of the current plan had average crops. The grain harvests were smaller than planned in various sections of Ukraine, in the Cherkasy, Odessa, Kiev, Kirovograd, Khmelnytsky, and other regions, supposedly due to the prolonged drought.<sup>62</sup> Cases of poor field work were reported by the press, such as one region, which planted crops in only 562,000 hectares of soil out of 1,600,000 hectares available.<sup>63</sup> A complicated situation developed in and around Byelorussia's potato production. A decline of the planted area, a decline in the yield, and a decline in the popular interest in potato production were recorded there, although the potatoes were still the republic's speciality.<sup>64</sup> Terrible droughts or torrential rains were largely blamed in Ukraine, Byelorussia, the Baltic countries, the Omsk and Kalinin provinces, in West Siberia, the Caucasian districts,

<sup>58</sup>) *Pravda*, June 23, 1972, p. 3, and June 28, 1972, p. 3.

<sup>59</sup>) *Pravda*, June 19, 1972, p. 1.

<sup>60</sup>) *Izvestiya*, Aug. 1, 1972, p. 3.

<sup>61</sup>) *Pravda*, July 27, 1972, pp. 1-2.

<sup>62</sup>) *Pravda*, Oct. 12, 1972, p. 2, also earlier, Aug. 29, p. 1. and Sept. 1, 1972, p. 3.

<sup>63</sup>) *Izvestiya*, July 30, 1972, p. 3.

<sup>64</sup>) *Izvestiya*, June, 6, 1972, p. 2.

the Kuban region, and Western provinces of the USSR.<sup>65</sup> The harvest came either too early or too late; there were delays in harvesting potatoes, corn, grain, and vegetables; threshing, delivery to the state depots, and marketing were not up to standards; and troubles were also detected in animal husbandry.<sup>66</sup> In order to make up for the losses, the press and the Party agencies initiated the drive for better agricultural economy for the next year, 1973.

The outcome of the 1972 crops was most unfortunate, although there were sporadic attempts of the Soviets to present a more favourable picture of the farming results, like stressing the agricultural success in the Kazakhstan regions, improved vegetable and fruit production, and some progress in cost-reduction and efficiency-increase in the farm construction projects.<sup>67</sup>

The marketing process in the Soviet Union has been inefficient for many years, and the situation was no better in 1972, especially as regards the marketing of agricultural produce, fruit, and vegetables. Fruit was wasted, while the consumer suffered shortages.<sup>68</sup> In some places bumper crops of potatoes were achieved, but due to poor marketing techniques the consumer could not get any. Hence, *Pravda* asserted on October 12:

"In short, a paradox takes place. Those who need potatoes cannot buy them, while the producing units do not know what should be done with their surplus."

Consequently, because of the poor marketing organization, the collective farms must spend more time on selling their produce than on its production.<sup>69</sup> *Sovetskaya Rossiya* reported on October 20 that although better and more spacious stores had been provided in recent times, the plans in this respect were still not fulfilled and that wrong distribution practices still continued, especially in the farm produce area.

The deficient harvests in 1972 and poor marketing distribution forced the Kremlin rulers to increase their purchases of grain and other items from the United States, Canada, Australia, and other countries. It was scarcely possible to blame all the farm problems of the USSR on bad weather alone. The vast soil regions of the Soviet Union are too large to be affected by bad weather at the same time in all areas. Bad collective management was really at fault. Although the American sale of grain to Russia might spark an agricultural boom in the US, as the *US News and World Report* stated on January 8, 1973, it apparently could not bring any immediate relief for the Soviets. The same paper related on February 26, 1973:

<sup>65</sup> *Izvestiya*, Aug. 8, 15, and 24, 1972, largely on p. 1; poor grain processing: *Pravda*, Aug. 22, 1972.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, also, *Izvestiya*, Sep. 1, Oct. 3, 1972, p. 1, *Pravda*, Oct. 15, 1972, p. 2.

<sup>67</sup> *Pravda*, Oct. 14, p. 11, and Oct. 21, p. 2; *Izvestiya*, Oct. 21, 1972, p. 2.

<sup>68</sup> *Izvestiya*, July 26, p. 3, and Aug. 4, p. 1; also *Pravda*, Aug. 3, p. 2, Oct. 12, 1972, p. 3.

<sup>69</sup> *Pravda*, Oct. 12, 1972, p. 3.



"Mountainous shipments of US grain to Russia and other foreign buyers have nearly overwhelmed the transportation system serving the nation's heartland. There simply are not enough railroad cars, trucks, river barges, and portside grain elevators to keep the unprecedented volume of imports moving on schedule."<sup>70</sup>

The marketing distribution services were not adequate, according to the press reports. The organization of wholesale distribution, between the plants and the stores, was also in bad shape. In the Kazakh republic the everyday services of the consumer industries were defective; the plans for 1972 were not met by 38 per cent; instead of an 17.9 per cent growth, only 7.9 per cent was achieved.<sup>71</sup> A shortage of sales personnel was almost dramatic, causing some stores to shorten their hours of business and forcing others to close. Low wages and lack of incentive were the main difficulties.<sup>72</sup> Waste, rising costs, low quality, and poor assortments of merchandise aggravated the problem, although serious efforts were undertaken to overcome the deplorable situation.

The transportation end of the marketing process left a great deal to be desired. *Izvestiya* related on June 29 that although the over-all freight plan had been fulfilled, certain kinds of freight failed regularly to meet the planning targets. As a result, numerous industries missed their delivery dates throughout 1971 and 1972, causing economic troubles for everyone concerned, including the consumer. The idling time in freight increased, but apparently the railroad administration was quite happy with the overall neglect of the details, so long as the overall plan seemed to be fulfilled. In October the same paper reported that the poor use of the railroad cars, the waste of time (idle time) in loading and reloading, and other shortcomings of the industry increased rather than decreased in 1973.<sup>73</sup>

In the automobile industry the situation was no better, with striking inefficiency in the Volga Automobile Plant. Although one car was produced there every minute, yet its loading on the railroad took one and one-half hours, which meant a waste of time, labour, and money. A rent-a-car organization once existed in the USSR, but it was abolished because of waste and inefficiency, although such a system is undoubtedly needed.<sup>74</sup> The refrigeration cars were poorly allocated in various sectors of marketing.

The expansion of the underground railway systems in such large centres as Moscow and Leningrad was poorly planned. Already

<sup>70</sup>) *US News and World Report*, Feb. 26, 1973, p. 61; The US citizen pays a heavy toll of high prices for his food, because of those shipments to Russia." *Pravda*, March 18, 1973, p. 4.

<sup>71</sup>) *Izvestiya*, June, 15, 1972, p. 3.

<sup>72</sup>) *Pravda*, Oct. 21, 1972, p. 3.

<sup>73</sup>) *Izvestiya*, June 29, 1972, p. 4.

<sup>74</sup>) *Pravda*, June 5, 1972, p. 2; June 18, 1972, p. 2.

after a few years they have proved to be inadequate in handling the growing local traffic. At the same time the street-car transportation was neglected, although it still constituted some 25 per cent of the local transportation volume.<sup>75</sup> On the other hand, a large-scale highway and road-construction project was undertaken in the central urban areas to relieve the situation. Beginning with the Moscow outer highway belt, the turnpikes and throughways will extend to Volokolamsk, Dmitrov, Kashira, Klin, Kolomna, and Serpukhov.

The river and sea-going commercial transportation was inadequate, and its correction remained throughout 1972 still in a planning stage. In particular, the Ministry of Merchant Marine did not undertake any serious effort to improve the merchant fleet, which was very costly to run, because it used expensive fuel and foreign spare parts for repairs.<sup>77</sup>

The plight of the Soviet consumer was understandably precarious. Although he suffered in 1971-1972 fewer shortages, still his demands were not properly covered. Hence he was unhappy. The shelves of stores and distribution premises were loaded with low quality and a poor assortment of articles, which nobody wanted to buy. The manufacturing firms largely ignored the public demand and the recommendations of the marketing agencies. The Footman's Association in Leningrad, for example, accumulated some 115,000 pairs of children's footwear, which could not be unloaded.<sup>78</sup> The Sverdlovsk Machine-Building Instrument Plant produced obsolete items, especially washing-machines, no attempt was made by this plant or any other to manufacture automatic washers by 1972. The first driers were made in 1972 on the sampling basis, while their serious production was first undertaken in 1973.<sup>79</sup> Due to faulty planning, the production of less desired items continued throughout the year. Goods were supplied, but frequently in incomplete sets and of poor quality. Elevators did not work properly, while repair parts were not available and repair service was highly deficient.<sup>80</sup> In some cases proper goods were supplied but their prices were excessive, feeding the inflation. Frames for glasses were just not available in Odessa, Dnepropetrovsk, Tallinn, Irkutsk, and other regions. The waste of time while waiting for eye medical services was enormous.<sup>81</sup>

The housing situation, another perennial problem in the USSR,

<sup>75</sup> *Pravda*, July 26, 1972, p. 2; June, 20, 1972, p. 3.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, July 26; also *Izvestiya*, June 30, 1972, p. 1: The plan for the first (1971) year to construct roads, bridges and tunnels was successfully completed, but at the same time many autonomous republics and regions failed in this respect

<sup>77</sup> *Izvestiya*, June 26, 1972, p. 4.

<sup>78</sup> *Pravda*, June 7, 1972, p. 3.

<sup>79</sup> *Izvestiya*, June 29, 1972, p. 4.

<sup>80</sup> *Pravda*, June 15 and 29, 1972, p. 3; June 18, p. 1: Inadequate study of demand.

<sup>81</sup> *Izvestiya*, Aug. 6, p. 3..

continued to be bad during the first part of the 1971-1975 planning period. *Izvestiya* related that many new buildings required substantial repair work by their third year, since the original construction was very poor, both the design and the actual building process. Often the climatic conditions were not taken into account. The new apartment houses had some defects to begin with, but nobody among the responsible personnel was bothered by these shortcomings. The tenants had to take care of the repairs in order to live there. Dripping faucets, poorly hung doors, windows which would not shut, cracks in the ceilings, walls, and floors, and poor and uneven finish were commonplace in the new apartment houses. The repair work often cost more than the original construction, going as high as millions of rubles.<sup>82</sup>

The main reason for the poor construction work could be attributed to the workers' hurry to meet the quarterly plans, which did not leave time to take care of details. The building inspectors were either unwilling or unable to do their job properly. The construction workers at times lacked the most primitive tools to do the required work, the house construction cooperatives were poorly coordinated, construction and repair organizations were too few and there was a prevalent shortage of construction materials. Hence it is not surprising that the construction plans were not fulfilled on target.<sup>83</sup>

Some uncritical Westerners were greatly impressed by the comprehensive Soviet socialized-medicine and public-health system. Yet *Pravda*, *Izvestiya*, and other papers in the USSR have a more sober story to tell. The introduction of new medicines and drugs is too slow; there are no funds set aside to buy the drugs; the public health personnel is poorly trained; the information on how to use and apply the drugs is not made available; there is a general non-compliance with the regulations of the Ministry of Public Health; and the construction of small, rural public-health centres had been delayed for six or seven years. The nationwide struggle against drunkenness and alcoholism was not a success, although the Ministry of Public Health, the State Committee on Television and Radio, the party, the press, and all kinds of councils had been drafted to join in the struggle.<sup>84</sup> The rate of crime was high.

Along with the public-health problem, the pollution of air, water, and environment was threatening the Soviet society as much as in any Western "capitalist" country. *Sovetskaya Estoniya* expressed hope that science and technology would be able to cope with the problem, and although a great deal was done, the problem was far from solved. The purification attempts were serious, according to *Pravda* and *Izvestiya*.<sup>85</sup> S. Vonsovsky wrote on June 30, 1972, in *Izvestiya*:

<sup>82</sup>) *Izvestiya*, June 6, p. 2, June 10, p. 3, *Pravda*, June 21, 1972, p. 3.

<sup>83</sup>) *Izvestiya*, June 10, p. 9. *Pravda*, Oct. 9, 1972, p. 2.

<sup>84</sup>) *Izvestiya*, June 8, 1972, p. 3; July 26, 1972, p. 1.

<sup>85</sup>) *Izvestiya*, June 14, p. 3.

<sup>86</sup>) July 7, pp. 2-3.

"All ministres must... understand that water was becoming not less valuable a natural resource... than copper or iron, and that polluting water was shortsighted."<sup>87</sup>

A commission was set up to test motor vehicles' exhaust for pollution; a special seal was given after the test in the capital of Kazakhtan. Due to inadequate work in that respect, however, the wildlife and fish were being exterminated in certain areas of the Soviet Union, such as the Pechora region.<sup>88</sup>

Although only a sampling proof has been given by this paper, it has been quite a revealing story about the economic problems of the USSR during the 1971-1975 planning era. It may also explain why the planning results by the end of 1972 and at the beginning of 1973 were not encouraging.

## VII. The official figures and their interpretation

The invocation to the official publication of the plan fulfillment figures for 1972, made on January 30, 1973, contained the usual praise of the achievements of the Soviet socialist economy without, however, referring to fulfilling or over-fulfilling the plan, as had been done in previous years. It may also be important to mention that the publication of those figures came a little later than usual. As past history has taught, the belated publication of the results of the plan fulfillment normally follow some troublesome developments in the Soviet economy, as in 1960, for example.<sup>89</sup> It was suspected that whenever the Soviet leadership faced an economic trouble, it postponed any official declaration in order to gain time to prepare the public for a shock and also to make some adjustments in order to present the gloomy picture in a little more favourable light.

First of all, the list of those industries which did not meet the planning targets in 1972 was much longer than usual. In fact, when the results of the Eighth FYP were published in 1971 by *Pravda* and *Izvestiya*, no particular industry was singled out as having failed to meet the planned quotas. Although it had been pointed out by *Pravda* on January 30, 1973, that several industries, such as the production of electrical energy, fuel, black metallurgy, chemical and petroleum processing, machine construction, and construction materials had exceeded the achievements of 1971 by 5 to 11 per cent, unpleasantly striking was the admission that the light and food industries had achieved only 3 per cent, while the Ninth Plan promised to take better care of the Soviet consumer. Nevertheless, this was only a part of the whole story. A comparison of the fulfillment figures for 1970 and 1971 with those of 1972 shows a declining trend, mid-way of the ninth FYP.

<sup>87</sup>) *Izvestiya*, June 30; Yonsovsky's article.

<sup>88</sup>) *Pravda*, July 23, p. 6.

<sup>89</sup>) Chirovsky, p. 359.

Table Six.<sup>90</sup>

*The plan fulfillment in 1970, 1971 and 1972 in percentages of increases*

<i>Industry</i>	<i>1970</i>	<i>1971</i>	<i>1972</i>
Electrical energy	8	8	8
Fuel	7	6	5
Black metallurgy	6	6	6
Chemical and petroleum	12	11	9
Machine construction	11	11	11
Construction materials	9	8	7
Light industry	7	7	3
Food industry	7	5	3

This trend of an overall diminishing rate of increase in production, visible in Table Six, continued by and large in all industrial sectors of the USSR for the given years, supplying a discouraging picture of the Soviet planned economy. The most unfortunate feature was the fact that many economic sectors did not meet the planning targets.

Table Seven.<sup>91</sup>

*Plan underfulfillment in 1972.*

<i>Industries</i>	<i>Percentage of the annual target actually reached</i>
Agricultural production	95.4
Housing	99
Labour productivity in farming	97.2
Gas industry	99.4
Machine tools	99.5
Machine tools for the light and food industries	97
Forestry and wood processing	99
Paper	98
Light industry	99*
Turbines	87*
Metallurgical tools	99.8*
Combines (coal)	92*
Tractor parts	98*
Combines (farming)	94*
Leather footwear	95*
Sugar	99*
Vegetable fats	97*
Washing machines	74*
Ministry for Heavy Industrial Construction	97
Ministry for Industrial Construction	93
Ministry for Building Materials	95
Ministry of Agricultural Construction	99.6

\* Percentage of the 1971 plan fulfillment.

<sup>90</sup>) *Pravda*, Feb. 4, 1971; Jan. 23, 1972; Jan. 30, 1973, p. 1 or 2.

<sup>91</sup>) *Pravda* or *Izvestiya*, Jan. 30, 1973, pp. 1-2.

Even longer than in any previous years was the list of those economic sectors and ministries which could scarcely meet planning targets for 1972, having previously achieved some 100 or 101 percent of the assigned production quotas.<sup>92</sup> Hence, everything was pointing to a rather modest overall result of the centrally planned Soviet economy system in 1972. A similar proof of a diminishing economic growth of the USSR was given by the individual Union republics, as shown below:

*Table Eight.*<sup>93</sup>

*Percentage-wise annual plan fulfillment in 1970, 1971, and 1972;*

<i>Union republic</i>	<i>1970</i>	<i>1971</i>	<i>1972</i>
Russian SFSR	102	102	100.6
Ukrainian SSR	103	102	101.6
Byelorussian SSR	103	103	101.6
Uzbekistan SSR	103	104	102
Kazakhian SSR	102	102	101
Georgian SSR	103	103	100.9
Azerbaydzanian SSR	102	103	100.7
Lithuanian SSR	103	103	102
Moldavian SSR	103	104	101.7
Latvian SSR	103	103	101.8
Kirghizian SSR	104	103	102.3
Tadzhikian SSR	104	105	102.5
Armenian SSR	102	102	100.3
Turkmanian SSR	104	103	102.5
Estonian SSR	103	103	101.7

While the years 1970 and 1971 indicate approximately the same rate of economic growth by individual republics, the year 1972 shows a definite and overall diminishing growth rate. Not even one Union republic showed an increased rate of production. And if one compares the rate of the Soviet economic growth by individual industries with that by the individual Union republics, he would find that the first percentage rate is much higher than the second, though both deal with the same national economy, only computed in two different ways. This discrepancy immediately puts in doubt the reliability of the Soviet statistics and GNP account.<sup>94</sup>

Then, let us take the leading indicators of the economic growth for the same three years:

<sup>92</sup>) *Pravda*, reference 25 to 70, pp.1-2.

<sup>93</sup>) See reference note 90.

<sup>94</sup>) Chirovsky, pp. 348-369; also the same, briefly: "The Official Figures of the Five-Year Plan 1966-70 and Their Evaluation." *The Journal of Business*, Seton Hall University, May, 1971, pp. 25-33.

Table Nine.<sup>95</sup>

*The rate of economic growth for 1970, 1971 and 1972 in percentage of the immediately preceding years, 1969, 1970 and 1971*

<i>Leading indicators</i>	<i>1970 in % of 1969</i>	<i>1971 in % of 1970</i>	<i>1972 in % of 1971</i>
National income	108.5	106	104
Industrial output	108.3	107.8	106.5
Group "A", heavy industry	108.2	107.7	106.8
Group "B", consumer industry	108.5	107.9	106
Agricultural output	108.7	100	95.4
Capital investments	109	107	104
Labour productivity	107	106.3	105.2

Thus it is seen that the year 1972 was definitely an unfortunate one for the Soviet economic planning, but the bad weather conditions could not be the only cause of the shortcomings. The percentage-wise annual growth of the Soviet economy was then definitely a declining one. Now the question is, what might have been that percentage-wise rate for 1972? Providing that the figures about meeting the planned targets of the Eighth FYP (1966-1970) were not intentionally inflated by the Soviet authorities, though there is a strong suspicion of this, the selected sectors of the Soviet economy suggest an average increase in the Soviet gross national product of some 30 per cent over the five-year era, 1966-1970, showing an average rate of growth per annum of about 6 per cent. Making allowance for ruble inflation, however, it suggests rather a 4.5 per cent annual rate of increase or 22 per cent for the entire planning time. The Soviet authorities, however, had hoped and planned for some 40 to 50 per cent growth. A strong possibility of a statistical "improving" of the official figures by the Soviet authorities for doctrinal (ideological) and political reasons so as to present their planning in a more favourable light to their own people as well as to the foreign, "capitalistic," and "third" (developing countries) worlds, suggests a further reduction of the rate of growth to some 3 per cent per annum, although this is hard to establish and hard to prove.<sup>96</sup>

The Soviet economic achievements in 1972 were extremely moderate, being far below what they had been at the end of 1970 or 1971. It would be quite reasonable to establish statistically the rate of growth for 1972 at 2 per cent per annum. Assuming, however, the rate of growth for 1971 at 4 or 3 per cent, it would give the average for the first two years of the Ninth FYP some 3 per cent at the best or 2½ per cent, which in any case represents a catastrophic underfulfillment of the planning targets, which called for some 8 to 9 per cent of annual growth rate.

<sup>95</sup>) See reference note 90.

<sup>96</sup>) Chirovsky, *ibid.*

On the overall, it must be agreed that the Soviet economy was growing during the period under consideration, though considerably short of expectations. It proves that the Soviet centrally planned economy can work and grow, but that it is in no way better or more efficient than the so-called "capitalist" economies, and that its catching up with the capitalist system may be much further away than was thought a few years ago. Hence Khrushchov's dreams of surpassing America might prove to be completely unrealistic. Nevertheless the competition between the two systems will continue and it is a matter to be concerned about.

### **VIII. Another reform to improve the unsatisfactory conditions**

The unsatisfactory condition of the Soviet economy and the poor showing of the Ninth FYP were bound to bring some official reaction. The Soviet leadership could not allow things to drag on in this way. On April 2, 1973, the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the Council of Ministers of the USSR announced a new sweeping reform of Soviet industry in order to help it to survive its crisis and to prove itself worthwhile. It is not the first reform of the kind. The discouraging results of the Sixth FYP induced Khrushchov to attempt a reorganization of Soviet manufacturing by way of regional decentralization in 1957-1958, but this did not work satisfactorily. After the Soviet economy declined badly in 1963-64 and largely contributed to Khrushchov's downfall, Brezhnev and Kosygin produced a new reform in 1965 by attempting to combine an economic centralization at the top, on the ministerial level, with the Libermanist "liberalization" on the individual plant level by granting the plant management more freedom.

Whenever the Soviet economy is in trouble, the Soviet leaders always think of a new "reform" or "reorganization" as a miraculous cure for any economic deficiencies. They dare not admit that the principles of purposive planning, collectivization, and state management were the cause of the trouble from the start.

The new reorganization or "reform" scheme suggests a consolidation of operation of the 50,000 or more industrial plant units "into a system of large state corporations, called production associations, combining related establishments." The new consolidated corporations will become some kind of middle-level industrial management, between the supervisory ministries at the top and the producing individual plants below. From now on, it is said, the ministries will formulate only the overall policies in planning, capital investment, and technological advancement, while the individual plants will function only as operating divisions or departments of the middle-level corporations or production associations. This approach seems to be a compromise between the Stalinist ministerial centralism and Brezhnev's "liberalization" of 1965, attempting to allow more freedom



of action for the individual plant management. It has been implied, however, that some of those individual factories have been too small to make full use of the freedom granted them to promote wise capital investment, research, and technological progress. Hence the decision about the consolidation.

While Khrushchov's decentralization of decision-making was a regional and horizontal one, the new consolidation approach attempts rather a decentralization by individual industrial fields, granting the "production associations" the authority to streamline the production, capital formation, industrial research, and technological development on a broad basis. The main reason for the reform was to correct the poor coordination between industrial research and the actual application of its results by individual industrial establishments. The intended reorganization is supposed to be completed by 1975.<sup>97</sup>

Reading the announcement about it and the text of the "reform" act, one cannot help but conclude that the Soviet leadership is fully aware of the disappointing results of the Soviet planning and the state-run economic process, and that the flowery language about the plan fulfillment for 1971 and 1972 was intended only for propaganda reasons. The Kremlin, being hard hit by the reality of an overall farm failure in 1972 and serious deficiencies in manufacturing, marketing, and other fields over the recent years, is feverishly looking for some remedies to save the Soviet-style economic system.

<sup>97</sup> *New York Times*, April 3, 1973 pp. 1 and 62; *Pravda* and *Izvestiya*, April 3, 1973.

### 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.

LET US STUDY THE FACTS**THE CONCEPT OF A NATIONAL STATE IN CONTEMPORARY  
SUBJUGATED UKRAINE**

*By Anatole W. BEDRIY, Ph.D.*

Two concepts, that of nation and that of national state, are the major topics in the literature of the national movement in Ukraine. We constantly receive reports that people are being arrested, sentenced to long terms in prisons, concentration camps and exile, dismissed from work and persecuted in social, professional, and even family life, because they uphold and propagate these two concepts. If the analysis of this movement should reveal that the concept of nation is treated from a purely Marxist, Communist Russian position, it would signify that this movement does not act in the interest of the Ukrainian nation, but that it is at the most an anti-regime movement, or rather, that it is a reform and legalistic movement which strives for nothing else except some minor improvement of the existing system. If the concept of state is not treated from the position of a national state, but rather from the Marxist and Soviet legalistic positions, this would mean that this movement does not aspire toward the creation of the Ukrainian national sovereign state but again is only a moment of opposition to the present regime or a reform movement grounded on the existing state system with the sole aim of removing some of its bad manifestations.

Research into the subject of nation, based on materials from Ukraine which found their way to the West in recent years, reveals the conviction of their authors that the nation is not a product of the socio-economic conditions, a temporary, historical, i.e. a transient phenomenon, but on the contrary, the nation is a primordial community whose beginning dates back to prehistoric times, and the future in no way points to its withering away or transformation into some other form of social life. And if the nation is the basic social form of existence, then state life must be created on the national basis.

For the contemporary generation in Ukraine, typical are such notions about Ukraine as a nation as the well-known expression by Vasyly Symonenko:

Ukraine, you are my prayer,  
You are my centuries-old despair . . .  
A fierce battle rages in the world  
For your life, your rights.

"Ukraine" is to Symonenko a separate nation with its own exist-

ence which is the subject of social life and at the same time an object of international relations and the foreign policy of various powers. A prominent educator, K. D. Ushynskiy, said that this "Ukraine"-nation is the "centuries-old historical personality of a people — the greatest of all God's creatures on earth." A view like this is by no means materialistic, Marxist, or Communist, for Communists neither recognize the existence of God nor of a nation as God's creation. This is a theist philosophy of nation, oriented upon God, while for the materialists matter is the origin of all existence.

The present-day political thinkers in Ukraine build the concept of state solely on the national basis. For instance, one Ukrainian theorist of state, persecuted by the Russians, writes: "National problems squeeze themselves point-blank into the problems of self-government and people's sovereignty. National development and national heterogeneity mean independent action and diversity of life, its permanent expansion and enrichment." In other words, the life of a nation is inseparably bound with the functioning of a state. In another place this same author explicitly indicates that the Ukrainian nation must express itself in its own national state.

If we disregard the adjective "socialist," then the essence of the following significant expression must be clear: "The Ukrainian nation should have become an equal and full-valued contemporary socialist nation, and not some underdeveloped embryo, an ethnographic raw material . . . The Ukrainian nation should have revealed its strength in the grand socialist statehood . . ." The author had in mind Ukrainian Communists and Socialists who realized that the establishment of the Ukrainian SSR and the Soviet Union was a deception by the Russian imperialists who had absolutely no intention of establishing Ukrainian "socialist statehood," but only a Russian Communist empire.

A prominent Ukrainian theorist of culture advocates for the Ukrainian nation the necessity for complete originality, the right to live its own life. He maintains: "Nations have the right to ensure their own way of development without detriment to others, on the basis of equality and not guardianship."

Another intellectual fully concurs with the above view. He states: "Thus we must value the ancient riches left to us in the national multiformity of humanity and the diversity of its national activity, which make the great miracle of human universality." This is the national concept of the construction of the world as opposed to the imperial concept of domination of some nations over others, the establishment of large multi-national states in which the sovereignty rests in the hands of one nation, while other nations are subjugated and exposed to the threat of genocide.

Another theorist develops an anti-imperial concept of international relations based on a respect for freedom and national differences:

"True love for another people or peoples means that we want that people to be itself and not similar to us; we want to see it independent and equal outside and beside ourselves, not as a part of ourselves; we are ready to aid its self-establishment, and not assimilate it to ourselves. The existence of man require the existence of other men of equal worth, the existence of nations requires the existence of other nations of equal worth."

This beautiful national concept of equitable international relations has been supplemented countless times by the authors in Ukraine with a quotation from Charles de Gaulle: "The supreme interest of the human race demands that each nation carries its own responsibility for itself, is protected against all types of encroachments, and receives aid in its development unqualified by subjection."

Ivan Dzyuba, prominent Ukrainian intellectual and author of *Internationalism or Russification?*, maintains that many Ukrainians who in the past naively cooperated with the Bolshevik movement believed that the Bolsheviks would realize that very concept. They desired "to see the socialist Ukraine as truly existing and a genuinely equal country among other socialist countries, to see it as a national reality and not simply as an administrative-geographical term and a bureaucratic stumbling-block..." He puts forth a humanistic and just concept of freedom for all nations of the world: "I propose to counter Russification with one thing only: *freedom* — freedom for choice, freedom for national self-knowledge, self-awareness, and self-development... The point of view to win will be the one showing a true understanding of internationalism, the point of view which will proclaim (1) the inadmissibility of any injustice towards any nation in the world no matter what calculations, advantage, or considerations of 'necessity' may be advanced to excuse it; (2) the general responsibility of the human family for the plenitude of each member, each nation in the world; (3) the most propitious development — unlimited in time and effort — of each nation in the name of humanity and (4) cooperation and fraternity in the name of the growth and consolidation of each, and not in the name of seniority, engulfment, uniformity."

Based on healthy, freedom-loving national thinking, Ivan Dzyuba asserts: "In the Russian empire... *nations*... Russia and Ukraine, were not in a similar position and by no means enjoyed equal rights." The Russian nation was in a dominant position, while the Ukrainian was in a dependent and enslaved position. This assertion denies the thesis of some past and even present historians that allegedly Ukraine was enslaved by tsarism, i.e. the imperial regime, and not by the Russian nation in general. The current thesis popular in Ukraine contradicts the false, anti-regime historical schools of Drahomanov, and the populist, socialist, and federalist historians.

The above statement suggests that when the state of inequality exists among nations, it must be changed so that all nations are truly

free and equal, not just formally so. For this reason, one of the recently persecuted intellectuals in Ukraine urges: "We want to see factual proof of the improvement in Ukraine's situation . . . we want to see the Ukrainian people as masters of their house, not as an ethnographic mass." In political terms, "masters of their house" means a "sovereign nation," a nation which has political power in its own hands. This is already a concept of a national (sovereign) state.

A prominent cultural leader and poet openly states:

"You are not famous for the Hermitage and the Louvre,  
and your Einstein has yet to come to this earth!  
Were Dniro's current of state to flow,  
Let the bright Kremlin and the luminous White House glow."

The concept of a Ukrainian state is placed in the centre of attention. When this state, symbolized by the flow of "Dniro's current of state," will exist then the Ukrainians will have their own great culture and their own Einsteins. In other words, the state comes first, and only after it comes into being can there be any talk of solving various social, cultural, and educational problems. This state must be independent of both Russia and the USA, whom the author wishes no evil provided they do not hinder the emergence of a Ukrainian state which he wants to see just as powerful as the others.

All leading public figures of subjugated Ukraine are unsatisfied about the actual stateless condition of the Ukrainian nation. The statement: "I. M. Dzhyuba is not the only one today who came to the conclusion that the legal status of Ukraine as a union republic is glaringly incompatible with its actual status in the USSR" — is repeated by more than one patriot in Ukraine. The author of the above statement wishes to see Ukraine as a genuine state and not only as a "paper" state, in the constitution of the so-called Ukr. SSR. In reality there is no Ukrainian state. Therefore, he supports the re-establishment of the Ukrainian state.

The same wish and demand are put forth by another leading Ukrainian, a long-time prisoner of the Russian concentration camps. He asks: "In general, what is nationalism? Is it nationalism to desire the development of the national culture, of the native language? Is it even the desire for a separate development as a state, is it the legitimate right of every nation, the result of its economical, cultural, and social development?" The author himself gives an affirmative reply. He openly defends Ukrainian nationalism which strives for the establishment of the real Ukrainian statehood. He supports his wish by the natural and national right.

Another intellectual is even more outspoken in demanding the establishment of Ukraine's own state, ably applying the ideas of the adversaries: "On the whole, it is interesting to analyze the fecund ideas of Marx and Engels on the relations of England and Ireland; on many questions they link up with the history of Russian-Ukrainian relations . . . More than that, Marx and Engels directly advise 'to

separate' (sic!)... 'It is in the direct and absolute interest of the English working class to get rid of their present connection with Ireland.' " Thus, with the help of a quotation taken out of the old writings of Marx and Engels, this intellectual sees a similarity of the present-day Ukraine and the Ireland of fifty years ago. At the same time, he emphasizes a demand for Ukraine's total separation from Russia, its complete sovereignty and reveals the imperialistic attitude of Russian workers towards Ukraine.

As proof of the fact that Ukraine is subjugated by Russia, which in addition bans the publication of independence-oriented works, we read the following statement in one of the underground publications: "Even a number of works by I. Franko — *Ukraina irredenta*, *Shcho take postup* (What is Progress) — are being concealed and withheld from publication. The journalistic works of B. Hrinchenko, *Lysty z Ukrainy Naddniprovskoyi* (Letters from the Dnieper Ukraine), I. Nechuy-Levytskyi, and others are printed with great excisions, as they sharply formulate the question of the colonial oppression of Ukraine and the necessity of struggling for its liberation and national state independence."

The study of the theory of state is quite advanced in Ukraine. This means that the majority of leading political students in Ukraine are wholly familiar with the essence of state and its components. They know that a modern state must have its own territory with defined boundaries and an ethnic population which holds the supreme power in the state, which also includes freedom to choose the system of government within the state.

The *ethnographic principle*, namely the principle of incorporating in the Ukrainian state all the territories which are predominantly inhabited by Ukrainians or in the past were settled by the Ukrainian population, is very clearly defended in Ukraine. This principle is tantamount to the principle of unification of all Ukrainian lands into a single Ukrainian state. Consequently, in one document we read: "Why then have the Ukrainian people united themselves? ... To ensure that the entire Ukrainian people, once deprived of statehood, would be educated and would develop as a single national organism." But the Russian authorities do not adhere to this principle and do not educate Ukrainians in the spirit of "a single national organism."

The authors of subjugated Ukraine do not consider the Ukr. SSR as a national state, even on paper, because a large segment of ethnographic Ukrainian territories is not included in it. Hence we read: "To the facts of national discrimination one must also add the 'errors' in the determination of boundaries of the national republics. The territory of the Byelorussian SSR does not include large areas inhabited by Byelorussians in the Smolensk and Bryansk regions. The Ukrainian SSR does not include the Krasnodar territory, ports of the Voronezh and Bilhorod regions, and the Tahanrih district of

the Rostov region." Therefore, the borders established by Moscow are false since they do not correspond to the ethnographic principle calling for unification of the whole nation. The following demand is typical in Ukraine: "On my part I recommend the following measures: . . . To revise the boundaries of the national republic for the purpose of establishing exact ethnographic boundaries."

Quite a few authors in Ukraine are concerned about the absence of Ukrainian control over Ukrainian territory and economics, as for instance: "Territorial unity and sovereignty are being gradually and progressively lost through mass resettlement (by the *orgnabor* and other means) of the Ukrainian population in Siberia, the North, and other regions where it numbers millions but is quickly denationalized; through an organized mass resettlement of Russians in Ukraine . . . through administrative divisions that remain a formality and through the doubtful sovereignty of the government of the Ukrainian SSR over the territory of Ukraine. Excessive centralization and a total subordination to the all-Union authorities in Moscow make it equally difficult to speak about the *integrity and sovereignty of the economic life* of the Ukrainian nation." In Ukraine people are conscious of the fact that the loss of the Ukrainian population contributes to an ever greater loss of the second component of a state: the population. They are aware that the millions of Russian colonizers will never support the concept of a Ukrainian state and will always remain loyal to the sovereign government of the Russian state. For this reason they are the mainstay of Russian colonial imperialism in Ukraine.

In order to prove the absence of national unity within the framework of the so-called Ukr. SSR, Ukrainian activists also resort to a rather fictitious argument of the 1920s: "Ukrainization was a broad political concept which included the safeguarding of the national-cultural interests of several million Ukrainians living in other Republics, especially in the Russian Federation, with a view to incorporating adjacent territories with a predominantly Ukrainian population (in the Don, Kursk, and other regions)." They maintain: "This is the Russian Federation, which has solid districts of long-established Ukrainian settlement in the regions of Kursk, Voronezh, Kuba, the Urals, Siberia, and the Far East, which has thousands of Ukrainians in the Virgin Lands and in the Siberian cities, but *not a single* Ukrainian school, *not a single* newspaper or book published there, *not a single* Ukrainian radio program or cultural-educational establishment. Denationalization and assimilation are in store for those people who have come to render fraternal assistance." The conclusion: Ukr. SSR is not a Ukrainian state because, among other things, it lacks unity.

Going over to the materials which deal with the third component of the state it is not only possible to assert that the subject of national sovereignty is of current interest but also that all efforts are directed toward the attaining of sovereignty by the Ukrainian people. In quite a few documents we read: "Although all listed Ukrainians were

tried in the courts of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, they are held (and were always held) in the camps of Russia. This is one more proof of the refusal on the part of the Ukr. Soviet Republic to uphold its sovereignty; it does not enforce the sentences of its own courts." This view gives evidence of the fact that in Ukraine a battle is being waged not for the improvement of the present governmental system of the USSR, which is the object of struggle of the Russian dissidents, but for a radical change of the existing political system in order to make the fictitious paper constitution into a genuinely sovereign Ukrainian state.

Ukrainian intellectuals fight the chauvinistic Russian imperialists with their own weapons, using Marxist dialectics for combating Marxism, which serves the Russians as a means of subjugating Ukraine. In one of the underground works we read: "Does Marxism applaud the loss of national sovereignty, its renunciation under conditions of capitalism or, what is more, of feudalism? We must admit that it does not. Quite the contrary. Marxism, if you allow me to say so, considers it 'unadvisable,' both for those who are annexed ('As long as it lacks national independence,' Engels writes, 'a people is historically unable even simply to discuss in earnest any domestic questions'), and for those who annex ('No nation can be free if it oppresses other nations'). Incidentally, this is already the third quotation documenting the fact that in Ukraine primacy is afforded to the establishment of the Ukrainian state prior to the realization of any socio-economic, ideological, or other programs. In other words, only after the emergence of a Ukrainian state will it be possible to establish a democratic political and a just socio-economic order.

Finally, if one were to pause over the theories as to the system of government in the future Ukrainian state as expressed in liberation underground literature, we come across opinions about the need to exchange the existing "Soviet socialist republican" system for a more equitable system, more responsive to the needs and desires of the nation, a more democratic and freedom-loving system. Thus, in one underground material we read: "The X Congress of the RCP(B) in 1921 outlined the following immediate tasks to help the 'non-Great-Russian peoples' to develop and consolidate their Soviet statehood in forms appropriate to the conditions of the national way of life of these peoples. Today we can state that not a single one of these four objectives (and these were only the immediate tasks) has been accomplished. Statehood is and has everywhere been built in an identical shape, to a standard pattern." In other words, every national state should have a system which corresponds to its national needs, structure, and interests. The Soviet system, however, is uniform and standardized for all nations and imposed upon them by the force of Russian bayonets, against the will of the non-Russian peoples. For this reason, in the Ukrainian state this system must be replaced by a system chosen by the people. Yet, to bring about



changes, the present system must be destroyed, for the Russians who introduced the Soviet system are not going to agree willingly to this.

Let us recall a document cited at the beginning which says that the solution of the national problem, i.e. the attainment of a national policy which serves the interests of the Ukrainian people, requires "self-government and people's sovereignty." And in another document we read: "I propose to counter Russification with one thing only: *freedom* — freedom for the honest, public discussion of national matters, freedom of national choice, freedom for national self-education, self-awareness, and self-development." Hence, political thinkers in Ukraine are clearly aware of the fact that with the triumph of popular sovereignty in Ukraine, only such a system of government will be instituted which had been accepted by the Ukrainian people in free elections.

Summarizing this brief survey of underground materials from Ukraine which made their way to the West in the last few years, it must be ascertained that along with the concept of nation the concept of the Ukrainian state, which must be a united national state of the Ukrainian people with real and absolute sovereignty, stands in the center of their political thought. Only with the realization of such a state will it be possible to talk about the achievement in Ukraine of a just social, economic, and political order, about the introduction of basic human rights, about the establishment of a freedom-loving system of government in which Ukrainian culture and spirituality would flourish, where it would be possible to think freely, to believe in God freely, to practice one's religion and to develop one's own churches. In Ukraine the battle of ideas is waged clearly on the national and anti-Russian basis, not on a class basis. In other words, it is not the well-being of the proletariat that is made an issue, but the well-being of the Ukrainian nation as a whole, regardless of its social strata. Ukrainian patriots are categorically opposed to any system of government that is forcefully imposed against the will of the people, and at the same time they are in favour of freedom of political thought, political differentiation, political organization. They quite clearly support the establishment of such a system of government which would not only have respect for human dignity, but would also place the well-being of the Ukrainian individual in the forefront and not the well-being of any class.

Having brought all these views about the state to a common denominator, it can be concluded that they reject the supranational or international state of the USSR type in which the Russian nation reigns supreme with its policy of genocide, chauvinism, and colonialism toward other nations. They also reject and combat the dictatorship of the proletariat, a one-party, one-class system, and the centralization of a supranational state; they are also opposed to the imposition of socialism or Communism upon a nation against the will of the people. They denounce totalitarian control over ideas and

political manifestations, which is practiced by the Soviet regime. They reject a collectivistic, totalitarian approach to any human being. They oppose militant atheism as a hostile movement, intolerant of religious freedom. What is more, the great majority of active Ukrainians do not stand on atheistic positions, or even materialistic positions in general. On the contrary, there are among them idealists, mystics, spiritualists, theists, and followers of other trends opposed to Marxism and Communism.

And finally, with respect to the Ukrainian state, they recognize that although the constitution of the so-called Ukr. SSR does exist in a fictitious, not realized form, in fact this "Ukr. SSR" is not a Ukrainian state. Hence, in reality, there is no Ukrainian state. For this reason *the literature appearing clandestinely in Ukraine can be defined as liberation and statehood literature whose aim is to contribute to the re-establishment of the Ukrainian state.* As envisioned by this literature the contents of this state would be entirely different from the contents of the USSR-Ukr. SSR. In order to build the Ukrainian state, however, the Ukrainian people must abolish the rule of Russian chauvinists, racists, and colonialists in Ukraine. They must destroy Russification and the existing totalitarian, dictatorial system and fully separate Ukraine from Russia. This type of struggle is a life-and-death struggle of two nations. It is a struggle for national liberation.

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# KIEVAN CHRISTIANITY MISINTERPRETED

## Response to Reviewers

By Nicholas D. CHUBATY

### AUTHOR'S NOTE

My book, *HISTORY OF CHRISTIANITY IN RUS' UKRAINE* (Vol. I. Rome-New-York: Ukrainian Catholic University Press, 1965. XIII, 815 pp.), was mailed in 1966 to the editorial office of the *Slavic Review* for reviewing. Five years later (1971), a rather lengthy review article was published. The two reviewing authors paid more attention to the author's personality than to the content of the book.

Within a short time I mailed to the Editor of *Slavic Review* my response to this review. Two weeks later the Editor, Prof. Treadgold, returned my manuscript with the remark that the response was too long. He offered to print only half of my answer to the reviewers.

On March 1, 1972, I again wrote to Prof. Treadgold asking him for equal space for my response. This request was in accordance with the principle of "equal time, equal space," especially since the reviewing article was rather biased. The Editor's answer was still negative.

Because Prof. Treadgold refused to print my entire response, I decided to transfer my answer to another scholarly publication.

\* \* \*

My book *Istoriia Khrystyianstva na Rusy-Ukraini*. Vol. I. *Vid pochatku do 1353 r.* has been jointly reviewed in *Slavic Review* (June, 1971) by Professors Oswald P. Backus III and Heinrich A. Stammeler. The Editor placed this review under the title: Review Articles.

Being confronted with a joint review, the author as well as the reader himself is usually confused because of the difficulties in determining who is responsible for criticism, or opinion, or even a lack of subject knowledge. For this very reason joint reviews should be avoided in a scholarly journal. The reviewers chose to title their criticism: *Kievan Christianity and the "Church Universal."* Regrettably the reviewers do not explain why they used quotation marks for *Church Universal*, a fact which hardly can be understood since at that time a Universal Church indeed existed. At the time when Kiev

Rus<sup>1</sup> was Christianized, the Christian Church was still one body (prior to 1054) and was composed of five Patriarchates (Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, Constantinople, and Jerusalem) plus several other equal autocephalous churches (Cyprus, Sinai, Armenia, Georgia, Bulgaria, Rus'). They all were administratively independent of each other. The Church of Rus' since her foundation in 989 remained independent from the Patriarch of Constantinople until the latter part of the twelfth century or until the disintegration of the Kiev Rus' state. Later the patriarch succeeded to a certain extent to impose his superiority over the Church of Rus'.

Professor Oscar Halecki in reviewing my book in *American Historical Review* (Vol. LXXI, No. 4) stressed two outstanding and dominant features. Prof. Halecki writes:

"In two respects the author gives more than the title promises. Realizing the close connection of Christianity and religious life with the whole destiny of the Ukrainian people, he writes not only an *ecclesiastical history of Rus*, which he identifies with Ukraine, excluding Moscow, Novgorod, and even Byelorussia, but, at the same time, a detailed survey of the making and development of his nation. Furthermore, being deeply convinced of the exceptional place of Ukrainian Christianity in the Universal Church, he presents that local experience against the background of, and often in contrast to, the attitudes of its neighbours, touching also various problems of general European history.

"This presentation is based upon original research and thorough knowledge of the historical literature, including the most recent. But it also reflects the author's personal convictions. Sincerely devoted to the Eastern Church of Slavic rite, he is, however, critical of Byzantine influence in the

1) Rus' is the only correct name of this state and it should not be translated into English as "Russia," a term which emerged much later and refers to a different geographical area, people, and historical entity. The Academy of Sciences of the USSR, realizing historical facts, is using this name exclusively, including English translations. To mention just a few titles: B. Grekov, *The Culture of Kievan Rus* (Moscow, 1947) also his *Kiev Rus* (Moscow, 1959); V. Pashuto, *Foreign Policy of Rus* (Moscow, 1968); M. Tikhomirov, "Proiskhozhdeniie nazvanii 'Rus' i 'Russkaia zemlia'," *Sovetskaia etnografiia*, Vol. V., 6-7 (Moscow, 1947); B. Rybakov, "Anty i Kievskaiia Rus," *Vestnik drevnostei istorii*, Vol. V, 1-2 (Moscow, 1939) and his "Proiskhozhdeniia Rusy," *Ocherki istorii SSSR*, Vol. VII (Moscow, 1952). Much informative material is in V. P. Susharyn-Pashuto, *Sovremennaiia burzhuaznaia istoriografiia Drevnei Rusi* (Moscow, 1964).

The name Rus' in terms of historical continuity is identical with the modern name Ukraine. Internationally it appears for the first time in 911 in the "First Treaty of Rus' with Greeks." The name Rusyn (sing.) and Rusyny (plural) from that time up to the second half of the 17th century remained as the national identity of present-day Ukrainians. In some conservative areas it has survived even into our time, especially among the immigrants in the U.S.A. from Carpathian Ukraine (Ruthenia). In medieval Western Europe, where Latin, used by the Church, became the literary language, the names Rus' and Rusyny in X-XII centuries were translated differently. Since the beginning of the XIII century names "Ruthenia" (country) and "Rutheni" (people) in translations were used. Later they were incorporated into the major west (c. p. 118), European languages, English, French, German. In the Habsburg Monarchy the name "Ruthenen" became the official name for Ukrainians. In the Paris Peace Conference, Carpathian Ukraine at this time was annexed to the Czecho-Slovak Republic as an autonomous province under the name "Ruthénie" (in French).

Kievan state and even more of the Muscovite form of Orthodoxy." (Emphasis supplied)

The reviewers for the Slavic Review prefer to overlook almost entirely this aspect of my book. The reviewers hold no supportable claim of a prevailing "unity" among Eastern Slavs. By doing so, they remain loyal to the Russian imperialistic historical view which accepts the concept of "one Russian nationality" from the earliest times to the sixteenth century. This particular myth, promoted by Russian historians of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, has been intended as a fortifier and promotor of "one indivisible Russia" for political purposes. The Russian scheme made deep inroads into the Western historiography through the translations and popularizations of conservative Russian emigree professors throughout the world. And in the absence of a challenge from those whose national identity was misinterpreted, I felt obliged to stress the formation of all three Eastern Slav peoples. This was also necessitated by my attempt to explain more clearly the role, rise, function, and uniqueness of the Church. Historically, it is impossible to separate the problems of the Eastern Church from the pure ethnogenetic, cultural, political as well as geographical elements.

Back in 1960, I had the privilege to participate in the XI International Historical Congress in Stockholm. I delivered a paper dealing with this question.<sup>2</sup> To my satisfaction, Soviet academicians M. Tikhomirov as well as B. Rybakov, the director of the Archaeological Institute of the USSR Academy, were in agreement with me in basic matters of my paper. Both scholars accepted the obvious, that the history of Russians must primarily be treated within the territory of present-day Russian people (RSFSR). Therefore, both scholars shared my view that Medieval Rus' is to be identified with the present USSR, i.e. Ukraine.

Extensive archaeological excavations of the last three decades in Ukraine by Soviet experts (Russians and Ukrainians) support the historian's conclusion that the group of Slavic tribes known to East Roman writers as Antes were indeed Slavs and were the bearers of an advanced "Cherniakhovskaia kultura" from the second to the fifth century.<sup>3</sup> In the opinion of Rybakov, this culture flourished only on the territory of Ukraine and the neighbouring Moldavian SSR, along the Dnister River in the southwest and the Don River basin in the east. Rybakov observed that "in the north the 'Cherniakhovskaia kultura' encountered different, more primitive cultures of the forest zone." Geographically as well as ethnologically, those two zones correspond with a broader line of division between Russians and Ukrainians. The northern zone of the forests also includes Byelorussian territory.

<sup>2</sup> The paper, revised and extended, was published in 1964 under the title: *Kniazha Rus'-Ukraina ta vynykennia triokh skhidno-slovians'kykh natsii*. New York, 1964. An English translation is in preparation.

<sup>3</sup> B. Rybakov, ed., "Cherniakhovskaia kultura." *Materialy... Arkheologii*, No. 82. (Moscow; Acad. USSR, 1960). Pp. 10-26. See maps.

Russian academician B. Rybakov, Ukrainian archaeologist M. Braychevskiy, and others conducted archaeological expeditions which led them to conclude that the Antes of Jordanis and Procopius' descriptions are to be seen as the early historical ancestors of Rus'-Ukrainians.<sup>4</sup> The Antes occupying the area of the middle Dnieper River founded the first Slav state of Rus' around 560 and the city of Kiev as a trade center. They named it after their leader Kyi. In all probability he was the initiator of the first dynasty. In the seventh century this Kiev state was already called by the Syrian writer Zacharias Rector as Rus'.<sup>5</sup>

In the meantime the northern forest territories were developing quite differently from the steppe culture form of life of the South. Contact with the South had been maintained through the waterways of Dnieper, Don, and upper Volga. The population, coming there from Asia, was Ugro-Finnic and began to mix with northward-bound Slavs. The result was that in the Eastern part of the North, in the ninth century, the Finns constituted the majority and in the West the Slavs emerged as the majority.<sup>6</sup> The first group comprised the ancestors of Muscovites (Russians), the others formed the nucleus of Novgorodians and Byelorussians. After the creation of the Kievan State Empire (second half of the ninth century) Novgorod the Great, a combination of Slav-Scandinavian culture, played the role of a second northern capital. In 1478, Novgorod was conquered and lost its republican identity and was assimilated by Muscovites.<sup>7</sup>

*All historical sources, archaeological as well as written, prove that on the territory of Eastern Europe, from the early historical period there existed ethnic differences.* Groups of tribes with similar cultures aggregated over the years into large groups of peoples: Russians, Byelorussians, and Ukrainians.

Regrettable as it is, my reviewers prefer to ignore the most recent discoveries made in this area as revealed by Soviet scholars in numerous works of the last two decades. If anyone is guilty of "offending Russian specialists," it is the respected reviewers who should have been more aware. Obviously they lack vital information in this subject area.

4) Jordanis, *Getica* — *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Auctores Antiquissimi* I, Vol. V, 1. — *Procopius Caesarensis Opera Omnia. Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana* (Muenchen, 1913).

5) B. Rybakov, *Anty*, op. cit. I. "Nachalo Russkago gosudarstva" (Moscow, 1955); M. Braychevskiy, "Do pytannia pro vynyknennia mista Kyiva," *Ukrains'kyi istorychnyi zhurnal*, No. 5 (1955) Kiev. M. Braychevsky, *Pokhodzenya Rusi*. Toronto, 1970.

6) I. Lapushkin, "Slaviane vostochnoi Evropy nakanune Drevne-russkago gosudarstva," *Materialy arkheologii*, No. 152 (Moscow, 1968) See maps (pp. 112-13) with very instructive relocation of Slav and Finnish population at that time.

7) G. Vernadsky observes that the Novgorodians during their five-centuries-long history (until 1478) would not use the name "Rus" and only "Hospodyn-Veliki Novgorod" (Lord, the Great Novgorod). See his *Kievan Russia* (Yale U. P., 1948) pp. 77-97, 176.

Now that my reviewers' confusion in terminology and political fact has been cleared, I should like to stress some aspects of economic unity of the Kiev Empire. The maintenance of economic ties emerging from the famous Baltic-Black sea waterway "*put ot Variahov do Hrekov*," necessitated the existence of a unified state. Kiev was the centre and the checkpoint with all the advantages that follow. Kiev was responsible not only for the upkeep of this tradeway but also for its security. Hence, Kiev and Novgorod became the centres of economic power for several centuries. The disruption of the trade flowing from the North to Byzantium, in the middle of the twelfth century by way Polovtsi, resulted in the general decline of the economy and in the impoverishment of the North specifically. This led to its separation from the South and encouraged it to take a greater interest in the Baltic trade area. The political result of this was the weakening of the Kievan Realm. The final blow to Kiev, however, was due to other factors which contributed to the decline and total political disintegration of the Empire.

It is wrong to assume that the economic unity contributed significantly to the elimination of ethnic diversity. This fact has been affirmed by the Byzantine writer, Constantinus Porphyrogenetus (ar. 950), who gave us a detailed description of the NS Waterway in his most interesting comments regarding the peoples living along the water road and within the frontier of Rus'.<sup>8</sup>

Minimizing the importance of ethno-genetic as well as geographical components of my study, the reviewers decided to focus their attention on my *concept of the establishment of the Church of Rus' by the Grand Prince Volodymer*.<sup>9</sup> The underlying issues are of canonical and factual basis on the establishment of the Church in Rus'. For the sake of dramatization only, the reviewers wrote: "He has incorporated the findings of other scholars, permitting him dispassionately to disagree with such authorities as Amman, Soloviev, Hrushevsky, and Golubinsky." The list has been extended to such names as L. Mueller, Hellman, Smolitsch, and others. Finally, the reviewers did not miss the chance to mention that in this study I contradicted my previous conclusions which I had reached several decades ago. It is a scholarly privilege and duty to disagree with others whenever sufficient documentation is available. But the word "dispassionately" is out of

<sup>8</sup>) Constantinus Porphyrogenetus, *De Administrando Imperio*. Editor Moravcsik-Jenkins (Budapest, 1949). In Chapter VII, the chronicler remarks that the Rus' state is composed of Rus' proper and tribes "beyond Rus'." They are not Rus', but belong to Rus' and pay to Rus' tributes which will be collected by "Poludyie." This (c. p. 121) ancient Ukrainian word in the Greek work as preserved for one thousand years until today, is composed of two words: po-ludyie and means "walking to the peoples," or simply to collect tribute from among people.

<sup>9</sup>) The correct name of the baptizer of Rus' in all Kievan sources of the XI-XIII centuries is VOLODYMER (sometimes Volodymyr). The name Vladimir appears only since the thirteenth century in Suzdal-Muscovian sources. In modern Ukrainian it is Volodymyr and in Russian Vladimir.

place here. Dedicated search for truth is the only criterion. Therefore, any attempt to "impress" readers with a long list of experts proves only a mere intention to engage in a confrontation of the latest advanced findings against previously found data. In scholarship we do not subscribe to the legend of "untouchability" and the privilege to question is perhaps the most essential single achievement of man. The reviewers' insistence that things do not change and that findings or suggestions made by some scholars several decades ago (70-80 years) is not convincing enough to be taken seriously. This same formula must apply to my own position taken thirty-five years ago. Should I have been forbidden by the will of the reviewers to continually advance, modify, change, and enrich my knowledge? I would like to take this characteristic as a compliment and not as a fault.

My reviewers in their appeal to authorities are not exactly correct. For instance, does Amman fully support the Byzantinist interpretation of the first hierarchy of the Kievan Church? Among Russian historians Golubinsky surprisingly is very close to my position.<sup>10</sup> He, too, rejects the notion submitted by some historians that Volodymyr, after his marriage, became subservient to Byzantium in all matters, including church affairs. To my knowledge there is not a single Kievan source that states this. For that matter none of the Byzantine contemporaries advances the claim that Kiev before 1039 had a Greek metropolitan, even since 989. The mentioning of such marginal authors as Yahia of Antiochia or Thietmar of Merseburg is obviously not sufficient for reasons of their distance and their superficial knowledge of the prevalent situation in that time in Kiev.

After the Seventh (II Nicean) Ecumenical Council, 787, Orthodoxy in the Eastern Church was reinstated after a prolonged period of iconoclastic heresy. The general canonical structure of the Universal Church in the East was accepted. In addition to the five traditional patriarchates, equal status had been extended to all "national" churches which existed outside of the boundaries of the traditional patriarchates. This provision, as it should properly be understood, would apply to all existent and future national churches such as the Armenian, Georgian, Bulgarian, and the Church of Rus'. The heads of such churches resided usually in the oldest bishopric of that particular nation, bearing different titles such as Catholicoses (for Armenia and Georgia) or Archiepiscopos in other cases. The first bishoprics with autocephalous status often were called "Catholicane Ecclesia" even if their heads used the title Archiepiscopos and not necessarily "Catholicoses." *This was true for Rus'.* The oldest bishopric on the territory of the Kievan Empire at the time of Prince Volodymyr was in Tmutorokan at the Azov Straits. I suggest that this structure of the Eastern Church was known to Volodymyr, a ruler extremely sensitive in his sovereignty, and therefore it is safe

<sup>10</sup> E. Golubinsky, *Istoriia Russkoi tserkvy*. Vol. I. (Moscow, 1901). Pp. 181, 202, 257, 236-64.



to assume that he adapted only the general obligatory canonical principles for all Eastern churches without submitting Rus' to Byzantium in any form, including matters of church structure.

The oldest peripheral bishopric on the Rus' state territory was the *Bishopric of Tmutorokan* (Greek name Tamatarkha) on the Azov Straits, established around 870, at the time of Patriarch Photius. This bishopric in the new Byzantine register of hierarchy "Taxis," approved by the Emperor Tzimisces (around 970), had been elevated to the rank of archbishop. Around the same time Tmutorokan was conquered by Kiev prince Sviatoslav and incorporated into the Kievan Realm. In 989, Tmutorokan archbishop, after the general formal Christianization of Rus' he, probably by decision of Volodymer, the ruler of the country, was employed to be the spiritual head of the autocephalous Church of Rus'. Tmutorokan became "*Catholicane Ecclesia*" of Rus'.

It was within Volodymer's canonical rights to execute the canonical privileges of his newly established church following the patterns set up in neighbourly churches of Georgia, Bulgaria, and others. The Archbishop of Rus' residing in Tmutorokan, as some sources suggest, was Leontios, who should be considered the first head of the autocephalous Church of Rus'.

His successor Iaon was positively identified as "Archiepiskop," head of the autonomous Church of Rus', by two reliable Kievan sources, hagiographies of Saints Borys and Hlib. First, "*Chtenye... o Boryse i Hlibe*" was written by Nestor, the last editor of the Kievan Chronicle "*Povest Vremennykh Let...*" The other hagiography "*Skazanye...*" on the same topic is of unknown authorship.<sup>11</sup> Both sources relate to the events around 1026 in Vyshhorod, where Archiepiskop Iaon officiated as head of the Church. He approved the cult of Saints Borys and Hlib and instituted June 24 as the day of their annual feasts for the whole Church of Rus'. Both sources agree that "Archiepiskop Iaon" lived in a bishop's city with the rank of "Catholicane Ecclesia," far from Kiev in the eastern part of the Rus' Realm which was at this time divided into two parts along the Dnieper River between Iaroslav (ruling the western part with Kiev) and Mstyslav (ruling the eastern part including the cities of Chernyiv, Pereyaslav, and Tmutorokan on the Azov Sea). Such a political situation indeed existed in Rus' between 1020-1035. Nestor informs us that to Vyshhorod, around Kiev, Prince Iaroslav "*called Archiepiskop Iaon pasturing at that time the flock of Christ in Rus'...*" Perhaps the veracity of any historical event based on these two sources being in full agreement should not be questioned. In addition, Nestor is a critical writer. Both authors call the archiepiscopal residential church "*Catholicane Ecclesia*," or a *Catholicos*-like church, as was the case in neighbouring Georgia.

Since the reviewers rely on Rudolf Mueller's *Byzantine theory of*

<sup>11</sup>) D. P. Abramovich, *Zhytiia sviatikh muchenikov Borysa i Gleba... Pamiatniki drevnerosskoi literatury* (Petrograd, 1916). Pp. 17-19.

*hierarchical status of the Rus' church*, comments on my part are justified. Mueller, a German Slavonic linguist and authority in the medieval Slav-Byzantine literature and culture, treats this subject exclusively from the cultural viewpoint and overlooks the fact that in the Middle Ages the question of new churches reflected the power policy based on canonical privileges. The privileges to execute canonical status in most of the cases known in history were left to the rulers. Mueller in his treatise argues in favour of his Byzantine thesis. He summarizes his reasoning as follows:<sup>12</sup> "Although there are no Kievan or Greek sources documenting the arrival in Kiev in 989 of a Greek metropolitan, it is difficult to imagine that the Byzantium which baptized the Prince and agreed to the marriage of her purpur-born princesses to him, would tolerate without any important reasons his refusal to submit himself to Byzantium, including Church of Rus'."

Obviously, this pure hypothetical conclusion reflects a lack of knowledge of the real political and canonical situation. One must caution that such an important statement should not be based exclusively on one approach, i.e., cultural, as Mueller did. His arguments stressing the Byzantine cultural impact upon Kiev, including architecture and performing sermons, etc., are of no objection. This aspect of his work is well known to all historians. Yet this was not enough to force a potent, victorious ruler, such as Volodymyr, into submissiveness. There is no single document or proof available to portray Volodymyr being subservient to Byzantium. Conflicting contemporary historians of Rus'-Byzantium relations, such as the Soviet expert G. G. Litavrin, come to the conclusion that "Prince Vladimir's conversion to Christianity was an act of farsighted state-manship rather than of Byzantine diplomacy."<sup>13</sup> The Kievan *Povest* supports this viewpoint, describing the organization of Christian Kiev after Volodymyr's return from the Crimea. He brought with him his purpurborn wife and her priests. Nastas Korsunianyn followed to become the main organizer of the Christian Church in Rus'. There was no mention of any Greek metropolitan. Who was Nastas? A Korsunian cleric (maybe a bishop) from Crimea, probably of Slav descent. He was a proven anti-Byzantinist who betrayed Byzantium during the Crimean campaign in favour of Volodymyr. Shortly (996), he became director in Kiev of the Church's tithe collection. Later he was rector of the newly erected cathedral in Kiev. In such a situation could there be a place for a Greek metropolitan in Kiev, as Mueller assumes? While Mueller considered the Tmutorokan thesis based on two Kievan sources, "basically false," the reviewers see it

<sup>12</sup>) Rudolf Mueller, *Zum Problem des hierarchischen Status und der jurisdiktionalen Anhängigkeit der russischen Kirche vor 1939*. (Köln, 1959).

<sup>13</sup>) See G. G. Litavrin's two chapters on Byzantine-Russian relations in: A. P. Kazhdan, *Istoriia Vizantii*, Vol. V, I, 235 (Moscow, 1967). See also review by P. Alexander in *Slavic Review* (September 1971). Pp. 369-641.

as "less persuasive." This amounts to their unwillingness to accept Mueller in toto.<sup>14</sup> May the reader judge for himself.

Now I should like to turn to another question — *Is the Kievan Church to be seen as a pro-Latin "Universal Church" or as a regular part of the Universal Church?* The reviewers, by having put the Kievan "Church Universal" in quotes suggest that the Church of Rus' was hardly universal, rather "pro-Latin." They try to prove "Latin proclivity" of the Kievan Church (from her very beginning) as well as a lack of individualism.

The reviewer's renouncement of Kiev Church individuality is a result, I suspect, of their unwillingness to consider the history of the Antes who were the spiritual ancestors of Rus' who acquired their moral values from the Iranians and from the Greeks. These adapted virtues were enriched by Christianity and were manifested and presented through Kievan Christianity. Does history know any better combination of human virtues which contributed to the individuality of the Rus' nation? Also, the first part of the problem must be answered only in the affirmative, for the Kievan Church, being autocephalic, was indeed a part of the Universal Church prior to and after the schism of 1054. The Patriarch of Rome was accepted as St. Peter's successor and the Primate, although without administrative superiority, was accepted as the religious leader over Kiev. The Church of Rus' was not under any obligation to follow Byzantium in the schism of the Universal Church. The reviewers incorrectly assume that the continuity of secular relations by Volodymyr with the Papacy produced a Latin Proclivity." In my book I explained the nature of these relations after 989. The reviewers' statement remains a puzzle to me: "Rome played a major role in the first Russian hierarchy." First of all, there is no such statement in my book. Since this is not the only error, I suspect that the reviewers do not possess a sufficient knowledge of Ukrainian necessary for reviewing a scientific work.<sup>15</sup>

The pro-Latin proclivities also affect the participation of Rus' in an anti-Tatar league, organized by the Pope. They also effect the marriage of Rus' princesses to Latin-rite rulers. This indicates the degree of tolerance practiced in Kiev. Kiev's independence from

<sup>14</sup> M. Mueller reviewing my book in *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*, Vol. XVII, No. 2, takes all the advantages of the "ex cathedra" style: "*Ich halte diese Auffassung für grundfalsch. Ich brauche hier ausführlich nicht zu begründen, denn ich habe sie ausführlich begründen.*" Despite Mueller's dogmatic pretense, his weak "Byzantine thesis" is refuted by existing Kievan sources.

<sup>15</sup> Here are just a few examples of the reviewers' misquotations and their inadequate command of Ukrainian: "By the end of metropolitan Mykhail all the bishops were Greeks..." (p. 540); "Metropolitan Peter shifted to Catholicism" (p. 606); "Drag nach Osten of Otto III" (p. 248); Chubaty simply asserts... "that Cyril II was a Suzdalian" (p. 627); 'Chubaty suggests that an anti-Latin Metropolitan Cyril should not have great sentiment for Kiev" (p. 650). Many of these misquotations do create an impression of my being wrong. No such statements as quoted are in my book.

Rome, on the other hand, can be demonstrated by such acts as the expulsion of intolerant Franciscan monks from Kiev (1223) and in King Danylo's reason for severing the union with Rome. Before suspecting "Latin proclivities" sympathies, the reviewers ought to have first read my description of the invasion of Constantinople by Latins in 1204 and the subsequent Western policy toward the East. It is true that Kiev, in most cases, practiced religious tolerance to a greater degree than Rome or Byzantium. In addition to numerous intermarriages one should remember that, for instance, in *Pechersky Monastery* there were foreign monks. These included Hungarians, Syrians, and others.

Finally, a few comments are necessary regarding the reviewers' overstressing of "*the case of factual inaccuracy*." (p. 365). For the sake of dramatization they ask: "*or that Russia used the partition of Poland to suppress Catholicism in the Ukraine?*" By questioning this and other similar statements, the reviewers intimate that this was not true. I would expect them to know enough Russian history to be willing to admit what happened to the Ukrainian and Byelorussian Catholic churches under Russian occupation after the second and third partition of Poland: the Uniate Church had been totally destroyed. In 1794, the Russian government ordered the dismantlement of the hierarchical structure of the Uniate Church. The Metropolitan, Theodosius Rostotsky, was removed from his office and exiled to St. Petersburg. He died there in 1807. Tsar Nicholas I, after the liberal Alexander I, ordered the complete liquidation of the Uniate Church (1839). All Eastern-rite Catholic Ukrainians living in Russia were forcefully converted to the Russian Orthodox church. Opposing clergy and laymen were deported by the hundreds to Siberia. Eastern Catholicism in Russia was formally outlawed. The Latin-rite Catholics (mostly Poles), however, were not affected. The last Ukrainian Catholic Diocese of Cholm (on the territory of the Polish kingdom) was ordered to convert to Russian Orthodoxy (1874). This was accomplished through bloody persecutions. The events of 1905, including the "October Manifesto," did not produce a relaxation of laws against the Ukrainian Uniate Church. She was still outlawed. Until 1945, Ukrainian Catholicism was saved only in Western and Carpathian Ukraine, which were parts of Austro-Hungary. After the incorporation of those two provinces into the Soviet Union after the WW II, the final blow, the most destructive force, for Ukrainian Catholicism came in 1945. The Ukrainian Catholic Church was outlawed in the entire Soviet Union. All institutions were transferred as possessions of the Russian Orthodox Church. The final extermination of Ukrainian Catholicism by Red Moscow was accomplished in the same way as before by Tsarist Petersburg.

The famous historian of East European church history, Professor Amman, did try to detect the source of such a consequent brutal Russian animosity toward Ukrainian Catholicism. In his book he

explains it by the following statement: "There was a deep current of Russian nationalism, which Orthodoxy held as an essential component of Russianism. The Uniats were treated as brothers who, to the detriment of their fatherland, turned away. In the case of such kind of peoples the Union should be equalized with treason, to the extermination of which all means were permitted."<sup>16</sup> This is a scientific explanation of a real Russian specialist. Surely, one can be "emotionally" dedicated to the truth, but also one may remain "un-emotional" in avoiding the truth. Why my reviewers chose the latter approach will remain a mystery.

This same attitude prevails in their reasoning concerning "the problem of factual inaccuracy," as reflected in another "question": "*Does fishing support collectivism, as Chubaty maintains in an attack on Muscovy.*" p. 365). This incomplete quotation, as it is used, is by itself meaningless, except when attempting to create another "suspicion." The complete sentence is: "The inhabitants of northern annexes living in the zone of intact forests provided supplies for life at first by gamehunting and fishing... this demanded collective action directed by one leader... Therefore among the inhabitants of northern areas there developed an inclination toward collectivism." (p. 159). Obviously there is no connotation of "another attack on Muscovy," except in the reviewers' imagination, for a collective farm, or for that matter, individual farming, does not demand value judgment. But the reviewers, as "Russian specialists in history" know, or at least should know, that the socio-economic life of Russian peasants during the centuries developed a special Muscovite-Russian institution of collective farming called *Mir*.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>16</sup>) A. H. Amman, *Abriß der Ostlawischen Kirchengeschichte*. Wien, 1950, p. 446.

<sup>17</sup>) D. J. Male, *Russian Peasant Organization Before Collectivisation* (Cambridge U. P., 1971).

## 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).

Documents from Ukraine**YEVHEN SVERSTYUK'S STATEMENT AT HIS TRIAL**

*At a crucial moment of my life I am reviewing my past, and I see in it neither any notable achievements on the level of my expectations nor any failures and violations of the law. I have lived the better part of my life constantly desiring to reach the summits of true creativity in the hope that these summits were near at hand, but the ironic words of the poet intrude like a premature verdict:*

**I have harvested a sheaf of cares  
And ground out two handfuls' worth of life.**

*These two handfuls of life are a score of psychological and literary articles and the years of my teaching and journalistic work on a respectable level of conscience. The irony of the verdict is that I have somehow bypassed all those roads that were supposed to lead me into a promising future; and now I stand in front of another kind of future.*

*As usual, the investigation was not interested in all these complications; it was interested only in the deviations and excesses that could be interpreted as crimes against the state. In the course of over a year the investigation concerned itself with my secret and hostile acts and, unable to find any, decided that my literary activity was hostile and thereby cast a shadow of criminality over it.*

*I will not speak about matters that clung to me by accident, like that tragicomic project "The Communist Program" or the clammy evidence of my political "diagnosticians." All this the clean waves of life will sweep from memory, and I already do not believe that anyone can take such things seriously, things such as the mechanical props with which the previous investigation fortified its standard version about the evil, narrow-minded and dull-witted creature who systematically tried to undermine the social and national order because he wanted to introduce a capitalist one.*

*I would rather pass over this bugbear in silence and consider the heart of the charges against me. I do not think that I have ever been in danger of being two-faced or of wearing a comfortable mask. On the contrary, as far as I can make out, I am being criticised for my frankness, for the severity of my critical observations, for their inappropriateness in the present political climate, and for their exploitation by hostile propaganda. All these are facts, real and dramatic facts. These facts arise from my dramatic position in the contemporary literary process. I remain a minor but, until now, a*

living figure in this process; my name, however, disappears from all publications, as though I were secretly exorcised. This name is then adroitly taken up by Western bourgeois propaganda. I am caught between two fires and, instead of working to the utmost capacity for the spiritual development of our society, I become a helpless victim in the hazardous struggle between ideologies. I cannot extricate myself from this situation and see only one honourable solution: to descend silently from the heady summits into the depths of positive, even though anonymous, work. But this solution is closed to me.

It is difficult for me to determine my share of personal guilt in this. There are certain forces that are stronger than we are. They sweep a man out on the waves of time, and if he does not want to sink to the bottom, he must swim out to meet the unknown. But he does not want to sink: the force of an artistic calling is as unconquerable and unfettered as the force of the growth and development of all living things.

I have had the rare fortune to know and work with people of exceptional talent and magnanimity of spirit, people such as I had formerly only read about in books. To serve in the interests of lofty cultural and social ideals and to disdain one's own interests is to be fortunate indeed. To be fortunate is to recognize the importance and austerity of great words — truth, honour, duty — of words which form moral and ethnical foundations, the very essence of my world view. Honour defended with blood, dignity as a prerequisite of life, truth, aspired to with the fearlessness of an explorer without any guarantee of safe return — such are the ideas on which I was raised and which I desired to live up to, breaking out of the closed circle of empty words. Against the tide of the devaluation of ethnical values, I will struggle with everything that has given me life for these principles and for the pleasure of self-respect. If this should prove to be too little, I will struggle with what is left.

When at the start of the 60's we supported with enthusiasm and the candour of youth the popular slogans of personal responsibility for everything that happens around us, slogans of courage and involvement in literary and social life, I never imagined that in ten years I would speak about all this in court. To be frank, even now I do not believe in the seriousness of today's criminal accusations concerning the writing of literary criticism, and, in the course of a year, I have not sensed any such seriousness in the investigation itself. Such criminal tags as "with hostile intent" or "with intent to undermine Soviet rule" have always been spoken in a kind of ashamed uncertainty in regard to such works as "Cathedral in Scaffolding," "On Mother's Day," and "Ivan Kotlyarevsky Is Laughing."

True, it is difficult to speak a common language with the investigation as far as literary matters are concerned; the creative artist is always interested in maximum freedom, in order that everything should grow and soar unrestrainedly, boldly, and a little restlessly.

*But the organs of control are always interested to see that everything is quiet. I think that these are eternally parallel roads which are not meant to cross each other.*

*I cannot accept the unnatural interpretation of my writings as defamatory. If this were so, I would voluntarily renounce them and lose any moral justification to write. I cannot comprehend a criminal indictment which bases itself on not understanding what I have written or on an obvious intent not to understand it correctly. In the meantime I still have not received any critical evaluation of my articles. Let these evaluations be as severe as possible, but let them also be grounded in scholarly scruple and logic. I cannot acquiesce to criminal charges against me for elementary literary contacts, for showing my article to such and such a person or after such and such an event before it was sent to the editors of the journal. How was I to know that the article would be considered anti-Soviet after four or five years? I wrote it in the spirit of contemporary journalism and acted on the conviction that it was my right to have it published in a journal or else receive a competent critique of it. Neither the first nor the second took place. I lost interest in the article as well as control over it; its fate was already being decided independently of me.*

*The road of progress ahead of us is not easy, either technologically or socially, morally and ethically. In comparison with the great and unavoidable problems which await our minds and hands, the question of my criminal case is an episodic and third-rate affair. One can mislabel it as a "violation of law" or one can interpret it as taking advantage of the rights and voluntary duties within the limits of the law, perhaps even in the interest of strengthening the authority of the law. For the law, as I understand it, gains authority not when one fears to approach its boundaries, but when it grants the social rights to work to the limit of one's capacities.*

*The previous investigation warned me that I was acting on the edge of the law. Well, what is to be done? This is the troublesome side of my profession. In the area of literary criticism the "golden mean" is the easiest road to material comforts. But it leads downward, not up. Yet every new generation from time immemorial has striven by unknown roads toward new heights. In this process some fall, break their necks, lose their strength; but such is the stern logic of the life struggle that is assigned to mankind.*

*I do not feel guilty before my conscience and before the law. And as to whether or not I have risen, even for a moment, to the demands of the time and the demands of duty, let the court of the people judge, and then the court of history.*

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## UKRAINIANS IN WORLD LITERATURE

# CANADIAN AND ARGENTINE-BRASILIAN NOVELS ON UKRAINIAN PIONEERS

By J. B. RUDNYČKYJ\*

The Ukrainian immigration to Canada and Argentine-Brasil started as a mass phenomenon in the 1890's and continued until World War I. This was the so-called 'first wave' of Ukrainian settlers in the above-named countries. Its significance was manifested not only by populating the unsettled areas of both the Americas and by a forthcoming development of the economic and cultural life of the newly acquired territories, but also by the inspiration and stimulation of literary works in the Ukrainian language dealing with the first steps in the new environment where, according to one folksong:

I found here not a path, not a trail,  
But just woods and water.  
Whichever way I looked  
I saw a strange land.

There was not a path nor a trail,  
But a large tract of woods.  
As far as I could see  
I saw a new land.<sup>1</sup>

The most significant prose works in this respect were two novels, one written in Canada and the other in Brasil, the latter with reference to the Argentinian province of Misiones, neighbouring on the Brazilian estado do Paraná. Both novels deal with the life of the first pioneers in the respective areas of settlement, and both, besides their documentary and historical value, have a literary significance as well.

The Canadian novel is entitled *Syny zemli (Sons of the Soil)*.<sup>2</sup> It is the work of a teacher of Alberta, Mr. Illia Kyriak, who came to

\*) Paper, read at the 7th Congress of the International Association for Comparative Literature on August 17th, 1973, in Ottawa, Canada. Prof. J. B. Rudnycky attended previous congresses of this Association as well; his paper on "Africa in Life and Work of Lesia Ukrainka," delivered at the 6th Congress of the IACL at Bordeaux, in 1970, was published in our journal (No. 1 1972).

Editor

1) Yurchak, Mrs. W. "After Coming to Canada," *Ukrainian-Canadian Folklore: Texts in English Translation*; (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences) Vol. 7 (5), p. 218.

2) Kyriak, Illia. *Sons of the Soil* (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1959) 303 pages.

Canada in 1906 and died in Edmonton in 1955. The first volume of *Syny zemli* appeared in 1939; it was followed by the second volume in 1940 and the third in 1945, totaling 1,100 pages with one map. Unlike the Argentine-Brasilian novel, *Na stepu chervonoji zemli* (*On the Steppe of the Red Soil*) by Volodar Buzhenko<sup>3</sup> (Reverend V. Zin'ko), published in Prudentopolis in 1962, Kyriak's novel was translated into one of the official languages of Canada and has been available in an English version since 1959. Moreover, this book is now being reprinted in its second edition in Winnipeg (volume one appeared in 1973).

In the following, a comparison of Kyriak's and Buzhenko's novels will be offered with emphasis on similarities (parallelism) and differences in both topic and style. It should be mentioned at the very beginning that the realistic peasant novel has a long tradition in Ukrainian literature. Taras Shevchenko, Maria Markovych, Pantelejmon Kulish, Ivan Nechuj-Levyckyj, Opanas Rudchenko (Myrnyj), Ivan Franko, Ol'ha Kobyljanska, and many other writers firmly established this literary *genre* in the history of Ukrainian letters. No wonder that the American writers followed their pattern and transposed their tradition on the soil of the new continents. If one would like to make analogies, then Kyriak would be the closest to Ivan Nechuj-Levyckyj, and Buzhenko to Hryhorij Kvitka-Osnovjanyenko. This analogy is evidenced mainly in the literary approach to the topic, an attitude to the main characters, and the literary style of the authors under consideration.

Leaving aside the details of comparison of Kyriak and Buzhenko's novels with those of the Old Country writers, I would like to concentrate here on a discussion of the similarities and differences of both American writers.

As far as the theme of both novels is concerned, it is the same. We are witnessing the arrival of newcomers to Canada and Argentina at approximately the end of the nineteenth century. They are starting a new life under climatic conditions different from those of Europe. Their harsh pioneering life is analogous, their adherence to Old Country traditions and language is remarkable, their religious outlook and aspirations are the same, and their successes and failures in building up a new life are similar. Moreover, in both novels a nostalgic tone, a longing for the Old Country, is quite evident. The process of taking root in the new land is depicted in both novels with great reality.

The forms are similar. Both are written in popular Ukrainian, both reveal folkloristic features, both are presented in a narrative style interwoven with dialogues, monologues, rhetoric, questions, etc.

On the ideological side the following similarities of both novels are to be mentioned. There has been a deep, spontaneous, almost mystic

<sup>3</sup>) Buzhenko, Volodar (Reverend V. Zin'ko). *Na stepu chervonoji zemli* (*On the Steppe of the Red Soil*) (Prudentopolis, 1962) 175 pages.

attachment to the soil. This element was instrumental in the great 'exodus' of these people from Ukraine. Promises of acres of 'free land' in Canada or South America encouraged peasants to emigrate and to look for a new homeland overseas. Old Hryhorij Workun put it in the following simple monologue:

I loved you and gave all my best to you — my youth, my strength, my life. There is not a single spot on which my foot would not step, no spot which would not be touched with my hand.<sup>4</sup>

The link with the soil is sacred, it is identical with the link with God himself. When Mykhailo and Teklya are leaving Dalesheva for Argentina their parish priest expresses his blessing with an inclusion of the following statement:

Wherever you go in this world, everywhere is our God and all the earth belongs to Him. Therefore never forget Him.<sup>5</sup>

Not without significance in this respect are the titles of both books, bearing stress on the soil rather than on any other factor of human life. Having an age-long agricultural tradition, Ukrainian peasants appreciate an opportunity to work on the soil and to acquire it for cultivation and for the building of their future. The land-hungry peasantry of Eastern Europe was, on the other hand, the best human element for settling the Canadian West as well as for the Argentinian Northwest. The newcomers naturally appreciated the land availability in the new areas of human expansion and reacted very favourably to the opportunities given by the respective governments in North and South America. All this is realistically presented in both novels; the reader goes step by step with the main characters in the "opening" of the wilderness, witnesses their difficulties and failures, their struggles, and the final success in the "opening of the prairies" in Canada and South America.

Another common denominator of both novels is their religious aspect, expressed in a sincere attachment to the "native" Church (in both cases the Uniate Greek-Catholic denomination) which is deeply rooted in their souls. The clerical status of Volodar Buzhenko (Reverend Vasyl Zin'ko) of the Brazilian Order of Saint Basil — OSBM — is an influential factor in many passages of his book. A subconscious and a conscious devotion to the Trinity of the Christian God, as the supreme and decisive supernatural Being, is quite understandable. "Without God, no step from or to the threshold" says the Ukrainian proverb. Father Zin'ko is an ultra-believer. His explanation of various situations in human life and in the fate of his "heroes" is based entirely on the Christian philosophy with its love of the neighbour-brother, its attitudes toward charity, its strong tie to the rites and Church traditions.

Like Buzhenko, Kyriak also lays great stress on the religion and

4) Kyriak, Illia. *Sons of the Soil*, Vol. 1, p. 13.

5) Buzhenko, Volodar. *On the Steppe of the Red Soil*, p. 19.

faith of his characters. It is evident in his whole work. On several occasions he underlines the faithfulness of the people to their Church, immunity to denominational "erosion," and a deep Christian morale of his "heroes" in life.

On St. Dimitri's Day, Helena Workun decided to celebrate with a festival, because the village from which she came recognized St. Dimitri as its patron saint. On this holiday they put on a *khram* or a patron saint's feast. To this *khram* they invited the people from another village . . . It was a *khram* of this kind that Helena wanted to hold in her newly-adopted homeland . . .<sup>6</sup>

The transplanted religious and ecclesiastical traditions are evident in both novels. Thus, Christmas is observed very similarly to that in the Old Country. Kyriak's Christmas is especially solemn:

It is hard to conceive of a true Christian spending Christmas without an all-pervading spirit of peace and goodwill. It is a time even invalids on their sick beds turn their thoughts to friendship and charity, and for the time being forget their sufferings in a renewed faith in our Lord and Saviour.

"Today even our cattle feel happier than they usually do," commented Helena (Workun), as she scooped some *kutia* from a bowl for Workun to take out to the oxen and the cow, so that they should also know that this was a great holiday.

And, in truth, the blessing of the Lord rested on Workun's home . . .<sup>7</sup>

In the Epilogue, Workun's funeral lasted all day. There was Holy Liturgy in the morning and Requiem service after that . . . etc., etc.<sup>8</sup>

The third main characteristic common to both novels is the family cohesiveness, manifested in strong ties between man and wife (the Workuns, Dubs, and other families in Kyriak's novel; Mykhailo and Teklya in Buzhenko's). Furthermore, the very strong family devotion is characterized in the sons and daughters, grandsons and granddaughters.

Kyriak opens his novel by confronting the old Workun with his granddaughter, Sofia, who, in a loving way, takes care of her grandfather, brings him food, warm clothing, etc. Ideal family relations predominate in both novels; parents are living with their children in a very close relationship. There is harmony, love, and devotion on each side and, in effect, success in building up a new life in a new country.

In a funeral speech Andrew T. Wakar spoke about his grandfather, Hryhorij Workun:

In rain or shine, in poverty or in wealth, they maintained their equanimity and a sense of proportion, thinking not of themselves

<sup>6</sup>) Kyriak, Illia. *Sons of the Soil*, Vol. 1, p. 95.

<sup>7</sup>) Ibid., pp. 135-6.

<sup>8</sup>) Ibid., p. 301.

but of their children for whom they were building their homes in the wilderness.<sup>9</sup>

When Maria decides to marry Ivan Poshtar, the widower, she contemplates:

Once a year she would put on a dinner, a *pominky*, in remembrance of the dear Ol'ha so that people would not say she was usurping Ol'ha's place in the household.<sup>10</sup>

Common to both works are also customs, morals, and industriousness, as well as the Ukrainian language and style.

Nevertheless, there are some differences in the contents of these novels, stemming from the conditions of life in North and South America, the different environments, climates, flora and fauna, socio-cultural, linguistic and political milieux on both sides of the equator.

Striking differences are also noticeable in the composition of both novels. While Kyriak goes in *medias res* at once, starting his novel with life in Canada, and following the progress from the time of the arrival of a group of Ukrainian peasant families in Canada before 1905, Buzhenko begins his novel with the description of the Old Country life of Mykhailo and Teklya, their voyage across the ocean, their arrival in South America, and their pioneering in Missiones. Despite its broader scope, the latter novel is structurally more simplified than that of Kyriak's. The author condenses his plot into 175 pages, whereas Kyriak extends his presentation of the theme to three volumes.

There are several Canadianisms in Kyriak's language and style, and South-Americanisms exist in Buzhenko's work.

#### Examples

##### Canadianisms:

<i>bos</i> 'boss'	<i>rancher</i> 'rancher'
<i>magus</i> 'mocassin'	<i>farma</i> 'farm',
<i>sipiar</i> 'C.P.R. (railway)'	
<i>sipiars'ka sekcia</i> 'C.P.R. section'	
<i>Bob</i> 'Bob' (name),	
<i>Gudman</i> 'Goodman' (surname),	
<i>etc.</i>	

##### South-Americanisms:

*brasileiro* 'Brazilian'  
*celamigo* 'friend'  
*mata-kosida* 'tea'  
*dzjerba* 'green tea'  
*Buinos* 'Buenos (Aires)'  
*etc.*

One of the striking differences between Kyriak and Buzhenko is

<sup>9</sup>) Ibid., p. 302.

<sup>10</sup>) Ibid., p. 296.

the authenticity, or historicity, of their characters. The former states explicitly:

The novel, *Sons of the Soil*, is based on narratives of many persons, Ukrainian pioneers in Canada, who came here from Ukraine before 1905. All persons named in the novel are fictitious; for this reason their behaviour does not characterize any one of those who happened, or happen, to have the same surnames.<sup>11</sup>

Thus Workun, Poshtar, Dub, and others are invented names, given by the author to his characters. Nonetheless, the reality of their behaviour, their life, their failures and successes are taken from "nature." Kyriak presented his heroes as a synthesis of all similar characters, thus showing types of Ukrainian pioneers in Alberta. These are typical not only for that province, but for all other Canadian provinces, wherever the Ukrainians settled. In this respect Kyriak continues the method of the Old Country Ukrainian writers, being closest to Nechuj-Levyckyj with his peasant types in *Nad Chornym Morem*, *Mykola Dzeria*, etc. Unlike Kyriak, Buzhenko individualizes his characters, being as close as possible to the real persons whom he knew, interviewed, or observed personally, on various occasions. In an interview with this writer on May 8, 1973, in Curitiba, he stated that all his literary characters have been taken from real life, and all events depicted as they really happened in Argentina or Brasil. The names were kept without a change with but one exception: the name of the Polish Priest was changed "in order not to embarrass anyone in Missiones." In other words, Buzhenko adheres to the realistic method of presentation of his personages; he observes, takes notice of the actual happenings, and depicts them in the traditional manner of such writers as Kvitka-Osnovjanenko, Marko Vovchok, and other Ukrainian prosaists of the second half of the nineteenth century.

In both cases we are witnessing the transposition of methods of presentation and topical innovation exclusively. There is no "break up" or "break away" from the traditional Ukrainian creative method in approach, composition, language, and style. The only 'rupture' which could be considered here would be the theme, the *couleur local* of Canada and South America, some stylistic and lexical innovations, otherwise unknown to the Old Country prosaists of the nineteenth century.

\* \* \*

I would like to conclude my paper with some general remarks regarding two basic problems which have already been raised at this Congress. One concerns the question of "breaking away" or "rupture" of the contemporary American literatures from the traditional Old Country literatures. In my opinion there are two main aspects of it.

<sup>11</sup>) Ibid., p. 397.

Political decolonization (state emancipation) of the respective nations as American, Brazilian, Argentinian, etc., closely followed by literary emancipation, i. e. by creation of new literatures which go as independent literatures into the history of the world letters. This literary emancipation is contrasted by literatures of the immigrant groups in both Americas: German, Ukrainian, Polish, Italian, Icelandic, etc. These literatures belong to the main *corpus* of letters of the respective nations in Europe or elsewhere and cannot be considered "independent" on the same level as American national literatures of independent nations.

On the other hand, the existence of the Ukrainian Canadian, or Ukrainian Brazilian literature, along with such letters as Teuto-Brazilian, Italo-Argentinian, etc., enriches the respective cultures and should be recognized by the respective American governments as "minority," "unofficial," "regional," or other literatures. The beginning in this respect has been made by the Canadian government's proclaiming the "multicultural policy" in 1971. Naturally, if other American countries would follow the Canadian pattern, their "minority literatures" would flourish, thus enriching the treasury of each national literature on the American Continent.

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**Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain, Ltd.,**  
**49, Linden Gardens, London, W2 4HG**  
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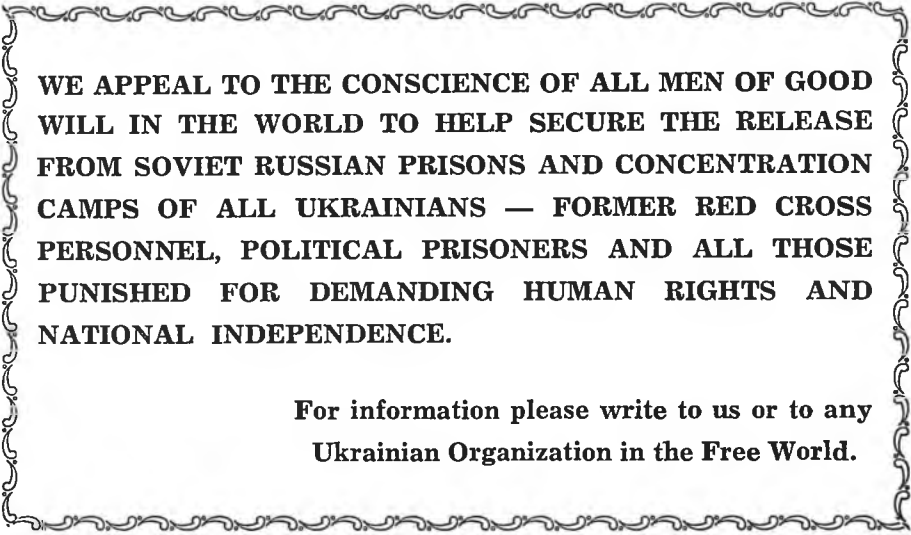
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## NATIONAL LIBERATIONAL STRUGGLE IN THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE

*By Yaroslav STETSKO*

Common to all of us here today is the endeavour to find some way out of the critical situation in which not only the subjugated nations in the Russian Empire have found themselves, but also the free nations of the world. It has been said that humanity is confronted with the possibility of being destroyed by thermo-nuclear war. But does such a danger really exist? Is there really no other way out than by capitulation before tyrants through appeasement and *detente* at the cost of hundreds of millions of subjugated people and dozens of enslaved nations in the Russian Empire?

Does there not really exist another superpower, one that has gone unnoticed but one which plays a decisive role in the developments that are irrevocably coming upon us? This superpower possesses an element that is more important than material and technological achievement; namely, it possesses the spiritual element. And such a spiritual superpower is that of the subjugated peoples and nations in the Russian Empire and under the communist yoke who desire freedom and justice and who are ready to sacrifice everything material, even their own lives, in order to reach that goal. It is this reality, this real factor of world politics which will decide the future of mankind.

Thus we raise today as the central political problem of our time the rights of nations, and the struggle for national liberation, because the human rights of individuals have never been realized unless the precondition of national independence has been realized. We support the movement for human rights, but the ideas of this movement will not be attained in the nationally subjugated countries in the Russian Empire until they themselves can institute such ideas in their own sovereign states. Thus, liberation nationalism, as opposed to imperialism, has become the symbol and banner of our age.

"Without nationalism there is no progress," write the freedom fighters in our native lands.

And the Russian dissident writer, Alexander Solzhenytsin, in his long letter to the Soviet leaders, asks them to abandon communism as an alien, unworkable political philosophy, dismantle the USSR, and focus on developing Russia proper as a separate state. "Nationalism," he writes, "was declared by your ideology as already dead in 1848. But is it possible to find today a greater power in the world than nationalism?"

And a young Ukrainian underground author writes: "The national idea exists and will continue to exist. The national idea encompasses countless other ideas common to mankind. A dedication to it leads into the most secret depths of other social and spiritual needs."

The late Vasyl Symonenko, a Ukrainian poet, probably killed by the KGB 10 years ago at the age of 29, wrote: "My nation exists. My nation will always exist. No one can destroy my nation."

A young Estonian prisoner in Mordovia proudly says, "Do you know that Estonia is 1000 years old? Once, there were only 60 Estonians there, yet Estonia has survived."

And Ali Khashahulhov, a North Caucasian sentenced as a young boy for anti-Russian activities, says, "If I knew that my language would die tomorrow, I would die today."

These words are testimonials of the total bankruptcy of Soviet Communism. The entire class theory, Marxism, Sovietism, with its theory of the traditionless "Soviet" people, the world proletariat, the withering away of nations, the class struggle — all these are just so much useless baggage.

And these ideas have been rejected by the youth in these countries. The young people have revived, have renewed themselves and gained new life from the great idea of nationalism. "A nation," writes one dissident, "is a temple, whose desecration constitutes the greatest of crimes... Denationalization is deheroization... de-Christianization, collectivization, colonialist industrialization, mass resettlements from village to city." And these constitute a destruction unprecedented in the history of a nation, a destruction "whose catastrophic results have not yet been fully revealed."

These words summarize the position of the young generation in these countries so far as its program and outlook on the world are concerned. It is deeply rooted in traditional national spirituality and these roots determine the quality and substance of freedom toward which the young fighters of the subjugated nations aspire. The national struggle is not being waged on the basis of philosophical materialism, but on its very opposite. In describing to you the ideals of these young people, I am not using my own words, but quoting those of the representatives of the young generation, what they write and what they speak. For some of them I am not even able to use their names because a few have still managed to escape arrest.

This is what the young generation believes and teaches: "God has created man... When there is no God, there are no people... The basis of morality is the idea of God and the immortality of the soul... Spiritual life is the only genuine life... and the Church, the bearer of the spirit, must be preserved"... The young generation has rejected Marxist materialism; it has seen that only ethics motivated by religion has a lasting foundation. It is not by chance that one underground author in Ukraine writes: "We shall build the holy cathedral, send our spirit to heaven, and it will stand for centuries... How

much did our ancestors have to sacrifice while inculcating in their children human ideas, beliefs, and the selfless love of truth and respect for the gods of their ancestors..."

"It is impossible," writes another young writer, "to imagine traditional cultural treasures outside the church... A struggle against the church means a struggle against culture... How many times was the nation saved only by the church?"

In the face of these and many similar revelations of the views of the young generation in the subjugated nations, are not the Sovietologists of most Western research institutions continually declaring their bankruptcy with their false and outmoded theses about the so-called "new" Communists and the so-called "Soviet" man?

In their literary, historical, philosophical, and sociological works the young persecuted authors uphold the traditions of their nations and their own separate way of life.

One author writes, "The past is our greatest treasure, a spiritual shield, a highly tested experience. An individual who has only the present is like a tree without roots."

Another author asserts, "Our nation did not follow the 'Older Brother.' It chose a difficult, thorny spiritual path, but **its own path.**"

"Spiritual slavery," says yet another author, "is the greatest national calamity; prosperity makes a man neither great nor happy. What does it all matter in comparison with freedom, with the life for which you strive, with the right to think! Wealth is to be found within ourselves, and not in money, property, or deeds. Conscience is the worst torturer."

Contradicting the thesis about the so-called Soviet fatherland, a spokesman for the young generation firmly declares: "One can choose one's friends and one's wife, but not one's fatherland... A human being has but one mother, or none at all."

After 40 years, these nations still hate the collective system which suppresses men's ego, individualism, and creative initiative, and transforms people into a flock, each one a "small cog," as one writer puts it. One of the young poets, presently in prison, writes: "And the soil became a torment for Ukraine..."

Valentyn Moroz, defender of national principles, traditionalism, and the religious foundations of culture, compares the town of Kosmach, one of the oldest centres of Ukrainian culture, to Babylon: that is, the organic, natural, and national concept of world organization to that of the fusing-of-nations concept. Megalopolis, he writes, effaces individuality and kills freedom.

And Latvian Knut Skuenis writes: "Art is created by those who have a free mind."

Yet truth does not triumph by itself. It triumphs when its carriers are ready to sacrifice their lives for it.

As Ivan Dzyuba said: "There are epochs when decisive battles are

fought in the sphere of social morality and public conduct, when even the elementary human dignity resisting brutal terror can become a revolutionary force. Our age also belong to such epochs..."

Valentyn Moroz continues: "It is possible to have great spiritual treasures, but they simply will not be noticed if they are not taken up by an heroically INFATUATED person and melted down in the furnace of his heroic infatuation..."

When Ivan Dzyuba issued a statement of repentance, Valentyn Moroz declared to the court, "Well, we shall fight. Just now when one has signed a statement of repentance, just now it is necessary for someone to give an EXAMPLE OF FIRMNESS... 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 — this is more difficult yet. And therefore we shall fight!"

As can be seen from the fact, the subjugated nations do possess those who believe in the idea of national liberation; they have the necessary apostles and carriers of such ideas. Events in the subjugated nations bear out the belief in nationalism as an unconquerable force and as an explosive, dynamic idea. A host of striking facts amply show this to be true.

For example, on November 5, 1968, Vasyl Makukh, the father of two children, a fighter in the UPA and the OUN, long-term prisoner in Russian prisons and concentration camps, burned himself alive in Kiev with the exclamation, "Long live free Ukraine!"

On January 20, 1969, the Czech student Jan Palach immolated himself in Prague while shouting, "It is better to die in flames than to live under the Russian colonial yoke."

On February 10, 1969, Ukrainian patriot Mykola Beryslavsky, 55, the father of three children, attempted self-immolation as a protest against Russification, an attempt for which he was sentenced to two and a half years of imprisonment.

On May 14, 1972, Lithuanian nationalist, student Romas Kalanta, immolated himself in Kaunas, Lithuania, with the exclamation, "Long live independent Lithuania."

The national idea is embodied in such concrete action, in direct struggle of the subjugated people in their native lands and even in the concentration camps, as for example, the much publicized hunger strike in Potma in March, 1972, in which Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Jewish, and other political prisoners participated; in street revolts and disturbances in Dnipropetrovsk and Dniprodzerzhynsk in 1972; in armed clashes of Georgian nationalists with Russian occupation detachments in Tiflis; and in armed clashes recently in Erivan, Armenia.

In June, 1971, a revolt broke out among the Kabardinians in the North Caucasus in the city of Nalchyk. In December, 1972, in Derbenti in Dagestan in the North Caucasus, armed kolkhoz workers forced the KGB to release the head of the kolkhoz who had given meat to

starving peasants. In June, 1971, in Tyraspol, Moldavian students demonstrated for two days for secession of Moldavia from the USSR and its annexation to Rumania. In 1972, disturbances between Jews and the KGB resulted in several deaths in Nalchyk.

In Estonia there appeared the renowned letter of the representatives of Estonian intellectuals defending the right of the Estonian people to independence, and threatening that the time will come when the tanks will not be marching on Prague and Bratislava, but on Moscow and Leningrad.

In Turkestan in May, 1969, Uzbeks shouting, "Russians get out of Uzbekistan," revolted in concentration camps. These disturbances spread across Tashkent and Bukhara. The famous struggle of the Crimean Tartars, defended by Ukrainian General Hryhorenko, is by now widely known throughout the world. The Armenian groups SHAND (In the Name of the Fatherland) and PAROS (Torch) fought in 1969 and 1970 for the independence and unity of Armenia, publishing periodicals and leaflets. Its members included students and workers.

Mass protests against Russification and religious persecution recently took place in Kaunas, Lithuania, as well. In Byelorussia the writer Bykov strongly protested the Russification of that country, and Byelorussian youth raised its voice in protest. An underground organization was founded by the Latvians in 1962, called the Baltic Federation. Its aim was to fight for the independence of the Baltic nations and to counteract the Russian occupants jointly.

In Bulgaria and Rumania national resistance is constantly growing. In Hungary there were new student disturbances in 1973. In Poland a revolt by workers in 1971 was responsible for the toppling of Gomulka.

Is it possible to stop the disintegration of world empires for any conceivable reason whatsoever at the frontiers of the totalitarian, anti-religious Russian empire? The fundamental contradictions of the empire and the system are realized and felt by the subjugated nations every day. Their people are no longer illiterate but, on the contrary, everyone is educated and all the more so as these captive nations, such as Georgia, Ukraine, Lithuania, Turkestan, Armenia, and others are in possession of ancient, thousand-year-old cultures. Does the constant Soviet and communist propaganda not remind even an elementary school pupil in Byelorussia, for example, or Azerbaijan, in Estonia or Latvia, of the complete contradiction between windy communist rhetoric and reality?

It is no wonder that the official ideology has failed to stem the tide of nationalist forces. A recent Jewish emigrant from the USSR writes: "One of the major questions facing us is the national question. The national forces are breaking the communist empire apart."

Even Brezhnev denounces so-called "local patriotism" and relates it to "nationalism" in the economic sphere. The party secretaries of



Georgia, Ukraine, Lithuania, Latvia, Uzbekistan, Armenia, and other pseudo-republics were all removed from their posts because they had not been successful in fighting nationalism.

It must be stated that the national liberation movements of the subjugated nations are popular movements in which an active part is taken not only by students and intellectuals, but also by workers and collective farmers.

According to Andrei Amalrik, out of the 134 signatures appearing under one Kiev protest letter in defence of political prisoners, 25% were those of workers from the Kiev factories.

The so-called *samizdat* underground publishing organs from the subjugated countries are also proof of this. The *Ukrainian Herald*, the *Exodus*, dealing with Jewish affairs, the *Lithuanian Herald* and similar publications in Armenia, Georgia, Turkestan, and Latvia are all represented by popular movements.

There are disturbances among the peasant youth, as confirmed by the Soviet press, while revolutionary attitudes become rampant among former political prisoners. In the Chernihiv region collective farmers refused to give up their private plots of land, winning an increase in their size. In some state farms of the Kazakh Republic the workers systematically reduced their time of work. In some Ukrainian regions the miners forced the management to increase their wages. In Dniprodzerzhinsk the workers of a metallurgical plant protested against the increase of work norms. Beginning in 1956 and up to 1974 there have been countless such examples. What is the heart of the matter?

The decisive factor, it must be emphasized, is that various social strata within the subjugated nations have joined in the struggle. The new slogan is not "land and freedom" but "sovereign rule, land and freedom."

Here it must be emphasized that mere political self determination is not appropriate as a plan of mobilization for the subjugated peoples. The only rallying cry is national independence and complete separation from Russia. There is no other alternative. The disintegration of the empire and the re-establishment of independent national democratic states is the paramount goal.

The greatest achievement of our liberation struggle and a guarantee of our victory is the fact that the struggle for the soul of the subjugated nations was taken up by the young generation which was born mostly of parents who had grown up under the Bolshevik occupation. For this reason it will be impossible to crush national aspirations for, as a rule, the revolution of soldiers is preceded by the revolution of poets and the creators of spiritual values.

But some will still ask, "Is revolution really possible?"

In the thermonuclear and ideological age the most timely revolutionary concept is the liberation insurgent concept, which will destroy the empire and the system from within. In the fall of 1970, for

example, manoeuvres of MVD forces took place near Moscow under the slogan of "Suppression of uprisings in concentration camps."

The uprisings in concentration camps of Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Turkestanian, Georgian, Armenian, Byelorussian, and other political prisoners in 1953-59, the disturbances and revolutionary upheavals in East Germany, Hungary, Poland, Czechia, and Slovakia, the nation-wide insurrection in Ukraine from 1942 to 1953, the guerilla warfare in Lithuania, all these have established the fact that revolutionary struggle is possible, even in the totalitarian Russian imperialistic system. The courageous acts of Croatian nationalists have exposed the weakness of Yugoslavia as an artificial, forced, colonial structure in Europe.

Simultaneous and co-ordinated revolutionary uprisings of the subjugated peoples are the surest road to liberation. The occupational regime will be powerless when confronted with them, for it will not be able to use nuclear arms, this being self-destructive. Moreover, the administrative machinery itself is infiltrated by anti-imperial and anti-communist elements. The Soviet army is composed not only of Russians, but also of soldiers from the subjugated countries; while the satellite armies, as shown by the Hungarian Revolution, the disturbances in Poland, and the events in Czechia and Slovakia, will not take a stand against their own rebelling compatriots, but, on the contrary, will themselves rise against the occupant. Moreover, the soldiers of the Soviet Army, which is based on universal, compulsory military service, are tightly bound to their nations, living by the same ideals as their parents and countrymen.

It is not an isolated incident that four years ago, on August 31, 1970, in a military court of the Baltic Military District, there ended a trial of an underground organization inside the Red Army which had its branches in Poland, Azerbaijan, and other places.

The resonance of the national liberation struggle of the subjugated nations will be heard in the Armed Forces. Neither the KGB nor the Party is able to protect it against this, since the soldiers of the Soviet Army are an inseparable part of the nations from which they come. It was not a chance occurrence that in the first half of 1973 more than 15,000 young Ukrainians of military age were thrown into punitive detachments along the Sino-Soviet border.

The Russian usurpers are trying to counteract the liberation nationalism of the captive nations in various ways: by throwing hundreds of thousands of patriots and cultural workers into prisons and insane asylums, by using chemical and medical means to break down a man's will power, by assassinating fighters for national independence, by applying national and cultural genocide and Russification, by imposing a phantom-like concept of a so-called "Soviet" people, by mass deportations, and by artificially creating a new, unified system of economic geography in the empire.

Yet the spiritual and moral revolution is a fact; the preconditions for a political and military revolution exist.

And here it must be stressed that there is one noticeable basic difference between dissidents and fighters for national rights, between reformists and nationalists. The former strive to repair the existing empire and system, the latter wish to topple it by re-establishing independent national states. For this reason many of the former belong to the so-called third Russian emigration, while the latter are either executed or languish in concentration camps for 15, 20, and even 35 years. For example, Ukrainian nationalist Oleksa Bilskiy, imprisoned since the age of 19, is now in Potma and becoming blind while in prison.

If our concept of liberation is not a palace revolt but a general revolt of nations, then the guidelines for their mobilization must be transmitted openly. A description of mass armed action in Novocherkask, Nalchyk, or Tiflis broadcast over the radio constitutes a guideline for analogous action in Dnipropetrovsk, Tashkent, or Kaunas, and vice-versa. In such actions new leaders emerge. Underground organizations provide an alternative authority to that of the occupant. Such authority is also created by leaders of spirit and action who have come to the fore openly. This results in the occupant's attempts to force statements of repentance and to discredit the underground as a foreign agency in order to do away with SYMBOLS, with ALTERNATIVE leadership, with the ALTERNATIVE OF THE SUBJUGATED NATIONS' SOVEREIGN RULE.

There is no path to liberation other than the simultaneous national liberation revolutions of nations subjugated in the USSR, and guerrilla strategy is the only realistic one. Nuclear bombs cannot be dropped on revolutions and revolutionaries, for this is tantamount to committing suicide. The greater the growth of classical military technology, the greater becomes the significance of armed people, of so-called "primitive" methods of warfare. On the heels of the general call for further developments of conventional arms, there will come a time when voices will be raised in support of uprisings inside the empire of tyrants, as a way of avoiding a nuclear war.

In the nuclear age, ideological, psychological, and political warfare is becoming more intensive. In military technology and strategy this is reflected by guerrilla warfare. Both Moscow and Peking are aware of this. This awareness, however, is still lacking among the official circles of the West.

Unfortunately, not only does the West not appreciate the military potentials of the captive nations in the Russian empire, to a large extent it still fails to notice the plight of these nations and the struggles of their freedom fighters.

Thus, an appeal from Ukraine, smuggled to the West, appeared in *The Daily Telegraph* on August 16, 1973. The appeal named 24 Ukrainian writers, artists, intellectuals, scholars, and religious leaders who

have been sentenced to various terms of imprisonment for their opposition to the Soviet system and domination of Ukraine from Moscow. The appeal also states that the governments of the USA and other capitalist countries are also jointly responsible for the use of terroristic measures against the freedom fighters in Ukraine, 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, these western governments were making agreements with Russia without any demands for the realization of national and human rights.

The appeal concludes with a demand for the immediate banning of the use of chemical and psychiatric treatment of political prisoners and the liberation of all political and religious prisoners. It is signed by the "Ukrainian National Liberation Front."

In addition to this, I would also like to express our bitter dissapointment. Only a few people in the West raise their voices in defense of nations and human rights and for the freedom of religion and cultural creativity of members of subjugated nations, of Ukraine or Latvia or Lithuania or others. Neither the press, nor politicians, nor governments, nor the Vatican, nor the churches, humanitarians, or judiciary institutions do this — they all remain silent and do not accuse, for example, the draconic sentence of Moscow against one of the most famous cultural leaders of Ukraine, Valentyn Moroz, who is sentenced to 14 years of severe regime. No one from the Western publishers produces the works of Valentyn Moroz or Yevhen Sverstyuk or Ihor Kalynets or Vasyl Stus, whose writing is of great artistic value. But on the other hand they publish only the works of Russian dissidents. The reason for this is that the authors from Ukraine stand not only for human rights, but also for the rights of nations.

It is a kind of "decline of the West" if it defends the representatives from the ruling Russian nation and not from the subjugated nations. Thus, among other things, I am seriously afraid that such ignorance about Ukraine and other subjugated nations may bring some representative of these nations in the free world to desperate acts for which the West will be responsible. The West is indifferent to the lot of hundreds of millions of oppressed peoples and dozens of subjugated nations. It does not heed our warning.

Yet at this very time, urgent action is needed in defence of those persecuted in the USSR.

In news just received from Ukraine we learned about a new Moscow-Bolshevik crime. Sviatoslav Karavansky is a writer and literary critic, sentenced to 25 years of concentration camps, released in 1960, but again arrested in 1965 to serve the rest of his sentence. In 1970, his term was prolonged for another 5 years of imprisonment. Karavansky is at present serving his unlawful imprisonment in a political concentration camp of particularly severe regime. In this

camp prisoners are almost literally buried alive, for they constantly live and work under lock and key without any fresh air, because they are never taken out for exercise. In this camp prisoners are forced to work long hours in glass-grinding workshops from which dangerous dust unceasingly penetrates the lungs of the undernourished prisoner and seriously threatens his life. This threat is also increased by the fact that the glass-grinding workshops are situated in the same buildings adjacent to the prisoners' living quarters. The cells, polluted by this poisonous dust, are also a hazard to human life. The dust is everywhere: in the air, on the beds, in the clothes, and in the food.

Another report from behind the Iron Curtain states that three prominent Ukrainian women, Stephania Shabatura, Nina Strokata, and Iryna Kalynets, imprisoned in Mordovian prisons, have appealed to the General Secretary of the UN, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, by letter dated May 10, 1973, in which they protest the enslavement of the Ukrainian nation and demand for themselves an open trial in the presence of a UN representative.

During his last months in prison, Anatoly Radygin, whose memoirs, entitled *Episodes From Mordovian Concentration Camps*, repeatedly asked Valentyn Moroz what message he could deliver to the free world. Racked with pain, Moroz grimaced and repeated insistently: "Let them know only one thing: I am being kept with insane people and my life is like hell. They are trying to make me mad just like those who are thrown into my ward. They are assassins and cannibals! I do not have any air to breathe."

Radygin then adds the following: "Thus I repeat too: one of the most honest and talented Ukrainian publicists is reduced to a state of complete exhaustion approaching insanity. His present existence comprises a frightful mixture of hungry life in jail and the miserable existence in a room of a mental asylum where he is constantly attacked by semi-animals that have completely lost their human look and have no national or social distinguishing features whatever. Valentyn Moroz is being physically and mentally tortured day by day."

"Remember this," are the words with which the author concludes this passage.

And so in conclusion, and in view of these alarming reports, we ask this conference:

- (1) To severely condemn and, together with us, urge the liquidation of all concentration camps throughout the Soviet Russian Empire.

- (2) To demand the release of all prisoners condemned and imprisoned for their national, political, and religious convictions.

- (3) To demand an end of the application of chemical and medical means of breaking the will power of political prisoners in order to extort statements of repentance from them.

(4) To denounce vigorously the practice of confining fighters for national and human rights in insane asylums.

(5) To demand an end to the persecution of believers in God and cultural leaders who defend the essence and spirituality of their own nation, without which a nation perishes.

(6) To demand the withdrawal of Russian occupation forces and the communist terror apparatus from the Russian-subjugated nations within the USSR and its satellites.

(7) To demand a return of national sovereignty to all the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and communism in the USSR and the satellite states, as well as for those nations enslaved in the artificial state of Yugoslavia.

Without national culture there is no world culture.

If the free nations of the world do not want to be subjected to KGB guns and see the law of the jungle prevail, they must fight for humanity and for a morality based on religious principles.

We ask you, therefore, to join us in the protest against Russian and Communist crimes, and for the defence of the imprisoned and persecuted fighters for human and national rights.

## ***THE VULNERABLE RUSSIANS***

by

**Lev E. Dobriansky**  
*Georgetown University*

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# UKRAINE DOES NOT CARE

By Zenon PELENSKY

The current events in Ukraine are making the Kremlin leadership more and more uneasy. The trends in party, economic, and cultural matters do not appeal at all to Leonid Brezhnev and do not fit too well into the continued expansion of the communist empire. The pressures that the Kremlin is exerting on the Ukrainian people are mounting. Our articles have repeatedly described the ways and means used to strengthen ideological and organizational communist campaigns among the Ukrainian people, who are becoming increasingly indifferent to the regime. No other First Secretary of the CPU has given as many speeches as Shcherbytsky within the last few months; no other Secretary has praised the regime so much, highlighted all its "blessings," convinced and tried to stimulate the people, but could not get the work done. Now the leaders of all the 25 districts of the CPU permanently conduct meetings for purposes of "stimulation." According to this latest fashion the Plenum of the Central Committee of the CPU held a secret meeting. The matters discussed were of such a disturbing and even explosive character for the regime, that nothing was allowed to leak from this meeting.

Foreign correspondents from Moscow have sent out news to the West that at the secret Plenum meeting of the Central Committee, Shcherbytsky, influenced by Brezhnev's upbraidings, spoke out very sharply against the penetration into Ukraine of "foreign, extremely hostile, ideological tendencies." The existing climate can best be described by a news item from Moscow, published by the newspaper *Züd Deutscher Zeitung* (signed by DDP) dated June 10, 1974:

The second most populous federated Republic of the USSR, Ukraine, is creating evident troubles in Moscow. The Ukrainian chief Wolodymyr Shcherbytsky berated his compatriots at the Plenum meeting of the Central Committee of the CPU for being inclined and receptive to enemy propaganda influences from abroad. The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists in the West has made contacts with the Zionists and the Maoists. The mention of Maoists in Ukraine by Shcherbytsky was the first official admission that the Chinese radio programs beamed to the Soviet Union are not without effect. Shcherbytsky admitted that there are people in Ukraine who accept bourgeois democracy and the American way of life as constituting guidelines for the whole world. The influence of Western propaganda has awakened the desire for private ownership and has given a rebirth and increased strength to "religious superstitions."

The leaders of the regime obviously knew the reason for the confiscation of Shcherbytsky's speech. From it the people in the

West would have had the opportunity to find out, from a primary source, just how widespread in Ukraine is the movement of spiritual opposition, the renaissance of religion, and the moral rejection of the regime. The national resistance in Ukraine does not owe absolutely anything to Shcherbytsky's Chinese and Zionists. It is a denunciation of the regime.

The fear that the regime feels about the threat to its positions in Ukraine can be measured by the sheer force of its ideological counter-attack. The official organ of the Central Committee of the CPU, *Radianska Ukraina*, on July 11, 1974, has given extensive information about a recent meeting (no date given) of the activists of the Party of the Kyiv region. The main speaker was a candidate for the Politburo of the CPU, the First Secretary of the Kyiv region, Wolodymyr Tsybulko. The speaker stated that "approximately 27,000 propaganda workers, 20,000 lecturers, and over 40,000 agitators are conducting propaganda and agitation in the region." Tsybulko clearly indicated three main "tight spots" that the Party must contend with in the Kyiv area. The most important one, in the present circumstances, is "the work of party committees and primary party organizations in the education of the masses in the spirit of socialist patriotism, proletarian internationalism, friendship among the nations of the USSR, the irreconcilability to any manifestations of foreign ideology, especially Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism and international Zionism." Tsybulko's second point was that "it is indispensable to further increase, by all possible means, among our people, the realization of belonging to one socialist Motherland and to instil in the workers of the coming generations the feelings of a common national pride of the Soviet person." The third point dealt with "the organization and the content of economic education which still does not correspond (in the Kyiv region) to increasing demands. The necessary level has not yet been reached either in the area of scientific-technical propaganda nor in the spread of experience in production."

Points one and two of the "tight spots," enumerated by Tsybulko as manifestations of Ukrainian opposition, can still be dealt with in some manner by the GULAG experts in Ukraine: Ivan Holovchenko, the Minister of Internal Affairs of the Ukrainian SSR, and Vitaly Fedorchuk, the head of the KGB in Ukraine. These two names are well known and people speak them only in whispers. It would be well if those two names were also burned into the minds of Ukrainians who live abroad. Both Holovchenko and Fedorchuk, however, are powerless when it comes to the third point: the economic lag in Ukraine. The shortcomings pertaining to the Kyiv region are only symptoms of a much more widespread process. Two trends can be seen: the policy of the Kremlin in many cases puts brakes on the economic developments in Ukraine, wishing to transform it into a production colony for Moscow; and the lack of interest, or rather desire, on the part of the mass of Ukrainians, to work for the regime.



Ukraine does not receive from the capital equal payments for its labour, its raw materials, the production from its fields and factories. The economic lag in Ukraine, the diminished effort and desire to work, the lack of effectiveness in production are all so obvious that they truly frighten Moscow.

It is against this background that *Pravda* of July 14, 1974, issued the following proclamation "Concerning the work of Party, Soviet, and Agricultural Organs of the Ukrainian SSR, to implement the directives of the CC of the CPSU and the Council of Ministers of the USSR and increase the production of consumer goods." Judging by its contents, the directive from the Moscow Central Committee is nothing more than a hard slap from Brezhnev at his "friend" Wolodymyr Shcherbytsky. Moscow is afraid that Ukraine possesses the capabilities to disrupt the entire ninth Five-Year Plan.

It is impossible in this short article to relate all the complaints that Moscow has against Ukraine. We shall try to relate only their essence:

- (a) the Party, Soviet, and Agricultural organs of the Ukrainian SSR have not sufficiently exploited all the existing reserves of this Republic to increase the production of goods for general use, to raise their quality and selectivity;
- (b) many goals set for light industry have not reached the estimated levels;
- (c) in the past year there has been no significant increase in the production of cotton goods, knitwear, leather, rubber, and sports footwear;
- (d) the quota for the production of steel, zinc-coated and cast-iron kitchen wares, table accessories from untarnishing metals, cameras, locks, and other products from steel has not been reached;
- (e) some agricultural and party functionaries are reconciled to the low quality of the products;
- (f) in the general area of production the quality of goods carrying the government stamp of quality remains low;
- (g) the fluctuation of cadres in many light local industries remains extremely high; and
- (h) the organs are responsible for the very low qualifications of workers in the mass professions, who should be educated by a system of professional and technical education;

Even Moscow has finally realized that one of the causes of dissatisfaction, even of disrespect for the regime among the Ukrainians, is the regime's absolute inability to put into working order an effective trade network. Wild, rampant bureaucracy has been given a free rein in the area of trade. Very little of what is needed by the consumer is produced within the Republic. But even what is being produced is not being distributed effectively. The "slap" of the

CC of the CPSU states that quotas for the production of goods have not been reached in Ukraine within the last three years. Sometimes grotesque situations arise. A small sporting goods store in one of the small towns in the Kherson region, where the snowfall is nil, received 5,000 pairs of skates. In vain Kyiv keeps telling Moscow not to interfere with the most minute trade matters of the Republic.

In the end, it is still the fault of the Republic. "The trade organizations of the Republic did not use the proper resources for the placement of goods, did not take into account consumer demands, did not strengthen ties with the factories, improve the organization of the garment industry and industry producing cultural and everyday products." Women suffer especially from the regime's planning and trade policies. The Communist regime transformed them all into Cinderellas. For years, even decades, the garment industry has been producing the same standard clothing, always of the same style, with no outlook for any improvement in the future. If some woman got hold of a foreign fashion magazine, it was passed from hand to hand until it is in shreds, and foreign fashion magazines are passed through the censors, so that women will not be infected by "Western rot."

The drabness, the monotony, the miserliness of existence of the Soviet way of life are becoming more and more a part of the causes for discontent, even irritation, of the people with the regime. In Moscow's great berating of the Republic there was even a reproach that the ruling organs in Ukraine do not care about the aesthetic values in Ukrainian life. From this stems the following statement in the appeal of the CC of the CPSU to the Ukrainian organs. This statement, both strange and wild, proposes to give to the cultural-technical boards of the Ministry of Light Industry of the Ukrainian SSR, and to managers of enterprises, responsibility for the increase in the level of . . . production of clothing and footwear, the guaranteeing of new styles and variety in goods, and the application of new modes to the production of textiles, materials, furniture, and current trends in decorations.

It is understood that the situation in Ukraine has not improved from the time of the Moscow statement, directed to the Republic and Shcherbytsky. Scolding will not help. For too long has Moscow given the Ukrainian departments miserly, colonial budgets; so no one from Moscow can expect greater efforts, increased desire to work, and more productivity. They are right in Moscow: Ukraine does not care; Ukraine is not trying. Why should it? Each item produced above the quota in Ukraine is lost forever in the bottomless, insatiable pit of a foreign empire. Ukraine lags behind? Where should it be hurrying to? The statement of Tsybulko about the situation in the Kyiv region is entirely correct. It applies to all of Ukraine. Ukraine is now beginning to think about itself, its rights and place in the world, and not about international socialism.

---

*Zenon KARBOVYCH*

## **SOVIET RUSSIAN COLONIALISM AND THE CURRENT SITUATION IN UKRAINE**

**A memorandum sent to the governments of the Western Powers**

### **I. Russia and the Free World**

The present international scene is dominated by several problems, chief of which is the intensified arms race of the superpowers and the continuous struggle between the Communist Russian imperialists and their subjugated nations. The arms race is being accelerated primarily by Russian efforts to achieve military superiority which will be used by Moscow for blackmail of the free nations and for further conquests and suppressions of national liberation movements of the nations under Russia's yoke. Moscow's development of inter-continental ballistic missiles with multiple warheads further endangers the free world's liberty and security. At the same time, with oil shortages and inflation looming over the free world, Russia strives to achieve economic supremacy over the free world. It attempts to make at least some nations economically dependent upon it and this in turn is followed by political and military domination.

### **II. Russia and the Subjugated Nations**

At the same time, in full view of the free nations, Russia tightens her colonialist and totalitarian grip on the many nations she holds captive in the Soviet Union. For Russia does not only want to secure her ethnographic borders; she wants also to possess Ukraine, Byelorussia, Turkestan, the Baltic States, the Caucasian nations, and other countries that are in her sphere of influence. It is through these countries that Russia has the status of a "superpower," since it is by being in control of these countries that Russia has access to the Mediterranean, the Near and Middle East, and Africa. It is also because of these countries that Russia plays a key role on the Asian continent. At the same time, while Russia extends its sphere of influence at the expense of the free world, explosive national liberation movements take place inside the Russian empire and systematically weaken it. This struggle for independence inside the empire goes on in every domain of life; it is economical, political, national, cultural, religious, and, in general, anti-Russian and anti-Communist. Thus it is no longer possible for Russia to dominate its enslaved

nations for any great length of time. This means that if the West wishes to be victorious in its confrontation with Russian imperialism and if it wishes to avoid nuclear war on its own territories, it must actively support the revolutions of national liberation of the subjugated nations within the Russian empire; for the aim of these nations is the dissolution of the empire into national independent states and the consequent destruction of the communist system.

### III. The Situation in Ukraine

The re-establishment of a sovereign and independent Ukrainian State through the liquidation of the Russian empire and its transformation into national and democratic states would result in revolutionary changes in the political map of the world. The geopolitical situation created by an independent Ukraine would be of exceptional significance for a new arrangement of world political forces. The revolutionary anti-Russian and anti-Bolshevik concepts propagated by Ukraine and the indestructible human potential and natural resources of Ukraine are component elements of the exclusive position enjoyed by Ukraine at present and in the future. Today, as in the past, there exists a strong desire in Ukraine to be rid of the Russian yoke. This will be manifested, in modern times, by the establishment of an independent Ukrainian State formally proclaimed on January 22, 1918. This Ukrainian State, however, was destroyed by communist invaders from Russia in the course of the war of 1918-1920. Then, at the outbreak of the Second World War, the Ukrainian National Liberation Movements proclaimed the re-establishment of independent statehood by the formal act of June 30, 1941. This act formed a national Government which was subsequently liquidated by the Nazis, and its Prime Minister and cabinet were thrown into concentration camps.

### IV. Russian Persecution of Ukrainian Intellectuals

Today the Ukrainians are continuing their struggle for national independence, while the present Moscow rulers are intensifying their brutal and anti-social campaign of stifling the very existence of the Ukrainian nation and its struggle for national liberation. Russian racist and colonialist policies in Ukraine continue to rage.

a) A recent appeal was made by the Ukrainian National Defence Front against the persecution of hundreds of prominent Ukrainians from all walks of life who are exposed to the most brutal treatment by the Soviet secret police and whose lives are being systematically shortened by modern and refined means in Russian prisons and concentration camps.

b) Eye-witness reports from the Soviet Union and Ukraine reveal that the Russians treat the Ukrainian population perhaps even more

brutally than the Nazi regime treated the Jews because swift execution is not as brutal as long-term torture and psychological terror directed against the religious beliefs, civil rights, patriotic sentiments and the language and cultural traditions of the native population.

c) Outstanding Ukrainian fighters for national and human rights such as Yuriy Shukhevych, Sviatoslav Karavansky, Ivan Svitlychny Vyacheslav Chornovil, Leonid Plushch, and many others are cruelly imprisoned and subjected to physical, chemical, medical, and psychiatric abuse as a means of breaking their will power. The case of Valentyn Moroz deserves particular mention as an example of this. Moroz, a Ukrainian historian and scholar, is serving a long-term prison sentence, completely unjust and illegal even according to Soviet law. He is a courageous freedom fighter whose many writings have exposed the russification of Ukrainian language and culture and the lawlessness of the Soviet state. Moroz recently announced a hunger strike **until death** if his conditions in prison are not improved.

## V. Appeal to the Governments of the Western Countries

In the common interest of the free world and of the nations enslaved by Russian imperialism and communism, we appeal to the Governments of the Western Countries:

- 1) To adopt a policy of liberation of all nations subjugated in the USSR and in the satellite countries and to aim at the disintegration of the Russian empire into independent national states.

- 2) To put on the agenda of the United Nations the acts of national, cultural, and linguistic genocide as applied by Russian imperialists against Ukraine and other nations, and, furthermore, to condemn Russian chauvinism, colonialism, and the attempt to create a so-called "Soviet nation" by force and by so-called "merging" of nationalities.

- 3) To brand the persecuting, imprisoning, and sentencing to long years of prison and concentration camps of fighters for national and human rights, as for example, Zynaviy Krasivsky, Osyp Terela, Anatol Lupynis, and others; to condemn the sentencing by harsh prison terms of women and cultural leaders, as for example, Iryna Kalynets, Nadia Svitlychna, Stephania Shabatura, and others; to condemn the confinement of political prisoners for terms up to 25 years and longer, as for example, Maria Palchak (25 years), Ivan Ilchuk (25 years), Oleksa Bilsky (37 years), Svyatoslav Karavansky (30 years), and others; and to condemn the use of chemical and medical means of torturing political prisoners and interning them in insane asylums.

- 4) To refuse any economic and technological cooperation with the Russians and to abstain from participating with them in any negotiations or conferences that would tend to perpetuate the **status quo** of the Russian colonial empire.

5) To defend all persecuted and imprisoned freedom fighters, intellectuals, and cultural workers in the Russian empire and the satellite countries, and especially demand from the Soviet Russian government that it free Ukrainian historian Valentyn Moroz, sentenced to 14 years of imprisonment and exile and slowly tortured to death for his defence of Ukrainian culture and national and human rights.

### Appeal to The Conference

In view of these alerting reports, we ask the conference:

- 1) To urge the liquidation of all concentration camps!
- 2) To demand the release of all prisoners condemned and imprisoned for their national, political, and religious convictions!
- 3) To demand the termination of the application of chemical and medical means of breaking the will power of political and religious prisoners in order to extort statements of repentance from them!
- 4) To vigorously denounce the practice of confining fighters for national and human rights in insane asylums!
- 5) To demand an end to persecution of believers in God and cultural leaders who defend the spirituality of their nation, without which a nation perishes!
- 6) To demand the withdrawal of Russian occupation forces and the Communist terror apparatus from Ukraine and other Russian-subjugated nations within the USSR and its satellites!
- 7) To demand a return of national sovereignty to Ukraine and all the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and communism in the USSR and the satellite states.

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DOCUMENTS FROM UKRAINE

## A LETTER FROM POLITICAL PRISONERS IN THE USSR

*A group of political prisoners from Ukraine, the Baltic State and Caucasus, held at present in the Concentration Camps in Mordovia, sent a letter to the Council of Nationalities of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). A copy of the letter has been sent to the United Nations. Below is an English translation.*

*Ukrainian Central Information Service*

The Constitution of the USSR asserts the sovereignty of the national Soviet Socialist Republics, providing for a number of fundamental statutes to guarantee this sovereignty.

According to the constitutional norms, supreme power both centrally and locally, entirely and indivisibly, belongs to the Workers' Representative Councils, which are democratic, elective and public authorities; and in theory the Supreme Soviet of the USSR upholds a principle that 'among equals one cannot wield power over another.' In practice however and apart from the Constitution, the Communist Party of the USSR has become the Sovereign of power. Taking unfair advantage of the constitutional position, i.e. having the right to influence all the authorities through its own party groups within them, the Communist Party of the USSR has reached such a position that it enables it not only to influence the course of the Government policy from within, but also to transfer the supreme power from the democratically elected authorities to purely party organs, in fact — to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR.

The organisational structure of the Communist Party of the USSR, which is meant to subordinate strictly the union Soviet republics to the centre of the Communist Party apparatus (and the latter locally also curtails the power of the elective authorities), reduces the state sovereignty of these republics to nil. Moreover, since the Communist Party of the USSR and its Central Committee are the Communist organs of the Russian Federal Soviet Socialist Republic (RFSSR) and at the same time are the highest authority for the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the national Soviet republics, the latter in practice are reduced to the level of regional agencies of the Russian SSR.

In its party documents, the Communist Party of the USSR declares its intention to create 'a new Soviet nation' and to educate 'a new kind of man.'

Promulgating a pseudo-popular view that the merging of nations is a natural and irreversible process, the Communists, so to speak, have undertaken merely to regulate this process.

Having the monopoly of power, the Communist Party of the USSR translates its own intentions into a state policy, enforcing it into practice with all the might of the Government machinery, which treats any dissent and opposition as a criminal offence against the State.

In their treatment of people individually, they realize their policy of educating 'a new Soviet man' by means of an all-embracing network system of threats, of spying and coercing people, aiming at a complete standardization of views and understanding of the world. As they head towards their utilitarian objectives of strengthening the monolithic aspect of the society and their own power, the Communists, with their limitless intolerance towards those who think differently, impose their materialistic concept of the world, their socialist ideology as well as their blind adulation of the party authority, flaunting themselves as the only masters of true teaching and incessantly acclaiming their party superiority to the people.

In international relations, the Communist policy is directed towards a speedy merging of other nations with the Russians. Their claim to create 'a new Soviet people' is in practice no more than an old policy of russification, which is now carried out with less brutality and cruelty than in the immediate post-war years, when masses of non-Russian peoples and even entire nations were forcibly transported to remote regions of the Russian SSR; and where having been dispersed among the Russian population and isolated from their native land, they were subjected to assimilation which numerically increase the Russian population. The national regions, which were devastated by the forcible deportation of the indigenous population, were settled by the Russian colonists, who are the only national minority in the USSR to enjoy the right of cultural autonomy outside their national i.e. Russian Soviet Republic; they have their Russian schools, publishers and theatres on the territories of all the Soviet Republics and therefore have no inclination to assimilate with the local population but on the contrary, they exert a strong russifying influence on it.

And now, as the intensified economic exploitation of the peripheries of the native regions is accompanied by an influx of an international labour force that is purposely directed there, the latter, when faced with a choice between the local native language and the Russian language, opts for the Russian language because the industry and its administration are russified. Hence the Russian speaking population of national Soviet republics grows in number and becomes a powerful means of russifying these regions. The russification of industry, institutes and technical colleges often force the local population to concede priority to the Russian language.



The same conditions are observed in the key industrial concern operating on the territories of the national union and autonomous Soviet republics, which being under so-called 'all-union control' are not controlled by those republics.

The Russian language illegally became the state language on the territories of the national union and autonomous Soviet republics giving the Russians a privileged position. Having imposed itself as a mediator of cultural, spiritual and economic interrelations among the peoples within the Soviet Union as well as with the outside world, the Russian language has the advantage of a banker, who in holding the cultural assets of others, filters them in such a way that only that which is in the interest of Russia is allowed into the international cultural life.

All kinds of praise for Russia and for everything Russian is imposed on the young generation through the state education system. In particular, the history of the Russian Empire. In this history the main part is played by Russia and the Russians, whereas the other nations figure in it only as it suits the interests of the Russian State. In the very short courses of history of the national Soviet republics that have recently been allowed, historical facts are also presented in a distorted and biased manner. The Russian conquests of the neighbouring states and peoples and their incorporation into the Russian Empire are always presented as a great blessing for them, while the national liberation struggle of other nations against the Russian Empire is either completely ignored or is presented as a reactionary or conservative movement. At present any movement aiming at national self-determination is branded by the communists as bourgeois-nationalist and subjected to brutal persecution by the state punitive organs.

It is characteristic that the history of the Soviet prisons for political prisoners records no cases of convicted people of Russian nationality, who fought for the secession of Russia from the USSR, while at the same time numerous representatives of other nationalities who organised national movements for the secession of their nations from Russia are held.

Since we are convinced that the natural and most favourable basis for the spiritual development of man is a nation, united and fully progressive, equal among equals, we protest against the communist experiments to create 'a new kind of man,' against their attempts at substituting purely socialist principles for the national basis of a society. This cannot be justified either by economic achievements or by the state power interest because the only factors that guarantee inheritance and development of spiritual culture, i.e. of the highest achievement of mankind, are the integrity of a nation, its language and its traditions. Deliberate encroachments on these innate institutions by the communists and their attempts at replacing them by abstract and artificial constructions forebode tragic consequences.

Because we are deeply concerned not only about the physical

survival and economic well-being of our nations but also about their future progress, we demand that the constitutional norms, which guarantee the future of our nations be strictly adhered to, namely that: —

1. the national languages of the national union and autonomous Soviet republics be obligatory state languages of these republics;

2. the right of cultural autonomy be granted and realized to all the minorities outside their national state boundaries, or the privilege of enjoying such rights exclusively by Russians be abolished.

9. the sovereign rights of the union republics to direct cultural, political and economic relations with the rest of the world be expanded;

4. the armed forces of the union republics be re-introduced as provided by article 18-b of the Constitution of the USSR;

5. all the industrial concerns, situated on their territories, be placed under the authority of the national union and autonomous Soviet republics; this should apply also to the enterprises for the exploration of mineral resources on their national territories and the organisation of economic relations between the republics be on an equal basis;

6. full power be restored to the constitutional authorities, i.e. to the Workers' Representative Councils; a clear distinction between state authority and 'party influence' be defined and that State control over Communist Party activities be constituted;

7. the Government's policy of the national union and autonomous Soviet republics must in practice reflect the interests of individual nations; the individual citizen shall have the opportunity of exercising their rights to defend their national interests as stipulated in article 125 of the USSR Constitution.

8. flouting the constitutional and statutory norms, which guarantee sovereignty and equality, the policy of the ruling Communist Party that threatens the very existence of our nations, automatically gives us moral grounds to invoke our constitutional rights (article 17 of the USSR Constitution) to undertake a public campaign for the secession of our national states from the USSR. Activities aiming at the implementation of this constitutional right should not be punishable.

Signed:

From the Baltic States: Ziemlis Juris, Syliskas Ionas,  
Jastrauskas Antanas, Astra Gunar.

From the Ukraine: Volodymyr Bezhuly, Apolony Berniychuk  
Volodymyr Hlyva, Ivan Ilchuk, Levko  
Lukianenko, Dmytro Pylnyak, Ivan  
Pokrovsky, Oleksiy Stepanyuk, Andriy  
Turyk.

From Caucasus: Vasylyan Svik, Tahayev Mohamed, Ekimyan  
Hevorkh, Velikyan Valmer.

## PRISONERS' LETTER TO THE EUROPEAN SECURITY CONFERENCE

*The delegates to the European Security Conference held in Geneva, received some time in June a letter from the prisoners of the Perm Concentration Camp. The text of the letter follows:*

"We, people of different nationalities, incarcerated in political prison camps of the Soviet Union are addressing ourselves to you, because we are disturbed by the course of your deliberations. We understand and support the aim of your conference: the establishment of a strong basis for peaceful relations in Europe and throughout the world. However, we cannot remain indifferent to the methods you have chosen to attain this goal.

World peace cannot be guaranteed by unconditional concessions to the Soviet government. We have all the facts to substantiate this statement. We know all too well the price one pays for promises made by Soviet leaders, we know also the price of their laws and of their pretty slogans.

The Soviet government supports the principle of the inviolability of national frontiers. Fantastic! But in 1956 Soviet tanks occupied Hungary and in 1968 Czechoslovakia.

The Soviet government supports limiting the exchange of information to protect national customs and traditions. This is exactly what we have been struggling against for the past 57 years.

On the one hand the Soviet government claims that it strongly supports human rights and is a signatory to numerous pacts and declarations endorsing those rights. On the other hand the Soviet government does not hesitate to arrest those who have the courage to express their opinions and publicly question sacred dogmas, those who struggle for the development of their own national culture, those who try to exercise their right to emigrate from the Soviet Union, those who think differently. The actions of the Soviet government are embodied in a statement of a KGB official: "The Declaration of Human Rights is for Negroes, but not for you."

The laws under which we are incarcerated were written by overseers for overseers. And even those few rights that are formally granted to us, are not implemented in reality.

Soviet officials and all the Western press write a great deal about the prisoners in Chile and the Republic of South Africa. We, who are in the same situation understand this. World public opinion is indignant because the prisoners on the island of Chason are forced to build their own prisons. For us, this is a daily occurrence and severe punishment is meted out to those who refuse to do this work.

Prisoners on the island of Toremo in the RSA or Chason in Chile suffer from cold and hunger; but in the Soviet Union political prisons are not found on the shores of the Black Sea and a 2,500 calories daily diet of monotonous and vitamin-free food issued for several years, guarantees each and every one of us gastritis and scurvy.

Of course, now we are not shot without an investigation and a trial, our ribs are not broken and our teeth are not knocked out, as in the times of Stalin. However, the regime tries to break us spiritually, kill us morally and exhaust us physically. We do not have the opportunity to maintain normal contacts with family and friends, we are deprived of parcels and visits. The prison of Vladimir (Bukowsky, Moroz, Vudka) or a psychiatric asylum (Grigorenko, Plyusch, Plakhtoniuk, Pupynis, Shykanovych) await those who firmly hold on to their convictions, who maintain their dignity. After their release a yoke of hopelessness, deprivation of the right to live in large cities, travel restrictions, denial of work in their field of specialization are all waiting for them.

Under these conditions, when the Soviet government so blatantly violates human rights, the civilized world must not believe the regime's declarations. Today different criteria cannot be applied to the conditions in the RSA, Chile and the USSR. The guarantee of human rights in deeds and not only in words should be a mandatory prerequisite before the signing of any pacts with the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union, by demanding non-interference in internal governmental matters, is trying to obtain a carte blanche for its own interpretation of human rights. During the fifty years of its existence, a government proud of its power and internal unity has not yet once declared an amnesty for its political prisoners and has incarcerated in its prisons and asylums thousands of people. The governments taking part in the negotiations should demand that the Soviet Union take steps that would indicate its good-will to honour its commitments. One of the first steps should be amnesty for political prisoners. Otherwise the talks will have no real meaning or will provide the Soviet government with a one-sided advantage. In either case they will not help the cause of peace. History teaches caution."

*The letter was signed by over 100 prisoners "all Zionists, all known activists sentenced for their democratic convictions, all Ukrainian nationalists sentenced for their political activities." Most of those who signed took part in the month long hunger strike in the Perm Concentration Camp from May 12 to June 12 1974.*

## REPORT FROM THE BERIA RESERVE

*By Valentyn MOROZ*

### THE FIRST DAY

*Moroz's deeply moving description of his emotional reaction to his first day in prison, after his arrest on June 1, 1970, in Ivano-Frankivsk.*

The first day in prison is eternity filled with agony. Everything — the sounds, odours, dimensions, and words — is woven from pain.

The first day in prison is like being stripped of one's skin. Each reminiscence is a red-hot particle, each thought is an ember.

The first day in prison is a world cut in halves. Every nerve is severed in two. The source of desire is here, but the roots with which it clings to the soil of existence are left amputated behind. Familiar desires flow through the usual channels into the realm of living realization and inevitably reach the point of disintegration. And each time there is renewed pain.

The first day is like a plant whose roots are suspended in the air, unable to find soil in a vacuum. This is the greatest pain because it is their nature to take root.

The most terrifying is to daydream. Then forgetfulness unites the two freshly-severed ends and desires reach their zenith. But the sudden awakening unexpectedly breaks the thread and pain, which had begun to subside, flares up again.

For the strong it is difficult, for all their desires are great. No, it is not a duel between desire and duty. It is a struggle between two satanical desires, both strong and frenzied, both nourished by a resilient full-blooded organism.

For the weaker it is easier. Their desires are small and inert. They will never spur a person to act. Sometimes even in them, however, desires flare up, only to subside, hypnotized by the fear of prison. Fearing the bitter, they do not drink to the dregs, and consequently will never experience the full taste.

There will come a time when from the wounded ends new roots will form which will implant themselves into new soil and take in fresh nourishment to sustain the famished human desires. Pain will harden into permanent grief, heavy and black as tar. Each day the tar will become clearer and harder until it becomes transformed into the transparent crystal of expectation. The most enchanting of freedoms is the freedom one sees through its murky thickness.

The axe of time will continue to strike at the crystal gates. Then I am free. But this is not the freedom which shone many, many days from behind the crystal walls. I stand free, intoxicated and confused, and again stripped of my skin. To pass through prison gates, in or out, is impossible without losing one's skin. Each time, be it the hundredth, prison takes its toll.

Then there will be reminiscences, accounts of facts, facts and more facts, amusing and terrifying, repulsive and moving. But prison is not simply a fact. Prison is a person stripped of his skin on the very first day. He who is able to describe this will be describing a prison.

*This cannot be told,  
But still it will be discussed.  
That is how it will be later,  
But today it is the first day.*

KGB prison, Ivano-Frankivsk

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Valentyn MOROZ

## MOSES AND DATHAN

How dull the world would be if your rosy schemes were really "historically inevitable." What would there remain for a person to do if progress were inevitable, if paradise were guaranteed and everything were known in advance? Under those circumstances would a person be a person, an autonomous being, who alone in this world has the capacity to make decisions? A human is the antithesis of automatic programming. There is no inevitable progress. A person is a person because he is on constant armed guard against permanently existing evil, because history is not programmed, because he has the possibility to change the world to coincide with man's purpose.

Truth is concrete as are the concepts of good beauty. Truth is also national. It is the same for all, but it has a million facets. For each nation it is reflected through one of these unique facets. The mission of each nation is to recognize its own facet, which only it can discover, and thus enrich mankind. It is not enough to introduce Marx into Byelorussia. In order for him to become meaningful for you, he must be perceived through Byelorussian eyes. If you think he can simply be borrowed from Moscow you are greatly mistaken. Marxism (and any *ism* for that matter) brought into Byelorussia is only the comb which must be filled with Byelorussian honey.

I do not know why Byelorussia exists. But I am absolutely certain that a Byelorussian who says "Why do I need Byelorussia?" is

morally dead. Why is there a Byelorussian? There is no answer to that question. When one speaks of that which is sacred, logic does not apply. The most sacred is the nation. The nation is the synthesis of all the spiritual values acquired by a people. Shevchenko, a Christian regarded the nation as higher than God (the formal, dogmatic God. The real God was the nation.)

There is no future which will automatically guarantee a nation's right to exist. A nation can exist only when there are people who are prepared to die for it, only when there are Byelorussians for whom the question, "Why is there a Byelorussia?" does not arise; only when its sons believe that their nation is chosen by God and regard their people as His highest creation. I know that all people are equal. My reason tells me that. But at the same time I know that my nation is unique. My heart tells me so. It is not wise to bring the voices of reason and of emotion to a common denominator. The voice of reason is indispensable. But a person whose heart has been destroyed by reason is an empty shell. Superiority of reason does not always indicate spiritual superiority.

Love and friendship are possible between equals. But is what you call love, really love? Love between whom? Between the hunter and the hound? I can love Russia, but I do not feel inferior to a Russian. You cannot love Russia, because you look up to Russia.

Through a thousand years of oppression, a sense of Byelorussianism has crystallized in the soul of the Byelorussian. It is impossible to destroy it. It can be lulled to sleep, but this hypnosis does not last forever. In times of mighty upheavals, when even the mountains tremble, it will instantly dissipate.

A Byelorussian can develop friendship for a Russian, but only upon attaining his full stature, only by acquiring full national consciousness, and only by passing over you!

### 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.

M. LADO (Vladimir Prison)

(Translated by Marta Sawczuk)

## THE DEATH OF STALIN

Stalin finished cutting out the pictures from the newspapers and spread them out on his iron bed. He approached the closet where his generalissimo's uniform hung, opened the small doors, and from the very bottom took out a piece of grey bread. Biting as much as he could, he began to chew it with concentration. He placed the chewed bread on a piece of paper and began to paste the cut-out pictures on the wall.

The wall had already been covered with approximately twenty such pictures. They included pictures of Stalin on the tribune of the mausoleum, Stalin in the presidium during a Party congress, and an enlarged picture of a little girl ardently embracing Stalin. The largest number of photographs was devoted to monuments in Stalin's honour in all the cities throughout the Soviet Union. The photographs on the walls were not hung symmetrically; they were pasted without order and even crookedly, but all in all, to Stalin it was a pleasant picture gallery. When the pasting was done, he stepped back a little and looked at his work from a distance.

"That's good," he said, pleased with himself. "The best monument is still the one on the Volga-Don."

It was quiet in the room. So quiet, that the barely audible sound of the clock could be clearly heard. Stalin shifted his glance from the picture gallery to the window, which was covered with strong bars. Outside the window, among the snow drifts, the grey wall of the enclosure stood out. The wall was so high that it almost blocked out the entire horizon. On top of the wall, electric wire was strung in even rows. Above the wall rose the tops of the pine forest which, with its greenery, brought cheerfulness into the sad, wintry landscape.

Yes, here I suppose, thought Stalin, I am fully protected. For in the Kremlin one always had to look behind one's back; one slept with one eye closed and the other on the look-out. Perfidy and treachery stalked you all the time. Today, a man was faithful and devoted and tomorrow he would grab you by the throat. Well, nobody can get in here. If someone should try to get to me through the forest, he will either trip on a mine or fall into a wolf's trap. If he should bypass this, he will then hang himself on the electrical fence. If, by some luck, he gets over the fence, then he will fall into the hands of my protectors. What is one terrorist! Let a whole tank



corps move against me and it will be ensnared in the mines and the wolves' traps in the pine forest. Everything is foreseen here. No matter how one tried, he could not possibly have invented a better fortress than this estate. Those Counts Orlov did not know what a service they were doing to Stalin when they built this palace. True, it's very quiet here. So quiet that at times it is frightening and the bars on the windows and the iron doors remind me of prison. But I am not afraid of this. I am accustomed to prison life from my youth. I spent some time behind the Tsarist walls. One does not forget this during one's entire lifetime.

Stalin recalled one of the events from his first imprisonment. It was at Easter time. The door to Stalin's cell opened and a new prisoner was let in. He was a strange man, weighed down by sorrow, with an expression of hopeless despair in his eyes. Stalin and all his fellow prisoners rose from their plank beds and squatted, fixing their eyes on the new arrival. The man greeted them, but no one answered him. The eyes of the prisoners were fixed not so much on the new arrival as on the sack he carried. It seemed that the man understood those glances. He sat on the stool which stood near the slop-tank, wiped his sweaty forehead with a handkerchief, said something about his unhappy fate, and began to untie the bundle.

"You poor people perhaps don't even have holy paska?" he asked, but again no one answered. The newcomer was dividing the gifts among the prisoners. He gave everybody two brightly colored Easter eggs and a piece of fragrant, soft Easter paska. The prisoners silently took the gifts and silently began to eat. The man peeled an egg for himself and began to eat it with the paska, sitting on the stool near the slop-tank. When everyone finished eating, the new prisoner took from his pocket a package of cigarettes, offered them all around, lit up his own, and sat down again on the stool. Thick smoke blanketed the narrow cell. They smoked in silence. Their glances were riveted on the bundle which lay near the stool on the dirty cement floor. The bundle still appeared large. From time to time the prisoners exchanged glances. Abruptly, one of them got off his bed, approached the new arrival, and slowly, purposefully, began to scrutinize his face.

"Listen, brother," he said, "I have seen you some place. Perhaps in the courthouse?"

"That's possible," replied the latter calmly, "I worked for some time as a secretary in the county court."

Stalin approached them.

"Ah, so you're a human leech," he said disdainfully.

"You helped the Tsar oppress the toiling masses!"

"What sort of leech," apologized the new arrival, "I was paid some miserable kopeks, I didn't have enough to live on, I have a lot of children..."

"So much the worse for you, you sold your conscience for some miserable kopeks," Stalin interrupted him.

"Well, lately I didn't work in the courthouse, but in the postoffice. I was arrested there."

"Don't apologize!" shouted Stalin. "Diplomat! Moscow! Tie him a farewell necktie."

Two prisoners, agile as devils, jumped down in one second from their plank beds. One of them took from a hook on the wall a dirty, stained towel. The newcomer could hardly get up from the stool when the noose from the towel was around his neck. The man wanted to say something, even smiled, thinking that this was some sort of joke. But his voice got stuck in his throat, and two strong tugs at the end of the towel stopped his breathing. He raised his hand, spread out his fingers as if trying to remove the noose. But his hand hung in the air and, powerless, he fell on his knees. His mouth remained open and the tongue began to protrude slowly. His face was suffused with blood and gradually took on a purple hue. Stalin was counting. When the face changed from purple to blue, he waved his hand and said. "That's enough; he will not come to."

Moscow and Diplomat untied the towel. The corpse fell headlong to the floor.

"Throw him under the plank beds and bring his bundle here," commanded Stalin. In the bundle, besides the paska and the Easter eggs, there was some lard, sausage, and ham. Everything was divided into six even parts.

The next morning, when the guard came into the cell for inspection, he almost tripped over the corpse that lay in front of the door.

"We told you many times," said Stalin to the guard, "not to throw rotten intelligentsia into our cell. Their hearts are too tender; they do not last here."

The guard looked around the cell and made a gesture with his hand. The gesture was understood by two prisoners who dragged the corpse by the feet into the corridor.

Stalin had stopped dreaming a long time ago about the stranger, whose name he never found out, and who was his first victim. Other people replaced this person in Stalin's dreams. The first to push out the secretary of the county court were the commanders of the Red Army shot by Stalin himself near Tsaritsin. And then... and then Stalin's dreams were disturbed by his other numerous victims. They were his supporters from the Revolution and the Civil War — Bukharin and Rykov, Pyatakev and Zinoviev, Radek and Kossior. They were the outstanding commanders of the Red Army — Tukhachevsky and Blucher, Gamarnik and Yakir. They were the numerous group of deputies to the 18th Party Congress, the wives of his enemies...

Oh well, thought Stalin, remembering all that, they have to excuse me, such is the law of history. History is a perpetual struggle. It I

didn't do it to them, they would do it to me. Stalin gestured with his hand and looked at the clock. It was nine o'clock.

Oh, it's about time for the evening tea, he said to himself approached the closet, took out his uniform and put it on, buttoned all the buttons. Now he was in full uniform. Although nobody ever saw Stalin during the day, he was always dressed in his uniform only today, while working on the pictures, he allowed himself to be without it. He approached the table, pushed one of the buzzers mounted into the wall above it, and began to listen. He heard the clatter of a door, the quiet noise of someone's footsteps in the corridor, and again the clatter of a door. After that, Stalin pushed another button and the iron door to his room opened. He stepped out into the corridor.

It was a narrow corridor, without windows, lighted by a dim light. Two walls were blank. A third one had three, absolutely identical iron doors, while another wall was also adorned by an iron door thicker than the others. This one was covered with armored steel. Although Stalin believed that he lived in a palace of the Count Orlov, that was not the truth. He only lived on the estate of the Orlovs in a building erected according to his own specifications, actually an attached wing of the palace. This annex was not visible from the entrance to the estate, since it was hidden by other buildings. The whole wing consisted of the narrow little corridor and three absolutely identical rooms. Each one had an iron door which opened and closed automatically at the touch of a button from the inside. The doors were impossible to open from the outside.

The iron-plated doors connecting the wing to the palace were also automatic and were activated by a signal from any one of the three rooms. The doors could also be closed by a push from the outside.

Outside the armor-plated door, in a small, specially built room four Chekist protectors, armed as if for war, were on duty day and night. When it was time for Stalin's food — he was on a rigid schedule — the chief of the guards brought it in. When the main door opened, he placed the food on any of the shelves mounted on the three other doors and closed the armor-plated door behind him. Only then, Stalin opened the door of his own room, stepped out into the corridor, and took the food. This he also did today.

Stalin carried in his "evening tea" on a shiny tray and put it on the table. It included black caviar in a glass container, thinly sliced bread, biscuits, butter, a shiny metal teapot, a separate small teapot with the brew, sugar bowl, and a plate with grapes and pears. The big bunch of black grapes was so fresh that it appeared to have just been picked. One could hardly believe that it was deep winter and that there was bitter frost outside the windows.

Stalin laid out the food on the table and put the tray on the bed. Then he went to the closet, opened the door, took out a bottle and a goblet usually used by the Georgians for drinking their wine. The

bottle was labeled "Especially Moscovite," and at the bottom of the bottle was a root. Without sitting down, Stalin opened the bottle and filled the goblet with vodka. He drank it in one gulp, wiped his mustache with the palm of his hand, and then sat down and began to eat the caviar.

Having finished his supper, he put the utensils on the tray, brought it out into the corridor and placed it on the shelf, closed the door to the room behind himself and pressed the buzzer that opened the armor-plated door. He listened to the footsteps echoing down the corridor, and to the slamming of the door. He then opened the door of his room, went out into the corridor, and examined the armored door. After ascertaining that it was firmly locked, he returned to his room and closed the door. Now he was sure that he would be able to sleep in safety.

Stalin lit his pipe and approached the bookcase. He stood motionless for several minutes, looking at the books and exhaling thick smoke. He then took a volume of Lenin, sat down on the bed, and began to turn the pages. Stopping at a page with Lenin's portrait, he began to talk loudly, as if before an audience.

"Yes, we, the Bolsheviks, are baked from a special dough. We do not bend before any difficulties. And you, Illich, were firm, you accomplished much, much — but your biggest achievement was that you died at the right time. Yes, yes, you were a good guy. You died at an appropriate time. If you had not died when you did, you would have caused us a lot of trouble. You would have caused more problems than Bukharin and Rykov or even more than Trotsky. Although you were also baked from special Bolshevik dough, you were not firm to the end, you did not totally abandon your middle-class slime. The blood that you spilled haunted you before your death, and this is not in keeping with the iron nature of a Bolshevik. We are not like those pacifists who on the way to their goal are stopped by a child's tear. We advance without hesitation even though we must walk in blood up to our necks. Yes, in this case, Illich, you were not firm to the end. And also, you were too talkative. You wrote things that I had to extricate us from somehow. For example, 'We cannot support the idea that socialism must be forced, for this is a grave stupidity; we must preach socialism.' 'How far would we get if we only preached socialism.' If we only preached it and did not enforce it by active red terror, you would not lie in state in the Red Square in the Mausoleum; you would have been trampled alive and your remains thrown to the wind, and we with you. It is a good thing that at one point you said, 'The dictatorship of the proletariat is a stubborn struggle, bloody and not so bloody, warlike and peaceful, forced and voluntary.' You also at one time said, 'The kulaks are our most bitter enemies. Death to the kulaks.' What does this mean if not the enforcement of socialism, which you call 'the gravest stupidity in the world?'

"And you also wrote, 'If Finland, Poland, or Ukraine wish to separate from Russia, there is nothing wrong in that. Is this bad? The one who says so is a chauvinist. One must be mad to continue the policy of Tsar Nicholas.' You not only caused us trouble by your words but also by your actions — you rushed to give independence to Finland, Poland, and Ukraine. What would have happened if all of us had listened to you and did not grab Ukraine by the throat? What would we have done then or now without Ukrainian wheat, coal, iron, manganese, and nickel? It is true that you saw your error and said, 'Independent Ukraine is only a slogan,' but it was too late. The Ukrainians and many other enslaved nations of the Tsarist empire understood that independence is a necessity for their existence. Try now to prove to the Ukrainians that we are not chauvinists when we insist that they remain part of the Russian communist state. Try now to prove to the Poles that we are not chauvinists when we insist on a pact with them. Try to prove to the Finns that we are not chauvinists when we insist on the incorporation of Finland into Russia.

"How can we now change what you said in the heat of polemic? But maybe it is all for the best. You created a rubber suit that can be stretched to fit anything. When we are threatened by great power chauvinism we ally ourselves with the nationalists; when we are threatened by nationalists, we ally ourselves with the chauvinists. When we are threatened by terror, we appeal to democracy; when we are threatened by democracy, we appeal to terror."

Stalin closed the book and looked at the door of the room. His eyes became frozen, as if they were microscopic ice-bound lakes and his body turned to stone. A man stood before him. The door was closed and in front of it stood a man in a dark grey suit, a white shirt, and a black tie, his face turned towards Stalin. The man approached with noiseless steps, sat quietly on the chair on which Stalin sat during supper, put his elbow on the table, and fixed his grey eyes on Stalin. Stalin looked at the uninvited guest and could not recognize him as any of his acquaintances. What is more, he had never seen a face like this one. It was a young face but, strangely, covered with a grey beard. His hair was as grey as his beard, as if covered by the autumn frost. Only in prison do people go grey so early, thought Stalin. I bet that he fell into the hands of our Chekists.

The stranger made a gesture with the hand resting on the table and pointed to his forehead. In the middle of it was a hole and blood was running from it. Stalin felt the hair on his head stand up and his face became covered with cold sweat. The guest rose from the chair.

"I will come again," his words came out clearly, spoken with a firm voice, although the stranger did not open his mouth. As noiselessly as he came in, he walked to the door with a firm step.

Amazingly, the door opened to let the man out and then closed behind him. It was quiet in the room; so quiet that Stalin's own breathing bounced off from the walls like an echo and the clock, barely audible before, sounded like a hammer in his head.

"This is an hallucination," whispered Stalin, without moving. He did not shift his glance from the door of the room. Maybe it was my conscience that came? The thought passed through his mind. But what is a conscience? I cannot understand what it is in the light of its idealistic, mythological meaning, which treats it as some chimera, as some judge over the actions of a person. Conscience is the relationship between a person's beliefs and his actions. My actions never diverged from my beliefs, and my conscience is clear. No, this is an hallucination.

Stalin got up from the bed, approached the door and began to examine it. Is it closed tightly? But he quickly pulled himself up. Why am I examining the door? If this is an hallucination then the door has nothing to do with it. There are no barriers for hallucinations.

Looks bad, thought Stalin, sitting down again on the bed. I must seek a cure. But what does seeking a cure from hallucinations mean? I must call in a psychiatrist, and when I do this, rumors about Stalin's abnormal psychological health will begin to spread. I cannot allow this. I must cure myself. If I had some medical literature on the subject, I could read up on some cures, but I have no such literature in my library. To write for it to other libraries is also risky, since rumors will start about Stalin's interest in psychiatric literature. I think too much about the past. I must think less about it. I drink too much vodka. I must cut down. With this kind of routine, I will see how things progress. I think that with my Bolshevik will, I will also be able to conquer this enemy.

Stalin felt a sort of weariness through his whole body. I must lie down, he said to himself. He took off his shoes, took off his generalissimo's uniform, hung it in the closet, opened the door to the adjoining room (the doors to all the rooms opened and closed from one room), shut off the light and walked into the next room, which had an identical bed, closet, and signaling system. Without putting on the light, Stalin closed the door and lay down to sleep.

The next day Stalin got up with a heavy head. He had had a terrible dream. Something similar to a devil or a werewolf, something that he never saw before in his life or in any picture, appeared in his room. It was as tall as a man, maybe even a bit taller, but much thinner. The body was tightly wrapped in small white strips, like a mummy, and the arms and legs were naked. Both the arms and the legs were extremely thin. The legs were no fatter than an inch-wide water pipe, while the arms were half as thin. His face was white, with a yellow cast. The head was bald and elongated, so that it looked like the upper half of a melon; the ears were larger than any ever seen on a human being and hung down like those of a pig.

The lips did not cover his teeth and he grinned from ear to ear like a skeleton. The face did not have a nose; instead there was a hole the size of a coin. Its eyes were round, like those of birds and were noted for their cold indifference. It had no eyebrows and it was repulsive to look into its eyes. The head was connected to the trunk by a long, thin neck. Its fingers reminded one of the claws of a giant eagle with long, sharp nails. The fingers, as well as the hands and legs, were covered by a thick skin, like that which covers the feet of some birds. Its feet ended with elongated squares and did not have any toes; at the end, the color of the feet changed from yellow to black.

This monster appeared devilishly dynamic. At first it danced very neatly before Stalin. Stalin had never seen anything like this in his life. The Ukrainians do not dance their hopak nor the Georgians their lezghinka as well as this strange apparition was dancing. When it jumped up, its head almost reached the ceiling and when it fell to the floor, it rolled itself into a ball. It twirled like a top, so that one only felt the wind; it struck its ears with its feet and twirled its head like a windmill. It seemed that there were no bones under the sturdy, shiny skin of its arms and legs, only springs of irresistible strength.

Dancing, the apparition approached Stalin closer and closer and when it got near him, it passed its nails over his uniform and pulled off a patch, exposing part of Stalin's stomach. The patch, which was thrown over its shoulder, did not fall to the ground but floated in the air. Stalin did not have time to examine his mutilated uniform before the apparition took off one epaulette and threw it behind him. Like the patch, the epaulette floated in the air. Stalin wanted to scream, "How dare you scorn the emblem of the State?" but he became dumb, could not open his mouth to utter a word. Perhaps this apparition is subject neither to Party nor to State orders, he thought. And the apparition continued its act.

With one gesture it took off all the buttons on the uniform. The shiny bronze buttons with the State emblem fell to the floor at Stalin's feet. In one second, the apparition took off from the uniform the Order of the Red Star and hung it on the ugly straps below its stomach. When Stalin bent his head to look at the spot where the Order had hung, the apparition jumped again and took off one of the pipings from his trousers. The piping floated in the air along with the patch and the epaulette. The whole room soon became filled with bits and pieces of Stalin's uniform, and when he looked at himself he saw that he stood only in his underwear, shirt, and shoes. Now the creature was dancing around him and Stalin was turning around, looking at its antics.

Having stopped dancing, the monster grabbed Stalin's shirt with its nails and a patch of it flew into the air. After a few minutes

Stalin did not have on any underwear, shirt, or socks, which were ripped off at the shoe laces. Now the apparition began to dance even faster, catching pieces of uniform and garments from the air and stuffing them into its mouth. Devouring all Stalin's clothing, the monster went to the door, jumped up, turned around, and threw itself forward with all its strength. On impact, it hit Stalin on the chest with its melon-head, knocking his breath out, so that he swayed and grabbed at his chest. At this very moment the creature grabbed him by the foot and dragged him toward itself. Stalin could not stand on one leg and so fell to the floor.

Stalin hardly had time to come to his senses when the creature sat on him. With several movements it ripped open Stalin's stomach with its blade-like nails, began to take out his intestines and string them around its neck in even circles. When all the intestines were gone, it took out Stalin's liver, threw it to the floor and then began to take out Stalin's heart. It took out the heart from the chest and held it with its disgusting paws in front of Stalin's face. Stalin saw that the heart was not fully severed, being still connected to the aorta and vein. The creature began to squeeze the heart between its hands; at first there was a trickle of blood and then it began to flow in a thick stream. The room began to fill with blood. Stalin felt that he was floating in his own blood and saw that it filled the room more and more.

He was already beginning to choke on the blood. At this moment the monster began to laugh diabolically and said in a lisping voice, "Have you forgotten that all spilt blood must be answered with blood?"

Stalin woke up, his forehead bathed in cold sweat. His heart beat faster and his head felt as if it were stuffed with lead. He lifted the comforter and examined his body.

"What a dream," he said to himself. "It's a good thing that it was only a dream."

Stalin had had many bad nightmares in his lifetime, but he had never before experienced anything like this.

Is this a foretelling of my fate? he wondered. Eh, what kind of foretelling. If Stalin begins to believe in dreams then all materialism must be done away with.

He got up, put on his slippers, made the bed and went into the first room. When he opened the closet, he found that his uniform with the epaulettes, the piping, and the Order of the Red Star hung in its place and he smiled with satisfaction. Stalin put on his generalissimo's pants and his shoes and began to wash. There was no plumbing on the Orlov estate and Stalin had to be satisfied with primitive methods. He poured water from a jug into a cup that stood on a stool in the corner of the room, took a mouthful of water from it and thus washed himself over the slop bucket. As he washed, he also soaked his head and felt better.



When he had finished his ablutions and was dressed in his generalissimo's uniform, it was already nine o'clock and he had his morning tea. Today they served heavy cream with hot doughnuts. Before breakfast, Stalin took from under the bed a large straw-covered bottle filled with old Kakhetis wine. He opened it and poured himself two goblets, one after the other. Now he felt his strength returning.

After breakfast Stalin lit his pipe and walked up and down the room several times. He stopped in front of a world map hanging on the wall. The Soviet Union, China, North Korea, North Vietnam, Mongolia, and all the countries of Eastern Europe conquered during World War II were colored pink. Stalin stood looking at the map a long time. Then he said to himself, "Well, there is only one narrow strip left in Asia and one small patch in Europe. One more push and all Europe will be in my hands. Indonesia — that's the road to Australia! There, we are preparing the ground well. The Arab world is the bridgehead to Africa. And there our affairs are not going badly. One more push, and all four continents are in my hands. It is no longer a problem. With Mao's Chinese we can conquer the whole world tomorrow. One has to paralyze America with her atomic bomb. If it were not for the atomic bomb, all Europe and maybe Asia would be ours today."

Stalin looked from the map to the table with the magazines. On the cover of the top one was a profile portrait of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin.

"That's correct," he again said to himself, "that I am represented next to Marx, Engels, and Lenin. But when one compares us, one can see that we are equal only theoretically. As far as practical action is concerned — the realization of theory into practice — there can be no comparison. Compared to me, the other three are pygmies. Marx and Engels only created the Communist International which split even during their lifetime. Lenin created the Bolshevik Party in Russia which, although it succeeded in seizing power, began to splinter afterwards into small fragments. And if I had not taken this party into my iron embrace, there would have been nothing left of it. We already paid dearly for Lenin's liberalism. We barely conquered Ukraine, and if it weren't for Denikin, we probably could not have done it. And how much trouble we had with Transcaucasia, Kuban, and Central Asia! We lost Finland, Poland, and all the Baltic area. It's a good thing that we had a chance to remedy the situation. And we really remedied it very well. There is only a sliver of Europe and a patch of Asia that we do not have. It is true that Finland is still not in our hands, but that is no longer a problem. Its fate will be decided with the rest of Europe. Now, how can you compare me with Marx, Engels, and Lenin? Which one of them had such possessions? It is even foolish to compare me with them. But with whom can you compare me? Who, from all the conquerors, ruled a territory such

as the one I am ruling? Alexander of Macedonia? Julius Caesar? Genghis Khan? Napoleon? None of them conquered the two continents over which I rule."

Stalin sat at the table and picked up the phone. He demanded to be connected to the atomic center. For several minutes he listened to the information about the work of the center.

"Yes, in this case, America has outstripped us," he said to himself. "It is yet difficult for us to be equal in this field. She is rich. She became rich through two wars. Her industry is strong. Her science is perfect. But in the not too distant future victory will be on our side. We will outdistance her. What is the American President? What can he do? He can collect taxes from his farmers, businessmen, and bankers. And that is all. It is a miserable sum that goes into the coffers of the American state. And what can I do? I can collect as much money as I need, from every collective farm, every factory, every plant, and every mine. I can make a requisition, at any time, from any of the Republics. I can, if need be, take the last cow from a peasant.

"And our concentration camps? What a potential! One can obtain through them unheard-of wealth; and the labour is for nothing in areas where one could not even get a free worker. Let the American President try to organize the state machinery in this manner. He would be torn to pieces — the system is not the same. There, the state is subservient to labour, while here labour is subservient to the state. Although America is much richer than we, in an atomic contest we will be victorious over her. In the near future she cannot speed up its rate of growth as much as we. Time is working for us."

Stalin again picked up the telephone and asked to be connected with Ukraine. Now he listened to information about the struggle with the nationalist guerrillas in Western Ukraine.

"It's really a shame," he said, "that an army that is a million strong cannot for seven years do anything with a 100,000 army of trouble-makers. You better introduce more collective farms there, then you will have all the population before your eyes. Cut down the forests in the Carpathian Mountains, so that the people have no place to hide. And deport them; deport as many as you can to Siberia and create optimum conditions for immigrants from Russia — our trusted people. When we are getting ready for our final struggle with capitalism, we cannot tolerate such gangrene."

Having finished the conversation, Stalin lit his pipe and began to pace. Puffing, he talked to himself as if continuing his telephone conversation.

"No one has done as much harm as these Khakhols (Ukrainians). The Tsars had troubles with them and they passed on this headache to us. It's an abominable nation of separatists. How much trouble we had with them during the Civil War. How many good Party sons did they kill! Well, now they know throughout Eastern Ukraine that

we do not joke; if we don't exile them to Siberia, then we will put them into the ground itself. They remember well 1933 and 1937 and they are quiet now; those from Western Ukraine have not yet learned.

"All those Khakhols should be deported to Siberia; there is enough room there for them. They well deserve the same fate as the Chechens, Ingushs, Kalmyks, and Crimean Tartars. But, unfortunately, there are too many of them! What's more, we have nobody with whom to replace them. Only they or the Germans know how to work this soil, but the Germans are as bad as the Ukrainians. And there are not enough of them to fill up Ukraine. But one must keep the Ukrainians in such a state that they will constantly feel the threat of Siberia. They must know that at any time we can do what we did in 1933 and 1937. Only under these circumstances will these people be obedient."

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Three days passed. Stalin was not troubled by nightmares or hallucinations and began to forget about them. He decided that he would not have a relapse. On the fourth day, while he was sitting on the bed smoking his pipe, the door suddenly opened and a woman came into the room. The woman was barefoot, in a long nightgown, with long, flowing hair. She did not appear to be over thirty. Deep experiences and even suffering were stamped on her pretty face.

It must be the wife of one of my enemies, whose death sentence I have signed, Stalin thought, frightened.

The woman came to the bed, stood in front of Stalin and riveted her sorrowful eyes on him. She stood like this for several minutes and Stalin could not take his eyes away from her. He was ready to listen to her charges and apologize. The woman raised her hand to the hair on her forehead and Stalin noticed that it had a bullet hole, like the forehead of the man who came three days ago. She bent her head, put her hand on her forehead and blood began to flow in a stream. In this manner she gathered a palm-full, threw it in Stalin's face, turned sharply and walked away. Stalin felt his face and, to his surprise, found that his palms were covered with blood. He felt his face with the other hand and it also became covered with blood. He took off his uniform and began to wash himself at the bucket.

While washing his hands he noticed that the blood was not only on his palms but even covered his wrists. He rolled up his sleeves and became frightened, seeing his hands bloody to the elbow. He had to wash them very carefully, taking water into his mouth from time to time. After washing, he began to dry himself with a towel. As he was drying himself he looked to see if any blood appeared on the towel, but there were no traces on it. He looked into the mirror and his face was clean. Then he looked into the bucket; if the blood was real then the water should be colored. But the water was clean.

What a bitch, Stalin thought angrily. She fooled me. He began to curse as foully as the criminals in the Russian jails or the Chekists during interrogations. Even this is an hallucination, thought Stalin. But when I begin to see blood on my hands, then I must get some literature on the subject and cure myself.

Stalin slept badly that night. He could not fall asleep for a long time, and when he did he was awakened quickly from nightmares. Either Bukharin or Zinoviev or Blucher or Yakir or Kirov or Ordzonokidze appeared to him. Only toward morning did he fall asleep soundly and again he had a strange and terrible dream.

He dreamed that Khrushchev was washing his feet in a metal basin in a bathhouse. At first he took some green soap from a container, smeared Stalin's feet with it, and then washed them with water which turned soapy and dirty in the basin. When the feet were washed, Khrushchev began to wash Stalin's head with the same dirty water. Before he had finished washing the head, Khrushchev took him by the hand and led him along like a father leading a child. Stalin looked at his naked body and saw patches of dirty suds and spots of dirt. He did not want to leave the bathhouse dirty, but for some reason he followed Khrushchev meekly.

Suprisingly, he found himself in Red Square, before the Mausoleum, surrounded by members of the Politburo and the Central Committee of the Party. They were all dressed in light summer suits but Stalin was naked. They were all going to the tribune of the Mausoleum and were dragging him along; some of them even poked him. He stood in the middle of the tribune, in the same spot where he always stood during parades and demonstrations. To his surprise, however, the tribune did not have a stone barrier, so that all his nakedness, from his feet to his head, was visible. The Red Square was filled with people who were pointing fingers at him. He looked at his supporters, the members of the Politburo and the Central Committee of the Party, and they were also pointing fingers.

When he looked at the people he saw that those passing before the stand had sewn-up lips. Some, instead of faces, had pieces of meat, some walked with bloody heads, crushed skulls, and bullet wounds in the chest. There were many people with frozen-off ears and noses. They raised into the air their hands, tied with barbed wire, and some of them were completely encircled with it.

By their clothes Stalin recognized workers and peasants, civil servants and priests, students and soldiers, military men, monks, and nuns. The intellectuals, in their robes, made up a separate group. All of them looked at Stalin with reproach and walked as slowly as at a funeral.

Suddenly everything disappeared and Stalin found himself surrounded by soldiers. They led him from the stand of the Mausoleum to the Kremlin wall, to the very place where the ashes of distinguished Bolsheviks are immured. Right next to the wall Stalin saw a deep

hole, like a grave. He stopped here and looked at the soldiers. To his surprise he saw the same soldiers that were protecting him now.

Even these scoundrels are against me, he thought. They have everything. They eat what they want, choose the women they want.

Somebody pushed him and he fell into the hole. He lay at the bottom and fearfully waited for them to start burying him alive, but no one was interrering him. The soldiers disappeared, and Beria appeared at the edge of the hole. He jumped in, pushed Stalin away with his boot, and lay down next to him. Stalin woke up. He pushed back the comforter and sat on the bed, putting his feet into the slippers.

What will happen when I die? For the first time in his life he raised that question. He remembered when prisoners interpreted dreams in the tsarist prison and recalled that dreaming of meat indicates an illness and dreaming of falling into a hole means death. As if beaten, he ambled into his first room, washed haphazardly, put on his uniform, and had his morning tea. He ate without appetite, and consumed less than half of what was brought in. He drank neither wine nor vodka. After breakfast, he walked up and down the room, puffing on his pipe.

What will happen when I die? Things will go badly when I die. These blind puppies that surround me are good for nothing. They can only act under orders and without orders they are hollow. So that this state and the consolidation of all socialist countries may last, one needs an autocratic ruler like me. Who from amongst these blind puppies can become such a ruler? No one. Because not one of them had the necessary popularity. Because not one of them possesses the necessary autocratic will. All the rulers of the socialist countries listen to me, because I placed all of them in these positions and they all know that all I have to do is move a finger and they will no longer exist. But will they be obedient to the new Moscow ruler? Especially Mao, who pretends to be a leader? Will he want to be subservient to some Malenkov, Beria, or Kaganovich? That is the question. Will the Soviet Union survive if the next leader is unpopular, without much authority, and unable to create that fear by which I control all the people?

Our state is not a mortar made from one piece of wood, but a cask made of many pieces, held together by hoops. If the hoops break, the pieces will fall apart and the cask will be ruined. This cask almost fell apart in 1917 and only through extraordinary efforts and with much blood, were we Bolsheviks able to preserve it, put new hoops on it. But what will happen now?

Stalin found no answer to this question and came to the conclusion that he could not die now. He looked exhausted and appeared to have shrunk. When he looked in the mirror, he saw that he had much more grey hair than before. When he combed his hair he noticed that it was falling out more than before. He lost his appetite, ate

little of his second breakfast, did not eat half of his lunch and supper, but only had all his evening tea. He did not drink alcohol during the entire day. After the evening tea, with nerves strung out and with fear in his eyes, he awaited new hallucinations, but the apparitions did not come at the expected time. Stalin decided that they would not come.

Feeling tired from the preceding restless night, he decided to go to sleep early. He took off his shoes, pants, and jacket and sat down on the bed to light a pipe. After he filled it and had it going, he looked up and saw two people. They were Ukrainians. They looked like the people that he saw during the Civil War, when he was in Ukraine. They were dressed in curly sheepskin hats, patched-up jackets, and worn-out boots. Their mustached faces were covered with a growth of beard and they were so thin, that it seemed they had nothing but bones under the ashen skin of their faces.

"Let's kill him and eat him," said one Ukrainian to the other. "See what a full stomach he has. He eats bread and rolls made from our wheat and we can't even bake a flat cake; he drinks our milk and doesn't even give us the whey. Let's cut him up," said the second one.

The first Ukrainian bent down, took a long knife from his boot, like the one peasants use to kill pigs, and tested its blade with his finger.

"It must be sharpened," he said, "because if I don't kill him right away, he will holler." Then he bent down, took out a stone and began to sharpen the cutlass in front of Stalin's eyes.

"You should have been carved up a long time ago," said the second one. "Why did you kill us? Because we ate people? But we ate corpses, while we were alive when you shot us. If you didn't take our wheat, then we would not have been eating corpses."

"There is nothing to talk about with him!" said the first one, putting his sharpening stone into his boot. "Hold him by the hair and I will cut his throat."

Stalin felt that against his will his head was bending down and something hit him hard in the back of the neck. He thought the end had come. Several minutes seemed like an eternity. When he raised his head, he realized with joy that he was not dead. The Ukrainians were no longer before him.

I must cure myself, he said to himself. Tomorrow I will order the appropriate literature from the Kremlin library. So as not to arouse suspicion, I will order other books with the list of medical books.

He could not stop thinking about the Ukrainian cannibals, no matter how hard he tried.

Ukrainians. I know they only want me to fall into their clutches. Well, they are probably right. Stalin really gave it to them; he starved about 10 million of them in 1933, victimized them in 1937,

and killed hundreds of them in his prisons. In 1941, when he was retreating before the Germans, he exiled millions to Siberia.

But I did not act only on my own initiative. I had to create industries and military might, for without this, not only could we not have expanded our rule, but we would have become trampled by our enemies. I had to support the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries. How else could I do it, if not at the expense of the peasants, as was once proposed by Trotsky, and at the expense of the borderlands, as I proposed. This plan was approved by the overwhelming majority of our Party. And because Ukraine has the most peasants and it is a borderland of our state, it bore the worst blow of this plan. And rightly so, for it is the most untrustworthy nation. I realized that, when I was there during the time of the Civil War. And anyway, one can accomplish nothing without victims. Where a forest is being cut, wood chips fly.

The next day Stalin was getting ready to make his list and order the literature, but one thought stopped him from sitting down and concentrating: what will happen when he is gone? He kept walking up and down the room, puffing on his pipe.

What will happen to the whole communist camp, to the whole communist movement, when I die? he asked himself. Who will be able to head the whole communist world? What is needed is a person whose authority is recognized by all, a person with a great mind and a powerful hand. Without such a person the whole communist world will fall apart, as the Soviet Union would have, had I not taken at a timely moment all power in the State into my powerful hands. It will fall apart like a cask without hoops. It will be another Africa, where yesterday's cannibals create independent states. Who can replace me? There is no such person in the Soviet Union. Maybe Mao in China?

But what are the implications in passing on authority over the entire socialist camp to Mao Tse-tung? It will mean the merging of nations prematurely. This merging of nations is the final goal of Marxism-Leninism, but should it be done now? We rely fully on the Russian people. They supported our power in revolutionary transformation, in the defence of our gains from internal and external enemies, during the long Civil War, and the war against intervention, as well as during all the internal diversions in the years of war communism and collectivization. They defeated Hitlerite Germany. They willingly annexed, without regard for sacrifices, other nations into their State. But it is one matter to bring into the state Estonians, Latvians, and Lithuanians, who do not even make up 7 million people, and another matter to bring in a nation of 700 million who outnumber the Russians six to one.

We call the Russian nation an international nation, a liberating nation. We only call it that, but we know that it is not like that; we know that first of all it is a chauvinistic nation, an imperialistic na-

tion. We praise it and encourage it toward colonizing deeds, because at this point, this fits into our plans. But we must understand that this nation willingly merges with Estonians, Latvians, Armenians, Uzbeks, and Kazaks, only because it is sure that it can digest them and assimilate them. A merger with the Chinese is another matter, for then the Russians will be the ones to be digested. What are the implications of yielding my authority over the whole communist world to Mao at the present time? That would mean opening up the borders and allowing no less than half of the Chinese to move into Russian territory. This would bring about the chinezation of the Russians, and if not that, then in any case the loss of present Russian national identity. What we are doing with the Kazaks and other nations would happen to the Russians. The Russians, whether party members or not, do not want this at all. They would not recognize the authority of Mao over them and Mao would not recognize any other authority except mine.

What will all this lead to? I am even afraid to think about it. This will be another Tower of Babel. This would bring about war between Russia and China. Although we all call ourselves internationalists, we fully understand that the Chinese are as much nationalists as the Russians, and neither will share authority over the world. If there is a war, then who will be victorious? The Soviet Union has atomic weapons, China has none; but she really does not need them in a war against Russia. The Chinese will conquer with automatic rifles and carbines and even with bows and arrows, when they send an army of 100 million against the Russians. Rats can stop a train by sheer numbers; the Chinese masses will be able to choke the Russian army in spite of its technology and atomic weapons. And Russia has no one to lean on; she is surrounded everywhere by enemies. In this war these enemies will support China and not Russia.

Everybody will be against us because of what we did during the last war. Finland will attack us for Vyborg, one does not even have to speak about Germany, Turkey will want to repay us for the Crimean Tartars; Israel for our campaign against cosmopolitanism and the Kremlin doctors; Iran for our occupation during the war; Japan, for the breaking of the peace treaty, for Sakhalin and the Kurile Islands. And all the other socialist countries are our friends only so long as they feel threatened with Siberia. Internal anti-Russian forces will also play a role. All those to whom we did some wrong will rise against us. I am afraid to think what can happen.

Stalin again came to the conclusion that he just could not die now. He spent the whole day with these thoughts and only before the evening tea he remembered to make up the list of books. When he was walking from the door to the table he felt as if someone grabbed him by the shoulder. Stalin turned around and saw before him the same man who had come to him the first time, the one who said he would come again.



His look was so sharp, filled with such resolve, that Stalin could not withstand it. He closed his eyes, felt that he was losing his balance, swayed and fell face up on the floor. He came to from the ringing of the telephone. He saw the clock, which showed 12:00. The telephone rang several times and he heard the phone in the adjoining room. If only someone would pick him up and place him on the bed, then he would feel better. The telephone was quite near, but Stalin could not get up or even move a finger. He had fully regained consciousness, but there was an unbearable pain in his head.

I probably cracked my head when I fell, he thought, although he could not ascertain this, being unable to move. This is the end, for who can and who would dare to come into my apartments? And by the time they get to me, I will be dead. Stalin knew that he had not yet had his evening tea. That must have disturbed them, and the telephone calls indicated their fears.

If they can get through in time and bring adequate medical help, then I will be saved.

And Stalin began to have a spark of hope.

He kept losing and then regaining consciousness, and after several hours he heard a noise at the door to the corridor.

Finally help is coming, he thought, and his heart began to beat faster. They were knocking and rattling the door a long time, and Stalin feared they would not be able to open it. Then he heard footsteps and muffled noises in the corridor, next to his room. This door was opened quickly, and Stalin heard people coming into his room. First came Beria, then Khrushchev, then Malenkov, Kaganovich, Voroshilov, Mikoyan, and Bulganin.

Beria, approaching Stalin's feet, stopped and shouted: "The tyrant is dead! Dead!"

To Stalin, Beria's voice seemed repulsively squeaky. Khrushchev got ahead of Beria. He approached Stalin's head, fell down on his knees, looked into his eyes and saw that, after all, Stalin was still alive. Khrushchev quickly got up and ran out of the room. After him, crowding each other, the rest also ran out. The room was empty again. Although the door had been taken off its hinges, nobody came to see Stalin. Beria's words, "The tyrant is dead! Dead!" rang above his head.

See what a serpent I warmed near my heart, he thought. These rabbits will probably rejoice at my death. See what slyness. They all flattered me. They all praised me and applauded me. And all that only as long as they felt my power. Slaves! Toadies! Bending reeds! Chameleons! What will they do, those vile blind men without me? They will cut each other's throats, since I taught them to fight for the bones. Well then! It could not have been otherwise. I destroyed those that were capable of thinking, leaving around me only sycophants. I thought that they were truly faithful to me, but now

I see that they were only subservient through fear. They did things for me only because they wanted to keep their skins.

Now I see that those sycophants do more harm than admitted adversaries. For your adversary takes advantage of your mistake and hits you in the spot where you made a mistake, he forces you to be better; but a sycophant praises your mistake as an achievement and thus leads you into even deeper error.

Time passed very slowly. Stalin did not want to and was afraid to fall asleep, so as not to fall asleep forever; the unbearable pains in his head kept chasing sleep away.

Somebody should at least think of moving me from the floor to the bed and put a pillow under my head; this would make it easier. Even dead, I am still feared.

Suddenly, Stalin saw a figure in a monk's hood and robe. By his swarthy face, black beard and familiar features, Stalin recognized the figure of his school principal in the seminary where he studied as a youth. The monk spoke to him in Georgian.

"You are a priest and you put on the uniform of a generalissimo. Your whole character is monkish: priests in their later years retire to the desert or want to be locked up; you locked yourself up before your death. You thought you would hide from your sins? Nobody forced you into the seminary; you came to us yourself. And then after that, all your life you ran away from the priesthood and from yourself, but you could not do it. What did we do to you that you tortured us? Did we torture you when you studied with us? What did the Church do to you that you destroyed it with such ferocious zeal? What did your fellowmen do to you that you spilled their blood? Did we teach you to kill?

"Remember, we taught you not to kill. You knew that one must not kill and yet you did. You murdered innocents. Lenin killed the tsar because he hung his brother, but why did you kill your supporters? Why did you allow millions of people to rot in Siberia, starved them and froze them to death in Kolyma, Vorkuta, Norilsk? You are a bigger sinner than Lenin. Lenin fought against his enemies, while you fought against your friends. Lenin never knew about God and opposed Him. But you knew God, you prayed to Him, and you began a bloody war against God. You are a traitor, you are a renegade. You are a traitor to yourself. And you know that all spilled blood must be answered with blood. The Russian tsars spilled people's blood for a long time and then their own was spilled.

"Now you are lying on the floor and dying, because you are choking on your own blood. You are dying from a stroke. And nobody will help you; you will die on this floor, while help is near; one could pick you up and put you on the bed, so that the blood would flow away from the head. But no one will do it because you do not have a single friend near you. Your friends were near you a few minutes ago and ran away like grey mice from a cat. You

came to this place because you have no friends and are surrounded only by enemies. And they became your enemies because you were the enemy of the whole world. You thought that your power, your strength could be exchanged for God's mercy and people's friendship. You see that it is not so. Enslaved people bowed to your power and not to you. You lost your power and you lie there useless to anybody. You dreamt about power over four continents and now you lie between four walls and have no power over yourself.

"You thought that you would take God's place amongst the people. You convinced yourself that people would pray to you and not to God. Did you not nurture too much insolence within yourself?"

"Our Savior Jesus Christ gave his life for the truth and you were killing the truth for your miserable existence, for your glory. You will die soon and your erroneous insolent ideas will die soon after you. And nobody will bow to you but people will turn away from you, like from an angry beast. Not only all people, but your own children will disavow you, when they understand what an animal you are. You will go into eternal oblivion."

The figure disappeared. Dawn was coming but the rescuers did not arrive. He felt worse and worse. He was thirsty but could not open his mouth. Shadows dimmed his eyesight more and more. And in the shadows Stalin saw Jesus Christ descend in a shroud and crown of thorns, with blood on his forehead. He was wrapped in a white cloud. Stalin heard a silver voice say these words above him, "The truth, the truth I say to you; the good will be resurrected while the wicked will go into eternal damnation."

Suddenly something snapped in Stalin's chest and his eyes were covered with a thick mist; Stalin was falling into eternal oblivion.

When at nine o'clock in the morning the Kremlin doctors came to rescue Stalin, his eyes were open, but he did not see anything.

Having examined the dead man, the older doctor said, "If we had been called a bit earlier, if the road had not been so slippery, if they had driven us more quickly, we could have saved the great Stalin. Now, it's too late. I have closed his eyes."

All the members of the Politburo began to cry.

## LENIN

**Creator of Russian Soviet Totalitarian State**

Statement of Facts on Centenary of Russian

Dictator's Birth.

Published by World Congress of Free Ukrainians,  
New York, April, 1970.

8 pp., 10p

## IN THEIR DEFENCE ABROAD

*The Gazette, Montreal, Wed., Aug. 7, 1974*  
*The Toronto Star, Thurs., Aug. 8, 1974*

James EAYRS  
 Professor of  
 International Relations  
 at the University of Toronto.

## MOROZ—SOVIET POLITICAL CAPTIVE No. 1

*"For a number of years, by morbidly reacting to certain shortcomings and giving them one-sided evaluation, I had seen the national position of the Soviet Ukraine in black colours, and permitted myself to make public attacks on the nationalities policy of the Communist Party."*

In these words did Ivan Dzhuba — patriot, critic and leading protestor among the people of Ukraine against Soviet attempts to crush their culture and stifle their spirit — confess to the error of his ways. (At the degree of duress by which that recantation was extracted, one dares not even guess).

How dearly would Soviet power pay for a comparable recantation by Dzhuba's successor as the defiant one, to judge from the efforts of its secret police to get one. But from Valentyn Moroz, Soviet Political Prisoner No. 1, no such confession has as yet been wrung. It has not been for want of trying.

History has its housing shortage. Even so, Moroz will have his honoured place. His ordeal has been a saga of the human spirit as noble as that of Socrates, as bold as Joan of Arc's.

But it is not yet so well known in the world as to require no recounting.

### **Power and prestige**

Here is a young scholar, feet firmly planted on that ladder that leads from junior post at teacher's college to the power and prestige of a Soviet academician. But Moroz is not permitted to proceed more than a rung or two on the way to the top.

September, 1965: Moroz is arrested, charged with conducting "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda designed to undermine or weaken Soviet power."

The charge against him is as grave as the evidence against him is flimsy. But then the evidence is immaterial. Moroz is singled out by the State as an example — one of a score of scapegoats the regime intends to punish as a warning to prospective dissidents, democrats, and champions of Ukrainian autonomy.

The State has misjudged its designated fall guy. Moroz does not go meekly to his fate. The show-trial staged for the occasion is turned upon its impresarios.

From his prisoner's box, Moroz pleads with dignity, conviction and "oderzhymist" — a word for which there is no precise equivalent in English, connoting a sense of mission, of faith, of total dedication to a cause.

The State has its revenge for this humiliation. Moroz's co-defendants get a two-year sentence. Moroz is given four.

Imprisoned in solitary confinement, an inmate of the Gulag Archipelago or what Moroz will call "the Beria Reserve" — an ironic tribute to Stalin's hateful henchman — he turns to write in protest.

His writing is not anti-Soviet. Unlike Solzhenitsyn, for whom Bolshevism is flawed at the moment of its creation and lies beyond redemption and reform, Moroz is merely anti-Stalinist.

Stalin, he writes with bitter humour, for all his refusal to countenance the science of cybernetics, performed a cybernetic miracle. He invented the programmed men. "Stalin is the creator of the cog."

The cog is the antithesis of the individual. It does not think. It does not feel. It knows nothing of compassion. It is devoid of conscience. "A cog, titled professor or academician, will never say anything new . . . A herd of cogs can be termed the Red Cross and it will count calories in Africa but say nothing of famine at home."

But the future belongs to the individual, not to the cog. Moroz's Report from the Beria Reserve, like Solzhenitsyn's undelivered Nobel Lecture, closes on a note of ringing affirmation. "A crime is a crime and it is inevitably followed by retribution . . . He who robbed the robot . . . (who) robbed him of his soul and dehumanized him, will also have to answer. Truth has long arms."

Release in September, 1969, having served his sentence to the full, he is, like other political prisoners returning to Soviet society, denied appropriate employment. He takes up his pen on behalf of the Ukrainian renaissance.

The essay "Chronicle of Resistance," one of three dating from this period, is more than a passionately eloquent plea for the preservation of the cultural tradition of Ukraine. It is addressed to despoilers everywhere.

The village of Kosmach, a Mecca of Ukrainian art and folklore, is desecrated by an oil derrick. "The oldest architectural monuments are snack bars, built since 1948 and plastered on all sides with grey cement — the classic Stalin renaissance." "A wooden crucifix, dating from the fifteenth century, and the oldest in Ukraine, was pulled down from a height of eight metres to build an automobile parking lot."

Nor is this all. "A new shadow is taking shape over the mountains of Kosmach, the spectre of mass culture . . . The songs over the radio are the same on all continents. The fashion is the same from Brasil to Japan . . . People are excessively developing their technical function at the expense of the spiritual, and this, for some reason, is called progress."

## Lesson not learned

Soviet power, paranoid and fearful, cannot take such thoughts in its stride. It construes them not as the unexceptionable sentiments of sensitive persons in every modern society but as pernicious and subversive doctrines — Aesopian fables, feebly disguising the demand for Ukraine's independence from Soviet rule.

Never mind that Ukraine's right to independence is embedded in the Soviet constitution. Soviet power concludes that Moroz has not yet learned his lesson.

In June, 1970, he is again arrested, brought to trial once more. Here he does not try to prove his innocence for, as he boldly tells his prosecutors, they know he is guilty of no crime.

Put me behind bars, he tells them, and you only hurt yourselves. "Everything will start all over again: new protests and new signatures; new material for the press and radio of the world. Interest in what Moroz wrote will grow tenfold . . . You are pouring more fuel on the fire which you wish to extinguish."

Soviet power is only too obliging to its victim. Moroz is sentenced to six years' incarceration in the dreaded Vladimir prison, to be followed — should he survive them — by a further three years in labour camp and five years in exile.

His treatment while in prison has been inhuman beyond belief. A fellow political prisoner, since released and living now in Israel, glimpsing him briefly, is aghast at what he saw — an inmate as of Auschwitz, "the thin bristly hair, on the fried, pallid scalp, and the greenish, parchment-like skin, as terrifying as that of a mummy . . ."

## Poisoned food

The greening of the skin is the result of the poisoning of the food — a form of "rehabilitation" described by other Ukrainian recipients of such treatment in a letter smuggled to the United Nations Human Rights Commission from their cell. "Ten to 15 minutes after the consumption of food a slight pressure appears in the temples which afterwards turns into an intolerable headache . . . It is difficult to concentrate on anything . . . When reading a paragraph one forgets by the end what was written at the beginning."

Soviet power does not intend to allow Moroz to compose a sequel to his Report from the Beria Reserve.

Soon after his encounter with the eyewitness to his condition, Moroz is stabbed four times in the stomach by criminals sharing his quarters. His solitary confinement since is broken only by periodic assaults by other inmates whom prison authorities set to beating him.

On July 1 this year, Moroz began a hunger strike.

What does Soviet power have to say about this treatment of its prisoner? Speaking through its mouthpiece at the press office of the U.S.S.R. Embassy in Canada, it says: "Moroz is healthy and has no

complaints." It concedes that this was not always so, that on October 1, 1973, he complained of coughing. "Cough pills were prescribed."

Cough pills were prescribed. What kind of fools do the spokesmen for Soviet power in Ottawa take us Canadians to be? Never has Auden's depiction of their kind been better justified.

*Across a subjugated plain,  
Among its desperate and slain,  
The ogre strolls with hands on hips  
While drivel gushes from his lips.*

The paid apologist for the tormentors of Valentyn Moroz is Alexander Nikolaevich Yakovlev, the Soviet Ambassador to Canada. His Embassy is at 285 Charlotte Street, Ottawa K1N 8L5. If you'd prefer to picket Ambassador Yakovlev's home, he lives at 390 Lisgar Road in Rockcliffe Park — not, alas, in solitary confinement.

Janis SAPIETS

## HOPE DWINDLING FOR DEFIANT UKRAINIAN

*According to reports from Moscow, the imprisoned Ukrainian dissident Valentyn Moroz, who has been on hunger strike since last July, is rapidly losing strength and may be near to death. Janis Sapiets of the BBC comments.*

Valentyn Moroz, the 39-year-old Ukrainian historian and writer, has spent the last nine years of his life in Soviet prisons and labour camps, except for a nine-month spell of freedom in 1969. His present sentence has another ten years to run — five in prison and five in exile. This will make for Moroz a grand total of eighteen years — a staggering punishment for having written a few essays and a report on his earlier prison-life experiences.

There are two main reasons which may explain the harsh treatment meted out to Moroz. The theme which dominates his works is Ukrainian nationalism — and the expression of nationalist sentiments, in whatever form this takes, immediately provokes the Soviet authorities into violent repressive measures. Furthermore — and this must have particularly rankled with the KGB (Soviet secret police) — Moroz has drawn a harrowing picture of life in Soviet labour camps in his *Report from the Beriia Reservation*, which figured as one of the main items in the indictment at his trial in 1970. Published in the West six years before Alexander Solzhenitsyn's *Gulag Archipelago*, the *Report* provided a revealing insight into KGB psychology, showing the lawlessness and brutality practised by the KGB guards in the camps.

Moroz himself has firmly rejected the allegations that he has anti-Soviet views. Concerning his demands for an end to Russification

and for a Ukraine less firmly tied to Russia, he has pointed out that the USSR Constitution clearly states the right of each Republic to secede from the Union. For the Soviet authorities, however, such ideas come dangerously close to treason, and this is probably why "nationalist" dissenters in the Soviet Union are frequently sent to prisons or labour camps for terms of up to fifteen years or even longer.

Soviet dissidents, including the nuclear physicist Dr. Andrey Sakharov, have addressed numerous appeals to the Soviet authorities and to world public opinion on behalf of Moroz, describing as inhuman the treatment to which he is being subjected in Vladimir prison. According to these statements, Moroz was kept for a time in a cell with two violent criminals who once attacked him with a knife, causing him such serious injuries that he had to be transferred to a prison hospital. Earlier this year, Moroz was reported to be suffering from increasing nervous tension and beginning to lose all hope.

Last July, Moroz began a hunger strike, declaring that he would continue it until he dies if he is not transferred from the Vladimir prison to a labour camp. According to his wife Raisa, Moroz sees the transfer to a camp as the only chance to escape from insanity. So far, his requests have been turned down, and he is now said to be so exhausted that there is a real danger that he may not survive for long.

Numerous prominent personalities and human rights organisations in the West have also appealed to the Soviet Government on behalf of Moroz, including the Prime Minister of Canada, Mr. Pierre Trudeau, and Senator Henry Jackson has urged him to intercede in the case of Moroz to prevent, as he put it, "the tragic martyrdom of a scholar who is widely respected in both our countries for his intellectual pursuits and for his deeply held commitment to the Ukrainian people." The International PEN Club has addressed several appeals to the Soviet authorities, and today (18th October) Amnesty International sent a telegram to Mr. Brezhnev, urging him to help release Moroz and to allow him to go to the United States where he has been invited for a lecture tour.

It has often been said that international détente may lead to an internal liberalisation in the Soviet Union. In a sense, the fate of Moroz is a test case. The imprisonment of a writer for his political convictions under conditions which may lead to his death is a bad advertisement for any country. If the Soviet Union wishes to improve its image in the world, it is going about it in a strange way.

18th October, 1974,

*BBC External Broadcasting.*



## THE 'WIRE SKELETON' OF VLADIMIR PRISON

By Jeri LABER

(The article below appeared on the Op. Ed. page of *The New York Times* of Saturday, November 9, 1974. Jeri Laber, who writes on Soviet affairs, is a member of Amnesty International, which is working on the Moroz case).

A former Soviet political prisoner recently emigrated to Israel. He brought this message: "Tell them only this — I am kept with the insane. They are creating a constant hell for me. They are trying to drive me to the insanity of those with whom they locked me up. I cannot breathe!"

These are the words of Valentyn Moroz, a young Ukrainian nationalist and historian who is near death in prison in Vladimir, near Moscow.

The man who carried Mr. Moroz's message gave this description:

"I, who had been witness to a great deal in my ten years in prison, found it difficult to imagine that a person could be brought to such a state. This was Valentyn Moroz. Every Ukrainian is surely familiar with his name. No doubt Ukrainians abroad have seen his portrait. But do not believe those portraits now. Russian gendarmes have seen to it that this person with the thin face and intelligent eyes will never again resemble his former self.

"The gaunt figure in the striped uniform of a repeater, sick and ghastly, reminded one of the frightful photographs of the surviving victims of Auschwitz. The prison rags hung on him as if on a wire skeleton. Short, stubby hair on his dried scalp, and greenish, parchment-like skin, terrifying as that of a mummy, covered his high forehead and prominent cheek-bones. And the eyes — no, I cannot convey what I saw in his eyes during this short encounter."

Mr. Moroz is in the fourth year of a fourteen-year term, his second prison sentence since 1965 when, at the age of 29, he was first arrested on charges of anti-Soviet propaganda. His "crime" was that he criticized the Soviet state.

His punishment has been years of unending nightmare: He was attacked and stabbed by criminal inmates, starved and beaten by guards, confined with the insane, isolated for two years in solitary confinement.

He is suffering from blood and liver disorders and has been given drugs that he fears are damaging his brain. On July 1, he began a hunger strike, declaring that he preferred death to insanity.

Mr. Moroz's message was delivered to a world he has never known — a world beyond the reach of the secret police where people

are free to believe in their own humanity and to express outrage at the torture to which Mr. Moroz and thousands like him, not only in the Soviet Union but in many countries, are being subjugated for questioning their government's policies.

Publicity is a major weapon in their fight for survival. Governments, even totalitarian ones, do respond, often if not always, to concerted protests from the outside world.

"We have survived," said the exiled Pavel Litvinov when he arrived in the West, "because the West exists and in it a Western press. I ask of you: Write more about us, think about us, and remember that we suffer for ideals we share with you — ideals of freedom and civil rights."

Mr. Moroz's situation is desperate. Articles and editorials throughout the world might generate a deluge of telephone calls, telegrams and letters — to Moscow, to Washington, to Vladimir Prison. The press has the power to promote, reveal, destroy. It might be able to save the life of Mr. Moroz, who symbolizes the agonies of countless others — and then save those others as well.

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## TARAS SHEVCHENKO UNDER NEW PERSECUTION

The Soviet regime has many ways of retaining its survival and power. Some of them are similar to those of Hitler's Third Reich: arrests, tortures, concentration camps, starvation, aimed at the physical extermination of the undesired population. In many instances the co-victors of World War II have surpassed the conquered, tried and condemned at Nürenberg. But the other form of persecution, designed in Russia and bearing a trademark "Made in Russia," the persecution of the soul, of belief, of spiritual expression, so far has no counterpart in history.

To those persecuted spirits belongs the mighty spirit of the great Ukrainian bard and prophet, the poet-genius Taras Shevchenko.

The book of poems written by Shevchenko during his short life (1814 - 1861) full of physical and mental agony, the *Kobzar*, became a holy book for all the Ukrainians, as is the Koran for the Arabs. His person, an example and symbol of the most sincere love for his country, his people, the idea of justice and truth among all peoples of the globe, symbol of the just struggle toward those noble goals, became an indispensable companion of every Ukrainian, at home and abroad. A Ukrainian cannot live now without the pictorial representation of Shevchenko. This is why there are so many monuments erected for him all over the world, wherever Ukrainians dwell: Canada, USA, France, Argentina, Italy, and other countries.

In Soviet Ukraine there are also monuments of Taras Shevchenko. But this is also the country in which there is persecution not only of the spiritual followers of Taras Shevchenko, the Ukrainians and other oppressed peoples in the USSR, but also of Taras Shevchenko himself, whether in the form of his writings, research on his writings, or even pictorial representations of his person.

What Shevchenko means for Ukrainians the oppressors know only too well. It was Lenin's own words, published in his "Pravda" about "the Tzar's mighty good idea of prohibiting any honour to Shevchenko," since that step would convince everyone that "Russia is a prison of the nations and is educating new revolutionaries.<sup>1)</sup>

Unfortunately for themselves, the Soviets did not learn the lesson up to the end. They cannot deny the greatness of Shevchenko. They are trying to utilise him in their own political prescriptions, by means of commentaries on his works, footnotes in the various editions, essays and books dealing with his works and life, newly re-

<sup>1)</sup> As quoted in an article by M. P. Komyshanchenko "shliakhy vyznannia svitovoyi velychi Kobzaria" in anthology *Svitova velych Kobzaria*, Vol. I, Kiev 1964, p. 38.

written biographies, biographic novels, poems, dramas. All these are aimed at changing his political face, at turning his image from a deeply Christian fighter for freedom, the bard of the glory of his country's past, the prophet with a vision of a totally free Ukraine, to an image of a proletarian-atheist, materialist, and glorifier of the present Soviet Ukraine, not of the glorious past or the desired future.

Absurd as it seems, they do make him "rejoice in the freedom of the great USSR." They erect monuments of him which are supposed to show him as "happy and contented" with the present situation in Ukraine. These monuments are all made according to the rules and regulations of the official style. Only those monuments are "legal" in which the motion of Shevchenko is similar to that of Lenin in bronze, and the idea conveyed by him is the very same. Socialist propaganda also exists in the illustrations of *Kobzar*. To emphasise the "sadness of the past" as contrasted with the "happy present," illustrations portray the poverty of the peasant population in Czarist Russia, even though the poem which they illustrate has nothing to do with poverty. Illustrations to these poems dealing with the glory of Ukraine's historic past are avoided. Careful study of the illustrations in *Kobzar* shows that tendency very clearly.

Further examples of that tendency are found in *Mystetstvo oformlennia Kobzaria*, by O. Ovdienko. Its illustrative material comprises highly artistic works by Karaffa-Korbut, showing some modern graphic trends and departures from both: socialist realism in form, and "glorification" of shabbiness and proletarianization of Ukrainian peasant folk. The comments, however, do not even mention the works of that artist. On the other hand, they are broad descriptions and high praise of the 1964 Moscow edition of *Kobzar*.

The reality, however, has shown itself in a most formidable form in the famed 1964, year of the 150th anniversary of Shevchenko's death. Celebrations were planned all over the world as well as in Shevchenko's homeland, Soviet Ukraine. As a part of the celebration, a group of Ukrainian artists — Panas Zalyvakha (later imprisoned with the prohibition to draw or paint), Alla Horska (later murdered secretly by the KGB), Liudmyla Smykhina (later persecuted), and Halyna Sevruck (also persecuted) — designed and executed (working very hard, day and night, to finish them on time) two images of Taras Shevchenko in the vestibule of Kiev State University, bearing the name of the great poet.

One of those images was a stained glass window, named "Prologue." On it Shevchenko is shown embracing a woman — like a mother — in a comforting manner. His other hand holds high a book. The wording is taken from Shevchenko's interpretation of the 11th Psalm of David, and stands like a numbus around his head. The words read: "I will extol those speechless, those low slaves! To guard them I will set my word!"

The other image of Shevchenko was in the form of a mosaic and given the title: "The Prophet." This mosaic was designed and executed by Zalywakha and Horska after the sketch by Zalywakha, which first appeared in three different magazines in Soviet Ukraine (*Vitchyzna*, *Zhovten* and *Moloda Gvardiia*). Somehow this first variation was not a subject of persecution in the beginning.

On the mosaic "The Prophet," Shevchenko stands with both hands raised as clenched fists. The background is not like the engraving, which shows a Ukrainian landscape with the Dnieper River, fields, and peasant houses, but portrays a huge, rising sun, in orange tone, with its rays mixed with words from Shevchenko's poetry: "O lude, lude neboraky" ("Oh, you wretched folks") and at the end, "Will that be a judgment? Will that be a punishment to the great czars and little czars on this earth? Will that be truth among the humans? It ought to be, for the sun will stop, and will burn down the defiled earth!"

Both the stained glass and the mosaic were destroyed, even before they were presented to the public view. By a happy incident they were photographed before their destruction, and a slightly more free press in Poland and Czechoslovakia has reproduced them, and thus they reached the West.

The destruction of the beautiful art pieces requires no comment, but the Soviet Government went still further. After this vandalism, an "inquiry" was held, at which the artists were "judged before a tribunal." The chairman of this inquiry was a Russian, a so-called "honoured art worker," a certain Mr. W. Shatalin who acted both as prosecutor and judge. The artists who had executed those destroyed works were treated as prisoners at the bar. The other artists present were allowed only to support the "prosecutor's" views. When one of the artists, Liudmyla Semykina, tried to defend the work on "The Prologue" and showed her disapproval of its destruction, the other artist, Synytsia, who tried to support her views, was called "intoxicated" and ordered out of the room. Part of this sad "inquiry" was tape-recorded and published by a non-official magazine from Ukraine *Ukrainskyj Visnyk*. Those materials were reprinted by *Ukrainska Vidavnycha Spilka* in London in January, 1971.

Typical of this treatment of the artists, their work, and the subject of their work is the persecution of the chosen words by Shevchenko. In regard to "The Prologue," the "unwelcome" words were about the "Speechless, low slaves." In the other, "The Prophet," the most "unwanted" words of Shevchenko were those calling for the punishment of the wrongdoings of the "great and little czars on this earth." Very likely the new "big and small red czars" have a guilty feeling and don't want such suggestions made aloud and in public.

The fact that the words of Shevchenko are only outwardly tolerated, though in fact forbidden, is shown by the incident regarding the persecuted artist of the destroyed pictures, Panas Zalywakha.

After his arrest, during the search in his apartment the police found a poem, and the "experts" in Lviv classified it as written by "an unknown author," and its content was called "nationalistic and antisoviet." Actually, the poem was "Dolia" ("Fate") by Taras Shevchenko. Merely having this poem in his possession was one of the "crimes" attributed to the artist during the trial. The convicted artist wrote about this from his place of imprisonment in Yavas to the Head of the Supreme Court of the USSR on April 5, 1967. This fact was made public in *The Chornovil Papers*.

Viacheslav Chornovil, author of the famous book known in Ukrainian as *Lykho z Rozumu*, was one of the defenders of the true Shevchenko, and he had made a scientific study of the great poet's works. Chornovil has written a very objective and comprehensive study about a prominent Ukrainian writer and researcher from the second half of the 19th century, Boris Hrinchenko. Chornovil analysed very thoroughly Hrinchenko's critical opinion on Shevchenko. The title of the study was *Slovo pro Kobzaria* (*The Word about Kobzar*). This professionally written study was forbidden to be published in any of the official publications. It was published only in the previously mentioned non-official *Samvydav* (*Self-Publication*), that puts out the periodical *Ukrainskyj Visnyk*.

Some of the views expressed by Chornovil in his study are quite courageous. He expresses his critical opinion about most of the reviews and studies on the Ukrainian pre-revolutionary literature, pointing out their partisan and incorrect information. He states that the official writings do not give justice to most of the Ukrainian writers. In particular, Hrinchenko's critical study of Taras Shevchenko was not treated in the right way.

Chornovil discusses more than one of Hrinchenko's studies on Shevchenko. He defends the view of Hrinchenko, that Shevchenko was a true national poet, a true national genius, and that his role for the rebirth of his nation is probably a unique one in human history. Chornovil further defends the view that Shevchenko as a poet is far more than a bard, author of a modified folk song. According to Hrinchenko — and his defender, Chornovil — Shevchenko is one of the great authors of the world and should be given his proper place in world literature.

In those words of Chornovil there seems to be nothing "wrong" or "illegal," because in the Soviet Union there is an official trend to glorify Shevchenko, and there is no prohibition of studying his works. The "glorification" of the great Taras, however, must fit the "party line." This is required in the scientific study of any author, but especially of one who has so much influence on the reader, as does the author of *Kobzar*.

Perhaps for this reason — to help create the official "scientific" face of Shevchenko — the first annual Scientific Shevchenko Conference was called in 1951, during Stalin's regime. The proceedings

from those annual conferences were published in books, named after the number of the given conference, and published two years after the conference. The most recent collection, from the conference in 1971, that took place in Uzhhorod, was dated 1973 and did not arrive in Canadian bookstores until March, 1974. Entitled *Zbirnyk prats' dvadtsiatoi Shevchenkivs'koï konferentsii*, it contains 228 pages, with 21 articles, the proceedings of the XXth annual conference. Only 900 copies were printed.

This very small number of copies, even for a book designed for specialists, calls for attention. Usually there are several copies in every bookstore in Canada and the United States that deals in Soviet books. Most of them are ordered by such subscribers as University professors and students of Slavic literatures. Considering the number of Universities in Canada and the United States, not to mention other countries, it would seem that the entire edition goes abroad and is aimed more at external propaganda than anything else.

The content of all those editions has a similar aim. The last editions went back to the standards of Stalin's time. There is not only a smaller number of books published, but their edition is delayed, their volume diminished, and their content is kept at the lower propagandistic level. Among the articles a specialist may find some valuable works of the true researchers, but their number has diminished in the last few years. As in the 1950's, the main tone of the articles is concerned less with Shevchenko, and more with Marx and Engels. In the last volume, however, the first two articles have a different subject: a battle with the works on Shevchenko, and their authors, that are published outside the Soviet Union and have a different ideology, not a Communist party line. The article on Marx and Engels comes third.

The authors of those articles (papers from the XXth Conference), E. Kyryliuk (the editor-in-chief of this edition) and W. Mykytas give the "review" of the study of Shevchenko in the Soviet Union and abroad. The main subject, however, is the "critical analysis" of the study of Shevchenko done by the "capitalist servants." It is a pity that in a serious edition of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, those articles have not only a very unprofessional, abusive wording (e. g. a newspaper called "Rag"), a very partisan, one-sided approach, but also inaccurate facts. The names of the authors discussed by them are mixed and the titles changed. On the whole, articles that are supposed to be on a high professional level are nothing more than cheap propaganda.

Some other articles in the last volumes of these collections deal with the "influence of Shevchenko" on modern Soviet literature. One of the articles on that subject was published in a volume reviewing the XIX Conference. It was by Kh. Shydokulov, entitled "Tradytsii i novatorstvo v 'Kateryni' T. Shevchenka and 'Dniprovsky Khvyli' M. Kanoata." The real subject, however, was a work by

a modern Soviet Tadjik poet, M. Kanoat. The "tradition" observed by the critic is the name of a heroine, Katharina, taken from the famous Shevchenko poem "Kateryna." The "innovations" in the poem of Kanoat, named "Dniprovski khvyli" ("The waves of Dnieper") are in the "happy" life of the modern Kateryna, as compared with the unhappy one of Shevchenko's heroine. So this poet writes about the "happy life under the Sun of Communism," where even marital life is only a happy one, where unhappy love is an impossibility, as impossible as bad weather.

Such naïve treatment of Shevchenko and literary criticism in general prevails in the books in Soviet Ukraine. The lowering of Shevchenko to a "propagandist of communism" and, at its best, a critic of the czarist Russia in his ideology, the lowering of that great poet, incomparable master of metaphor and euphonic devices, to the status of a "folk poet," the reluctance to study his poetical form, the stereotype of the portrayal of his person in fine arts, and finally the destruction of his finest images and persecution of those that freely try to interpret the great genius, all show that the persecution of Shevchenko did not stop. On the contrary, his spirit, that has grown after death to the indestructible sublimity, has stronger adversaries and a greater battle around himself than ever before. But this fire around his name created a nimbus of glory not only for himself. Those who defend his true image and suffer — like himself — imprisonment "without the right to paint or write," are sharing his glory and are coming closer to his aim: true freedom and justice for Ukraine and for all.

## PROMISE AND REALITY

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Anatoly LEVITIN-KRASNOV

## IN DEFENCE OF UKRAINIAN CATHOLICS

*(Anatoly Levitin-Krasnov, a prominent Soviet dissident, was recently allowed to leave the USSR and arrived in the West. While still in the Soviet Union, he wrote a letter to the Moscow based Committee for the Defense of Human Rights, in which he spoke out against the persecution of Ukrainian Catholics in western Ukraine and western Byelorussia. Excerpts of the letter, appear below in English translation. The letter was dated September 9, 1974).*

I, Anatoly Levitin, moved by respect for those lofty humane aims which the Committee has taken as its own, feel it my responsibility to call upon the Committee to raise its voice in defence of those people who are living in the USSR and have been suffering systematic and indescribable torture for decades solely for their religious convictions.

We are talking about Uniates, members of the so-called "Truly Orthodox Church," and also members of the outlawed sects: the Baptists, the Reformist Seventh-Day Adventists, the Pentecostalists, in part, the Jehovah's Witnesses, and also other small sects.

The most awful thing is that the persecution of the sectarians, Uniates, and members of the "Truly Orthodox Church," which has become the norm of our life, does not evoke the slightest indignation. This savagery is blantly committed, yet calls forth no protest.

### Failure of Intelligentsia

The liberal intelligentsia, which is uninformed about religious questions, not only does not protest, but even supports this persecution indirectly, since they believe the vile slander which is spread about the sectarians, not eschewing the insinuations spread by the Black Hundreds press about the Jews during the Beilis trial.

We will permit ourselves to provide brief information about the persecution for religious convictions, emphasizing that this statement does not exhaust the injustices to which believers have been subjected for a thousand years.

Let us recall briefly the history of the Uniate Church.

As is generally known, the union in Ukraine began in 1596 when the Council of Brest accepted the act of unification of the Ukrainian dioceses with the See of Rome. According to this act, Ukrainian believers remained faithful to all the rites and regulations of the

Orthodox Church (in liturgics, canon law, etc.), at the same time recognizing the primacy of the Pope over the church. At first the union was implanted by force and served purely political goals.

However, in time the union became an organic facet of life in the western Ukrainian territories and the majority of the population came to accept it as their own, traditional religion and that of their forefathers.

After the first and second partitions of Poland, the Russian troops, having occupied Volhynia, found — to their displeasure — an almost totally Uniate population.

### **Total Uprooting**

Under Catherine II and Alexander I, certain restrictions were placed on the Uniates, whereas Orthodoxy was supported by the government. However, all these measures did not change substantially relations between the Uniates and the Orthodox.

With the energy and cruelty typical of him, Nicholas I set about a total uprooting of the union. After 1839, when the Uniate bishops signed an act of re-union with Orthodoxy, a wave of repressions erupted in Volhynia: — massive whippings, running the gauntlet, lifelong exile to Siberia — these became the norm during the reign of Nicholas I in his religious policy in Volhynia.

Despite all of this, the population firmly resisted. The struggle with Uniates continued for half a century right down to the reign of Alexander III.

It is characteristic that A. I. Herzen in his "Kolokol" spoke out in defense of the persecuted Uniates. V. G. Korolenko in his "Vospominania sovremennika" (Memoirs of a Contemporary) speaks with indignation about the tragic situation of the Uniates who were exiled to Siberia and whom he met there in the 1870's.

In 1946, upon the incorporation of Western Ukraine into the USSR, the Stalin regime undertook the persecution of the Uniates, employing precisely the same methods as Nicholas I.

After the arrest in March 1946 of the head of the Uniate Church in Ukraine, Metropolitan Josyf Slipyj of Lviv together with the other six Uniate bishops, a flood of repressions was launched against the Uniates. The rector of the Cathedral of the Transfiguration in Lviv, Archpriest Gabriel Kostelnyk became the instrument of this repressive policy. Under his leadership a "council" was convened which lasted two days and adopted a resolution of reunification of the Uniates with Orthodoxy. Afterwards, Kostelnyk formed a committee which began to implement the resolutions of the "council." An emissary of Kostelnyk was sent to every Uniate parish. He proposed to the local priest reunification with Orthodoxy. In cases of refusal to comply priests were immediately arrested and, according to Article 58-10, sentenced to 10 years imprisonment in the camps. And that, incidentally, was the easiest solution. In the event

of "active opposition" a Uniate priest was sentenced to 25 years in the camps on charges of "treason to the Fatherland." No judicial inquiry was conducted: all repressions were carried out through special committee of the MGB.

If we take into account that together with the clergy, student in the Uniate seminaries, parishioners, and the most active lay people were also punished, then it is not surprising that the number of victims soon reached the impressive figure of 300,000.

All Uniate churches were turned over to the Orthodox. Uniate Divine Services were forbidden. The most savage measures were applied to the Uniates, even including separation of children from their families on a mass scale. Such was the wrath of the population that Kostelnyk was eventually slain on a September Sunday in 1941 while leaving church and his funeral became a demonstration against religious persecution.

This persecution abated somewhat after 1956 when the majority of Uniates were released. All Uniate bishops remained imprisoned however, and died without regaining their freedom. The head of the Uniate Church, Metropolitan Josyf Slipyj remained in internment right up until 1962 when he was sent out of the USSR to Rome.

Thus the Uniate Church remained under interdict. In 1966 there began a "worsening" of anti-Uniate policy. Once again the arrests of Uniate priests were undertaken and a "drive to find" underground houses of worship.

Nonetheless, the campaign to destroy the union failed. In Lviv alone 80 Uniate priests function almost openly. They perform in their homes the Divine Service and, upon request, religious rites. There Uniate bishops function in the underground. As soon as one dies or is arrested, another is immediately consecrated. The authorities are compelled to tolerate this situation since they seem to feel that they cannot risk again a policy of mass repressions and the arrest of individuals, fines, and short-term imprisonment (15 days of arrest for participation in a Uniate Divine Service) do not bring any results.

All this indicates that the union in western Ukraine and western Byelorussia is a broad national movement. Its persecution constitutes not only religious repression, but also an encroachment on the national rights of western Ukrainians. If one takes into account the juridical aspect of the question, then the persecution of Uniates is nonsense. If commemorating the Pope during the Divine Liturgy and the recognition of him as head of the Church is a crime, then it is incomprehensible why Latin Rite Catholics are not persecuted. This ridiculous situation, however, has its tragic impact on thousands of human souls, beaten and broken by the violation of their consciences, and by the aggravation of antagonisms between the Ukrainian and the Russian peoples.

It behooves the Committee to come to the defense of the persecuted Uniates. This is only a matter of basic humanity.

George SCHÖPFLIN

## THE CARDINAL FROM UKRAINE

*At the World Synod of Bishops at the Vatican, the Ukrainian Cardinal Josyf Slipyi has made an outspoken attack on the persecution of religious believers in communist countries and on those in the West who condone such persecution. Here is a comment by George Schöpflin of the BBC.*

Cardinal Slipyi has become a most uncomfortable figure in the context of the Vatican's policies towards the communist world. He has criticised more than once what he regards as the excessive tolerance shown by the Holy See towards communist authorities who place considerable pressure on believers to abandon their religion. In his latest comment, Cardinal Slipyi explicitly attacked such persecution, when he asked "What man does not feel suffused by horror when he learns about a priest who, having secretly celebrated mass, is today condemned to three or more years of forced labour in Siberia—" The World Synod of Bishops, where Slipyi spoke, should (in his view) "protest with a strong voice." And the Cardinal then made the further point that 1974 had been declared the "year of justice" and the Pope had defended those who suffered persecution in Chile, Bangladesh and elsewhere, but had remained silent about the sufferings of the faithful in Ukraine.

Cardinal Slipyi's views are rather uncomfortable for they challenge the existing orthodoxy about relations with the communist world in two ways. First, the Cardinal explicitly denies that there has been any liberalisation in Soviet practice as far as religion is concerned. And, implicitly, he argues that the policy of detente pursued by the West in recent years has done nothing for those in the communist world who are exposed to persecution.

Persecution is something that the 82-year old Cardinal is very familiar with. He spent many years in prison in the Soviet Union and witnessed the destruction of his own church, the Ukrainian Uniate Church, at the behest of the Soviet authorities. The Uniates were forcibly merged with the Orthodox church after the Second World War, but there is considerable evidence that in certain areas of Ukraine, the imposition of Orthodoxy has remained unacceptable to many believers. But evidence of the strength of religion has come from other areas of the Soviet Union as well, particularly from Lithuania, where pressures on the Roman Catholic church have elicited a powerful response from believers. A recent petition calling for religious freedom was signed by seventeen-thousand (17,000) people in Lithuania and a Lithuanian underground paper, *The Chronicle of Lithuanian Catholic Church*, has now appeared in ten

issues. To date, the Vatican has made no public pronouncement about the religious situation in Lithuania.

Cardinal Slipyi is not alone in entertaining reservations about the West's attitude towards religion in the communist world. The Soviet socialist-Christian dissident, Anatoly Levitin (now in the West) spoke recently at a conference in Holland, where he gave examples of how delegations of the World Council of Churches to the Soviet Union refused to receive petitions from those who had suffered official persecution. "For the sake of diplomacy," Levitin noted, "the truth was ignored."

From numerous communist countries, not just the Soviet Union there is any amount of evidence that despite the process of detente the pressures on the churches have not relaxed. The most perplexing case, perhaps, is that of Yugoslavia, which was once seen in the West as the model for relations between religion and communism. In the last few months, pressure has been brought on the Roman Catholic church in Slovenia, which seems to have the general objective of confining the church exclusively to matters of sacrament and of dislodging the clergy from whatever social work they may do. Some observers are anxious that once the Slovene church has been brought under control satisfactory to the authorities, the much more powerful Catholic church in Croatia will be exposed to similar pressures.

The intense and unrelenting pressure on the Catholic church in Czechoslovakia is more predictable, in the light of the general political situation there. The authorities seem intent on extinguishing virtually every vestige of organised religion by various long term administrative means — children who enrol for religious instruction and their parents are exposed to official counter-measures, clergy are forced to retire at the age of 60 and so on — and there is, as yet, no indication that the recent talks between the Vatican and the Czechoslovak authorities have brought about any improvement in the situation.

4. 10. 1974

*BBC External Broadcasting.*

## **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).

## CONFERENCE FOR FREEDOM, NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND DE-COLONIZATION

On the 12th and 13th October 1974, the European Freedom Council (EFC) held its Conference entitled "Conference for Freedom, National Independence and De-colonization," in Zürich Switzerland. Since the President of the Conference, Mr. Ivan Matteo Lombardo was unable to attend the Conference because of illness, it was opened by EFC Chairman, Mr. Jaroslav Stetsko. President Ivan Matteo Lombardo, sent his most cordial greetings to the Conference and wishes of success were received from Honorary President of EFC, Minister Ole Björn Kraft, who due to prolonged illness was unable to participate.

After his opening address Mr. Jaroslav Stetsko asked Mr. Donald Martin, the Chairman of the British League for European Freedom, to lead the Conference. The first speaker was Dr. Peter Sager (Swiss), Chairman of the Swiss Institute for Eastern European Studies. His speech was entitled "On the De-colonization of Soviet Europe." Further main speakers of the Conference were Mr. Jaroslav Stetsko (ABN President, Ukraine), whose theme was "The Subjugated Nations — the Neglected Super-power." Madame Suzanne Labin (France) spoke on "L'Europe Malade." Dr. N. Theodorowitch's (Byelorussia) speech was entitled "Religion and Atheism in the USSR." Mr. Donald A. Martin (British League for European Freedom, England) spoke on "Communist Economic Warfare."

Besides those main speakers who dealt with specific problems, the national representatives gave short speeches on the situation in their respective countries and their struggle against Russian colonialism. These speakers were: Y. Tuksor (Croatia), Dr. A. Gerutis (Lithuania), Dr. A. Ausala (Latvia), Colonel D. Kosmowych (Byelorussia) Woldemyr Kosyk (Ukraine), Karl Grau (East Germany) J. Myslivec (Czechia), E. Rigoni (Hungary), Dr. B. Mailat (Rumania), Dr. I. M. Bankowski (Bulgaria), G. Beguiachvili (Georgia), Dr. Baymirza Hayit (Turkestan).

Discussions followed all the main speeches and short addresses. Participants in the discussions were: Lady Jane Birdwood (England), Mr. J. Stetsko and Mrs Slava Stetsko (Ukraine), Mme S. Labin (France), Dr. M. Ausala (Latvia), Prof. Dr. S. Halamay (USA) Dr. A. Gerutis (Lithuania), Mr. E. Rigoni (Hungary), Colonel D. Kosmowych (Byelorussia), Mr. Meister (Switzerland), Mr. Zwicky (Switzerland), Mrs. Martin (England).

On the suggestion of the Czech representative Mr J. Myslevic, the Conference, after applause, agreed to send telegram greetings to Honorary President Ole Björn Kraft, and Minister Ivan Matteo Lombardo.

We are enclosing a short communique and two recommendations passed by the Conference.

The Conference was closed on Sunday 13th. October at 5 p.m. by EFC Chairman, Mr. Jaroslav Stetsko.

Münich, 14th. October 1974.

For the Secretariat of the  
European Freedom Council,  
Slava Stetsko

## C O M M U N I Q U E

The European Freedom Council — co-ordinating body for a number of anti-communist organizations in Europe — held a Conference for Freedom, National Independence and De-colonization of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on 12th and 13th October 1974 in Zürich, in connection with the European Security Conference now sitting in Geneva.

25 years ago the Russians saw imagined danger to world peace in the British, French, Dutch and Belgian colonial empires on the Indian and African continents, and demanded their dissolution. Today the EFC recognizes the real threat to European and world peace in the continuing military imposed and maintained Russian colonial empire in Europe and Asia, and urges all Western Governments through Ministers in Geneva to regard the dissolution of the Russian colonial empire/USSR as of overriding importance to the establishment of lasting peace and security in Europe. With de-colonization of the USSR and a return to the 1918/19 re-establishment of national states in Europe and Asia, the EFC believes there will be an end to nuclear and conventional military confrontation, and the consequent immediate lessening of tension in Europe.

Since Russia has been a consistent advocate of national independence for all former colonial peoples, the EFC urges upon Western Governments the necessity of adopting the same approach to all countries now under Russian colonial rule. With de-colonization would come also the disbandment of concentration and labour camps, the end of russification, religious and political persecution and the need for constant political warfare, and the restoration not only of a free voice in world forums for the subjugated nations but also their constitutional and human rights, namely, their independent, national democratic statehood. EFC supports national independence for all

nations in Europe and Asia, and condemns the continuing efforts for further Russian colonization. As an example of one instrument of Russian colonization, EFC cites and condemns the notorious Ribentrop/Molotov Pact.

The European Freedom Council therefore urges Western Governments to examine closely the implications for lasting peace and security in Europe embodied in the foregoing proposals, with particular reference to their domestic and foreign policies in the light of the present economic crisis — deriving from Russian-provoked energy and other shortages, deliberately fermented industrial unrest, violence, air piracy, and the wholesale moral degradation and depression presently afflicting European and indeed, world populations.

Zürich, 12th and 13th October, 1973.

## R E S O L U T I O N S

*Resolutions of the Conference of the European Freedom Council  
(EFC) held on the 12th and 13th October 1974 in Zürich,  
Switzerland.*

To urge the governments of the Free world to counteract by diplomatic and other measures the Russification and extermination of the Baltic nations.

To severely condemn and urge the liquidation of all concentration camps throughout the Soviet Russian empire.

To demand the release of all prisoners condemned and imprisoned for their national, political, and religious convictions.

To demand an end of the application of chemical and medical means of breaking the will power of political prisoners in order to extort statements of repentance from them.

To vigorously denounce the practice of confining fighters for national and human rights to insane asylums.

To demand an end to the persecution of believers in God and cultural leaders who defend their own nation, without which a nation perishes.

To demand the withdrawal of Russian occupation forces and the Communist terror apparatus from the Russian subjugated nations within the USSR and its satellites.

To demand a return of national sovereignty to all the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and Communism in the USSR and the satellite states, as well as for those nations enslaved in the artificial state of Yugoslavia.



Without national culture there is no world culture.

If the free nations of the world do not want to be subjugated to KGB guns and see the law of the jungle prevail, they must fight for humanity and for a morality based on religious principles.

To protest against Russian and Communist crimes, and stand up for the defense of the imprisoned and persecuted fighters for human and national rights.

To work for a political will to stop trade and investment with Communist dominated countries.

To analyse the Communist economical warfare and to initiate countermeasures.

Les mesures qui permettraient de secouer l'engourdissement de l'Europe, et de faire du même coup reculer la menace sociétiqu.

*Sur le plan économique*

1 — Il faut d'urgence que less pays d'Europe unissent leurs forces scientifiques et techniques dans un pool, richment doté, libre de tout quant à soi national, que se donnerait un *crash programme* pour découvrir des *sources d'énergie nouvelles* afin de mettre fin à notre dépendance.

2 — Il faut arrêter *l'hémorragie d'argent, de produits et de technologie vers les pays communistes*, et ramener les échanges avec ceux-ci sur un pied normal, en particulier en stoppant les crédits à long terme et à taux d'intérêt dérisoire consentis en leur faveur.

3 — Il faut établir une convention européenne *des droits des droits des travailleurs*, qui interdise aux syndicats de les enrégimenter et de politiser l'action revendicative, et qui stipule des limites au *droits de grève* de manière qu'il nese transforme pas en *droit de sabotage*.

*Sur le plan de la morale et des moeurs.*

1 — Il faut cesser de se laisser intimider par le *bluff du gauchisme* à se prétendre une force de progrès. Il faut dénoncer son alliance de fait avec l'obscurantisme communiste. Il faut reprendre confiance dans les valeurs de la libre entreprise, de la morale et de la civilisation occidentales, et les défendre hautement contre des forces qui, bien qu'elles se dissent "de gauche," n'en sont pas moins historiquement rétrogrades.

2 — Il faut renforcer *la lutte contre la toxicomanie*.

3 — Il faut déclarer une lutte sans merci *contre la guerrilla urbaine, la piraterie* et toutes les formes de banditisme.

*Sur le plan politique.*

Il faut formuler des *conditions minima* que l'empire Russe soviétique doit satisfaire s'il veut obtenir une normalisation de ses rapports avec les pays européens. Ces conditions sont les suivantes:

1. *Démantèlement du colossal appareil* de guerre politique, Psychologique et subversive que les pays communistes entretiennent au sein des pays libres. Il faut en finir avec l'idée absurde qu'est "normale" une situation dans laquelle il est interdit de façon rigoureuse à l'Europe d'intervenir — fût-ce timidement — derrière le rideau de fer, tandis que les puissances communistes interviennent massivement et agressivement dans nos pays.

2. En application du même principe de réciprocité, il faut exiger une ouverture complète des pays communistes à la production intellectuelle de l'Europe. D'autant que la *libre circulation des idées et des hommes* à travers les frontières est prescrite par la Charte des Nations Unies.

3. Il faut que l'URSS reconnaisse un autre principe aussi fondamental de la Charte Universelle des Droits de l'Homme, à savoir *le droit à l'indépendance et l'autodétermination pour les 250 millions d'Européens* que le Kremlin a assujettis par la force.

4. Il faut *repousser résolument tout projet de retrait bilatéral des forces étrangères* de l'Europe, car cet équilibre "pipé" reviendrait à ce que les USA retirent leurs forces au-delà de 5,000 kilomètres d'Océan, tandis que l'URSS retirerait les siennes à 300 kilomètres derrière une frontière de carton pâte.

5. Il faut *rejeter résolument toute idée de bâtir l'Europe en "Troisième force"* entre les Etats Unis et l'URSS. Sous des dehors de fierté, il s'agit d'une simple lâcheté envers l'Amérique pour amadouer l'adversaire communiste. Si les impératifs économiques et géographiques obligent les nations libres d'Europe à s'unir d'abord entre elles, l'impératif plus haut de la sauvegarde de notre civilisation impose, à l'Europe unie, de rester étroitement solidaire de l'Amérique devant leur ennemi commun.

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Order from: Press Bureau of ABN, München 8 Zeppelinst. 67, Germany, or Ukrainian Information Service, 200 Liverpool Rd., London, N. 1.

# MEMORANDUM OF

## COMMITTEE FOR THE DEFENCE OF UKRAINIAN POLITICAL PRISONERS IN USSR

49 Linden Gardens, London, W2 4HG, England.

10th October, 1974

To the Participants  
in the Synod of Bishops 1974,  
Vatican City.

Your Beatitudes,  
Your Eminences,  
Most Reverend Fathers,

We, members of the Committee for the Defence of Ukrainian Political Prisoners in the USSR, take this liberty of writing to You, Your Beatitudes, Your Eminences and Most Reverend Fathers, congregated at this third General Assembly of the Synod of Bishops, about the present persecution and suffering of people in Ukraine, which is under the domination of communist Russia, and to seek the aid and support of the Catholic Church for the freedom and well being of those Ukrainian christians and patriots, who were arrested in 1972 and 1973, and whose life in Russian prisons and concentration camps is in grave danger.

As Your Beatitudes, Your Eminences and Most Reverend Fathers would recollect, the history of the present persecution of the Ukrainian nation dates back to 1920, when Ukraine was forcibly occupied by Communist Russia and later incorporated into the so called USSR. Before 1939 the Russian communists managed to destroy completely the Ukrainian Autocephalic Orthodox Church and its Hierarchy in Eastern and Central provinces of Ukraine, and in 1946 also the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Western Ukraine. During the course of the Russian Communist domination in Ukraine more than 12 million Ukrainians perished in prisons and concentration camps or died during the artificial famine of 1932-33.

The present wave of repressions in Ukraine began in January, 1972, on the direction of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR. It's first victims were a group of Ukrainian intellectuals from Kiev, the capital of Ukraine, and Lviv, the capital city of Western Ukraine. During the following months arrests on an exten-

sive scale were carried out in Ivano-Frankivsk, Ternopil, and in other major Ukrainian cities. In fact during the course of 1972 several thousand Ukrainians from all walks of life were arrested or interrogated. This persecution of Ukrainian patriots was extended to Lithuania, where at least one person of Ukrainian origin was arrested, to Poland and Czechoslovakia, where at least fourteen people of Ukrainian origin were arrested, and Russia, where several Ukrainians were arrested in Moscow, Leningrad and Sverdlovsk. All these arrests were carried out in strict secrecy by the Russian KGB, with exception of about 17 people, whose arrests were mentioned in Soviet newspapers. The Soviet press, radio and television did not divulge any details as to the nature or scope of this new wave of repressive actions.

For over a year our communities in the West were not able to formulate a clear picture of the present state of affairs in Ukraine. Eventually we managed to collect from reliable sources the names and particulars of 123 prominent people who have been arrested in Ukraine since the second half of 1970. We have also managed to collect the names of a further 146 people, who have been the victims of constant persecutions by the KGB since the middle of 1972. Although they have not yet been formally charged and placed into prisons, the constant harassment of these people by the KGB indicates that sooner or later they will either be deported or imprisoned.

We also wish to draw the attention of the Synod to the fact that since the middle of 1973 the Russian Authorities have conducted a wide purge of the Party and Government in Ukraine. Many Party and Government officials on republican, provincial, oblast and district levels were dismissed from their positions, and replaced by people totally subservient to Moscow's rule. Editorial boards of nearly all publications in Ukraine were also purged. The same process was carried out in universities, colleges, schools of secondary and primary education, and even in kindergartens. Many people have been dismissed from their positions in these educational institutions because they spoke the Ukrainian language in school and in public life, and because they were conscious and proud of their national identity.

Of the known arrested Ukrainian patriots, the majority have been brought before the courts and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment in concentration camps, and banishment from Ukraine. All known court proceedings were conducted behind closed doors. A number of the accused were not allowed to defend themselves, and several were tried and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment in absentia. Nearly all of the accused were charged under Section 62/1 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR, or equivalent sections of the Criminal Codes of the Russian or other Soviet Republics. In the majority of cases the charges were for 'anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation,' for possession of literature from abroad, for having sami-

zdat publications, or for their literary works found during searches of their homes by the KGB and classified as 'anti-Soviet.' Some of the arrested were accused of having connections with the Ukrainian Liberation Movement, or for contributing to such Ukrainian samizdat publications as the 'Ukrainian Herald' which circulated in Ukraine and in recent years was published abroad. There has not been a single case in which the arrested was accused of active or armed resistance against the Soviet Russian State or its Party and Government agencies in Ukraine. According to information in our possession, practically all the accused denied the charges against them, and pleaded not guilty.

Among the vast number of people who have recently become Ukrainian political prisoners in the USSR, there are a number of very prominent individuals who are being ruthlessly persecuted even now, more than two years after their sentences have been confirmed. We wish, to draw Your attention to the plight of the Ukrainian historian **Valentyn Moroz**, who was arrested for the second time in 1970 and sentenced to 9 years imprisonment and 5 years banishment from Ukraine. During the last two years he has been constantly terrorised by the KGB. Because of this in July 1974 he went on hunger strike in Vladimir prison demanding to be transferred to the concentration camp where, as he had hoped, the conditions would not be as dangerous to his life as in the above named prison. Recently obtained information from Ukraine indicates that Valentyn Moroz has been transferred from the Vladimir prison to the Lubyanka prison in Moscow. The Russian authorities are using all their resources of mental and physical torture upon him in an effort to force him to repent of his views which he has expressed in his writings. His life is in a very critical state.

We wish to draw the attention of the Synod to the plight of **Yuriy Shukhevych**, who, up to now, has spent more than 20 years of his life in Russian prisons and concentration camps. He was arrested for the fourth time in 1972 and sentenced to 9 years imprisonment and 5 years banishment from Ukraine. He is gravely ill in prison and is being denied proper medical treatment. His life is in great danger.

We wish to draw the attention of the Synod to the plight of **Yevhen Sverstiuk**, a writer and journalist, who was arrested in 1972 and sentenced to 7 years imprisonment and 5 years banishment from Ukraine. According to recent information in 'The Times' he is being beaten every day in his prison cell, and is dangerously ill and may not last for much longer.

We wish to draw the attention of the Synod to the plight of **Sviatoslav Karavansky**, a journalist and poet, arrested for the second time in 1965 and tried for the fourth time in April, 1969. He was sentenced to 8 years imprisonment. At present he is being held in a special wing of a Mordovian concentration camp. He has to work and live in a factory under a constant cloud of dust from the glass

polishing work. He also is gravely ill and might not be able to survive the remaining four years of his sentence.

We feel obliged to also mention the following cases:

Literary critic **Ivan Svitlychny**, who was arrested for the second time in 1972 and sentenced in 1973 to 7 years imprisonment and 5 years banishment from Ukraine, and is also very ill; Svitlychny's sister **Nadia Svitlychna-Shumuk**, who was also arrested in 1972 and sentenced to 4 years imprisonment;

journalist **Vyacheslav Chornovil**, who was arrested for the third time in 1972 and sentenced in 1973 to 7 years imprisonment and 5 years banishment from Ukraine;

labourer **Ivan Hel'**, who was arrested for the second time in 1972 and sentenced to 10 years imprisonment and 5 years banishment from Ukraine;

poet **Ihor Kalynets** and his wife **Irena Kalynets-Stasiv**, who were both arrested in 1972 and sentenced to 9 years imprisonment and 5 years banishment from Ukraine, and to 6 years imprisonment and years banishment from Ukraine respectively;

student **Anatoly Lupynis**, who was arrested for the second time in 1971 and was sent to a special psychiatric prison without trial;

Lecturer and poet **Mykhaylo Osadchy**, who was arrested for the second time in 1972 and sentenced to 7 years imprisonment and 3 years banishment from Ukraine;

**Dr. Leonid Plushch**, who was arrested in 1972, and after spending a year under interrogation was sent to a psychiatric prison for an indefinite period;

**Rev. Father Vasyl Romaniuk**, who was arrested in 1972 and sentenced to 7 years imprisonment and 3 years banishment from Ukraine;

poetess **Irena Senyk**, who was arrested for the second time in 1972 and sentenced to 6 years imprisonment and 5 years banishment from Ukraine;

artist **Stephania Shabatura**, who was arrested in 1972 and sentenced to 5 years imprisonment and 3 years banishment from Ukraine, and

poet **Vasyl Stus**, who was arrested in 1972 and sentenced to 5 years imprisonment and 3 years banishment from Ukraine.

In previous decades the victims of persecution were usually tortured physically and mentally during the interrogation, but once sentenced and placed into prisons or concentration camps they were left to the fate accorded to them. In the case of Ukrainian political prisoners during that period a few selected victims were exceptionally and severely treated. These included Cardinal Joseph Slipy, Dr. Volodymyr Horbovy, Yuriy Shukhevych and several others whom the

authorities attempted to force to repent of their 'crimes' and to collaborate with their schemes of propaganda against the Ukrainian Liberation Movement. People, who in the vocabulary of Soviet-Russian authorities, have committed "the highest crime against the State or Soviet Society," were usually condemned to death and executed.

During the course of the last few years, however, we have noticed several rather disturbing and sinister changes in the methods used by the KGB. The KGB now use physical, psychological and pharmaceutical torture on people who have not committed the 'highest crimes,' or who were not condemned to death. This savage treatment after sentencing could result in their physical liquidation or mental incapability to life. The most notable cases of Ukrainian political prisoners who are at present experiencing such treatment are **Valentyn Moroz, Leonid Plushch, Yevhen Svertiuk, Sviatoslav Karavansky, Ivan Svitlychny and Yuriy Shukhevych**. Ukrainians arrested and condemned in the previous decade, such as **Lev Lukyanyenko** and **Ivan Kandyba**, have been subjected to gradual poisoning. Nothing has been heard of them recently.

Although Soviet propaganda classifies the present arrests and purges as the mere 'clearing of Soviet Society of its enemies,' the present state of their activities in Ukraine has a deeper and more sinister meaning. We hasten to recall that during previous bloody purges in in Ukraine more than fifty-two thousand Ukrainian intellectuals perished. After 1938 our nation was left with only a handful of people of a proper calibre to carry on the creative, scientific and cultural work for the benefit of Ukraine. Comparing the present wave of arrests and purges in Ukraine with those carried out during the decades before 1939, we are convinced that the present Soviet Russian leadership has begun the process of yet another eradication of nationally conscious Ukrainians who publicly oppose the policy of russification. If this present wave of repressions is allowed to continue unopposed by various quarters of world opinion, national and international organisations outside the USSR, then the Soviet Russian leaders will be encouraged to extend their present scope of persecutions upon other sectors of the Ukrainian population, and to eradicate finally all indications of Ukraine as an independent national entity. The eradication of 'Ukrainian separatism' has been the Russian policy since the liquidation of the Ukrainian Cossack State in 1775.

For several months we have had indications that the Russian Communist Party is formulating a new constitution which would bring forward the abolition of all existing Soviet National Republics. This should accelerate the transformation of the 15 or so Soviet National Republics into one 'Soviet Nation,' which in reality would be a Russian Nation.

In view of the above mentioned facts, we humbly pray Your Beatitudes, Yours Eminences and Most Reverend Fathers to raise Your pastoral voices in defence of the Ukrainian Political Prisoners

in the USSR, especially in defence of Valentyn Moroz, Leonid Plushch, Sviatoslav Karavansky, Yuriy Shukhevych, Ivan Svitlychny, Ihor and Irene Kalynets, who, as we have mentioned before, have been singled out by the Russian communist authorities for harsh inhuman treatment that may result in their physical liquidation.

Paying our deepest and sincerest homage to Your Beatitudes, Your Eminences and Most Reverend Fathers, we shall await with patience and sincerity for Your favourable attention to this Memorandum.

We have the honour to be,  
Your most obedient servants,

For and on behalf of the Committee

Prof. V. Vasylenko

Mr. V. Babycky

Dr. S. M. Fostun

Mr. I. Dmytriw

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Mr. T. I. Kudlyk

Mr. I. Rawluk

Mrs. P. Oleskiw

Miss O. Fedechko

Mr. O. Baran

Chairman

Vice Chairman

Joint Secretary

Joint Secretary

Hon. Treasurer

Member of the Executive

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## KYIV VERSUS MOSCOW

Political Guidelines of the Organization  
of Ukrainian Nationalists

Ukrainian Information Service,  
Munich, 1970 69 pp., 30p.

Contents: Appeal to the Peoples of the Free World —  
Kyiv versus Moscow — The Main Ideological  
and Political Principles of the OUN.

## 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.



## RESOLUTION

**adopted at the Mass Protest Meeting held on the 5th day of October, 1974 in the Ukrainian Hall, 13-15 Claremont, Bradford 7, West Yorkshire, England.**

We, Ukrainians, resident in the City of Bradford, gathered today at the Mass Protest Meeting in connection with the recent wave of arrests of Ukrainian intellectuals and other Ukrainian patriots, who are being continuously persecuted by the KGB, declare as follows :—

1. During the last few years, the situation in Ukraine has deteriorated. Many prominent leaders of intellectual, cultural and scientific life have been arrested and sent to Siberian and Mordovian concentration camps, prisons, and psychiatric institutions, their only crime being their love for their country.

2. These arrests have been carried out by the Soviet Authorities with the purpose of eliminating all opposition to the Russian imperialistic policies in Ukraine, which themselves are aimed to liquidate all forms of expressions of national identity, and the opposition to the russification of Ukraine.

3. The KGB have intensified their obliteration of Ukrainian culture by the destruction of historical places, monuments, churches, libraries and even by violating the sacred resting places of the dead.

4. We gathered here, strongly protest and condemn the barbaric behaviour of the Russian imperialistic forces which impregnate our beloved country, and appeal to the Secretary-General of the United Nations Organisation, His Excellency Dr. Kurt Waldheim, to appoint a special Commission of the U.N.O. members to ensure that justice is carried out in Ukraine and demand the release of all the political detainees unlawfully sentenced by secret trials.

5. We appeal to the Governments of all Free Nations to express their disapproval of Russian colonial policies in Ukraine and condemn Russia for ignoring the United Nations Charter.

6. We appeal to representatives of all scientific and cultural institutions and organisations of the Free World, and to all Freedom loving people to support our cause in the struggle for Freedom.

Bradford, 5th October, 1974.

For and on behalf of 560 present at the Meeting

Chairman  
W. Kruk

Secretary  
T. O. Lysenczuk

Executive Members

*Ivan Smereka, O. Nesterenko, M. Jakubiak  
I. Borymenko, Mrs. O. Markiw, A. Nyskoklon  
S. Zamulinskyj.*

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## ANNIVERSARY

# A GREAT NATIONAL VISIONARY

**Eulogy of Dr. Dmytro Dontsov by Yaroslav Stetsko,  
Chairman of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists**

We stand today, and bid farewell on the distant road of eternity, by the grave of a great Ukrainian, one of the greatest of this century, the Cassandra of the Ukrainian nation, who every day and every moment warned us all of Ukraine's mortal enemy Russia, and who reminded us of the necessity of an uncompromising struggle of Ukraine against the barbarians from the North. Bidding farewell from the revolutionary OUN, from the entire revolutionary-liberation camp, from battling Ukraine, from the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, I pay final homage and render my respects to the most distinguished thinker and ideologist of Ukrainian nationalism, an uncompromising fighter for an united Ukrainian Sovereign State and for the disintegration of the Russian prison of nations, a great Ukrainian of whom all Ukraine, regardless of political opinions, is proud, a universal mind in the ideological war against Russia, against the threat to the whole world — to Dr. Dmytro Dontsov.

At the very dawning of his political and ideological activity, Dr. Dmytro Dontsov advanced the motto which he constantly and changelessly was to repeat: the Russian empire must be destroyed!

Separation from Russia, independence for Ukraine — this was the revolutionary slogan of 60 years ago, which this great Ukrainian hurled with courage, brilliant argumentation, and above all with fanatical faith, into the ideological battle against minimalistic political conceptions.

The nation-slayer Lenin, the most dangerous enemy of Ukraine and of the other subjugated nations, immediately understood that in contemporary Ukrainian reality there had appeared an exceptional figure who had taken up the banner of a fearless and uncompromising struggle against any kind of Russian Empire, and who remained firmly on these positions for life.

*Lenin against Dontsov!* Two antipodes, representatives of two opposite worlds! The world of criminal Russia and the world of Ukraine. The world of Moscow and the world of Kyiv. In this battle, the deceased rose to the height of an all-Ukrainian figure, for he personified the ideas of the entire nation, despite the fact that the greatness and the far-sightedness of his vision were not comprehensible to all. Not only did Ukraine need a renewed realization of the basic goal of her struggle — national independence, separation from

Russia — but ideological armament for this struggle was indispensable as well. Dmytro Dontsov formed the foundation of latter-day Ukrainian nationalism, the roots of which reach back to our bright princely era. His monumental books on nationalism fascinated youth. With his brilliant works, he became the inspirer of young nationalists, of the OUN battlers, and an ideological banner, especially of the young generation which created the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, (UPA) declared the renewal of Ukrainian state independence in 1941, led a two-front war against the two most brutal occupants of Ukraine, and now prolongs the unison of generations from the 30's to the 70's in the irresistible struggle against Moscow.

The literary circle led by Dontsov was the advance squad of Ukraine's individual cultural battle and an outpost of the ideas of heroic Ukrainianism. How very similar to it are our unvanquished contemporary cultural-political and generally political creative intellectuals in Ukraine! Fanatical dedication to the idea of Ukraine — a trait common to both generations! The nation, her pre-eminence, the heroic conception of life — these form a golden thread throughout Dontsov's works. He was also a great national educator and a moulder of the nation in the understanding and the spirit of life's heroic nature.

Making short work of Ukrainian provincialism, political minimalism, he reached into the depths of Ukrainian spirituality, demonstrating Ukraine's historical greatness and, as a great national visionary, unwinding the myth of the eternal holy city of Ukraine, Kyiv. In the flowering of his consistent creativity comes the union of the Christian and the national ideas, which in this manner gives the liberation struggle the apostolic zeal of a nation great in faith and in spirit. Where to seek our historical traditions? This question stimulated the brilliant analytical mind of this great patriotic thinker. And he revealed them, giving an answer which was, as always, both profound and contemporary, and which projected into the future as well.

The distinguished Western military theoretician General J. F. C. Fuller of Britain, writing about Dontsov's basic work on "The Fundamental of our Politics," under the title *The Spirit of Russia* (published in several languages by the ABN), says,

"This is a profound and fundamental work surpassing all publications on the world crisis I have read so far, in that it presents the core of the problem which has been disturbing the old world for centuries and still today continues to disturb the entire world. It is not the conflict between different faiths or civilizations, important though these may be, but the conflict between the cultures of Europe and Asia that is its subject.

What are the components of the Muscovite Messianism, the spiritual nomadism, which today threatens to extinguish Western culture and with it also the Western way of life? We find the answer to this

question in this scholarly and fascinating book. Dr. Dontsov has most thoroughly investigated and explained here the factors of which this Messianism consists."

Dmytro Dontsov, comprehending the threat of Russia, became a fiery champion of the ideas of the ABN, as a great follower of Mazepa and an authority on Hetman Orlyk's conceptions of foreign politics as well as an ardent supporter of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and the revolutionary Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, under the leadership of Stepan Bandera.

The ethics of a resolute human being, the cult of one's own nation ruling on its own soil, the cult of one's own state, sovereign and united, the cult of the revolutionary path of struggle against opportunism and minimalism, the cult of *noblesse oblige*, of spiritual and ethical knighthood, not of lineage but of spiritual and moral quality, the cult of heroic Ukrainian traditions, which Dontsov's followers in Ukraine, young, courageous, impassioned with the idea of Ukraine, now espouse, the cult of a new leading élite, a new spiritual aristocracy, not a spiritual plebeianism, — all this Dontsov presented upon the stage of our century's history. And he won an ideological victory. He went against the current.

Amidst the darkness of opportunism, he stood up in defence of the Act of June 30, 1941, in defence of our heroic UPA, the revolutionary OUN, the ABN, the world-wide anti-Russian front, the actions of the ABN against Khrushchev in Stockholm, in honour of the great Hetman.

Writing about the 30th of June, 1941, he affirmed, "The blazing proclamation of the motto of nationhood, not just autonomy, or federation, or union with Moscow, but the forcefully proclaimed will of the new "knights of the absurd" — to go against all "circumstances" — this is what inspired the warriors of the UPA, this is what roused them to action against the two big powers which occupied Ukraine!.. This enormous dynamism — a dynamism of both idea and action — this is what the Act of June 30th gave to us and to the future, and there lies its historical significance!" Dontsov saw what was great in the life of the nation.

He was close to other great men of our nation — Symon Petlura, Yevhen Konovalets, the supreme commander of the UPA General Roman Shukhevych-Chuprynka, and Stepan Bandera.

"The people love the great and scorn the petty. If a figure is great," writes one of the young, "they forgive him small faults."

Dontsov was never a realist, just as Mykhailo Soroka was not a realist, nor Alla Horska, murdered by the Russians; the many unvanquished in Ukraine are not realists. "The realists," as the young authors in Ukraine teach, "will never find the Promised Land, because Ukraine is a flower that has grown up from amidst the snows." And they call on us to be infatuated with the idea of Ukra-

ine. Did not Dontsov call on us for decades to be such, as the unvanquished young now demand?

A great national visionary has left us.

He grasped the significance and the ideological substance of the coryphaei of Ukrainian cultural creativity better than anyone before him, often giving them a unique interpretation. He revealed the springs and the traditions of Ukrainian spirituality, as with unparalleled confidence the unbroken young creators in Ukraine also do, forging ahead.

He who passes on into the eternity of the nation's existence never leaves us behind. The great never leave us, because the mark of their spirit remains impressed upon the living. And spirit, as the young in Ukraine remind us, is what makes the being of the individual and the nation.

The young author teaches us, "The fury of the strong — this is a song which everyone should make in the finest moments of his life. Any other kind of life will be long and dull — and without holidays." And thus affirm today's unvanquished.

Dmytro Dontsov has not perished, for his ideas live on in the struggle of the Ukrainian nation, in her young generation.

Mistaken is he who thinks that Dontsov's era is over!

We bid farewell to the bodily remains of Dontsov, but not to his spirit and his ideas!

The presidium of the revolutionary OUN, the ABN, all struggling Ukraine, and I, as head of the last Ukrainian government on Ukrainian soil, pay our last homage to the great zealot of a world anti-Russian front of struggle for the eternal ideas of Ukraine, for the ideas of Kyiv against Moscow, for St. Sophia's against the Kremlin!

Upon the coffin of Dontsov we have laid a handful of earth from St. Sophia's of Kyiv.

We believe that the time is not far off, when the mortal remains of this Great Ukrainian shall lie in the Nation's Pantheon, in our immortal city of Kyiv, the city of St. Andrew the First, called, Apostle of Christ!

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.

## UKRAINE AND HOMES OF LEARNING

J. R. PINCZUK

# MANITOBA—CENTRE OF UKRAINIAN STUDIES

**Department of Slavic Studies in Winnipeg, Canada, 1949-1974**

*"We should remember that the history of the department was created by its professors and students. This history was recorded in the University's hallways, the library, at faculty conferences, and during the various congresses conducted on both continents of the world."*<sup>1</sup>

According to the eminent scholar, W. J. Rose, former Head of the School of Slavonic Studies, University of London, Slavic Studies are:

*"... a field of study introduced into several Canadian universities on an equal footing with other disciplines since the end of the Second World War because of the cultural values of this heretofore neglected field and the place the Slav countries — in particular the U.S.S.R. — have come to occupy in international affairs. There are also special considerations: the geographical closeness of these countries to Canada, and the fact that a substantial fraction of Canadians are descended from or are themselves immigrants from Slav countries."*<sup>2</sup>

Professor Rose defined Slavic Studies as involving more than the work of isolated individuals and more than a knowledge of one or more Slavic languages:

*"It connotes organized activities — teaching and research in college or university departments, for which regular credits and degrees are given, covering language study, literature, history (in its widest sense), economics and politics, geography (physical, economic, and human), with folklore, the fine arts, music, and institutional life added to the score."*<sup>3</sup>

Slavistics, as we know it today in Canada, received its first impetus from the efforts generated by the Slavic migrants who arrived in this country from Europe at the beginning of the twentieth century.

At first, these pioneering efforts to establish a centre of Slavic Studies in Manitoba were retarded by poor organization and inadequate familiarity with possible opportunities for cultural development

1) W. T. Żyła, *Ukrainica Occidentalia*, Vol. VIII (6): "Contribution to the History of Ukrainian and Other Slavic Studies in Canada," edited by J. B. Rudnyč'kyj, published by the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, Winnipeg, 1961. Excerpt from Foreword by the author, p. 5.

2) *Encyclopedia Canadiana*, Volume 9, p. 328.

3) *Ibid.*, p. 328.

which, more often than not, lacked appropriate funding.<sup>4</sup> Furthermore, since qualified leadership was non-existent at that time,<sup>5</sup> the soil so anxiously prepared for the seeds of a future chair of Slavic Studies in Manitoba, and more particularly in Winnipeg, was forced to lie fallow.

The establishment 25 years ago of the Department of Slavic Studies at the University of Manitoba was hailed as an historic step in the life of the Ukrainian ethnic group in Canada. In essence, it was the crowning realization of a dream 35 years in the making, from 1914 to 1949, which may be directly attributed to at least three important factors which have been summarized as follows:

In the first instance, the bilingual (English-Ukrainian) schools<sup>6</sup> and their teachers are generally credited as having initiated within their system the first thoughts<sup>7</sup> concerning the creation of a special department at the University of Manitoba for the instruction of the Ukrainian language.

It is recorded that in July, 1914, V. Mihajchuk, a teacher and secretary of the Organization of Ukrainian Teachers in Manitoba, wrote that the Ukrainian language should be accepted into the teaching curriculum of the University of Manitoba alongside the Icelandic and German languages.<sup>8</sup> This is generally considered as the first "official voice" to be raised in an effort to introduce the Ukrainian language into the University of Manitoba.<sup>9</sup> "From that time," (according to T. U. Martsiniv, the then head of the Organization of Ukrainian Teachers), "the question regarding the introduction of the Ukrainian language into the University became very significant."<sup>10</sup>

At the Ninth Annual Ukrainian/English Teachers' Convention held in Manitoba between July 14-16 in 1915, the question concerning "The Ukrainian Chair of Literature and History at the University of Manitoba" was discussed more fully.<sup>11</sup>

Manolij Mihajchuk, one of the teacher-delegates at the convention, presented a challenging report on the question under discussion, and raised the motion for the introduction of the Ukrainian language,

<sup>4</sup>) Žyla, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

<sup>5</sup>) *Ibid.*, p. 12.

<sup>6</sup>) The Manitoba Government, (after considering the legitimate claims of Ukrainian lobbyists), authorized establishment of "bilingual schools" in Ukrainian districts. A programme designed to train teachers for these special schools resulted in the establishment of "The Ruthenian Training School," located on Minto Street in Winnipeg in 1905. In 1907, the seminary was re-located in Brandon, where it later played a major role in developing the Ukrainian school system in Manitoba, having graduated more than 150 teachers. These graduate teachers, being desirous of further education in Ukrainian studies, soon agitated for such courses to be offered on a university level in Winnipeg.

<sup>7</sup>) *Ibid.*, p. 13.

<sup>8</sup>) *Ibid.*, p. 13, 14.

<sup>9</sup>) *Ibid.*, p. 14.

<sup>10</sup>) *Ibid.*, p. 14.

<sup>11</sup>) *Ibid.*, p. 14.

literature, and history into the teaching programme of the University of Manitoba.<sup>12</sup>

This resolution, according to T. U. Martsiniv and A. Zaharijchuk, which was subsequently approved by the convention, was to have been formally presented to the University.<sup>13</sup> Unfortunately, the fate of this proposal remains unknown, as no data is available to determine whether it was presented to the University or whether it remained simply as an historical document recording the first organized effort to introduce Slavic courses into the teaching programme of a Canadian University.<sup>14</sup>

On February 3, 1916, J. V. Arsenych headed a Ukrainian delegation to seek an audience with Premier Noris, his ministers, and certain members of the Manitoba Legislature to discuss the bilingual system of education together with other related matters.<sup>15</sup>

During his visit, Arsenych presented six firm requests to the Government, touching the needs of the bilingual programme as well as the establishment of a chair in the Ukrainian language and literature at the University of Manitoba.<sup>16</sup> Thus the matter of establishing the Ukrainian language with the University was now, for the first time, placed before the Manitoba Government.

Premier Noris and his ministers, however, seemingly ignored these petitions, so that the efforts of that concerned delegation remained only as an historical *pium desiderium*.

Fifteen years later, on February 17, 1931, at a specially convened conference, A. Hospodyn resurrected the idea of establishing a Ukrainian language department at the University, arguing that other smaller ethnic groups were successfully represented in the curriculum of the Manitoba University and thereby expressed fond hopes that the Ukrainians should have their language accepted as well.<sup>17</sup>

Following the compilation of additional facts and materials by P. Tesljukov and A. Hospodyn, another meeting was scheduled for May 15, 1931, by representatives of Ukrainian organizations for the sole purpose of discussing the proposed chair of Ukrainian studies at the University of Manitoba.<sup>18</sup>

It is evident from all indications that the concept of establishing the Ukrainian language in the programme of the University during these turbulent years became the concern of almost all Ukrainian organizations in Winnipeg. They not only sponsored delegates to attend the various conferences, but agreed to become active participants in the special committees authorized to pursue the matter towards its ultimate realization.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>12</sup>) *Ibid.*, p. 14.

<sup>13</sup>) *Ibid.*, p. 14.

<sup>14</sup>) *Ibid.*, p. 14, 15.

<sup>15</sup>) *Ibid.*, p. 15.

<sup>16</sup>) *Ibid.*, p. 15.

<sup>17</sup>) *Ibid.*, p. 15, 16.

<sup>18</sup>) *Ibid.*, p. 16.

<sup>19</sup>) *Ibid.*, p. 16.



Further action from the Ukrainian community to introduce Ukrainian language subjects into the University of Manitoba were suspended by the intervention of the Second World War. Following these hostilities, the Ukrainian Canadian Committee (KUK) began to sponsor all future attempts to establish the seemingly elusive chair of Ukrainian studies at the University of Manitoba.<sup>20</sup>

In 1948, Dr. A. H. S. Gillson, the newly elected President of the University of Manitoba and an ardent admirer of Ukrainian culture, expressed sincere interest in the prospect of establishing a chair of Ukrainian Studies and Slavistics at the University.<sup>21</sup>

A third significant factor was the encouraging news that in the wake of the Second World War, there had arrived in Winnipeg a number of highly qualified and distinguished Ukrainian professors such as Prof. D. Doroshenko, Prof. L. Bilec'kyj, Prof. J. B. Rudnyc'kyj, and others.<sup>22</sup>

At last, it seemed as though 1949 was destined to be the year which would mark the beginning of the most constructive and successful post-war efforts in the realization of the long-awaited chair of Ukrainian studies at the University of Manitoba.

Besides the sympathetic efforts of Dr. Gillson, one of the most passionate Anglo-Saxon supporters of Slavic studies in Winnipeg was Dr. E. T. Etsell,<sup>23</sup> a local doctor-polyglot, who expressed the following remarks in a letter dated April 30, 1949, addressed to Dr. Gillson, President of the University of Manitoba.

*"With Russia (U.S.S.R. — JRP) playing such an important role in the world today, would there be any possibility of our University starting a course of Studies in Slavonic languages?"*<sup>24</sup>

Among other matters of importance, Dr. Etsell earnestly recommended the qualifications of Dr. J. B. Rudnyc'kyj to the attention of President Gilson, saying.

*"Among these persons (i.e. newcomers to Canada — JRP), have been some who already had reached positions of prominence in their respective fields in Europe. It is one of these persons, Professor Rudnyc'kyj, whom I would like to bring to your attention . . . Professor Rudnyc'kyj is a specialist in Slavonic languages . . . My impression of this man, President Gillson, is that he is . . . way above the ordinary level of University graduate . . ."*<sup>25</sup>

Dr. Gillson was officially approached by the Ukrainian Canadian Committee in the spring of 1949 regarding the prospect of establishing a chair of Ukrainian studies at the University of Manitoba.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 19.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 20, 27.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 20.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 20, 21.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 20, 21.

<sup>25</sup> Dr. E. T. Etsell's letter to Dr. Gillson, (dated April 30, 1949), was provided through the courtesy of his wife to W. T. Żyła, who compiled the comprehensive history of the Department of Slavic Studies at the University of Manitoba from 1949 to 1959. Refer Żyła, *op. cit.*, p. 20, 21.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 22.

Immediate problems confronting the progress of this project were centred around the raising of necessary funds, as the University was not able to supply any financial assistance.<sup>27</sup> Nevertheless, it was officially decided to establish the Department in 1951, allowing the Ukrainian community two years to collect the required funds.<sup>28</sup>

Shortly after, to everyone's pleasant surprise, President Gillson made the official announcement that the proposed Ukrainian Department would be broadened to a Department of Slavic Studies and begin its operation in the fall of 1949 from University funds.<sup>29</sup> Besides Ukrainian, the new Department would include Russian, Polish, and Old Bulgarian languages and literature.<sup>30</sup> It is generally accepted that President Gillson was prompted to make this important decision by the fact that Dr. Rudnyc'kyj, who was resident in Winnipeg and therefore available to head the new Department, was considering an invitation from the University of Alberta to join its staff as Professor in the Department of Modern Languages.<sup>31</sup>

Following a special meeting in the President's Fort Garry home on June 7, 1949, attended by Dr. Rudnyc'kyj and Mr. Paul Yuzyk, it was agreed that the new Department would be known as the Department of Slavic Studies.<sup>32</sup> From 1949 to 1951 it was to consist of only one staff member, namely Dr. Rudnyc'kyj, who was to be paid exclusively from University funds.<sup>33</sup> In 1951, after sufficient additional moneys were collected by the Ukrainian Professional and Business Men's Club of Winnipeg, a second member would be added. This would be Paul Yuzyk, who by then would have completed his Doctor's degree at the University of Minnesota.<sup>34</sup>

On June 13, after the Board of Governors had approved President Gillson's proposal, Dr. Rudnyc'kyj wrote his letter to the University of Alberta declining the position which had been offered him.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>27</sup> "Department Slovyans'kykh Studiy v Manitobi" (Department of Slavic Studies in Manitoba), *Ukrainian Voice*, January 14, 1951. See also, Dr. Bo-ryslaw N. Bilash, "One of Canada's Centres of Ukrainian Studies: Department of Slavic Studies. University of Manitoba," *The Ukrainian Review*, London, 1971, p. 94; see also: the *Ukrainian Professional and Business Men's Book* Winnipeg, 1968.

<sup>28</sup> Żyła, *op. cit.*, p. 22-25. See also Bilash, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

<sup>29</sup> Żyła, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

<sup>30</sup> Bilash, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

<sup>31</sup> "Professor J. Rudnyc'kyj mav sche odnu ofertu," (Prof. J. Rudnyc'kyj Had Yet Another Ofer), *Canadian Farmer*, July 20, 1949.

<sup>32</sup> Other important factors influencing Dr. Gillson's decision to establish the Department of Slavic Studies in 1949 were "The extent and quality of the educational and cultural activities of the Ukrainian Canadians in Winnipeg," Paul Yuzyk, *The Ukrainians in Manitoba*, Toronto, 1953, p. 198, 199.

<sup>33</sup> Bilash, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 95.

<sup>35</sup> Żyła, *op. cit.*, p. 23. It is of interest to note that Dr. Rudnyc'kyj (while residing in Heidelberg, Germany, after the war), wrote over 20 memoranda in 1947 regarding the matter of Slavic Studies to many of the larger universities in the Western Hemisphere, namely, the United States, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. Coincidentally, one of these memos was sent to the University of Manitoba, but unfortunately it was never acknowledged nor acted upon.

Articles appearing on July 8, 1949, in *The Winnipeg Free Press* and *The Winnipeg Tribune* announced the official establishment of the Department of Slavic Studies at the University of Manitoba together with the appointment of Dr. J. B. Rudnyc'kyj as Assistant Professor.<sup>36</sup> The announcement was received with great enthusiasm both by the Ukrainian community and the Ukrainian ethnic press.<sup>37</sup>

With the foundation of the Department, there was immediate inspiration to form a special collection of books to support the new Slavic Studies Department. This was pioneered primarily through the efforts of Dr. Rudnyc'kyj himself, though he later received valuable assistance from the staff added to the Department along with persons outside the University who wished to contribute to the development and success of the over-all Slavic Studies programme.<sup>38</sup>

The Slavic Collection was later supported financially with great eagerness by various organizations, such as the Ukrainian Studies Fund under the direction of Mr. Mark Smerchanski, a former Member of the Board of Governors of the University and Member of the Federal Parliament.<sup>39</sup>

The first library assistant was O. Mychailenko in 1949-1951. In 1951-1961, Professor Rudnyc'kyj performed the functions of a Slavic librarian. First among the full-time professional librarians was Otto Bruer (1962-64),<sup>40</sup> followed by John S. Muchin in 1964.<sup>41</sup> Orysia Tracz and Jaroslav Kostur were added as library assistants in 1971, followed by Valerie Kuna in 1973.<sup>42</sup>

Initially located in the office of the Department of Slavic Studies, this Collection of approximately 2,000 volumes was moved in 1953 to its present location in the newly constructed library building known since 1962 as the Elizabeth Dafoe Library.<sup>43</sup>

After investing over \$6,000.000 on the immediate purchase of books,<sup>44</sup> hundreds of others soon began to pour in from sources and

<sup>36</sup>) *Ibid.*, p. 23.

<sup>37</sup>) Bilash, *op. cit.*, p. 95. For a more comprehensive analysis of articles published by the *Canadian Farmer*, the *Ukrainian Voice*, the *New Pathway*, *Opinion*, the *Alpha Omegan Yearbook*, and the *Winnipeg Free Press*, see Zyla, *op. cit.*, p. 31-35.

<sup>38</sup>) *The Slavic Collection of The University of Manitoba Libraries*, compiled by J. S. Muchin, published by The University of Manitoba Libraries and UVAN, Winnipeg, 1970, p. 9. See also Zyla, *op. cit.*, p. 47 ff.

<sup>39</sup>) Muchin, *The Slavic Collection*, *op. cit.*, p. 9. See also, Zyla, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

<sup>40</sup>) Muchin, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

<sup>41</sup>) *Ibid.*, p. 10.

<sup>42</sup>) University of Manitoba Archives.

<sup>43</sup>) Muchin, *op. cit.*, p. 10. At present, there are only two separate language collections, Icelandic and Slavic, at this University Library.

<sup>44</sup>) During the years 1949 to 1961, the staff of the Department of Slavic Studies was responsible for the Collection, especially Prof. J. B. Rudnyc'kyj, thanks to whose efforts the library also purchased some unique Slavic manuscripts and valuable rare books. These are described in greater detail by John S. Muchin, the Special Collections Librarian, in the publication, *The Slavic Collection*, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-42.

donors in Canada and the United States.<sup>45</sup>

Such famous private Collections as the Hirniak Library comprise the core of the Slavic library as we know it today at the University of Manitoba.<sup>46</sup> At present, it comprises books in 14 Slavic languages covering over 15,000 volumes and bound periodicals on the Humanities.<sup>47</sup> In addition, there are over 2,000 volumes (mostly in Science, Fine Arts, Music, and Medicine), scattered throughout the stacks of the University libraries.<sup>48</sup>

Today there are at least 17 Departments acquiring publications in the Slavic languages.<sup>49</sup>

The years 1949-1950 saw the introduction of a number of basic Slavic courses into the Summer and Evening sessions of the University of Manitoba.<sup>50</sup> Publication of the Slavic Department's own series of booklets entitled, *Reading in Slavic Folklore* and *Reading in Slavic Literature* was begun in 1951 under the editorship of Prof. J. B. Rudnyc'kyj.<sup>51</sup> In the same year, the Ukrainian Professional and Business Men's Club established the Ukrainian Studies Fund. In the five-year campaign, under the capable chairmanship of Mark Smerchanski and the eager cooperation of its members, the club collected approximately \$25,000.00, enabling the University to appoint Paul Yuzyk as a second member of the Slavic Studies staff.<sup>52</sup> As a part-time lecturer, the University accepted Dr. Mulyk-Lucyk, who later resigned on February 2, 1954.<sup>53</sup>

Since its inception in 1949, the Department of Slavic Studies has received numerous generous financial donations from many Ukrainian organizations for the benefit of students studying in the Department. These awards and special stipends are allocated annually to those students who prove themselves most proficient in the various courses.<sup>54</sup>

In the 1957-58 academic year, two important courses were added to the expanding curriculum of the Department of Slavic Studies which were unprecedented among institutions of higher learning in North America. These were the higher level course of Old Church Slavic and Old Rus' Literature, which still rank as unique Slavic

<sup>45</sup> Muchin, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11.

<sup>50</sup> Zyla, *op. cit.*, p. 41, 44.

<sup>51</sup> *Readings in Slavic Folklore* were published in Winnipeg from 1951-6, while *Readings in Slavic Literature* were published in 1958-1972.

<sup>52</sup> Bilash, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 95.

<sup>54</sup> Detailed listings of organizations, donations, and awards made from 1949 to 1959 have been listed by Zyla on pages 59 to 68 of his study. During these first ten years, \$3,300.00 was received, of which \$3,000.00 was awarded to eligible students up until 1959.

courses available today.<sup>55</sup> Thus, the first ten years of its operation, from 1949 to 1959, placed the Slavic Department on an equal footing in rank and prestige with other Departments of the University.<sup>56</sup>

In 1959, in recognition of their work, J. B. Rudnyc'kyj was promoted to full professorship and Paul Yuzyk to Associate Professor, the latter simultaneously in the Department of Slavic Studies and the Department of History.<sup>57</sup> While Prof. Yuzyk was on his Sabbatical in London, working on a research project, he was temporarily replaced by Assistant Professor Michael Yaremko, formerly of United College in Winnipeg.<sup>58</sup>

The year 1959 saw the addition of two new courses offered by the Department, namely, "Basic Russian For Scientists" (which was well received by science students), and an evening course for credit in "intermediate Russian" at the Department of University Extension and Adult Education. "Introductory Russian" was offered at the University Summer School programme.<sup>59</sup>

A new Graduate Studies Programme, established the previous year, was now attracting candidates from other universities.<sup>60</sup>

Several important personnel changes were made between 1960 and 1963. Henry D. Wiebe was appointed as a part-time lecturer. Professor Yuzyk (now Dr. Yuzyk) resigned his post to accept a call to the Senate of Canada. During this period, R. Klymash and B. Rubchak were appointed to the staff of the Slavic Department, although both eventually resigned.<sup>61</sup>

The outstanding event of the year 1962-63 was the transfer of the Department from the main floor of the Arts building into new quarters on the fifth floor of the same structure. The new accommoda-

<sup>55</sup>) *Ibid.*, p. 39.

<sup>56</sup>) Žyla, *op. cit.*, p. 40. Žyla has noted that during the first ten years of its operation from 1949 to 1959, there were 1,164 students enrolled in the Department of Slavic Studies, 442 of whom were classified as full-time studies, 210 as Summer School students, and 512 who studied in the Evening Institute. Reasons for only 38% attendance of full-time students during the first ten years were attributed to the lack of basic Slavic courses in elementary and high-school teaching programmes. This situation severely handicaps matters, discourages prospective students, and ultimately lowers the level of courses on the university level. On the whole, much the same situation persists even today. Compare Žyla, *op. cit.*, p. 81 ff.

<sup>57</sup>) Bilash, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

<sup>58</sup>) *The President's Report*, University of Manitoba, 1959-1960, p. 97.

<sup>59</sup>) *Ibid.*, p. 97.

<sup>60</sup>) Žyla, *op. cit.*, p. 39, 40, 84. "The aim of the Slavic Graduate Studies Program is to train M.A. candidates for teaching and research in the field of Russian, Ukrainian, or other Slavic languages, literatures, folklore, onomatology, and culture in general. The program also serves the needs of candidates who seek careers in government service, journalism, specialization in linguistics, onomastics, literature, and other professions." (The University of Manitoba, Faculty of Graduate Studies, Handbook, Winnipeg, Manitoba, 1970-1971, pp. 873-4).

<sup>61</sup>) Bilash, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

tion provided greatly improved facilities and more adequate space for future Departmental expansion.<sup>62</sup>

Another significant occurrence was the appointment of Prof. Rudnyc'kyj to the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism,<sup>63</sup> while the Most Rev. Metropolitan Ilarion (Dr. Ohienko) joined the Department as an Honourary Professor to teach, among other things, a highly specialized course in Slavic paleography offered to senior and graduate students.<sup>64</sup>

In 1964, Prof. Rudnyc'kyj was granted a partial leave of absence for the year so that he might accept his position as a member of the B & B Commission and at the same time continue to work on his "Etymological Dictionary of the Ukrainian Language," which was now in the process of being published.<sup>65</sup> In his absence, Prof. Meredith Jones was appointed Acting Head, and Assistant Professor Klymasz as executive assistant.<sup>66</sup>

In September, Mr. B. T. Rubchak was appointed as lecturer and Dr. Maryna Antonovych-Rudnyc'ka as seasonal lecturer.<sup>67</sup>

Dudrng the summer, the Department experienced its most successful Summer School programme when 13 students enrolled for Russian 111, while 23 students attended Ukrainian 110.<sup>68</sup> The following year proved to be even more successful.<sup>69</sup> Still in 1964, Professors I. Tarnawecky, J. Rozumnyj, and Rev. A. Baran were added to the staff.<sup>70</sup>

Finally, in 1970, in connection with Professor Rudnyc'kyj's full Sabbatical, another two members were added to the Department of Slavic Studies teaching staff: Dr. S. Pohorilyj and J. Petach as lecturers.<sup>71</sup>

*At present, the staff of the Slavic Department of the University of Manitoba consists of Dr. J. B. Rudnyc'kyj, Professor and Head of the Department; Dr. J. Rozumnyj, Associate Professor; Dr. Henry D. Wiebe, Associate Professor; Dr. I. Tarnarwecky, Assistant Professor; and Dr. S. Pohorilyj, Assistant Professor. Apart from the teaching staff, there is Mrs. O. Wocenko, Occasional Secretary and Research Assistant; Mrs. G. Hykawy, English Secretary; and Mr. W. Moodrey, Bilingual Secretary.*

As one looks back in retrospect over 25 years of growth and development, the following statistical data will become apparent.

From an initial number of 5 courses being offered in 1949, (includ-

62) *The President's Report*, University of Manitoba, 1962-1963, p. 97.

63) Bilash, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

64) *The President's Report*, University of Manitoba, 1963-1964, p. 111.

65) *Ibid.*, p. 111.

66) *Ibid.*, p. 111.

67) *Ibid.*, p. 111.

68) *The President's Report*, University of Manitoba, 1964-1965, p. 117.

69) *The President's Report*, University of Manitoba, 1965-1966, p. 119.

70) Bilash, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

71) *Ibid.* p., 95.

ing 2 Ukrainian and 2 Russian language courses, 1 Polish course),<sup>72</sup> the Department of Slavic Studies in 1974 offers 29 separate courses in Russian, Ukrainian, and Polish, not including the Summer School or Evening Institute courses.<sup>73</sup>

In comparison to the 22 students enrolled in Slavic Studies in 1949,<sup>74</sup> there were 167 registered in undergraduate courses in 1962-63 with 7 active graduate students.<sup>75</sup> Over the next 12½ years, the enrollment steadily increased until in the current session of the 1973-74 academic year, there are over 180 undergraduate and 8 graduate students enrolled in Slavic Studies.<sup>76</sup>

During the past five years, there has been an average of 5 full-time M.A. students, 5 part-time M.A. students, 3 full-time Pre-M.A. students, and 2 part-time Pre-M.A. students registered with the Slavic Graduate Studies Department. Over the same period of years, more than an average of 2 M.A. students received their degrees each year.<sup>77</sup>

Full recognition of the Ukrainian language as a University entrance requirement on a par with French, German, Russian, and other languages was a significant step forward in the continued development of the Department over the years.<sup>78</sup> In addition, preliminary talks with the Departments of Geography and History were held with prospective views of establishing a Ph.D. programme in Soviet and Eastern European Area Studies.<sup>79</sup>

The move to the Fletcher Argue Building in 1967-68 was indicative of the progress made, requiring increased facilities and amenities for the work of its staff members.<sup>80</sup>

It is a matter of fact that the Slavic Department of the University of Manitoba has, after 25 years, finally achieved world-wide recognition and respect for the high calibre of its teaching, research, and publications in the field of Slavic languages and literature.<sup>81</sup>

<sup>72</sup> Zyla, *op. cit.*, p. 35 ff.

<sup>73</sup> The University of Manitoba, Faculty of Arts and Faculty of Science, Handbook, 1973-74 Regular Session (Day and Evening), p. 22.

<sup>74</sup> Bilash, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

<sup>75</sup> *The President's Report*, University of Manitoba, 1962-1963, p. 97.

<sup>76</sup> University of Manitoba Archives.

<sup>77</sup> University of Manitoba, Department of Graduate Studies Archives.

<sup>78</sup> *The President's Report*, University of Manitoba, 1967-1968, p. 121. Besides academic teaching, the Department has been conducting an important research activity with more than 15 theses supervised by the Staff and headed by Prof. Rudnyc'kyj. Important parts of his major project in Ukrainian etymology were completed, and Prof. Rudnyc'kyj was entrusted by the editorial board of *Current Trends in Linguistics*, Vol. X, 1973, Bloomington, Indiana, with the preparation of an important survey of research on immigrant languages in Canada. Professor H. Wiebe continued as editor of the publication *Proceedings of the Linguistic Circle of Manitoba and North Dakota*, while Professor I. Tarnawecky completed her survey of Cyrillic manuscripts and old prints in Canada under a Canada Council grant.

<sup>79</sup> *The President's Report*, University of Manitoba, 1967-1968, p. 121.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 121.

<sup>81</sup> Bilash, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

Many of the graduates now occupy important positions with the Government of Canada, as well as with various universities and educational institutions in Canada and abroad.<sup>82</sup>

W. J. Rose, the great and distinguished Canadian Slavist, expressed a most noble ideal while lecturing on the topic, "Cradle Days of Slavic Studies — Some Reflections," at the University of Manitoba in 1954, which is worth repeating here.

*"Our modern world is so many-sided that it is easy to get lost in it and to lose our sense of the real value of things. Among our young people only a minority seems to understand what constitutes a scholarly approach to things. It is for us to set an example. Let us strive for better scholarship in all departments, and especially in our own."*

*"Our objectives should be to reach as many people as possible of Anglo-Saxon birth and breeding and to keep the second and third generation of Slavic stock from forgetting the rock from which they are hewn. The yardstick of success is to be not the number, but the quality of students and scholars of non-Slavic origins drawn into a study of the Slavic world."*<sup>83</sup>

There can be no doubt that on the basis of its record, the Department of Slavic Studies at the University of Manitoba has faithfully and successfully lived up to that immortal vision over the past twenty-five years of its existence.

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<sup>82</sup>) Ibid., p. 96.

<sup>83</sup>) W. J. Rose, "Cradle Days Of Slavic Studies — Some Reflections," *Slavistica*, No. 23, published by the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, Winnipeg, 1955, p. 13.

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## UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS LIBRARY PURCHASES RARE COLLECTION OF UKRAINICA

The Library of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign recently purchased the valuable private library of the late Elias Czaykowski of Detroit. The collection comprises 7,000 volumes of carefully selected and mostly out-of-print monographic and periodical publications, issued mainly in the second half of the 19th and first half of the 20th centuries. Some of the books, especially those on religion, date from the end of the 18th century. Mr. Czaykowski, who himself was the author of several separate literary and bibliographical publications and a number of articles, devoted much of his time, particularly during his residence in the U.S. from 1947 to 1973, to building his private library, and this hobby became his second profession. He managed to make close connections with institutions, book dealers, and private individuals (most of them scholars) from almost all countries of the Americas and Europe including those in the Communist bloc. He also purchased materials from Turkey and Israel.

The Czaykowski collection consists of publications mainly in Ukrainian. It also includes works on Ukrainian problems published in other languages, especially in Polish (approximately 300 volumes), German, and Russian. The collection covers several subjects, the largest of which is Ukrainian literature, including collected works of the Ukrainian classics, novels, and poetry, and translations of world literature into Ukrainian. Chief among the other subjects are the history of Ukraine and Ukrainian culture, linguistics (including about 30 dictionaries), religion, geography, art, and social sciences. Almost all the items are first editions.

The University of Illinois was able to purchase this significant library mainly because of the great understanding of the importance of Ukrainian studies by the University's Russian and East European Center, and particularly by its Director, Professor Ralph T. Fisher. In his request to the Graduate College Research Board for part of the funds necessary to purchase the collection, Mr. Fisher wrote:

One might protest that this is not a field that seems destined to attract large numbers of researchers. But I would point out that we are one of the few American universities that teach the Ukrainian language and Ukrainian literature, and that Ukraine, as the largest minority nation in the Soviet Union, deserves much more attention than it has had heretofore in American scholarly circles... Last summer, 4 of the 44 visiting scholars were doing research on Ukraine. As our holdings improve and become better known, we can expect that many more will come...

Enlarging the Ukrainian holdings in the University Library has always been a major concern of the Library's Special Languages Department. Hence its Head, Professor Laurence H. Miller, after examining the purchased collection wrote to Mr. Eugene Chaykowski, brother of its late owner: "The books will add greatly to our

Ukrainian library resources and in order to recognize this and to honor your brother we would like to name the collection the 'Elias Czaykowski Collection of Ukrainian Culture.' A special book-plate with this designation would be placed in each of the books." It has been decided also that in recognition of his remarkable achievement in developing his library, a portrait of Elias Czaykowski will be hung in the Slavic and East European Reading Room of the University Library.

With the addition of the Czaykowski library, the Ukrainica in the University of Illinois Library at Urbana-Champaign now total more than 24,000 volumes, a highly significant collection which appears to be the largest Ukrainian collection in any university outside the Soviet bloc.

I, personally, am happy to have been instrumental in the recommendation and acquisition of this valuable library of Ukrainian culture for the University of Illinois, because I know it will serve many students and scholars in their research on Ukraine and its rich culture.

*Dmytro M. Shtohryn*

### **SLAVIC ASSOCIATION AWARDS LIFE MEMBERSHIP**

Dr. J. B. Rudnyckyj, head, slavic studies, was recently awarded an honorary life membership of the Canadian Association of Slavists. He was one of the founders of that organization and president during 1958-59.

The association's newsletter states:

"Prof. Jaroslav B. Rudnyckyj, first president of the Canadian Institute of Onomastic Sciences (1967-70), past president of the American Name Society (1959), permanent Canadian delegate to the International Centre of Onomastic Sciences, vice-president of the International Committee for Space Onomastics at the United Nations... was born at Peremyshl, in Ukraine, in 1910. He began etymologizing Slavic toponyms during his student years at the Leopold University in L'viv, Western Ukraine. His Ph.D. thesis on Carpathian Geographical Names of Boikovia was presented in 1937, published in 1939, and given a second edition in 1962.

"Dr. Rudnyckyj has been most active since his arrival in Canada in 1949. He organized the department of slavic studies, now celebrating its 25th year, at the University of Manitoba, and as head, has guided its expansion.

"His major work is his Etymological Dictionary of the Ukrainian Language but a bibliography of his published work to 1963 listed more than 900 titles."

Other award holders are Prof. Watson Kirkconnell and Prof. Milos Mladenovic. The life membership certificates are to be awarded during the International Congress of Slavists in Banff in the autumn of 1974.