

The
UKRAINIAN
REVIEW



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THE UKRAINIAN REVIEW

A Quarterly Magazine devoted to the study of Ukraine.

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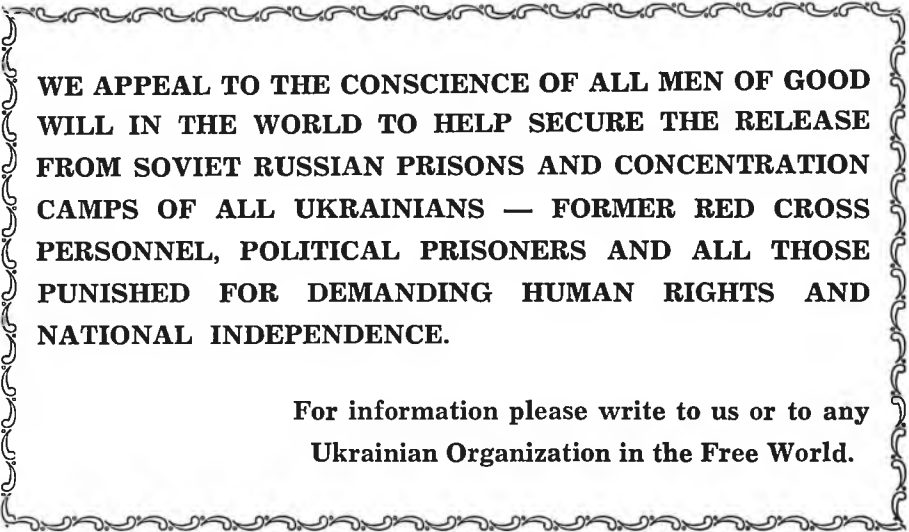
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**WE APPEAL TO THE CONSCIENCE OF ALL MEN OF GOOD
WILL IN THE WORLD TO HELP SECURE THE RELEASE
FROM SOVIET RUSSIAN PRISONS AND CONCENTRATION
CAMPS OF ALL UKRAINIANS — FORMER RED CROSS
PERSONNEL, POLITICAL PRISONERS AND ALL THOSE
PUNISHED FOR DEMANDING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

**For information please write to us or to any
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C O N T E N T S

<i>The Patriarch — His Beatitude Cardinal Joseph Slipyj: "I REMEMBER PERSECUTED UKRAINE"</i>	3
*** : THE FIFTH CONGRESS OF O.U.N. AND APPEAL	6
<i>Konstantyn Shevchuk: SEVEN VERSUS MOSCOW</i>	11
*** : IN DEFENCE OF VALENTYN MOROZ:	23
FATHER'S PLEA	23
WIFE'S PLEA TO THE WORLD	24
SAKHAROV CONFIRMS — MOROZ ON VERGE OF DEATH ...	25
WESTERN CORRESPONDENTS REPORT FROM MOSCOW ...	28
UKRAINIANS IN THE USA ASK PRESIDENTS TO INTERVENE	30
WESTERN PRESS RESPONSES AND REPORTS	31
HARVARD UNIVERSITY INVITES V. MOROZ TO COME ...	38
*** : FROM THE IVAN HEL' TRIAL	45
*** : THE ANNIVERSARY OF UKRAINE'S INDEPENDENCE ...	49
<i>V. Bohdaniuk: UKRAINE (a Short Guide)</i>	67
<i>Karl Anders: MURDER TO ORDER</i>	86
<i>Yar Slavutych, Ph.D.: UKRAINIAN POETRY IN CANADA — A HISTORICAL ACCOUNT</i>	109
*** : LITERARY NEWS	125

NEW ON THE BOOK-SHELVES:

FOR THIS WAS I BORN

The Human Conditions in USSR Slave Labour Camps
 Photographs, Testimonies, Poems, Readings Petitions,
 Letters, and other Documents.

Compiled and Edited by Yuri Shymko

Ukrainica Research Institute,
 83 Christie Street,
 Toronto M6G 3B1, Ontario Canada.

“I remember persecuted Ukraine”

**Speech of the Ukrainian Patriarch, His Beatitude Cardinal
Cardinal Joseph Slipyj, at the Synod of Catholic bishops,
Rome, October 1974 (Free translation from the Latin).**

Holy Father, Very Reverend Presidium and Fathers

I speak in the name of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, as a participant and a senior member of the Synod. From the information that we have heard about missionary work in Africa, Asia, America and Europe we see that it has not been fully successful. All those speeches that we heard do not refer to the entire Church, but only to the Latin rite. For you all must know that *there are in the world millions of Catholics of the Eastern rite, and also millions of Orthodox*. When speaking of the Church, we must not limit ourselves only to the Latin rite. We also heard in the speeches references only to those countries where there is freedom of religion, where one is allowed to preach the Gospel. Nothing was mentioned of those countries where there is no freedom of religion and the Church is persecuted. *I have in mind Ukraine and Ukrainians, who are persecuted by the Bolsheviks, while the Catholic states of the world seek ties and contacts with the godless Soviet and Chinese communists and support them.*

It is very surprising that nobody speaks up for that nation which has preserved the great ancient traditions of its religion and for which it undergoes severe persecution. For example, a priest is sentenced to three or more years of slave labour in the camps of the Siberian taiga for saying Mass; those faithful who send written petitions to the Soviet government that priests be permitted to say the Holy Liturgy are locked up in psychiatric prisons. There the faithful, the priests, the nuns and the monks perpetually suffer persecutions. They are searched, tortured, physically abused, locked into prisons, where, after several weeks, without medical attention, they die. Faith lived on in spite of those circumstances. And no one mentions the need to freely preach the word of God! Do you think, reverend Fathers, that you, members of this Synod, need not protest against this inhuman persecution. Will you not, even by words, spiritually console those suffering and persecuted, among whom faith does not die, but grows stronger? There, many highly educated people, doctors, artists and scholars are profound believers, who heroically defend their faith with all their strength and all their means.

In Ukraine parents may not teach their children to pray and believe in God; they do this in secret. I myself, being in exile in the Siberian labour camps, met three students of medicine, who were

sentenced to ten years and sent to Siberia only because they believed in God. What I refer to here is not politics, but atheism and the systematic persecution of religion.

Under those difficult circumstances of religious persecutions, the faithful in Ukraine do not loose faith, although they know that the world watches and keeps silent. Their spirit is kept up by Mass and sermons that they hear over the radio. One cannot even think of establishing a hierarchy where the dispensing of the sacraments is forbidden. The religious situation is much better in Communist Poland than in Soviet Ukraine.

In this Holy Year, that was proclaimed the "year of justice" throughout the world, we must be sure that this justice, based on the teachings of the Bible, is brought to all nations of the world, and not only to a few. The speeches of the Holy Father and members of the Church hierarchy have illustrated very well the persecutions in Biafra, Bengal, Chile and Palestine.

The Ukrainian nation today is being harshly persecuted for its religion and *nationality*. This persecution not only applies to the priests, but to all the faithful. The most outstanding intellectuals that acknowledge the Christian faith in Ukraine are being persecuted most. Among those are the noted historian Valentyn Moroz, Evhen Sverstiuk, Leonid Plyushch, Vyacheslav Chornovil, Ivan and Nadia Svitlychny, Yuriy Shukhevych, Sviatoslav and Nina Karavansky, Ihor and Iryna Kalynets, Vasyl Stus and many, many others.

One of them, Valentyn Moroz, was sentenced to fourteen years of imprisonment and exiled to labour camps. At the present time he is on a hunger strike (since July 1st), having stated that he will continue his strike until he dies, since he is unable to suffer the persecution in the Vladimir Prison. *This outstanding historian is being persecuted because he defended Ukrainian Christian culture and was not afraid to submit to tortures in defence of his Church. He proved in his historical reseach that ancient Ukrainian spiritual culture is different from the Russian one; for this he has been sentenced to a long term of imprisonment.*

But he is not the only one. There are other, numerous intellectuals who defend the religious and *national rights of the Ukrainian people*; and for that they are sentenced and exiled to slave labour camps. It is in this light that we must defend the rights of the entire Church and not just part of it. We must condemn all injustice which threatens the freedom of religion, conscience and thought. We must demand the release from prison for all those suffering cruel treatment and outrage, for all those locked up for no reason in psychiatric wards. It is for those that we must debate and defend their freedom, *for they defend the rights and the freedom of their Church and nation. Who should defend more vehemently the rights of the teachings of our Church, if we neglect to do it?*

Let this year, which is called "The Year Of Justice," through the

Appeal of the entire Church of Christ, be practised as such by all who carry historical responsibilities before the history of the world; let us bring immediate freedom to all those that are persecuted, tortured, exiled, and locked up in psychiatric prisons.

—*—

UKRAINIAN HIERARCHY ISSUES PASTORAL

ROME, Italy. — "To fulfil its mission in Ukraine and in countries of our settlement, our Church must have the form of a single leadership in the person of a Patriarch, an institution which has been in existence in the Church since ancient times and was recognized by the first Synod," said the joint Christmas pastoral of the hierarchy of the "Pomisna" Ukrainian Catholic Church, issued on December 9th in Rome.

The pastoral, signed by Archbishop-Major Josyf Cardinal Slipyj and other hierarchs of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, was published in the December 1974 edition of *The News from Rome*.

The pastoral recounts the 10-years efforts of Cardinal Josyf, the hierarchy, the clergy and faithful in obtaining the status of a patriarchate for the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

"There is no doubt that we have come a long way in our endeavours for our Church's pomisnist and patriarchate, though a great deal remains to be done," said the pastoral, noting that under "different political conditions we would have achieved our designated goal."

The pastoral gives a capsule account of Cardinal Josyf's statement at the last Synod of Bishops in defence of the persecuted clergy and faithful in the Soviet Union. He had called on the Synod to work for the release of those incarcerated, enumerating the names of Moroz and 12 other imprisoned Ukrainians. The pastoral urges Ukrainians in the free world to persevere in arousing world public opinion "because it does have great influence."

The message stresses the need to preserve the Ukrainian rite and heritage, and to cultivate the beautiful Ukrainian customs inherent in such religious holy days as Christmas.

"It is our task to learn and preserve (these customs) and pass them on to the younger generations."

The pastoral calls on the faithful to preserve "the unity and sanctity of family life according to God's laws and precepts."

"Christmas is a time when the entire Ukrainian family gathers for the Holy Supper and prays together. Let us not abandon this beautiful custom."

In concluding the message, the hierarchs make a strong appeal for vocations. The appeal is directly primarily at parents who are urged to instil in their children a desire "to enter the service of God."

THE FIFTH CONGRESS

OF THE ORGANISATION OF UKRAINIAN NATIONALISTS (O.U.N.)

The Fifth Congress of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (Bandera-Revolutionaries) took place in the autumn of 1974 with a large number of delegates from five continents taking part. The Congress, the source of power within the organisation, concerns itself with questions of ideology, cadres and programmes, strategies for the liberation struggle, external and internal politics, and other questions which arise in the course of O.U.N.'s work.

At the successful Fifth Congress the presence of young delegates was marked. During the plenary sessions, and on various committees, they made their own distinct contributions, giving their opinions on the different problems that were being explored and discussed. Topics such as the liberation struggle in Ukraine, the Russian terror and encroachment on all sectors of Ukrainian national life, world politics, the positive and negative developments in Ukrainian emigré life,, were all analyzed in depth and conclusions drawn. Accordingly, the O.U.N. adopted policies for the continuation of the liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people for their right to live as an independent and sovereign nation.

At the same time it was emphasized that the liberation struggle in the homelands was intensifying, that it took in the cream of the Ukrainian nation, it included all generations, particularly the younger one, and all aspects of national and social life. The courage of the Ukrainian nation in its victory struggle with the Russian imperialist occupier was commented on.

Taking these things into account and disregarding the strengthening of the so-called détente between the superpowers, disregarding also the attempts to intensify economic and technological "co-operation" between the Western nations and the Russian empire, it was confirmed that the ideals of national liberation, dissolution of the Russian empire and construction of sovereign national states in its place, were gaining better understanding throughout the world. These ideals, it was said, were constantly recruiting more fighters into the struggle against Russian imperialism and Communism, gaining this support not only from within the countries occupied or threatened by Russia, but also from among the peoples of the free world.

The resolutions of the Fifth Congress emphasized the necessity of carrying out actions on a broader basis when defending Ukrainian political prisoners, human rights and the statehood of Ukraine. The task of O.U.N.'s internal politics, it was decided, was to exact the

most effective help for the liberation struggle from what is organically a part of Ukraine, the Ukrainian emigré communities.

The participants of the Fifth Congress, after listening to and discussing the report of the Head of the Presidium and the Members of the Executive Board, the Head of the Advisory Council and the speeches on the Organisation's programmes, confirmed that O.U.N. was going about its work correctly and had been fully justified in its actions to date.

The Fifth Congress of O.U.N. elected, as Leader of the Movement Mr. Jaroslav Stetsko, a number of members of the presidium as prescribed by the Organisation's chief advisory council and a chief inspecting council. It approved the necessary resolutions and appeals to the Ukrainian nation, the Ukrainian emigration, the subjugated nations and the peoples of the Free World.

The successful conclusion of the Fifth Congress of the O.U.N. opens up the next stage in its activity and uncompromising struggle for the fulfilment of the highest goal of the Ukrainian Nationalists — the establishment of an independent, sovereign Ukrainian State.

APPEAL OF THE FIFTH CONGRESS OF THE ORGANISATION OF UKRAINIAN NATIONALISTS TO THE FREEDOM-LOVING NATIONS

At a time when the free nations live in hope of a longstanding peace, a peace founded on the present forced-political division of the world, many nations are still under the weight of a colonial subjugation imposed on them by Russian Imperialism and Communism. Countries under the Communist Russian yoke are subjected to increasing genocide and the most rigorous type of exploitation, even though today in Africa, the age of colonialism is finally coming to an end.

The so-called 'Soviet Union' is a union which serves the Russian Imperialists to undermine other nations. As an author in Ukraine writes: — "When those who fight against Russian chauvinist assaults on Ukraine are thrown behind bars — at a time when the whole world is experiencing an age of national renaissance, then this compromises those nations that allow such things to happen."

A 'peace' which is founded on the co-existence of free nations with a colonialist empire which oppresses numerous nations, is an unjust peace destined to be shortlived. Communism and Russian Imperialism are unswervingly attempting to continue their expansion and thus threaten free nations. Events in the last few years, in the Far East, South-East Asia, in Czecho-Slovakia, in the Balkans, in the Indian theatre, quite apart from the arms race, all reveal that Russia is using the politics of "peace" as a means of preparing new imperialist aggressions.

On the other side, the free nations are progressively losing their sense of international justice and are entering into an injurious co-operation with a totalitarianism and dictatorship of the worst kind — a Communism and colonialism that attempts to destroy whole nations. Justice for nations is impossible without a fight against and a liquidation of imperialism, totalitarianism, despotism and subjugation. If the will to fight for freedom and justice ceases altogether, then Russian Imperialism is left with a free hand to complete its plans of usurpation.

Only the peoples subjugated by Russia and Communism are endeavouring to force the collapse of this barbarous empire in an effort to rebuild their sovereign states. They renounce a "peace" which is gained at the expense of millions of lives. "These nations do not want to be occupied, whatever sweet promises their aggressors may offer them, or with whatever force the aggressor may be trying to crash their fervent desire for freedom! . . ." That is how the voice of free Ukraine rings out. That is the view shared and adopted by: — Ukrainians, Georgians, Byelorussians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Estonians, North Caucasians, Aserbaijanians, Armenians, Turkestanians, Idel-Uralians, Slovaks, Czechs, Rumanians, Hungarians, Croatians, Serbians, Slovaks, Poles, East Germans, Bulgarians, Albanians and others.

Freedom-Loving People and Nations!

Many of the nations that are free today have in the past waged liberation struggles with an invader-occupier. It is known that no nation willingly submits itself to captivity. All of those listed above have been occupied as a result of invasion by the Russian imperialists but have never surrendered nor ceased to wage their fervent struggle for national existence. In a document sent out from Ukraine we read: — "The central issue at stake is not concerned with a specific organisation or group of people, but with something infinitely larger and deeper. It is concerned with the instinctual and different methods of self-preservation of nations in the face of the threatening prospect of elimination from the human race."

The subjugated peoples are aware of "the inevitable struggle of each nation for its national existence" and when "the threat to national existence arises, then the corresponding fight for national existence surges forth with all its strength. This unconquerable strength is impossible to stem or control by any technical or political means . . ."

There cannot be peace in the world when in the very heart of the so-called Soviet Union — the Russian Communist Empire — a continual and relentless struggle between colonialists and nation-killers on one side, and the liberation movements of the subjugated nations on the other side, is being waged. Hundreds of thousands of patriots of all the nations within the U.S.S.R. are in Russian prisons,

concentration camps and so-called psychiatric clinics. Others, exiled thousands of kilometres from their homelands, provide unequivocal proof of the titanic and epic struggle. They are the representatives of all national stratas. Amongst these are men and women, minors and aged, of different educational and social standing — peasants, workers, intellectuals, artisans, priests, students, artists, etc.

Their struggle for freedom takes many forms: — in practising Christianity and other religions, demanding the right to private ownership, protesting against economic exploitation, in defending and fostering national languages, culture and traditions, in striving for human rights, and most important of all, in striving for the right of national government. They are fighting for the conservation of their national and ethnic identity and protesting against the mass forced emigration of their peoples to foreign, mainly Russian, territories, where so often national identity is exorcized from them. They are against the immigration of millions of Russians into the subjugated territories, where these latter day colonialists take leading positions in all sectors of administration and culture and push the native population into second-class jobs — and impose at the same time the Russian culture and life-style upon them.

The most bitter struggle lies in the field of national politics. The subjugated nations are using every means to combat the terror of the KGB and other repressive organs of the colonial state. They protest against inhuman administrations which work solely in the interests of the Russian nation, and against the Communist Party, which is the instrument of the occupiers. In general the subjugated nations are trying to throw off the alien occupation governments and are striving to establish their own sovereign states.

Amongst the Ukrainians in recent times, the main motivating force in the liberation struggle has been the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (O.U.N.). It has been active as a political organisation since 1929 and has therefore incurred the severest persecution by the Russian occupiers. The name of the murdered leader of the O.U.N. — Stepan Bandera — has become symbolic of all that is Ukrainian and representative of all those who refuse to grovel before Russia, while the word 'Banderivtsi' has become synonymous, even to the Russian imperialists, with these uncompromising fighters against the enslavement of Ukraine.

Recently, the Fifth Congress of the O.U.N. affirmed the unshakeable will of its members, dispersed as they are throughout Ukraine, the expanses of the Russian Empire, and abroad in the Free World, and the will of the Ukrainian nation to carry on the fight to destroy the U.S.S.R. and to rebuild on its ruins the sovereign states of the subjugated nations. That the other nations incorporated in the U.S.S.R. and her satellites are waging an analogous fight to Ukraine's proves that a common link between them all exists: "in unity there is strength."

We state once more that Russian Imperialism does not wish for a stable world peace, but uses the slogan of peace as an instrument for further conquests and the safeguarding of her empire. Therefore we call upon all free and freedom-loving nations to — unite with our liberation movement in a common assault against Russian Imperialism and totalitarian Communism.

The goal of freedom-loving countries should not be 'peace' at any cost, but the uniting of freedom-loving forces against the enemy of humanity and nations. The Christian world, the world of faith in God, should not make peace with Communist Russian atheism. The Christian West and the Free World in general should unite with the believers who are forced underground in the East, in a common fight for truth and justice, against atheism, tyranny, despotism and dictatorship.

In the economic sector, the free nations should help the enslaved nations to free themselves from Russian economic exploitation instead of aiding Russia, instead of developing her capacity for further expansion.

In the field of culture we call upon the free nations to refuse to partake in the so-called cultural exchanges with the Russian nation-killers and instead to give all types of aid to the creative cultural processes which are going on in the subjugated but undefeated nations of the U.S.S.R. Whereas the Russian-Communist culture is an unfeeling, inartistic production on orders, the creativity of undefeated Ukraine and the other subjugated nations is a heartfelt, Promethian highly valuable legacy which is its own donation to the treasury of world culture.

In the area of military strategy the western nations should place the emphasis on the liberation revolutions of the nations of the Empire, and not on mutual 'power balances' with Russia.

The prerequisites for this already exist: amongst the subjugated nations there is a common, co-ordinated grouping of liberation movements, the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.); in the free world the European League for Freedom, and the World Anti-Communist League have both been active for many years. These formations imperceptibly, but continually, injure Russia, the reason why Russia bears so much animosity towards the A.B.N. and its leaders.

We appeal to all the freedom-loving people and nations of the nations subjugated by Russian Imperialism and colonialism, those nations who fervently desire to recreate their national sovereign statehood! Only then will truth and a just, lasting peace reign over the world.

Freedom to nations, freedom to the individual!

The Presidium

Konstantyn SAWCZUK

SEVEN VERSUS MOSCOW*

Ukraine is no longer silent. Fear, Moscow's recipe for the building of communism, which had paralyzed people for decades, has unexpectedly lost its force. Stalin's heirs have discovered that terror has become less effective. Not only in Ukraine, but also in other countries of the USSR, people have suddenly lost their fear. And with this has come a realization of human rights, thus presenting an unwanted problem for the Kremlin.

Valentyn Moroz, a Ukrainian intellectual, imprisoned by the KGB for daring to think and write contrary to the dictates of the regime, says in his essay "Report from the Beria Reservation":

A new generation has . . . entered Ukrainian life and set a completely new problem for the defenders of the Stalinist order. Order was maintained on the basis that the people *themselves* had renounced all rights and reconciled themselves to their absence. As a result everything could be promised, it being known in advance that nothing need be given. Now, a new generation had arrived and said: "The Constitution mentions freedom of speech and we want to take advantage of it!" This variation had not been foreseen. It has suddenly turned out that the dummy gun made for display can shoot. The gods have always hated Prometheus who light up the darkness and show men that nothing is there except what their own fear has created and that the power of evil comes only from their own weakness.¹

The struggle for rights, constitutional and otherwise, including the right of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic to secede from the Soviet Union,² constitutes an important element of today's opposition in the Ukraine to the regime's abuses and to Russian chauvinism. Its intensity is well illustrated by the so-called Jurists' Case.

* Reprinted from *Survey*, No. 1 (90)
Ilford House 133 Oxford Street, London W.1.

1) Michael Browne (ed.), *Ferment in the Ukraine*. Macmillan, 1971, Doc. 11, p. 143. Italics in the original.

2) Art. 14 of the Ukrainian Constitution states: "The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic reserves for itself the right of secession from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics." Art. 17 of the USSR Constitution guarantees the same right for all the Soviet Republics.

In May 1961, at the time of Khrushchev's ascendancy in the Soviet hierarchy, seven members of the Ukrainian intelligentsia were given harsh sentences by the Lviv Regional Court. The leading figure of the accused, Lev Lukianenko, was sentenced to death. In July of the same year, the Supreme Court of the Ukrainian SSR reviewed the case on appeal and modified some of the sentences. Lukianenko's life was spared and he received fifteen years' imprisonment, and the terms of two other prisoners were reduced from 10 to 7 years. The rest of the sentences, ranging between 10 and 15 years, remained the same. Typical of Soviet judicial procedures, the trials were held in secret and become known only in 1966.³ The reasons for the arrest trial and conviction of Lukianenko and his friends is to be found in the many charges levelled against them by the Soviet authorities in Ukraine. An excerpt of the judgment asserts that five of the prisoners "committed treason against the Fatherland, the USSR, created the hostile UWPU organization, with the aim of struggle against the Soviet state system, the CPSU and its Marxist-Leninist theory, for severing the Ukrainian SSR from the USSR and the creation of a so-called 'Independent Ukraine.'"⁴ These five were sentenced on the basis of Art. 56 (1) and Art. 64 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR.⁵ The other two, accused of similar although lesser charges,⁶ received sentences according to Art. 62 and Art. 187 of the same Code.⁷

³) See *Ukrainski iurysty pid sudom KGB* (the Ukrainian Jurists tried by the KGB), Munich, "Suchasnist," 1968; see also Michael Browne, *Ferment in the Ukraine*, pp. 29-93. The first book contains the documents pertaining to the case of the seven. The second book is a collection of documents which deal not only with the case in question, but also with other manifestations of the opposition movement in Ukraine. Since several members of the group under discussion were jurists, it acquired the name as the Jurists' Case.

⁴) Michael Browne, *Ferment in the Ukraine*, Doc. 6, p. 57. The names of the five are: I. O. Kandyba, O. S. Libovych, V. S. Lutskiv, L. H. Lukianenko, S. M. Virun. The UWPU stands for the Ukrainian Workers' and Peasants' Union.

⁵) Ibid. p. 58. The text of Art. 56 entitled "Treason to the Fatherland" is as follows: "Treason to the Fatherland is a deed intentionally committed by a citizen of the USSR to the detriment of state independence, territorial inviolability or the military strength of the USSR: defection to the side of the enemy, spying, disclosing state or military secrets to a foreign state, flight abroad or refusal to return from abroad to the USSR, aiding a foreign state in carrying out hostile activities against the USSR, as well as conspiracy with the aim of seizing power, is punishable by imprisonment for a term from ten to fifteen years, with confiscation of property and with exile for a term up to five years, or without it, or with a death penalty with confiscation of property. A citizen of the USSR, enlisted by foreign intelligence for carrying out hostile activities against the USSR, is not subject to criminal liability, if instead of executing the obtained criminal instructions, he did not perform any acts, but voluntarily informed the authorities about his connections with foreign intelligence." See *Kryminal'nyi kodeks Ukrains'koi RSR* (The Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR), Kyiv, 1968, p. 32. Art. 64 under the heading "Organizational activity directed towards the perpetration of especially dangerous state crimes as well as participation in an anti-Soviet organization" reads: "Organizational activity

Were the prisoners guilty of the charges? In a petition to P. Y. Shelest, then First Secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine, Ivan Kandyba, sentenced to 15 years, wrote that "a very formidable indictment was put against us, and in connection with it punishments of such severity were chosen for us. But this indictment is not consistent with the actual circumstances of our case, for our acts were such that there were no grounds whatsoever for classifying them not merely as treason, but as crimes of any sort." Kandyba told Shelest that the accused group had discussed *A Draft Programme of the Ukrainian Workers' and Peasants' Union*, a pamphlet written by Lukianenko, but that it followed the Marxist-Leninist approach to past and present events. According to the petitioner, Lukianenko's pamphlet criticized the Communist Party and the Soviet Government for the 1933-34 famine years, and the severe political repressions in the 1930s in the Ukraine; oppression of the peasantry, whose position was no better than that of tsarist serfs in the past; weakening of the

directed towards the preparation or the perpetration of especially dangerous state crimes, towards the creation of an organization whose aim is to perpetrate such crimes as well as participation in an anti-Soviet organization are punishable in accordance with Arts. 56-63 of this Code. See *Ibid.* p. 35. Art. 57 deals with "Spying," Art. 58 with "Acts of Terror," Art. 59 with "Acts of Terror directed against the Representative of Foreign State," Art. 60 with "Sabotage," Art. 61 with "Destruction," Art. 62 with "Anti-Soviet Agitation and Propaganda" and Art. 63 with "Propaganda of War." Here punishment ranges from the death penalty to six months' imprisonment. See *Ibid.* pp. 32-35.

6) *Ibid.* p. 57. It was stated in the judgment that the two "received texts of the UWPU programme, and knowing beforehand that they were of their essence anti-Soviet and directed against the Soviet state and the CPSU, read the programme and kept it to themselves as a means and instrument of committing a crime directed at treason against the Fatherland, the USSR, at severing the Ukrainian SSR from the USSR, and the creation of a so-called 'Independent Ukraine.'" The names of the two are: Y. Y. Borovnytsky and I. Z. Kipysh.

7) Originally, all seven were sentenced under Art. 56 (1) and Art. 64, but later the Supreme Court of the Ukrainian SSR changed the legal classification as regards Borovnytsky and Kipysh from the said Articles to Art. 62 and Art. 187. See Michael Browne, *Ferment in the Ukraine*, Doc. 4, p. 46, Doc. 6, p. 67, Doc. 7, p. 77. Art. 62 entitled "Anti-Soviet Agitation and Propaganda" states: "Agitation or propaganda, carried out with the purpose of undermining or weakening Soviet authority or the perpetration of separate, especially dangerous state crimes, the spreading with the same purpose of slanderous fabrications which discredit the Soviet state and social order as well as the dissemination or preparation or safekeeping with the same purpose of literature of the same content is punishable by imprisonment for a term from six months to seven years and with exile for a term of up to five years, or without it, or exile for a term from two to five years. These same actions perpetrated by a person previously convicted for especially dangerous state crimes as well as perpetrated in war time are punishable by imprisonment for a term from three to ten years and with exile for a term of up to five years or without it." See *Kryminal'nyi kodeks Ukraïns'koi RSR*, pp. 34-35. Art. 187 under the heading of "Misprision of Crime" deals with failure to inform the authorities about various crimes — committed or contemplated. Punishment is for a term of up to three years' imprisonment or for a term of up to one year of correctional labour. See *Ibid.* p. 79.

Ukraine's national, political and economic rights; lack of her sovereignty and of her right to enter into relations with foreign states.⁸ The pamphlet concluded, according to Kandyba, that "Ukraine lacked the opportunity for normal political, economic and cultural development, that in certain respects her position was much worse now than it had been under the tsarist regime, and that she was actually a colony of Moscow or, at best, had only cultural autonomy." To remedy this situation, Lukianenko proposed that Ukraine should secede from the Soviet Union, a move consistent with Art. 14 of the Constitution of the Ukrainian SSR and Art. 17 of the Constitution of the USSR respectively.⁹

So far Kandyba's petition could hardly have pleased Shelest, at that time a member of the Politburo of the CPSU, but more was to come. Again referring to the "Draft Programme," Kandyba argued to achieve secession, it was necessary to create an organization which would carry out agitation and propaganda among the Ukrainians for that purpose, all of which was legal and "in accordance with the Constitution." In the event that the Ukrainian nation rejected secession, the organization provisionally called the Ukrainian Workers' and Peasants' Union would be dissolved. If, on the other hand, the Ukrainians chose independence, the political order must be Soviet and socialist respectively.¹⁰

After informing Shelest about the important parts of Lukianenko's pamphlet, Kandyba proceeded to explain why he thought that the charges of treason and various crimes against the Soviet state leveled against him and his friends were not justified. A jurist by profession, intimately acquainted with Soviet laws, he presented an impressive legal defence on behalf of the convicted seven. Kandyba wrote that on 6 November, 1960, several persons met to create an organization, which, had it been founded, would have been called the Ukrainian Workers' and Peasants' Union. However, at the meeting, "A Draft Programme of the UWPU" was rejected and a decision was made to write another draft programme in which there would be no discussion on the secession of Ukraine from the USSR; only after the completion of the new and revised programmes would an organization be formed. But this never materialized. "There was thus no organization and no programme; nobody took any oath, or paid any membership fees; there was no suitably devised discipline; there was no nucleus of leadership; each of us considered himself free in all respects." Kandyba also asserted that such evidence was known to the investigative (the KGB) and judicial agencies, but that this did not change the outcome of the trial, since the evidence was suppressed. Had this

⁸) Art. 15b of the Ukrainian Constitution states that "the Ukrainian SSR has the right to enter into direct relations with foreign states, conclude agreements with them and exchange diplomatic and consular representatives."

⁹) Michael Browne, *Ferment in the Ukraine*, Doc. 6, pp. 58-60.

¹⁰) Ibid. p. 60.

not been so, the case against the seven would have been less damaging, "since there would then be no grounds for prosecuting us on criminal charges, and even if one or two of us had been prosecuted, such actions would never have been classified as treason, but, at worst, an anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda."¹¹

It appears that both the KGB and the courts — the official defenders of Soviet socialist legality — had acted illegally by suppressing important evidence and building their case against the seven as if the "Draft Programme" and the organization in question were already in operation. The Ukrainian jurist further tried to enlighten the communist leader on how inventive the Soviet court officials could be in interpreting the secession Articles of the USSR and the Ukrainian SSR Constitutions. These officials, not daring to attack the right of secession per se, introduced the notion of "severing" Ukraine from the Union, thus imbuing the whole matter with an intent to violence. This in turn helped the court to formalize the treason charge as contained in Art. 56 (1) of the Ukrainian Criminal Code. The purpose of such an approach, Kandyba pointed out, became quite evident when the procurator's indictment speech endeavoured to prove that the accused had "conspired for the purpose of seizing power," again imputing treasonable activities to them under the said article. It is interesting to note that the procurator's statement did not appear in the judgment.

Following this, Kremlin's man in Ukraine was informed that in the 1964 book, *Practical Learned Commentary on the Criminal Code of RSFSR*, conspiracy to seize power receives some elucidation. The chapter entitled *Especially Dangerous Crimes Against the State* makes clear that "a conspiracy for the purpose of seizing power takes the form of agreement by two or more persons to overthrow Soviet rule and set up a different state and social system in the USSR." But, as Kandyba observed, all this cannot be applied to the accused, for the "UWPU Draft Programme" had envisaged secession in a peaceful and constitutional manner.¹² One must add, moreover, that the proposal of Ukraine's secession from the Soviet Union was to be dropped in the new programme.

Kandyba's defence of the seven and his indictment of the Soviet investigation and juridical organs is fully corroborated by Lukianenko, also a jurist by profession. In an appeal to R. A. Rudenko, the Procurator-General of the USSR, Lukianenko stated that Soviet authorities had made three wrong assertions in the judgment concerning the UWPU organization and its programme: "(a) that an organization called UWPU already existed; (b) that an organization

¹¹ Ibid. p. 61. Kandyba says on the same page that question of the Ukraine's secession from the USSR was not to come into the new draft programme."

¹² Ibid. pp. 61-62. Browne gives the Russian title and page of "Practical Learned Commentary" on p. 62, fn. 1; it is "Nauchnoprakticheskiy kommentariy Ugolovnogo kodeksa RSFSR" (Moscow) 2nd ed., p. 156.

called UWPU had a programme; and (c) that members of the UWPU took political steps to implement this programme." Denying the validity of these assertions, the prisoner mentioned that in November 1960 at the meeting of the group, referred to by Kandyba, the draft programme was rejected and the name UWPU disappeared altogether. No new name was adopted at the meeting and Lukianenko thought of calling the assembled group a "Union for the Struggle for Democracy" since, in his own words, "such a name reflected more precisely the essence and aim of the organization being formed." Again, like Kandyba, he mentioned the abandonment of the main goal of the draft programme, namely, Ukraine's secession by legal means.¹³

Rudenko, who served as the Chief Soviet prosecutor at the Nuremberg Trials, was made to understand by Lukianenko that the accused, contrary to the court judgment, had no intention of fighting the Soviet political and social system. He also said that neither he nor his colleagues meant to combat the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its Marxist-Leninist doctrine. In any case, "A struggle against Marxist-Leninist theory in the realm of ideas," continued the Ukrainian jurist, "does not constitute a crime of any kind at all." This is so because it 'has not been proclaimed by law as the ideology for all citizens; it is in itself not law, which would involve legal penalties for the infringement of certain of its theses." All this, wrote Lukianenko, was not taken into account by the appropriate authorities, because they were not interested in ascertaining the truth of the matter, but in distorting it. The judgment of the court, therefore, could not be anything but wrong. Finally, the author of the rejected UWPU programme took Art. 56 as a whole and tried to convince the Procurator-General of the Soviet Union that the accused could not have committed treason, since no part of the article in question had been violated.¹⁴

In a statement to D. Korotchenko, then the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR, Lukianenko again raised the treason charge levelled against him and the others. He stated that:

with all its lack of objectivity and its determination to sentence us, . . . the court was nevertheless unable to make the formulation of our guilt fit the content of the provision of Art. 56 UCC. It applied the punishment which it had decided upon, but being unable to charge us with a single treasonable act, left a most striking testimony to the incorrect legal classification of our actions — striking evidence of an arbitrary settling of accounts with dissenters.¹⁵

¹³) Ibid. Doc. 2, p. 38.

¹⁴) Ibid. pp. 39-41.

¹⁵) Ibid. Doc. 7, p. 88. The statement to Korotchenko is dated May 1967. The appeal to Rudenko was probably written in 1964.

Another prisoner, Stepan Virun, who was sentenced to 11 years, wrote a letter to Oles' Honchar, Deputy of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. In it he pleaded to be released from "the remote swamps of Mordovia," a region in the European part of the Soviet Union occupied by concentration camps. Virun denied being a traitor, using the same arguments put forth by Lukianenko and Kandyba. Interestingly enough, he wrote that "A Draft Programme of the UWPU" was authored by Lukianenko and himself. Of even greater interest is the fact that in Virun's statement there is no mention of the decision to abandon Ukraine's proposed secession from the USSR, which was perhaps an oversight on his part.¹⁶

It will be instructive to review the charges of treason in the light of Soviet constitutional and criminal law and against the writings of Lukianenko, Kandyba and Virun. First, it is clear that the five people convicted of violating Art. 56 (1) and Art. 64 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR, could have been charged with damaging the territorial inviolability of the USSR, and with "Organizational activity directed towards the preparation or perpetration of especially dangerous state crimes, the creation of an organization which has as its aim to perpetrate such crimes as well as participation in an anti-Soviet organization." Secondly, since no organized attempt was made to commit crimes against the state or to agitate for Ukraine's secession, Art. 64 has no relevance and should not have been cited. Thirdly, the charge that Lukianenko's group had aimed at "severing the Ukrainian SSR from the USSR" to create an "Independent Ukraine" should not have even been raised since the group had decided not to seek secession. Fourthly, if one is charged with treason for advocating secession because it would result in damage to the territorial inviolability of the USSR, then Art. 56 violates both Fundamental Laws of the Constitutions of the Union and the Ukrainian S.S.R., which should take precedence over criminal codes. However, the item of Art. 56 in question here is irrelevant because secession was not sought. Fifth, the struggle against the Communist Party of the USSR is neither a constitutional nor a criminal offence, for no pertinent articles to that effect are found in either Union or Ukrainian Constitutions or in the Ukrainian Criminal Code. Sixth, the same is true concerning the struggle against Marxism-Leninism. These last two charges, setting aside denial by the accused, attest only to the poverty of reasoning and ignorance of Soviet Laws by their official upholders. Seventh, Art. 62 which deals with agitation and propaganda directed against the Soviet system under which the two individuals were given maximum penalty (7 years), should not have been invoked for, as is evident from the rejection of secession as well as from the activities of the group, no part of Art. 62 could be imputed to them. Actually, Art. 62 of the Criminal Code of the

¹⁶ Ibid. Doc. 4, pp. 46-53.

Ukrainian SSR seems to contradict Art. 105 of the Ukrainian Constitution which guarantees the freedom of speech, because any criticism of the Soviet regime — and criticism there was in the case under consideration — could be considered as an Anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda. And finally, Art 187 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code should not have been invoked either, since one cannot inform about the crimes which were neither committed nor even contemplated. It should perhaps be observed that Art. 187 does not deal with crimes covered by Art. 62, or, for that matter, by Art. 56 or Art. 64 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code. To sum up, the accused committed neither treason, nor crimes against the state, nor did they strike out for an "Independent Ukraine." The court's judgment was both illegal and obviously unjust.

Why then were they accused punished so severely? The answer is clear. Members of the Ukrainian intelligentsia were investigated, tried and convicted not for what they did but for what they possibly could have done or, even for what they dared to think of doing — mainly promoting the secession of Ukraine from the Moscow-dominated Soviet Union. Even conceiving such a thought had to be punished, contrary to Art. 105 of the Constitution of the Ukrainian SSR and Art. 125 of the Union Constitution, which guarantee the freedom of speech. Or, perhaps, these articles guarantee only freedom of thoughtless speech?

Whether Lukianenko's group rejected secession or not is unimportant. That these individuals had even thought about it *was* sufficient ground for prosecution and punishment. How terrifying the idea of Ukraine's secession must have been for the Soviet authorities is demonstrated by the following statement. The KGB investigator Denisov told Lukianenko:

Even if you had succeeded in organizing demonstrations in Kyiv, Lviv and other large cities of Ukraine, and even if those demonstrations had been joined by masses of people carrying banners, placards and slogans demanding the secession of Ukraine from the Union, do you really think that the Government would not have used troops to crush the demonstrations? What are they stationed in the cities for?¹⁷

Virun, in his letter to Honchar wrote that, besides Denisov, there were other KGB investigators who spoke in a similar vein: "Even if a majority of the Ukrainian people express the wish to leave the USSR by taking advantage of its constitutional right to do so, the Soviet Government will not stop short of using armed force in order to keep Ukraine in the USSR."¹⁸ The KGB officers knew quite well that without the Ukrainian population, territory, resources and strategic position on the Black Sea and the Straits, Moscow's empire would not be what it is today.

¹⁷) Ibid. Doc. 7, p. 89.

¹⁸) Ibid. Doc. 4, p. 51.

The problem of secession, which was the central question in the trial and conviction of the seven, presents a juridical puzzle of Soviet legality. While the Constitution of the Ukrainian SSR states explicitly the right of this Republic to leave the Soviet Union, the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR leaves no doubt that the damage to the territorial inviolability of the USSR is regarded as an act of treason.¹⁹ It would be very hard indeed not to damage the territorial inviolability of the Union, if a Soviet Republic, especially Ukraine, would decide to part from the USSR. It seems, then, that what is granted by the Constitution is rescinded by the Criminal Code.²⁰ Lukianenko's appeal to Soviet authority, probably made in 1964, was answered by Maliarov, the Deputy Procurator-General who stated that the Lviv Regional Court had been correct in classifying Lukianenko's actions as treason, for they were detrimental to the territorial inviolability of the Union. "It appears from his interpretation," the imprisoned Ukrainian jurist commented "that when Art. 56 UCC refers to territorial inviolability, it does not mean the defence of the Union Republic's territory, but the inadmissibility of secession of the Union Republics from the USSR."²¹ Well spoken indeed, but what else could this Article mean if the Ukrainian Criminal Code (and other Republics' Codes) talk of the territorial inviolability of the USSR and not of the Ukrainian SSR? This leads to the following conclusion concerning Lukianenko and his colleagues: while constitutionally, they would have committed no treason as regards secession, had they decided to seek it, they would have been guilty according to the Criminal Code. It is immaterial that constitutional law should and does take precedence over criminal law; one should not forget that Soviet reality and legality are not what one would call normal. Moroz still hopes that the Soviet Constitution, which is the Fundamental Law of the Land, "will some day become the law..."²² This is a simple, yet profound observation. It is also a pathetic one.

In order to have a convincing case against the accused group, the KGB investigators had persuaded Vasyl Lutskiv, one of the seven, to give false testimony against Lukianenko and others, including himself. He consented to do this because he was promised freedom. However, the KGB officials broke their word and Lutskiv got ten years' imprisonment. Several years later, in October 1965, the prisoner addressed a petition to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, for his release from the labour camp.

¹⁹) See my article "The Ukraine: a Sovereign and Independent State? Juridical Approach," *European Studies Review*, I. No. 4 (October, 1971), pp. 383-84.

²⁰) The Criminal Codes of other Soviet Republics contain the same clause. See *Ugolovnoe zakonodatel'stvo Soiuzna SSR i soiuznykh Respublik* (Criminal Legislation of the Union Republics), Vol. I, Moscow, 1963.

²¹) Michael Browne, *Ferment in the Ukraine*, Doc. 7, p. 89.

²²) Ibid. Doc. 11, p. 153.

He also asked the Central Committee for help to review the case of the group he had helped to convict. Lutskevych wrote in his petition that the KGB investigator Denisov had ordered him to admit his membership in the Ukrainian Workers and Peasants Union, which in fact did not exist. "Moreover," said Lutskevych, "I signed records fabricated by the same investigator with similar statements in writing to the effect that an organization existed, that the leader was Lukianenko, that this organization was anti-Soviet, nationalist, and operated underground, although in reality I did not see anything like this." Lutskevych also signed papers written by Denisov in which, at the meeting on 6 November 1960, he had supposedly endeavoured to persuade Lukianenko, Virun and the rest to carry out an armed struggle against the regime and that this was agreed to by Lukianenko. Later, even in the labour camp, Lutskevych was to spy on Lukianenko, Virun and others, looking for some subversive activities on their part. "When I arrived in the camp, I did not see any subversive activities there, so I did not write any reports, although I had been directed to do so by the camp's KGB official, Capt. Litvin."²³ Lutskevych's petition to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine helped neither him nor the rest of the seven. According to Virun²⁴ and Kandyba,²⁵ Lutskevych was sent to a mental institution for writing these and similar petitions. Whether he is still there is not known.

ACCORDING to the accused, the KGB investigators and the Court officials had behaved with utter contempt with regard to the Ukrainian language, culture and history. Russian chauvinism was unconcealed. Kandyba complained to Shelest that, contrary to Art. 90 of the Constitution of the Ukrainian SSR and Art. 19 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code Procedure, the investigation was conducted in Russian.²⁶ He wrote:

Procurator Starikov become so insolent that he brazenly boasted to Borovnytsky that he did not know Ukrainian; that Ukrainian did not deserve to be the state language; that the Ukrainian nation was not capable of having its own statehood; that because of this B. Khmel'nytsky had put the Ukraine under the Russian sceptre, and Ukraine had become part of the USSR in 1922.²⁷

²³) Ibid. Doc. 3, pp. 43-45.

²⁴) Ibid. Doc. 4, p. 51.

²⁵) Ibid. Doc. 6, p. 64.

²⁶) Art. 90 of the Constitution of the Ukrainian SSR states that "legal proceedings in the Ukrainian SSR are conducted in the Ukrainian language with a guarantee for persons, who do not know the language of the majority, to be fully acquainted with materials of the case through the interpreter and to have the right to speak in the court in their native language." The provisions of Art. 19 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code Procedure are similar to that of Art. 90 of the Constitution.

²⁷) Michael Browne, *Ferment in the Ukraine*, Doc. 6, p. 63.

In his letter to Korotchenko, Lukianenko said:

Denisov and Sergadeyev and Starikov — these guardians of the sovereign Ukrainian Soviet state — have lived in Ukraine for a long time, but they have not learned our language. On the contrary, they treat it and our literature and culture with scorn and contempt, and everything they do bears witness to their chauvinism. And they displayed deadly hatred towards us.²⁸

Virun spoke in similar terms about the manifestation of Russian chauvinism. He pointed out to Honchar that Moscow's officials in Ukraine called the accused the "ferocious nationalists."²⁹ Ukrainian nationalism, of course, is one of the deadliest sins in the Russian vocabulary; the Kremlin hierarchy wages constant warfare against even the simplest indications of its existence.

The political prisoners mentioned in this paper are being kept in concentration camps in the Mordovian ASSR, which is part of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic. At the time of this writing, most of these prisoners should have been released, but their fate is unknown.

In June, 1969, a letter was addressed to the Human Rights Commission of the United Nations Organization. It was signed by three political prisoners, two of whom, Kandyba and Lukianenko, were the principal figures in the political and legalistic drama. The third prisoner, M. Horyn' is not associated with the case of the seven. The three Ukrainians asked the "Honourable Commission" to protest the treatment by the Russian KGB of "the Ukrainian patriots and honest citizens." Calling the Human Rights Commission "the highest agency for the protection of human rights," they wrote:

We have been arrested for demanding an improvement in the position of the Ukrainian worker and for defending the rights of the Ukrainian language, education and culture. Since these demands are constitutionally admissible, we continue to uphold them. Having been unable to break down our morale, the KGB agencies are trying to reduce us in a biological sense from intellectuals to vegetables.

The letter then described how the prisoners were being poisoned slowly by the chemicals added to their food. In the words of the Ukrainian intellectuals:

The symptoms of poisoning are as follows: Ten to fifteen 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, even on writing a letter

²⁸) Ibid. Doc. 7, p. 83.

²⁹) Ibid. Doc. 4, p. 51.

home. When reading a paragraph one forgets by the end what was written at the beginning. In order to return to a normal condition one must fast for 24 hours. Thus, we alternate days of fasting with days of poisoned food.³⁰

It is not known if the Human Rights Commission has ever reviewed this remarkable case and undertaken to protest such treatment of Ukrainian prisoners. Yet, one should bear in mind that the Soviet Union, the Ukrainian SSR and the Byelorussian SSR were the founding members of the United Nations Organization. In his Nobel Prize Lecture, which was never delivered, Alexander Solzhenitzyn, wrote this about the United Nations:

Relying on the mercenary partiality of the majority, the UN jealously guards the freedom of some nations and neglects the freedom of others. As a result of an obedient vote, it declines to undertake the investigation of private appeals — the groans, screams and beseechings of humble individual plain people — not large enough a catch for such a great organization. The UN made no effort to make the Declaration of Human Rights, its best document in 25 years, into an obligatory condition of membership confronting the governments. Thus it betrayed those humble people into the will of the governments which they had not chosen.³¹

³⁰) Ibid. Doc. 31, p. 216.

³¹) *The New York Times*, 25 August 1972, p. 2.

In English translation

REVOLUTIONARY VOICES

UKRAINIAN POLITICAL PRISONERS CONDEMN RUSSIAN COLONIALISM

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In defence of Valentyn Moroz

FATHER'S PLEA

VALENTYN MOROZ'S FATHER PETITIONS BREZHNEV

Esteemed Leonid Illich!

The father of Valentyn Moroz, a political prisoner in Vladimir prison, appeals to you. My son is now serving his fifth year in prison. I am old and it is difficult for me to travel to visit him. It is for this reason that I have not seen my son in all this time. On July 1st my son announced that he was beginning a hunger strike, which he is continuing to this day. Agents of the KGB and the editor of the newspaper, *Radyans'ka Volyn'* (Soviet Volyn), came to see me at my home and persistently pleaded with me to visit my son and persuade him to end his hunger strike.

Yesterday I saw my son, or rather, what remains of him. Before me sat a skeleton with a swollen face and bags under his eyes. He is being force-fed, and he told me that the tube that is inserted into his oesophagus has been covered with blood at every application for a long time now — that is the extent to which he has been injured. All of this is causing him terrible suffering. My son went on a hunger strike to obtain a transfer from prison to a camp, but after seeing him, I know that he can neither be left in prison nor transferred to a camp — only a good hospital and highly qualified medical care can now save his life. I cannot try to persuade him to end his hunger strike, because his doing so would mean his death. After all, no one is promising that once he ends his hunger strike his situation will improve. On the contrary, the authorities hold that, despite his terrible condition, he must complete the sentence imposed by the verdict in its original form.

I do not understand politics and I find it difficult to understand why the court punished my son with a prison term of such inordinate length that he has not the strength to endure it. No matter how grave his crime might have been, the court did not pass a death sentence on him. I ask you from the bottom of my heart to intervene in the fate of my son and to save his life — after all, you also have children and should understand me — my son must remain alive.

With respect for you and with great hope,

I remain,

Yakiv Moroz, retired collective farmer

November 6, 1974.

WIFE'S PLEA TO THE WORLD

November 25, 1974

FULL TEXT OF RAISA MOROZ'S OPEN LETTER

On November 10, Reuter reported from Moscow that the wife of imprisoned Ukrainian historian Valentyn Moroz had written an open letter to Western government leaders and international organizations, appealing for help in saving her husband from death. The open letter was released to Western newsmen in Moscow on November 10. In its report Reuter quoted excerpts from the letter. Now available is the full text of Raisa Moroz's letter, as follows:

*To All Good and Compassionate People;
To Organizations of Amnesty International;
To the P.E.N. Club;
To President Ford of the United States;
To Prime Minister Trudeau of Canada;
To Chancellor Schmidt of the Federal Republic of Germany;
To the Heads of State of All Countries that Maintain Relations
with the U.S.S.R.:
To All Newspapers and Radio Stations of the World.*

November 5, 1974.

My husband, political prisoner Valentyn Moroz, was allowed to see his family on the 128th day of his hunger strike. As usual, the meeting was held in the presence of guards, who repeatedly interrupted us, forbidding us to speak of first one thing then another. But there was also something quite unprecedented for Vladimir: in addition to the guards, a correspondent from the APN (Novosti Press Agency) was present throughout the entire meeting. This is probably why the meeting took place in a chamber containing furniture and a television set, rather than in some bare and ugly room. Since I do not know what kind of information the APN intends to publish about Valentyn Moroz, I herewith wish to make public my own report.

Valentyn is critically emaciated (52 kilograms for a man measuring 175 centimeters in height). His face is swollen and he has bags under his eyes. He complains of pains in his heart. But his greatest sufferings are caused by the tube that has been used to feed him once every twenty-four hours since the 12th day of his hunger strike. This tube wounds the lining of his throat and oesophagus. When it is withdrawn, it is covered with blood. The pain which Valentyn at first felt only during feeding, is now constant. Valentyn is only semi-

conscious almost unintermittently. Nevertheless, he forces himself to stand up from time to time, because he is afraid that his legs will atrophy. Yet such is this man's strength that he was not carried to the meeting — he walked! Still, no matter how strong a man is, there is a limit to his physical resources.

By now, if Moroz's life is to be saved, he must be removed immediately to a hospital and nursed with great care for a long time. But the prison warden says that regardless of whether Valentyn continues his hunger strike or not, he will remain in prison. This is tantamount to a death sentence. My husband understands this and has taken the following decision: he will continue his hunger strike for another two months, that is, until January 1, 1975. If by that time he has not managed to get out of prison, he will find a way to end his life.

"1975 in prison does not exist for me," he said, and I have not the slightest doubt that he will abide by this decision just as he has abided by his decision to conduct an uninterrupted hunger strike.

Is it possible in today's world for a man, whose sole crime consists of four journalistic articles qualified by the court as anti-Soviet, to pay for this with his life?

Raisa Moroz

SAKHAROV CONFIRMS: MOROZ ON THE VERGE OF DEATH

On July 1st 1974, Valentyn Moroz, a Ukrainian political prisoner serving a 14 years term of imprisonment and exile for his criticism of the Soviet state, began a hunger strike demanding to be transferred from solitary confinement at the no. 2 prison in Vladimir. Prison and government authorities refused to give information or comment on Moroz's condition until Oct. 1st, when Soviet Foreign Minister A. Gromyko met Canadian External Affairs Minister A. J. MacEachen at the United Nations. Gromyko gave assurances that Moroz was in normal health, under constant medical care and was taking regular exercises. On Oct. 15, however, the Norwegian newspaper Morgenbladet conducted an interview with Soviet nuclear physicist Andrei D. Sakharov, during which he revealed that the authorities had informed Moroz's wife, Raisa, that Moroz was suffering from acute liver and gall-bladder disorders. On Nov. 5th, Raisa, who had not seen her husband since May, arrived in Vladimir for her bi-annual visit to the prison. A. D. Sakharov, who also serves as chairman of the Moscow Human Rights Committee, described the visit to the Canadian Committee for the Defence of Valentyn Moroz. Following is a transcript of the telephone conversation, conducted from Ottawa on Nov. 6, 1:45 pm: (Translation)

Q. Andrei Dimitrovych, We're calling from Canada. We spoke to you yesterday . . .

A. Yes, I can give you the information now:

Raisa Moroz (Moroz' wife) arrived in Moscow last night. She had a meeting with Valentyn Moroz which lasted one hour and fifteen minutes. At first, Moroz was permitted to see his father, then his wife with their 12-year old son. Moroz looked extremely weak — he had lost more than 20 kilogram (approx. 40 lbs.) and now weighs 52 kg. (approx. 104 lbs.). After force-feedings he urinates blood. Do you hear me?

Q. Yes, we can hear.

A. He is experiencing great pain in the area of his gastro-intestinal tract and stomach. They are planning to stop force-feeding him through his mouth and to begin intravenous feeding; this would probably aggravate his condition. He is having heart seizures, he requires medication for his heart. The hunger strike is taking its toll; his face was jaundiced, his eyes were deeply sunk. He looked very bad and his wife was unable to talk when she first saw him — she choked at the horrible sight. The guards screamed at her to speak louder. When she gained control of herself, she began to speak up, but it was obvious that this was difficult for her. Moroz told her that he expects to be able to continue the hunger strike for two months or until the end of the year. He expects to be able to last that long, but not any longer. He stated that he is finishing himself off; he used the words "self-immolation" or "slow death," whichever comes first. He was hoping for the better and yet he was bidding farewell to his family — he is putting his trust in God but bidding farewell to his family. He kissed the hand of his son. At that moment the guards jumped the 12-year old child, thinking that Moroz passed something on to him with his mouth. After a scuffle, the meeting was terminated. Such a horrible scene . . .

The meeting was held under highly unusual circumstances: it was not held in the usual place for such visits, but in a room next to the warden's office. There was soft, upholstered furniture and a television set — highly unusual for prison conditions.

Throughout the meeting, some man was taking photographs. They said that this man was a reporter for "APN" (Novosti Press). We suspect that this will be used as some kind of deception in the West — what a good environment Moroz has and how he is able to meet with his wife beside a television set and all that . . . But the last scene — when they were pulling the boy away — was not photographed. The reporter had turned away.

Moroz stated that if there was any hope for a compromise he would cease his hunger strike. As it stands, he has been ordered to discontinue his hunger strike unconditionally. He is now in

such a state that he cannot possibly be transferred to a labour camp. It is essential that he be set free and taken to a normal hospital. Otherwise he will die . . .

Q. Is he now in the prison hospital?

A. He is not even in the prison hospital. He is confined to the cell in which he is conducting the hunger strike, isolated from everybody, where he is force-fed through a tube. But this method cannot be continued much longer because they have scratched his oesophagus and possibly his stomach.

Q. In a week we will have a meeting with External Affairs Minister Allan MacEachen and will request at that time that the Prime Minister again intervene on behalf of Moroz.

A. This is absolutely necessary because only the most determined pressure on Soviet authorities will change this situation. Moroz is now on the verge of death, he simply cannot continue any longer and may finish himself off within two months. In other words, his determination is also declining.

His wife went to the Moscow KGB. They told her that they will not promise him anything nor help him. They said that the fact that he continues his hunger strike is his private affair. Most importantly, she was threatened by the KGB, and now she has to be defended. They threatened her and accused her with the responsibility for passing materials to anti-Soviet television — to our enemies abroad, giving material to the CBC. She replied that that material was regarding the hunger strike of her husband. She now also needs help. One month ago she was threatened by the KGB in Ivano-Frankivsk and this threat was supported by a huge stone thrown through her window, which hit and wounded her in the head. Now she is threatened by a court action.

Q. Would you like to make a statement for the press? We may have a press conference today.

A. I want you to tell the press what I just told you. I think that every honest man must be shaken by this cruel treatment of an honest man — Valentyn Moroz. And unless world opinion comes to his defence, he will perish. If he dies, it will be on the conscience of all people and this would be unpardonable.

Q. Thank you very much, we will pass this on to the press. As we told you we are having a demonstration tonight in front of the Soviet Embassy where they will be holding a reception for diplomats to commemorate the October Revolution. We will call you again in two weeks if you permit.

A. Very well.

Q. Thank you and good-bye.

A. Thank you. Good-bye.

WESTERN CORRESPONDENTS REPORT FROM MOSCOW

UKRAINE'S FIGHTERS FOR HUMAN AND NATIONAL RIGHTS RALLY 'ROUND HISTORIAN'S HUNGER STRIKE

MICHAEL PARKS

Moscow Bureau of *The Sun*

MOSCOW, (USSR), Dissidents in the Ukrainian SSR are trying to organize themselves into a cohesive group for the first time in many years to stimulate nationalist sentiments there.

In the short run, according to a manifesto the dissidents are circulating, they hope their agitation will force the Kremlin to grant Ukraine, one of 15 Soviet republics, more political autonomy.

In the long run, they say that they are aiming at a separate, although perhaps socialist Ukrainian state, which would be the fourth largest country in Europe with a population of 50 million.

The dissidents are seeking to galvanize anti-Russian, nationalist sentiments in Ukraine by publicizing the case of Valentyn Moroz, a 38-year-old Ukrainian historian, who has been on a hunger strike since July 1 1974 in Vladimir Prison.

Mr. Moroz, an ardent Ukrainian nationalist, is reported to be near death in the prison hospital although he is being force-fed, according to dissident accounts. A Ukrainian dissident here said, "From what we understand, it is only a matter of time. The authorities are trying desperately to keep him alive. They know he will become a martyr. But it is too late."

A printed circular reportedly distributed by the score in the Ukrainian cities of Kyiv, Lviv, Kryvyi Rih, Zaporizhia and Kharkiv calls Mr. Moroz in heroic terms "a true Ukrainian patriot who is sacrificing his life so that his country may one day be free" and urges "Ukrainian patriots to accept the challenge of Moroz and fight for freedom."

The manifesto, which is circulating in typescript and photo copies, calls for an undefined "action campaign" to reverse "the multiplying Russian efforts to snuff the life out of everything that is Ukrainian."

"Secession from the Soviet Union is not a practical goal for tomorrow," the manifesto continues, according to a translation made available here by dissident sources, "but an upsurge of protest activity in Ukraine will certainly convince the mastical masters of the Kremlin that political autonomy is the only way to deal with the situation in Ukraine . . .

"But a free and independent Ukraine is a reasonable and attainable goal for the perspective, but only if we organize now. Ukraine may well remain socialist, but it must not remain Soviet, for that is merely a synonym for absorption into Russia."

The manifesto follows the reported publication of two issues of the underground "Ukrainian Herald" last fall that called for a coordinated anti-Russian movement.

"We will attempt to unite further around our organ all democratic, anticolonial groups in Ukraine," the "Herald" said. "It is only in this direction that we can foresee progress in spreading the struggle for national liberation and democracy."

But the dissidents circulating the manifesto and the Moroz poster-like flyer said they were a different group from that publishing the clandestine Ukrainian "Herald," although there was some overlap in membership.

"We are attempting to organize an action-orientated group, a real organization," said one of the authors of the manifesto in an interview here. "We frankly are unsure of our success for the authorities are trying very hard with their secret police to break us up and already there have been some arrests."

Vague program

The group's program remains vague, however, with one faction advocating public protests, another the organization of discontented workers in industrial areas and a third the formation of a movement of intellectuals to lay the groundwork for later action.

The group is far more organized, despite these divisions, than most dissident groups ever become in the Soviet Union. It already has access, it seems, to both a small printing press and to photocopying machines. It also seems to have established something of a network through Ukraine with members daring enough to distribute anti-Soviet flyers in the major cities.

News about the condition of Mr. Moroz, whose plight has been given international publicity by Ukrainians in the United States, Canada, Australia and Western Europe, is thin. The latest report are that his condition continues to deteriorate.

He began his avowed hunger strike until death to seek a transfer from Vladimir Prison, the Soviet Union's toughest, to a labour camp. He said he was going crazy in Vladimir.

Mr. Moroz was sentenced to six years in prison, followed by three in a labour camp and five in Siberia exile in 1970 for "anti-Soviet" activity. He had served a four-year labour camp term in the late 1960's for "anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation" following his denunciation of "the Russification of Ukraine."

Soviet authorities recently have answered charges of political repression and cruelty in the Moroz case after ignoring Western criticism for several months.

In a long broadcast for foreign audiences recently, Radio Kyiv accused Mr. Moroz of telling students during his time as a history teacher that Ukraine must secede from the Soviet Union by force and be transformed into a bourgeois state.

UKRAINIANS IN THE WEST ASK PRESIDENT FORD FOR INTERVENTION

Text of telegrams sent to President Ford, c/o United States Embassy, Seoul, South Korea, urging him to intervene with Secretary Brezhnev for THE FREEDOM OF VALENTYN MOROZ, Ukrainian historian-dissident:

UKRAINIAN CONGRESS COMMITTEE OF AMERICA, INC.
BOSTON CHAPTER 82 GLEN ROAD
JAMAICA PLAIN, MASS. 02130

NOVEMBER 20, 1974

*President Gerald R. Ford
United States Embassy
Seoul, South Korea*

Dear Mr. President,

We implore you to intervene with Secretary Brezhnev for the freedom of Valentyn Moroz, Ukrainian historian-dissident dying at the Vladimir Prison.

Nov. 20, 1974

Ukrainian Congress Committee of America
82 Glen Road BOSTON, MA. 02130

*President Gerald Ford
United States Embassy
Seoul, South Korea*

Dear Mr. President.

We beg your immediate action to save Valentyn Moroz, Ukrainian dissident.

Nov. 20, 1974

Women's Association for Defence of Four
Freedoms of Ukraine
82 Glen Road Boston, Ma. 02130

*President Gerald Ford
United States Embassy
Seoul, Korea*

Dear Mr. President.

Please intervene with Secretary Brezhnev for release of Ukrainian VALENTYN MOROZ dying at the Vladimir Prison.

Nov. 20, 1974

Ukrainian American Youth Association
82 Glen Road BOSTON, MA. 02130

* * *

WESTERN PRESS RESPONSES AND REPORTS

THE TORONTO STAR, Fri., Nov. 8, 1974

**SOVIET DISSIDENT ON VERGE OF DEATH PHYSICIST
REVEALS**By *TED BLACHAR*, *Star* staff writer

Soviet assurances to the Canadian government that imprisoned Ukrainian historian Valentyn Moroz is in normal health are "not true," Russian nuclear physicist Andrei Sakharov told The Star in a telephone interview yesterday.

Moroz, who has been on a hunger strike in Moscow's Vladimir Prison No. 2 since last July, is being force-fed and has already lost more than 40 pounds, Sakharov said. The historian now weighs about 104 pounds and is urinating blood because of the force-feedings, he added.

Sakharov, chairman of the Moscow Human Rights Committee, was told in a telephone call to his Moscow home that Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko had assured Canadian External Affairs Minister Allan MacEachen at the United Nations last month that Moroz is "in normal health."

Asked if this was true, the physicist told The Star: "No, no, no... he is worsening."

Sakharov said he had spoken with Moroz' wife, Raisa, on Tuesday after she and other members of the historian's family had been allowed to visit him. The Soviet government says Moroz was jailed for dissident activities in the Ukraine.

Sakharov confirmed a description of Moroz' health he gave to the Toronto-based Canadian Committee for the Defence of Valentyn Moroz in a telephone conversation Wednesday. In the translated conversation he said:

"He (Moroz) is experiencing great pain in the area of his gastrointestinal tract and stomach. They are planning to stop force-feeding him and to begin intravenous feeding; this would probably aggravate his condition.

"He is having heart seizures, he requires medication for his heart. The hunger strike is taking its toll, his face was jaundiced, his eyes were deeply sunk.

"He looked very bad and his wife was unable to talk when she first saw him — she choked at the horrible sight...

"Moroz told her that he expects to be able to continue the hunger strike for two months or until the end of the year. He expects to be able to last that long but not longer.

"He stated that he is finishing himself off: he used the words 'self-immolation' or 'slow death,' whichever comes first.

"He was hoping for the better and yet he was bidding farewell to

his family — he is putting his trust in God, but bidding farewell to his family . . .

“In other words, his determination is also declining.”

Sakharov said that Moroz’ father was allowed to see him first, then his wife and 12-year-old son. The visit lasted an hour and 15 minutes, until Moroz kissed the hand of his son.

“At that moment, the guards jumped the 12-year-old child, thinking that Moroz passed something onto him with his mouth. After a scuffle, the meeting was terminated. Such a horrible scene . . .”

Moroz is not in the prison hospital, Sakharov said, but in an isolation cell “where he is daily force-fed through a tube. But this method cannot be continued much longer because they have scratched his oesophagus and possibly his stomach.”

Soviet authorities have said that reports of Moroz’ failing health are “invented.” He is in isolation at his own request, they say.

A recent statement from the Soviet embassy press office in Ottawa said ‘his aim was to abolish Soviet power in the Ukraine and to separate it from the U.S.S.R. — by any means, including force.’

His present sentence is for nine years imprisonment.

THE TORONTO STAR, Mon., Nov. 11, 1974

SOVIET DISSIDENT DYING IN PRISON WIFE TELLS MP

MOSCOW (Reuter-UPI) — The wife of imprisoned Ukrainian historian Valentyn Moroz yesterday issued an open letter to Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau and two other Western leaders, charging that her husband, who is in the fifth month of a hunger strike in Vladimir Prison, east of Moscow, had been effectively sentenced to death.

Moroz 38, began his hunger strike on July 1 in an attempt to win a transfer from prison to a labour camp.

Together with her 12-year-old son and Moroz’ father, Raisa Moroz was allowed to visit her husband five days ago. In her letter she said she found him “Frighteningly emaciated,” having lost 44 pounds.

In the letter, addressed to Trudeau, U.S. President Gerald Ford, and West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, Mrs. Moroz said prison officials told her that her husband would not be transferred whether or not he continued his fast.

“It is the same as a death sentence,” she wrote.

Moroz was sentenced in 1970 to a 14-year term — six in jail, four in a labour camp and four in exile — on charges of anti-Soviet agitation and advocating Ukrainian Nationalism.

Mrs. Moroz said her husband had decided to continue his hunger strike until Jan. 1 and then to commit suicide if he was still in prison.

THE GLOBE AND MAIL, Monday, November 11, 1974

HUNGER STRIKE LEADING TO DEATH, WIFE SAYS

MOSCOW (Reuter) — The wife of imprisoned Ukrainian historian Valentyn Moroz on Saturday issued an open letter to Western leaders charging that her husband, who is in the fifth month of a hunger strike in Vladimir jail, east of Moscow, had been effectively sentenced to death.

Mr. Moroz, 38, began his hunger strike on July 1 in an attempt to win a transfer from prison to a labour camp.

Together with her 12-year-old son and Mr. Moroz's father, Mrs. Raisa Moroz was allowed to visit her husband five days ago, when she had found him "frighteningly emaciated."

In the letter, addressed to President Gerald Ford, Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau and West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, Mrs. Horoz said prison authorities had told her husband he would not be transferred whether or not he continued his fast.

"It is the same as a death sentence," she wrote.

Mr. Moroz was sentenced in 1970 to a 14-year term — six in jail, four in camp and four in exile — on charges of anti-Soviet agitation and Ukrainian nationalism.

Mrs. Moroz was summoned to Vladimir jail on Nov. 5 to try to persuade her husband to abandon his hunger strike.

In her letter, Mrs. Moroz said, however, that he would continue his fast until the New Year. "If during that time he does not manage to get out of prison, he will find a way to end his life," she said.

She added he had lost 44 pounds over the 130 days of his fast, and weighed only 114 pounds.

THE TORONTO SUN, Thursday, December 5, 1974

MOROZ'S WIFE TELLS TRUDEAU OF HUSBAND'S 'DEATH SENTENCE'

MOSCOW (UPI) — The wife of Valentyn Moroz said in an open letter to Prime Minister Trudeau yesterday that her husband had been virtually "sentenced to death" for writing four "anti-Soviet" magazine articles.

Raisa Moroz said her husband — on his 133rd day of a hunger strike — was "frighteningly emaciated" in his attempt to gain transfer from prison to a labour camp.

"It is the same as a death sentence... is it possible in the contemporary world that a man should pay with his life when his entire fault is to write four magazine articles found by a court to be anti-Soviet?"

She said Moroz will continue his hunger strike until Jan. 1 and find a way to commit suicide if he is still imprisoned at that time.

Mrs. Moroz, 37, was summoned to Vladimir Prison east of Moscow by prison authorities on Nov. 5 to try to persuade her husband to give up his strike.

She described the meeting in an open letter made available to Western newsmen and addressed to Prime Minister Trudeau, President Ford and West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt.

"He weighed only 108 pounds," her letter said. "His face is swollen and he complains of heart pains — but the greatest torture he suffers is the instrument with which they force-feed him once a day..."

Moroz, 38, a former historian, received a 14-year sentence in 1970 — six years in prison followed by four in a labour camp and then four in exile — on charges of anti-Soviet activities and advocating Ukrainian nationalism.

THE TIMES, Wednesday, February 12th, 1975

TRUE DAVIDSON

By True DAVIDSON

Valentyn Moroz is a rebel. Persecuted, suffering, heart-broken for his country, dying of hunger in a Russian prison, he is still a rebel. He is a man who has the courage of his beliefs. His name will go down in history, like that of Mahatma Gandhi. I envy him.

I do not speak of him often, because I have not known what to say. It is clear that he is not merely a social critic like Solzhenitsyn but a political rebel. He would like to take Ukraine out of Russia. Under the circumstances, it has seemed to me useless to ask our government to protest his treatment unless we are prepared to go to war to free him, or to cut off all trade relations. I have not thought the Canadian people as a whole would support such measures for a single man, however distinguished. I remember Czechoslovakia and Hungary.

But a week or two ago when I was reading Peter Worthington's article on Sakharov, I was suddenly swept by a conviction that there was something I had not tried, and that perhaps no one, or at any rate very few, had tried. It is prayer.

Prayer has gone out of style today. People mumble through set pieces in churches, and clergymen offer an opportunity for silent prayer that doesn't give time for more than one or two individuals to be reached out to. Private prayer and family prayer are almost a thing of the past.

Yet all religions, from the most unsophisticated beliefs of savages to the wisdom of the greatest prophets, consider prayer an important part of religious life. And a person who considers morning prayer as

important as brushing his teeth, who honestly looks at his own behaviour in the light of the teachings of the founder of his religion, can scarcely go out and defy those teachings in his daily life.

I am not a deep philosopher, and I don't try to define, even to myself, exactly how prayer works, but I know it works. I have seen it. Faith moves mountains, although not always in the way we expect. But for a big mountain the faith of many is often required.

Hereby I pledge that every day from now until Christmas, at eleven o'clock in the morning, I shall spend several minutes — I shall not time myself, but obviously a few seconds are not enough — to pray that in some way Valentyn Moroz may be saved as well as Sakharov, Gluzman, Bukovsky, Makarenko, Feldman, Ogurtsov, and any other so-called political prisoners who are guiltless of any worse crime than agitation.

I invite others to join me. I invite clergymen of all faiths to open their services with this prayer, oral or silent. I invite mayors to interrupt council meetings for such a prayer. I invite senior governmental bodies to do the same.

This is not an easy thing I am asking. Prayer itself is not easy. To be sincere, it requires a concentration of the whole body and soul, of will and desire, of love and longing. But if this prayer once got a foothold I feel that it would grow like a snowball until it swept our country like a cleansing wind or a great fire.

Why do you pick on these particular names, I may be asked. Because prayer must be particular to be effective. We could pray for peace, but that is too general. We could pray for love, but that will come to us if we pray for people, specific people, who are in danger of death for speaking and acting as we are free to do all the time. And if you want to know why I chose these names, ask Mr. Worthington to repeat his article of November 26 or to send you a copy of it. It isn't one of his most moving articles; some of them have brought tears to my eyes. But I read it in a flood of sunshine, which has always spoken to me of God, and with the sweet new snow outside, the first of the year, speaking to me of the birth of Jesus.

Perhaps I am a fool, but this came to me as a sudden conviction, in the same way in which it came to me that I was to leave the mayoralty in East York. It is as clear a call in its own small way, as Cardinal Leger's call to Africa or Dr. McClure's to Borneo. "Here I stand; God helping me, I can do no other."

THE TIMES, Wednesday, February 12th, 1975

MR WILSON'S MOSCOW VISIT AND V. MOROZ

On 12th of February 1975 Bernard Levin published an article in *The Times* under the heading "Speaking about the unspeakable in Moscow" and subtitled "The Soviet leaders will want to talk about many subjects. They will certainly not want to talk about their victims."

The article sums up as follows:

The Prime Minister is off to Moscow tomorrow. Yesterday, on this page, Richard Davy discussed some of the things he will be talking about there — trade, detente, the Geneva conference. Today I want to refer to some other things that Mr Wilson might talk about, and I hope will.

Of the countless political prisoners in the Soviet Union's jails, "mental hospitals" and concentration camps, any random selection even from that tiny minority whose names we know could produce enough cases to keep Mr. Wilson in Moscow for a month without his so much as touching on the subjects that the Soviet leaders want to talk about. They will certainly not want to talk about their victims; but the Soviet leaders are businessmen even in their crimes, and a hint from him might well have results far beyond the scope and scale of anything he can actually say for the record. At any rate, it is certain that nothing he can say will make the victims' situation any worse. And it is no less certain that, second of course to the courage and tenacity of the victims themselves, it is only pressure and publicity in and from the West that is of any help to them. So today I want to name a few names, with apologies to the great legion of the nameless...

Then the author describes the lot of Vladimir Bukovsky, Dr Semyon Gluzman, Valentin Moroz and Edward Kuznetsov. About Valentyn Moroz he writes:

The third name is that of Valentyn Moroz. A teacher and historian from Ukraine, he was first sentenced (to seven years) in 1965, but released before he had served the full term; his crime was in speaking up for the rights of the Ukrainian people. He was rearrested in 1970, and sentenced to 14 years for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda." He has been on a hunger strike for more than a month, and when his wife and son were recently allowed to visit him in Vladimir prison, they found him emaciated and very ill (his weight is now only 104 lb.). Here, again, are the comments of Dr Sakharov, received by telephone:

After force-feeding he urinates blood... he is having heart-seizures, he requires medication... He kissed the hand of his son. At that moment the guards jumped the 12-year-old child, thinking that Moroz passed something on with his mouth... He is not even in the prison hospital. He is confined to the cell in which he is conducting the hunger strike... His wife... was threatened by the KGB... unless world opinion comes to his defence, he will perish...

Valentyn Moroz, like other Soviet dissenters, is regularly vilified in the Soviet press. There was a recent article by a woman journalist called Franko, who appears, difficult though it is to believe, to be an even more odious and upprincipled hack than Boris Antonov, the KGB's mouthpiece for the campaign against Dr Stern: here are some typical comments by her:

The conviction of V. Moroz was... a warning meant to bring him to his senses... There is no need for galvanizing the cold war, which everyone hates but which the publishers of V. Moroz's articles in English, whose worth has been harshly devalued by time itself, are hoping to reanimate and revive. Drop your concern for V. Moroz, gentlemen, committeemen and other "converts" of this false prophet, for your anxiety is nothing else but another political trick.

To which let Moroz himself reply, in some moving words he wrote to his wife in 1966, during his first imprisonment. They make a notable contrast to the idiot parrot-talk of his persecutors' spokeswoman, and at the same time demonstrate exactly why he is being persecuted:

I'm now very interested in the problem of individuality. I see that it is one of great importance in the development of humanity in general. Inanimate nature represents unity, similarly, lack of individuality. With the appearance of a live being, there appears an individual, but only in the physical sense. For, in the spiritual sense, there is absolutely no difference between one monkey and another. Human beings had their beginning in the dissimilation of the spirit, in the appearance of a spiritual world of their own, original and unstandardized.

The article ends with:

I do not expect Mr Wilson to go into such detail in Moscow. But he might do well to bear it in mind. He has a chance — not much of a chance, but a chance — to make a small dent in the will of oppression behind which that kind of thing flourishes. I hope he will take it.

**A LETTER TO VALENTYN MOROZ FROM THE PRESIDENT
OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY**

Harvard University
Office of the President
November 12, 1974

Dear Mr Moroz,

Harvard University has recently established a Ukrainian Research Institute where the opportunity is provided for interested scholars and students to devote themselves to work in their fields of specialization (language, literature, history).

We are very eager to bring the finest scholars in these fields here to assist in the development of the Institute and, due to the dearth of academicians in Ukrainian studies in this country, find we must seek elsewhere. Your outstanding qualifications and contributions in the area of Ukrainian history have been brought to our attention. Therefore, on behalf of the University, I would like to take this opportunity to invite you and your family to spend the academic year 1975-76 at Harvard. As the members of the Institute, Ukrainian and non-Ukrainian, have fluency in a variety of languages, especially in Ukrainian, you need not feel that a thorough knowledge of English is a necessary requirement. In addition, the Institute will be happy to handle all expenses connected with this visit.

I hope you will give this invitation serious consideration and look forward to hearing from you. Personally, I am sure that both the Institute and the University will profit greatly by your presence.

Best wishes,

Sincerely,

Derek C. Bok

Mr V. Yakovych Moroz
c/o Mrs Raisa V. Moroz
Ivano Frankivsk
vul. Naberezhna 14, kvr. 1
USSR, UkSSR

Witnessed this 12th day of November, 1974 at Middlesex county,
State of Massachusetts.

Jane F. Lewis
Notary Public

NATIONAL LEADERS INTERVENE

HOUSE OF COMMONS, OTTAWA-CANADA, 12th NOV., 1974

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

CONFINEMENT OF VALENTYN MOROZ BY RUSSIANS-
GOVERNMENT ACTION TO DETERMINE HEALTH CONDITION

Right Hon. J. G. Diefenbaker (Prince Albert): Mr. Speaker, a few weeks ago I directed a question to the Secretary of State for External Affairs concerning Valentyn Moroz. The minister replied that he had spoken to Mr. Gromyko who had assured him that as far as he was concerned, with the knowledge he had, Mr. Moroz was receiving fair treatment and was in the hospital. In the last three or four days, with indomitable spirit, Mr. Sakharov, a world famous physicist, who was in touch with representatives of the *Toronto Star*, spoke out when he was asked about the condition of Moroz saying he was in solitary confinement, was hemorrhaging to such an extent that his life will be immeasurably shortened, because of bleeding as a result of his being force-fed. In view of Mr. Sakharov's statement, and it takes courage to express the views he has, I should like to ask the minister what the government is going to do concerning this man?

Hon. Allan J. MacEachen (Secretary of State for External Affairs): As the right hon. gentleman stated, Mr. Speaker, this matter concerning Mr. Moroz's health was raised by me with the Soviet foreign minister on September 25. I think it is worthwhile repeating the information that was conveyed by Mr. Gromyko, to the effect that Mr. Moroz's health was satisfactory in all respects. Tests had been taken, Mr. Gromyko stated, of his heartbeat, blood and so on, and all were normal. He added that Mr. Moroz was under permanent medical observation, that at present he had no complaint concerning his health. Mr. Gromyko also added that Mr. Moroz took exercise regularly.

Now, may I say to the right hon. gentleman that since that time I have noticed, as he has, reports to the effect that Mr. Moroz's health is deteriorating, and that has caused me considerable concern. *I have asked that the matter be raised with the Soviet authorities and that an updating on the reports which had been given by Mr. Gromyko be sought. I intend to pursue that further.*

Mr. Diefenbaker: Time is somewhat of the essence. Since September this man has apparently lost a great deal of weight; he is virtually physically impotent. The offhand way in which the minister answers this question, by saying that they are just going to ask for a further report, is too pusillanimous for a situation such as this. *I ask him whether he will inquire if the Canadian embassy in Moscow has the right to see this man, because anything short of that is far removed*

from the kind of treatment that any person should receive for no offence other than that he had spoken his mind as the constitution of the U.S.S.R. permits him to do, a right also assured to people in various states by membership of the U.S.S.R. in the United Nations. Surely the time has come to stop pussyfooting and speak out. Will the minister not give that assurance?

Mr. MacEachen: I can give the assurance that the Canadian government has taken this matter very seriously.

Mr. Diefenbaker: I can see that.

Mr. MacEachen: *The health of Mr. Moroz has been raised by the Prime Minister with Mr. Kosygin, by my predecessor with Mr. Gromyko, and by myself just recently. We intend to continue that effort on a humanitarian basis. The right hon. gentleman knows that there is a limit to the influence and effectiveness that one can have on the present situation. It may be that the course of action which the right hon. gentleman recommends, which may catch the headlines, may have a very unfortunate effect in reaching the objective that we both have in mind.*

Some hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Diefenbaker: If there is one thing that the minister and other members of this government abhor, it is the headlines. We have seen evidence of that in the last 24 hours. I ask the minister: why is no action taken, why does he not speak up? Why is he so silent? Why will the Prime Minister, with all his courage, not speak up with the authority he has?

Some hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Right Hon. P. E. Trudeau (Prime Minister): As the Secretary of State for External Affairs indicated, I raised this very point with the highest possible authority in the Soviet Union, and I am sure it had more effect than this public enunciation with which the right hon. member is trying to catch the headlines.

Mr. Diefenbaker: An observation like that deserves a reply. Yesterday the Prime Minister showed what he thought concerning publicity, and it was completely out of keeping with the sacrifice of Canadians.

Mr. Speaker: Order, please.

* * *

CONFINEMENT OF VALENTYN MOROZ BY RUSSIANS- RESPONSE TO APPEAL OF MRS. MOROZ

Mr. Stanley Knowles (Winnipeg North Centre): Mr. Speaker, I have a supplementary question which I should like to direct to the Prime Minister. In view of the fact that Mrs. Valentyn Moroz has directed a personal appeal to the Prime Minister on behalf of her husband, can the Prime Minister say whether he has replied to that appeal?

Right Hon. P. E. Trudeau (Prime Minister): Mr. Speaker, I would like to know to what particular appeal the hon. member is referring; is this recent correspondence?

Mr. Knowles (Winnipeg North Centre): Is the Prime Minister not aware of the fact that Mrs. Moroz has made a public appeal to the Prime Minister, to the President of the United States, to the Prime Minister of Great Britain, and to the Chancellor of West Germany, hoping for a response from each of these four world leaders?

Mr. Trudeau: No, I was not aware of this public appeal. I am generally informed of appeals which are addressed to me in particular. But obviously, as I said in my previous reply. I anticipated this and I had already made the representation.

* * *

CONFINEMENT OF VALENTYN MOROZ BY SOVIET
AUTHORITIES — REQUEST PRIME MINISTER INTERVENE —
SUGGESTED EXAMINATION BY GROUP OF IMPARTIAL
PHYSICIANS

Mr. Don Mazankowski (Vegreville): Mr. Speaker, I should like to direct my question to the Prime Minister. It has to do with the incarceration of Valentyn Moroz. Having regard to the latest representations made to this government and to all members of parliament by the committee in defence of Valentyn Moroz together with the assertion that the information communicated by the Soviet Foreign Minister to the Secretary of State for External Affairs is either false or outdated, might I ask the Prime Minister if he is now prepared to intervene personally and make representations to the Soviet Union to determine accurately the medical condition of Valentyn Moroz.

Right Hon. P. E. Trudeau (Prime Minister): Mr. Speaker, I am sure the hon. member remembers the answer given by the Secretary of State for External Affairs a very short while ago. He is asking that I review representations which I have made at the highest level, the level of Premier Kosygin and the level of the ambassador. Quite frankly I have no reason to believe any new statement by me would bring any different reaction than I received in the past. I would like to know if the hon. member has some reason to expect things would change.

Mr. Mazankowski: I have a supplementary, Mr. Speaker. In view of the conflicting statements, I wonder whether the Prime Minister or the Secretary of State for External Affairs have considered approaching the Soviet authorities with a view to requesting that Mr. Moroz be examined by an independent and impartial group of physicians to accurately determine the state of Mr. Moroz's condition since the committee in defence of Mr. Moroz suggests that he might not be expected to live beyond the end of this year.

Oral Questions

Mr. Trudeau: Mr. Speaker, I do not believe this has been envisaged by the government, and I would have some hesitation in endorsing that course of action. It is really tantamount to indicating that we have no confidence in the Soviet government in respect of its work and if we say that there is no reason to believe they would be any more generous to us if they think we do not have confidence in them

* * *

BOSTON CITY COUNCIL DEMANDS FREEDOM FOR MOROZ AND OTHERS

Boston, Mass. — The Boston, Mass., City Council, in a resolution adopted on Monday, January 20, in conjunction with the observance of the 57th anniversary of Ukraine's independence proclamation, has made a strong appeal to the American national leaders to press the Soviet government for the release of "Ukrainian patriots such as Valentyn Moroz, Leonid Plyushch, Lev Lukianenko, Yevhen Sverstiuk and Vyacheslav Chornovil from imprisonment in Soviet Russian jails and to exert through the United Nations all the effort possible to bring about freedom for the enslaved people of Ukraine."

The resolution was introduced by Councilmen Frederick C. Langor and Joseph M. Tierney and Councilwoman Louise Day Hicks, in response to a petition of the local UCCA branch headed by Konrad Husak.

Congressman John Moakley said he will introduce the resolution on the floor of the U.S. Congress and see to it that it appears in the Congressional Record.

The Boston UCCA branch sent copies of the resolution to President Ford, Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and to Massachusetts Senators and Congressmen.

Full text of the resolution is as follows:

"Whereas, the Ukrainian Independence Day in Boston will be celebrated on January 22, 1975, commemorating the 57th anniversary of the proclamation of the free Ukrainian National Republic; and

"Whereas, despite the many conflicts for world freedom the Ukrainian people continue to struggle to gain freedom and national statehood for their beautiful land in the economically abundant region of Ukraine, which is still under communist control; and

"Whereas, thousands of Ukrainian patriots languish in Russian Communist prisons as a result of their fight for the restoration of national and human rights in Ukraine; and

"Whereas, Valentyn Moroz, who has become a symbol of Ukraine's current struggle for national rights and liberties by enduring 151 days of a hunger strike at the Vladimir Prison outside Moscow, continues to be imprisoned for his freedom fight for Ukraine and

"Whereas, the world council as the United Nations is continually ignoring the plight of those enslaved people of Eastern Europe who were promised freedom and self-government but whose rights have been ignored; and

"Whereas, the City Council of the City of Boston is concerned for the relatives and friends of its many American citizens of Ukrainian ancestry residing here in Boston; now therefore, be it

"Resolved: That the Boston City Council appeals to our national leaders to press the Soviet government to free the Ukrainian patriots, such as Valentyn Moroz, L. Plyushch, L. Lukianenko, E. Sverstiuk and V. Chornovil from imprisonment in the Soviet jails and to exert through the United Nations all the effort possible to bring about freedom for the enslaved people of Ukraine."

*

CONGRESSMAN MOAKLEY TO ACT ON MOROZ RESOLUTIONS

Boston, Mass. (O.S.) Congressman John J. Moakley (D.-Mass.) promised to intervene with Congressman Thomas E. Morgan (D.-Pa.), chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, to urge that committee's action on various resolutions concerning the President's action for the freedom of Valentyn Moroz. Awaiting congressional action are many resolutions, such as: H.R. 649, introduced by Congressman Daniel J. Flood (D.-Pa.) and Edward J. Derwinski (R.-Ill.); H.R. 1436, introduced by Congressman Robert A. Roe (D.-N.J.) and co-sponsored by 20 other Congressmen including Mr. Moakley and Michael Harrington (D.-Mass.); H.R. 1352, introduced by Congressman Lawrence Hogan (R.-Md.) and others.

Mr. Moakley made his pledge to representatives of the Boston Branch of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, who visited him on January 25th. The Boston UCCA delegation included:

Konrad Husak, president; Orest Szczudluk, vice-president, public relations; Dmytro Melnyk, activities; and Nicholas Suchy, member of the auditing board; also Mary Walzer-Husak, as a guest. Last December, Congressman Moakley was appointed to the powerful House Rules Committee. He is well acquainted with the arrests of Ukrainian intellectuals and the present situation in Ukraine.

He will also introduce into The Congressional Record all the proclamations made on this year's Ukrainian Independence Day, which were issued by Governor Michael S. Dukakis, Mayor Kevin H. White and the Boston City Council.

Rep. Moakley voted against granting the most "favoured nation" trade status to the Soviet Union. He stated that he will continue to oppose any trade concessions to the USSR until the Soviet government makes concessions of freedom to the Ukrainians and other captive peoples.

"MOROZ-BUKOVSKY DAY" FOR LATE MARCH

The Committee for the Defence of Soviet Political Prisoners has announced that Saturday, March 29, has been designated as International Moroz-Bukovsky Day by the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, Pavel Litvinov, Andrei Sakharov, and Jiri Pelikan.

The day, which is the third of three International Days of Protest — the first, held in March 1974 was for Gen. Petro Hryhorienko; the second, on behalf of Czech dissidents Jiri Muller and Jaroslav Sabata, was held in November of 1974 — has been endorsed by Jean-Paul Sartre, Simone de Beauvoir, Zhores Medvedev, Eric Fromm, Nobel Prize winner Salvador Luria, Noam Chomsky, Yugoslav philosopher Svetozar Stojanovic, and nearly 200 other prominent individuals, including several British Members of Parliament.

Previous days of protest included activities in London, Chicago, Boston, and New York. Among those who participated in earlier protest days were Ivan Morris, Chairman of Amnesty International USA, Daniel Ellsberg, Aleksander Yesenin — Volopin, Prof. Chomsky, and Antonin Liehm.

Plans for activities on behalf of Moroz and Bukovsky have not yet been finalized, but a teach-in with several prominent speakers is planned. Also a press conference and an active publicity campaign. Originally, the day was to have been held exclusively for Vladimir Bukovsky, but as a result of the serious threat to Moroz's life and his courageous hunger-strike, the initiators, at the request of the Committee for the Defence of Soviet Political Prisoners, decided to expand their activities on behalf of the Russian, Bukovsky, and the Ukrainian, Moroz, both of whom are incarcerated in Vladimir Prison.

Individuals interested in participating in the organization and planning of the Bukovsky-Moroz Day are urged to write to:

The Committee for the Defence of Soviet Political Prisoners
P.O. Box 142,
Cooper Station,
New York, N.Y. 10003

or call: (212) 850-1315

AMONG THE SNOWS

by Valentyn Moroz
Protest writings from Ukraine

Price 50p.

FROM THE IVAN HEL' TRIAL

THE HIGHEST LAW FOR ME IS "GOD AND UKRAINE"

(The last words of Ivan Hel' spoken at his trial)

Ivan Hel' is a dissident who was sentenced "in camera" on the 25th March, 1966, to 3 years of severe-regime concentration camps for alleged "anti-Soviet propaganda." He was released in 1968 but re-arrested in Sambir in January 1972.

The text of the last words spoken by I. Hel' at his 'in camera' trial in August 1972 were circulated in Ukraine through 'samvydav.' Here is the full text of this speech:

At a given moment in the history of our nation arises the complex and important question of "how to exist?". The Ukrainian nation responded to this more than fifty years ago with a reply which it considered to be principled and final. Thus the efforts to attribute to me anti-Soviet activities aimed at uprooting socialist society are unfounded and far-fetched in so far as my community work, for which I now find myself in the dock, was aimed at changing and improving that system in which I grew up and the ideals of which became the foundation of *my* social outlook. This is not a case of anti-Soviet activity, of which there is no question, as everyone well knows.

The tragedy of our position lies elsewhere.

The life of every nation is a natural process and no other nation has the moral, and moreover, the judicial right to change or to influence that life by forcibly imposing its own ideas, culture and psychology upon it, even if it has accepted those as absolute truths. From the time of her annexation by Russia, Ukraine has become less autonomous year by year, losing more and more of her national originality and culture. After every period of liberatory upheaval came a wave of destruction and repression. Those who had not perished were forced to settle the North, building towns on the bones of the dead, while the remaining denationalised descendants were sent as janissaries to lead new pogroms in Ukraine. In the 30's, as a result of famine and Stalin's reign of terror, Ukraine lost a million inhabitants, nearly all of her most gifted intelligentsia. The policy of assimilation and the consequently artificially created migration of inhabitants in our era carries truly catastrophic dimensions.

If, according only to official data, there were seven million Russians living in Ukraine in 1952, taking into consideration the whole complex of national institutes (educational establishments, the press, radio, theatre, publishing), then in 1970 there were nine million according to these data. Since that time one million Ukrainians have been forced to leave Ukraine for various reasons, and not a single one of them has one thousandth of the prospects and chances available to the Russians in preserving their national entity. For example, Ukrainians have their own schools in Poland, Czecho-Slovakia and Rumania, but none in Russia.

This is just a small illustration of a thoroughly developed system. Considering the pace of this genocide, what fate is awaiting Ukraine, what will become of us and how many of us will there be in the not too distant future? The prevailing postulates of Russia have always been those of state power and national Russism. And now, having cast aside the commandments of Christ, morals and the concepts of freedom and equality developed by humanity through the centuries, they have again accepted expansionist chauvinism as the official creed. Thus today in particular the questions "how to exist?" and "to exist or not to exist?" sound terrifying to Ukraine.

Because of this every honest person who feels himself to be a Ukrainian, ought to stand up and say resolutely: no, we want to live and will live by ourselves with our own ways of thinking, our own language and national culture. This has to be stated today for tomorrow could be too late and we might then see our nation, whose culture is near to being two thousand years old, turn into the dust of the dead, and its language become that of archives, as Latin is that of antiquities.

It is true that similar words can lead the speaker to the dock under the label of a "state criminal." We have known a long time that in Russia there are experts in pinning on labels, labels which have been worn in their time not only by Shevchenko, Chernyshevs'ky and Hrabovs'ky, but by countless defenders of various nations which have been cruelly subjugated by Russia in its quelling of their strivings for freedom. Their sufferings were endless... *Our* philosophy and culture became a reliable foundation stone upon which international relations should be built. Such ideals as humanism, democracy and equal rights between nations nourish us today and should be the standard and aim of life.

Democracy and humanism became the mottoes of leading people during the political thaw which emerged as a result of the scientific technological process and partial exposure of the criminal deeds of J. Stalin. As to Ukraine, the above mentioned facts contributed to the emergence of the Ukrainian renaissance in the 60's.

I wish to emphasise once more that the reason for the ferment

amongst these intellectuals is not the revision of governmental order, but the factors of national life over a prolonged period of time.

Precisely because this ferment has originated as a result of this life it will survive and expand. The widespread campaign which is led at this moment against the so called Ukrainian nationalism, only stresses once more the actuality of our position.

This shows that Ukraine is deeply perturbed by the national question which has not been solved and is yet far from being objectively solved. And the numerous repressive measures testify convincingly that a further majority of people have started to actively vindicate their national and community rights, not wishing to continue living in the old way.

The evidence for this is in the present process, the result of which I am ready to accept as an estimation of my qualities as a person and a citizen.

You have neither the judicial nor the moral right to judge me. The highest law and trial for me is God and Ukraine, my indestructible and immaculate honour. I am a son of Ukraine and I will carry sacred in my heart the fate of my countrymen, their pain, fear and suffering. My only regret is that I have done very little to broach these ideas more deeply, to bring them out into the wider spaces of Ukraine and together with the efforts of the whole nation, to embody them within life.

All the same, I fervently believe that I am not here in vain, that neither iron bars nor concentration camps, even death cannot kill these ideas. They are eternal just as my nation is eternal and indestructable!

HEL' & OSADCHY TRANSFERRED TO LVIV, SVITLYCHNY TO KYIV

In line with the recent move by the KGB to transfer Ukrainian political prisoners from camps in Mordovia and Perm back to Ukraine for further interrogation, Ivan Hel' and Mykhaylo Osadchy were moved to Lviv and Ivan Svitlychny was transferred to Kyiv.

Recantation Sought

Vyacheslav Chornovil, noted Ukrainian journalist prisoner, was one of the first to be transferred from the Mordovian penal colony to Lviv last November.

Reports from dissident sources in Kyiv reveal that there are two reasons for the KGB move. The official reason given is that some political prisoners have been named to testify against those persons arrested during 1974. However, the sources believe that the KGB in Ukraine received orders from Moscow to intensify its efforts to

extract recantations from those Ukrainian political prisoners who have not yet been broken.

The letter was cited as the reason for the transfer of Chornovil, Osadchy, Hel' and Svitlychny.

Osadchy, the author of "Cataract," was born in Sumy oblast of Ukraine. He was once a member of the Journalists Society of the Soviet Union and a teacher at an oblast Communist Party school in Lviv. In 1965, the 39-year-old journalist was arrested for the first time and sentenced to two years in a strict regime labour camp. In 1972 he was arrested again and sentenced to three years of camp confinement and deprived of freedom for seven years. Until his transfer, he was incarcerated in the Mordovian camps.

Hel' was arrested initially in 1965 and sentenced to three years in a prison camp. His second arrest came in 1972 and he was sentenced to five years in a labour camp and five years in prison. Hel', 37, staged a two-week hunger strike last October in a Mordovian penal camp.

Literary critic and translator Ivan Svitlychny was confined for eight months in 1965-66 while investigation was conducted over him. In 1972 he was again arrested and sentenced to seven years in prison and five years in a labour camp. He was incarcerated in the Perm region camps.

New Herald

The ninth edition of "The Ukrainian Herald" was published in Ukraine. The issue focuses in particular on the Russification of Ukrainian culture and the last arrests. The editors of the underground journal also published an analytical article about the position of Ukraine and the USSR in the context of international politics.

Also, in the village of Maidan in the Ivano-Frankivske oblast, the KGB arrested some 25 workers accusing them of anti-Soviet activity.

PROMISE AND REALITY

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THE ANNIVERSARY OF UKRAINE'S INDEPENDENCE

FROM CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 94th CONGRESS,
FIRST SESSION WASHINGTON, TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 4, 1975
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Very Reverend Monsignor Walter Paska, Ukrainian Catholic Seminary of St. Josephat, Washington, D.C., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, source of all authority and rights of humanity, bless our esteemed President and august Congress, sharers in the responsibility of government, that their efforts may culminate in peace and security.

As we pray for the United States, we also petition for the welfare of the Ukrainian nation whose proclamation of liberty 57 years ago commemorated the united effort of a freedom-loving Christian people to share in the blessings of democracy so abundantly evident in this country. Respect for individual liberty, opportunity for cultural development, and the freedom to acknowledge Your divine existence have always been integrally united with the aspirations of a free Ukraine.

We humbly pray for this realization, through Your omnipotence in bestowing Your infinite charity for all humanity.

THE REVEREND MONSIGNOR WALTER PASKA

(Mr. FLOOD asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, we had the prayer this morning delivered by Msgr. Walter Paska of St. Josephat's Ukrainian Catholic Seminary. He is very well known in seminary work and as a recruiter, I might say, of seminarians.

This is an area where we have many Ukrainians, and as the Members know, every year I have the honour and privilege of presiding over what is known as Ukrainian Day, recognizing Ukraine as one of the captive nations; to recite the litany of the problems of that freedom-loving country. Therefore, it is a great privilege to have Monsignor Paska here this morning.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FLOOD. I yield to the gentleman from Alabama.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Speaker, I join the gentleman from Pennsylvania in this word of welcome. I would also like to point out that the Capitol at this moment is graced by the beauty of a delegation of Ukrainian ladies.

They will be visiting the offices on the Hill today on behalf of those who hunger for freedom in the Ukraine, and especially those ladies who are political prisoners.

Mr. Speaker, I am including a list of such prisoners, together with a statement concerning this in the Extensions of Remarks today.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, my compliments to the gentleman from Alabama.

* * *

A TRIBUTE TO THE 57th ANNIVERSARY OF UKRAINE'S
PROCLAMATION OF INDEPENDENCE

Hon. Jack F. KEMP
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 4, 1975

Mr. KEMP. Mr. Speaker, both the independence of Ukraine and the act of union were proclaimed in Kyiv, the capital of Ukraine, on January 22, 1918, and January 22, 1919, respectively. By these proclamations, the Ukrainian ethnographic lands were united into one independent and sovereign state of the Ukrainian people.

It is a sad fact that virtually since the time of these proclamations, the Ukrainian people have been oppressed by the vastly superior power of the Soviet Union, and forced within the Soviet satellite.

Ukrainian independence was short lived, but the Ukrainian spirit of independence was not. Through long and lonely years, the Ukrainian people have fought to regain their freedoms. During World War II, they waged a two-front war of liberation against Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia. Although granted charter member status at the United Nations, Ukraine has, since 1945, been outrightly colonized by the Soviet Union.

Stalin marked the Ukraine for physical extinction. Khrushchev, and now Brezhnev and Kosygin, replaced outright terror with tactics of cultural and political manipulation, attrition through propaganda, gross discrimination, and suppression. These efforts of Russification have, however, been singularly unsuccessful.

Ukrainian national feeling has not been transformed or suppressed, and continues today as strongly as in 1918.

It is to this proud and undaunted spirit that I rise in tribute today. The Ukrainian people continue to wage a valiant struggle for human rights and freedoms. Their perseverance in the face of oppression is a memorial to the dignity of all of mankind.

I am privileged to have in my district in New York State many thousands of persons who were either born in Ukraine, or who are Americans of Ukrainian descent. The Buffalo chapter of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America has worked hard to reflect

here the brave struggle going on in Ukraine. Under the able leadership of Wasył Sharvan, the Buffalo chapter has championed the cause of Ukrainian intellectuals, and pressed for congressional commitment to the release of Valentyn Moroz and Leonid Plyushch, who remain imprisoned by the Soviets.

Mr. Speaker, I am proud to associate myself with the efforts of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America — and will continue to press for swift congressional action to free Moroz and Plyushch, and restore independence to Ukraine. I also want to thank Mrs. Nestor Procyk of Buffalo for her presenting me with the flag of the Ukraine, commemorating its day of Independence, January 22, 1918.

During the month of February, Ukrainians at home and in the free world traditionally pay tribute to their Ukrainian heroines. In harmony with the tradition and in the spirit of the United Nations Proclamation of International Year of Woman 1975, Ukrainians will this year also acknowledge the contribution of women of achievement in Ukrainian culture, science, economy, industry, religion, family and social life.

A special tribute will be paid to the thousands of Ukrainian women political prisoners who were sentenced by the Russian court to many years in prison and concentration camps in Siberia although no crimes were committed. They are not criminals, they are respected ladies who refused to renounce their arrested mates and loved ones, but defended them instead. They opposed the russification policy, forced atheism, colonial exploitation, and police control of family and public lives. They bravely defended their human rights and Ukrainian identity. And we in the West must not forget them.

* * *

Hon William F. WALSH

OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 4, 1975

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, on January 22, 1918, the Ukrainian nation declared its independence and founded the Ukrainian National Republic. Two short years later, this independence was destroyed by Moscow's armed conquest. Today, the 48 million Ukrainian people constitute the largest non-Russian nation under Moscow's domination, both inside and outside the U.S.S.R.

Domination is too mild a word, however, to describe the way in which Soviet officials rule the Ukraine. They rule by fear, violence, and torture.

Since 1963 to the present, alarming numbers of arrests have been made. In 1973 and 1974 these arrests escalated to include Ukrainian intellectuals, writers, literary critics, professors, students, scientists

and representatives of every strata of society. These people are being charged with "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda."

In reality, this "propaganda" consists of petitions, appeals, and letters submitted from concentration camps by prominent political prisoners and prominent Ukrainians at home to the Communist Party and government officials of the Ukraine and the U.S.S.R. raising the question of the violations of human and constitutional rights.

Soviet authorities are using torture and psychiatric methods of inhuman treatment on Ukrainian political prisoners. It is no doubt their intent to prevent these people from surviving the terms of their sentences.

These prisoners are subjected to secret trials. They are not allowed to have attorneys present, nor are members of the prisoners' families even allowed to attend.

These tactics are totally foreign to everything for which the United States stands and we should do everything in our power to insure their cessation.

I would like to quote from a letter I recently received from a very prominent Ukrainian-American, Mr. Lev E. Dobriansky of Georgetown University. Mr. Dobriansky writes:



Congressman John H. Buchanan and Prof. Lev. Dobriansky with the delegation
in the US Congress.

Basic human rights are universal, and no current myth of 'non-interference in internal affairs' can becloud this truth for free men. An empire such as the U.S.S.R., built and maintained on conquests and foreign domination, cannot logically justify the national non-interference principle. With our technology, know-how and capital flowing to the empire, we have every right and duty to move forward for (1) a strict Congressional accounting of across-the-board emigration from the U.S.S.R. (2) an equally strict accounting of deals made by our businessmen who are admittedly confused by present rules in U.S.-U.S.S.R. trade (3) in the spirit of Senator Jackson's appeal to Brezhnev on Sept. 10, 1974, the release of Valentyn Moroz (4) Congressional hearings on the resurrection of the Ukrainian Orthodox and Catholic Churches genocided by Stalin and (5) a short term Select Committee on the Captive Nations to crystalize for our citizenry a reality that no amount of diplomacy can conceal.

I support the above-stated goals and pledge to my Ukrainian-American friends to do everything I can to see they are achieved.

* * *



Hon. William F. Walsh with the members of the delegation on the steps of the Capitol.

UKRAINIAN POLITICAL PRISONERS

Hon. John BUCHANAN
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 4, 1975

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Speaker, the hope for freedom still lives among such captive peoples as those of Ukraine, fed and encouraged by such American friends of freedom as the Women's Association for the Defence of Four Freedoms for Ukraine. Today, representatives of this fine organization are visiting Congressmen and Senators, pleading the cause of those Ukrainian women now held as political prisoners in the Soviet Union. Their efforts deserve our prayerful support. There follows a statement concerning their purpose here, together with a partial list of the political prisoners whose cause they plead:

*Women's Association for the Defence of Four Freedoms
for Ukraine, Inc.,*

Commemorating the 57th anniversary of the Proclamation of the Independent State of Ukraine, the delegation of the Women's Association for the Defence of Four Freedoms for Ukraine, Inc., composed of women from various states, are paying a special visit to the offices of their senators and congressmen to express their gratitude for defending the human rights of the people in enslaved Ukraine, for their unselfish support and continued interest in the knowledge of the struggle and desire of the Ukrainian people for the restoration of a free Ukrainian State. On this occasion, we particularly express our appreciation for their voice in defence of Ukrainian political prisoners.

Allow us to present to you a small desk flag, a reproduction of our Ukrainian flag, to serve as a symbol of Ukraine, and as a token of appreciation on behalf of our membership and of the Ukrainian people in your state.

On the occasion of this visit with you, permit us to inform you that during the month of February, Ukrainians, in secrecy at home, and in the free world, traditionally for more than half a century pay tribute to their Ukrainian heroines. In harmony with the tradition and in the spirit of the United Nations Proclamation of International Year of Woman 1975, Ukrainians will this year also acknowledge the contributions of women for their achievements in Ukrainian culture, science, economy, industry, religion, family and social life.

A special tribute will be paid to the thousands of Ukrainian women political prisoners who were sentenced by the Russian court to many years in prison and concentration camps in Siberia although no crimes were committed. They are not criminals, they are respected ladies of all strata who refused to renounce their arrested mates and loved ones, but defended them instead. They opposed the russification policy, forced atheism, colonial exploitation, and police control of family and public lives. They bravely defended their human rights and Ukrainian identity. A partial list of Ukrainian women arrested and persecuted between 1972-73 is attached.

As Americans of Ukrainian descent, we are proud to state that Ukraine is a friendly western oriented nation and is a sincere and reliable ally. Ukrainians believe in the policy of self-liberation and their desire for freedom has cost them more than twenty million victims in the past 57 years of Russian occupation.

In the International Year of Women 1975, initiated by the USSR, we are asking your honourable person for your intervention before the Soviet authorities on behalf of the women political prisoners to persuade the Soviet authorities to grant them amnesty and release to return to Ukraine, their homes and families.

Ulana Celewych,
President.



Congressman William F. Walsh hands over to the delegation the American flag.

*A Partial List of Ukrainian Women Arrested and Persecuted
Between 1972-73*

IRYNA STASIV-KALYNETS

Iryna Stasiv was born in 1940, graduated from Lviv University and became a teacher in secondary school. From there she went on to become a lecturer in Ukrainian Language and Literature in the preparatory faculty of the Lviv polytechnic institute. An authoress of several unpublished works, she, and husband Ihor Kalynets, came out in defence of the persecuted Ukrainian patriots and signed a collective protest letter in defence of V. Moroz. Iryna also protested against the destruction of Ukrainian historical monuments. For this, she was fired from her post and continuously victimised, while officially her poetry was forbidden to be published. In 1971 she joined the "People's Committee for the defence of Nina Strokata," who had been arrested without any grounds. Iryna Stasiv-Kalynets was arrested in January and sentenced in Lviv on July, 1972 to 6 years imprisonment and three years in exile. She and her husband have a ten year old daughter — Dzvinka, who was left orphaned because Ihor Kalynets was also sentenced to 12 years of prison and exile. Iryna Stasiv-Kalynets was sentenced under Article 62 of the Criminal Code of the USSR "for anti-soviet agitation and propaganda." She is serving her sentence in a Mordovian concentration camp from where she, Stefania Shabatura, and Nina Strokata-Karavanska, sent a letter on May 10, 1973 to the Secretary General of the U.N., Kurt Waldheim, in which they protested against the enslavement of the Ukrainian nation and demanded an open trial for themselves in the presence of a U.N. representative.

IRYNA SENYK

Iryna Senyk, a poetess, was born in 1925, near Lviv. She was initially arrested in 1946 in Lviv, on the accusation that she belonged to the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, in which she acted as messenger from the O.U.N. Headquarters whose head was Roman Chuprynka, commander of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. She was sentenced to ten years hard labour. After finishing her term of imprisonment, she left prison with tuberculosis of the bones. After treatment for TB, she obtained her specialist qualifications in literature. In her free time, she wrote patriotic verses full of love for Ukraine and hatred for the enemies of freedom. The publication of her works was interrupted by the arrest of Chornovil, who was to be the editor. From 1969 onwards Iryna Senyk and others wrote letters in defence of S. Karavansky and V. Moroz. For this she was persecuted. In 1970, the KGB searched her house, after which she was arrested and sentenced to six years imprisonment and five years exile.

The trial was "in camera"; she was charged with propagating literature, for possessing E. Rice's book, "The New literary current in the Ukraine" which was confiscated from her, and for her friendship with V. Moroz, V. Chornovil, M. Osadchy, and with the writer Olga Duchyminska. A Soviet newspaper reported that at her trial Iryna Senyk did not admit to guilt and even considered herself as suffering for the achievement of Ukrainian independence. Her place of confinement is unknown.

NINA KARAVANSKA-STROKATA

Nina Karavanska was born on the 31st of January, 1925, in Odessa. After finishing secondary school, she became a student in the Odessa Medical Institute, from where she graduated with distinction. For a while she worked in the Microbiological Institute in Odessa, and later practised medicine for 6 years. From 1952 until 1971 she did research in the Odessa Medical Institute, and was working on her doctorate, and publishing many scientific works.

Nina is married to Svyatoslav Karavansky, who was imprisoned in concentration camps from 1944 to 1960 for having been active in the Odessa unit of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, who fought for the liberation of Ukraine. He was arrested again in 1965 for writing an article on the policy of the russification of the Ukrainian language in Ukraine and for appealing to the leaders of the Communist parties of Poland and Czechoslovakia in the matter of the political arrests of 1965 in Ukraine. For this he was sent back to serve out the nine remaining years of his 25 year sentence. In 1969, he was sentenced to a further eight years, thus making a total of 33 years imprisonment. At this trial, Nina Karavanska-Strokata appeared as a witness, defending her husband and accusing the Moscow bolshevik authorities of a cruel and brutal trial. Because of this, the Odessa Medical Institute demanded that she publicly denounce her husband. As she refused, she was fired from her post on May, 1974, and not permitted to defend her dissertation for a doctorate. Nina also came out in defence of persecuted Ukrainian patriots, and signed a statement against the unlawful imprisonment of V. Moroz. For a while, harassment towards her was interrupted due to the fact that a cholera epidemic had broken out and she was among the most active in combating the epidemic. After the epidemic was overcome, a new campaign of vilification was mounted against her in the press, and she was unable to find employment. Because of this, Nina was forced to leave Ukraine at the end of the summer of 1971, and went to Nalchyk, (Kabardino-Balkaria) where she became a medical lecturer. But even here she was persecuted. On the 8th of December, 1971 while returning to Odessa from Nalchyk, Nina was arrested by the KGB, her house searched, and various poems and books by her husband were found.

The KGB stated that Nina had been arrested because she would not "forget" her husband's case and because of her contacts with the committee for Human Rights. She was officially charged under Article 62 of the Criminal Code of the USSR, and her trial, which took place in Odessa, lasted from the 4th to the 19th of May, 1972. She was tried together with the writer Alex Rysnykov and Alexander Prytyka. The latter pleaded guilty, while Strokata and Rysnykov stated they were innocent and refused to accept their defence lawyer, since he was on the prosecutor's side. Nina was sentenced to four years imprisonment, Rysnykov to five years, and Prytyka to two years. On the 10th of May, 1973, Nina Karavanska-Strokata, Stefania Shabatura and Iryna Stasiv-Kalynets sent out a letter from a Mordavian concentration camp to the U.S. Secretary General, Kurt Waldheim, in which they protested against the enslavement of the Ukrainian nation and demanded an open trial in the presence of a U. N. representative.

STEPHANIA SHABATURA

Stephania Shabatura, born in 1940, is an artist who drew many cartoons with Ukrainian patriotic motifs. In 1970, she protested against the illegal arrest of Valentyn Moroz, for which she was persecuted, and finally arrested in Lviv, 1972. The KGB began a continuous interrogation of Katala, an engineer, in connection with the case. His refusal to give fake evidence led to his mysterious death in a prison in Lviv, on May 28, 1972. In August, 1972, Stephania Shabatura was sentenced to five years imprisonment and three years of exile. Together with other woman prisoners, Shabatura sent a letter of protest against the enslavement of the Ukrainian nation by Moscow to the Secretary General of the United Nations, in which they demanded an open trial in the presence of a U. N. representative.

NADIA SVITLYCHNA

Nadia Svitlychna, sister of the literary critic Ivan Svitlychny, is a philologist. She is the wife of Danylo Shumuk, who was sentenced to 15 years imprisonment, and has a 3 year old son, Yarema. Nadia Svitlychna worked in a Kyiv Library but was fired from her post for signing a petition demanding freedom for Ukraine. Since then, she has been without work and has been persecuted. After the murder of Alla Hors'ka, she made a demand for an inquiry into the circumstances of the artist's mysterious death. The KGB searched Svitlychna's house and took Alla Hors'ka's files. From January to May 1972, Nadia Svitlychna had to report to the KGB every day, and on May 19, 1972, she was sentenced in a closed trial to four years imprisonment (according to article 62 of the Constitution of the Ukrainian S.S.R.). Her little son was forced to enter a government orphanage. Her place of confinement is unknown.

LYUBOV SEREDNIAK

In January, the KGB searched Lyubov Seredniak's house, and found a novel by Solzhenitsyn, a work by Grossman, and similar literature. For this she was arrested, and, after four months of interrogation, was sentenced on May 15, 1972, to a year's imprisonment. She has not yet been released.

VALYA KORNICZUK

Valya was a former student of Lviv University. She was expelled in the summer of 1973 for criticizing the terrorist activities of the Soviet regime. She was also a member of a student group which published an uncensored magazine "Postup" and disseminated pamphlets that criticised Moscow's policies of Russification in Ukraine.

ALLA OLEKSANDRIVNA HORS'KA

Alla was brought up in a russified Ukrainian family in Kyiv. She completed her education at the Kyiv Art institute. She took an active part in the national rebirth within the community life in Kyiv, which since the 1960's has attracted young generations of artists and intellectuals.

In 1962, she became one of the organisers of a cultural club for young people which was closed down in 1964. She took part in organising literary and artistic meetings and exhibitions, in spreading underground publications and in organising aid and funds for the arrested and persecuted and their families.

In May, 1964, Alla designed and produced a Shevchenko stained-glass panel exhibited in the foyer of the University of Kyiv. The panel was destroyed for ideological reasons and Alla Hors'ka expelled from the Ukrainian Artists' Union. She was then forced to find work outside Kyiv, so, together with other artists she organised a range of monumental and decorative panels in Donbas. During the following years she continued to take an active part in Ukrainian culture life.

In December 1965 she appeared as a witness in the pre-trial investigation of Yaroslav Hevrych. Throughout 1965 and 1966 she wrote complaints to the Ukr. S.S.R. Procurator, to the Supreme Court and other officials protesting against the violation of the Soviet law system, and against the persecution of Ukrainian cultural development. In 1967, Alla witnessed the trial of Vyacheslav Chornovil and later signed a collective protest letter against the unlawful nature of that trial. In July 1968, together with others, she wrote an open protest letter to "Library Ukraine" against O. Poltoratsky's article concerning Ukrainian intellectuals. In 1969-70, Alla supported Valentyn Moroz in public when he met with opposition towards his recent works such as "Among the Snows."

On November 28, 1970, Alla Hors'ka was murdered at her inlaw's home in Vasyl'kiv, near Kiev. She was found murdered in the basement by friends who after being unable to trace her whereabouts,

demanded that the KGB let them into the in-law's house. Her funeral was arranged for December 4, 1970. People from Kyiv and distant areas came to the funeral. Unexpectedly, the funeral was postponed until December 7th. Her family was forbidden to see her or even take the coffin, which remained sealed from the time of her death. Despite all schemes and efforts on the part of the Soviet authorities to prevent a public funeral from taking place, about 150-200 people gathered for this occasion. Those who dared to pay the last tribute to her were threatened with reprisals. Searches were carried out at their homes. On the day of her funeral, her friends held a post-mortem exhibition of all her works. Hundreds of people passed through her studio.

STEFANIA HULYK

Stefania was an employee of the Society for the preservation of historic and cultural monuments in Lviv. In 1970, she sent a protest letter to the Supreme Court of the Ukrainian S.S.R., in defence of the unlawfully sentenced Valentyn Moroz, and against the destruction of Ukrainian cultural and historical monuments by the Bolsheviks. She is married and has a small child. She was arrested in January and later released. However, she is constantly being questioned by the KGB and may be rearrested at any time.

OLHA VASYLIVNA DUCZYMINSKA

Olha was born in 1883 in Western Ukraine. She is an expert in literature and art. Olha was formerly accused of having strong patriotic beliefs and contact with the Ukrainian revolutionary freedom fighters. For this, in 1949, she was arrested and sentenced in Lviv to 10 years imprisonment. In 1972 the KGB aimed malicious accusations at Olha who was by then 89 years old. They began to persecute her again. She was alleged to be circulating Ukrainian anti-Soviet literature and to be giving her opinions on patriotic Ukrainian poems, especially the works of Iryna Senyk, who was sentenced to 11 years imprisonment.

IRYNA HUSAR (BORN 1905)

Iryna received a doctorate in philology from the University of Lviv in 1940, and is an author of German language textbooks. She was released from her job at the University of Lviv in the summer of 1973, where Ukrainian students were demanding lecturers to teach subjects in the Ukrainian language. Ukrainian professors and lecturers were blamed for this and since that time Iryna Husar has been continuously persecuted. Now it is questionable whether she will receive her pension.

SVITLYANA KYRYCZENKO

Svitlyana is a scientist, formerly working at the Institute of Philosophy in the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian S.S.R. In

1972, in Kyiv, she was fired from her job after continuous harassment. She is accused of "nationalistic and anti-Soviet views." Such an accusation is usually a precursor of arrest; Svitlyana may soon be another victim.

ATHENA VOLYCKA

Athena Volycka, a scientist at Lviv University, stood up in defence of all repressed Ukrainians and protested to the Supreme Court of the USSR against the savage trial of V. Moroz, demanding an end to the illegal judgment. She was publicly reprimanded for this, and given an assistant at the laboratory, who was an agent of the KGB. In the summer of 1972, Volycka's home was searched, after which she was arrested. Her present fate is not known.

MARIA KOVALSKA

Maria was a sales clerk in the bookshop "Molod" in Lviv. In 1973 the KGB searched her apartment but found nothing. Nevertheless, she was released from her job and is continuously persecuted. Maria Kovalska is accused of too friendly an association with visiting tourists, of conversing with them (which is forbidden to Soviet citizens unless they are agents of the KGB), and of expressing sympathy for Ukrainian cultural figures sentenced by the regime.

KHRYSTYNA TYMCZUK

Khrystyna Tymczuk, who worked at the Academy of Sciences, was arrested in 1972 in Kyiv. During interrogations, the KGB insisted that she work for them, but when she refused, they promised to help her in her career as a reward for her cooperation. This too, had no effect. The fate of Khrystyna Tymczuk and her present whereabouts are now unknown.

RAISA MOROZ

Raisa Moroz is the wife of the well known historian Valentyn Moroz who was sentenced to 14 years of imprisonment. She is a teacher of German in the Ivano Frankivsk teacher's college and is continuously persecuted because her husband was sentenced for "anti-Soviet" activities as he stood out in defence of the Ukrainian culture and language. In 1973 harassment towards her was increased because she had contact with Ukrainian intellectuals abroad. As a result of this, she was also threatened to have her 11 year old son, Valik, taken away and placed in a police-supervised institution.

IRYNA VOLODYMYRIVNA DZYLENKO

Born on April 28, 1931, in Kyiv, Iryna received a degree from the Philological Faculty of Kyiv University in 1964. She worked as a tutor, and later in a newspaper and magazine publishing office. She published her first poems in 1958 and since then has systematically appeared on the pages of various periodicals. In 1964 her artistic essays "Bukovynski Ballads" were published, followed by several

collections of poetry. A series of her lyric poems "In the Bells of the Heart" appeared in 1972-73. As a result of this, the Soviet censors began to attack Iryna Dzylenko on the pages of the Soviet press, accusing her of "ambiguity in the context of her poetry," and of straying from the Party line. Normally, such strong criticism and accusations precede the denunciation of an author's works and probable imprisonment. It is not known what the future holds for Iryna Dzylenko and her creative endeavours.

OLHA HEL'

Olha's brother, Ivan Hel', is a distinguished writer who is serving a long prison sentence. Olha herself has heart trouble, and looks after her elderly mother. She previously received an invalid's pension, which has since been stopped. Ill and persecuted she lives under strained circumstances. It was reported that in 1972, Olha Hel' was arrested but later released on account of her ill-health.

MARIA KACZMAR-SAVKA

Maria is an artist, who on November 25, 1970, sent a letter of protest to the Supreme Court of the Ukrainian S.S.R. in defence of the unjustly sentenced Valentyn Moroz. The court ignored this as well as other similar protests, but as a consequence the KGB began to harass Maria Kaczmar-Savka. In 1972 the KGB stepped up its persecution toward her.

LUDMYLA CHYZHUK

Ludmyla was a student at the Kyiv University where she transferred from the Russian to the Ukrainian department. On May 22, 1971, she recited poems by the poet Symonenko at the Shevchenko Monument. After this she was called up for interrogation, at which she was reproached, among other things, for changing her university course, and for reading Symonenko. She was accused of nursing a "hostile view of Soviet authority." Since then Ludmyla Chyzhuk has been expelled from the university and is still continuously persecuted.

IRYNA STESHENKO

Iryna was born July 5, 1898, in Kyiv. A writer-actress who translated foreign works into Ukrainian, she was the granddaughter of a well-known writer. In 1920, she graduated from the Dramatic Institute, and worked as an actress at the Shevchenko Theatre, and then at the Berezel' Theatre. At the same time, she translated plays, poetry and prose from French, Italian, English, German and Russian. She took part in the "Fatherland War" for which she was awarded a medal. In 1973 Iryna Steshenko fell into disfavour, being accused of maintaining contact with Ukrainian scientists abroad, and allowing her lodgings to be used for meetings with Ukrainian cultural figures and foreign tourists, in which she also took part.

MARIJKA VALYA

Marijka Valya, an assistant at the Institute of Sociology in Lviv, and a specialist in baroque literature, was fired on the pretext of "nationalist, anti-Soviet feeling." She has since been deprived of her government pension.

LYUBOMYRA POPADYUK

Lyubomyra was a lecturer of German at the University of Lviv. Early in 1972, the KGB searched her house and began persecuting her. Later she was fired from work, under the pretext that she was acquainted with cultural figures M. Osadchy, V. Chornovil, and others. In actual fact, she was fired because the students of Lviv University protested against russification and criticised the regime in the Ukraine. There have been recent reports of her arrest. Her son Zerian Popadyuk has been arrested and sentenced to 7 years imprisonment.

RAJISA MORDAN' (BORN 1939, NR. KYIV)

Rajisa is the wife of poet V. Mordan. She was a teacher at a nursery school in Kyiv, and taught the children a few Ukrainian songs, and brought them to a concert commemorating Lesya Ukrainka, in which the ethnic choir 'Homin' also took part. For this, Rajisa Mordan' was called up for "questioning" at which she was brutally treated and dismissed from work. She was accused of "contact with the 'nationalistic' choir Homin, and of influencing the children." From then on Rajisa has undergone continuous persecution, and her husband has also suffered as a result of this.

LUDMYLA SHEREMETYEVA (BORN IN 1945)

Ludmyla was an extra-mural student of journalism at Kyiv University. After the arrests of O. Nazarenko and Karpenko, the KGB searched her home, looking for Samvydav material which it did not find. However, Sheremetyeva has continued to be persecuted since then, and in 1969 she was expelled from Kyiv University.

MARIA VOYTOVYCH

Maria Voytovych lives in Lviv. On May 12, 1972, she wrote a letter to the Supreme Court of the Ukrainian S.S.R. in defence of the illegally convicted historian Valentyn Moroz. As a result of this, she is continuously persecuted and unable to obtain work.

NADIA VOLKOVYCH

Nadia was born in 1947, and became a member of the Komsomol. She worked in a children's nursery in Kyiv. She was a member of the Ukraine folk-ensemble, "Homin," which was disbanded by the Russian authorities who accused it of being "nationalistic." Nadia Volkovych was interrogated in connection with this, and was requested to be an informer for the KGB. When she refused to do this she was fired from her job and has been continuously persecuted.

HALYNA YAREMYCZ

Halyna was a student at Lviv University, from which she was expelled in 1973 for protesting together with other students against the russification of Ukrainian schools, and for insisting on the freedom to commemorate the poet, Shevchenko. Several students of this group were arrested, but so far it is not known what has happened to Halyna Yaremycz.

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**WOMEN'S ASSOCIATION FOR THE DEFENCE OF FOUR
FREEDOMS FOR UKRAINE, INC.**

**STATEMENT OF MRS. ULANA CELEWYCH, NATIONAL
PRESIDENT**

February 14, 1975

The Women's Association for the Defence of Four Freedoms for Ukraine, Inc. has chosen two distinguished gentlemen of the United States to be awarded the Queen Olha Medal:

The Honourable John H. Buchanan, Jr., Representative in Congress from the Sixth District, Alabama, for his understanding, deep



Placing of a wreath at Taras Shevchenko's Memorial.

interest, and defence of the human rights of the people in Ukraine, for defending historian Valentyn Moroz, and for his unselfish support and continued interest in the knowledge of the struggle and desire of the Ukrainian people for the restoration of a free Ukrainian State.

Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, President of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, Chairman of the National Captive Nations Committee, Professor of economics, Georgetown University, member of Shevchenko Scientific Society, well known lecturer, educator, author of several books, hundreds of articles, researcher in the national and international political-economic scene, contributor to Free World analysis and thoughts on world communism and socialism, specialist on Soviet Russian imperio-colonialism, author of the Shevchenko Memorial Resolution (Public Law 86-749) and the Captive Nations Week Resolution (Public Law 86-90) for his leadership and devoted work in political, civic and social life of the Ukrainian American Community, for his outstanding and long time service for the advancement of Ukrainian causes among statesmen and people of the United States and the Free World in the field of national, cultural and human rights, for his defence and support of Ukrainian resistance and the will of Ukrainian people for the restoration of the Ukrainian Sovereign State.

The Queen Olha Award was presented to the Honourable John H. Buchanan and Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky on Tuesday, February 4, 1975 at 10:00 a.m. by a delegation of members of the organization composed of the following ladies: Ulana Celewych, president, assisted by Myroslava Lassovsky, Maria Kulchycky, Sophia Radio, Dada Procyk, Maria Karpyshyn, Lesia Okruch, Maria Kurpita, Marta Kolsky, Chrystia Shashkevych, Lesia Shahaj, Maria Bokalo, Vira Kucyj, Anna Mayewsky, Donna Svidersky, Lesia Pashchak-Tolmych, Stefania Nauholnyk, Maria Hanulak, Liuba Rad, Emilia Monastyrsky, Olha Schudluk, Renata Olearchyk, Maria Lysiak, Maria Lesiuk, Anna Yokovyna, Olha Korol, Slava Schudliuk, Anna Mucha, Maria Hanych, Liuba Gensior, and Maria Sharabura.

The presentation was given at this time of the year, because during February, Ukrainians at home and in the free world traditionally pay tribute to their Ukrainian heroines. In harmony with the tradition and in the spirit of the United Nations Proclamation of International Year of Woman 1975, Ukrainians will this year also acknowledge the contribution of women of achievement in Ukrainian culture, science, economy, industry, religion, family and social life.

A special tribute will be paid to the thousands of Ukrainian women political prisoners who were sentenced by the Russian courts to many years in prison and concentration camps in Siberia although no crimes were committed. They are not criminals, they are respected ladies who refused to renounce their arrested mates and loved ones, but defended them instead. They opposed the russification

policy, forced atheism colonial exploitation, and police control of family and public lives. They bravely defended their human rights and Ukrainian identity.

We are proud to inform you that the medals honoring Queen Olha of Ukraine were struck of gold, silver, and bronze in the United States of America in 1969, on the 1000th anniversary of her death. The Ukrainians in the free world had the privilege of commemorating the anniversary of this proud period in Ukrainian history, but in their homeland, the observance of this event was forbidden.

Dr. N. Polonska-Vasylenko, historian and professor of Kyiv University and Dean of the Ukrainian Free University in Munich, wrote of the courageous reign of Queen Olha in her article published in *ABN Correspondence*, July 1969, an excerpt of which follows: "Young Queen Olha made her appearance on the throne and took to her frail woman's hands the administration of the largest state in Eastern Europe which stretched from Lake Ladoga in the north, to the Black Sea in the south, from the Volga River in the east to the Dnister River in the west. Queen Olha introduced to her people something new: her reign of peace, free of wars, her tremendous administrative activities, her provision to regulate finances, her brilliant diplomatic activity which set up relations with the two mighty empires of Europe, namely Emperor of Byzantium, Constantine VII, and Emperor of Germany Otto I, and chiefly her baptism, which made possible these relations on an equal footing with Christian governments. All this makes Olha an exceptional ruler of the mid Xth Century of Ukraine — known also as "Kyivan State."

She died in May 969 and was buried in the Christian rite. The church calls her a Saint and an equal of the Apostles. Queen Olha's great-grandchildren became related with the royal families of France, England, Germany and Sweden. Queen Elizabeth II of Great Britain is related to Queen Olha as of the 34th generation.

Queen Olha reigned as monarch from the years 945 until 969.

Respectfully,
Ułana Celewvch
President

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U K R A I N E

Name

The two principal names of the Ukrainian territory have been *Rus'* and *Ukraina*. Since the 10th C. the name *Rus'* (Ruthenia) denoted what is now Ukraine, but gradually, especially since the 17th C. it began to be replaced by the name *Ukraina*. Likewise the old name for Ukrainians was *Rusyny* (Ruthenians) and it is still retained by some isolated groups in Czecho-Slovakia, USA and Canada.

With the growth of power of the tsars of Moscow, and especially after the annexation of Ukraine — *Rus'* and its history by Muscovy, the latter began to be officially known as Great Russia or simply Russia, and Ukraine as Little Russia. This term however has been a constant source of confusion. In order to make the distinction between the two nations unmistakably clear the name *Ukraina* and *ukrainets* (Ukrainian) which had been in popular use before became universally adopted in the 19th-20th centuries.

The origin of the name *Rus'* is not entirely clear, but the ancient Kyivan Chronicle from the 11th-12th C. states that it first denoted the Viking warriors-adventurers from Scandinavia who founded a dynasty in Kyiv in the 9th C.

The name *Ukraina* is of Slavonic origin which at first meant "borderland," then "minor territorial unit" and finally "country," "land," "state." The oldest known use of the term in the original meaning dates back to the 11th C; the modern meaning is found in documents dating back to the end of the 16th C.

Territory

The Ukrainian ethnic territory is situated in the south-eastern corner of Europe. It extends over a wide undulating plain between the Central Carpathians in the West and the river Don and the Caucasus foot-hills in the East. In the South it extends from the mouth of the river Danube and the Black Sea to the Pripet marshes in the North.

Starting from the Black Sea, Ukraine borders with Rumania, Hungary, Slovakia and Poland in the West, with Byelorussia in the North, with Russia, the Don Cossack territory and the Caucasian people in the East and South-East.

Ukraine lies on the border of continents and civilizations. It is situated on the border of densely populated Europe with the sparsely inhabited Asian steppes and deserts, northern shores of the Black Sea, the farthest extension of the Mediterranean. It lies astride the forest and the steppe belts of Eastern Europe.

The fertile expanses of Ukraine bred successive civilizations in the dim past. Ukraine served as a gateway from Asia to Europe through which numerous invasions rolled in both directions. It served as the theatre of many wars and conquests. Many times its territory was laid waste by nomadic hordes, and as many times the settled agricultural population which fled to the forested north slowly trickled back and again populated the steppes down to the shores of the Black Sea. Ukrainians have always striven to establish a firm foothold on the Black Sea.

The Black Sea and the Sea of Azov form one natural boundary of Ukraine between the mouth of the Danube and the Caucasus. Into these seas flow several large rivers, the most important of them being the Dnieper, the Dniester, the Boh and the Don with the Donets.

The compact Ukrainian ethnic territory embraces 290,000 sq. miles and has a population of about 54 million. The territory of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic encompasses only 233,000 sq. miles of territory and does not include large tracts of compact Ukrainian ethnic area. The population of the Ukrainian S.S.R. was 47.1 million on January 1, 1970. If the areas with ethnically mixed population are included the Ukrainian territory includes 365,000 sq. miles with a population of over 60 million.

The Ukrainian ethnic territory is larger than the territory of any other European state except the Russian Republic. More people live in this territory than in any other national territory in Europe with the exception of Russia and Germany. The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic has the second largest territory of any country in Europe; only Russia is larger. It is sixth with regard to population, being surpassed by Russia, Germany, Great Britain, Italy and France.

Administrative Division

Prior to 1914 a part of Western Ukraine (Galicia, Bukovina and Transcarpathia) belonged to Austro-Hungary (altogether 30,200 sq-miles) and the remainder of Ukraine to the Russian empire.

Between 1921 and 1938, following World War I and the short period of independence, the Ukrainian lands were partitioned between the

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Poland, Rumania and Czecho-Slovakia. The USSR retained the major part which formed the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (171,000 sq. miles, population 31.9 million in 1933) and several areas were included in the Russian Republic (population over 5 million).

Poland occupied the greater part of Western Ukraine (Galicia, Volynia, Polissia, Kholm area and Podlachia — 51,000 sq. miles, population 9.3 million). The Ukrainian territory under Rumania was composed of parts of Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina (6,800 sq. miles, population 1.3 million). The Ukrainian territory in Czecho-Slovakia formed the province of Carpatho-Ukraine (officially called Subcarpathian Ruthenia) and the northeast corner of Slovakia with the administrative centre of Priashiv (Presov). Together they encompassed 6,000 sq. miles with under one million inhabitants.

Between 1938 and 1945 there were considerable changes in the political map of Ukraine. First, part of Carpatho-Ukraine had to be ceded to Hungary in 1938 and soon, in March, 1939, Hungary occupied the entire province. In September, 1939 the USSR occupied most of Western Ukraine, incorporating it into the Ukrainian S.S.R. (except Polissia which was incorporated into the Byelorussian SSR), and the Western fringes of the Ukrainian ethnic area beyond the rivers Buh (Bug) and Sian (San) which were given to Germany and included in the *Generalgouvernement* of Poland. In 1940, Rumania was forced to cede Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina to the USSR. The Ukrainian-populated northern and southern parts of Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina were joined to the Ukrainian SSR, and the major part of Bessarabia with a strip of land on the east bank of the Dniester river which had belonged to the Ukrainian SSR were now formed into the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic.

After the outbreak of the war between Germany and the USSR, the entire Ukrainian territory was temporarily occupied by the Germans. Galicia was joined to the *Generalgouvernement*. Rumania reoccupied Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina and, moreover, took a large tract of territory between the rivers Dniester and Boh, giving it the name of Transnistria. The larger part of the Ukrainian lands formed the so-called *Reichskommissariat Ukraine*, administered by the Germans.

The defeat of Germany restored the frontiers generally to their 1940 position. Czecho-Slovakia, to which Carpatho-Ukraine was restored, yielded it voluntarily to Soviet Ukraine. By a new treaty, the frontier between Soviet Ukraine and Poland was established along a line slightly eastwards of that drawn in September, 1939, between the USSR and Germany, with a few changes in favour of Poland. This boundary largely coincided with the so-called Curzon line, i.e. eastern frontier of Poland as recognized by the Entente in 1919-23.

Present Division of Ukrainian Lands

As a result of the changes brought about by World War II almost the entire Ukrainian ethnic area lies now within the frontiers of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics; 80% of the compact Ukrainian ethnic territory and more than 87% of the population are in Soviet Ukraine.

In the West and South-West, only small strips of Ukrainian territory have remained outside the borders of the USSR: in Czechoslovakia, 1,400 sq. miles; still less in Rumania (650 sq. miles); much more in Poland (7,500 sq. miles), but from the latter region the Ukrainian population has been deported to Ukraine and to East Prussia and Pomerania.

In 1954 the Crimea, which had been part of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic, was incorporated into the Ukrainian SSR.

In the North and East large tracts of Ukrainian ethnic territory remain outside the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. Soviet Byelorussia includes part of Podlachia and Polissia with the cities of Brest-Litovsk and Pinsk — an area of 10,400 sq. miles and with a population of about one million.

The Russian SFSR retains the ethnically mixed Starodub area (south-western part of Bryansk province), and the southern parts of the Kursk, Belgorod and Voronezh provinces which are ethnically Ukrainian. The western parts of the Don region (of the Rostov province) inhabited by Ukrainians and the Subcaucasus (the Kuban and Stavropol provinces), which in its western part formed a compact Ukrainian area and further east was an ethnically mixed region, also remain outside the Ukrainian SSR. The Ukrainian ethnic frontier in the South-East is, however, not entirely clear from the political and ethnic points of view, and varies greatly in the estimates of various authorities. The estimates of the total Ukrainian territory in the Russian SFSR differ from 44,000 sq. miles with a population of about 6 million to 113,000 sq. miles with a population of about 11 million.

The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic thus embraces today the principal part of the ethnic territory of Ukraine. It extends over 233,000 sq. miles and has a population of 47.1 million (January 1 1970).

Soviet Ukraine is divided into 25 provinces (oblasts) which in turn are subdivided into 394 districts (rayons) (1965).

The provinces of the Ukrainian SSR are as follows (from West to East): Transcarpathia, Lviv, Ivano-Frankivsk, Ternopil, Chernivtsi, Volyn, Rivne, Khmelnytsky, Zhytomyr, Vinnytsia, Odessa, Kyiv, Cherkassy, Kirovohrad, Mykolaiv, Kherson, Crimea, Chernihiv, Sumy, Poltava, Dnipropetrovsk, Zaporizhia, Kharkiv, Donetsk and Luhansk (Voroshylivgrad).

The territory of the Ukrainian SSR extends over 817 miles from West to East and over 555 miles from North to South. It is situated approximately between 44° and 52° of north latitude. The total length of the borders of the Ukrainian SSR is 3815 miles, including 654 miles of maritime frontiers.

The Ukrainian ethnic territory extends between approximately 43° and 53° of north latitude and 20°30' and 45° east longitude. The Ukrainian ethnic territory extends over 1200 miles from West to East and over 600 miles from North to South.

The Ukrainian SSR has 370 towns, 828 urban settlements and 32,742 villages (August 1, 1965). The capital of Ukraine is the city of Kyiv (population 1.5 million in 1969).

NATIONAL EMBLEMS

Coat of Arms

St. Volodymyr's Trident.

A golden trident on a sky-blue shield (azure, a trident) is the contemporary national coat of arms of Ukraine. The trident is found even on pre-historic monuments in Ukraine, but the classical form dates back to the 10th-11th centuries when it was used as the dynastic emblem of Volodymyr (Vladimir) the Great (979-1015), the Grand Prince of Kyiv. In later times it was used with certain modifications as a dynastic badge and an ornamental figure.

The origin and the original meaning of the trident are disputed but it is thought to have been invested with some mystical significance and to have served as a symbol of an ethnic group which came to comprise the Ukrainian nation.

After the rebirth of the independent Ukraine on January 22, 1918 the trident was adopted by a law of March 22, 1918 as the national emblem of the Ukrainian National Republic. It has been used by all Ukrainian national governments and institutions since that time. A crosslet is sometimes added over the central dent. Armorial tinctures have been adopted from the last royal coat of arms of medieval Ukraine.

Flag

The Ukrainian national flag was adopted in 1848, during the Spring of Nations, when the Supreme Ruthenian Council in Lviv adopted the armorial tinctures of the last royal coat of arms of medieval Ukraine (a golden lion on a sky-blue shield) as the national colours of Ukraine. The national flag consisting of horizontal yellow and sky-blue stripes has been used since then in the Ukrainian national flag. This flag was decreed by a law of the independent Ukrainian National

Republic on March 22, 1918. The sky-blue over yellow was adopted for the Western Ukrainian National Republic on November 13, 1918 and for the Carpatho-Ukrainian Republic on March, 15, 1939, as symbol of the all-Ukrainian unity. This flag was also used by the Provisional Ukrainian Government in Lviv proclaimed on June 30, 1941 and by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army during and after World War II. The sky-blue over yellow was also confirmed by the Ukrainian National Council in Exile on June 27, 1949.

Symbolism (popular) — blue — the sky of Ukraine, yellow — the golden wheat fields.

The National Anthem

The Ukrainian anthem, **Shche ne vmerla Ukraina** (Ukraine Has Not Died Yet), is only a century old. It was written as a poem by Pavl Chubynsky (1839-84) and published in the Lviv journal **Meta** (The Goal) in 1863. Soon it was set to music by the Galician composer Mykhailo Verbytsky (1815-70) and performed by choirs. As a result of its catchy melody and patriotic text it rapidly became popular. In 1917 it was officially adopted as the anthem of the Ukrainian State.

THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL ANTHEM

Ukraine has not died yet, brothers,
Neither fame nor freedom,
Destiny will smile yet brightly
Upon us, young kinsmen.

All our foes will surely perish
Like dew under sunray,
We shall lord it, too, dear brother,
In our native country.

We will lay down our soul and body
For freedom in battle,
And will prove that we are, brothers,
Men of Cossack mettle.

Translated by V. Bohdaniuk

PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY

Relief

Ukraine forms the southern part of the East European plain which is bounded in the south by the Carpathian Mountains, the Black Sea and the Caucasus. The country is generally flat or gently undulating. The mountains form only a small percentage of the territory.

The highest point in the Ukrainian territory is Mount Hoverlia (6,800 ft.) in the Carpathians.

The topography of Ukraine is characterized by several parallel belts which extend from west to east, with the exception of the northeastern part, where the relief belts run from northwest to southeast.

1. **The mountainous belt:** the Carpathians, the Crimean Mountains and the Caucasus. The mountains are widely separated by the Black Sea and the Moldavian Plain. South of the Carpathians lies the Tysa River Lowland passing into the Hungarian Plain.

2. **The belt of south-western and southern lowlands:** the narrow Sian (San) and Dniester Lowlands as well as Subcarpathia in Western Ukraine and the vast Black Sea Lowland in the South.

3. **The belt of uplands:** this extends from the Vistula River in the West to the Donets River in the South-East, and comprises the uplands of Roztochia, Opillia, Podillia, Pokuttia, Bessarabia, Volhynia, the Dnieper (Right Bank) Upland, the Zaporizhian Ridge and the Donets Ridge.

4. The belt of northern lowlands, which includes Podlachia, Polissia, the Chernyiv Lowland, the Dnieper (Left Bank) Lowland and the Donets Lowland.

5. **The region** formed by the southern spurs of the East European Upland which enters Ukraine from the northeast (the area of Kharkiv and Sumy).

With the exception of the western part of the Ukrainian lands, the lowlands gradually pass into the uplands which then end with an escarpment.

Climate

The climate of Ukraine is temperate, cool and continental. It differs considerably in various parts of the country. Ukraine lies in the temperate belt of the northern hemisphere, at a considerable distance from the Atlantic Ocean and close to the great continent of Asia. Climate becomes more continental the further one goes East, and rainfall decreases in the south-easterly direction quite sharply. The warmest region of Ukraine is in the South, in the neighbourhood of

the Black Sea, and the coldest is the northeast and the mountain. Winters and summers are milder in the West, the further east one goes the greater contrast is there between the hot summers and the cold winters.

The Black Sea and the Sea of Azov

Ukraine has a wide access to the sea. It skirts the entire northern coast of the Black Sea. The small Sea of Azov lies in fact entirely within the Ukrainian ethnic territory. At its widest the Black Sea extends 702 miles from West to East, and 308 miles from North to South (between the mouth of the Dnieper and Asia Minor). Its area is 160,000 sq. miles and it is connected with the Mediterranean through the narrow Bosphorus Straits, the small Marmara Sea and the Dardanelles, which lie in Turkish territory.

The northern part of the Black Sea forms a shallow shelf (less than 330 ft. deep) while the larger southern section is a deep-water basin with steep walls. The maximum depth there is 7,360 ft.

The Sea of Azov is reached from the Black Sea through the narrow Kerch Strait. This Sea is between 93 and 25 miles in width. The depth of the Sea of Azov does not exceed 46 ft. averaging from 23 to 36 ft.

Some narrow sections of the Black Sea near the northern coast and parts of the Sea of Azov freeze over in winter during short periods. The Black Sea ports are operational throughout the year.

Rivers

With the exception of the Dniester and the Boh all the large Ukrainian rivers originate outside the boundaries of the Ukrainian ethnic territory. Most of the rivers belong to the Black Sea basin.

The Danube touches the Ukrainian territory only in its delta section. Its tributaries: Tysa, Prut and Seret rise in the Carpathians and flow partly through Ukrainian territory.

The Dniester (880 miles long) is the largest river in Western Ukraine. It has many tributaries flowing into it from the Eastern Carpathians and from the Volhynia-Podillia Plateau.

The Boh, also known as the Southern Buh (532 miles long) flows from the Podillian Upland, parallel to the Dniester, to the southeast.

The Dnieper, the largest and the most beautiful river of Ukraine rises in the Smolensk province of the RSFSR. It flows through Byelorussia and enters the Ukrainian territory as a large river, and is immediately joined by its two major tributaries: the Prypiat (Pripyat) on the right, and the Desna on the left. Between Dnipropetrovsk and Zaporizhia the Dnieper flows through the famous rapids which have

now been flooded after the construction of the Dnieper Dam at Zaporizhia. The Dnieper is 1,420 miles long. In the post-war period dams have been build at Kakhovka, Dniprodzierzhinsk, Kremenchug and Kiev. Another dam is being build at Kaniv.

The Don flows into the Sea of Azov and only partly crosses the Ukrainian ethnic territory. Its largest tributary is the Donets (654 miles in length) and is almost wholly inside Ukraine.

The Kuban (584 miles long) rises in the glaciers of Mount Elbrus in the Caucasus and flows into the Sea of Azov. Almost all its tributaries are on the left and flow from the Caucasus.

The Baltic Sea basin includes the rivers of the Western Ukrainian regions which flow into the Vistula. The largest of them are the Sian (San) and the Buh (Bug).

Flora

Changes in climate, soils and land forms cause zonal distribution of plants in Ukraine. From north to south there are three main belts of vegetation: the forest, forest-steppe, and the steppe zones. In addition, there are two areas of mountain plants — in the Carpathian and in the Caucasus. Mediterranean vegetation is found in the southern Crimea and along the Caucasian coast of the Black Sea.

The forest belt extends through the northern and southwestern part of Ukraine, along the line Lviv-Zhytomyr-Kyiv-Hlukhiv. The forest belt gradually passes into the treeless steppe belt. This transitional zone is called forest-steppe belt and its southern limit runs approximately along the line Kishinev-Kirovohrad-Poltava-Kharkiv (somewhat south of the last two places). South of this line is the steppe belt which covers almost the entire southern part of Ukraine as far as the sea, and up to the foothills of the Crimean and Caucasus mountains. Until the eighteenth century, this whole area was occupied by the virgin steppe; now 75% of it is under cultivation.

POPULATION

The average density of the population of the Ukrainian SSR in 1965 was 71 which is considerably higher than that of Russia or Byelorussia but less than that of Ukraine's western neighbours Czechoslovakia, Poland, Rumania or Hungary.

The most densely populated is the Donbas industrial area in Southern Ukraine and some districts in Western Ukraine (Donetsk province — 178 people per sq. km., Luhansk — 102, Lviv — 108, Chernivtsi — 102). Kherson province has the smallest density (33 people per sq. km) 53% of the population of Ukraine live in towns. Rural population is most densely settled in Western Ukraine and the

forest-steppe belt, whereas the northern forest regions and the steppes have sparse rural populations.

There are many more women in Ukraine than men at present owing to the losses which the Ukrainian people have suffered during the two world wars, several famines, large-scale liquidation of opponents of the Soviet Russian government, mass deportations and arrests, etc. According to the 1959 census of the population 55.6% of the population of Ukraine are women.

Ethnic Composition of the Population of Ukraine

The central and the majority of the western provinces of Ukraine are settled compactly by Ukrainians. Near the borders of Ukraine the ethnic composition of Ukraine becomes somewhat mixed. Some southern areas have an ethnically mixed population.

Nationality	Ukrainian SSR in present boundaries	
	in 1000s	in%
Ukrainians	32,158	76.8
Russians	7,091	16.9
Jews	840	2.00
Poles	363	0.9
Rumanians and Moldavians	343	0.9
Byelorussians	291	0.7
Bulgarians	219	0.5
Hungarians	149	0.36
Greeks	104	0.25
Others	311	0.7
Total	41,869	100.0

According to Soviet data 86.1% of all Ukrainians of the Soviet Union live in the Ukrainian SSR.

In the majority of Ukrainian provinces Ukrainians constitute 70-75% of the urban population. In some (like the Crimea or the Donetsk province) they constitute less than 50% of the urban population. The percentage of Ukrainians among the rural population is considerably higher. In many provinces it reaches 95-98%.

Russians are the largest national minority in Ukraine. Between 1926 and 1959 their numbers doubled and there are now over a million of them — 16.9% of the total population. Russians constitute the majority of the population of the Crimea, Luhansk, Kharkiv, Zaporizhia and Donetsk provinces have between 26 and 38.7% of Russians in the population. Nearly 80% of Russians in Ukraine are urban dwellers.

About 840,000 Ukrainian Jews live almost entirely in the towns. In Kyiv, Odessa and Chernivtsi provinces they constitute from 5 to 7% of the total population.

There are 363,000 Poles living in Ukraine mostly in Western provinces. In Zhytomyr province they constitute 6% of the population.

Byelorussians (291,000) live mostly in the industrial towns.

Rumanians and Moldavians (343,000) live predominantly in rural areas adjoining Moldavia and Rumania, especially in Chernivtsi (Northern Bukovina) and Odessa provinces.

Bulgarians (219,000), mostly farmers, gardeners and viniculturists are concentrated chiefly in Southern Bessarabia (the western section of the Odessa province).

Greeks (104,000) live in the southern part of the Donetsk province. Most Greeks use Russian as their everyday language.

Hungarians (149,000) live in Transcarpathia and constitute a majority of the population in its southern border strip. They form 15.9% of the population of Transcarpathia.

Out of 32,158,000 Ukrainians living in the Ukrainian SSR only 30,072,000 stated Ukrainian as their native language, whereas 2,075,000 stated Russian as their native language. This is a result of the policy of Russification practiced by the Russian tsarist and the present Soviet government.

According to the 1959 census over 73% of the population of Ukraine consider Ukrainian and nearly 24% Russian as their native language

UKRAINIAN LANGUAGE

The Ukrainian language which is spoken today by about 45,000,000 people belongs as an independent and original unit to the Slavic group of Indo-European languages.

In view of many common features which connect the Ukrainian language both with its immediate neighbours (Russian, Byelorussian, Slovak, Polish, Bulgarian) and with its more distant ones (Czech, Slovene, etc.) and also in view of its nearness to the territory once occupied by the ancestors of the Slavs, it may be said that the Ukrainian language occupies a central (intermediate) position in the Slavic linguistic world, although geographically it belongs to the Eastern Slavic languages along with Byelorussian and Russian. The Ukrainian language has developed from those proto-Slavic dialects which had to their north the dialects from which developed the present Russian and Byelorussian languages, to the West, the Polish, Czech and Slovak, and to the South, the Southern Slavic dialects.

Apart from common features with other Slavic languages the Ukrainian language has many original features which are not found in other languages.

Ukrainians can understand to some extent what is said in any other Slavonic language and can generally make themselves understood to other Slavs. The situation is similar as that between some related Romance or Germanic languages. Nevertheless Ukrainian is a language definitely different from Russian, Byelorussian or Polish, its immediate neighbours.

The literary language developed mainly from the Central Ukrainian dialects of Poltava and southern part of Kyiv province, especially since the 18th century, but it soon adopted a number of words from other dialects, chiefly words and turns of speech from the Galician dialects. Thus, although the literary language is close to the spoken language of the people throughout Ukraine, it is not wholly connected with any one dialect.

The Ukrainian language has adopted many foreign words, chiefly Germanic, Turko-Tatar and Polish, and recently has acquired many so-called Europeanisms, especially those with Latin and Greek components, which have been naturalized in the Ukrainian speech. In the last hundred years many new words have been coined for new objects or concepts. The Ukrainian literary language is one of the richest, expressive and most beautiful in the world. Some authorities place it as second only to Italian as regards its melodiousness. It is used in all fields of human activity and can express the most complicated philosophical and scientific thoughts. It is well suited for song and poetry, as is proved by a vast folkloristic and literary heritage.

The Ukrainian Alphabet

The present Slavic (or Cyrillic) script which, with various modifications, is used by Ukrainians, Russians, Byelorussians, Serbs, Bulgarians, Macedonians and some non-Slavic nationalities in the USSR, was formed in the 9th century and named so in honour of the Greek monk St. Cyril who with his brother St. Methodius translated the Gospel into the old Slav language and conducted missionary work among the Slav peoples.

The Cyrillic is based on Greek letters with several letters added for sounds which are not found in that language. It came to Kyiv from Bulgaria with the adoption of Christianity from Constantinople in 988 and spread from Ukraine through the lands of the Kyivan Rus State — the ancient Ukraine with her vast dependencies in East Europe. Thus the ancestors of the Russians and Byelorussians received this script via Kyivan and Ukraine.

The Ukrainian alphabet has 33 letters. The phonetic principle lies at the basis of Ukrainian writing, which means that, as a rule, one letter corresponds to one sound of the language. Thus it differs greatly from English writing where the same letter can be pronounced differently in different words.

THE UKRAINIAN ALPHABET

Ukrainian letter	Transliteration	Pronunciation
		as in
А а	a	dark
Б б	b	big
В в	v	very
Г г	h	heavy
Ґ ґ	g	good
Д д	d	door
Е е	e	ebb
Є є	ye initially, otherwise — ie	yes, Pierre pleasure
Ж ж	zh	zebra
З з	z	symphony, bit
И и	y	yet, reign
Й й	y initially, otherwise — i	eel, seek, Paree
І і	i	
Ї ї	yi initially, otherwise — i	yield
К к	k	king
Л л	l	will
М м	m	more
Н н	n	no
О о	o	lord
П п	p	pet
Р р	r	Scottish "brigh"
С с	s	set
Т т	t	tip
У у	u	book
Ф ф	f	far
Х х	kh	as "ch" in Scottish "loch"
Ц ц	ts	tsar
Ч ч	ch	check
Ш ш	sh	shop
Щ щ	shch	Ashchurch
Ю ю	yu initially, otherwise — iu	use, duke yard, aria
Я я	ya initially, otherwise — ia	(not pronounced separately; it is
Ь ь	of works and in bibliographies — !) omitted (in titles	a sign of palatalization of the preceding consonant).

The Ukrainian alphabet differs from the Russian in that it has four additional letters "і" (g), "е" (ye), "ї" (i), "ї" (yi) and it dispenses with the Russian letter "ѣ" (y), "ѣ" (y) and "ѣ". Moreover, three identical letters have different phonetical value: "и" is pronounced "y" in Ukrainian and "i" in Russian; "р" = "h" in Ukrainian and "g" in Russian; "е" = "e" in Ukrainian and "ye" in Russian.

Ukrainians Beyond the Ethnic Territory

Prior to 1880 — that is, before the time of the intensive Ukrainian emigration to America and Asia — only a small number of Ukrainians lived outside the boundaries of their ethnic territory. Ukrainian enclaves existed in the region of Bachka (in the present province of Voivodina in Yugoslavia) and in the Volga and Ural areas in Russia.

After 1880, there was an intensive emigration of Ukrainians to America and Asia. As a result, the number of Ukrainians outside the ethnic territory increased to 4,300,000 or 10.7% of all Ukrainians in 1914. Due mainly to natural increase, the number of Ukrainians in diaspora was about six million in 1933. In subsequent years emigration continued, both voluntary and forcible, for it was part of Soviet policy to disperse Ukrainians and settle Ukraine with Russians as much as possible. According to estimates, differing of course widely from official Soviet statistics, about 11-12 million Ukrainians should now be living outside Ukrainian ethnic territory. Many of them have apparently been assimilated in their new environment.

Ukrainians West of Their Ethnic Territory

Poland. About 300,000 Ukrainians, deported from Ukrainian ethnic territory near the border with the Ukrainian SSR in 1945-47, live scattered in Northern and Western regions of Poland (former German territories). About 60,000 of them live in the Polish part of East Prussia alone. Small numbers have trickled back to their old homes in the Lemko region, Peremyshl and Kholm areas.

Czecho-Slovakia. Apart from some 150,000 Ukrainians living in the Priashiv (Presov) area which belongs to the Ukrainian ethnic territory, there are scattered enclaves of Ukrainians in East Slovakia and groups of Ukrainian emigres in various Czech and Slovak cities, especially Prague and Bratislava.

Rumania. Apart from some 70,000 Ukrainians living in the areas adjacent to the Ukrainian ethnic territory in the border areas, in Northern Bukovina, Transcarpathian area and Dobrudja, there is a Ukrainian enclave in Banat near the Yugoslav border and some scattered Ukrainians in Bucharest and other towns.

Yugoslavia. There are about 40,000 Ukrainians living in three groups, the first in Bachka (in the province of Voivodina, north of Belgrade), the second in Bosnia near the town of Prnjavor and the third in Slovenia in the so-called Sirmija.

Germany. After World War II there remained about 200,000 Ukrainian Displaced Persons in Germany most of whom emigrated overseas. Only about 20,000 remain now, scattered in many localities. The centre of Ukrainian life in Germany is Munich.

France. The number of Ukrainians in France is estimated at about 50,000 most of whom came to France between the two world wars as seasonal workers or political refugees. There was a small influx of refugees after World War II. The centre of Ukrainian life is in Paris.

Britain. A small group of Ukrainians has lived in Britain since 1914, but the majority came in the wake of World War II as refugees and as members of various armies. Of the original 40,000 about 25,000 still live in Britain, concentrated mostly in the industrial towns of the North and Midlands. About 1,500 of them live in the London area where Ukrainian organizations have their headquarters.

Austria and Belgium each have a contingent of about 3,000 Ukrainians.

There are small groups of Ukrainians in **Holland, Sweden, Italy and Spain**, together numbering about 1,000.

Ukrainians in the USSR Outside the Ukrainian SSR

Estimates of the Ukrainian population in the USSR outside the borders of the Ukrainian SSR vary widely. Soviet census of 1959 gives the following figures:

	in thousands
RSFSR	3,359
Moldavia	421
Byelorussia	133
Kazakhstan	762
Kirghizia	137
Uzbekistan	88
Georgia	52
Latvia	29
Tadzhikistan	27
Lithuania	18
Azerbaijan	26
Turkmenia	21
Estonia	16
Armenia	6
Total	5,099

There are reasons, however, to suspect that the Soviet census data are misleading and that there is at least double that number of Ukrainians outside the borders of the Ukrainian SSR in the USSR, as even as early as 1933 there were 8 million Ukrainians reported living in the RSFSR and Kazakhstan. Since that time there has been

natural increase of the population and great influx of new voluntary and forced settlers. They could not have disappeared without a trace. Many of them, of course, could have been assimilated to the Russians, but still it would not explain this strange phenomenon. Most likely, many of them have been entered as Russians during the census for various reasons.

Of the probable number of 10-12 million Ukrainians outside the borders of the Ukrainian SSR in the USSR, about 5-6 million live on the ethnic territory of Ukraine adjacent to the Ukrainian SSR and much of the remainder are scattered in large or smaller enclaves mainly in a wide belt of fertile black soil stretching from the Middle Don to the Volga near Saratov and then on both sides of the border between the RSFSR and Kazakhstan, almost to the frontier with China. Another considerable concentration of Ukrainian settlers is on the Maritime and Khabarovsk provinces of the RSFSR in the Far East near Vladivostok and the borders with Korea and North-East China. About 1 million Ukrainians live in this region which is known as **Zelenyi Klyn** (The Green Wedge). This is the area which the Russian empire wrested from the Chinese empire in the 1880s and to which the present Chinese rulers of Peking have raised territorial claims.

About 1 million Ukrainians live on the ethnic Ukrainian territory in the southern part of the Berestia (Brest) province which Moscow included in the Byelorussian SSR. Their national consciousness has not been strong in the past as, due to foreign oppression and the great poverty of the region, the Ukrainian national movement had great difficulties developing in this region. Both Russian tsarist and Soviet governments did all in their power to Russify these Ukrainians. One of the methods was prohibition of any Ukrainian schools of any kind outside the Ukrainian SSR. Those that existed there in the 1920s and early 1930s have all been liquidated.

Ukrainians in America

USA. It is estimated that over 1 million people of Ukrainian origin or descent live in the States, most of them in the North-Eastern States, especially New York, Pennsylvania and Illinois.

Canada. There are more than 500,000 Ukrainians living in Canada today. Most of them are concentrated in the Western prairie provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, as well as in Ontario.

Argentina. The number of Ukrainians in Argentina is estimated at about 140-150 thousand. They live in the area of Buenos Aires and in the northern province of Misiones and Córdoba.

Brazil. About 140-150 thousand Ukrainians live in Brazil, mainly in the provinces of Parana and Curitiba.

Small groups of Ukrainians live in Paraguay, Uruguay, Venezuela and other South American countries.

Ukrainians in Australia

There are about 30,000 Ukrainians in Australia, living mainly in the regions of Melbourne, Sydney, Adelaide and Perth.

ORAL LITERATURE OF THE PEOPLE

Historical Epos

The Beliny

The medieval epos (*byliny* or *stariny*) describing the feats of the knightly retinue of the princes of the Kyivan Rus' realm has not been preserved in Ukraine to our day. They continued to be performed in the twentieth century only in Karelia and around the White Sea, areas which were originally on the extreme periphery of the old Kyivan Realm. However, they originated on Ukrainian territory and among the ancestors of the present-day Ukrainians. They were replaced in Ukraine by the new Cossack epos in the 16th-17th centuries.

The oldest series of *byliny* deal with mythological themes and superhuman heroes. The second series revolves around the figure of the Grand Prince Volodymyr the Great in whom several popular princes of the medieval era are blended. Their theme is the defence of the Kyivan State from the steppe nomads.

The third series is centered around the territory of Halych and Volhynia and Prince Roman.

The Dumy

These are lyrical epics based on historical events in the Cossack Ukraine of the 16th-17th centuries. They completely supplanted the old *byliny* of the Middle Ages.

The dumy are divided into two series according to content. The first, older, describe the struggle against the Tatar and Turkish invaders of Ukraine. They include stories about Turkish captivity, the heroic death of a Cossack, victorious return from a campaign, and also themes about the unity of a clan. The second series (the more recent one) deals with the fight of the Cossacks against the Poles. They can be subdivided into the *dumy* which deal with the period of the Ukrainian uprising under the leadership of Cossack Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytskyi (1648-1657) and the *dumy* dealing with social themes, especially internal social conflicts between the poor and the rich Cossacks.

The dumy are not sung but are performed in recitative to a musical accompaniment on the *bandura*, *kobza* or *lira*, (bandore, lute or lyre). They are recited by *kobzars* (minstrels). The dumy have no definite strophic structure, the length of the verses is unequal, their rhythm

depends on the contents of the tale, and the melody of the musical accompaniment varies greatly according to the content. Every *kobzar* has his own particular variation of the melody.

Historical Songs

In their themes and content these are close to the *dumy* but differ from them in form. They have a rhythmically arranged regular strophe and the melody embraces one couplet which is repeated. The historical songs cover from the 16th century to modern times. They describe the struggle with the Tatars and Turks, and the Poles, the destruction of the Cossack freedom by the Russian tsars; others depict various aspects of Cossack life, social conflicts, oppression of the peasants, the resistance of the people against the landlords (especially about outlaw heroes), and modern events, including political songs.

Occupational Songs

These deal with the life, mode of living and interests of different social and professional groups. The most outstanding among them are the highly poetical *chumak* (salt carter) songs. The soldier and recruit songs describe the harsh fate of a soldier in an alien (Russian or Austrian) army. Other songs, mostly melancholic, describe the fate of hired hands, seasonal labourers and lonely wanderers (*burlaky*).

Lyric Songs

These consist of lullabies, love songs, songs of family life and dance songs. Love songs are the by far the most numerous of all songs. Their themes are greatly varied and include courtship, happy and unhappy love, various obstacles to love, jealousy, etc.

Dance songs are very close to the love songs. Many of them are humorous and amusing. They are composed as a vocal accompaniment to the dance. The basic forms of dance songs are the *kolomyika*, *shumka*, *kozachok* and *horlytsia*.

Mention should also be made of the ballads, religious songs and humorous songs.

Folk Prose

Ukrainian folklore is not only extremely rich in songs but also in the various forms of prose, such as tales, where truth is mixed with the fantastic, animal fables, fairy tales about various spirits and demons, legends, narratives about historical personages and events imbued with legendary characteristics, stories of ordinary life anecdotes, proverbs and sayings, and riddles.

Ritual Songs

Ritual songs are connected with the folk calendar and various seasonal events of the agricultural year. They originated in the

remote past when the work of each seasonal was begun, accompanied and ended with the performance of choral, musical and representational rites. Survivals from the ancient pagan period mixed with Christian rites and became tied to the church calendar of Christian festivals.

Koliada: the Koliadky and Shchedrivky

The ancient pagan festival of Koliada connected with the winter solstice merged with the Christian Christmas. Now it embraces the period from Christmas Eve (6th January in Ukraine) to Epiphany (19th January). The ancient songs connected with this festival are called *koliadky* and *shchedrivky*. In the course of centuries many of them became Christianized and are now sung alongside Christmas carols. The oldest *koliadky* are "mythological" and try to explain the creation of the world. Some Christianized versions deal with the theme of the building of a church. Other *koliadky* are addressed to the head of the household and glorify him and his family. A group of *koliadky* are intended to glorify a member of the family as a heroic prince with his knightly retinue. Christian Christmas carols based on biblical themes are also very numerous and popular in Ukraine.

Spring Songs

The spring ritual songs are called in Western Ukraine *haiivky* or *hahilky* and in Volynia and the Dnieper basin *vesnianky*. They are almost exclusively maidens' songs. They are sung during Easter, usually as accompaniment to games in or near the churchyard. The *haiivky* are cheerful and often humorous.

The Kupalo Festival and the Kupalo Songs

The Kupalo Festival was connected with summer solstice and after Christianization with the festivals of St. John the Baptist and of St. Peter and Paul (June 7 and 12 in Ukrainian calendar). It coincides with the beginning of harvest. Apparently Kupalo was the name of the ancient pagan god of harvest. The Kupalo songs speak of the unripe rye and the necessity to begin the harvest. In olden times fires were lit near the rivers or in the forests; there was much leaping over the fires and ritual dancing and games. In pagan times this was the period of matchmaking and abduction of brides.

Wedding Songs

The ancient wedding songs in Ukraine reflect the view that the bride passes from one clan to another. As leaving one's clan was once regarded as almost a crime, the wedding rites and songs pretend that the girl leaves her clan reluctantly, only yielding to force. The songs of the bridegroom's party pretend to show his strength and cunning in abducting the bride from her parents and her clan.

Karl ANDERS

MURDER TO ORDER

IN THE LIGHT OF SHELEPIN'S VISIT TO WEST GERMANY AND BRITAIN

MURDER TO ORDER

THE PERFECT CRIME

1

Soon after nine o'clock on the morning of October 12, 1957, Bogdan Stashinsky, a 26-year-old Ukrainian, left the Munich hotel where he had been staying for the past two days. He had taken two pills, one a tranquilliser to steady his nerves for the task that lay ahead, the other a poison antidote.

A few minutes later he was in the Karlsplatz, a central square of the city. Near No. 8, which housed the offices of the Ukrainian emigré newspaper, *Suchasna Ukraina*, he stopped, waited and watched, as unobtrusively as possible. Before long he saw what he was waiting for. A streetcar stopped nearby and from it alighted a man Stashinsky knew by sight — Dr. Lev Rebet, a leading member of the Ukrainian emigré organisation in West Germany.

Stashinsky walked quickly to No. 8 and went up the stairs to the first floor. In a few moments he heard the front door open. Footsteps started up the stairs. Stashinsky took from his pocket a newspaper rolled into a narrow cylinder about eight inches long and less than an inch in diameter. Inside this innocent wrapping was a thin tube with a safety catch and a trigger. Inside the tube was an ampoule, or capsule, which on the pressure of the trigger would be shattered by a tiny explosive charge and the instrument would shoot out a spray of poisonous gas.

Stashinsky started down the stairs. As he went he released the safety catch. When he was within two feet of Dr. Rebet he raised the newspaper, pointed it at him and pressed the trigger. There was no more noise than would be made by two gloved hands being

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Oxford*

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clapped together. The spray hit Rebet in the face and he reeled against the wall of the staircase. Stashinsky hurried on down the stairs. He stuffed the newspaper into a pocket and took from another a gauze-wrapped ampoule, smashed it against the wall and inhaled the fumes. This was another antidote to the poison gas.

The effect of the poison gas on Rebet was that as he inhaled it his blood-vessels contracted, he lost consciousness, and soon afterwards died. The blood-vessels then expanded again to normal.

Stashinsky walked to the Hofgarden and from a bridge threw the weapon into a small stream.

Tenants of the second floor of No. 8 Karlsplatz, hearing moaning, ran downstairs and found Dr. Rebet. They telephoned the police, reporting that a man had collapsed on the staircase. The message went out to a police radio patrol car but a few minutes later another message was received that the man was already dead.

Stashinsky took a zigzag course, on foot and by tramcar, and returned to the Karlsplatz about an hour later. A small crowd of people and a police car were outside No. 8. He then went straight to his hotel, destroyed his travel permit (in a false name) by burning it in an ash-tray and throwing the ashes down the lavatory. At noon he took a train to Frankfurt where, as there was no available flight to Berlin that day, he spent the night at an hotel and flew on to Berlin on a Pan American plane the next day, Sunday.

On the Monday Stashinsky made a verbal report to an official of the KGB — the Russian Secret Service — known as 'Sergey,' from whom he had received his instructions. He then made a written report, describing his journey from Berlin to Munich and back, which he signed with his cover name 'Taras.' In this report he wrote:

'On Saturday I met the person in question in a town which I knew well. I greeted him and I am sure the greeting was satisfactory.'

* * *

A post-mortem was carried out on Rebet. The finding was a high degree of inflammation and softening of the coronary arteries. The coroner's verdict was that Rebet had most probably died of heart failure resulting from coronary insufficiency — commonly known as a heart attack.

Stashinsky had committed the perfect murder. The victim was dead and there was nothing to suggest that he had died violently or unnaturally.

STASHINSKY

2

Bogdan Stashinsky was born in the village of Borshchevitse in the western Ukraine on November 4, 1931. Borshchevitse is ten miles from the nearest big town, Lemberg, and it consists of some four hundred houses. Half the 1,000 inhabitants of the village are Poles, the other half Ukrainians. The Stashinsky family is of Ukrainian extraction and Greek Orthodox by religion. Stashinsky's father was a small farmer but later he was employed as a joiner. There are two daughters, both some years older than Bogdan; one is married to a wood-turner and lives in Lemberg and the other is unmarried and works on a collective farm in Borshchevitse.

Stashinsky attended the local elementary school from the age of eight until he was 15. As a boy he heard passionate discussions on nationality between Ukrainians and Poles. His native village had formerly belonged to the Austrian monarchy, but became Polish territory after the First World War. In 1939, as a result of the secret supplementary clause to the Hitler-Stalin Pact, Poland was parcelled out between the Soviet Union and Germany. Lemberg and Borshchevitse came under Soviet rule. After Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union in 1941 Ukraine came under German administration. Since the end of the Second World War Borshchevitse has belonged to the Ukrainian Republic and thus to the USSR. The Ukrainian Soviet Republic has nearly 42 million inhabitants and covers 234,000 square miles — bigger than Spain and Portugal together.

For centuries the real aim of the Ukrainians has been to establish an autonomous, independent and free state. They achieved this, however, for only a very short time. The 'Ukrainian National Republic' was recognised by Lenin in 1917 as an autonomous sovereign state, but in 1920 it was proclaimed, by Moscow, the Ukrainian Soviet Republic, which, apart from the interruption of the German occupation, it has remained ever since.

In 1943-44 the Germans retreated and Soviet troops once more occupied the Ukraine. This was the beginning of a long struggle, partly in the open, partly in partisan actions, against the Soviet regime. Most of the Stashinsky family were supporters of the resistance.

These constant political changes naturally influenced the curriculum of the elementary school in Borshchevitse. Stashinsky learned the language of whichever nation was in power — first Polish, then Russian, then German and then Russian again. He was considered a good pupil.

In 1945 Stashinsky went to the secondary school at Lemberg and there in 1948 he passed the school-leaving examination and, as he

wanted to be a teacher, he began studies at the Teachers' Training College. Once or twice a week he visited his parents in Borshchevitse and collected food. During one of these trips, in the late summer of 1950, the transport police carried out a check. Stashinsky had no ticket. Among the students of Lemberg it was looked upon as a test of pluck to travel without a ticket. Stashinsky's name was noted by the transport police. This small incident was the beginning of a chain of events in the life of the 19-year-old student.

Soon after Stashinsky came to the notice of the police through his illicit journey, he was sent for by the transport police. He was seen by an officer of the MGB (Ministry of State Security), Captain Konstantine Sitnikovsky. The captain was surprisingly friendly. He talked to Stashinsky about personal affairs and asked him about conditions in Borshchevitse. The illicit journey was not even mentioned.

However, the matter did not end with this one conversation. Shortly afterwards Stashinsky was again sent for by Sitnikovsky, who now began by discussing in great detail the Ukrainian resistance movement. The captain explained to him the 'senselessness' of the struggle of the anti-Soviet Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and repeatedly pointed out the deeds of violence perpetrated by the resistance, the victims of which were sometimes people who had nothing whatever to do with either side in the resistance struggle.

Stashinsky himself was not at that time at all pro-OUN. He had experience of the merciless and bloody exchanges between Ukrainians, Poles and Soviets and they had shocked and confused him. Moreover, the political instruction at the secondary school had not been without its effect on Stashinsky's political views. He saw — as he had been taught to see — the adherents of the OUN as 'traitors' and their leaders as 'agents in the pay of the Americans.'

During further meetings with Sitnikovsky Stashinsky's family came under discussion. Sitnikovsky told the young man that his own relatives supported the resistance movement. Stashinsky was astonished to discover that the captain was completely *au fait* with the family's relations with the OUN and in particular with those of his sister Maria. In the course of one of these talks Sitnikovsky asked Stashinsky to work for the Soviet State Security Service. Stashinsky realised that he was being put under pressure, and he finally agreed. He believed that his consent would protect his parents and sisters, whose anti-Soviet attitude was known to the MGB, from reprisals. Captain Sitnikovsky promised him explicitly that his family would be safe if he were to work for the MGB. This promise was indeed kept.

Stashinsky pledged himself in writing to work for the MGB and to unconditional secrecy about his work. He was given the cover name 'Oleg'. He had become a secret employee of the Soviet State Security Service. During the first few months his work consisted solely of reporting to Sitnikovsky on all that occurred in Borshchevitse.

FIRST ASSIGNMENT

3

In January 1951 Captain Sitnikovsky told Stashinsky that he must join one of the OUN resistance groups. His assignment was to probe into the circumstances in which a Ukrainian writer, Yaroslav Galan, had been murdered in 1949. Galan's pro-Russian views had incurred the hostility of the Ukrainian resistance and he was liquidated by them.

Stashinsky went about his first important assignment by means of a deception. He told the OUN that he was in imminent danger of being arrested. He was accepted as a member of the resistance organisation and before long succeeded in discovering Galan's assassin. His name was Stefan Stakhur. Stashinsky reported this to his MGB superior. Stakhur was, however, also betrayed to the MGB by a third party. He was arrested and condemned to be executed.

But Stashinsky's activities for the MGB had become known. There was now no way back for him. He could no longer visit his parents. On MGB orders he broke off his studies and worked full-time as an agent, for the next year mainly against OUN resistance groups in the Lviv area. Then he was transferred to Kyiv.

In Kyiv Stashinsky was given a two-year training, which included instruction in the methods employed by the Soviet intelligence service. His main instruction in Kyiv was in ideology and the conspiratorial methods used in collecting and passing intelligence. He also received technical training in the use of arms.

At the beginning of 1954 Stashinsky was told to go home to Borshchevitse and reconcile himself with his parents, which he succeeded in doing. He told them that he was living in Kyiv and that he had a job there. No mention was made of his activities. Later that year Stashinsky was sent to Poland on a false passport in the name of Bronislav Katshor. He was accompanied by Soviet and Polish secret service officers. He also received verbal instructions from the KGB (the State Security Committee of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, which had by now taken over from the MGB) that he should in future use the pseudonym 'Taras' for his reports. This was in fact the beginning of his work in the West.

* * *

Stashinsky was now being prepared to work in Germany. He was to have a new name and a new life-story. For this purpose a special 'legend' was worked out. Stashinsky has given the following details of this:

'I was to be the son of parents named Lehmann of German origin,

who had moved to Poland in 1930, shortly before my birth. My christian name was Josef. The family lived in Lukowek until some time in 1939-40 and then moved to Rejowec because of the war. Both places are in the Lublin area. I attended the elementary school in Rejowec until 1944. That year my father met with a fatal accident at work. The same year my mother was killed in an air-raid while we were fleeing to Germany. I sustained a slight foot injury and returned to Rejowec, where I found work in a local factory.

In 1949 I moved to Siennice-Nadolne where I worked as a farm-hand until 1951. Then I moved to Lublin and became a taxi driver. One of my mother's sisters lived in Dresden and I now tried to get in touch with her through the East German embassy in Warsaw. As I had not heard anything up to 1953, I moved to Warsaw so that I could intensify my efforts at the embassy. I discovered it would be difficult for me to get an exit permit for Dresden, as I did not possess the necessary papers, which had been lost during the air-raid when we were fleeing to Germany. I therefore went to Stettin in 1954, so that I could try to cross the German border there illegally. I was arrested in East German territory and taken to the camp at Bautzen. My aunt stood bail for me and I was discharged and given a residence permit for the Soviet Zone.

'I was sent to Dresden, where I was given an identity card for a stateless person. I lived with my aunt and worked in a garage. Later I worked with Wismuth-AG in Zwickau as a lorry driver and through my work I came to know a Russian who helped me to get a job as interpreter in the garage of the Soviet embassy, which was first in Berlin-Weissensee and later in Karlhorst.'

* * *

In order to become acquainted with all the details of his new life as Josef Lehmann, Stashinsky had to undertake a 'journey into his past.' One night in July 1954 he was taken secretly across the Russian-Polish frontier, which was opened for a few hours for him to cross. After Stashinsky had engraved on his mind at first hand in Poland all the details which were of importance for the Lehmann legend, he crossed the frontier into the Soviet Zone at Frankfurt-on-Oder. The frontier crossing was carried out in the same discreet manner as had been the crossing of the Russian-Polish frontier. He had to give back the false Polish passport in the name of Bronislav Katshor which he had received from the KGB. In Frankfurt-on-Oder he was taken over by his future Soviet case-officer, Sergey Alexandrovich (Sergey) and conducted to the Soviet security compound at Karlshorst in East Berlin.

Stashinsky's next task was to become really familiar with German manners and habits and to master the language. Accompanied by Sergey he visited Dresden and Bautzen, both towns of significance

for the Lehmann legend. In Dresden Stashinsky received a Soviet Zone identity card for a stateless person in the name of Josef Lehmann and a lorry driver's licence. A visit to the former concentration camp at Maidanek left Stashinsky deeply impressed with the inhumanity of the Nazi regime.

During this period Stashinsky avoided as far as possible any contact with Germans. He still had considerable difficulty with the language. But apart from that, his ideological training had fostered in him a basic aversion to all Germans, whom he considered 'wicked people' and 'former Nazis,' who rejected everything Russian.

At the beginning of 1955 Stashinsky was taken ill. He suffered from severe headaches and insomnia. He traced the malady, from which he suffered periodically, back to a fall he had had as a child. He was taken to the Soviet military hospital and registered under a false (Russian) name — Krylov. When he left hospital he was given a short leave which he spent in Kyiv, travelling on a Soviet passport in the name of Krylov.

After his return from the Ukraine, Stashinsky started work in April 1955 as 'Josef Lehmann.' His job was as a metal stamper at the Soviet-controlled Wismuth-DG in Zwickau. He had to obtain genuine employment papers to back up the Lehmann legend. During this period he lived in a hotel. Four months later, having established that part of the legend and background, he gave up his job and, travelling once more under the name of Krylov, he went on leave again to Kyiv, and had a holiday on the Black Sea coast at Sochi and Odessa.

At the end of September 1955 Stashinsky returned to East Berlin. As Josef Lehmann he moved into a furnished room in the house of Hertha Stranek, a widow, who lived at No. 9 Marienstrasse, Berlin N.4. From now he passed himself off as an interpreter at the Soviet Zone Office for German Internal and Foreign Trade (DIA).

In January 1956 he began his real intelligence activities. He was sent on his first job for the KGB.

* * *

Stashinsky travelled, as Josef Lehmann, with a Soviet Zone travel permit, to Munich where he had a rendezvous with a Ukrainian exile, Ivan Bissaga.

At this point it might be wondered why Stashinsky, a Ukrainian, was used especially against Ukrainian emigré organisations in the German Federal Republic. An expert's view on this is as follows:

'The Ukrainian emigrés evidently appeared to the Soviets to be particularly dangerous on account of their outlook and aims, which were directed towards freeing their homeland from Soviet domination. The Soviets were still afraid that emigré circles could exercise

a disturbing influence on the population of the Soviet Union and in particular that of the Ukraine.'

Bissaga had ostensibly come to Germany as a refugee and he had been given permission to live in the Munich area. He had been able to win the sympathy of his fellow-Ukrainians in exile and had been given a subordinate position on the anti-Soviet paper *Ukrainski Samostinik*, published by one of the exile organisations. In fact Bissaga was a Soviet informant and worked under the cover name 'Nadiychyn.'

Stashinsky's job was to work as a courier. His assignment was to take to 'Nadiychyn' sums of money — some £25-£35 in marks each time — and to receive intelligence messages in return. Over and above this, he was to give Bissaga 'moral and ideological' support, since the Ukrainian was agitating for return to his homeland.

Stashinsky had at least five rendezvous with 'Nadiychyn' in Munich. He received intelligence material from him and took it to East Berlin in a suitcase with a false bottom. During one of these meetings Stashinsky put the question, as he had been instructed to do, as to whether 'Nadiychyn' would be prepared to co-operate in the projected abduction of Dr. Lev Rebet, the editor-in chief of *Ukrainski Samostinik*. At this period Stashinsky still saw every leading Ukrainian emigré as a 'traitor to the people.'

Bissaga-Nadiychyn flatly refused to have anything to do with the proposal. He said, moreover, that he felt insecure and believed he was being watched. He was, in fact, placed under temporary arrest and interrogated by the German authorities in October 1956 on suspicion of intelligence activities. Shortly afterwards Stashinsky brought him an Interzonal Pass, which enabled him to leave the Federal Republic. Bissaga's return to East Berlin was exploited by the Communists for propaganda purposes. They arranged for him to broadcast an appeal to the Ukrainians in exile to follow his example of 'voluntary repatriation.'

* * *

As well as the rendezvous with Bissaga, Stashinsky carried out other assignments for the KGB in the Federal Republic. In April 1956 he stayed at the Hotel Helvetia in Munich and had a meeting with a Ukrainian exile whom the KGB wanted to recruit. All their attempts to get him to co-operate had been unsuccessful. The KGB knew that his wife was still living in the Soviet Union and in return for his co-operation they offered to arrange a meeting between husband and wife in East Berlin.

Stashinsky took money for this man (whose name he never knew although they had three meetings) and also a prepared sheet for secret writing. The Ukrainian would evidently have nothing to do with the KGB offer.

On his repeated journeys from East Berlin to the Federal Republic Stashinsky usually took with him in the false bottom of his suitcase forty to fifty letters. His case-officer Sergey handed them over to him with instructions to post them in the towns where he stayed. The letters were addressed to emigrés and the contents were political.

Also, in the summer of 1956, Stashinsky travelled as a courier to Frankfurt-on-Main, taking with him a small package which he had been given by Sergey. He deposited it in a prearranged hiding place on the centre strip of the motorway from Kassel to Karlsruhe. The position of the hiding place had previously been described to him exactly with the help of a map. Stashinsky said later that the carrying out of this assignment was very dangerous, but that it must have been important as it concerned a commission which the KGB had to carry out for 'a friendly intelligence service.'

On his journey through Western Germany Stashinsky also had orders to note all numbers of military vehicles which he saw. On one occasion he had to report on troop concentrations in a south German town; on another, he had to take to Munich three copies of seals which were used on correspondence by the Ukrainian emigré organisation and their newspaper *Ukrainski Samistnik*. His instructions were to leave the seals in a small café much frequented by emigrés. The aim of this KGB manoeuvre was to sow seeds of mistrust among the Ukrainian emigrés by making them suspicious of one another.

* * *

In the spring of 1957 Stashinsky received a fresh assignment. His Soviet case-officer Sergey ordered him first to observe the political exile Dr. Lev Rebet very closely in Munich and then to 'clear him out of the way.'

Sergey described Dr. Rebet as an influential leader of the Ukrainian emigré organisation OUN (Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists) who, by means of threats and deeds of violence, was preventing the emigrés in Germany from returning to the Ukraine and who was working as an agent for the American intelligence service.

Of this briefing Stashinsky said later, 'Sergey gave me detailed information on the nature and aims of the Ukrainian emigré organisation. For KGB, and thus also for me, the emigrés in the OUN were "people of the lowest sort" since they prevented the Ukrainians who were living in Western Germany from returning to their fatherland. The KGB asserted that 90 per cent of all Ukrainians would go back if they were not prevented by the OUN. Sergey told me that the "Committee for Return to the Fatherland" in East Berlin were not achieving any success because the opposition of the OUN, which was supported by the Americans, was too strong. Also, the prestige of the Soviet Union was constantly being lowered by the emigré press,

which was thus alienating the emigrés from their fatherland. Moreover, Ukrainians were often used to spy against the East. Taking all this into consideration, Sergey said, it was necessary to eliminate the leaders of the OUN, since they were not receptive to reasonable arguments.

'I heard the word "eliminate" so frequently during my work for the KGB that in the end I was completely indifferent to it. It was the order of the day in the KGB that one should wish to "eliminate" all those who were not prepared to conform to Soviet views and aims. The "elimination" of, for example, Adenauer, Strauss and other "militarists" was always being called for. When I say that one gradually became insensitive to such expressions, so appalling in themselves, I mean that one heard them too often to dwell on their real meaning.'

Stashinsky made three more journeys to Munich in preparation for the attempt on Dr. Rebet — in April, May and July 1957. Each trip lasted about ten days.

For the carrying out of this assignment Stashinsky was to assume a new false identity; he was now to pose as Siegfried Drager, of Essen-Haarzof, born August 1930 at Rehbrücke, near Potsdam. For this reason Stashinsky was sent to Essen, where the real Drager lived, in order to acquaint himself thoroughly with the locality.

In April 1957 Stashinsky received from Sergey a forged West German identity paper in the name of Siegfried Drager and he travelled to Munich using this document.

Stashinsky had seen a photograph of Rebet, which had been taken by 'Nadiychyn,' and he had received an exact description of Rebet from Sergey. Thus when he watched No. 8 Karlsplatz, where the Ukrainian emigré organisation had its offices, he had no difficulty in recognising Rebet when he left the building. Stashinsky followed him and boarded the same tramcar. A small detail indicative of Stashinsky's inexperience in this kind of work was that he had put on sunglasses to disguise himself, but when on the tramcar he saw that he was the only person wearing such glasses, he took them off again. He felt very unsure of himself, he says, and was afraid of being conspicuous, especially as he did not know the tram route or the price of a ticket.

Having established Rebet's appearance and his travelling routine, Stashinsky returned to East Berlin and reported his observations to Sergey.

In May and July 1957 Stashinsky again travelled to Munich. He took a room in the Hotel Grunwald, overlooking the Dachauer Strasse. At No. 9 Dachauer Strasse were the offices of the paper *Ukrainski Samostinik*, of which Dr. Rebet was the editor-in-chief. The position of his hotel room afforded Stashinsky a good view of the building and he could observe without being observed. He was able

to establish the fact that Dr. Rebet usually arrived at the newspaper office about 9 a.m. and left it again after some time to go to No. 8 Karlsplatz, which housed not only the office of his exile group but also the editorial office of the paper *Suchasna Ukraina*.

On one occasion Stashinsky followed Dr. Rebet in the street again but at the entrance to a cinema in the Occamstrasse the two men nearly bumped into each other. After this Stashinsky gave up trailing Dr. Rebet. He was afraid that he would be recognised, or that he had already been recognised. Before he left Munich, however, he went once more to the Occamstrasse. He chose a time when Dr. Rebet would normally be at work and he located Rebet's house at No. 21 Occamstrasse. He took a photograph of the doorplate with Rebet's name. He showed the photograph to the KGB.

THE WEAPON

4

When Stashinsky returned to East Berlin from his 1957 summer leave, which he had spent with his parents, Sergey took him to the Karlshorst security compound. In what is known as a 'safe house' — a place where agents can meet in safety — he had a meeting with a man, evidently a KGB officer from Moscow, who was not introduced to him by name. This man gave him and Sergey a lecture on a weapon which, he assured them, had already often been successfully used. This was the weapon described earlier — a tubular object under eight inches long and three-quarters of an inch in diameter. The man from Moscow explained about the poison ampoule and the striker which, when set off by a gunpowder charge, shattered the ampoule inside the tube and so allowed the poison to be sprayed out from the front end of the tube in the form of gas. He explained too the effect of the gas and how, soon after death, the contracted blood-vessels would expand again and no post-mortem examination could establish the cause of death.

The man from Moscow had three specimens of this weapon with him. He loaded one of these spray pistols with an ampoule full of water and presented it for inspection. When the firing pin had been released, the gunpowder charge expelled the water contained in the shattered ampoule and Stashinsky observed that the jet of water spurted just over a yard. The man from Moscow said that poison gas would reach further, as it was not as heavy as water. He also explained that an operator using this weapon must inhale immediately the contents of another ampoule containing an antidote. Also the operator should take an antidote pill and another pill to calm the nerves, if possible half an hour before the deed. The man from Moscow emphasised again that this weapon had always worked one hundred per cent successfully.

Stashinsky said of this meeting that the lecture 'completely took me aback, for it now became clear to me that this instrument was the weapon which had been selected for the attempt on Rebet's life. It further became clear to me that I had been chosen to make the attempt, for otherwise I should certainly not have had the workings of the weapon explained to me. Up to this time I had not known what I was ultimately to be used for.

'True, Sergey had said to me during the discussions which always followed my reconnaissance trips that, given a situation such as that when I was in the tram with Rebet, one could stab him from behind with a needle and everything would be settled. He did not actually say that the needle must be a poisoned one, but I assumed that.

'All the same, I had not taken these remarks of Sergey's seriously. They appeared to me to be too ridiculous even to discuss. But when I had been so secretly initiated into the working of the spray pistol at Karlshorst, it suddenly became clear to me what it was intended I should do.'

The day after this meeting Stashinsky, Sergey and the man from Moscow drove to a wood by the Muggelsee, outside East Berlin. Also in the car was a dog — a small mongrel. When they were in the wood, the dog was tied to a tree and Stashinsky was handed the weapon. The man from Moscow had previously given him a tablet, which he had described as an anti-poison tablet.

At a distance of about a foot and a half Stashinsky pointed the weapon towards the dog's muzzle and fired. The spray of fluid ejected from the weapon hit the dog which immediately fell to the ground. Stashinsky stepped back and watched. The dog's legs were moving jerkily. After two or three minutes it was dead. From the moment the weapon was fired the dog made no sound at all.

Stashinsky said later of the incident, 'I was sorry about the dog. I could hardly even bear to look at him. When I approached him, carrying the weapon, he tried to lick my hand. I turned my head away and fired. My first victim, I thought to myself. True it was only a dog, but suddenly it was not a dog any more. Later on it will be just the same, I thought. I know it all as though in a dream. From then on the dog was ever-present in my mind. I had killed him.'

On Monday October 7, 1957 Stashinsky had another meeting with Sergey. Again they drove to a wood by the Muggelsee. When they were in a lonely spot Sergey gave Stashinsky detailed instructions on how to act before, during and after the attack on Dr. Rebet. He went into details on the following points:

1. On the journey and in his hotel in Munich Stashinsky was to use the name Siegfried Drager and in case of necessity to show the West German identity paper made out in this name.

2. If he were to be arrested at the airport at Berlin, Munich or Frankfurt, or in his hotel, he should tell the following story:

In the Casino in Friedrichstadt he had made the acquaintance of a foreigner, who had handed over to him a tin of Frankfurter sausages and asked him to give it to a woman in Munich — at Maxim's Bar. He did not know there was anything special about the tin. For doing the man this favour he had received from him the cost of the air trip, a certain sum of money as remuneration, and a West German identity paper in the name of Siegfried Drager.

3. In the case of his being arrested directly before or after the attack — other than in the hotel — and the weapon was found on him he was to say that he had found it.

4. When not in the hotel he was to carry with him only the travel permit in the name of Josef Lehmann. The West German identity paper in the name of Drager was to be left in the hotel. By this means he could say, were he to be arrested, that he was a tourist from the Soviet Zone and he was making a trip through West Germany. If he were to be arrested at No. 8 Karlsplatz, he would make the excuse that he was going to visit a dentist who had his surgery in the building.

5. If a third person were to appear immediately after the carrying out of the attack, he was to appear to be caring for the victim and was on no account to take to his heels. In view of the special effect of the weapon and the sprayed poison he need have no fears that anyone would recognise it as a case of violent death. After having pretended to help, he was to disappear from the scene as unobtrusively as possible.

6. After carrying out the attack, he was to get rid of the weapon as soon as possible. He was to take it to pieces and throw the parts away separately.

7. Thereafter he was to go to his hotel, destroy the travel permit in the name of Josef Lehmann and leave Munich as quickly as possible, using the West German identity paper in the name of Drager.

8. Should difficulties arise of such a kind as to endanger his safety, he was to postpone the attempt on Rebet.

Sergey then handed over to Stashinsky the identity paper in the name of Drager and a sum amounting to DM-W 2000 (about £170) and instructed him to book himself on a flight to Munich or Frankfurt within the next few days.

* * *

Next day Stashinsky booked a seat on an Air France flight to Munich on the afternoon of the following day, October 9. On the eve of his departure Sergey met him again and handed over the travel permit in the name of Josef Lehmann and a sum of money amounting to DM-W 800. Both the travel permit and the money were hidden

in the leather cover of a large notebook. Sergey also gave him two tins of 'Frankfurter sausages,' one of which bore a distinguishing mark. This one contained the loaded weapon, packed in cotton wool, in a central cylinder. The space between the cylinder and the sides of the tin was filled with water and soldered at the top, so that if the tin were shaken there would be no reason to doubt that it did in fact contain Frankfurter sausages in liquid. In place of the normal riveted tin top, this tin had a removable lid, so that the weapon could be extracted from the centre cylinder without difficulty.

There had previously been discussion as to whether the weapon should be handed over to Stashinsky only when he reached Munich. In that case the plan was that he should receive it from a member of a Communist bloc diplomatic mission in the Federal Republic. But this plan was discarded because it was feared that the rendezvous between Stashinsky and the diplomat might possibly be observed.

THE REBET CASE

5

When he arrived in Munich next day Stashinsky went to the Hotel Stachus and filled in the police registration form with the particulars of Siegfried Drager. In the privacy of his room he opened the tin of 'sausages,' removed the weapon, and wrapped it in a newspaper. (He later threw away the empty tin in the English Garden.) He tore a hole in the rolled newspaper so that he could reach the safety catch easily. From now on he always had the weapon in his coat pocket so that he could use it at any moment.

For the next two days Stashinsky kept watch on No. 8 Karlsplatz. He had decided to carry out the attack in the hall of the building. But on neither day did he see Dr. Rebet. Describing his frame of mind on those days, Stashinsky said that when the afternoon came and the possibility of carrying out the attempt on Dr. Rebet was over for the day, he felt as though 'freed from a great burden.' He went for walks about the town, trying to relax the strain he was under. But when he woke in the morning the 'burden' descended on him again and he felt 'utterly miserable.'

On the third day, Saturday 12 October, Stashinsky took the anti-poison pill as he had done on the two previous days, then the sedative pill, and soon after 9 o'clock he left the hotel. As before, he went to the Karlsplatz and took up his watching post. This time he saw Dr. Rebet arrive by tramcar, and there began that fatal sequence of events which has already been described. With the deed done, Stashinsky returned to Berlin and made his report to Sergey.

* * *

Looking back on that day later Stashinsky had this to say of his feelings:

'Ever since I had known that I had to kill Rebet I could not imagine that I should ever be able to go through with it. Never in my life — not even as a child — have I come to blows with people. I am not the kind of person who uses force against another human being. I think the KGB must have been well aware of this aspect of my character and made allowances for it. The weapon I was given was constructed in such a way that it required no exertion nor the use of force to bring about someone's death. That is to say the weapon was so subtly conceived that it was hard for the person using it to realise its murder potential.

'When using an ordinary gun one must either lie in ambush or reckon on being discovered immediately; one must determine the line of fire and aim at the victim. None of that was necessary with the pistol I had. I only needed to pass Rebet on the stairs, slightly raise the rolled-up newspaper and release the striker. I did not think of the act of killing, only of the act of pressing the trigger. The insidious thing was that the execution of the deed seemed not so much to rest on me but rather on the weapon. The only action I had to take required only ordinary, everyday behaviour, so that I had the feeling that I had only carried out the deed "in theory."

'Before and at the time I felt as though I were only half awake. My surroundings, people, traffic in the street, did not seem to penetrate to my conscious mind. It was all in shadow, as if only reaching my sub-conscious mind. It was not until I was on the way to the bridge in the Hofgarten — roughly ten to fifteen minutes after the event — that I began gradually to awaken: my surroundings made an impression upon me again and penetrated my conscious mind ...'

* * *

About a week after the assassination of Dr. Lev Rebet, Sergey told Stashinsky that it was now known in East Berlin that he had carried out his assignment successfully. Otherwise Sergey, according to Stashinsky, would not have referred to the Rebet affair again.

Stashinsky remained in East Berlin. He was in a highly agitated state. He was tormented by feelings of guilt, and yet there was a conflict with his conscience. On the one hand he continued to try to justify to himself what he had done by repeating what Sergey had said to him — that Rebet was a 'traitor' and an 'enemy of the Soviet people'; on the other hand the dead man was ever before him and the thought that he had taken from the Rebet family their husband and father was perpetually with him. He went over the arguments again and again in a vain attempt to silence his conscience and achieve peace of mind.

In the midst of this inner struggle between doubt, reproach, self-accusation and the silencing of conscience Stashinsky believed that

he had found support in someone whom he had come to know some six months earlier, in April 1957. This was a 20-year-old German girl, Inge Pohl. She lived in Dallgow, a municipality to the west of Berlin, in the Soviet Zone. She was a hairdresser and worked in West Berlin. This indeed was the girl he was to marry and of her relations with Stashinsky at that time Inge Pohl has said, 'I got to know my husband some time in April 1957 in the Friedrichstadt dance casino. He introduced himself to me as Josef Lehmann and told me in the course of our acquaintance that he was working as an interpreter in the East German Ministry of Trade (DIA). He had a furnished room in the house of the widow Frau Stranek at Marienstrasse, Berlin.

'Even during the early days of our friendship I could tell that he was a convinced Communist. He said that government circles in the Soviet Zone did not answer to his conception of what they should be — he found them too militarist — but he praised everything connected with Russia and the Communist ideology. We frequently had arguments on the subject as I did not share his convictions and his enthusiasm for Russia. I would bring up points of argument but he always had a counter-argument ready. He did not talk about his work at all except to explain what when he was temporarily away from Berlin he was travelling officially for the Ministry of Trade.'

Stashinsky and Inge Pohl became engaged in April 1959.

THE BANDERA CASE

6

Between the murder of Dr. Rebet and Stashinsky's second murder assignment he carried out a number of jobs for Sergey. He was kept in the dark for a long time about what was in fact planned as his next major assignment — the 'elimination' of the leader of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) in Munich, Stepan Bandera. Several of the intermediate assignments Stashinsky carried out were in fact connected with the Bandera plan, but he did not know this at the time.

Thus in May 1958 Stashinsky was ordered by Sergey to go to Rotterdam for the commemoration of the 20th anniversary of the death (by assassination) of the founder of the OUN, Colonel Eugen Konovalets. The commemoration was to take place in a Rotterdam cemetery and Stashinsky's instructions were to take as many photographs as possible of those present.

Stashinsky duly attended the service and in addition to bringing back pictures of the Ukrainians taking part he also photographed a number of cars with foreign registration numbers which were parked by the church and at the cemetery. One of the cars was a dark blue Opel Kapitän with a Munich registration number. Stashinsky

remembered having seen this car before — outside a church in Munich which was attended by Ukrainians. He also noted that the man who made the longest speech at the commemoration service later left the cemetery in this car. When Stashinsky read reports of the speeches in the emigré newspaper he was able to identify the chief speaker and the man in the dark blue Opel Kapitän as Stepan Bandera.

But Stashinsky still did not suspect the role that this name was to play in his life.

On his return to East Berlin he gave Sergey a detailed report of what he had heard and seen in Rotterdam. On Sergey's instructions, he made a sketch of Konovalets' grave. Sergey studied the sketch and then asked Stashinsky whether it would not be possible to carry out a successful bomb attack there at a commemoration. Stashinsky was both startled and repelled by the idea. He said that such an attack would cause the death of innocent women and children. 'They don't take our women and children into consideration,' Sergey replied.

In the autumn of 1958 Sergey asked Stashinsky to check on the collected works of a writer, Stefan Popel, in a West Berlin bookshop. Stashinsky saw nothing unusual in this request; he had several times carried out commissions for Sergey in West Berlin. He did not know the significance of the assignment — or indeed anything about Popel — at this stage, and he even told his girl friend, Inge Pohl, what he had to do in West Berlin. He went to a bookshop and looked through the bookseller's catalogue, but he could not find the name Popel. He reported this negative result to Sergey.

It was not until the beginning of 1959 that Stashinsky discovered the connection between his assignments in Rotterdam and West Berlin and the Bandera plan. Then came the blunt announcement from Sergey: Stashinsky, he said, had been selected by Moscow to carry out the assassination of the OUN leader, Stepan Bandera.

For this assignment, Sergey told him, he would receive a new West German identity document in the name of Hans Budeit. Budeit had relatives in the Soviet Zone, owned a car and lived in Dortmund. In order to acquaint himself with the locality, Stashinsky flew to Düsseldorf and travelled from there to Dortmund. He sought out Hans Budeit's house and imprinted the surroundings and the details on his memory so that he would be able to answer questions if necessary.

Next Sergey ordered Stashinsky to fly to Munich, locate Stepan Bandera's flat, and gather information about his daily routine. Sergey explained that Bandera might be living in Munich under the alias Stefan Popel. He gave Stashinsky an address in Munich — near the Isar — where Bandera was believed to reside. The address turned out to be a false one. But while Stashinsky was vainly waiting about

for Bandera in the area he had been told to watch it occurred to him to look in a directory in a telephone box to see whether the name Bandera or Popel was given. Sergey had told him that neither name was in the directory. To his surprise Stashinsky found the entry: Popel, Stefan, Kreittmayrstrasse 7.

He located the Kreittmayrstrasse and found the name Popel on the bell board. The apartment was No. 7, third floor, right. Stashinsky noted that the street door was kept locked and had an ordinary — that is not a safety — lock.

Stashinsky kept watch for the next day or two and was at last rewarded by the sight of Bandera in the garage in the courtyard of No. 7 Kreittmayrstrasse. Bandera, who had another man with him, was busy doing something to a dark blue Opel Kapitän with the registration number M-Da 105. This was the car Stashinsky had seen in Rotterdam. He concluded that he had found his man and that Bandera and Popel were one and the same person.

After some further days of watching Bandera's movements Stashinsky flew back to Berlin and gave Sergey a detailed report. He added that Bandera was apparently always accompanied by a bodyguard. Sergey was delighted with his success.

At the end of April 1959 Sergey told Stashinsky that he must go to Moscow and handed him a Soviet passport in the name Alexander Krylov. In Moscow Stashinsky was met by an official from KGB headquarters, who took him to the Hotel Ukraine. The official told him that he would be visited in the hotel the next day or the day after by a senior KGB official called Georgiy Aksentyevich. The visitor duly arrived and Stashinsky gave him a report on his recent enquiries in Munich.

Aksentyevich repeated what Sergey had already said: that it had been decided to liquidate Bandera and that he, Stashinsky, was to carry out the liquidation. This could best be done in the garage or in the hall at No. 7 Kreittmayrstrasse. He would be given the key needed to open the street door. Stashinsky protested that Bandera was always accompanied by a bodyguard but Aksentyevich replied that if this were so then the guard would also have to be liquidated.

The weapon which Stashinsky had previously used had been improved upon. Aksentyevich said that it was now double-barrelled, and a net had been fixed over the mouth of each barrel to prevent splinters of glass from the ampoule escaping. It was also possible to fire both barrels at once.

This conversation lasted about twenty minutes or half an hour and then Aksentyevich had champagne sent up. 'We drank to the successful execution of the plan,' Stashinsky said later. 'It made me think of a Russian film I had once seen. It was about the "heroic deed" of a spy and the officer who sent the spy on a mission behind the enemy lines took leave of him with champagne. Aksentyevich

then handed over to me a ticket for the grandstand for the May Day parade in Red Square.'

Stashinsky attended the parade and then was told to return to Berlin. Before he left he was given the double-barrelled weapon, packed in a cylindrical container. He was told that if he should have any trouble at the frontier he was at all costs to prevent the Customs officers from looking inside the container. He was to ask a member of the KGB stationed at the frontier to ring a certain telephone number in Moscow. Stashinsky explained this by saying, 'People like us usually escape much attention from the Customs since our travel documents contain special numbers which are known to be used only by members of the KGB.'

* * *

About a week after his return from Moscow Stashinsky flew from Berlin to Munich to carry out his assignment to assassinate Bandera. He still had false West German identity papers in the name of Hans Budeit.

As well as the new double-barrelled poison pistol, ten anti-poison tablets and anti-poison ampoules, he had received also from Sergey a skeleton key with four different and interchangeable parts. He was to try these out on the street door of No. 7 Kreittmyrstrasse so that it might be possible for him to make the attack in the hall or on the staircase, as he had done in the case of Rebet. The weapon was not hidden in a tin of 'Frankfurter sausages' this time, but was carried loose in Stashinsky's coat pocket.

Stashinsky took a room in the Hotel Schottenhamel in Munich in the name of Hans Budeit. For the next few days he kept No. 7 Kreittmayrstrasse under observation. Before he left the hotel each day he took one of the antipoison tablets, so that he was ready at any time to carry out the attempt on Bandera's life. On the second or third day of his stay in Munich — he could not remember exactly — Stashinsky had what seemed a favourable opportunity. About 4.30 p.m. he was at his observation post in the Sandstrasse, from which he could observe the entrance to the courtyard of Bandera's apartment building in the Kreittmayrstrasse. Suddenly he saw Bandera's dark blue Opel Kapitän turning into the Kreittmayrstrasse from the Massmannplatz. Bandera was alone in the car, which swung into the courtyard entrance of No. 7.

Stashinsky left his observation post and walked towards the courtyard entrance. On the way he released the safety catch of the murder weapon. When he reached the entrance he could see that Bandera had put the car in the extreme right garage and was standing beside it. Stashinsky decided this was the moment. There was no one in sight except Bandera. He went through the courtyard entrance in the direction of the garage, holding the weapon in his right hand.

Only a few steps separated him from his unsuspecting victim. Then suddenly Stashinsky stopped, turned round and walked quickly out of the courtyard. He kept walking until he reached the Hofgarten and there, at a quiet spot on a stone bridge over the Kogelmuhlbach, he fired both barrels, then threw the weapon into the stream.

Why? Why had he drawn back at the last moment from killing Bandera in such favourable circumstances? Stashinsky replied to this question later by saying, 'When I ask myself now why I acted as I did I can only explain it in this way — that the half of my split personality which rejected such an action on humane grounds had the upper hand. The fact that I almost ran from the courtyard and the haste with which I got rid of the weapon show that I did not want to be able to change my mind again about killing Bandera. When I saw him standing in the garage I became conscious of the fact that in a few minutes he would no longer be alive, that I was bringing death to him, and that he had done nothing against me personally. My assignment — and the possible consequences of not obeying my orders — were obscured by purely humane considerations. These feelings were uppermost in my mind until I had destroyed the weapon.'

After this failure Stashinsky began to wonder what would be said in Berlin when he returned without having accomplished anything. He therefore decided to try out the skeleton key with variable parts which Sergey had given him for the street door of No. 7 Kreittmayrstrasse. He tried the various parts in the lock one after the other but could not open the door with any of them, though one showed signs of moving the lock. One of the parts snapped off and remained in the lock.

In an effort to be able to justify his behaviour to his superiors, Stashinsky tried to produce a fifth key. At Woolworth's in the Kaufinger Strasse he bought a small case with three files and in his hotel room he filed down the key of his Cerlin house, trying to reproduce the shape of the skeleton key part which had broken — the one which had shown some sign of working. But when he tried out this makeshift key at No. 7 it too broke and part remained in the lock. (Both broken-off bits were found in the lock of No. 7 Kreittmayrstrasse in 1961.)

* * *

Stashinsky stayed on in Munich for another week. As he had thrown away the murder weapon there was no likelihood of his carrying out his assignment, but he was not unnaturally reluctant to return to Berlin and report his failure. He saw Bandera once or twice more but always in company.

At last Stashinsky returned to Berlin and told Sergey what had happened — or at least a somewhat altered version of it. To justify himself he told Sergey that he had been observed by a third person

in the courtyard and had therefore been unable to carry out the deed. He did not say that he had got rid of the weapon directly after his retreat, but told Sergey that he had disposed of it shortly before his return. As proof of the fact that he had been working on his assignment Stashinsky showed Sergey his broken Berlin key. Sergey told him to prepare an exact drawing of the key part which would in his opinion fit the lock.

A few days later Sergey handed over to Stashinsky four keys, which had been made according to the sketch, and told him he must fly to Munich straight away to try the keys out.

Once more in the name of Hans Budeit, Stashinsky flew to Munich and booked in at the Hotel Schottenhamel. The next day he went to the Kreittmayrstrasse and tried the first of the keys. It unlocked the street door of No. 7 without difficulty. Stashinsky then flew back to Berlin and reported to Sergey. Now, with a key which would let him into No. 7, there was nothing to prevent Stashinsky going ahead with his task. But, as if murder were not enough, Sergey gave Stashinsky another assignment to be carried out in Munich. He was told to locate the house of the OUN leader, Yaroslav Stetsko, who lived in Munich under the alias 'Dankiv.' 'Sergey gave me an address in the Ohmstrasse,' Stashinsky said. 'He warned me to be very careful as Stetsko had a bodyguard. This time the address was correct. The name "Dankiv" appeared on the bell-board. I also ascertained that the street door did not have an ordinary lock — as in the Kreittmayrstrasse — but a safety lock.'

It was not until later that Stashinsky learned the purpose of this assignment.

* * *

Once again, however, Stashinsky was given leave at home in Borshchevitse and it was not until the beginning of October 1959 that he received orders to report back to Sergey in Berlin. Of this meeting Stashinsky said, 'Sergey told me that time was ripe for action. He had received instructions from Moscow that I was now to carry out the attempt at assassination in Munich. Later on a general to whom I was introduced in Karlshorst described the work I had done as "government orders" or "government assignments." There must therefore have been a supreme state department in Moscow which decided upon the deaths of Rebet and Bandera.'

On Monday October 12, 1959, Stashinsky received from Sergey another travel permit in the name of Hans Budeit and a sum of money to buy an air ticket for the journey to Munich. Next day Sergey handed him a double-barrelled weapon of the same type as he had been given in May. On Wednesday Stashinsky flew to Munich and booked into the Hotel Salzburg in the Senefelderstrasse in the name of Hans Budeit. His account of the events of the day after his arrival in Munich is as follows:

'On October 15, a Thursday, I had breakfast at about 9 a.m. in the Hotel Salzberg and immediately afterwards took one of the anti-poison tablets which Sergey had given me. I did not really expect that I should come face to face with Bandera that day. I wandered in a leisurely way from the hotel to the Ludwigsbrücke, so that I could observe the OUN office at No. 67 Zeppelinstrasse where Bandera worked.

'I arrived at my observation point after 11 a.m. I distinctly remember hearing the carillon of the town hall at 11 a.m. when I was in the Marienplatz. I then went into the Zeppelinstrasse and saw Bandera's blue Opel Kapitän parked in front of No. 67. I returned to the Ludwigsbrücke as I had a good view of the car from there.

'About 12 o'clock I saw a man and a woman get into the car and drive away along the Zeppelinstrasse in the direction of the Ohlmüllerstrasse. I was certain that the man in the driver's seat was Bandera.

'After I had seen the car drive away I decided to go to the Kreittmayrstrasse to see if Bandera would turn up there — I did not immediately think of carrying out the deed. I took a tram as far as the Massmannplatz, where I stayed for a while, and then went into the Kreittmayrstrasse at about 12.45, going on some five houses further than No. 7. I decided to stay there until 1 p.m. I can still remember the time so clearly because I kept looking at my watch and thinking how pleased I should be if one o'clock came and went without my having seen Bandera. I planned to give up for the day at 1 p.m. and take no further action.'

But shortly before this time limit expired Bandera's blue Opel Kapitän turned into the Kreittmayrstrasse.

'When he had turned into the courtyard entrance,' Stashinsky reports, 'I released the safety catch of the pistol and went towards No. 7. From the courtyard entrance I thought I could see Bandera's car already in the garage, but I dared not look any closer. At the street door I took the weapon in my left hand and with my right hand took the counterfeit key out of my coat pocket. I unlocked the door and went up the five or six steps to the ground floor.

I had started up the stairs towards the first floor when I suddenly heard women's voices upstairs. I clearly heard the word "Wiedersehen" ("Goodbye"). Then I heard steps coming downstairs. The sound was obviously made by a woman's heels. This was an entirely unexpected situation and I wondered what I should do. If I went on upstairs I was bound to meet the woman. If I turned back I was almost certain to walk into Bandera. What should I do? I went to the lift door, which was between the front doors of the two ground floor flats. I stood with my face towards the lift and pressed the button. I can still clearly remember that I heard the lift coming down. But I do not remember whether I got into it. I cannot remem-

ber whether I remained standing with my face to the wall on the ground floor or whether I went up in the lift to the first floor. But I remember my brain registering the fact that the woman had left the building.

'Shortly after that the street door was opened. I don't know where I was when I heard that, but I know I was on the ground floor when I saw Bandera. He had several packages in his right hand, one of which I remember was an open bag of tomatoes. He was trying to get the key out of the lock with his left hand. He struggled with it but didn't seem to be able to manage it. To tide over this delay I bent down and pretended to be adjusting a shoe lace. In fact I was wearing shoes without laces. While I was bending down I could only see Bandera's feet and I noticed that he had one foot pressed against the door so as to exert pressure to get the key out.

'After a moment I stood up and went down the few steps from the ground floor to the front door of the building. I suddenly heard myself saying (in German): "Isn't it working?" to which Bandera replied: "Yes, it's all right." He said something further, but I don't remember exactly what — something about the key getting stuck.

'The fact that I spoke at all shows that I was acting in a sort of daze. If I had been thinking sensibly I would have realised the danger of my accent betraying me.

'While we were exchanging those few words I had come quite close to Bandera. He was still busy with the front door and I did not see him full face. I stepped past him, turned about, and took hold of the outside door knob with my left hand while with my right hand I fired both barrels of the gun in the direction of the entrance hall. I did not see his face when I fired but I believe that the left side of his face was towards me. The door was still open. I must have put the weapon back in my coat pocket, but I don't remember exactly. At any rate I crushed the ampoule containing the anti-poison inhalant and breathed it in. After firing the shots I closed the door, turned round and walked past the courtyard entrance down the Kreittmayrstrasse in the direction of the Erzgiesserstrasse.

'I don't know what happened to Bandera after I had closed the front door. I neither heard a cry nor did I see him fall.'

Stashinsky then went to the Hofgarten and threw the weapon into the Kogelmühlbach from the bridge over the stream, just as he had done after the assassination of Rebet. He then went to his hotel, paid his bill, and took an express train to Frankfurt-on-Main at about 3 p.m. He spent the night there at the Wiesbaden Hotel and next day booked on a BEA flight to Berlin for the day after. He used the name 'Kovalsky' when making his reservation. This was not on instructions but was a sudden idea for which Stashinsky was later reprimanded by Sergey, because 'Kovalsky' was an invention which did not fit into the legend which was backed up by his false travel papers.

(To be continued)

Yar SLAVUTYCH, Ph.D.

UKRAINIAN POETRY IN CANADA: A HISTORICAL ACCOUNT*

The year 1973 marked the seventy-fifth anniversary of Ukrainian-Canadian poetry. Extensive research by this author has established that the first Ukrainian poem was Ivan Zbura's "Kanadijs'ki emigranty" [Canadian Immigrants], dated "December 30, 1898" at "Beaver Creek, Alberta." It was published in the only Ukrainian newspaper in North America at that time, *Svoboda*, of Scranton, Pennsylvania, on February 2, 1899. Not much is known about Zbura. He was born on January 20, 1860, in Western Ukraine and, after coming to Canada in 1898, spent most of his time farming in Alberta. Upon his retirement, he lived in Edmonton, where he died on October 28, 1940¹ and was buried in a cemetery near Lamont. Admittedly, his poem is written in a primitive folkloristic form; the following excerpt is a good illustration:

O Virgin Mary
Do not allow us, poor Ukrainians
To perish!
Help us sail over the ocean
And settle in Canada.
Man is unhappy in Ukraine.
His life is as bitter as horse-radish,
But Beaver Creek
Is pleasant for us²

A number of other pioneer authors were active as well: Mykhajlo Govda (1874-1953) of Edmonton, and Sava Chernetskyj (1873-1934) of Winnipeg — to mention only two — published poems, often of considerable merit, in *Svoboda* around the turn of the century. The Ukrainian-Canadian newspapers, *Kanadijs'kyj farmer* (since 1903) and *Ukrajins'kyj holos* (since 1910), which are still printed in Winnipeg, should be given credit for making a significant contribution to the development of the early literature. Before World War I about

* This survey was read at the Conference on Canadian Poetry held at the University of Alberta, November 20 to 22, 1969. It is published here in an extended version. YS.

¹ Information obtained from the Department of Vital Statistics, Edmonton, Alberta. Dr. V. Kaye of Ottawa informs this author that I. Zbura arrived in Canada in 1898, and gives 1859 as the year of the poet's birth.

² Quoted after *Pivnichne sijavo*, IV (Edmonton, 1969), p. 102. The original is rhymed.

fifty pioneer authors published works, mainly poems in those and other domestic publications. Dr. Watson Kirkconnell, one of the early researchers and translators of Ukrainian literature in Canada, wrote in 1947 that "at least ten thousand Ukrainian poems lie mouldering in the back files of the Ukrainian-Canadian press."³ Dr. Mykyta I. Mandryka, another researcher and active poet, finds that "despair, privation, hopelessness, and nostalgia"⁴ were dominant motifs of the first Ukrainian poems and songs written in Canada. Of these "the majority turn out the simplest kind of ballad measure, with thought and expression ranging all the way from flabby doggerel up to genuine human power."⁵

Ukrainian folklore, brought from the Old Country and given artistic embodiment on Canadian soil, permeated the early poetry, which was often marked by distinct freshness and folk syncretism, as in Josafat Dziobko's song:

My songs, what am I to do with you?
I shall go to the woods and sow you there,
Some day girls will come there to pick mushrooms
And they will find you, my songs.⁶

Quite often such poems are so folkloristic as to make it almost impossible to distinguish between transplanted folk poetry and the author's original verse. This is demonstrated in Jaroslav B. Rudnyckyj's *Ukrainian-Canadian Folklore* (Winnipeg, 1960), which contains texts in English translation by Honore Ewach (Onufrij Ivakh).⁷

Robert Klymasz, of the National Museum in Ottawa, has collected and studied the Ukrainian folklore produced in Canada. He finds that, in spite of hardships, the first immigrants usually remained in this country and praised it in their songs:

O Canada, Canada, you beautiful country,
We live in you like in some kind of paradise.
O Canada, Canada, it is good to live in you,
We have enough to eat, we have enough to drink,
We have beautiful fertile fields
From which we get a lot of money.⁸

Generally, the same conclusion may be reached from a reading of Rudnyckyj's collection containing "Songs about Canada". People

³) Watson Kirkconnell, "Ukrainian Canadian Literature," *Opinion*, III, No. 5 (1947), p. 3.

⁴) M. I. Mandryka, *History of Ukrainian Literature in Canada* (Winnipeg-Ottawa: Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, 1968), p. 31. Incidentally, the book was reviewed by the present author in *Canadian Literature*, No. 42 (1969), pp. 100-101.

⁵) Kirkconnell, p. 3.

⁶) J. Dziobko, *My Songs: A Selection of Ukrainian Folksongs in English Translation* (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Canadian Pioneers' Library, 1958), p. 8.

⁷) This book was reviewed by the present author in *Folklore*, 71 (London, England, 1960), pp. 137-139.

⁸) Robert Klymasz, "The Case for Slavic Folklore in Canada," *Slavs in Canada*, I (1966), p. 115.

who enjoyed freedom and thrived materially as a result of their personal initiative expressed themselves unequivocally: "Canada is our mother", "America is our sister", "No landlords oppress [us] here, so let us sing!"⁹ A similar sense of freedom is felt in Sava Chernetsky's poems in which the folkloristic element is subordinate to the author's own contribution:

Over the Canadian prairies
Blows the wind
Easily, briskly and free.
No bars.
Everywhere there is freedom, and a wide expanse.
It blows where it likes,
Doing what it desires.
It freely kisses those it meets,
Frees them from sweat,
Cools them,
Makes work easier;
Refreshed and joyful.¹⁰

In Mykhajlo Govda's poem "To Canada" the sense of freedom is expressed with equal dignity and persuasiveness:

We were not reared within thy broad domains,
Our fathers' graves and corpses lie afar,
They did not fall for freedom on thy plains,
Nor we pour our blood beneath thy star . . .
But, Canada, in Liberty we work till death,
Our children shall be free to call thee theirs,
Their own dear land . . .¹¹

The translation of this poem by Edward W. Thompson, which was published in *The Boston Evening Transcript* (1905), was the first known translation of Ukrainian poetry into English.

The list of Ukrainian-Canadian "folkloristic poets", if compiled, would prove very impressive. In fact, it is almost impossible to produce a complete record of the names without delving into the archives of back issues of Ukrainian newspapers. However, the following authors, who will not be dealt with in this survey should at least be mentioned: Maria Adamovska, V. Bojtsun, P. Bozhyk, H. Burak, Petro Chajkivskyj, R. D. Chornejko, I. Denys, Mykhailo Dodiak (Hutsul Samouk), Stepan Doroshchuk, I. Drahomyretskyj, J. Dumka, N. Hakman, K. Genyk, A. Gospodyn, Mykhajlo Herasymchuk, D. Jarema, Josyf Jasenchuk (author of the very primitive *Kanadijs'kyj kobzar*, Edmonton, 1918), A. Kalavskyj, B. Karachko, D. Kibzuj, Ivan Kovalskyj, Ivan Kozak, J. Kravets, Mykhajlo Krypjakewych, M. Kulachkovsky, Mykhailo Kumka, Volodymyr Kupchenko, Dmytro Makohon, Jakiv Manchurak, H. Mazuryk, Ivan Mykytyn, Ivan Novosad,

⁹) J. B. Rudnycky, comp. *Ukrainian-Canadian Folklore* (Winnipeg Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, 1960), p. 221.

¹⁰) Mandryka, p. 38.

¹¹) *Antol'ogija ukrajins'koho pys'menstva v Kanadi* (Winnipeg: Canadian-Ukrainian Educational Association, 1941), p. 8. Incidentally, the first book of prose was *Kanadijs'ki opovidannia* [Canadian Stories] (Winnipeg, 1910).

Katria Novosad, N. Romaniuk, S. Palamariuk, Ivan Pavchuk, T. Pavlychenko, Ivan Petruk, Vasyl Petryk, Andrij Ponur, Anna Pruska, S. Savchuk, Petro Shcherba, Ivan Shymchyshyn, Mykhajlo Sribniak, Dmytro Suvera, Marija Vakaliuk, H. Zahorenko, Dmytro Zakharuk, M. Zhuravel.

Teodor Fedyk (1873-1949), who came to Canada in 1905, was the first Ukrainian-Canadian to publish his poems in book form. His *Pisni pro Kanadu i Avstriju*, later *Pisni imigrantiv pro staryj i novyj kraj* [Immigrant Songs of the Old Land and the New], which also included folk verses written by other poets, first appeared as a separate volume in Winnipeg in the spring of 1908 and enjoyed considerable success. The book ran to six editions, and about 50,000 copies had been sold by the late twenties.¹² There was such an enthusiastic response to this collection of *kolomyjky* — a kind of folk poetry — that many copies were even sent to the Old Country. Fedyk's success stemmed from an identification with the immigrants' homesickness, from his depiction of their hardships in a new environment, and from his distinctive and direct use of folklore. "Profoundly human in its appeal", according to the translator, is a fragment of his "Pisnia druha" [The Second Song]:

All early on the Sunday morn
The holy bells resound
"Christ is arisen!" is their cry;
And still the word goes round.

But when I look for Easter-bread
My heart sinks down bereft
For ah, they know not Easter-bread
As in the land I left.

This Canada, this "land of wealth,"
Has lost one true delight:
The bread of rich and poor alike
Is all one ghastly white.¹³

Similar to Fedyk's *kolomyjky* are *Robitnychi pisni* [Workers' Songs] (Winnipeg, 1908) by Dmytro Raragovskij (1878-1957), who attempted to explore in his work all manifestations of social injustice in this country. The narrative poem *Sichynskyj v nevoli* [Sichynskyj in Captivity] (Edmonton, 1910) by P. Ternenko (pseudonym of Pavlo Krat, 1882-1952) and *Robitnychi pisni* [Workers' Songs] (Winnipeg, 1915) by Vasyl K. Holovatskyj are marked by revolutionary motifs and reflect the political aspirations of Ukrainians in the Old Country before World War I. In Holovatskyj's book many adaptations of popular poems of that time are encountered.

Pavlo Krat (also: Paul Crath) was a versatile man who began as an ardent socialist revolutionary but later became an evangelical pastor.

¹³ Watson Kirkconnell, *Canadian Overtones* (Winnipeg, 1935), p. 82.

In his soul, however, he remained a poet, as his "Canadian Elegy" demonstrates:

Do you remember that cold night of autumn
 When in the sky the pale aurora shone
 As if it wove a tent of emerald sendal
 Across the prairies with its radiance wan?
 Do you remember how the stars of heaven
 Glittered like livid jewels overhead,
 And how the naked poplars in the north wind
 Kept sighing of the summer that was dead?
 Do you remember how upon my bosom
 Clapsed in a swoon of bitter grief you lay,
 And how our hearts were agonized to question
 The fate that bade me walk another way?
 Do you remember? . . . Ah, but I remember
 How the chill night grew empty and o'erthrown
 When at the last you sought your bed, and slumber,
 And left me in that prairie copse alone.
 Something had gone forever from my spirit;
 Pain filled its place with bitter loneliness;
 A deeper darkness on the withered grasses
 Sank in that hour of parting and distress.¹⁴

Perhaps the most accomplished of pioneer poets was Rev. Vasyl Kudryk (1880-1963) who came to Canada in 1903. In his book *Vesna* [Spring] (Winnipeg, 1911) some symbolist influences colour the otherwise realistic writings. A good example of his poetry is "The Dream":

Night . . . and in the south Diana
 Rising higher
 Touched the river's crystal levels
 White with fire.
 Silver radiance gemmed the tree-tops
 More and more;
 Half in light and half in shadow
 Lay the shore.
 Softly down the bedded garden
 Slept the flowers;
 Peaceful dreams upon us brooded
 Through the hours.
 Hearts that once were born to hatred
 Against foes
 Laid aside their bitter sickness,
 Soothed their woes.
 Still they dreamt of human welfare
 Glad and free;
 Loving, now, they pledged their foemen
 Amity.
 Trembling, fain to grasp that concord's
 Joy supreme,
 I awoke . . . and found its beauty
 But a dream.¹⁵

¹⁴) *Ibid.*, p. 87.

¹⁵) *Ibid.*, p. 83.

Another gifted poet, Semen Kovbel (1877-1966), who came to Canada in 1909, reveals "a more cultivated choice of words and a better technique than those of his predecessors,"¹⁶ as seen in his "Song of the Orphan":

Can you see me, little star,
Shining up in heaven afar?
You are high above my need;
I on earth am sick indeed.

Yes, you see my tears that start,
Yes, you feel my breaking heart!
Suns have burnt you with their heat,
Moons have brought you healing sweet.

Tell me, if the tale is true:
Does God bless an orphan too?
Shining up in heaven afar
Tell me truly, little star!¹⁷

Unfortunately, Kovbel's verses never appeared in book form; they are scattered through various newspapers, and are now largely inaccessible. Devoted to this country, Kovbel composed a free translation of "O Canada."¹⁸ Another Ukrainian translation of the Canadian national anthem was made by Rev. Taras D. Volokhatiuk (born in 1898), who was a frequent contributor to the Winnipeg weekly *Novyj shliakh*¹⁹ and to other Ukrainian-Canadian newspapers.

A milestone in the development of Ukrainian poetry in Canada was laid by Ivan Danylychuk (1901-1942) and Onufrij Ivakh (1900-1964), two graduates of the University of Saskatchewan. A talented poet born in Canora, Saskatchewan, Danylychuk began writing and publishing verses in 1919, or so. His only collection of poems, *Svitaje den'* [Day Dawns] (Winnipeg, 1929), reveals a strong neo-romantic strain. The poet loves a tempest in action; desires to be intoxicated by its struggles. Yet, he also succeeds in picturing nature in quietude. His later poems are mostly on Canadian themes. Lake Good Spirit in Saskatchewan appears to him as the Black Sea, and the sand dunes remind him of the Kozaks' tumult in Southern Ukraine, which he had never seen, but of which he had read a lot. Danylychuk can be called the poet of Winnipegosis, which serves as the theme for a number of his works. Describing the waves of the lake and its shores, he writes:

Like the graves of Indians
You chat gently
With the winds of the North
Of your grief.
I cannot forget you —
You are my friends

¹⁶) Mandryka, p. 52.

¹⁷) Kirkconnell, *Canadian Overtones*, p. 84.

¹⁸) *Propamjatna knyha Ukrajins'koho narodnoho domu u Vynypegu* (Winnipeg, 1949), p. 5.

¹⁹) *Ibid.*, p. 612.

From my childhood.
 And I imagine you,
 My mountains,
 Like the Kozaks' tumulus,
 Speaking to me
 In my native language.²⁰

The atavistic interest in the Old Country had always moved Danylchuk. Having regarded Canada as the "land of adoption," "the foster mother," he writes in English about the capital of Ukraine, its past and present, about the "newest Mongols" and Soviet "tyrant's triumphs upon the holy ground":

O, Kyiv, holy Kyiv...
 Thou Mistress of the Dnieper,
 St. Andrew's Holy Place;
 The shelter of the tradesmen
 In Europe's ancient race...
 The time is not far distant
 When Thou, in Freedom's name,
 In Europe's nations council
 Will God's own will proclaim.²¹

While Danylchuk is above all a lyrical poet, Ivakh, who came to Canada in 1909, is a poet-thinker. One of his early (1921) philosophical poems, translated by Watson Kirkconnell, is illustrative of this:

Across the spaces of eternity,
 A bullet made of porcelain I flee
 Into the unknown distance, void and vast.
 The air keeps rubbing at the bullet's pride,
 Smoothing and polishing its cold outside
 Until it turns to crystal at the last.

 I shall not utterly be rubbed away,
 But only alter slowly, day by day,
 Into a diamond, most hard and fair,
 And all this constant change throughout the years
 Is ever for the better, it appears:
 This is the end of life and this its care.²²

Ivakh published several collections of poetry in Ukrainian: *Bojova surma Ukraïny* [The Battle Trumpet of Ukraine] (Winnipeg, 1931), a narrative poem on the eighteenth-century Ukrainian philosopher Hryhorij Skovoroda entitled *Toj, koho svit lovyv, ta ne spijmav* [He Who Was Pursued by the World, but Not Caught], *Ukrajins'ke jevshan zillia v Kanadi* [Ukrainian Yevshan-Herb in Canada] (Winnipeg, 1960), and *Ukrainian Songs and Lyrics* (Winnipeg, 1933), an anthology of verse in the English translation which contained masterpieces of Ukrainian classical and modernist poets.

²⁰) Mandryka, p. 65. The original is rhymed.

²¹) From I. Danylchuk's file deposited by his wife in the Canadian Ethnic Centre at the University of Calgary. Prof. A. Malucky is in charge of the archives.

²²) R. H. Andrusyshen and Watson Kirkconnell, eds. and trans., *The Ukrainian Poets, 1189-1962* (University of Toronto Press, 1963), p. 497.

Another event in the history of Ukrainian-Canadian literature was the appearance of *Lira emigranta* [Emigrant's Lyre] (Winnipeg, 1936) by Myroslav Ichnianskyj (pseudonym of Dr. Ivan Kmeta-Yefymovych, born in 1901), who came to Canada in 1929. Ichnianskyj wrote lyrical and descriptive poems, others on religious and philosophical themes. Primarily concerned about the aesthetic quality of his verse, he was probably the first Ukrainian-Canadian poet to write sonnets. The translation of one of his best works is given below:

I am a wise white Lily of the Valley,
Fronting the world each day with prophet eyes,
Bathing in silver dew and azure skies,
For you I bloom and with me you may dally.
The stream of Time roars by hysterically;
My quiet Sharon weaves you tapestries
Of roses, ev'n for those who agonize
By day and night, and grieving, cannot rally.

I am a Lily and a Rose of Sharon,
Living for you: and would you wholly perish?
Pluck me, and in your hand, a rod of Aaron,

I shall work miracles, your soul to cherish.
I am your Saviour: let my love be law
Whether in Sharon or Siberia!²³

W. Kirkconnell, the translator, aptly remarks that Ichnianskyj "combines fecundity of aspiration with an artistic consciousness of the resources of language."²⁴ Although the poet moved to the United States in 1940, he "retained his affection for Canada," which can be demonstrated by his other books of verse, *Chasha zolotá* [Golden Chalice] (Winnipeg, 1964) and *Kryla nad morem* [Wings over the Sea] (Philadelphia, 1970). In these collections Ichnianskyj translated a number of poems of Robert Frost, Emily Dickinson, Isabella Crawford, Watson Kirkconnell, and other American and Canadian authors.

Melodious verses are collected in *Dumy i pisni* [Thoughts and Songs] (Toronto, 1938) by V. Tulevitiv (born in 1886) who came to Canada after World War I and has lived in Hamilton, Ontario, ever since. The book which is comprised of poems written during the preceding twenty-five years was favourably received by W. Kirkconnell, who also translated the poet's "Winter":

O winter, winter
Icy as duty,
Shining with moonlight's
Silver beauty,

Frost is thy nature
And snow thy delight,
Holy in whiteness
And fairer than light.

Life, at thy finger,
Lies cold on the clay:
Thou and Death carry
All creatures away.

Low in thy presence
Must ev'rything bow;
From thy displeasure
All hide themselves now.

²³) *University of Toronto Quarterly*, VII (1937-38), p. 568.

²⁴) *Ibid.*

²⁵) Mëndryka, p. 100.

Yet do I love thee,
Thou winter most pure,
Shining and holy,
Austere and secure.

All through my being
Thy powers pervade;
Thee do I worship
In love, unafraid.²⁶

Special attention should be paid to Dr. Mykyta I. Mandryka (born in 1886) who had already written and published three books of poetry before his departure from Ukraine in 1919.²⁷ After his travels through Asia and Western Europe, he finally settled in Winnipeg in 1928. His first book of poetry in Canada, *Mij sad* [My Garden] (Winnipeg, 1941), was on a non-Canadian theme. Only with a lapse of seventeen years did he resume publication with his book, *Zolota osin'* [Golden Autumn] (Winnipeg, 1958), which was followed by the collections *Radist'* [Happiness] (1959), *Symfonia vikiv* [Symphony of Centuries] (1961) and *Sontsesvit* [Helianthus] (1965). Besides lyrical and descriptive poems, Mandryka wrote several narratives in verse. In his *Mazepa* he pictured the famous Hetman and in *Vik Petliury* [The Age of Petliura] Simon Petliura, as historical and present symbols of Ukrainian independence, while in his narrative *Kanada* [Canada] he glorified the Ukrainian settlers who contributed so much to the development of the western regions of this country. Professor C. H. Andrusyshen, of the University of Saskatchewan, called this poem "a magnificent hymn of praise to Canada for the benefits it bestowed upon Ukrainians, for the opportunities enabling them to add to their well-being as well as to that of other ethnic groups in whose midst they live."²⁸

Mandryka's latest poems are characterized by colourful metaphors and reflect "the harmonious synchronization of art and maturity with the emotional freshness of the flame of youth."²⁹ The poet's love for the Old Country extended to his adopted land as well:

Niagara, a wonder of the world,
Here foams and thunders in a cataract.
My fortunes, Canada, in yours be furl'd!
With you forever be my spirit's pact.³⁰

Striking is the fact that the old poet retains a sense of youth, develops further his technique, and attains even greater aesthetic heights. On the threshold of his eighty-fifth birthday he published a new collection of poems, *Vyno zhyttia* [Wine of Life] (Winnipeg, 1970).

²⁶) V. Tulevitiv, *Dumy i pisni* (Toronto: Ukrainian Publishing Co., 1938), p. 11-12.

²⁷) M. I. Mandryka, *Zolota osin'* (1905-1957) (Winnipeg: Trident Press, 1958), p. 169.

²⁸) English supplement, *The Ukrainian Weekly*, to the daily newspaper, *Svoboda* (Jersey City, New Jersey), August 18, 1961.

²⁹) J. B. Rudnycky in *The Free Press* (Winnipeg), January 30, 1960. See also Yar Slavutych, "Metafora v poeziji M. Mandryky," *Ukrains'kyj holos*, December 1, 1971. The latter article is reprinted in the jubilee book *Mykyta I. Mandryka* (Winnipeg, 1973), ed. by M. Marunchak.

³⁰) Andrusyshen and Kirkconnell, *The Ukrainian Poets*, p. 495.

Another poet of note is Tetiana Shevchuk (born in 1904, in Canada since 1905) who began writing verses as early as 1922. After a long period of inactivity, she resumed her literary work and published the bi-lingual collection, *Na prestil majbutnikh dniv: An Overture to Future Days* (Winnipeg, 1964), in which both Ukrainian and English poems appear. Her religious and philosophical meditations make some impression on the reader:

Life is and was in every age
not a war but a pilgrimage.
A pilgrimage of the human race
towards Truth, Beauty and Grace.

With the light of Faith and the staff of Hope,
we will not err, stumble and grope
in reaching the Infinite Light above —
the Consciousness of love.³¹

The poetess now makes her home in Spokane, Washington, but she has maintained close ties with Ukrainian-Canadians among whom she was raised.

Both Mandryka and Shevchuk returned to creative writing perhaps as the result of the great influx of new immigrants into this country. About forty Ukrainian poets, writers, scholars, and journalists came to Canada after World War II. Literary clubs were organized in Toronto, Winnipeg, Edmonton, and Montreal, and new Ukrainian weeklies and magazines began to appear. Among them, *Novi dni* [New Days] a "universal monthly," established by Petro Volyniak in 1950 and regularly published ever since in Toronto, should be distinguished. Five volumes of *Pivnichne sijvo* [Northern Lights], a literary and art almanac (1964-1971) with Canadian overtones, were compiled and published in Edmonton by the author of this survey.

At present there are more than twenty Ukrainian-Canadian poets who are active in this country: half of them live in Toronto and its environs (Bohdan Fedchuk, Stefaniya Hurko, Ivan Kovaliv, I. Makaryk, Teodor Matvijenko, Larysa Murovych, Svitlana Kuzmenko, Borys Oleksandriv, Levko Romen, Volodymyr Skorupskyj, and Vira Vorsklo), seven in Edmonton (Ivan Bilych, Oleksandra Chernenko, Bohdan Mazepa, Darija Mohylianka, Dan Mur, Yar Slavutych, and Oleh Zujevskyj), four in Winnipeg (Oleksa Haj-Holovko, Myra Haas-Lazechko, Mykyta I. Mandryka, and Stepan Semchuk), three in Montreal (Marta Chyzh, Volodymyr Havryliuk), and one in Calgary (Zoria Orionna). Only three of these were born in Canada — Darija Mohylianka (pseudonym of Mrs. Doris Yanda), who still writes genuine folk poetry about the pioneer era of Western Canada, Myra Haas-Lazechko, and Zoria Orionna (pseudonym of Professor Orysia Prokopiw), able translators of Ukrainian poetry into English. Several

³¹ Tetiana Shevchuk, *Na prestil majbutnikh dniv: An Overture to Future Days* (Winnipeg: Trident Press, 1964), pp. 61-62.

poets of Ukrainian origin write in English and French, but they do not fall within the scope of this survey.

There are inactive poets as well. Among them at least the following should be mentioned: Zenon Harasymovych (born in 1923, came to Canada in 1948), A. Gospodyn (born in 1900 and came to Canada in 1923), S. Kotyk, Katria Novosad (born in 1900 and came to Canada in 1921), Rev. Taras D. Volochatiuk (born in 1898 and came to this country in 1923).

The most productive poet in Canada is undoubtedly Rev. Stepan Semchuk (born in 1899) who came here in 1928. He has authored a dozen books of poetry on various topics. His first collection of verses, *Meteory* [Meteors], was published in Lviv in 1924 and his last, *Navko-lo svita* [Around the World], in Winnipeg in 1971. Although he lacks musicality and his language is heavily permeated with localisms, he composes good descriptive verses. His *Kanadijs'ka rapsodiya* [Canadian Rhapsody] (Winnipeg, 1959), as well as other books usually published there, are fine examples of his ability to portray Canadian landscapes, as seen in the fragment "To the Maple Leaves of Canada":

The oceans are like eagle's wings,
The hear is like a sea.
The swelling breast is filled with power
By the Canadian lea.
The ploughland, black, unconquerable,
In sunlit beauty lies —
Its native glory has enflamed
The prairie eagle's eyes . . .
The cranes return in serried flocks,
And gabbling marks the geese —
May maple leaves of Canada
Be sunlit and increase!³²

The poet's *Svitlist' dumky* [Majesty of Thought] (1970) deals with religious and philosophical themes.

The same topics are even more and better presented in the poetry of Metropolitan Ilarion (Ivan Ohijenko, 1882-1972) who has produced several impressive volumes of religious poetry and plays. Unlike Rev. S. Semchuk's, Metropolitan Ilarion's vocabulary is excellent. Being a scholar, he has written some ten valuable monographs on the Ukrainian language and its historical development. Archbishop Mykhajil (Khoroshij, born in 1883), the author of *Svitova epopeja* [World Epopee] in three volumes (1953-56) that are recommended for youth, should also be mentioned.

Beginning to write toward the end of his life, Mykhajlo Stechyshyn (1888-1964), a judge in Saskatchewan, revealed his talent for versified fables. His *Bajky* [Fables] (Winnipeg, 1959) have a distinctive value — the verse abounds in aphorisms and the simple language runs along quite fluently.

Among the newcomers, Levko Romen (born in 1891) is a versatile representative of Ukrainian literature abroad. He is not only a poet,

³²) Andrusyshen and Kirkconnell, *The Ukrainian Poets*, p. 491.

but a playwright, fiction writer, journalist, and philologist struggling for the preservation of high standards in the Ukrainian language in Canada. His books *Peredhrimja* [Before the Thunderstorm] (Philadelphia, 1953), *Dub-nelyn* [The Holm-Oak] (Toronto, 1963), and *Poemy* [Narrative Poems] (Toronto, 1965) are imbued with patriotic motifs and the ideals of dedicated service to the cause of Ukrainian independence. He has also chosen Canadian themes for his work and written a beautiful poem about Niagara.

Volodymyr Havryliuk (born in 1904), on the contrary, separates himself from any Canadian setting or any influence of Montreal where he lives. An imagist in the past, he in his *Tin' i mandrivnyk* [The Shadow and the Wanderer] (New York, 1969) slowly shifts to the equilibrium of the Kyivan Neoclassicists.

A quite different mood prevails in Oleksa Haj-Holovko (born in 1910, in Canada since 1949). Author of two books of poetry published in Europe, he continues to be active either as a poet or writer, having one novel and one book of stories to his credit, or as a researcher in Ukrainian-Canadian pioneer literature. His poetical works in three volumes, of which only the first was published (1970 in Winnipeg) and the second is about to appear, prove that he is an authentic lyricist. Haj-Holovko's *Kokhanijada* (Augsburg, 1947) has lyrico-satirical verses that relate him to Henrich Heine while his recent meditations, which absorb Canadian topics as well, show that he is a first-rate poet.

Volodymyr Skorupskyj (born in 1912), now of Toronto, is the author of five Canadian collections: *Moja oselia* [My Home] (1954), *U dorozh* [Along the Way] (1957), *Bez ridnoho poroha* [The Homeless] (1958), *Iz dzherela* [From the Source] (1961), and *Nad mohyloju* [At the Grave] (1963). The last-named is a wreath of sonnets. Philosophical meditations in the manner of Rainer Maria Rilke, carefully selected words and expressions, and a controlled lyrical tone — these are the salient traits of Skorupskyj's poetry, although his language abounds with prosaic localisms.

Another Torontonians, Teodor Matvijenko (born in 1924), demonstrates in his *Sonety* [Sonnets] (Toronto, 1961) rare abilities in that genre, as well as considerable aesthetic qualities. He is now working on a long verse narrative in which he hopes to recreate in artistic form the momentous events shaping Europe during the last war.

Two other Ontario writers have been quite active in recent years: Larysa Murovych who, in her *Pionery sviatoji zemli* [Pioneers of the Sacred Land] (Toronto, 1969), writes about Ukrainian pioneers in Canada, meditates in *Jevshan* (Toronto, 1971) on Ukrainian mythology, and translates from English; another poetess is the highly talented Vira Vorsklo, who in her *Lysty bez adresy* [Letters without an Address] (Toronto, 1967) reveals a strong flair for lyrical poetry. Unfortunately, none of her poems nor those of Romen, Skorupskyj, Matvijenko, Murovych, and Haj-Holovko have been translated into English.

Borys Oleksandriv (born in 1922) is another lyrical poet. His melodious verses are collected in *Tuha za sontsem* [Longing for the Sun] (Toronto, 1965) and *Kolokruh* [The Circuit] (Toronto, 1972). Unlike Oleksandriv, a traditionalist in matters of style, Dr. Danylo Struk (born in 1940) is a modernist. In his *Gamma sigma* (Winnipeg, 1963) he keeps abreast of recent modernist trends in American poetry.

Bohdan Mazepa (born in 1928) in his *Zoriana dal'* [Starlit Horizon] (Edmonton, 1956) reveals a strong lyrical bent. He has written about the prairies of Alberta and the beauties of Banff. One of his poems in particular, "Do you Remember?" which was set to music by the composer J. B. Veselovskyj of Ottawa, is quite popular on this continent. An example of Mazepa's meditative poetry expressing contemporary sacrificial life:

You gaze upon my thorny words	This first swift year may be its last.
And find a lack of modern form;	Judge not its notes, untamed and free.
You seek to rend my pure, young birds,	The red of roses may forecast
My eagle-soul that dares the storm.	Blood shed upon some Calvary. ³³

A noteworthy literary achievement is the work of Dan Mur (born in 1914). His *Zhal' i hniv* [Sorrow and Wrath] (Edmonton, 1966) and *Skryzhali tuhy* [Plates of Sorrow] (Edmonton, 1973) are imbued with patriotic motifs and written in baroque style.

Other Edmontontonians, writing poetry, are Oleksandra Chernenko, author of philosophical *Liudyna* [Man] (Philadelphia, 1960), and Ivan Bilych, whose first book is about to appear. The author of two collections of verse written and published outside of Canada, Dr. Oleh Zujevskyj (born in 1920 in Canada) since 1966 is a symbolist poet who is now engaged on translations into Ukrainian from English and German.

Eventually, mention could be made of the present author Jar Slavutych (born in 1918) who has published four collections of verse in Edmonton since his arrival in Canada in 1960: *Oaza* [Oasis] (1960), *Majestat* [Majesty] (1962), *Zavojovnyky prerij* [The Conquerors of the Prairies] (1968) and *Mudroshchi mandriv* [Sageness of Travelling] (1972), as well as a book of selected poetry *Trofeji* [Trophies] (1963). *Zavojovnyky prerij* deals exclusively with Western Canada, while *Mudroshchi mandriv* concerns the author's recent trip around the world.³⁴ An example of his recent ballads is "The Three," translated

³³) Translated by W. Kirkconnell and included in his review in the *University of Toronto Quarterly* (1957).

³⁴) Dr. C. H. Andrusyshen evaluates *Mudroshchi mandriv*: "... lyrical flights such as only a first-rate poet can achieve... We cannot but follow wherever he leads us, so exotic is the beauty of his verses" (*University of Toronto Quarterly*, 42, No. 4 (1973), p. 506). Professor B. Chopyk: "Technically this book shows great skill and virtuosity in innovation" (*Book Abroad*, 47, No. 2 (1973), p. 389). Dr. W. T. Zyla on *Zavojovnyky prerij*: "Slavutych is one of the most prolific Ukrainian authors on the American continent... stands in the vanguard of Ukrainian poetry abroad" (*Books Abroad*, April 1969).

by Zoria Orionna:

The haze has fallen on the glen,
The prairie perfume mounting.
They march — Ivan and John and Jean —
The untamed west surmounting.

Beyond them lies proud Edmonton
And Ford McLeod lies yonder.
And stopping short, Ivan, Jean, John
In consultation ponder.

"I was by boredom bored," John tells,
I strived for strife, adventure,
And, conquering ten obstacles,
To Canada I ventured.

"I killed a hundred Indians,
With shot I was not thrifty . . ."
"And I," did jeeringly add Jean,
"For practice laid down fifty.

"Enough! 'Tis best to Montreal
For beer we be reverting,
There to be met, as at a ball,
By mamselles' merry greetings! . . ."

Reserved Ivan contained his tongue —
He never knew such marvel.
And there before him a dense fog
Upon the valley hovered.

The earth with redolence did seethe,
Not knowing yet the harrow.
And in the distance he perceived
The tilled field's blackish furrow.

Then, after earnest thought, Ivan
A guileless speech had spoken:
"T'd be a rogue and a simpleton
If so my word were broken.

"For not in vain I left behind
My native, distant Halych,
That I, in fields of fertile lands,
Discovered freedom's outreach . . ."

"Good-bye!" "Adieu!" And John and Jean
Had pierced the prairie fragrance,
Their footsteps — eastward! Stayed Ivan,
His vision westward raising.

Ivan had toiled, and tilled Ivan
Dense virgin soils of prairies.
Returned, thereafter, John and Jean
The empire's name to carry.³⁵

³⁵) Received from Zoria Orionna. Other English translations of this author's poetry were published in *Canadian Literature*, No. 42 (1969), p. 39; *Volvox: Poetry from Unofficial Languages of Canada* (Port Clemens, B.C.: The Sono Nis Press, 1971), pp. 239-45; *The Ukrainian Poets, 1189-1962* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1963), pp. 486-88; *Chinook Arch: A Centennial Anthology of Alberta* (Edmonton, 1967), p. 304; *Oasis*, selected poems translated by Morse Manly (New York: Vantage Press, 1959), 63 pages.

As an example of lyrical poetry by this author, there follows a brief quotation from *The Conquerors of the Prairies* translated into English by R. H. Morrison:

A yellowish sun was shining,
But froze in the sky;
On vestments of snow declining,
Its clustered rays die.

I hear, polar world, your stillness,
And death's silence there;
I am a heart lulled by chilliness,
And warmed by despair.

Like tundra from happiness weeping
In spun silver strand,
Singer of solitude's keeping,
Paint my soul's land.³⁶

In a previous survey, *Ukrainian Literature in Canada*,³⁷ this writer discussed the literary achievements of Ukrainian-Canadians during three particular periods. The first, encompassing the years 1898-1928, witnessed the appearance of a poetry permeated with folklore motifs and technique to such a degree that at times it was difficult to distinguish the truly original works from among the many that circulated in the settlers' milieu. The few individual exceptions to this, e.g., Onufrij Ivakh's "Sered vichnoho prostoru" (1921),³⁸ or Ivan Danylchuk's "Blukanniam umucheni khmary" (1922), were submersed by all the folkloristic poetry.

The second period, covering the two subsequent decades was initiated by I. Danylchuk's *Svitaje den'* (1929) and even earlier by separate poems in various periodicals. Original poetry in the true sense of the term predominated in the literature of that period. Danylchuk was followed by Kmeta-Ichniansky, Mandryka, and others who made a significant contribution to the literature of this country. Style were diversified, and aesthetic qualities stressed.³⁹

With the arrival of political emigrants after World War II, Ukrainian poetry developed further in terms of the expression of new ideas in new artistic forms. The years 1949-50 saw the beginning of the third period and were marked by the literary contributions of

³⁶) Yar Slavutych, *The Conquerors of the Prairies*. Parallel text edition. English version by R. H. Morrison. (In print).

³⁷) Yar Slavutych, *Ukrainian Literature in Canada* (Edmonton: Slavuta, 1966), p. 3. This is a revised excerpt from "Slavic Literatures in Canada," *Slavs in Canada*, I (1966), pp. 92-109.

³⁸) Both Ivakh's and Danylchuk's Ukrainian originals are reprinted in *Pivnichne sijavo*, IV (1969), p. 102-103. For English translation of the first poem entitled "Across the Spaces of Eternity," see the text referred to in footnote 22.

³⁹) W. Kirkconnell's *Canadian Overtones* (1935) makes available to the English reader representative works of Ukrainian-Canadian authors active at that time. *The Ukrainian Poets* (1963), co-authored by Kirkconnell and Andrusyshyn, was an extension of the 1935 work.

many talented *literati*. Unfortunately, little of the poetry of these people has been translated into English. More recently, however, the translators Myra Haas-Lazechko of Winnipeg and Zoria Orionna of Calgary — both native Canadians — have undertaken the task of making this body of poetry available to the English reader.⁴⁰ They follow in the footsteps of Watson Kirkconnell whose contribution to the translation of Ukrainian poetry is still unsurpassed.

Ukrainian literature in Canada, both poetry and prose, is rich and abundant. It can be easily assumed that the number of titles of Ukrainian books, including brochures, published here well exceeds one thousand. The great variety of themes and styles of the works, which appeared here during the last four decades, and their significant ideas and artistic accomplishments place Ukrainian literature in Canada on a high level equal to that in Ukraine.

⁴⁰ M. P. O'Connor, another able translator of Ukrainian poems, should also be given credit for his efforts in the same direction. His translations are published in *Volvox* (see footnote 35).

UKRAINE-RUS AND WESTERN EUROPE IN 10th-13th CENTURIES

by

Natalia Polonska-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.

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Literary News

DAWNING OF THE NATION*

By R. VOLODYMYR

The first volume of a two-volume book entitled *Dawning of the Nation* by R. Volodymyr has been published. The second volume will appear in the near future. A publishing firm in Munich, Germany, is handling the book. Most of the 740-page work had been written before the author joined the FHS faculty, but finding a publisher was a problem.

I consider the novel *Dawning of the Nation* my major work. It covers the period between two world wars and the book required about three years of continuous writing before it was finished. The novel deals with the national plight, state of captivity, and unceasing struggle for freedom and independence of the Ukrainian people under several systems of foreign occupations. The most fatal Soviet system is still in force, Ukraine having become the first country in the modern times known as "the captive nation." Although deprived of their statehood, the people of Ukraine continue to live an intensive national life and have never given up their aspirations for complete independence.

Dawning of the Nation is a literary document of the very grave period in the history of my native country. It is a re-enactment of a period that I lived through in its entirety, which fact makes me confident that I presented it according to my best knowledge. I share the opinion that each individual is capable of contributing certain values to his own age. In order to do so, he would have to gain a clear view of his generation and be ready to provide his own testimony to the period he witnessed. This should be particularly true of a person who is fortunate to have survived when others had to give their lives in defense of freedom. Does he not owe then to his neighbours in the free world and to posterity as well an accurate account of the life under the system recognized by the world and yet governed by a brute force? Is it not his duty to warn the free world? What can the nations of the world expect from a system that has no regard for its own citizens? That blatantly perpetrates suppression of national and civil rights granted to the constituent republics by their own constitutions. A state system that makes each of its phony republics a captive nation.

* »Нація на світанку«.

It is hoped that the book will eventually be translated into English so that the English-speaking world may better realize what tragedy there is in being a captive nation. The book may also contribute to an appreciation of freedom and independence wherever they exist, though too often they are taken for granted.

The following excerpt from the novel *Dawning of the Nation* brings to a focus tragic aspects of the Bolshevik impact upon the life of the captive nationality and shows the price its people must pay to become free. With tears and blood their road is paved to the national goal. In literary terms, the piece exemplifies a momentous feature of stark reality typical of the period and presents a few stylistic traits of the novel.

... "A work of destruction is in full reign. Clutching in their hands long lists of prisoners, the messengers of evil keep crossing at regular time intervals thresholds of the death chambers, seizing the never-ending ranks of tormented human beings destined for annihilation. The frightened inmates desperately realize that none will be spared. Their final minute is nearing mercilessly. Anticipating an imminent end, some of them are losing their senses, they climb the walls, yell at the top of their voices, laugh and cry. Others, like a peaceful herd facing the wolf, draw together seeking in prayers to fortify their souls. From numerous cells religious songs and patriotic hymns resound. As in the days of the Roman persecutions, here Christian martyrs are getting ready to start on their last path. Behind the bars of the condemned, down by the gate truck engines of the executioners incessantly growl in order to deafen all that comes out from the cellars: the piercing shrieks of the murdered, the series of dull shots, the agony and moans of the dying. No cry or plea for mercy, however, has any effect in this place of damnation that knows no human feeling. O fellow-prisoners, wherefore are you here? What awful crime have you committed? Alas, there are sometimes places where loving God, one's native country, and even the whole of mankind are considered, by perverse, despotic rulers, as the worst of crimes. Do not weep, brethren, take courage, prepare yourself for eternity.

There are also stalwart people here whose spirit nothing can break. "We die for our fatherland," bravely proclaim those with torn shirts driven by the henchmen along the prison's hall. "Long live our homeland!" Another group of prisoners summoned to the courtyard for execution challenges their captors. "Whoever survives, let the world know of their heinous crime!" calls one of the victims before the firing squad cut him down an instant later. The entire slaughter-house howls and rumbles, here the noise of the running boots, there the slamming of the heavy doors, all topped by thundering commands. Forward, march! And a new row of the hapless captives, male and female alike, passes along their Calvary, ready to meet their destiny. On and on it goes. Those in the cells, maddened, paralyzed from dread, their blood frozen, swoon in frenzy or stare

into the cold muteness of the walls. Some cling to their last piece of hope, the thought that perhaps, by some rare miracle, of all here present they alone might survive! What ardent desire for nothing but life, which takes a shape of paradise on earth. A few resign themselves to their implacable fate, a last act of contrition, a silent leave from their dear ones.

"Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven," the praying lips of the doomed nun tirelessly move. "Take all God's armour upon yourself, my brothers and sisters in Christ, so that you can stand firm in the hour of judgment." With a crucifix in both hands, an imprisoned priest blesses his sentenced mates and adds, "Under this sign let be the final victory on earth." An instant calmness overcomes all inhabitants of the cell, their thoughts directed beyond good and evil. A moment of silence lasts an eternity. Then all of a sudden there is the crashing noise of the door being thrust wide open and the deadening gaze of the gunmen. "There is no time to fool around with those, let's have it now!" The commissar pauses, the command "Fire!" follows, and there is a stream from the machine guns, then a second volley. Meanwhile there is the thud of dropping bodies, some convulsions, a few gasps for breath, until everyone in the blood-splashed chamber, more dead than living, at last finds his eternal rest. A great peace envelops now the God-forsaken scene."

* * *

Lubomyr Wynar, *Michael (Ukr.: Mykhaylo) Hrushevsky and the Shevchenko Scientific Society 1892-1930*. Munich: Ukrainian Historical Association, published by "Dniprova Chvylya," 1970, pp. 110. + 4 plates. \$3.50.

The monograph of Dr. Lubomyr Wynar, author of several books and essays on an outstanding Ukrainian historian, Mykhaylo Hrushevsky, 1866-1934, is a result of intensive reading and research. The bibliography is impressive, as numerous careful notes.

Professor Wynar's work deals with the role and activities of Hrushevsky in Galicia (Western Ukraine) in the period of 1892-1914, and with the activities of the Shevchenko Scientific Society — *Naukove Tovarystvo im. Shevchenka* (hereafter the Society), from its beginning (1873), until Hrushevsky's association with the Society.

After giving a brief historical development of the Society, Professor Wynar introduces us to the personality of Hrushevsky and his background. In 1894, upon the recommendation of Volodymyr Antonowyč, Professor of History at Kyiv (Kiev) University,

Hrushevsky was appointed a professor of "European history with special emphasis on Eastern Europe" at the University of Lviv. During his professorship, Hrushevsky was very active in the Society and improved it immensely. The Society consisted of three divisions: History-Philosophy, Philology, and Mathematics-Natural Sciences, and five subdivisions.

While intellectual life in the part of Ukraine under Russian domination was restricted first by the so-called "Valuyevtkiy Ukaz" (1863), and even persecuted by the "Emskiy Ukaz" (1876), the Society could freely develop its scholarly work in Galicia, the part of Ukraine under Austrian rule. Under Hrushevsky's leadership especially the Society, became the unofficial Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences (which for some political reason was not officially recognized, although the

Austrian government recognized similar Scientific Society as Academies of Arts and Sciences, e.g.: Yugoslav Academy (1866), Polish Academy (1871), Serbian Academy (1889), and Czech Academy (1889).

As the President of Society he published over 100 volumes of *Zapysky* of Society (actually Vols. 5-98 and 101-116), the leading scholarly magazine devoted to the historical sciences and humanities in general. He also published 15 volumes of ethnographical, historical, mathematical, medical and philosophical symposia (*Zbirnyky*), 12 volumes of the *Historical Sources to the History of Ukraine (Dzherela do istorii Ukrainy-Rusi)*, and other publications.

In 1897 Hrushevsky founded and became editor-in-chief of the Ukrainian literary magazine, *Literaturno-Naukovyy Visnyk*, where the best Ukrainian scholars and writers could publish their works.

As a professor, Hrushevsky established his own historical school and published the monumental ten-volume work, *History of Ukraine-Rus (Istoriya Ukrainy-Rusi)* which, according to G. W. Simpson, represents a gigantic achievement for Ukrainian history and an indispensable source of information for Eastern European history as well. He also wrote *History of Ukrainian Literature*, (five volumes), which Professor neglected to mention.

Under the leadership of Hrushevsky, the Society published 423 volumes of various scholarly publications. Hrushevsky himself published approximately 1,200 topics. In addition to his scholarly work, he expanded the library of the Society and established an Ukrainian Museum in Lviv.

Hrushevsky's activity in Lviv from 1894 to 1914 could be considered as the "golden era" of his achievements.

During this time he became famous not only as an outstanding scholar, but also as the spiritual leader of the Ukrainian people. He was able to successfully consolidate and coordinate the scholarly work of the eastern and western parts of Ukraine.

In 1913, due to the internal conflicts in the Society, Hrushevsky resigned as its President, moved to Kyiv and planned to make it the scientific centre. However, in 1914 Hrushevsky was arrested by the Russian authorities and sent first to Simbirsk, then to Kazan and Moscow. After the March Revolution of 1917, Hrushevsky returned to Kyiv, where he was recognized as the national leader and elected first President of the Ukrainian National Republic. After the coup d'état by General Poul Skoropadsky in April 1918, Hrushevsky went first to Vienna and then to Prague, where he lived until 1924. In the same year he returned to Kyiv, where he headed the Soviet Institute of History at the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences. During this time he established contact with the Society in Lviv (then under the Polish rule) and promoted co-operation between the Academy and the Shevchenko Society. In 1930 Hrushevsky was accused of promoting Ukrainian "nationalism," arrested, and sent to Moscow. Due to his bad health, he was sent to Kislovodsk, where he died on November 26, 1936.

In his monograph, Professor Wynar gives the first comprehensive study of Hrushevsky's activities and achievements as President of the Shevchenko Scientific Society and as the father of modern Ukrainian historiography.

Theorode Mackiw,
The University of Akron

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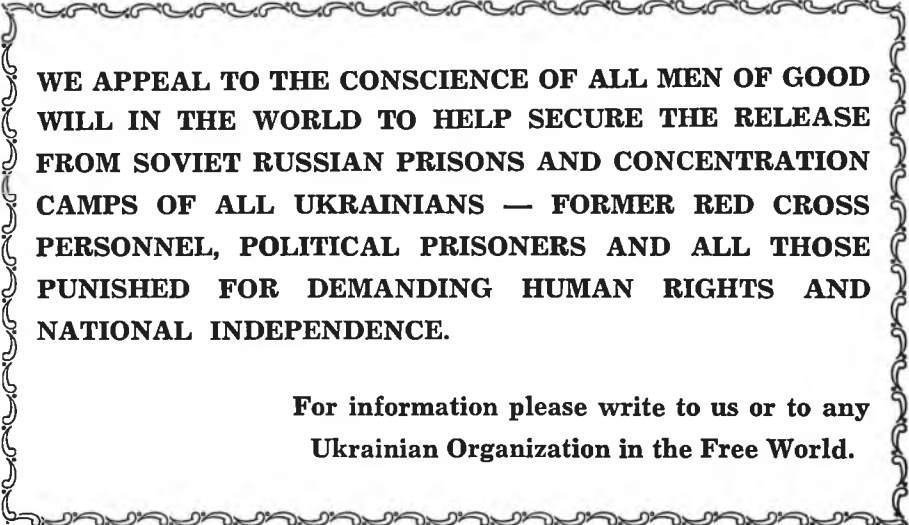
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C O N T E N T S

IN MEMORY OF THE GREAT UKRAINIAN FREEDOM FIGHTER — GEN. TARAS CHUPRYNKA	3
*** NATIONALISM IN THE U.S.S.R.	8
*** SOVIET INVESTIGATES LITHUANIAN JOURNAL	11
<i>Stephan M. Horak</i> : NON-RUSSIAN NATIONALITIES IN TSARIST RUSSIA AND IN THE U.S.S.R. (Comparison?)	12
<i>Karl Anders</i> : MURDER TO ORDER (Conclusion)	26
HITLER WILL DANCE IN HELL WHEN SHELEPIN STEPS ON BRITISH SOIL — Text of the hand-out leaflet	58
World Anti-Communist League	
JOINT COMMUNIQUE OF THE W.A.C.L. (9. 12. 74)	60
From the Congressional Records	
CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK 1974	62
World Affairs:	
THE EPITAPH TO VIETNAM — WAS THE U.N. AIDING NORTH VIETNAM AND THE VIET-CONG?	66
Ukrainian Poetry in Translation	
LINA KOSTENKO by Bohdan Warchomij	68
IVAN FRANKO'S "MOSES" by Orysia Prokopiw	69
<i>Ariadna Shum</i> : LESIA UKRAINKA — A BARD OF STRUGGLE AND CONTRASTS	71
<i>Dr. Igor Shankowsky</i> : THE DIARY NAMED "MARGES OF THOUGHTS"	74

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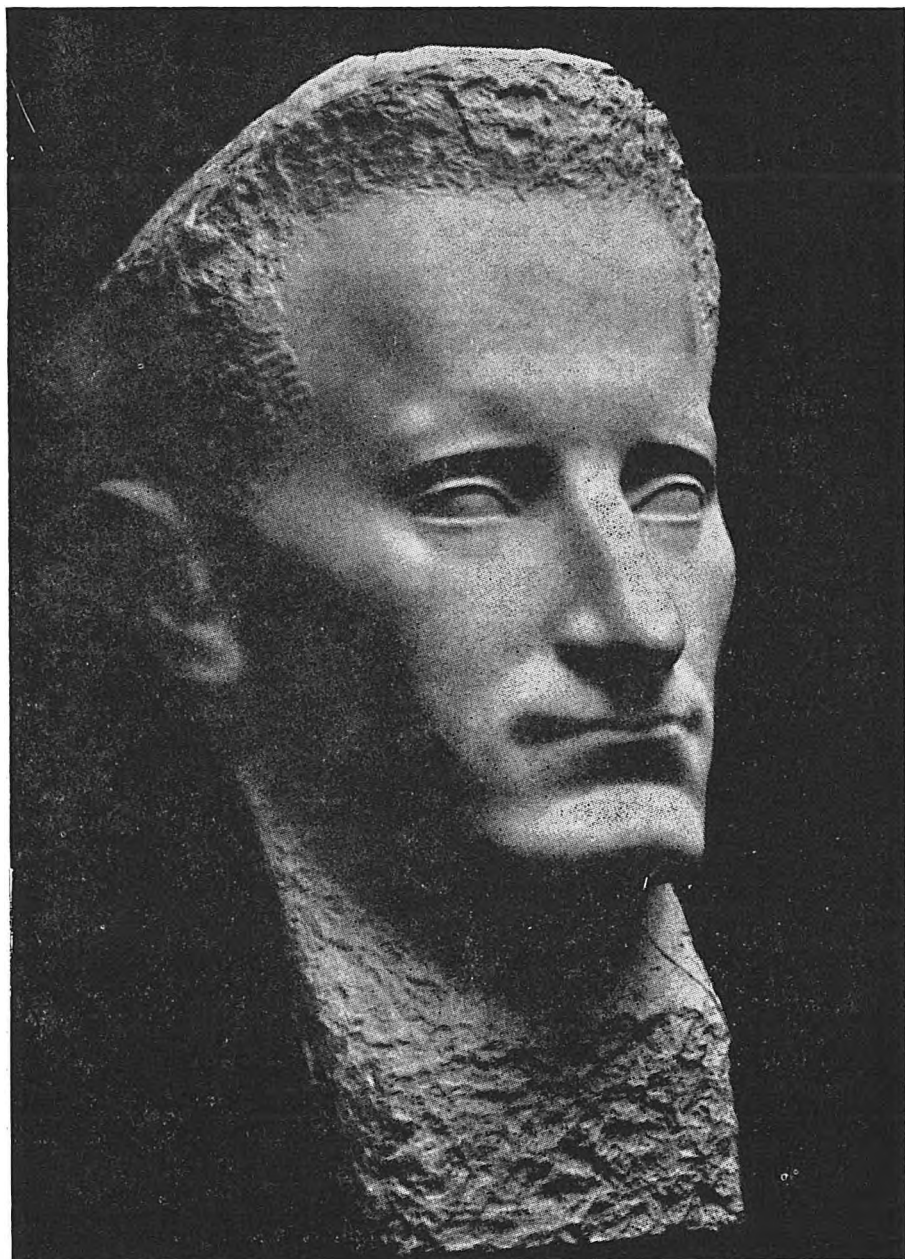
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Compiled and Edited by Yuri Shymko

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IN MEMORY OF THE GREAT UKRAINIAN FREEDOM FIGHTER



March 5, 1950: General Taras Chuprynka, Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) died in battle with the Russian occupation forces.

GENERAL TARAS CHUPRYNKA

March 5, 1970 marks the 25th anniversary of the heroic death of General Roman Shukhevych, *nom de guerre* Taras Chuprynka, the Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). He fell in battle with the Russian occupation forces which surrounded his Headquarters in the village of Bilohorshcha near Lviv in West Ukraine. At the time of his death Gen. Chuprynka also headed the Secretariat for Military Affairs of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (Ukraine's revolutionary government) and the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists on the territory of Ukraine.

For seven years Chuprynka led the Ukrainian revolutionary-insurgent regiments, the greatest military force ever mustered by any nation subjugated by Russian imperialism. The ideas spread by the Ukrainian national revolutionary movement were so deeply ingrained in the Ukrainian people that the Ukrainian Insurgent Army continued to operate after his death until at least 1953, while the nationalist revolutionary underground is still active in Ukraine and in many areas of the Soviet-Russian empire.

Taras Chuprynka-Shukhevych is a symbol of liberation not only for Ukrainians. He should be remembered by all nations presently subjugated by Russia within and outside the Soviet Union, for he was the initiator of a common anti-Russian front of all the subjugated nations. It was through his efforts that a conference of the liberation forces of these nations took place in November 1943 and the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) was founded. That conference was prompted by the fact that beginning with 1943 UPA became a refuge for, and an organizer of liberation forces of other enslaved nations, as for example, Turkestan, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Armenia, Idel-Ural, Byelorussia and others, the nationals of which were in Ukraine as a result of the German-Russian war. This broadening of the front of freedom-fighting forces came not only because large groups of people from various enslaved nations were on Ukrainian territory, but also, and primarily, because of the ideological views and strategy of the late General.

From its inception, in late 1942, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) fought under the slogan: "Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!" It issued a declaration which said:

"The Ukrainian Insurgent Army is fighting for the establishment of the Ukrainian Sovereign United State and for the free life of every nation in its own independent state. The destruction of national

enslavement and exploitation of any one nation by any other nation, and a system of free peoples in their own independent states — is the only order, which will justly resolve the national and social questions of the whole world. The UPA is fighting against all imperialists and empires... Therefore, the UPA is fighting against both the USSR and the German "New Europe." The UPA is fighting against the internationalist and fascist national-socialist programs and political concepts, for they are instruments of the aggressive policy of the imperialists. Hence, we are against Russian Communist-Bolshevism and German National-Socialism."

At first the Ukrainian Insurgent Army was organized as a national revolutionary liberation force directed against the Nazi-German invader, who conducted himself no less brutally than the Bolshevik-Russian conqueror. Then the population of Ukraine had to be defend-against the vicious and bloodthirsty Bolshevik guerrillas, who were well armed and sent into Ukraine from Russia, not so much to combat the Germans behind the front lines as to combat the Ukrainian nationalist liberation movement from within. These invading foreign guerrillas were systematically pillaging and murdering the Ukrainian rural population. But in a short time the UPA won a decisive victory over these marauding Russian-Bolshevik bands.

When the Russians defeated the German armies and were again invading Ukraine, the UPA had to fight on two fronts, against both imperialist powers. It did not receive any assistance whatsoever from the then free Western powers. Every gun and bullet had to be captured from the invaders. No allied planes appeared over the horizon to drop supplies.

Meanwhile, both the Germans and the Russians were pressing into their service men from various small subjugated nations, who were sent into Ukraine to fight for the imperialists. Such "satellite" units were only waiting for a chance to desert and to return to their homelands. The UPA, under the command of General Chuprynka-Shukhevych, perceived the opportunity for transforming itself into an international force of freedom-fighting national liberation armies struggling against the big empires of the day. The UPA organized a large scale and very effective propaganda campaign amidst these various nationality forces serving the imperialists. Very soon not only individuals but whole units of Georgians, Armenians, Byelorussians, Azerbaijanis, Turkestanis, North-Caucasians, Tatars, Cossacks were coming over to the UPA. Among them were also persons from Western nations, as for example, Belgians, Dutchmen and Frenchmen, who were sent to the eastern front by the Germans. Many Jews, some Balts, as well as a few Russians and Germans who became enemies of their own respective national imperialists, also served in the UPA.

General Taras Chuprynka developed a world-wide strategy of liberation of nations enslaved by Russia and the then Nazi-Germany. This strategy was to consist of establishing analogous insurgent

revolutionary liberation armies in each conquered nation, armies which would then synchronize their struggle in an international coordinating center. Each national force, regardless of its size or the size of the particular nationality, was to function completely independently and have its own national leadership. In such a way a new progressive world force would come into being, a new community of free national states, respecting each other's sovereign rights and together combating every imperialist power.

The UPA, under its brilliant strategist, General Chuprynka, together with its allies, the analogous insurgent armies of other freedom-fighting nations, achieved many important victories. It grew in strength quickly, reaching a quartermillion mark. The allied national units also numbered in the thousands. At times they were fighting entire German or Russian divisions. The victorious march of these freedom-fighters was, however, suddenly interrupted by the end of the Second World War, when Western Allies failed to show any desire or willingness to help these liberation forces, but instead sought to establish friendly relations with Stalin's Russian empire. Moscow exploited this epochal mistake of the free Western nations, crushed the large anti-Russian liberation forces, and extended its colonial empire into the heart of Europe and over much of Asia.

The liberation forces of the nations subjugated by Russia had to change their methods of struggle. After many years of fierce fighting the UPA had to disband its large units and turn to underground methods. It lost many leading commanders. But the heroic death of General Taras Chuprynka in 1950, five years after the end of the war with Germany, was the most painful loss of all.

The ideas for which Chuprynka fought and died are widely held in Europe and Asia. The Byelorussian freedom-fighter Castus Calinouski in the late 19th century, the Azerbaijani and Turkestani liberation movements under Enver Pasha and Usman Batur in the 1920s and 1950s respectively, the Georgian and Armenian national liberation movements, the Polish "Home Army" and the Slovak liberation movement under Major Viliam Zinger in the 1940s, the Rumanian nationalists under Gen. Cornelin Dragolina, the Bulgarian underground movement under Gen. Lukoff and Nikola Petkoff and many, many others — were struggling to achieve the same goals.

Today the underground revolutionary liberation forces are again showing signs of steady growth in Ukraine as well as in all the nations subjugated inside and outside the Soviet Union. The memories and traditions of the glorious insurgent struggle of more than two decades ago are still vivid. The new generation is losing all fear of the oppressing, tyrannical and colonialist Russia.

The twentyfifth anniversary of the death of General Taras Chuprynka should serve as a lesson not only to all the political exiles of the enslaved nations but to the free nations as well, so that the mistakes of the post-war era can be rectified. Free nations cannot

live in peace and security side by side with the aggressive and genocidal Russian empire. They should realize at last that the freedom-loving forces in the nations enslaved by Russia are their genuine friends and allies. Therefore, the free nations, or at least their foresighted statesmen, should recognize the timeliness of Gen. Chuprynka's ideas and strategy and extend assistance to these national liberation movements.

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 to blackmail the free nations and to further the conquest and suppression of the national liberation movements. Moscow's development of intercontinental 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.

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. Russia does not want to secure her ethnographic borders; she wants to possess Ukraine, Turkestan, Byelorussia, the Baltic States, the Caucasian nations, and the 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 national, economical, political, 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 any attempts toward the revolutionary 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 Russian communist system.

NATIONALISM IN THE USSR

The Soviet melting pot simmers with racial tension, prejudice and signs of separatism and some observers predict a nationalist explosion in the USSR, states John Dornberg in an exclusive article written for the Boston Globe and Mail and published by that daily in its January 19th edition.

Mr. Dornberg is a widely recognized specialist in East European and Soviet affairs. Until a few years ago, he served as chief of the Newsweek magazine's Moscow bureau. He currently resides in Munich, West Germany.

In the article, excerpts of which appear below, Mr. Dornberg analyzes the current movement of dissent which has enveloped the entire Soviet Union. Efforts by the authorities to suppress it and, at the same time, to paint a picture of harmony to the outside world have been unsuccessful, says Mr. Dornberg.

Soviet officialdom portrays the USSR as a unique, happy melting pot of the peoples and nationalities once conquered, subjugated and colonized by the czars.

Kremlin propaganda pictures them now as one gib harmonious family — almond-eyed Tartars, fair-haired Latvians, ruddy-faced Russians, oliveskinned Azerbaidzhanis — moving happily and enthusiastically toward a brighter Communist future.

With 15 so-called Union republics, 15 official languages, four alphabets, scores of dialects and many nationalities which were absorbed into the Russian empire through colonial expansion under the Czars, the Soviet Union is by far the largest multilingual and multi-national country in the world.

Actually, the melting pot simmers with racial tension, prejudice and signs of separatism.

Some observers forecast a "nationalist explosion in the USSR" within a decade.

Within recent months there have been signs of greater unrest and growing resistance to Soviet nationalities policy in some of the principal republics and among a number of the key non-Russian groups.

Jews, Volga Germans and Meskhetians are demanding to emigrate. Ukrainians and Lithuanians are being jailed for wanting more cultural and economic autonomy. Armenians are being tried for forming a secessionist movement.

Several hundred thousand Crimean Tartars have petitioned, demonstrated and rioted for full rehabilitation and the right to return to the Crimea, from which they were deported during World War II because Stalin considered them sympathetic to the Germans.

In Soviet Georgia, Azerbaidzhan, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and Armenia there have in the past been violent and bloody, racial and nationalist clashes.

A few, such as the members of the clandestine Armenian Nationality Unity Party who are on trial in Yerevan, are militating for outright secession.

Moscow's response to the challenge has been threefold.

In many instances, the Kremlin has simply stuck its head in the sand, refusing to acknowledge publicly that the problem exists. On other occasions it has tried to come to grips with it by stressing "Soviet" nationalism and pride in economic achievements as an answer to the fragmental loyalties among the empire's nationalities.

And when those approaches have failed, the Soviet leadership has attempted to suppress nationalist and separatist manifestations with the most draconian means at its disposal. Thus, more than half the political prisoners now in Soviet labour camps are reported to be serving terms for various acts and expressions of "bourgeois nationalism."

Invariably, "bourgeois nationalism" is nothing more heinous than writing protests or circulating petitions.

To an extent, much of the recent pressure can be attributed to the relative success of the Jewish campaign for free emigration.

Not only have nearly 100,000 of the USSR's estimated 2.5 million Jews already emigrated, but tens of thousands of the 1.8 million ethnic Germans have applied to leave too.

Descendants of settlers originally invited in the 18th century by Catherine the Great, the Germans have begun employing the same tactics to plead their case as the Jews have used. They have staged demonstrations and sit-ins and distributed petitions which inevitably find their way to foreign correspondents posted in Moscow.

Recently they have also turned to underground samizdat publishing with a journal called *Re Patria*. It deals with Soviet Germans' history and culture, preservation of their language and literature, their legal struggle for emigration and their campaign to restore the Volga German Autonomous Republic dissolved by Stalin during World War II. One section of the publication provides a search and location service for relatives missing since the Germans' forcible deportation from the Volga basin to Kazakhstan and Siberia during the war.

Even the Meskhetians, a small Moslem group deported from their native region in the Caucasus during the war because Stalin ques-

tioned their loyalty, have been campaigning for permission to emigrate to Turkey.

In Ukraine, the second-largest Soviet republic and potentially the most viable as an independent nation, hundreds of prominent intellectuals have been pleading for more cultural and economic autonomy. Thus their pleas have been met with massive propaganda campaign, arrests and stiff prison terms.

The best known case at present is that of Valentyn Moroz, a historian serving a 14-year prison, labour camp and exile sentence for his underground essays against Russification and Russian chauvinist policies in the republic. Moroz is one of scores of Ukrainian intellectuals arrested and imprisoned in the past two years.

In the three Baltic republics, especially Lithuania, there have been bloody clashes between national-minded and religiously motivated youths and the police since the self-immolation of a 20-year-old Lithuanian Catholic student in May 1972.

Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia are in a special category, having been independent from 1918 until 1940, when they were occupied by the Soviet army and incorporated into the USSR.

The major complaint in all three has been about the incursion of Russians and Moscow's attempts to impose cultural and economic hegemony.

The problem in Lithuania is compounded by official Kremlin suppression of the Catholic Church, which has played an important role in Lithuanian history and is symbolic with Lithuanian nationhood. An underground "Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church" has been published there since the summer of 1972. A series of massive KGB crackdowns, apparently involving scores of house searches and the arrest of dozens of its contributors, have thus far failed to suppress it.

A 10th issue of the chronicle recently reached the West and shows that the clandestine journal is becoming less religious and more political and nationalist in character. It reported on trials of dissenters and the drive against amateur ethnographers and people engaged in the study of regional lore and the history of Lithuania and Latvia.

Among the articles was a report on the trial of a group of students, sentenced to terms of two to six years for forming an "underground organization" which militated against Russian chauvinism and Lithuania's cultural "de-nationalization."

Further unrest has been stirred by recent Soviet attempts to curb the Baltic republics' relative freedom in literature and the arts and the planned forcible relocation of 100,000 Lithuanian peasants from scattered villages into centralized "agro towns."

Potentially the most volatile, though by far the quietest area, is

Soviet Central Asia. Although there have been reports of occasional racial clashes between Kazakhs, Uzbeks and Tadzhiks on the one hand and Russians on the other, Soviet officialdom has tried to tread softly in these republics bordering or close to China.

But in Kazakhstan, whose people are ethnically and linguistically related to the Turks, there has recently been stirring of Pan-Turkism.

Once in a rare moment, a Soviet newspaper or magazine today will admit that relations between the races aren't what they are reported to be.

But the general practice and official policy is to ignore it and to accuse those who raise the issue of being "anti-Soviet" or "agents of foreign propaganda."

And that, as a Moscow journalist once confided, poses the greatest dilemma.

"The party and government do nothing except paint a picture of harmony," he said. "How do you solve a problem if you cannot even admit it exists?"

The New York Times, Friday, Nov. 8th 1974

SOVIET INVESTIGATES LITHUANIAN JOURNAL

MOSCOW, Dec. 23 (Reuters) The secret police today searched the homes of dissidents in Moscow and Lithuania in investigations into an underground Lithuanian Roman Catholic journal, Andrei D. Sakharov, the physicist, said.

He told Western reporters by telephone that the agents began their Moscow searches before dawn at the apartments of Andrei Tverdokhlebov, physicist; Sergei Kovalev, biologist; Irina Korsunskaya, art historian; Yuri Shikhanovich, mathematician, and Malva Landa, housewife.

Meanwhile, Oskar Rabin, a Moscow artist, said that Alexander Glazer, a poet and art critic, was detained by police in Leningrad yesterday while attending an art show.

*

MOSCOW, Dec. 23 (AP) —

About 300 Jews today petitioned President Nikolai V. Podgorny to free 40 Jews from prisons and labour camps and to end criminal proceedings against several others.

Stephan M. HORAK
Eastern Illinois University

NON-RUSSIAN NATIONALITIES IN TSARIST RUSSIA AND IN THE USSR

A COMPARISON?

UKRAINE AND BELORUSSIA

There is no doubt on our part that neither the extent of the topic put forward for discussion nor the time allocated by the rituals of conference can possibly permit an exhaustive exploration of all facets and aspects that are required and justified by the title of this paper. The three centuries in question (XVII-XX), in addition to containing the most controversial issues in the Russo-Ukrainian-Belorussian confrontation, underline the problem and suggest the necessity of a selective methodology and analytical generalizations, with the assumption that the specific knowledge of history is either self-evident or will be refreshed during the discussion period. Another, and perhaps even more confusing aspect of this paper is the historically inherited emotion characterising the relationship of these three Eastern Slav peoples from the time of Kyivan Rus' to the present.

Historical ties, ethnological, cultural, and even to a great degree religious, as well as perplexing linguistic similarities have created various myths, interpretations, serious disagreements and last but not least a suspicion that is being carried into time. Nationalistic ambitions and jealousy, typical in other situations too, have been flourishing for decades. Oppressive Russian nationalism of the Tsarist period did not stop in 1917. There are numerous evidences of its presence under the Soviet regime as also of national manifestations of Belorussians and especially Ukrainians today and in the past. One may speak of similarities, repeated cycles, and a continuity of struggle. By exploiting all elements producing similarity, Moscow's encroachments upon the national bodies of two Slav peoples aimed toward the enlargement of the Russian potential at the expense of Belo-

russian and Ukrainian human and economic resources and separatistic ambitions. A gradual reduction of a pluralistic composition of the state in order to achieve a monolithic society has been promoted both before and after 1917.

In its introduction this paper suggests that the present Soviet policy in dealing with non-Russian nations is unmistakably aiming at the transformation of nations as they distinguish themselves by historical, cultural, and linguistic differentiations, into societies of only geographical identity (like "Siberians") speaking the language of the master nation — Russian. Obviously in the Soviet presentation and interpretation one would rather read: "one Soviet people" speaking the language of Socialism, e.g. Russian. Suggesting that the monolithic structure remained a common desire of both regimes, one must not, however, overlook some significant differences in the approach toward the nationalities question in general and in the execution of a longterm policy in specific. For one thing, the dominant attitude of official Tsarist Russia, including Russian nationalistic and conservative fragments of the society, was one of total denial of any individuality on the part of the Belorussian and Ukrainian people. Nicholas I's formulation (Autocracy, Orthodoxy, and Nationalism) extended by Piotr Valuev's decree of 1863, and up-dated by Alexander II's Ukase of Ems of 1876, was designed to erase all national identities, including territorial, historical, as well as linguistic, creating "one indivisible Russia." To this end, renaming the territories in question "West Russia" and "Little Russia" suggests the complete absence of any willingness to compromise with forces which would or could challenge intended policy of *Gleichschaltung*.

The policy of total Russification remained in force until the Revolution of 1905 and is very much responsible for a delayed process of national awakening of Ukrainians and even more so of Belorussians, for the Ukrainians succeeded quite well in building up their national movement in Galicia under the relatively benevolent rule of the Habsburgs. Belorussians, on the other hand, remained for almost two centuries exclusively under Russia's domination, had to initiate their national rebirth from abroad and mostly in Polish lands under German occupation since the first partition of Poland.¹

While applying unrestricted discrimination and suppressing any sign of national identity, the tsarist regime, however, hardly practiced discrimination against individual Belorussian or Ukrainian nationals who accepted "official" Russian identity and submitted themselves loyally to the system. Such a policy encouraged opportunistic elements to seek personal advantages by sacrificing their national origin and to become "respectable converts." Of course, such a mass desertation of individuals mostly from the upper classes had

1) Nicholas P. Vakar, *Belorussia; The Making of a Nation* (Harvard University Press, 1956) p. 82 ff.

devastating results upon the national progress. In turn, the Russian potential was gaining large additions of talent and brains. The implementation of the policy of reward and bribery created a rather unique form of colonialism too little stressed in detail by textbooks of Russia's history or imperialism. Yet, and despite of its ruthlessness, the tsarist regime's nationalities policy was frank, even though completely negative. Both sides understood it well and acted accordingly. After being seriously weakened in 1905, the tsarist regime was never again able to recover its determination and power in dealing with rapidly flourishing nationalism of subject nationalities. As in the case of another multi-national empire, Austria-Hungary, the question no longer was how to suppress nationalism altogether but how to delay its approaching maturity. In both cases World I provided a further stimulant for nationalism and dealt a mortal blow to an obsolete institution which could not meet new forces within the empire. Russia's policy of ignoring completely Belorussian and Ukrainian aspirations and of responding with terror rather than with compromise obviously failed. An ironical twist of history resulted in the collapse of the tsarist regime and the culmination of Ukrainian and partly also of Belorussian political aspirations.

With that downfall a new approach and a new solution were bound to materialize. A multinational empire in an age of nationalism with some fifty percent non-Russian people (approximately 35 million Ukrainians and 10 million Belorussians), plagued with heavy war losses and a pressing need for socio-economic reforms, had little chance to survive a great upheaval. In such a situation either a total disintegration or a fundamental change meeting a new era become a historical necessity. What followed immediately, however, was only a mixture of the two with new confusing results.

The brief period of Russian democracy under the Provisional Government revealed, if only to a limited degree, the basic Russian unwillingness to resolve the national question on terms acceptable to all involved. Some guarded concessions affecting Ukrainians would not have restored the *status quo* of the Ukraine as specified by the terms of the Pereiaslav Treaty of 1654. All that the Provisional Government in essence had to offer amounted to a limited cultural autonomy in only a limited part of the historical as well as ethnographic Ukrainian territory. The case of Belorussia in fact was never even considered in Petrograd, despite the advances made by the Belorussian cultural and national movement. The final settlement, postponed until the election of the National Assembly, was never concluded, since this democratic body was dissolved by the Bolsheviks only hours after it convened. What followed within the framework of the national minorities of former Tsarist Russia under the new Soviet regime has been already skilfully discussed by Richard Pipes in his *The Formation of the Soviet Union; Communism and Na-*

tionism, 1917-1923, in addition to voluminous literature including that from the Soviet side.²

In Soviet writings and historiography it became customary to claim credit for having finally resolved the national question. From Lenin to the Programme of the Twenty-fourth Congress of the CPSU of 1971, it is categorically stated that only Marxism is capable of solving national conflicts, removing discrimination, and restoring equality of all nations — large and small alike. This claim of an exclusive infallibility provoked a well-founded comment by Lowell Tillett, author of a monumental work, *The Great Friendship; Soviet Historians on the Non-Russian Nationalities*: "The new historical myths differ from the old ones both in kind and degree. Never before have the proponents of myth made such claims for the 'scientific' bases of their theories."³

Tillett's questioning of the Soviet assurances in the Ukrainian case since and by now had been suggested by the testimony presented by such eyewitnesses as John Kolasky, Viacheslav Chornovil, Valentyn Moroz, and Ivan Dziuba, among others.⁴ The prevailing discrepancy as it exists in the USSR between the version of officialdom and the real state of affairs in the question of Ukraine appears rather hopelessly in Kolasky's revelation:

² Here there are only a few selected titles of works for Ukraine and Belorussia in English (For the articles see: *The American Bibliography of Slavic and East European Studies*, 1945-) Ivan S. Lubachko, *Belorussia Under Soviet Rule, 1917-1957* (Lexington, Ky., The University Press of Kentucky, 1972); Nicholas P. Vakar, *Belorussia; The Making of a Nation: A Case Study* (Harvard U. P., 1956) including his *Biographical Guide to Belorussia*; Albert D. Low, *Lenin on the Question of Nationality* (New York, 1958); Basil Dmytryshyn, *Moscow and the Ukraine, 1918-1953; A Study of Russian Bolshevik Nationality Policy* (New York, 1956); Robert S. Sullivant, *Soviet Politics and the Ukraine, 1917-1957* (Columbia University Press, 1962); Jurij Lawrynenko, *Ukrainian Communism and Soviet Russian Policy Toward the Ukraine; An Annotated Bibliography, 1917-1953* (New York, 1953); Jurij Borys, *The Russian Communist Party and the Sovietization of Ukraine; A Study in the Communist Doctrine of the Self-Determination of Nations* (Stockholm, 1960); Robert Conquest, ed., *Soviet Nationalities Policy in Practice* (New York, 1967). On the Soviet side Lenin's *Collected Works*, available by now in five different editions, still offer the base for all authors discussing nationalities question. The most up-dated interpretation is to be found in A. K. Azizian, *Leninskaia natsionalnaia politika v razvitiu i deistvii* (Moscow, 1972) and in M. I. Kulichenko, *Natsionalnyn otnosheniia v SSSR i tendentsii ikh razvitiia* (Moscow, 1972).

³ Lowell Tillett, *The Great Friendship; Soviet Historians on the Non-Russian Nationalities* (University of North Carolina Press, 1969) p. 4.

⁴ John Kolasky, *Education in Soviet Ukraine; A Study in Discrimination and Russification* (Toronto, 1968) and his *Two Years in Soviet Ukraine* (Toronto, 1970); Vyacheslav Chornovil, comp., *The Chornovil Papers* (New York, 1968); Ivan Dziuba, *Internationalism or Russification* (London, 1968); Michael Browne, ed., *Ferment in the Ukraine* (Woodhaven, N. Y., 1973); Yaroslav Bihun, ed., *Boomerang; The Works of Valentyn Moroz* (Baltimore, 1974).

Painfully and slowly the realization came that what I had supported as a paragon of justice was, in reality, the worst type of national oppression... Russians were everywhere with their arrogant overbearing attitude; their contempt, sometimes veiled but often open display of a feeling of Russian superiority... It became clear that in some respect things had not changed since Tsarist times. Nearly 50 years after Tsarism had been overthrown... Ukrainian intellectuals and writers were still following the well-trodden roads to Siberian exile... Clearly, I am not alone in my concern over the fate of the Ukrainian language and culture.⁵

Indeed, Kolasky, the former member of the Canadian Communist Party, is not alone in his apprehension. In recent years an enormous volume of documents concerning Soviet policy in the Ukraine became available, through the channels of *zakhvalavna literatura* (*samizdat*), which described the situation in a poignant parallel to tsarist times:

And as I shared the fate of Taras [Shevchenko]
This life I gave a drop of Taras' blood...
All Solovs, all central prisons, all yavases⁶
Will be remembered in his thoughts, Ukraine my land.⁷

An even more striking similarity is revealed in the petition submitted by Sviatoslav Karavansky to the prosecutor of the Ukrainian SSR. If one omits or replaces certain names and dates in the petition, it may be mistaken for one of the numerous requests dispatched by Hetman Paul Polubotok (1772-24) to Tsar Peter I or for the complaints submitted by Ukrainian members of the State Duma after 1907. In both cases, violation of national rights, discrimination and lack of proper conditions for a normal national development and existence unmistakably reflect the tragedy and the essence as well and project upon similarities and continuity.⁸

Dzyuba, prior to his incarceration and medieval-like recantation, analysing the present situation in Ukraine in view of the intensified Russification, summarized its origin and manifestation in six different forms:

1. as a heritage of history;
2. as the confusion of the USSR with "Russia, one and indivisible";
3. as the practice of attributing to the Russians what has been created by all the peoples of the USSR;
4. as national nihilism, pseudo-intellectualism and pseudo-brotherhood;
5. as biological hatred known as Ukrainophobia;
6. as Russian chauvinism striving toward ultra-centralism.⁹

His conclusion, while revealing to an expert nothing new, re-states the well known facts:

⁵) Kolasky, *Education in Soviet Ukraine*, pp. ffII-ffV.

⁶) Yava, village in the Mordovian ASSR, site of the hard labour camp where poet Mykhailo Osadcha is imprisoned.

⁷) Chornovil, *op cit.*, p. 84.

⁸) Text of the Petition in *Chornovil Papers*, p. 170.

⁹) Dzyuba, *op cit.*, pp. 62-113.

Today, especially in the large cities, there is a very considerable stratum of the Russian petty bourgeoisie which is hopelessly far from being a carrier of Communist internationalism and is instead the spiritual heir of "ten generations of colonizers." They do not miss a single opportunity of slighting, mocking and ridiculing them [non-Russians].

He does not see any positive aspect in the presence of Russians in Ukraine:

This stratum of the Russian petty bourgeoisie in the non-Russian Republics is a powerful, constantly active, politically reactionary, culturally and morally degrading factor, which does much to poison the cause of the friendship of nations in the USSR.¹⁰

The failure of the Soviet regime to bring about a harmonious relationship, free of any discrimination, among the nationalities of the USSR has been explained by some Western experts as "the Party's incapability of perceiving unity in diversity, partly because of the historical tradition of the Russian Empire, partly because of the overcentralized constitutional conception of the state expounded by Lenin."¹¹ As to the role of the overcentralized structure of the USSR, the immediate results with far reaching consequences have revealed themselves in the Russification of such areas as transportation (railroad, air-line, navigation), communication (television, radio, postal services), army, space exploration, foreign trade and diplomacy, to a very significant degree within the Party, the Government, and higher education. Exclusive domination of the Russian language within those essential areas in fact eliminates national equality, since the language is one of the most important underlying national identities. Therefore, the question, how much the Soviet type of centralism with all the negative consequences affecting Ukrainians and Byelorussians is analogous to the tsarist regime, remains only debatable as to the scope and degree. Beyond that there are only a few doubts as to the existence of parallels.

Employing history at this point, it might be suggested that the present status of both republics within the USSR, and especially in the location of power and general decision-making process, is to be compared with the situation as it existed in the Ukraine after abolishing the institution of the Hetmanate in 1764 and replacing it with a "Little Russian Collegium" with a Russian, P. Rumiantsev, as its head.¹² The reference to history in our attempt to explore relevant similarities brings about an urgent need to employ historiography, which can perhaps more than any other field contribute to the topic under discussion.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ Thomas Remeikis, "The Evolving Status of Nationalities in the Soviet Union." *Canadian Slavic Studies*, vol. 1, no. 3 (1967).

¹² *Istoriia Ukrainskoi RSR*, vol. I (Kiev, 1953) p. 350 ff. Authors admit the colonial status of the Ukraine under the Tsarist Russia.

HISTORIOGRAPHY

On the function and purpose of history in the Soviet Union and as related to non-Russian peoples in specific, Tillett observes:

The obvious purpose of this new [post-Pokrovski period — S. H.] version of the history of the non-Russian people and their relations with Russians is to support Soviet efforts to solve nationality problems...

The Bolsheviks, who recognized the seriousness of the problem from the beginning, formulated a program that promised the non-Russian nationalities cultural autonomy and equality... It is too early to determine whether the new Soviet history, with its strong emphasis on the friendship of Soviet peoples in the past, will make the direct contribution to the reduction of nationalists tensions among the peoples of the Soviet Union.¹³

Once the philosophic-political framework has been outlined by the Party, implementation, together with the elaboration of academic details, becomes the function of Soviet historiography. In other words, the historian's workshop has been moved to the Party's headquarters, even if the address is different, with the understanding that his end product reflects the thinking and interpretation formulated by the Party. This relationship symbolises a return to the tradition of the "court historians" of which V. N. Tatishchev, N. Karamzin and, to a lesser degree, M. Pogodin were the most illustrious examples.¹⁴ Similarities do not end here, and as Klaus Mehnert showed in 1953, they soon extended into language and politics returning to "das ewige Russisch."¹⁵

Many scholars agree as to the causes which motivated Stalin to bring M. Pokrovski's historical school to an end and to initiate a "new period" in Soviet historiography. The disintegration of Tsarist Russia into national states in 1917-18, Stalin's determination to restore a state as a functioning unit, revival of Russian nationalism, and a demand for a greater national freedom by non-Russian peoples, are generally mentioned as the motives promoting historiographical adjustment in line with the official policy of the regime. To fortify the weakening ties, historians were obliged to create evidence of an "ancient and traditionally prevailing unity among Russians, Ukrainians, and Belorussians."

¹³ Tillett, *op. cit.*, pp. 6, 422. For more on Belorussian and Ukrainian historiographies see: A. Varonic, "The History of Belorussia in the Works of Soviet Historiography," *Belorussian Review*, no. 2 (1956); Dmytro Doroshenko and Olexander Ohloblyn, "Ukrainian Historiography 1917-1956," *The Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S.*, vol. 5-6 (1957); Stephan M. Horak, "Ukrainian Historiography 1953-1963," *Slavic Review*, vol. 24, no. 2 (1965); Jaroslaw Pelenski, "Soviet Ukrainian Historiography After World War II," *Jahrbuecher fuer Geschichte Osteuropas*, vol. 12, 3 (1964); Borys Krupnytskyi, *Ukrains'ka istorychna nauka pid sovietamy* (Münich, 1957).

¹⁴ N. M. Karamzin, *A Memoir on Ancient and Modern Russia: The Russian Text*. Ed. by Richard Pipes (Harvard University Press, 1959); Anatole G. Mazour, *Modern Russian Historiography*. 2d ed. (Princeton, N. J., 1958); Joseph L. Black, "The 'State School' Interpretation of Russian History; A Re-Appraisal of Its Genetic Origins," *Jahrbuecher fuer Geschichte Osteuropas*, vol. 21, 4 (1973).

¹⁵ Klaus Mehnert, *Weltrevolution durch Weltgeschichte; Die Geschichte des Stalinismus* (Stuttgart, 1953) p. 29.

The question of succession to Kyivan Rus', one of the most controversial historical issues and claimed by Russian and Ukrainian historians alike, has been resolved in the spirit of "everlasting brotherhood." Accordingly, "The history of Ancient Rus was not a history of the Ukraine, nor of Belorussia, nor yet of Great Russia alone. It was the history of a state that enabled all three to mature and gain strength. And this is what makes the period in question of paramount importance in the life of our country."¹⁶ Since the Ancient Rus' had been the state of all Eastern Slavs, the political conclusion of Soviet historiography also became the "organic and historically necessary conclusion" — reunification within the USSR. This historical reasoning found its symbolic manifestation in the new Soviet anthem: "*Soiuz nerushimyi respublik svobodnykh splotila naveki Velikaia Rus'.*" Obviously the "Rus'" of the anthem is not "Rus'-Ukraina," as interpreted in Ukrainian national historiography, but "Rus'-Rossiia," the gatherer of "all Russian lands," as the Russian national historians insisted prior to 1917. Consequently, *Slovo o polku Ihoreve* (The Song of Ihor's Campaign) which in the 1920s was returned to Ukrainian historical literature, two decades later was officially "transferred" into the Russian literary treasury.¹⁷ The presence of an inescapably deterministic conclusion reveals itself in the methodology of Soviet authors defending the common origin, especially when dealing with national Ukrainian historians.¹⁸ While the post-Pokrovski Soviet historiography never officially identified itself with Russian national historical school of the Tsarist period, on the question of both nationalities the margin of historiographical differences is nevertheless narrowing to the point of confusion. The still existing differences are more a matter of terminology, interpretation, and semantics than of essence. The idea of a centre and gravitation towards this common cradle is very much present in Tsarist as well as Soviet historiographies. Moscow, the "collector of Russian lands," or the "liberator of brotherly peoples" (Belorussians and Ukrainians) survives in Soviet historiography too. In both historiographies Kyiv and Minsk have been assigned the role of objects with Moscow remaining the perpetuating subject of the historical trend and final destiny.

Therefore, Michael Hrushevsky's¹⁹ rejection of the Russian his-

¹⁶ B. Grekov, *Kyiv Rus* (Moscow, 1959) p. 12.

¹⁷ M. O. Skrypnyk, "Aktualni zavdannia ukrains'koho literaturoznavstva." *Krytyka* (Kharkiv) no. 6 (1929) p. 5.

¹⁸ V. P. Shchusharin, *Sovremennaiia burzhuaiznaia istoriografiia Drevnei Rusi* (Moscow, 1964).

¹⁹ The author of the monumental work *Istoriia Ukrainy-Rusy*. 10 vols. Hrushevsky challenged the Russian historical scheme in an article: "Traditional scheme of 'Russian' history and the problem of a rational organization of the history of Eastern Slavs." See: Stephan M. Horak, "Michael Hrushevsky: Portrait of an Historian." *Canadian Slavonic Papers*, vol. 10, 3 (1968).

torical scheme and separation of Kyiv from Moscow from the earliest times has been emotionally rejected by Russian nationalists as well as Soviet historians. Significantly enough, the first Ukrainian Marxian historian M. Iavorskyi,²⁰ who considered Ancient Rus', first of all, as a part of Ukrainian history,²¹ remains unacceptable to the contemporary Soviet historiography too. The quite recent partial rehabilitation of Pokrovskii,²² together with publication of works of Russian nationalist and liberal historians of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, has not been extended to Belorussian and Ukrainian national historians. Dovnar-Zapolski, Hrushevsky, and even Iavorskyi continue to remain targets of Soviet attack.²³ This is understandable especially in the face of the consistent promotion of the theory of an "Ancient Russian nationality" (*drevnerusskoi narodnosti*), in addition to official sanction of such terms in the Russian language as "*Drevnerusskoe gosudarstvo*,"²⁴ or the "Russian people" in English as in Grekov's *Kyivan Rus'*.²⁵ Such a retroactive Russification of the Rus' State ignores the fact that the names "*Rossiiia*" and "*Rossiiskoe gosudarstvo*" appear in historical annals at the end of the fourteenth century. Only in the seventeenth century, according to M. N. Tikhomirov,²⁶ the first Russian state Muscovy began to identify itself as Russia.

*

There exists within the realm of historiography another trend aimed at weakening and final destruction of the national fabric of Ukrainians and Belorussians. This danger lies in the concept of "reunion." The term "reunification" in Soviet as well as in Tsarist Russian vocabulary became a household word with the special

²⁰ Author of *Korotka istoriia Ukrainy* (Kharkiv, 1927).

²¹ Soviet Ukrainian historian M. Iu. Braichevskiy in his study *Pokhodzhennia Rusi* (Kiev, 1968) while in line with the official Soviet interpretation, nevertheless points to the fact that the history of Kyivan Rus' is rooted in the territories populated by the Ukrainians.

²² Initiated with the publication of his selected works: M. N. Pokrovskii, *Izbrannye proizvedeniia v chetyrekh knigakh* (Moscow, 1966). See also: Roman Szporluk, "Pokrovskii's View of the Russian Revolution." *Slavic Review*, vol. 26, 1 (1967); Roman Szporluk, ed., *Russia in World History: Selected Essays* (Ann Arbor, 1970); Bernard W. Eissenstat, "M. N. Pokrovsky and Soviet Historiography." *Slavic Review*, vol. 28, 4 (1969).

²³ Most recently in M. F. Kotliar, "Proty burzhuažno-natsionalistichnykh perekruchen spilnoho istorichnoho mynuloho, rosiiskoho, ukrainskoho ta bilruskoho narodiv, IX-XV st." *Ukrainskyi istorychnyi zhurnal*, no. 8 (1973), *Sotsialistychna diisnist i natsionalistychni vyhadky* (Kiev, 1968); K. Huslysty, "Vykryvlennia doslidiv etnogenezy ukrainskoho narodu burzhuaznymy natsionalistamy." *Narodna tvorchist ta etnografia*, no. 1 (1971).

²⁴ *Bolshaia Sovetskaia Entsiklopediia*, SSSR. *Otdelnyi vypusk 50-go toma*. 2d ed. (Moscow, 1957) p. 125 ff.

²⁵ Stephan M. Horak, "Periodization and Terminology of the History of Eastern Slavs." *Slavic Review*, vol. 31, 4 (1972).

²⁶ M. N. Tikhomirov, *Rossiiskoe gosudarstvo XV-XVII vekov* (Moscow, 1973). Especially Chapter I, "O proiskhozhdenii nazvaniia 'Rossiia'." Pp. 11-17.

application to Russo-Ukrainian-Belorussian relations. It gained almost a sacred meaning not only in historiography but also in political propaganda. The idea behind it became a dogma in describing the complex historical events traceable to the rise of Muscovy and her first contacts with the lands populated by Belorussians and Ukrainians, that is, the second half of the sixteenth century. This prolonged policy of reunification, completed only in 1945 with the incorporation of the Carpatho-Ukraine into the USSR, was very much instrumental in the events of 1939, 1915, 1772-1795 (Poland's partitions) and 1654 (Pereiaslav Treaty). It has its roots first of all in historiography and Moscow's claim to being heir and successor of the once powerful state of Kyivan Rus' and in the notion of one ancient "Russian nationality." According to Russian national historiography of the pre-1917 period, this original "Russian nationality" in the aftermath of the fall of Kyivan Rus', two centuries of Tatar domination, and the expansion of the Lithuanian and then of the Polish Commonwealth, led to the disintegration of the once original national entity and consequently to the formation of three peoples and dialects — Russian, Ukrainian, and Belorussian. This theory was supported by the dynastic ties of the House of Rurik. Additionally, the transfer of the metropolitan see from Kyiv to Vladimir in 1300, and from there to Moscow in 1325 by the Metropolitan Theognostus, became very much instrumental in the rise of Muscovy and her future claims. It was Maxim, the titular head of the Eastern Church, who first, outside of Kyiv, assumed the title of metropolitan of "All Rus'."²⁷

The practical initiation of the implementation of the policy of the restoration of an ancient "Russian national unity" should be ascribed to Ivan IV, since his predecessors' annexations were limited to the territories outside of the Ukrainian and Byelorussian settlement. In fact, during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries there was little contact between Muscovites and lands populated by the two other peoples. Moscow's expansion in those centuries reached to the northeast, into the Fino-Ugric provinces which were never a part of Kyivan Rus'. The mainstay of Kyiv Rus', the present day Ukraine and Belorussia, remained outside of the Muscovy-Russia frontiers for another two centuries.

Against this historical background, Russia's continuous effort to incorporate Belorussian and Ukrainian territories during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are rather of military, political, and economic origin and the myth of liberating kindred from "foreign oppressors" (Lithuanian, Polish, Turkish, with Austrian added later on) served merely as a handy cover and inspiration, creating an emotional ground for appeals to the "persecuted brethren" within

²⁷) Michael T. Florinsky, *Russia: A History And an Interpretation*. 2 vols. (New York, 1963) Vol. 1, p. 85.

the neighboring countries. To this end the Russian Orthodox Church found itself very often in a missionary position, especially when confronted with aggressive Catholicism in Belorussia and Ukraine.

It is also true that in almost all cases the "liberated lands" experienced afterward no better socio-economic and political conditions than they had known earlier.²⁸ In the case of the Belorussians, their situation gradually changed for the worse from the period of Lithuanian domination, through that of the Polish Commonwealth, and then under Russia, at least until 1905. This degradation applies equally to Ukrainians, except for those territories which fell to Austria after Poland's partition, where a visible improvement took place. The very fact that Austrian Ukrainians for one hundred and fifty years enjoyed larger national and individual freedom than their brethren in the Great Ukraine under the rule of Slavic Russia questions the sincerity of the Russian concern about the fate of "brotherly peoples." Russian historiography from N. Karamzin and M. Pogodin to V. O. Kliuchevsky prefers to speak of the "liberation of West and South Russia from the Polish yoke" rather than of Poland's partitions. To them it was an act of "reunion" of peoples formerly "united in Kyiv Russia," separated since only by foreign forces.

The present Soviet historiography basically promotes this same interpretation of events and this period of Russia's history is titled: "The war with the Polish Commonwealth for the reunification of Ukraine and Belorussia with Russia."²⁹ The novelty of Soviet historiography in this regard is the notion that the "reunification" was Russia's response to Ukrainian and Belorussian appeals to be united with Russia. Thus purely aggressive acts became acts of grace and generosity on the part of the Russian people, who responded to the voices of the oppressed and were willing to fight and die for their cause. The creation of the fallacy of an "elder brother" and "little brothers" suggests an analogy to the teaching of Russian Pan Slavists of the nineteenth century.

The most celebrated "reunion" in Russian as well as Soviet historiography is the Pereiaslav Treaty of 1654 between the Muscovite Tsar Alexis and the Hetman of Ukraine, Bohdan Khmelnytskyi. This originally defensive alliance of two sovereign states, with provisions guaranteeing internal independence of Ukraine and a certain measure of external freedoms, soon however disregarded and ignored by Russians, became the model for the future interpretation of Russo-Ukrainian relations with the understanding that the reunion with

²⁸) Tadeusz St. Grabowski, *Rus'-Ukraina i Bialorus' pod rządami Rosji*. 2 vols. (Cracow, 1916).

²⁹) *Istoriia Belorusskoi SSR v dvukh tomakh* (Minsk, 1961) vol. 1, p. 181; *Istoriia Ukrainskoi SSR* (Kiev, 1953) vol. 1, p. 210; *Istoriia SSSR s drevneishikh dnei. Pervaiia seriia toma 1-6* (Moscow, 1966-68) vol. 3, p. 527.

Russia meant renunciation of the idea of an independent state by Ukrainians. As in the case of the Polish partitions, the interpretation of this treaty in Russian and Soviet historiographies remains identical.³⁰ The return to the concept of the restoration of the territorial unity under the aegis of the centralized Russian autocracy nullified any federative tendencies or claim for political autonomy. Obviously, Belorussian and Ukrainian separatist manifestations in the realm of politics, history, language, religion, and culture were instantly interpreted by Russians as a challenge to the very existence of Russia's structure and foundation. The Russian triangular fortress of autocracy, orthodoxy, and nationalism merely extended the concept of territorial unity into the national sphere with the understanding that only a rapid increase of the Russian element at the expense of the two related Slavic peoples would contribute to the preservation of their state. The Prussianization of Germany became a model not only to Russian nationalistically minded Panslavists but equally so to the court in Petersburg and, one may suggest, to the whole of Russian society save for a few individuals such as Alexander Herzen, Nikolai Chernyshevskyi, and Michael Bakunin. Valuev's decree outlawing the Ukrainian language as a symbol of separatism was met with silence and tacit approval by Russian intellectuals and society. To them "reunion" meant Russification too.

Understandably enough, Ukrainian national gains in Galicia became an intolerable and perhaps dangerous contrast to Russia which had to be liquidated at any price and soon. Financial assistance to Galician Russophiles (Moskvophiles) proved to be an inadequate measure, and only the occupation of Galicia by the Russian army during the 1914-15 offensive succeeded, at least partly, in the destruction of that "Ukrainian Piedmont." The deportation of the Metropolitan of the Ukrainian Uniate Church, Count Andreas Sheptytskyj, to Russia, the closing of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, the destruction of Ukrainian institutions and the schools, together with the elimination of the Ukrainian language from public life were the direct results of this "reunion."³¹ In a way of analogy in 1939, Stalin having signed the Pact with Hitler, ordered the Red Army to occupy the Western Belorussian and Ukrainian provinces without any explicit desire voiced by the local population, since neither Belorussian nor Ukrainian representatives travelled to Moscow before September 17, 1939, with a mandate from the people of those provinces, or requested or asked for the protection by the Soviet troops. The formalities of the "reunion" with the BSSR and USSR were only gestures after the

³⁰ *Vossoedinenie Ukrainy s Rossiei, 1654-1954* (Moscow, 1954); I. Krypiakievych, *Bohdan Khmelnytskyi* (Kiev, 1954); *Dokumenty ob osvoboditelnoi voine ukrainskogo naroda, 1648-1654*. (Kiev, 1965).

³¹ An eyewitness account with documents in: Bohdan Janusz, *293 dni rzędów rosyjskich we Lwowie, 3. IX. 1914-22. VI. 1915*. (Lwów, 1915) p. 262 ff.

fait accompli.³² On the other hand, Soviet leaflets, propaganda and historiography have all since promulgated the idea of the reunion of "brotherly peoples." Surprisingly enough, the slogans of the "proletariat solidarity" has rarely been mentioned but have been replaced by such anti-Marxist references as "national liberation from the Polish yoke."³³ This pattern of "national liberation" has since been repeated in the case of Bukovyna in 1940 and the Carpatho-Ukraine 1945. In the latter case, an agreement between Prague and Moscow decided the fate of a half-a-million people who had never in the past had any ties with Russia and for eight centuries were separated from their kinfolk in Galicia.

The reunification of Belorussian and Ukrainian ethnographic territories, completed on Russia's terms by 1945, left outside these two republics only a few hundred thousand of the population within Poland and Czechoslovakia in addition to some 200,000 Ukrainians and 40,000 Belorussians who had left their homelands in 1943-44 and finally settled in North America and other continents.

Moscow's centuries-long struggle to "recreate" a unity of Eastern Slavs, as it supposedly prevailed during the Kyivan Rus' period and as promoted in Russian and Soviet historiographies, has not been significantly affected by the revolution or by the change of the regime and ideology. In both periods the ethnological aspect remained present in addition to the historio-political concept of unity and determination to subordinate the national interest of Ukrainians and Belorussians to Moscow's desire and wants. In both periods Moscow came to realize that uncontrolled nationalism in Galicia, Western Belorussia or even in the Carpatho-Ukraine represented a potential danger to Russia's hold. In 1939 Stalin was well aware of the fact that even "a mosquito" (free Carpatho-Ukrainian Republic) might create a danger to the "elephant", the USSR. It should also be emphasized that Stalin's forceful reunion, while achieved with Russia's might first of all, in a way pleased nationalists of those two peoples too. Having failed to create independent national states in 1917-18, nationalists of various ideological orientations argue that their contribution to the reunion of their respective territories remains a significant step since they were instrumental in the prolonged process of national awakening and thereby forcing Soviet Russia into a compromise with their national aspirations.

This is an accepted reasoning supported by history as well as by

³² According to the Soviet official version as expressed in V. M. Molotov's note to the Polish ambassador in Moscow of September 17, 1939, the Soviet government was bound to protect the life and interest of "half-brothers Ukrainians and Belorussians." (*Dokumenty i materialy po istorii sovetsko-polskikh otnoshenii*, vol. 3, 1939-1943 (Moscow, 1973) p. 178.

³³ H. Vashchenko, "Vyzvolennia Zakhidnoi Ukrainy bolshevykamy: Ofitsiini dokumenty i diisnist." *Ukrains'kyi zhurnyk* (Munich) Book 1 (Dec. 1954) pp. 67-77.

the most current events within the USSR. Therefore, the final answer to the question, which side will profit from the reunion in the long run, should be deferred for an indefinite future. So far there is little evidence on which to conclude that the territorial unity resolved national issues and conflicts in the spirit of Russian historical and national interests. For, the events of 1917-1919 as well as of 1941-43, in the final historical analysis, indicate the presence of a not yet completed development. Ukrainian and Belorussian nationalism survived Tsarist Russia and its re-emerging symptoms are no longer denied by Soviet authorities. On the contrary, almost daily attacks of the Soviet news media together with a rapidly growing list of publications targeting on nationalistic challenges to the Soviet Russian rule in Ukraine and Belorussia, became instrumental in lying to rest the Soviet legend about the "harmonious relationship among the peoples of the USSR." Furthermore, the imprisonment of Ukrainian intellectuals during the last decade reached the point of hysteria and mass oppression revealing hereby the failure of the ideology and the triumph of terror.

Against this background, the study of similarities of Russo-Ukrainian-Belorussian relations in terms of common interests and contradictions during the last three centuries represents an important chapter within the topic — Slavs in unity and conflict. Neither Tsarist Russia nor the Soviet Union offered the other two Slavic peoples complete national freedom to test the strength of the promoted myth of unity.

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Karl ANDERS

MURDER TO ORDER

IN THE LIGHT OF SHELEPIN'S VISIT TO WEST GERMANY AND BRITAIN

(Conclusion)

* * *

Neighbours found Stepan Bandera dying at 1.05 p.m. Tenants of the first floor flats heard moans coming from the hall and when they found Bandera they rushed upstairs to tell his wife. She was waiting for her husband, having heard him shut the door of the car in the courtyard. She called the first-aid service, but Bandera died on the way to the hospital.

A gun was found on Bandera, carried in a gun-belt under his coat on his right-hand side. As violent death was suspected, a post-mortem examination was carried out next day. Bandera had facial injuries caused by small splinters of glass, but the post-mortem also showed that the stomach contained a large quantity of cyanide. The conclusion was 'suspected cyanide poisoning' but the suspected cause of death was not mentioned publicly. The newspaper report spoke of a 'mysterious murder in Munich.'

SPIRITUAL CHANGE

7

Back in East Berlin Stashinsky gave his case-officer a detailed report of the assassination of Bandera. In his written report he stated — as in the Rebet case — that he had met the 'person in question' and that he was sure that 'the greeting had been satisfactory.' Sergey congratulated him and said he was 'a hero.' But Stashinsky did not feel at all heroic. For him it was the beginning of the end.

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Of what he heard and read about Bandera's murder Stashinsky said the following:

'The first mention of the assassination of Bandera which I read in the newspaper was on the following day when I was at Frankfurt airport. It was stated that Bandera had been found dead at his home and that it was still a mystery as to how he had met his death. I later read in the Soviet Zone press that Bandera had been murdered at the instigation of the then Federal Minister for Refugee Affairs, Dr. Oberlander, because Oberlander was afraid that Bandera would come forward as a witness for the prosecution in a case which was pending against him. The newspaper maintained that Oberlander was one of the political leaders of the "Nightingale" battalion, which was in fact composed of Ukrainians, and that Bandera had participated in an illegal execution carried out by this battalion.

'Then one day in East Berlin I saw a newsreel which showed Bandera's funeral in Munich. He was shown lying in his coffin. His family and friends stood in mourning around him. The film shots made me feel as though I were being hit on the head with a hammer.'

Stashinsky added that when he heard the newsreel commentator saying that Bandera had been basely murdered by paid assassins of the American Secret Service that was the first time he had heard — perhaps he meant the first time he had properly taken in — the word 'murder' in connection with his act and he realised that he was a murderer.

'For the first time I saw clearly what I had done,' he said. 'I have already described in the account of the Rebet assignment how killing was made easy for me by the construction of the lethal weapon. I only needed to walk past my victim and, without even taking exact aim, press the trigger. Neither in the case of Rebet nor Bandera did I see what happened to the victim afterwards. This film shot, however, gave me such a shock that something happened to me. This shock was really the root of a personal and political change in me. I became conscious of the inhuman results of my deeds and of what I had on my conscience. I sat back in my seat and covered my face with my hands so that I could see no more. When I left the cinema I had come to a decision.'

Stashinsky felt he *must* talk to someone and discuss his experience in the cinema. He went to Sergey, though he had little hope that Sergey would understand him. He said to Sergey, 'Bandera has a wife and children. I've done it. I'm a murderer.' Sergey only smiled and said, 'You don't need to worry yourself about that. Bandera's children will later be grateful to you for having done it, when they are able to see things in perspective.'

Stashinsky was deeply affected. He did not know what he ought to do. He only knew that he had definitely decided never again to carry out such an assignment. He later claimed that at this moment he lost his faith in Communism.

* * *

Shortly afterwards, in November, Sergey took Stashinsky one day to the Karlshorst compound. In a 'safe house' he was introduced to a Russian general, who he assumed to be the KGB director in East Berlin. Stashinsky said of this meeting:

'A meal had been prepared and a table laid for three. We began with cognac. The general told me that it gave him particular pleasure to be able to inform me that I had been awarded the Order of the Red Banner for the carrying out of a government assignment. I was to travel to Moscow in the next few days where this high decoration would be conferred on me. We then started the meal proper, in the course of which general conversation was carried on, such as about my impressions of Munich, etc.

'Later, when we had gone into another room for coffee, the general told me that after the investiture I should be staying in Moscow for a while until the Bandera affair had been forgotten. During this time I would receive extra training for future assignments which would be even more demanding. He did not go into details about these plans but spoke of a very promising future and a decisive turning point in my life. Sergey made a remark to the effect that in a few years' time I might be occupying his position.'

After this Stashinsky had several meetings with Sergey. Stashinsky asked him what was to become of his fiancée if he had to go to Moscow for a long period. Sergey was not sympathetic. He took the view that marriage to Inge Pohl would be bad for Stashinsky's future, that he should 'finish' with her and arrange a suitable cash settlement. Stashinsky refused to entertain this idea and Sergey then advised him to settle the matter in Moscow. He must above all adhere to his present 'legend' *vis-à-vis* Inge Pohl and her family.

The date of the investiture was fixed for November 25, and a few days before that Stashinsky travelled from East Berlin to Moscow. He was met at the station by an official from KGB headquarters who called himself Arkadiy Andreyevich. Stashinsky was given a room at the Hotel Leningrad. The next day a senior officer of the KGB, Nikolay Nikolayevich, came to the hotel and told Stashinsky that the investiture had been postponed for a little while.

In the last days of November Nikolayevich took Stashinsky to a private room in the Hotel Moscow where he was introduced to the KGB department head, Alexey Alexeyevich. After some introductory conversation Alexeyevich got on to the subject of Stashinsky's future. He told him that until the time was ripe for his next operation, or at least until interest in Bandera's death had died down, he would receive supplementary training. In the first place he must perfect his knowledge of the German language. His second foreign language was to be English. He would then be sent to Western Europe for three to five years, where he would carry out assignments. These

assignments, it was made clear, would be of the type he had already carried out (i.e. the Rebet and Bandera murders) and these would be his principal tasks for the future. He must concentrate upon them. In the meantime he would also receive other assignments, such as the direction of a group of agents. Alexeyevich stressed that Stashinsky was not a common or garden agent, but a representative of the KGB in a leading position.

Then he went on to talk about Stashinsky's fiancée. Alexeyevich said that this marriage to Inge Pohl which he had planned was unsuitable. His 'legend' made it difficult for him to enter into marriage. His 'Lehmann' time was over. Moreover, it was not usual for KGB members to marry foreigners. Stashinsky's counter-arguments — that he was in love with Inge Pohl and that being married to her would make it easier to 'legalise' himself abroad — were not considered valid by Alexeyevich. He advised Stashinsky to give earnest consideration to what he had said.

On December 4 or 5 (again Stashinsky is not sure) the investiture took place. Stashinsky was ordered to go to Nikolayevich's office. There he was collected by Georgiy Aksentyevich, who had given him the order for the liquidation of Bandera. They went together to KGB headquarters and were shown into the office of Alexander Shelepin.

(Alexander Nikolayevich Shelepin, since 1952 a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and of the Supreme Soviet, had a year earlier become chairman of the State Security Committee of the Council of Ministers of the USSR — the KGB — as successor to the notorious General Ivan Serov.)

Alexeyevich was already with Shelepin. 'Shelepin came towards me and greeted me,' Stashinsky said of this occasion. 'On his desk I could see a file on which there was an enlarged photo of myself. Shelepin took from the file the citation accompanying the decoration and read aloud to us the beginning and the end. It stated that "for carrying out an extremely important government assignment" I had been awarded the Order of the Red Banner by decree of the Supreme Soviet. The citation bore the signature of Voroshilov and of Georgadse, to which Shelepin particularly drew my attention.'

(Marshal Voroshilov was at that time Head of State of the Soviet Union, that is President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. Georgadse was Secretary of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet.)

'Shelepin then handed the decoration over to me in a case and congratulated me. The citation, which should also have been handed over to me, remained in my file because of its secret contents. This ceremony was carried out standing. We then sat down at the conference table and Shelepin asked me to describe the course of events in the attack on Bandera. I began with my activities in Rotterdam and told him in chronological order everything which had a bearing on the case. Shelepin then asked me to describe again very exactly the

position from which I had fired the weapon and to make a sketch of the situation.

'After that Shelepin spoke of the further plans they had for me. Using a good deal of political and propaganda padding, he said that what was expected of me was difficult but honourable. When he eventually started to talk about my personal affairs I was able to bring up the subject of my fiancée. I described her as a decent, hard-working girl with whom I got on well and who was by no means wholly unreceptive to the political ideas of Moscow. It was quite the opposite of the truth but I described her as being sympathetic to Soviet ideas. I had to lie. My soul was at stake. I already abominated what I had done. Had I not married Inge Pohl I should probably have become again a faithful party-line Communist and KGB man. I lied to Shelepin to attain my goal.

'Shelepin said that there were also pretty girls in Moscow and in the KGB who could help me in my work. Finally he said, however, that they could not take exception to my desire to marry Inge Pohl if she really conformed to the requirements of Soviet behaviour. There could be no other decision with regard to friends from the People's Democracies. He stipulated that my fiancée would have to support me in my future work and must also satisfy the requirements of the KGB from the political point of view.

'When the question of the marriage was settled, I suggested that I should go to East Berlin at Christmas and make arrangements. Alexeyevich had May or June 1960 in mind but Shelepin finally agreed to Christmas. He said I should bring my fiancée to Moscow and spend a few weeks with her there, so that she could see what life in the Soviet Union was really like. Not until then was I to tell her that I was not German and that I worked for the KGB. I was then to ask her if she still wanted to marry me after this disclosure.

'In the evening of the day of the investiture I celebrated with Arkadiy and Nikolay and a few days later I travelled to Borshchevitse and told my parents about the honour which had been conferred upon me. I was back in Moscow on December 20.'

In Moscow Stashinsky received instructions from Nikolayevich as to how he was to behave in Berlin, and particularly in relation to his fiancée. He was first to give her a political talk and hint that he was working for the KGB. He was then to ask her if she would help him in this work. Their marriage would depend upon her answer. If she agreed, they could travel back to Moscow together at the beginning of January 1960. If she refused, he would return to Moscow alone.

* * *

Stashinsky celebrated Christmas with Inge and her parents at their home. The moment came when he decided to tell her who he really was.

'I told her I was a Russian,' Stashinsky said later, 'that I worked for the KGB, and that up to now I had deceived her about my identity. She was deeply shocked. I tried to soften the blow by saying that I wasn't actually Russian, but Ukrainian. I told her that I had a very responsible job, but I didn't go into details. I did not mention the assassination of Rebet and Bandera. My fiancée was absolutely opposed to the Soviet system and it was obvious to me that she would never agree to work with me for the KGB. Nor did I want her to do so. But I had at least to get her to appear to take an interest in my work when she was in Moscow.'

'We discussed whether we should put everything behind us and go over to the West then and there. This idea came first from Inge. I was not yet ready for such a step. I proposed that we should first see how things went in Moscow. I particularly wanted to take advantage of the extra year and a half's training. I told myself that it could only be to my advantage for my future in the West. After all, the way to the West remained open to us, even if at that time it did not appear to me personally to be wholly desirable.'

'So we came to an agreement and I warned her that everything we had discussed must be between ourselves. I told her she must not only say nothing in Moscow about what we had discussed but that for the present she mustn't say anything to her parents — we must keep to the old "legend." She agreed to this.'

MARRIAGE

8

On January 9, 1960 Stashinsky and Inge travelled on a tourist train from East Berlin to Moscow. Inge received from Sergey a Soviet passport in the name of Inge Fyodorovna Krylova. They spent two months in Moscow, with a ten-day visit to Leningrad. Stashinsky apparently succeeded in persuading his fiancée to feign a pro-Soviet attitude with his superiors and he was granted permission to marry.

The two months in Moscow contributed to the development of what he called the 'spiritual change' in Stashinsky. He felt he was being spied upon by the KGB. Inge drew his attention to the differences between Soviet propaganda and Moscow realities. Stashinsky gradually became accustomed to seeing life under Communism through her eyes. He began to analyse the conditions and to develop his own opinion.

On March 9 they returned to Berlin. Sergey had by now been transferred to Kyiv and his successor was called Alexander Afanasyevich. He saw to all the papers which Stashinsky required for his marriage and on April 23 they were married at the East Berlin central register office, with a church ceremony immediately after-

wards at the Golgotha evangelical church in the Borsigstrasse. Stashinsky says, 'In Moscow I had been told that I was only to go through with the church ceremony if my refusal was going to lead to a breach with my wife's parents and family. However, I didn't even raise the question and made no difficulty about the church ceremony, as I wanted everything to be as it should be. I knew too that it would make my very religiousminded parents happy. I said nothing about it to my KGB superiors, but my wife later betrayed herself by innocently showing our case-officer a photograph taken outside the church after the ceremony. We returned to Moscow as a married couple, using the name "Krylov."'

They were met at the station in Moscow by Arkadiy Andreyevich, who introduced them to their future case-officer, Sergey Bogdanovich Sarkisov (Sergey II) who took them to the flat which had been arranged for them. It apparently belonged to a member of the KGB who was temporarily absent from Moscow.

Sergey II told Stashinsky about his future work. His training would be principally directed towards increasing his knowledge of the German language and later learning English. At the same time he would receive political instruction. Sergey II added that the specialist training which had been mentioned would cover photography and radio. Finally Stashinsky would have to learn a trade with a view to his later being able to legalise his position in the West. It was first planned that he should train as a radio technician, but later it was decided that it would be preferable for him to go into the hairdressing trade, since his wife was a hairdresser and there would thus be a possibility of their running a business together.

The principal aim for Stashinsky from the political point of view while they were in Moscow, according to Sergey II, was to 'find his way back into "Soviet reality,"' which required practice by everyone who had spent any length of time abroad. Stashinsky's wife would have to be 'formed into a "Soviet being."' For this purpose they received copies of Russian newspapers and periodicals, were taken round factories, encouraged to go to the theatre, had to visit museums and inspect a collective farm. They were urged not to make friends with foreigners and to avoid the area around the Intourist hotel, the Metropol. They were to be reserved towards the local people. They could correspond with Inge's parents via an accommodation address in Warsaw. Their real address was to be kept secret also from Stashinsky's parents. Correspondence went via P.O. Box 790 of the General Post Office in Moscow, a KGB postal box.

* * *

Up to the end of July 1960 the Stashinsky's life ran according to the KGB plan without any particular incidents. Twice a week a teacher, Elvira Michailovna, came to their flat and gave Stashinsky

lessons in German, geography, history, religion and etiquette — with a view to future operations.

The 'spiritual change' in Stashinsky was steadily proceeding. His wife had prophesied, 'One day you will wake up and find yourself cured.' Instead of his turning her into a convinced Communist — as Shelepin had said he must — she continued to influence him against Communism. His doubts and distrust of the system grew. One day Inge said to him, 'You're not a stupid person. How can you be so ridiculous about all this?' His reply was, 'Yes, you're right.'

During this period something happened which had an important bearing on Stashinsky's increasing rejection of the Soviet system. He said of this:

'At the end of July 1960 we confirmed that there were bugs in our flat. I was trying to track them down when I ripped off a piece of skirting board in the living room and discovered a cable, insulated with rubber, running behind the skirting. At first I had no inkling as to what the cable could be for. I then discovered that at a certain point the cable, together with a second cable coming from the opposite direction, led through a hole into the next-door flat. Every now and then the cables were led into the walls of our living room. It was clear that the flat had been miked.

'To check on this I undid the insulating tape at one of the connection points and connected the cable coming from the wall with a tape recorder by leading the ends of the cable into a micro-box. I switched the machine on and spoke loudly against the wall where I suspected there was a microphone. Then I re-wound the tape and set the machine to reproduction. I could actually hear — though only faintly the words which had been recorded on the tape reproduced through the loudspeaker. The weakness in reproduction must have been due to the makeshift way I had led the cables back into the microphone box. At any rate I was now certain that we were being spied upon.

'This incident was, for me, in a way the last straw so far as my activities for the KGB were concerned. I was now convinced that our ways must part.'

Mrs. Stashinsky added that after this incident they no longer dared to talk in the flat about anything which could possibly bring suspicion on them. 'Then one day we found our post had been opened,' she said. 'The letters had not even been re-sealed after censorship. When we mentioned this to Sergey, he said straight away that all letters were censored. His explanation of the cable behind the skirting was that the previous occupant had probably been carrying out experiments!'

* * *

During that summer of 1960 Inge found she was going to have a

baby. They mentioned this to no one, but Sergey raised the subject — 'Proof that we were being spied upon,' Inge said later, 'because it was impossible to tell by looking at me at that stage.' She asked Sergey how he knew and he replied, 'There are no secrets from the KGB.' He told her she must have an abortion and when Inge reacted strongly against this he assured her it was quite customary in Moscow. However the Stashinskys both resisted this idea emphatically and no more was heard of it.

Later in the summer they were given leave to visit the Stashinsky parents in Borshchevitse. When they returned to Moscow in September the visits from the teacher ceased and Stashinsky had virtually nothing to do beyond a few translations from German into Russian. He became more and more mistrustful of his employers. It seemed, for one thing, that the expected child was worrying them. Sergey suggested to Inge that she should put the child in a home and let it grow up there. When she protested he said it was a wonderful thing to be able to give a child to the community.

Things began to move towards a climax about the end of the year when General Vladimir Yakovlevich of the KGB called on the Stashinskys, accompanied by Sergey, and told them their planned return to East Berlin was not possible. The political situation, he said, had 'fundamentally altered' and Stashinsky's safety in Berlin was endangered to such an extent that it would not be possible for him to go back there for five years or more. Inge very much wanted to return to her native city to see her parents and there was no objection to this. The underlying intention of the KGB, Stashinsky therefore decided, was that they were not to be allowed to go back to Berlin *together*; one was to be held in Moscow as a hostage.

Stashinsky told his wife this, and took this opportunity also to confess to her about the assassination of Rebet and Bandera, so that she would be fully informed about his past life and his guilt. Mrs. Stashinsky was deeply shocked but Stashinsky felt himself delivered from the continual pangs of conscience he had suffered. Now at least his wife knew the whole truth.

Stashinsky said later, 'My situation by this time was that I must either continue to work for the KGB or I must flee to the West. As the first alternative was morally impossible for me, but on the other hand the KGB travel restrictions prevented my reaching the West via East Berlin, my wife and I agreed on a plan. First of all my wife should write a letter to Shelepin from East Berlin, via the Russian embassy there, in which she would ask that I should at least be allowed to travel to East Berlin for her confinement. If this had no result, she would then try to make contact with the Americans via Frau Schade, a friend of her father. She was to tell them that I was an under-cover KGB worker who had morally dissociated himself from his employers and wanted to go to the West. She was to ask

the Americans to help me in this. She would say that when I had succeeded in reaching the West I would give them details of my work for the KGB.

'I had to reckon on the possibility that something might happen to us both. After the talk with General Yakovlevich I felt I must warn my wife that she might one day meet with a fatal accident. The same might also happen to me. My anxiety was that the true background of the two assassinations would be made known to the world.

'If my wife were unable to carry out any of this — I did not pin much faith in Shelepin and making contact with the Americans seemed to me a very delicate affair — she was to return to Moscow. In that case I had decided that on the next occasion when I was given a KGB assignment to carry out in the West I should myself make contact with the Americans or with German intelligence.'

Having agreed on their course of action, the Stashinskys informed Sergey II that Mrs. Stashinsky was now willing to travel alone. Sergey seemed pleased and said he would make the necessary arrangements.

Before Mrs. Stashinsky left Moscow on January 31, 1961, she and her husband devised some twenty phrases which they could use as a sort of code. They also agreed a time and a place for use in case the Americans wanted to contact Stashinsky in Moscow via a middleman. Only the date was left open. That would have to be agreed between Mrs. Stashinsky and the Americans and communicated to Stashinsky by letter.

They packed up all the things which were not absolutely necessary for daily use and Mrs. Stashinsky took their belongings back with her to East Berlin in two suitcases. So as to delay her return journey to Moscow, which was planned to take place two weeks later, Stashinsky had advised his wife to go at once to a Berlin doctor, who would certify that on medical grounds she should not undertake any further journeys.

A few days after her departure from Moscow a letter arrived from her in East Berlin to say that the doctor would not let her travel back at the end of the fortnight. Stashinsky reported this to Sergey II, saying that Inge had been unwell before leaving and that this was probably the reason why she was not allowed to travel before her confinement.

In the meantime Stashinsky was instructed to resume his studies. For this purpose he was given papers in his real name of Bogdan Stashinsky — identity card, employment papers, trade union papers, and military pass. As there had been a decision about his case at ministerial level, he was admitted without examination into the fourth term at the 'First Moscow State Pedagogic Institute of Foreign Languages.' The Institute authorities knew that he was a KGB member.

Stashinsky received from the 'Director of the Scientific Research Institute' (a cover office of the KGB) a 'Service Testimonial' certifying that he had been awarded the Order of the Red Banner by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet on November 6, 1959 for his 'successful contribution to the solution of an important problem.'

At the end of February Stashinsky received from his wife a letter containing the phrase 'I have cut my finger.' This meant that she had sent the agreed letter to Shelepin via the Soviet Embassy in East Berlin. Soon afterwards Sergey II told Stashinsky that his wife had written to Shelepin about his being allowed to join her in Berlin but that the answer was in the negative. Sergey II sternly criticised Inge's having 'bothered' the Soviet Embassy in East Berlin with this and told Stashinsky to use his influence with his wife to see that nothing like this happened again.

Stashinsky thereupon wrote to his wife, saying that she should 'go to the dressmaker.' In code this means that she should try to get into contact with the Americans. He later had misgivings about this. He telephoned his wife and asked her 'not to go to the dressmaker' for the time being.

Mrs. Stashinsky had to go into the maternity home a month earlier than was expected, and there, on March 31, their son Peter was born. Mrs. Stashinsky telegraphed the news to her husband in Moscow. Stashinsky asked the successor of Sergey II, Yuriy Nikolayevich Alexandrov, to arrange for him to get permission to visit his wife in East Berlin, as there were complications after the birth. The request was refused.

Mrs. Stashinsky said of the situation, 'After this had failed and my husband's letters were becoming more and more despondent, I came to the conclusion I had better return to Moscow with the baby. My contacts at Karlshorst, with whom I had to be constantly in touch, were very pleased at my decision and communicated it to Moscow the same day. The journey was planned for the beginning of August. But while I was still arranging the exact date of the journey my son was taken ill with pneumonia and died two days later on August 8, in the maternity home. This was a terrible blow. It was too much for me and I asked Karlshorst if my husband could come at once to Berlin.'

FLIGHT

9

Inge telephoned her sad news to her husband on the day the baby died and her father sent a telegram urging him to come to Berlin. Next day Stashinsky got in touch with Alexandrov, who said he had already heard the news of Peter's death but he had wanted Stashinsky to hear about it from his wife. Stashinsky said he wanted to

go to Berlin, as he must look after his wife. 'I emphasized,' he said, 'that in her present state of mind she might in despair do something which would be harmful to the KGB. He agreed with me and asked me to telephone him later in the day. I did so and he told me that permission had been granted in principle, but that there were still difficulties concerning travel documents. My wife telephoned again and I told her I would be coming to Berlin next day or the day after. At 7 o'clock that evening I rang Yuriy (Alexandrov) again and he asked me to be waiting outside the house at 5 a.m., as I was to fly to Germany in a military plane. He instructed me to get all my passes etc. ready to hand over.

Distressed as he was about the baby's death Stashinsky nevertheless saw that here was a new and unexpected opportunity for escape. He put everything in order in the flat, being especially careful to destroy the paper concerned with the code phrases. Those papers he did not consider necessary for his future he put in an envelope to give to Alexandrov. The remaining passes and permits etc. he put loose in his coat pocket. He hoped that he would later be able to take them with him to the West.

At 5 a.m. he was waiting outside the house. Alexandrov arrived. He was dressed in his Sunday best and looked as though he were ready to go on a journey. He announced that he was going to accompany Stashinsky to East Berlin. Stashinsky saw his chances of escape receding. At the airport they had to wait several hours for the plane. During this time Alexandrov expressed his suspicions about the baby's death. There were two possibilities: either the Americans or the Germans had killed the baby, so as to lay a trap for Stashinsky, or his wife had done it herself, so as to get him to come to Berlin.

Stashinsky flared up at this and retorted that it was really too much to imagine that his wife could have killed the baby. Alexandrov told him to compose himself. They were, he said, intelligence service men, and they would shortly learn from the German authorities something more about the cause of death. Up to now they did not know anything conclusive.

'After all that I had experienced with KGB men,' Stashinsky said, 'this conversation was the last straw. Those people really thought that a mother was capable of murdering her own child in order to gratify her wishes.'

They landed at Spremberg airfield in the afternoon and were met by one of the Berlin KGB staff who was also one of the contacts for Mrs. Stashinsky. Stashinsky did not know this man's name and always referred to him as 'Graukopf' (grey head) when talking to his wife. 'Graukopf' asked him if he had given his wife any idea that he was coming. When Stashinsky said he had told his wife that she could expect him 'Graukopf' criticised this as 'premature.' He said

that Stashinsky would have to stay in the Karlshorst security compound until the situation was straightened out. Berlin, he continued, had lately become 'a seething den of vice.' The scum of humanity had collected there and 'created an unhealthy atmosphere. Strange people had been asking about him (Stashinsky). Also the cause of the baby's death must be established conclusively.

Stashinsky insisted on telephoning his wife immediately to inform her of his arrival. At about 7 p.m. they drove from the Karlshorst security compound to Dallgow, to the house of Stashinsky's father-in-law. Stashinsky told his wife that they would have to spend the night in Karlshorst. Shortly after 11 o'clock they were back at Karlshorst, where they were accommodated in a 'safe house.'

Of the events of the next two days — August 11 and 21, 1961 — Stashinsky said: 'It was agreed that we should meet the others at about 9 o'clock next morning outside the "safe house." When I looked out of the window before leaving the house, I saw a car with a CD (Corps Diplomatique) number plate parked nearby. Then a Volga arrived and the other car drove away. They had thus obviously been keeping an eye on us during the night. Shortly afterwards "Graukopf" and Yuriy arrived in a Volkswagen. Yuriy took me aside and told me that up to then they had received no report as to the cause of the baby's death. I was to go and make enquiries myself at the hospital. The utmost caution was necessary, he said, and it had therefore been arranged for a surveillance team to guard our safety. The Volga was at my disposal. He would like to meet us at the Budapest Café in East Berlin at 4 p.m. to exchange information.

'I drove with my wife to Dallgow and noticed that there was a car parked in such a position that the house and the street could be kept under observation. In my father-in-law's house we were at last able to talk freely. We both realised that we should now have to take the great decision. We agreed that we would flee to the West after our son's funeral.'

That afternoon Stashinsky drove to the maternity hospital and there was told that the baby had died of pneumonia.

After Stashinsky and his wife had visited the cemetery chapel, where the baby had been laid out, they went on to their meeting with Alexandrov in the Café Budapest as arranged. Alexandrov told them straightaway that he had learned that the baby had died of pneumonia — death from natural causes. Stashinsky reported that his enquiries at the hospital had produced the same answer. He told Alexandrov that they wished to spend the rest of the day in East Berlin. It was agreed that the car would pick them up at 11 p.m. outside the Café Budapest.

Stashinsky continued: 'In the café and later in the streets we knew we were still under observation, despite the fact that the cause of Peter's death had now been established. We wandered about in the

town and talked about the events of the last six months. At 11 p.m. we were driven back to the security compound.'

At about 9 o'clock next morning the Stashinskys were collected by Alexandrov in the Volkswagen. He was driving himself. He told them that he would take them to Dallgow and arrange for them to be collected there at 10 p.m. He behaved as though the measures which had been taken to 'ensure their safety' had now been given up.

The Stashinsky planned that afternoon to visit the furnished room Inge had rented, near her parents' house, and pick up some of her belongings. But when they were ready to set out they noticed a Volkswagen parked nearby. In it were the Soviet surveillance men who had been shadowing them now for two days. There had been no let-up in the watch on them as Alexandrov had seemed to indicate and they were now afraid that they would be watched as closely as ever, or even more so, after the funeral, and that they would have no chance of escape.

Stashinsky then told his wife they must flee before the funeral. 'I was very much afraid she would not be able to bring herself to do this,' he said, 'but she realised that it was vital to do so and that we could be of no further use to our son even if we did attend the funeral.' They decided to make their attempt without delay. Accompanied by Inge's 15-year-old brother Fritz, they left the house but instead of going into the street they crept along under cover of the hedges and were able to reach Inge's rented room without being observed.

'She changed and packed a few things quickly,' Stashinsky said, 'We could not take much as we had to be inconspicuous and allow for being challenged in the course of our flight.'

When they left the house they did not return to Inge's parents but walked on through Dallgow to Falkensee. Stashinsky said, 'I noticed that we no longer had anyone following us. In Falkensee we went past the station to a taxi-rank, but we were unable to hire a taxi there. At a nearby car-hire garage we finally found a taxi-driver who was prepared to drive us to Berlin. On the Berliner Ring we had to show our papers at a check point and say where we were going. I showed my East Zone pass in the name of Lehmann and told the officials I lived in Berlin and was returning home. They allowed us to drive on. We drove through Pankow to the crossroads at Friedrich-Reinhardt-Strasse. There we paid the taxi off and walked to the Friedrichstrasse station. Here we parted from my wife's brother and he returned home by S-Bahn (Underground). We took another taxi and were driven to the Schonhauser-Allee station which is still the Eastern Sector. We got into the S-Bahn and went one stop beyond the sector boundary to Gesundbrunnen station. I had chosen this route so as to be able to say, if we were checked, that we intended to go to my house near the Friedrichstrasse station. This time, however, there was no check.

'When we were in the Western Sector we went straight to the nearby Osloer Strasse, where one of my wife's relatives, Frau Villwoks, lived, but she was not at home, so we took a taxi to Berlin-Lubars where another of my wife's aunts, Frau Kugow, lived. There we met the Villwoks as well and we discussed our position with them all. I urged that we should get in touch with the Americans, if possible that very day. Finally my wife's cousin, Gunter Kugow, drove us in his car to the police station at Berlin-Tempelhof on the Tempelhofer Damm. The police officers there arranged for me to be collected by a contact of the Americans.'

Mrs. Stashinsky confirmed this story of her husband's and added, 'Our flight to West Berlin really was a flight. There was no other way out for us, though with all the strain and stress and emotional burden of the last few days we were not really fully aware of the consequences of our step.'

Inge's 15-year-old brother Fritz played an important role in the escape, although he knew nothing about it in advance. He also, and quite separately (and contrary to Stashinsky's belief that he 'returned home') took the opportunity to make his own escape from the Soviet Zone. He later told how, on that Saturday afternoon, he had fetched from the florist's the two wreaths which Joschi ('Joschi' was Stashinsky's pet name, derived from his alias, Josef Lehmann) and Inge had ordered for Peter. 'I put them in the hall of our house,' he said. 'Inge came and looked at them. One wreath was of fir leaves with roses and on the ribbon were the words "Ruhe Sanft" (Rest gently). This one was from Joschi and Inge. The ribbon on the other wreath bore the words "Von Opa und Fritzchen" (From Grandpa and little Fritz). Inge said to me, "You will have to take our wreath with you." From this I understood that she and Joschi would not be present at Peter's funeral, that they would try to flee beforehand. Neither Inge nor Joschi had said anything to me about it. But I thought that was what they would have to do, as it would be impossible to flee after the funeral.'

'I had already noticed the cars which had been parked suspiciously near the house. They usually had two or three men in them who looked foreign. When I spoke about this Joschi said that he was being protected by these people, but the tone in which he said it indicated that he was really being watched by them.'

When Fritz was on his way to the florist's a friend had told him that at Staaken station many travellers who wished to go to Berlin were being turned back at the check point. Fritz told his sister and brother-in-law about this. 'Inge asked me to go for a walk with them,' he went on. 'Before we left Joschi asked me if I had seen a car outside. I told him what I had seen. Joschi told us to turn right when we left the house and keep alongside the fence. We were not to look round. Between us and the street there was a ditch and a row of

trees. From the corners of the Ernest-Thalmann-Street, and in particular from the corner where I had repeatedly observed a car, we could not be seen. When we had reached the street leading to Dallgow station, Joschi asked me to go ahead and see whether there was a car there. When I had confirmed that there was no car, we crossed the road and went on in the direction of the Geibelstrasse.

'Shortly after that we reached Frau Niebuhr's house and went to Inge's room. Joschi changed his shirt there and put on a coat. Inge asked Joschi if they should take Peter's blanket with them so as to have at least some keepsake and Joschi agreed. Up to that moment neither of them had said a word to me about an intended escape.'

When they left the house and continued to walk in the direction of Falkensee, Stashinsky advised them to say, should they be halted, that they were going to 'have an ice.' When they were near Falkensee station he said that he thought it was dangerous to stay in the vicinity of the station. It would be certain to be under observation. 'Inge asked me to go round to the station and fetch a taxi,' Fritz said. 'I said that would be rather obvious, and then I remembered a taxi-rank nearby. We went there and I asked a driver if he would take us to Berlin. He agreed. On the way to Berlin I remembered that I still had a pair of shoes in Joschi's room in the Marienstrasse. I told Inge this. She thought that was splendid, as we could say, if asked, that that was what we were going for. However we were not stopped.'

After paying off the taxi at the crossroads Inge said to Fritz that they would probably not see one another again for a long time. She gave him 300 East Marks (about £40) and told him he was to return home. Fritz added, 'Although neither Inge nor Joschi had said so, I knew for certain that they would take the S-Bahn from there to the Western Sector of Berlin.'

Fritz Pohl then went to the S-Bahn ticket office and took a ticket to Staaken station. He was going to return home via Dallgow. He went as far as Spandau station.

'There I wondered whether to go home or to relatives in the Western Sector. I thought of Inge's last request. She had asked me to say, should I be questioned at home, that she and Joschi had gone to visit some relations. It occurred to me that I might also visit some relatives who lived near Gesundbrunnen station. I therefore got into the Nording train and went as far as Gesundbrunnen. As I did not find aunt Grete Villwok at home, I took a bus to aunt Lotte Kugow's. There I also met Uncle and Aunt Villwok. At my request, with the permission of my uncle, Rudolf Pohl, I was allowed to go the next day to the emergency camp at Berlin-Marienfelde to register as a refugee.'

* * *

Stashinsky was in due course handed over by the Americans to

the West German authorities. On September 1, 1961, he was imprisoned pending investigations. The warrant for his arrest gave the reason as 'treasonable relations.' The two murders to which Stashinsky had confessed were not mentioned. Not until December 21 did the judge responsible for the preliminary proceedings at the Federal Court in Karlsruhe decide to extend the warrant to include the murders of Rebet and Bandera.

THE TRIAL

10

It would not be unreasonable if the reader, knowing nothing of the Stashinsky case except this account of the facts, were to have a faint scepticism about the absolute truth of all the details. For this is one of the most remarkable, at times almost incredible, cases in the history of political murder, and although everything written here is based upon Stashinsky's confession, upon his trial and the abundance of evidence adduced there in corroboration, upon statements by those who played some part in the events and others who have met and talked with Stashinsky and were present at his trial, the narrative of events and their motivation may give rise to some reservations.

Indeed such reservations were present at first in the minds of practically everybody connected with the case as it unfolded after Stashinsky's flight to the West. The American authorities expressed doubts; the West German criminal investigation officials at first believed the whole story to be fictitious. Even the first hearing by the judge responsible for the preliminary proceedings of the Federal High Court were not without question marks. And the seven-day trial itself, before the Third Criminal Senate of the Federal High Court in Karlsruhe, was marked by the cool reserve of the court, which seemed to many of the spectators to be exaggerated. No accused man was ever surely treated with so much impartiality and reserve by a court and prosecuting authorities as was Bogdan Stashinsky. One of the constantly recurring phrases used by the presiding judge, Dr. Jagusch, to the accused was, 'If what you say is correct, Herr Stashinsky...'

The absolute objectivity which had been laid down by the highest German criminal court as the basis for the trial was specially stressed by the presiding judge at the start by his reading out a statement which was intended for the representatives of the German and foreign press and radio. In this statement it was said that shortly after the charge had been brought the accused had already been

described as a 'murderer' or 'political assassin' in certain press publications, as though the court proceedings had already taken place and the accused been convicted. As chairman of these proceedings, Dr. Jagusch said, it was his duty to protect the accused against this sort of 'premature conviction.'

'An accused person,' he went on, 'no matter how suspect he has rendered himself, is not merely the object of the proceedings. He remains a morally responsible human being also when he is before the court... no one is entitled to use the accused as a plaything or as a weapon in political altercations. The accused has a right to the court's protection in this matter.'

Scepticism and doubt prevailed among Germans and foreigners alike on the first day of the main proceedings. There was no doubt as to whether the accused was the person he said he was or whether he would repeat the statements he had made during the preliminary enquiries and proceedings. But there was no doubt either as to the judicial impartiality and open-mindedness with which the trial was conducted. Bogdan Stashinsky had that prerequisite of lawful criminal procedure, 'a fair and unbiased trial.'

The objectivity with which this trial was conducted has been specially stressed by the legal representatives of the widows of the murdered men, Frau Daria Rebet and Frau Jaroslava Bandera. Dr. Miehr, counsel for Frau Rebet, said, 'It is certainly a comfort to be able to confirm at the end of this trial that it has not turned into a "show trial." Thank God that we cannot be reproached with that, and that the reasonable and pertinent investigation of the facts of the case conformed to the reasonable and pertinent confession of the accused, which provided a reliable and convincing basis for judgment. On the other hand this trial has allowed us to take a look behind the scenes at the practices of the Soviet Secret Service, a secret service which we know in all its world-embracing activity and which we know to have an army of agents ready to infiltrate and to undermine all over the world.'

Frau Bandera's attorney, Charles J. Kersten, a former United States Congressman, said in his speech, 'The High Court has conducted a trial which is of great significance for the whole world. All the essential facts were presented in the most objective manner, in keeping with the democratic traditions of western civilisation.'

During the seven days of the trial the court and the spectators became convinced that Stashinsky was willing and able to make correct, clear and complete statements. The confession, which he repeated, corresponded in all details with the earlier confessions which he had made to the police and to the judge at the preliminary proceedings. He evidently had an excellent memory. He appeared to be incapable of inventing or embellishing anything.

The psychiatric expert had also particularly stressed this point.

Stashinsky's statements and his behaviour when making them, he said, were natural, genuine and spontaneous. Although he was a foreigner, he reacted swiftly and logically to unexpected interpolated questions. His statements were sensible, exact to the smallest detail, and struck no false notes. The complete and consistent presentation of the external events and inner feeling of the whole affair made the confession and the mass of objective proof powerfully persuasive. The events could only have been described in such detail by someone who had taken part in them. This chain of events, most of which could be checked, could only be known to the person involved. The inner, spiritual conditions which Stashinsky had described during the trial could also only have been experienced by the person involved.

Stashinsky's confession was corroborated by an abundance of evidence — identity cards, driving licences, telegrams, travel tickets, hotel bills and many other details which could be independently checked. He identified and named Shelepin and the agent Bissaga ('Nadichyn') from photographs. All his topographical detail about Munich was correct; he identified, again from photographs, houses he had mentioned in his statements, and his description of the Soviet security compound at Karlshorst — forbidden territory to unauthorised persons — was confirmed as correct.

When he said there was a crowd and a police car outside No. 8 Karlsplatz in Munich after he had murdered Rebet this was confirmed by the police. The woman he said he heard on the stairs of the building where he killed Bandera was traced to be a cleaner, Kressengia Huber, and her story tallied. The broken-off bits of keys were found in the lock as he had described. His statement that Bandera was trying to get the key out of lock with his left hand was confirmed; Bandera was left-handed.

His descriptions of the murder weapons and how they worked were confirmed by scientific experiments and tests by experts. The antidotes to the poison spray, which he described, were recognised by experts as sodium thiosulphate and amyl-nitrite, which are used in accidents with cyanide.

In his speech giving the reasons for the verdict, the presiding judge, Dr. Jagusch, said, among other things, 'The accused has shown during the trial that, in spite of his troubled youth, he had learned to think and to feel in a morally sound way. When he was only 19 years of age and a student at the Teachers' Training College in Lviv, the Soviet State got him into its grip and turned this young, inexperienced, tractable human being into a political tool. The action which brought him into contact with the police was an unimportant student's prank.

'The Soviet Secret Police, the MGB, win this easily influenced

young person, not yet sufficiently discerning to weigh matters up, as an MGB spy against Ukrainian underground groups. They threaten him with reprisals against his family, turn him into a renegade and alienate him from his family and his own people. As a naïve young man he is unsuspecting of the crafty methods of the Secret Police.

'In return for his services as an agent he receives the promise that his family will be spared. What a demand on a young person! He "proves himself" in an enquiry into a political assassination and becomes an MGB man to be used against Ukrainian underground groups. From now onwards he lives exclusively in the sphere of influence of the Soviet MGB. He receives training in Communism and as an agent.

'From now onwards he is encumbered with the political system which has been characterised as the absolute negation of the value of the human being, the denial of man as a being created by God and the substitution of the synthetic Soviet religion of a debased and inhuman humanism — man as the mere product of protein and water, who can be drilled into producing automatic reflex actions man as the tool of a social Utopia, replaceable at will and worth only as much as the sum of the reflexes useful to society.

'The scars and injuries produced by such drilling of the human soul should be particularly well appreciated by us — the nation of Goethe and Lessing — who, in the centre of Europe, were for twelve years the scourge of humanity under the criminal influence of Hitler, Goebbels and their associates; us, the nation with still some eighteen millions of its people living in the Soviet sphere of influence. For eleven years, nearly as long a time, the accused was the tool of the MGB-KGB.

'The Moscow order for the murder of Rebet places the accused in an entirely new position. There can be no one who has been present at this long trial who really thinks that Stashinsky was cut out to be the murderer of political opponents of the Soviet Union. He is an intelligent and gifted person, gentle and peace-loving by nature. Had it not been for the Soviet system, which, just as did the National-Socialist (Nazi) system, regards political murder on behalf of the state as a necessity, he would today probably be a school-teacher somewhere in the Ukraine. No, he belongs to the — alas — large group of people who on the orders of their own state, to which they are subservient, commit crimes.

'In him we see a man who has first been indoctrinated with the propaganda of hate and is then degraded to having to commit murder. That does not absolve him from criminal guilt. He knew the "Thou shalt not kill". Indeed, the order to commit murder was contrary to his whole character. He was distressed about the victim and the victim's family, whom he had never seen. On the other hand the

method of murder chosen did not call for exceptional energy or skill. Also at that time he was still accustomed to absolute obedience. He has clearly described the arguments he used to himself. His political training had taught him to see Rebet as a traitor and an enemy of the Soviet Union. He was thus able to pacify his conscience for the time being.

'He takes on the assignment, travels to Munich with the hidden weapon and on October 12, 1957, has the opportunity he has been ordered to wait for, though his conscience tells him he should avoid it, keeps strictly to the terms of his assignment to lie in wait for Rebet at his office at No. 8 Karlsplatz. He knows that there is probably a better opportunity for carrying out the deed somewhere else, but he says to himself, "An order is an order and if he comes I must do it; if he doesn't come then my work for today is finished."

'But Rebet comes to the office about 10 a.m. Acting almost automatically, the accused goes towards him on the staircase and fires the poison pistol in the unsuspecting victim's face. He has the weapon, a short, finger-like tube, rolled up in a newspaper. It all goes very easily. He does not have to aim exactly. No struggle. No shrieks. No blood. Only the pressure of a finger; a weak, smacking sound. Rebet immediately falls forward and is shortly afterwards found a few steps higher. Stashinsky leaves the house, goes to the Hofgarten, throws the weapon into the water, travels back to East Berlin and there reports on his activities.

'In the prescribed KGB language he has "successfully greeted an acquaintance" — by which murder is meant.

'Unpalatable facts have come to light in this trial. The political leadership of the Soviet Union — a world power which used to be proud of its history and of its culture, which gave the world a Pushkin, a Gogol, a Chekhov, a Tolstoy and a Dostoevsky, and more recently a Mayakovsky, a Sholokhov and Pasternak — the political leadership of this country, a member of the United Nations, having correct diplomatic relations with the German Federal Republic, considers it advisable to have carried out on the sovereign territory of the Federal Republic a state assignment for a murder by poisoning, decided upon at government level at least.

'In the confident expectation that the deed would not become known, they were ready to flout international morality and German penal laws in order to remove a political opponent. Yet in the end every political murder is turned against its instigator, just as are all political lies. From a previous case which came before the Federal High Court we learned that the Soviet Union had misused a member of its embassy in Bonn to spy against the Federal Republic. It can now regretfully be confirmed that the Soviet Union has also officially ordered and had carried out attempts on people's lives on German territory.'

The written judgement stated that the trial 'conclusively proved' that Stashinsky carried out the murders on the orders of 'a very high Soviet authority.' It went on:

'Before Stalin's death, orders for the liquidation of Soviet citizens and others were frequently given by the head of the KGB (or, previously, MGB, NKVD, GPU). Since about 1956 these decisions have no longer been taken by the KGB, but by a committee consisting of several members of the government. This is emphasized by the fact that Stashinsky received the Order of the Red Banner for carrying out an important government assignment.

'In the instructions for the attacks on Rebet and Bandera, Stashinsky's employers determined beforehand all the essential features of the attempts — victim, weapon, anti-dotes, method of use, time and place of attempt, travel arrangements. Everything was pre-meditated. The poison pistol, made to their orders and "already used on several occasions and always with success," the detailed directions for carrying out the deed, all prove that they planned to kill, taking deliberate advantage of the victim's defencelessness, and that they ordered these murders.'

Elsewhere the written judgement says: 'As organisers of the deed — the actual wire-pullers — they (the Soviet government) had the will to commit the deed... therefore (they are) the indirect perpetrators. There have always been political murders committed in the world. More recently, however, certain modern states have, under the influence of radical political conceptions (for example, Germany under National-Socialism) gone over to actually planning political murders or mass murders and ordering the execution of these bloody deeds.

'Those who merely receive official orders to commit a crime are not subject to the usual criminal, or at any rate personal, impulses to commit the deed. Rather do they find themselves in the morally confusing, at times hopeless, position of being ordered by their own state — which many people who have been subjected to clever mass propaganda seem to regard as having unquestioned authority — to commit reprehensible crimes. They carry out these directions under the authority of their own state, from which on the contrary they are justified in expecting the maintenance of justice and order. These dangerous stimuli to committing crime originate not from those who receive the orders but from those in positions of power in the state, who thereby flagrantly misuse their power. Such criminal orders are not even confined to their own national territory. This trial has demonstrated that they are international in range.'

The judgment then treats the essence of the problem of the criminal responsibility:

'... the mental and spiritual attitude of the accused towards both

the murders shows . . . that he did not commit these deeds of his own volition, that he had no personal interest in them and no will to commit them, that he finally submitted himself to the authority of his political superiors against the dictates of his conscience and that he did not himself determine any of the essential points for their execution. No material or political interest of his own was present to provide the will for the deed. He was promised no payment for carrying out the deed, as in the case of a hired underling, and he received none. He was surprised by the award of the decoration. It was repellent to him, but he could not avoid accepting it.

'To regard Rebet and Bandera as "enemies of the Soviet Union who must be liquidated" did not arise from his own political ideas. Such ideas have been pumped into him from his youth onwards without real results . . . The guilt of the deeds only fanned his conscience into more life. The political circumstances, moreover, would not force him to atone for his deeds. On the contrary, he deliberately endangered his life to be able to make atonement, morally inescapable as it was, when he realised that he was being misused as a "professional murderer" . . .

'Stashinsky's superiors controlled the "if" and "how" of the deed in both cases. They took the decision, determined the victim, chose and tested the weapon and the poison. They dictated the carefully planned "legends," organised the journeys to Munich and gave minute details as to where and when the deeds should be committed.'

At the conclusion of the judgment the following was said about the punishment:

'The accused has, on behalf of a foreign power, killed two people in the German Federal Republic who were entitled to the Federal Republic's protection. That weighs extremely heavily. He was, however, only an unwilling tool of the ruthless political instigator. He became aware that he had acted criminally and reprehensibly while he was still in the Soviet sphere of influence, and after a successful flight he at once made a frank confession.

'He obviously repents his actions, even though he may not show his feelings. He has confessed fully and freely and spared nothing. He knew that the murder of Rebet had aroused no suspicion whatever. In spite of this he revealed it on his own initiative to the entirely unsuspecting examining authorities, so as to make a clean breast of everything. He gave himself up knowing that he was almost certain to be charged with having committed two murders, and knowing all the consequences of such a charge. He broke with his past under the most difficult circumstances and in a very dangerous manner both for him and for his wife. That applies not only to their flight but also to their future.

'His guilt is also mitigated by the fact that in his early youth, in

spite of a Christian home and background, he was repeatedly the witness of bloody deeds of political violence. It must also be borne in mind how craftily the MGB got him into its grip when he was only 19 and the political and ideological drilling he received from them. He has already atoned for part of his great guilt. He is, however, prepared to make whatever further atonement is necessary.

'The guilt of his superiors has been proved to be much greater. Without their system of individual political terror neither murder would have taken place. The Soviet Russian principals unscrupulously ordered and had carried out on the territory of the German Federal Republic two political murders, thereby grossly disregarding all international morality and the obligations of international law as between two states. The guilt of the highly-placed instigator of the deeds cannot be laid to the charge of the accused. On the other hand, Stashinsky's frank confession has helped to uncover and lay bare the criminal methods of the political struggle. The punishment he receives will not destroy the accused's civic existence. It will as far as possible help him to atone.'

The Federal High Court considered that the appropriate sentence for the two cases of being an accessory to murder was six years' hard labour for each. The sentence for treasonable relations was eighteen months' imprisonment, which was changed to one year's hard labour. This amounted altogether to thirteen years' hard labour, which was compounded into eight years' hard labour on the combined charges.

In the course of the trial Stashinsky made the following statement about his state of mind and conflict of conscience:

'From my childhood onwards I had known that one must never kill another human being. I knew too that this moral law might only be broken in case of self-defence or war. I acted to a certain extent in self-defence — at least I believed myself to do so — since refusal to carry out the order would have put my life in danger. If this point of view cannot be accepted as valid, one must consider the fact that from my earliest youth there was implanted in me, in addition to the moral law, the belief that an enemy of our people, if he could not be brought to reason by any other method, must be eliminated, so that he would be unable to do any further harm. I had been taught that every means was justified in putting this thesis into practice.

'Rebet and Bandera had been depicted to me as enemies of our people whose elimination was a necessity. At the time I was convinced of this, especially since I had had experience in boyhood of the way in which the OUN had behaved in the struggles in the West Ukraine.

'While in the Rebet case I still justified the deed on the grounds of political necessity, as I had been taught to do, in the Bandera case I had already begun to have doubts on the grounds of the moral law. For that reason I drew back in May 1959 from the deed I had been

ordered to carry out. In October 1959, however, I carried it out as I did not believe it possible to evade doing so without danger to myself. I was in a hopeless position in relation to the KGB. If I had refused to carry out the order I should immediately have been eliminated as being in the know about, and having carried out, the murder of Rebet.'

Asked what other consequences he would have expected if he had refused to obey the order to murder, Stashinsky said that the imprisonment of relations was usual and was an open secret. He said, "Those who would have been affected in the first place were my parents and relatives. I had never been explicitly threatened on this point, as there had never been any difficulties with me before the attempts on Rebet and Bandera. But I know that their fate would have been a move to Siberia, or at least that they would have been driven out of Borshevitse. It had not been for nothing that I was told to reconcile myself with my parents in 1954, so that I should once more be bound to my parental home and become responsible for their fate.

'It was obvious that there would be no reluctance to use coercive measures against my parents. My father was known to be a Ukrainian nationalist and to have been in contact with the resistance, for which he was imprisoned for ten months. My parents' nationalistic outlook and their connections with the resistance were sufficient reasons for proceedings to be taken against them at any time. Such things can be brought up again even after a decade; the laws concerning these offences know no limitation.

'Then there was my sister Maria, who was the most vulnerable because of the close relations she had had with a man in the resistance, who later died in the struggle.

'My brother-in-law Kruk, as a boy of fifteen, had been found in possession of arms and sentenced to fifteen years' imprisonment for participation in the resistance. He served seven of the fifteen years. My sister Irene had earlier been dismissed from her post as a teacher on the grounds of political unreliability. I knew the KGB would take action against this "politically unreliable" family if I dared to refuse to carry out the orders of the Russian Secret Service. The fate of my parents and my relatives is a heavy spiritual burden for me today, even though I have freed myself by my confession.

'If I had refused to carry out the order concerning Bandera it would have been very serious for my fiancée and her family. The Pohl family were by no means Rusophiles but rather viewed the Russian occupation as hostile. True, my father-in-law had suffered no appreciable losses since 1945 and had been able to keep on his workshop with three employees, as he did work that was needed.. He made no secret, however, of his anti-Soviet and anti-Communist

attitude, especially when he was drunk. He had once been denounced by name in a Soviet newspaper for thus expressing his views. He always carried the newspaper cutting about with him and showed it with great pride when conversation was on that subject.

'Finally, I should have exposed myself to the greatest danger if I had not carried out the murder assignments. It must be realised in this connection that these assignments were of a fundamentally different nature from the usual intelligence assignments. Had I, for example, refused to go to see Nadiychyn, then the consequences would at most have been a reprimand or dismissal. In the case of the murder assignments, however, I should have had to be eliminated as a witness or as someone who had taken a look behind the scenes. I should even have had to be liquidated if I had reported the Rebet assignment to the American or West German authorities before the attempt, because the disclosure of the assignment would have been so harmful to the Soviet Union. That it is possible to accomplish such liquidation even in another country without causing a great sensation had been shown clearly enough.

'I once had a talk on this subject with Sergey in Berlin. I had read in some Western newspaper about the case of the KGB captain, Nikolay Khoklov, and had asked Sergey what type of man he was and what posts he had occupied. Sergey described him as an adventurer, who was "morally fallen." He added something which was very significant for me: "We shall get him sooner or later."

'It is quite clear that anyone who betrays the KGB will be liquidated. I am today still afraid of this happening to me and to my wife. I was already convinced of this before I came to the West. My wife and I know that we must be prepared for the revenge of my late employers for the rest of our lives.'

In reply to the question as to what his present attitude was to his past deeds, Stashinsky replied:

'My present attitude to both deeds is fundamentally different. This is explained by the change which I have undergone since November 1959. The reason for my flight to the West is to be found in this change. I wanted to unburden my conscience and I wanted to give world-wide publicity to the way in which "peaceful co-existence" really works in practice. I did not want to go on being used on murder assignments. I wanted to warn all those who live in danger of being liquidated, as were Rebet and Bandera, to take precautions. I hope that my flight to the West will be seen as lessening my guilt, for I have brought a great deal upon myself through my flight. The fate of my parents and relatives will come to pass, or may already have come to pass, as I have described it. This will always remain a heavy spiritual burden for me. My flight has already resulted in my father-in law, who still lives in the Soviet Zone, being kept in

custody for seven weeks by the Soviet authorities. It is by no means certain that he will not be subject to more serious measures when my case becomes known in its entirety.

'My wife and I will always live in the fear that we shall one day be overtaken by retribution from the East. Quite apart from that, we are entirely without means here in the West. Nevertheless I have decided in favour of the West, because I believe that this step was absolutely necessary for the world at large.'

AFTERMATH

11

When Stashinsky's Moscow employers were certain that his attempt on Bandera's life had been successful, but unlike the Rebet case, was known to have been murder, they did what is virtually Communist routine in such cases: they accused the West of having committed the crime.

They had ready-made 'murderers' to hand, and they evidently counted on human forgetfulness, judging by the way they presented a 'new' murderer before they had withdrawn the accusation against the 'old' one. According to the Communist propaganda version, Bandera's first 'murderer' was the former Federal Minister for Refugee Affairs, Dr. Theodor Oberlander.

Three days after Bandera's death the Soviet bloc press started reporting and commenting on it. The theme was that the 'traitor' Bandera had now come to the end he deserved, and that Dr. Oberlander had killed Bandera, or had him killed, because he was an embarrassing and disturbing witness from Oberlander's past.

The periodical of the Communist youth organisation of the Soviet Union, *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, wrote on October 18, 1959: 'Just when Bandera had learned the bloody truth about Oberlander, he was found dead . . . West German newspapers are beating about the bush and talking about a mysterious third person. Who this third person is is clear to every logically-minded being. The clues point to Oberlander.'

The Bulgarian paper *Rabotnichesko Delo* wrote on October 19, 1959: 'The "accidental" death of Bandera . . . "accidentally" coincides with the unmasking of Oberlander . . . One of the weightiest witnesses against the Bonn Minister has been destroyed. The man (Bandera) who knew too much can say no more . . . Did the Good Fairy help Herr Oberlander or was it he himself?

On October 20, 1959 *Krasnaya Zvezda* (Red Star) of Moscow wrote: 'Bandera . . . knew too much about Oberlander's activities. As public

opinion is becoming increasingly insistent that Oberlander should be brought to judgment, Bandera could have become one of the most important witnesses. This made the Bonn Minister and his patrons apprehensive. They decided to liquidate Bandera and obliterate all traces. Thus has one rogue got his own back on another.'

The death of Bandera and the attempts to push the guilt on to the West had a varied reception in the press of the Soviet bloc countries. While it was given a prominent place in the Soviet, Polish and Czechoslovakian press, it was accorded only scant notice in Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria. This means that, at first, Communist propaganda was mainly concerned with conveying to the population of the countries which knew Bandera and had belonged to his field of activity the news that the 'dreaded Bandera' was dead. Who had killed him was of secondary importance. It was the special task of the Soviet Zone press to publicise the latter problem, duly inflated for propaganda purposes.

It was two years before the Soviets and their satellites — principally the Communist propagandists in the Soviet Zone of Germany — began their second action in the Bandera case. They were forced to begin it because Bogdan Stashinsky had now fled to the West.

This fact could not be hidden for long from the KGB. The question was whether or not he would confess to the murders. If he did, Communist propaganda must react accordingly. But the reaction proved revealing, as was said correctly in the judgment against Stashinsky: 'The reactions of the Soviet Zone and the Soviet Union after Stashinsky's flight emphasise the authenticity of his statements. It should be borne in mind that the German authorities did not make his arrest and confession known until the middle of November 1961.'

But already by the end of September 1961 the Ukrainian whom Stashinsky had in vain tried to recruit for the KGB during his first assignments in Munich (and whose name he did not know) had received a secret letter from the KGB, warning him about statements from 'the man with whom he had been in contact in 1956-57' — i.e. Stashinsky — and asking him to destroy all the papers received at that time and to report on certain dates at a certain place, using certain passwords, to receive further instructions.

It can be assumed that it was known to the KGB by September that Stashinsky had confessed. It was decided to take action and the Soviet Zone was charged with this. The press office of the Prime Minister called a press conference in East Berlin on October 13, the eve of the second anniversary of Bandera's murder, and introduced to the world a new version of the murder of Bandera. The star of this conference was Stefan Lippolz, a 54-year-old Ukrainian who had

fled from the Soviet Zone to the Federal Republic in 1955 and had opened a public house, the 'Stephansklaus', on the Stephansplatz in Munich, which was much frequented by Ukrainians.

Lippolz's story was that in Munich he had been recruited as an agent by Yaroslav Sulima, a secret collaborator of the Federal Intelligence Service (BND), and Sulima had introduced him to a German who called himself 'Dr. Weber' and who also belonged to the BND.

At the East Berlin press conference (according to *Neues Deutschland* of November 14, 1961) Lippolz said he was ordered to murder Bandera by the Bonn Secret Service. 'In January 1957,' he said, "Dr. Weber" suggested to me that he knew of a way of eliminating Bandera by violent means. He then gave me a white powder, with which Bandera was to be poisoned. I was not, however, in a position to carry out the assignment and I explained this to "Dr. Weber," advising him to look for someone who was permanently at No. 67 Zeppelinstrasse (in Munich), the canteen of the Bandera organisation. At the same time I gave him the name of a Ukrainian émigré, Dmytro Myskiw, who was economic adviser to the Bandera organisation.

Lippolz said he fled from the Federal Republic to Austria because he believed the BND to be on his track as knowing about the plan to murder Bandera.

'When I learned in Austria of the murder of Bandera I thought the BND would now have lost interest in me, so I travelled back to the Federal Republic and went straight away to see Dmytro Myskiw in Munich. He made a pitiful impression on me. In reply to my question as to why he was so depressed, he said that he had murdered Stefan Bandera on the order of the Federal Intelligence Service. When he told me that on the day of Bandera's death he had brought him his lunch I knew at once that he had done what I was to have done in carrying out "Dr. Weber's" assignment.'

Lippolz then left Germany again and went to Norway as he felt he was in danger from the BND because of his knowledge of Bandera's murder. 'I only realised how serious things were,' he said, 'when I received the news of Dmytro Myskiw's sudden death.'

Lippolz maintained that Myskiw had been murdered by BND agents and added, 'It was obvious that the BND people intended to do to me what they had done to Myskiw.' For this reason, he said, he returned to Germany, but to the Soviet Zone this time, and gave himself up to the authorities.

The Lippolz story, intended to lay the murder of Bandera at the door of the 'Bonn Secret Service,' did not stand up well to examination. Investigation proved that Dmytro Myskiw was absent on an official journey to Italy at the time of the murder of Bandera. On

the day of Bandera's death he was in Rome, not Munich. Entries in his travel documents showed that he returned to Munich on the following day, having received news of Bandera's death by telegram.

Lippolz' statement that Bandera had been poisoned by Myskiw with a white powder put into his lunch proved untrue because Bandera did not eat at the OUN canteen on the day of his death; no one 'brought him a midday meal.' On that day Bandera left his office about noon, bought some provisions in the town (including the tomatoes Stashinsky saw) which were later found near him, and drove home to have lunch with his family. It was then and there he met Stashinsky — and death.

It was further established, moreover, that Myskiw was not murdered, as Lippolz maintained, but died on March 27, 1960 in his room at 100 Moosacher Strasse, Munich, of natural causes. According to the post-mortem findings, the cause of death was cerebral haemorrhage. There was no trace of violence nor of poison.

CONCLUSION

12

In the course of his judgment in the Stashinsky trial the presiding judge, Dr. Jagusch, remarked that 'the Soviet Secret Service no longer commits murder at its own discretion. Murder is now carried out on express government orders. Political murder has, so to speak, now become institutionalised'.

There can be no doubt where Stashinsky's orders emanated from. Stashinsky said in his original statement that, during a conversation he had in Moscow at the time of his investiture with the Order of the Red Banner, his case-officer, Arkadiy Andreyevich, told him that while the Soviet government does not officially sanction murder certain 'enemies of the state' must be liquidated and in these cases special exceptions are made. He added that the murders of Rebet and Bandera belonged to these exceptions, and that Shelepin himself gave approval for Bandera's murder.

Yet when the news of Stashinsky's flight to the West was reverberating through the KGB and other official circles in Moscow the man who escaped blame or censure was Shelepin.

The importance of Stashinsky's defection was that he had been initiated into the secrets of the Soviet Secret Service, he had known of the existence of the murder orders and he had carried them out. A former KGB major, Anatol Golizin, has stated that the Stashinsky case caused a sensation in the KGB. In the search for scapegoats, seventeen KGB officers who had been involved in one way or another with the direction of Stashinsky were either dismissed or demoted.

Shelepin, on the other hand, was promoted. In November 1962 he became a Deputy Prime Minister and took over the newly-created Party State Control Committee, giving him a key position in the leadership of the Soviet Communist Party and the Soviet state.*

* * *

Finally, there is on the record of the Stashinsky trial a speech, extracts from which summarise the significance of the whole case as simply and penetratingly as possible — the speech made by counsel appearing for Frau Bandera, widow of one of the murdered men. The speaker was Mr. Charles J. Kirsten:

‘This trial has clearly demonstrated that practically any nation of the free world can be the hunting ground of the KGB. The secret of the cyanide pistol, which allows the murdered person to look like the victim of a heart attack, has now been disclosed. The machinations of the Russian Communist police in foreign countries will not be able to be repeated so successfully elsewhere.

‘It may be taken as proved that the field of activity of the accused would have been further extended after the murder of Herr Bandera and Dr. Rebet. He had been given a training which would enable him to be used as a highly qualified professional murderer against “enemies of the Soviet Union” for the rest of his life. He is an outstanding product of Russian Communist education. He was to have learned English. It is to be assumed that his field of activity would probably have become England and the USA.

‘The murder of Frau Bandera’s husband was no ordinary murder, carried out by just anybody. It was not simply a gangster’s action. It has been proved that Bandera’s murder was decided upon by the government of the Soviet Union. Soviet science was used to produce a weapon against which the West knew no antidote. The Soviet government had given the murderer-to-be a long training. During his careful preparations for the murder he was supported by the KGB authorities.

‘The reason why the Soviet government had decided upon the murder of Stepan Bandera was because he was a leader of a world-embracing resistance movement against the Russian Communist occupation of the Ukraine. Bandera was the symbol of the struggle for a free and independent Ukraine, a non-Russian nation of 42 million people, with their own traditions, culture, language and civilisation.

*) In November 1964 Shelepin was promoted again — to full membership of the Presidium of the Soviet Communist Party. As he was already a secretary of the Central Committee, the significance of his new appointment, the *London Times* wrote, was the considerable accumulation of power in his hands at the relatively early age of 46.

'Russian Communist methods in crushing the Ukrainians' struggle for freedom are so merciless that they are without parallel in the history of tyranny. In the year 1932-3 the Russian communists removed all stocks of food and seed corn from the Ukraine, thereby organising a famine which cost five million people their lives. Near the town of Winnitza some 10,000 Ukrainian political prisoners were murdered by the NKVD in the years 1938-40 when Khrushchev was First Secretary of the Communist Party in the Ukraine.

'At about the time Khrushchev was meeting President Eisenhower in Geneva in 1956 his tanks were mowing down 500 Ukrainian women — political prisoners — at the Kingiri concentration camp, because they had formed a protecting ring round their fellow-prisoners, Ukrainian men.

'It was the Soviet Russian Secret Service which carried out the murder of Bandera in 1959 and of Rebet in 1957. The same Russian Secret Service had also carried out the murder of Symon Petliura in Paris in 1926 and Evhen Konovalets in Rotterdam in 1938. Thereafter it was planned to murder Herr Stetsko, president of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) and former prime minister of the independent Ukrainian government.

'As a member of the KGB Stashinsky consciously carried out the order of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union. Frau Bandera does not seek revenge, but justice for Stashinsky. She points to Voroshilov's signature on the citation with the Order of the Red Banner, which the murderer received as formal and official recognition of first degree murder on the part of the Soviet government itself.

'It is the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union which has been found guilty of murder in this case. It is true that this court cannot impose the sentence which the real criminal should receive, but it can pronounce an historical judgment in declaring the Soviet government guilty of the murder.'

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.

**LEAFLET DISTRIBUTED BY THE ASSOCIATION OF
UKRAINIAN WOMEN AT A DEMONSTRATION ON THE
8th FEBRUARY, 1975.**

HITLER WILL DANCE IN HELL WHEN SHELEPIN STEPS ON BRITISH SOIL

"The death of my father caused me great suffering. We had a good family life... After the murder of my father we were advised to emigrate and to change our life style"...

The above words come from Miss Lesya Bandera, a Ukrainian student. Her father, Stepan Bandera, the leader of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement, was assassinated in Munich, West Germany, in 1959.

Who was it that, by murdering Stepan Bandera, caused suffering and loss to Lesya, her sister Nataliya, her brother Andriy, to their mother, Mrs. Yaroslava Bandera, and to millions of Ukrainians all over the world?

The actual act of murder, with the help of a specially constructed poison-firing pistol, was carried out by a Soviet citizen, Stashynsky, who was instructed first to test the effectiveness of the weapon on another Ukrainian, Prof. Lev Rebet two years earlier, after years of thorough training at Soviet schools for assassins.

But the decision to murder Stepan Bandera and other Ukrainian leaders was taken by the then Head of the dreaded KGB, the Russian Gestapo, on the express instructions of the entire Politbureau of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party, of which Brezhnev and Kosygin — who are also to come to Britain later on — were and still are members.

**THE HEAD OF THE KGB AT THAT TIME WAS
ALEXANDER SHELEPIN.**

He was and is personally responsible for the murder of S. Bandera and many other Ukrainians, as well as leaders of other nationalities!

**SHELEPIN'S HANDS ARE STAINED WITH THE BLOOD
OF FREEDOM FIGHTERS!**

Now Alexander Shelepin is expected in Britain as an honoured guest of the Trade Unions Congress.

If Shelepin steps on the free soil of Britain it will be one of the darkest day in the country's history! The event would be similar to one if Hitler's butcher, Himmler, were to land here for a "fraternal" visit.

An invitation from the TUC for Shelepin to visit this country must be viewed as an affront not only to the refugees from the totalitarian Russian communist regime in the Soviet empire, but as an outrage against public decency.

Whoever fraternizes with Shelepin and his like is condoning murder and honours the murderers!

Shelepin's place is in the dock at a new trial of perpetrators of crimes against humanity!

UKRAINIAN BAPTIST LEADER SENTENCED TO 10 YEARS

Moscow, USSR. George P. Vins, one of the leaders of the Baptist movement in the Soviet Union, was sentenced to five years in prison, followed by five years of exile, for unauthorized religious activity, according to a February 3rd article in The New York Times, based on a report from Dr. Andrei Sakharov.

Vins, a Ukrainian, was tried by a court in Kyiv for "harming the interest of Soviet citizens under a pretext of carrying out religious activity," said Dr. Sakharov, head of the Initiatory Group of the Human Rights Committee in the Soviet Union. His sentence was the maximum prescribed by law.

Dr. Sakharov said that Vins did not accept the court appointed lawyer for the five day trial, arguing that an atheist is not capable of defending a person involved in religious matters. Last fall, Vin's family appealed to the World Council of Churches in Geneva, Switzerland, to send a lawyer to Moscow for the trial, but the Soviet authorities rejected this move. They also refused to permit western observers to attend the proceedings.

According to Dr. Sakharov, only Vin's wife Nadia and his sister were allowed to witness the trial, which was barred to the press.

Vins, the son of an American-educated Baptist minister, first came into conflict with Soviet authorities in 1965 when he broke away from the state-sanctioned All-Union Council of Evangelical Christians and Baptists and formed his own reform group. He disagreed with their submission to the authority of an atheist government. The Initiatory Group (Initiators), of which Vins is secretary, have rejected Moscow's right to oversee their religious affairs. The leaders of the All-Union Council, which represents some one-half million Baptists, do not support Vin's faction and charge that he is a "zealot."

Vin's father, Petro, studied theology in Philadelphia, Pa., Rochester, New York, and Louisville, Ky., before returning to Siberia in the 1920's as a missionary. He was sentenced to prison, where he died during his third term. Vin's mother also served a term in prison for her religious activity, as did other members of his family.

Currently his wife and children are facing harassments and discrimination because of their beliefs, said other Baptists.

Word Anti-Communist League:

JOINT COMMUNIQUE OF THE EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETING OF THE WORLD ANTI-COMMUNIST LEAGUE

São Paulo, Brazil, December 9, 1974.

The Executive Board of the World Anti-Communist League (WACL), in consideration of the confusing world situation and in anticipation of the 1975 annual conference, held a meeting in São Paulo, Brazil, on December 8-9, 1974. Board members from North America, Europe, Africa, Asia, the Middle East, Latin America, Captive Nations, and the World Youth Anti-Communist League were present in a cordial atmosphere reflecting unity of purpose. The conferees looked deeply into world problems and worked out important guidelines for the coming 8th WACL Conference.

Regarding the present world situation, the WACL Executive Board wishes to record the following views:

1. — Attempts at negotiation and detente with the Communists have so far caused confusion and disintegration within the world thus it has been made easier for the international Communists to push toward their goal of world domination. A conspicuous example of the ineffectiveness of such attempts is the recent summit meeting of the United States and the U.S.S.R. at Vladivostok.

2. — The Communist united front tactic under the slogan of "peaceful coexistence" has encouraged neutralism and appeasement on the part of the free world, and aggravated internal confusion and division in free countries. The Russian and Chinese Communist manoeuvre to win over and exploit nations of the so-called "third world" for the ultimate destruction of the free world is a case in point.

3. — Throughout the world — in Asia, Latin America and occupied countries in the Soviet Union and satellite states in particular — forces for freedom and national independence are merging into a strong current, with the awakened free peoples joining hands ever more firmly with the gallant people behind the Iron Curtain who resist their tyrannical oppressors. The recent OAS rejection of moves to lift the embargo against Cuba, the uninterrupted anti-tyranny movement on the Chinese mainland, and the continuous flow of refugees escaping from behind the Bamboo Curtain at the risk of their lives are strong evidence of such a current.

Acutely aware that the crisis presently confronting the free world has resulted largely from the united front tactic of the Communists and the eagerness of the free world to appease aggressors, the Executive Board chose as the theme of the 8th WACL Conference: "Appeasement, No! Freedom, Yes!"

To attain the above-mentioned goal, the WACL shall, on the one hand, strengthen its organization, consolidate its unity, and step

up its total efforts. On the other hand, it calls on the free world to heed the following:

1. — That in any negotiation and detente with the Communists, care should be taken that the rights and interests of free allies shall not be sacrificed, nor the common security of free nations compromised.

2. — That positive support shall be given the peoples of Latin America, Asia, Africa, Europe and in the Soviet Union and the satellite states in their heroic struggles against Communist aggression and enslavement.

3. — That humane treatment shall be accorded refugees seeking freedom and that the enforced return of escapees from Macao, Hong-Kong, Berlin or elsewhere be disallowed and condemned.

4. — That the free world should stop strengthening Communist tyranny by supplying the Communist states with good technology, industrial and war equipment, and long term loans at low interest rates not available to free world citizens.

The Executive Board further appeals to the governments of the free nations and world public opinion to: condemn any form of concentration camps or forced labour; denounce the shameful practice of confining fighters for national and human rights (like Valentyn Moroz) or putting them in lunatic asylums and demand the withdrawal of Communist forces from all occupied countries including Russian forces from occupied territories within the USSR.

Looking forward to 1975, the Executive Board draws the urgent attention of the United States, as the leading nation in the free world, to its special responsibility in the defence of freedom. In its efforts to limit the arms race, the U.S. should not be lulled into a false sense of security but be aware of the danger of allowing the Soviet Union to attain an arms superiority which will threaten the whole free world. And in any American agreement with the Chinese Communists, no harm should be done to the Republic of China which has been a faithful ally of the free world.

The Board expresses its full support of the government of the Republic of Chile, presided by Gen. Augusto Pinochet Ugarte *for the generous initiative to obtain the liberation of political prisoners in the countries subjugated by Soviet Russian imperialism, including Cuba.*

The Committee enthusiastically applauds the governments of the Republic of Uruguay, Paraguay and Chile, on the occasion of the OAS Conference recently held in Quito, Ecuador, for firmly opposing the raising of sanctions against the Fidel Castro regime, which still continues to promote communist subversion and terrorism in Latin America.

In deciding to hold the 8th WACL Conference in Brazil in April, 1975, the Executive Board takes note of the encouraging signs of an increasing sense of anti-communism in certain nations of Latin Ame-

rica and expresses the hope that this trend will widen and accelerate.

The Executive Board further notes with satisfaction the enthusiasm which SEPES, the local chapter of WACL, has shown in its preparation of the 8th Conference, and pledges its utmost support to making the Conference a full success which will, in turn, further the inevitable triumph of the anti-communist cause.

FROM CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK 1974

Hon. Robert J. HUBER
OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 23, 1974

Mr. HUBER. Mr. Speaker, in my view Captive Nations Week, the third week in July of each year, is a very serious and important matter. All the more serious and important this year, because the newspapers of America are filled with talk of détente and East-West trade. A great deal has happened in the world since 1959 when the first Presidential proclamation on this topic was issued. Little of what has taken place has been of much benefit to the Free World, in my view. Therefore, I am taking the liberty of including the text of a speech I gave at Cobo Hall in Detroit, Mich., on July 14, 1974, on the subject, which spells out my view in a little more detail:

Captive Nations Week Commemoration, July 14, 1974

Governor Milliken, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, thank you for the opportunity to join you in observing Captive Nations Week.

I am including, as a second item, extracts from a speech given by the Honourable Yaroslav Stetsko at the seventh World Anti-Communist League Conference, held in Washington, D.C., from April 11-14, 1974. Mr. Stetsko's remarks were delivered on April 9. Extracts from his speech follow as I feel they are worthy of the attention of my colleagues:

Extracts of Speech by Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko

Common to all of us are fear, hope and the endeavour to find some way out of the critical situation in which not only subjugated nations in the Russian empire have found themselves.

I am speaking not only about problems concerning one part of the world but equally about all, free and subjugated people! It is said: "Humanity is confronted with the possibility of being destroyed by thermo-nuclear war." Does such a danger really exist? Is there really

no other way out than capitulation before tyrants or appeasement and détente at the cost of hundreds of millions of subjugated people and dozens of subjugated nations recognizing their slavery and the ruling of the Russian tyrants over them.

Do we not really have another superpower — the existence of which has gone unnoticed, not so much in terms of material and technological as in spiritual, ideological and political values — which plays a decisive role in the developments that are irrevocably coming upon us?

Shall it be détente with tyrannies and balance of power on a worldwide scale, i.e. capitulation before tyrants, or the reliance on the eternal spiritual values of man and nations as the solution to the world crisis?

Besides the technological elements of superpowers, in particular the thermo-nuclear elements, there is an element which is more important — namely, 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 desiring freedom and justice and are ready to sacrifice everything material for that, even their own lives.

Why should the natural process of disintegration of empires in the whole world stop at the frontiers of the Russian prison of nations?

The more that this Russian empire imposes on the subjugated people and nations its own way of life, starting from the metaphysical doctrine down to the *Kolkhoz* system, something unprecedented in all empires in history up till now.

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 is hundreds of millions of human beings and dozens of subjugated nations in the Russian empire and under the communist yoke. It is this reality, this real factor of world politics which will decide upon the future of mankind.

Is there besides USA, a second superpower in the world? The Russian prison of nations so-called superpower is a ‘colossus on feet of clay.’

It is not sufficient to have the most modern type of weaponry and warfare technology, it is also necessary to possess the sympathy of the souls 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, Tatars, Rumanians, Croats, Albanians, Don Cossacks, Germans? Even Professor Sakharov (Russian) has to acknowledge the mighty (disruptive) power of liberation as a national idea although he is fighting for human rights only but not for the rights of nations.

We raise as the central problem the right of nation, liberation nationalism, because never until now have the human rights of a subjugated nation been realised unless the precondition was realised: National independence, democratic, but above all sovereign own 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 realisation of rights of the nation to which it belongs. And what of the democratic empires? Did they guarantee human rights in the countries they subjugated in the past?

In the "International Herald Tribune" of March 3rd, 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 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 14 non-Russian republics.

They are Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania in the Baltic; Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia in Transcaucasia; Kazakhstan, Kirghizia, Tadzhikistan, Turkmenia and Uzbekistan in Central Asia; Ukraine, and two smaller 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?"

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 "it must not be forgotten that nationalist prejudices are 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, the national liberation movement in the whole world is taking place. More than half of humanity considers it its own banner.

And 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, which at times was born of parents already grown up under the Bolshevik occupation, a generation which has never seen the free world, but to 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 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.

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 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.

REPORT OF SHORTAGE OF TOOTHBRUSHES IN ZAPORIZHIA

Zaporizhia, Ukraine. — "Did the number of teeth double for Zaporizhia citizens?," asked P. Koriagin in the January 25th edition of *Izvestia*, in reference to a potentially serious predicament: shortage of toothbrushes in this Ukrainian city.

Koriagin joked that the inhabitants perhaps began using two, three or four brushes at the same time because they are rapidly disappearing from store shelves and are not being replenished.

The author of the article suggested that the people start brushing their teeth with, "brushes used for cleaning bottles, eyebrow brushes, hand brushes, brushes for cleaning table tops, or those for electric motors." Koriagin, however, gives no assurance as to the availability of the latter types in the Soviet Union.

MURDER INTERNATIONAL, INC.

Murder and Kidnapping as Instruments of Soviet Policy.

Printed for the use of the Committee on the Judiciary

U.S. Government Printing Office. Washington 1965.

176 pages, price 50 cts (20p in U.K.)

Contains hearings of testimonies by former Soviet secret service agents, Petr S. Deriabin and Bohdan Stashynsky, the murderer of Stepan Bandera and Lev Rebet.

Order from *The Ukrainian Publishers Ltd.*,

200 Liverpool Road, London, N1 1LF.

World Affairs:

THE EPITAPH TO VIET-NAM

WAS THE U.N. AIDING NORTH VIETNAM AND THE VIETCONG?

Hon. John M. ASHBROOK
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 4, 1975

Mr ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, is the United Nations or its agencies giving money to North Vietnam and the Vietcong. On October 4, 1973, I pointed out that UNICEF was on the verge of giving aid to North Vietnam and the Vietcong. At that time my office received a letter from the Department of State which in part stated:

No U.S. funds will be used in projects for North Vietnam or the Provisional Revolutionary Government.

In a letter to Kurt Waldheim, Secretary-General of the U.N., Father Raymond de Jaegher, president of the Free Pacific Association, charges that North Vietnam is receiving \$18 million in aid from UNICEF plus the Vietcong are receiving \$4 million in aid from UNICEF. UNICEF has been and is still largely dependent on U.S. contributions — both governmental and nongovernmental. Are U.S. funds directly or indirectly going to aid North Vietnam and the Vietcong at a time when they continue their war of aggression in South Vietnam and continue to refuse helping us in finding our MIA's?

In addition to my question above, I wonder how long we are going to allow the United Nations to thumb its nose at the United States. At the Geneva office of the United Nations, the Vietcong have been permitted by the United Nations to open a liaison office.

This adds one more to the long list of U.N. actions that make that body's actions inimical to the interests of the United States and other free peoples. It is an outrage that the Vietcong, who in fact are the North Vietnamese, have been allowed recognition by the United Nations. Two years ago recognition was refused. It should continue to be refused.

At this point I include in the *Record* the text of Father de Jaegher's letter to Kurt Waldheim:

January 23, 1975.

H. E. Mr. Kurt Waldheim,
Secretary General of the United Nations,
United Nations Plaza, New York, N.Y.

Dear Secretary General: I was very much upset to read in the New York Times that your Excellency agreed to have the Vietcong open Liaison Bureau with the U.N in Geneva for humanitarian reasons.

Having spent ten years in Vietnam, I have witnessed Vietcong aggressions and violences of all sorts many times. Recently, I read reports from Vietnam and reports in the New York Times about the attack with tanks and artillery during the battle for the Provincial Capital of Phuoc Binh — an open aggression against the Paris agreement enjoining the parties "to maintain the ceasefire and ensure a lasting and stable peace." I was in Kontum and Pleiku two years ago (end of July 1972) and visited the battlefield and saw mountains of shells used by the North Vietnamese Army when they attacked the Highlands of South Vietnam in violation of the Paris agreement. Vietcong activities are all inside the borders of the Republic of Vietnam. The Vietcong are not part of the Government of South Vietnam nor of North Vietnam. For 20 years, the war was waged in the South — not in the North — How could we accept aggressors in a liaison bureau for humanitarian reason, when the United Nations is condemning aggression in countries all over the world.

UNICEF aid to North Vietnam is 18 million dollars plus 4 million dollars for the Vietcong — a total of 22 million dollars. UNICEF aid to South Vietnam is only 12 million dollars. The aggressors received 22 million dollars, the attacked only 12 million.

I really am shocked to see the United Nations promote, through your Excellency, aid to the aggressors by giving to the Vietcong in Geneva a liaison bureau for "Humanitarian Reasons." I hope you will not grant the aggressors a Liaison Bureau and destroy the prestige of the United Nations by giving them a platform to promote war and not peace.

Today in the Free World is Freedom Day celebrating the Korean and Chinese prisoners of war who refused to go back to North Korea and the People's Republic of China, but wanted to go freely to South Korea and Free China. We cannot forget that the United Nations condemned the Chinese for their aggression in Korea. We cannot now accept that the Vietcong and the North Vietnamese would have a liason for further aggressions.

I remain, Dear Secretary General,

Very sincerely yours,

Raymond de Jaegher.

DAWN

Horses answering the aurora,
the earth fecund after rains,
and the dawn its red seas
by the horizon freely poured.
Somewhere beyond these seas,
from beneath the cold ash of clouds,
the furious wind with its hands
rakes the sun's heat out.

Ivan FRANKO

MOSES
(Prologue)

Tr. by Orysia Prokopiw

My nation, torment worn, of spirit wasted,
The paralytic at the crossroads lying,
With human scorn, as if with scabs, incrusteds!

With thy tomorrow I my soul disquiet,
And the disgrace, which with the coming ages
Shall brand our progenies, disturbs my quiet.

Has it, indeed, been writ on iron tables
That thou shalt ever be thy neighbors' rot?
And for their rapid trains the drawing cables?

Is this, indeed, forevermore thy lot —
This latent anger, and this false obedience
To all who with their plundering and plot

Enshackled thee and swore thee to allegiance?
Hast thou been not predestined for the feat,
That would attest thy powers' mighty limits?

Is it in vain so many hearts for thee
Have blazed with the most saintly kind of love,
And offered soul and body in their deed?

Is it in vain thy land is stained with blood
Of thy defenders? In its grandeur, grace,
And liberty it never shall be proud?

Is it in vain thy speech abounds in rays
Of strength and tenderness, of might, esprit,
Of all by which the spirit is upraised?

Is it in vain thy song pours forth in grief,
And peals of laughter, lovers' lamentations,
In brilliant beams of joy and hope-filled dreams?

Oh, no! Not sole despair thy destination!
In thy almighty spirit lies my faith,
And resurrecting day of insurrection.

Oh, if one raised the moment for the phrase,
And raised the phrase, which in that moment sacred
Restores to health and fans life-giving flames!

Oh, if one raised the song of inspiration,
That stirs the multitudes and lends them power
Of flight, to wing the path to their salvation.

Ah, if ! . . But we, the impotent from dolor,
And torn by doubts, debased by shame incurred, —
We cannot lead thee onward to thy valor!

Yet Time will come, and thou with image mettled
Shalt shine amidst the nations unenslaved,
And shake the Caucasus, and Beskid-girdled

Along the Black Sea roll a free refrain,
And then attend, as overseer grave,
To thine own home and to thine own demesne.

Accept this song; although it be in grief swathed,
Yet filled with faith; though harsh, without restraint;
For thy tomorrow — my downpayment tearbathed,

And for thy genius — humble wedding gift.

The World of Literature

Ariadna SHUM

LESYA UKRAINKA — A BARD OF STRUGGLE AND CONTRASTS

Throughout her life Lesya Ukrainka was true to the principles that are central in her works: the concepts of struggle, sacrifice and active optimism. She began her literary career on the threshold of the twentieth century and became the spokesman for a new era in Ukrainian art, particularly in her poetry and drama. Her positive attitudes to life and art led her in her works to the creation of characters whose qualities were opposite to those she encountered in reality. Both Lesya and her characters were examples of activism, as opposed to the passivity that she came in contact with, and of courage and struggle; both she and her characters believed in sacrifice. She was a contrast to her generation in trying to show the way to the blind, in attempting to move the passive to action.

To elucidate her ideas Lesia Ukrainka used a technique of contrasts, not only in form, but in content which served to emphasize her ideas, to clarify them and to strengthen them. Another of her important innovations was that she gave new meaning to words. Although she sometimes used neologisms and little known words, taken from Ukrainian folklore and dialect, her talent lay in the meaning she gave to those words, and not in their etymology. Such, for example, is her use of the word "bard", which is as characteristic of her poetry as the word "kobzar" is in Shevchenko. In her works the word "bard" is synonymous with "a spiritual fighter," and the words "poet," "artist," and 'hero' are all given new and different meanings.

The best symbol of a "bard" is in Lesya Ukrainka's dramatic poem "Orgy," where the character Antheus represents the purity of the true national spirit. In a shorter work, "The Miracle of Orpheus," Orpheus and his two friends Amphion and Zet are called "heroes," while the concept of the fighter" and "leader" are exemplified by the character of the poet in the poem "An Old Tale." The concept of the "bard" and "fighter for the people" is merged in all three characters.

In examining the works and ideas of Lesya Ukrainka and the role that she played in Ukrainian history, one must arrive at the conclusion that the appellation "poetess" or "dramatist" is insufficient. Her influence extends far beyond Ukrainian poetry and theatre,

in her universal appeal. Lesya Ukrainka, like Antheus, is the defender of the purity of the Ukrainian spirit, the courageous fighter against the oppressor. She, like the legendary Orpheus, has such literary talent that "even the stones listened"; (in real life she also had the ability, when necessary, to assume the most unpleasant burdens which all others shirked them). She, like the poet in "An Old Tale" constantly demands truth and justice, no matter who is in power. For these reasons, Lesya Ukrainka can also be proclaimed a bard, fighter, a hero, a spiritual leader and defender. She is the hero who does not compromise and who is ready for any sacrifice for the sake of a cause.

The motif of a struggle in the works of Lesya Ukrainka makes necessary the use of contrasts. In this we see the influence of Heraclitian philosophy on her thinking (the belief that the world is a conflict of opposing forces), especially the use in her poems of the element of fire as a primary force. Lesya Ukrainka's beloved heroes possess Pythagorean souls, stronger than the body, steadfast and true. And it is this steadfastness of the soul, among the ever changing material things, that is at the root of her poetry.

Lesya Ukrainka's dramatic works made their debut in the Ukrainian theatre at a time when most plays contained much singing and dancing, folkloric material, physical movement and little or no character development and for this reason her works were considered difficult to stage. Of course her drama had nothing in common with the folkloric drama, since Lesya Ukrainka consciously and successfully tried to break with the current Ukrainian tradition. It is only today that the spiritual dynamism of her plays, misunderstood by her contemporaries, is evident in the modern theatre.

The dramatic works of Lesya Ukrainka are already subjects of research and staging by experimental theatres and only directors who can understand the strength of contrasts, the conflict of ideas, the dynamism of her works, the special symbolic meanings that have their roots in psychology and philosophy, will be able to do her justice and convey the true meaning of her words. The techniques and symbols used to convey Lesya Ukrainka's ideas are evident in her early poetry, although at first they appear in a muted form; it is later that they become stronger, richer and more pronounced. In the short excerpt (from the poem "The Bard," 1889) and the longer poem below we can see all the elements that will later reoccur in her works:

Why do I not possess the fiery word?
The passionate word?
Would my sincere, warm language
Perhaps thaw the winter?

Oh words, I did not cherish you,
Nourish you with my heart's blood
For you to flow like tasteless poison
And have souls of rust.
Oh words, I wished to bring you forth
like bright sun rays,
Like mighty waves,
Quick flying sparks
Or shooting stars,
Like swords of lightning
So that you could awake a mountain echo
And not a groan,
So that you would touch the heart
And not poison it,
So that you would be a song
And not a whimper.
Hurt, cut, even kill,
Only do not be like the autumn drizzle.
Catch fire or burn, but do not wilt!

* * *

Present here is not only Lesya Ukrainka's interest with the very function of poetry, a theme that will be long standing, but the depiction of conflict between opposing forces. Throughout all of her poetry we find images of winter, the symbols for sleep, inertia, depression, discouragement, and spring which symbolizes action, conflict and feelings (be they those of love or hate). Winter, and all it stands for, is depicted through images of ice or frost, while spring sometimes is depicted through the sun, sometimes through flowers and always through all that is connected with spring warmth and beauty. These images reoccur in all her poetry and we find their culmination in her beautiful character of the Forest Nymph.

Lesya Ukrainka is a poetess whose stature can be equalled by few women in modern Western literature; however, her importance in Ukrainian literature lies not only in her poetic abilities, but also in the ideological content of her works. She stressed the importance of sacrifice for an idea, she called for a struggle against unjust rulers, she called for action; she strongly believed in the ultimate victory of light over darkness and in the importance of active optimism. Her influence on the present generation of Ukrainian dissidents, this generation of "undaunted ones" has been deep and lasting.

Dr. Igor SHANKOVSKY

ASSISTANT PROFESSOR,
SOUTHERN ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY

THE DIARY NAMED "MARGES OF THOUGHTS"

Literary analysis can be conducted after selecting one out of the two main avenues of approach: literary criticism or linguistic study. Each one of them maintains different methods, even schools of thought, concerning the evaluation of a literary work, accomplished either on an individual, or on a comparative basis. Among other methods the literary criticism uses historical, psychological, tropics (figurative analysis of the literary tropes), or semantic (analysis of the existing ties that are evident between the normative meaning of the word and the "psyche" of the writer) approaches.¹ The linguistic study uses among other methods descriptive, structural, analogical, or phonematic approaches.² Among the more recent linguistic methods there are word counts (analysis of word categories to be found in a literary work and their repetition), computational analysis, adaption of cybernetic models to solve more complex linguistic problems (Soviet linguistic experiments), and behavioural³ study of the language in a literary text. There is only one official school of literary criticism in the Soviet Union. It is based on the theory of dialectical materialism. As K. M. Storchak puts it: "Dialectical materialism is a conception of the world by the Communist Party."⁴ Literary criticism reveals further dichotomy into history of literature and theory of literature. Both disciplines are correlative, both agree in general that the writer should be considered and studied within the framework of his writings, times, and surroundings.

There is only one major issue upon which all of the literary school seem to agree: the cultural level of a given society is documented best by

1) Northrop Frye, *Anatomy of Criticism. Four Essays* (New York: Antheneum — 1968) pp. 31-146, 243-251; Adam Schaff (Olgierd Yojtasiewicz, tr.), *Introduction to Semantic* (New York: A Pergamon Press Book — 1962), pp. 53-59; Michael Breal (Mrs. Henry Cust tr.), *Semantics: Studies in the Science of Meaning* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc. — 1963), pp. 99-106.

2) Boguslav Havranek (Paul L. Garvin, tr.), "The Functional Differentiation of the Standard Language," *A Prague School Reader on Esthetics, Literary Structure and Style* (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press — 1964), pp. 3-16; John T. Waterman, *Perspectives in Linguistics* (Chicago, London: The University of Chicago Press — 1963) pp. 61-99; Nils Erik Enkvist, John Spencer, Michael J. Gregory, *Linguistics and Style* (London: Oxford University Press, Reprint — 1965), pp. 3-6, 59-60, 83-91.

3) John B. Carroll, *Language and Thought* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc. Third printing — 1964), pp. 45-58.

4) K. M. Storchak, *Osnovy metodyky literatury* (Kyev: v-vo "Radyans'kyi pys'mennyk" — 1965), p. 20.

its literature. The two best known contemporary literary theorists stress the importance of an author and his surroundings:

... The social allegiance, attitude, and ideology of a writer can be studied not only in his writings but also, frequently, in biographical extra-literary documents. The writer has been a citizen, has pronounced on questions of social and political importance, has taken part in the issues of his time...⁵

It would be difficult to name another Soviet Ukrainian writer, who "has pronounced on questions of social and political importance" and "has taken part in the issues of his time" more passionately and more up to the point than Vasyl Symonenko among his contemporaries. Not only in his poems, but in public appearances and extra-literary documents. One such document is his diary. He himself regarded this diary to be the only true confidant and named it his *Marges of Thoughts*. Symonenko started this diary on September 18, 1962 and wrote his last entry on September 20, 1963 — somewhat less than three months before his death.⁶ Authenticity of the diary was confirmed by Soviet Ukrainian sources.⁷

There is a good reason for selecting the diary for initial analysis within the framework of this study. It proves to be essential for proper understanding and interpretation of Symonenko's writings. Often the diary serves as the only key to complex cases of the semantic signification on separate words and phrases in his poetry and prose. Since Symonenko, a lyricist, felt deeply everything he wrote, it is clear that:

The most obvious cause of a work of art is its creator, the author; and hence an explanation in terms of the personality and the life of the writer has been one of the oldest and best-established methods of literary study.

Biography can be judged in relation to the light it throws on the actual production of poetry...⁸

There is no better way to document Symonenko's personality, as well as the final year of his life, than quoting the entries in his own diary. There can be no doubt that there was no need to conceal the facts, nor intimate thoughts and feelings from himself. It is reasonable to assume, since he knew all about his incurable disease, that the notes providing interpretations to his poems were made deliberately. In one entry he explains distinctly the camouflage used in a poem (see the entry dated 8. X. 1962 and the excerpts of the poem "Roses in Mourning" provided later on). This explanation actually proves that certain words used in the poem means other things than what they imply. That demonstrates the use of semantic signification

5) René Wellek & Austin Warren, *Theory of Literature* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc. A Harvest Book — 1964), p. 97.

6) *Ukrainian Herald*, No. 4., circulated in Soviet Ukraine. They, in turn, were reprinted by *Vyzvolnyi shlyakh* (June, 1971), pp. 689-693, a Ukrainian monthly published in Great Britain.

7) Authenticity of the diary was first confirmed by a letter of Symonenko's mother printed along with an article by Mykola Nehoda, "Everest pidlosti," *Radyans'ka Ukraina* (April 15, 1965). Another article verifying authenticity of the diary is: Vasyl Kozachenko, Petro Panch, "Tobi, narode," *Literaturna Ukraina* (April 27, 1965), p. 2.

8) René Wellek & Austin Warren, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

over and above the normative meaning of the words in Symonenko's poetry.

Turning the pages of the diary one gets a feeling that Symonenko had not only a mature outlook on life, but that he was quite rational and veracious to the point of self-denial. Since this study aims to reveal and document various semantic significations placed by Symonenko upon certain words and phrases, this notion is of importance. In the first entry he wrote:

18. IX. 1962

I begin this diary not because I want to delude myself with a sense of importance. I need a friend with whom I might share all my doubts. I know of no loyal and sincere friend greater than paper.

The earth bears me for the twenty-eight *time* now around the sun. Little did I accomplish during that time that could be called good or beautiful. I did, however, learn to *drink whisky and smell of tobacco*, to keep quiet and to be careful at times when one should have shouted. And the most terrible of all — I have learned how to be insincere.

The lie is, perhaps, my profession. I possess an inborn talent of a liar. There are three categories of liars: some lie to gain moral and material comfort, others lie for the lie's sake, third serve a lie as if it was an art. The latter, really, contrive, or figment logical tail-pieces to the truth. They who are out of my own liars' mound, seem to be quite noble. *They are the artists.* They are a reserve of the literature...⁹

Perhaps the most revealing statement here is the testimony about the conditions under which a Soviet Ukrainian writer can survive within the system. Hence, it is quite logical that "the liars" who must often rely upon devices to "contrive, or figment logical tale-pieces to the truth," can not and would not depend only on the standard dictionary meaning of the words. If they are to publish at all and to survive, if under the circumstances they are to say anything truthful at all, then their wordage must be *Aesopian* (a device more suited for the study of the semantic signification, since the fable of a given literary work is already construed so as to mirror the reality of given surroundings), and/or must contain an entirely new meaning, created by applied semantic signification to the non-related word (a device less suited to decipher, because an analogy can not be drawn without a clue provided by the writer himself). Nevertheless, both devices are known to be used by the Soviet writers. They were used already by Ukrainian and Russian writers in the XIXth century. Specialized dictionaries of the language usage by Taras Shevchenko and Alexander Pushkin were published in the Soviet Union, pointing out the semantic significations, as applied by a renowned Ukrainian and a renowned Russian poet. It would be strange to assume that Vasyl

⁹ This and all of the following entries are quoted from: Vasyl Symonenko, *Bereh chekan'* (Munich: Prolog, Inc. — 1965), pp. 171-181. From this point on the reference to the diary will be: *Marges of Thoughts*, with indication of the page number. It must be pointed out that the former editor of *Suchasnist'*, Ivan Koshelivets', who also edited and wrote a foreword to this publication, did not always keep pace with the original printed by him first in *Suchasnist'* (op. cit.). *Italics* indicate omitted or obscured words and/or phrases throughout the quoted entries. All translations from Ukrainian within this essay, including Symonenko's poem were done by Dr. Igor Shankosky.

Symonenko, a poet in his own right, knew nothing about the aforementioned specialized dictionaries.

In the same entry Symonenko justifies to himself his identification with the "noble liars," he writes: "... such persons as I are also essential to literature, with our feeble thoughts we will fertilize the soil from which a giant will arise..."¹⁰ What kind of a giant is to appear? Could it be that Symonenko, raised and educated within the Soviet system, is expecting another Lenin? He continues: "...A future Taras or Franko. I am awaiting him, as a believer awaits the advent of Christ."¹¹ Perhaps in the future, should a specialized dictionary of Symonenko's language be ever compiled, the term "giant" will carry added meaning of "national bard," for that is what the names Taras Shevchenko and Ivan Franko seem to represent to the Ukrainian people. In the very next entry Symonenko leaves no doubt about his feelings regarding an all-Union giant:

19. IX. 1962

Once in a while children, without knowing it, say important things. I remember, about a year ago, we were strolling with Oles' around the Kazbets'kyi market place. Coming face to face with a statute of a despot, he asked:

— Father, who is that?

Stalin.

He kept on staring at it for a while and then asked me in a nonchalant way:

— What reason did he have to climb up there?

True enough, Stalin did not ascend the pedestal, people did not put him there. He himself had climbed up by treachery, meanness, climbed up bloodily and boldly, like all butchers. Now this tiger, who fed on human flesh, would croak from fury, if he found out what a find for the scrapiron collectors his crude, dull statues have become...¹²

It is common knowledge in the Soviet Union by what means not only Stalin, but most of his predecessors and all of his successors have climbed the pedestal. Conscious of that, knowing that Stalin was not the very first, nor the very last "despot" in that part of the world, Symonenko concludes this entry by saying:

... It's horrifying, if glory and deification by life become shame in death.

Such is no glory at all, but, perhaps, a plaything amusing the grown-up children. Only the frail in soul and mind could fail to understand that.¹³

Semantic value placed by Symonenko on the word "butcher" surpasses the normative meaning of this word. In the preceding chapter an attempt was made to show the effects of the Stalinist period upon the Soviet Ukrainian writers. Symonenko did live to see the period of posthumous deposition of Joseph Stalin. He did not live to see the sudden downfall of Nikita Khrushchev, the man responsible for exposing the crimes of his former benefactor, for it occurred about a year after Symonenko had died. Now that Khrushchev is dead too,

¹⁰ *Marges of Thoughts*, p. 172.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² *Marges of Thoughts*, pp. 172-173.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 173.

after spending his last years in total obscurity, judging by the past, the deposition processes in the Soviet Union are far from being a thing of the past even if it does seem that for the time being Brezhnev and Kosygin have things under control.

Suppose one does imagine the rigid Soviet conditions under which Symonenko had to live and create. In such a case it becomes clear more than ever that "... biography explains and illuminates the actual product of poetry..."¹⁴ Symonenko's writings, therefore, must be viewed in their proper context, not only as the final product of his great talent, but as an impulsive reaction against the evils surrounding him and his contemporaries as well.

In the next entry, dated 27. IX. 1962, Symonenko wrote about a surprise visit to Cherkasy by his acquaintance V., whom he did not see for a period of four years. He writes that V. had forgotten their meeting in 1958, but: "... I didn't. Even then he had made quite an impression upon me. I began believing in him since our first acquaintance and I think that I have not been mistaken..."¹⁵ Symonenko goes on to complain about a shortage of funds that made it impossible for him to join Mykola on a journey to Kaniv.¹⁶ The mention of the first name of the mysterious V. points to Mykola Vinhranovs'kyi¹⁷ (1935-), who is a promising Soviet Ukrainian poet, movie actor, and had directed several films. Such probability is further evident by what is said in the next entry:

8. X. 1962

Three days and a hundred impressions. Vinhranovs'kyi, Pyanov. Kolo-myets' and your sinful I have made like calvary attacks on Kryvyi Rih and Kirovohrad. And though not even once did we succeed in appearing before large audiences, I have remained content. Mykola — he really is a tribune. The words in his poetry are simply bursting with passion and thoughts. When side-by-side with him one's soul expands...¹⁸

Before continuing with this entry, in which Symonenko made reference to his poem "Roses in Mourning," I would like to provide the excerpts of this poem. These excerpts and what is said by Symonenko in the entry shed light upon his religious beliefs, convincingly prove the use of semantic signification. The excerpts of this poem were published in a Soviet Ukrainian youth periodical:

ROSES IN MOURNING, Excerpts from a poem
"A MONOLOGUE BEFORE THE ICONS"

If you, the saints, were not rachitis ridden,
If you, the saints, were not so blind at least
I would escort you over the new world
Without the jesuits, the Roman and Greek priests.

14) René Wellek & Austin Warren, op. cit., p. 75.

15) *Marges of Thoughts*, p. 173.

16) Kaniv — a village near Kyiv, Taras Shevchenko was buried there.

17) *Dictionary IV.*, pp. 197-198.

18) *Marges of Thoughts*, p. 174.

What did you know? The ploughs to you were bowing,
To you they've prayed: the mattock and the hoe,
Oh, you, black idols of a cruel epoch,
You feeble servants of the cunning pope.

You are all mute and cold, and fully strengthless,
In honor places — not for long you'll stay.
To us you've promised paradise forever —
Well, thanks, you go on live there, if you may!

We live right here, upon this earth, not badly!
We have enough to do on earth, thank Lord!
The bright day spreads a glowing path before me
And lifts the darkness on a fiery sword.¹⁹

After reading the excerpts one must conclude that Symonenko was a convinced atheist and that the poem itself is sacrilegious. However, after reading how Symonenko himself explains the meaning of the poem it becomes clear that his thoughts were directed against a different kind of "saints":

... I have argued with Pyanov about the "Roses in Mourning." It seems to me that one can not confuse the Madonna created by the artists with the strictly spiritual Mother of God. Hypocrites in cassocks have converted the beautiful Jesus and His Mother into rapists of human flesh and spirit. For if even the most beautiful legend (and I consider Jesus and the Virgin Mary as unique creations) has become a tool for spiritual oppression, then I can not judge the *personae dramatis* of the legend without connecting them to the deeds that the infidels are doing while hiding behind their names. No highly noble and highly humane precepts of any teaching can be of service to progress if they have become a fixed dogma. The purity of the Virgin Mary is worthy of admiration, but, forgive me, could not stand as an example to follow. Self-denial of the flesh works against the nature, and, therefore, is cruel and reactionary.

Besides, in the "Roses in Mourning" my intention was not at all aimed at "overthrowing the gods." There I rise in opposition to the new religion, against the hypocrites who are turning, and not without success, to convert Marxism into a religion, into a Procrustean bed of science, art and love. Sad examples are bound in kibernetics, genetics, the rapid growth of the fairy-mushrooms in literature and Fine Arts, overlasting appeals calling for sacrifices, and the never-ending promises of the "paradise to come." Is all that really so far removed from the tragedy of Bruno and Galileo, from psalm-writing and icon-painting, from the monasteries and the Kingdom of Heaven?

If Marxism will not withstand the violent advance of dogmatism then it is doomed to become a religion. No teaching can monopolize the intellectual life of the humanity, ever. Einstein, after all, was not my political adherent, yet he made discoveries that had shaken the very roots of science.²⁰

Now it becomes clear that "the saints" of his poem carry along additional semantic signification. They stand for "the leaders" of the Soviet Communist Party. The "jesuits" and the "Roman and Greek priests" (referring to the Catholic and the Orthodox clergy) are at the same time reduced to the contemporary *apparatchiks* of the Soviet system. Symonenko calls them "the black idols of a cruel epoch." If the topic was confined to religion alone then not about an "epoch"

19) *Zmina* No. 9. (September, 1962), p. 10.

20) *Marges of Thoughts*, pp. 174-175.

but about the "history of mankind" would be this line in his poem. Religion of one kind or another accompanied mankind from the earliest times, an "epoch" could be compared only to what had followed the revolution of 1917. Symonenko's prophecy is that "in honor places — not for long you'll stay," even if the promise was to provide for a "paradise forever." In such a clever way, leaving behind a clue in his diary, Symonenko had his laugh at the expense of the "servants of the cunning pope" in their own periodical and, I repeat, predicted that "in honor places — not for long you'll stay." At least in the case of Nikita Khrushchev his prophecy had already come through. Toward the end of the 1960s a similar prophecy was made by the Soviet historian Amalrik in his pamphlet *Will the Soviet Union Survive 1984?* Amalrik was sentenced twice to a three-year term in a forced labour camp for writing the pamphlet (released recently to serve the remaining time of the second three-year term in internal exile).

After graduating from Kyiv Taras Shevchenko State University, as already mentioned in the first chapter, Symonenko was assigned to work on the staff of *Cherkas'ka pravda* and *Molod' Cherkashchyny*, an assignment which often gave him the opportunity to roam the countryside. It would have been impossible for him, a person with a deep feeling for justice, not to notice what was going on on the various collective farms which he was visiting. He had to report and it must have been a torture for him to write in a manner acceptable for publication under the circumstances. There is no material available for study regarding his journalistic activities. Symonenko contributed his journalistic features mainly to the above-named newspapers. These are regional newspapers and as such are not distributed outside of the region in the Soviet Ukraine. This is done to prevent the other regions from comparing the existing conditions elsewhere to their own. However, in the next available entry Symonenko reveals what is probably not an isolated case of an authoritarian abuse in a collective farm:

16. X. 1962

Nothing could be more horrible than unlimited power in the hands of a limited man.

The head of the collective farm in Yaremenko's village was screaming in helplessness and fury during a meeting:

— I'll arrange another 1933 for you!

Naturally, nobody even dared to think of taking this scoundrel out by the scruff of his neck. And yet this fool with one idiotic phrase would destroy the achievements made by dozens of sensible people. If our leaders had more brains than they really do, such loud-mouths would be admiring the sky from behind iron bars...²¹

This episode points out that Symonenko knew the fate of his predecessors who went through the horrors of 1933 in the Soviet Ukraine.

21) *Marges of Thoughts*, p. 175.

This is also his first direct accusation against the existing order. Consistent to the previous entry Symonenko holds the "leaders" responsible for allowing such "scoundrels" as the head of the collective farm in Yaremenko's village to hold office.

Very interesting and revealing are Symonenko's thoughts about poetry in the Soviet Ukraine during the last few years of Khrushchev's literary politics. His first comments relate to the official wisdomless patterns of the "socialist realism," later he has some harsh words in regard to modernistic snobbery. In the next entry he says:

21. X. 1962

I hate to the point of selflessness official, patented, well-fed wisdom. No matter what quotations the dullards would utilize trying to shore up their intellectual ceiling, it's still hanging too low to accomodate a normally proportioned human being. Just as the space is unthinkable without motion so is the poetry unthinkable without thought. What kind of a space is it if one can't move freely within it? What kind of poetry is possible without a thought? The poetry is a magnificent wisdom...²²

There is a whole conception of the poet's world contained in these few lines as Symonenko signifies the poetry to be a "magnificent (he means aesthetically superb) wisdom." He questions the humourless, "well-fed wisdom" of the literary dullards with regard to the plain, simplified modes of the "socialist realism" and continues:

... To what extent our humour had shoaled, how impoverished our satire got to be! Stylars, huckstress', narrow trousers and modish hair-dös, — is it worth to lose words as well as nerves on account of this wastrel for serious people? A lot of bantering was done already toward bad literary consultants! I have never even attempted to write serious, meaningful rebuttals on account of some shallow works. Can't dive deep into a puddle, even if you happen to be a Japanese pearl-diver.

I'll just have to write a poem about Herostrates. This is very topical nowadays. The whole earth swarms with Herostrates'.²³

A remarkable observation. The advent of Herostrates²⁴ to the Soviet Ukrainian literary scene, marking at the same time that "the whole earth swarms" with the phenomena. The dismissal of literary stylars and huckstress' as "wastrel" not even to be mentioned, contains a two-fold significance: on one hand there is the contempt directed against any manifestation of modernistic snobbery, on the other — a complicated significance of what Symonenko meant when referring to a literary "Herostrates." The latter can be viewed in proper context only against the background of what Krushchev's literary politics were at one time or another during his tenure in the Kremlin. They were rather flexible and dependent upon circumstances. The literary revival, which followed in footsteps of the official de-stalinization during the second half of 1950s and very

²² *Marges of Thoughts*, pp. 175-176.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 176.

²⁴ Since any mention of Herostrates is often deliberately avoided in most of the appropriate reference sources it must be pointed out that Herostrates was the notorious one-time arsonist who burned down a famous temple to become immortal through this deed.

early 1960s, was from its very inception opposed by strong pro-stalinist forces on all-Union level. Any sudden changes in the established pattern of intimidation and fear were regarded by many old guards to be harbingers of the system's collapse. Not to alienate the old guards, for whom Stalin was still very much alive and the preservation of his image essential to their own survival, Khrushchev's literary politics consistently wavered. At one time he would support the new literary revival only to step down on it at another. He would then support it again, and step down on it again, time after time. His literary politics were in full agreement with his own personality: they were controversial. Some of the writers quickly recognized these new trends and even more quickly adapted themselves to play along with whatever the mood of the day should be, as long as such behaviour would gain for them personal glorification. Symonenko, a straightforward person as he was, deplored such literary acrobatics. He saw a chance to make the Soviet Ukrainian literature better, he believed that all efforts of a writer should be directed to make the literature better, not to seek instant glory at any costs. That is what he meant referring to literary Herostrates'. It is also true that "the whole earth" swarms with people eager to glorify and immortalize themselves at any costs.

Fortunes have varied on the Soviet political battlefields. The culminating point for the de-stalinization protagonists was the granting of semiofficial amnesty to thousands of inmates in the forced labour camps and their consequent release and rehabilitation in 1956. Among those released at the time was a former artillery officer, one Alexander Solzhenitsyn, who later was permitted to appear in print on permission granted by Khrushchev himself, with his *Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich* (another landmark in the achievements of the de-stalinization supporters) in November, 1962. This occurred less than a month after Symonenko wrote the above entry in his diary. The culminating point for the pro-stalinist forces was the downfall of Khrushchev in 1964. Some ten years later the same Alexander Solzhenitsyn was to be disgraced and then ousted out of the country (another landmark in the achievements of the pro-stalinist forces) for having the first parts of *The Gulag Archipelago* published abroad.

The next and final entry for 1962 is of personal nature:

9. XI. 1962

The holidays are gone and I feel ashamed of myself when I recall my behaviour yesterday, I conducted myself as a riff-raff, I even insulted some people. How sad that nobody punched me in the nose! Somehow I have to take hold of myself and do less blasting off with my tongue, use my head more.

Belated repentance always looks like pose-striking. Nevertheless, I have no other way out. One should learn how to observe himself from a distance.²⁵

²⁵) *Marges of Thoughts*, p. 176.

At this point the diary is interrupted for almost half a year.

In the meantime, 1962 was a very productive year for the Soviet Ukrainian poetry. The first book of Symonenko's poems *Tysha i hrим* (Silence and Thunder) was published in July; Ivan Drach published his *Sonyashnyk* (The Sunflower), Mykola Vinhranovs'kyi his *Atomni preludy* (Atomic Preludes), and Yevhen Letyuk his *Cholom tobi, svite!* (Greetings, World!) to name only those, who were met on one side with enthusiasm and ovations and official dismay and hissing from another. The old guards were fully alerted, they started to apply pressure. The final say was made by the front-page editorial in the official periodical *Radyans'ke literaturoznavstvo* (The Soviet Literary Knowledge), responsible for guidance of what the Soviet Ukrainian literary policies are to be, attacking in a devastating manner what they described as symptoms of formalism in the contemporary Soviet Ukrainian literature. The austere editorial included charges along these lines against M. Vinhranovs'kyi, Ye. Letyuk, and I. Drach, all published in 1962, and against Lina Kostenko, whose third book of poems *Mandrivky sertsya* (The Journeys of Heart) was published in 1961. Among other charges the editorial maintained:

... A certain amount of the creative intellectuals turned to formalist experiments, some of them even got enthused by extreme manifestations of formalism: abstractionism, which by itself represents the product of decadence and corruption of bourgeois culture. And certain, separate literary and art activists talked themselves even to the point of acceptance of "peaceful coexistence" for any-kind of literary and art *genres* as an idea to be promoted within our own creative activities. This, objectively speaking, sounds already as calls for peaceful coexistence in the field of ideology, that is, as calls for cohabitation of the uninhabitable: the foremost Communist ideology with the ideology of decaying imperialism...²⁶

The editorial actually did nothing more but echo the notorious speech on literature and arts delivered by Khrushchev on 8 March 1963 and printed at once by all major Soviet Ukrainian newspapers. In that speech it was pointed out, without a shadow of a doubt, that the Communist Party was still in full control of literature and arts and that any new deviation from its line was not to be tolerated any longer. Khrushchev was beginning to lose ground under his feet. For him, personally, the speech was a complete turnabout. He, now, needed all the support he could get, including that of the strong pro-stalinist forces. Suddenly, for Soviet Ukrainian intellectuals the illusions concerning hope for some relaxation of the regime burst up like soap bubbles. In an instant the editorial appeared in *Radyans'ke literaturoznavstvo* Symonenko decided to resume his diary. His notes differed sharply with the official appraisal of the existing situation:

²⁶) "Virmist' partii, virmist' narodovi," *Radyans'ke literaturoznavstvo* (May-June, 1963), p. 5.

21. VI. 1963

Almost half a year passed since I looked into this notebook, despite the fact that some events occurred during the past six months which somehow should have been recorded.

I have almost choked up from the powder smoke of ideological campaigns. Realism again emerged victorious, not by literary works, of course, but by having the administrative measures on its side.

To be sure, I think that the danger of formalist madness was somehow overplayed. At least in Ukraine I have not encountered even a single advocate of abstractionism or of some kind of neo-futurism. The real danger, just as before, remains the threat of formalist thoughtlessness in literature. For isn't it formalism, when hundreds of underling clerks use up stereotyped patterns in sucking dry the so-called eternal ideas, like: — love labour, respect father and mother, don't see evil in your neighbour, and a dozen or two others? Formalism starts where thought dies...²⁷

Symonenko rejects formalism altogether as a phenomenon that "starts where thought dies." At the same time he applies two different significations to the adjectival form of the term: formalist *madness* and formalist *thoughtlessness*. By formalist madness he labels the contemporary nonconstructive literary trends leaking into the Soviet Ukraine from the outside. Earlier he discarded them as wastrel. On the other hand, under formalist thoughtlessness he understands the "stereotyped patterns" practiced by "hundreds of underling clerks" and regards namely this phenomenon to be "the real danger" to further literary developments. Only the official, approved by the Communist Party, *socialist realism* falls into the latter category. That means that Symonenko does not reject *creative experimentations*, he stands against "pose-striking" and blind, mediocre imitations of any kind. He stands for *originality* and for creative experimentations within the endless labyrinths of *new thoughts*, his dismay is with the literary toadies, be it "abstractionism," "neo-futurism," "socialist realism," or any other "ism" they should lean on at the spare of the moment. Inference: *literature can not be subservient to any genre, all genres must be subservient to literature*. Only a new thought can bring innovation. This is how he concludes the above entry:

... When a poet fails to produce new thoughts and emotions — he is a formalist. It does not matter at all if and how he advertises his alliance to the realists. Realism can not be toadyist. There is the realism to which Shevchenko contributed and the realism which relies on the services of Dmyterko.²⁸ Two different things! For "dmyterkos" will never inherit literature. They live off and not for literature. It is doubtful if anybody could accuse me of formalism, and yet nothing of mine is being published.²⁹

When to compare the above entry to the very first one in the diary (dated 18. IX. 1962, where Symonenko writes about the "three categories of liars"), then an analogy between these two entries can be drawn into a distinct association:

²⁷) *Marges of Thoughts*, p. 177.

²⁸) Lyubomyr Dmyterko (1911-) is a convinced "socialist-realist" poet, well published in the Soviet Ukraine. See: *Dictionary IV*.

²⁹) *Marges of Thoughts*, p. 177.

The first category of liars, who "lie to gain moral and material comfort" — is comparable to what is signified in the above entry as formalist *thoughtlessness*; the second category of liars, who "lie for lie's sake" (art for art's sake!?) — to what is signified as formalist *madness*; and the third category of liars, who "serve a lie as if it was an art," or "*really contrive, or figment logical tail-pieces to be truth*" (Symonenko regards himself to belong among the third category) — is containing all of the writers who search and innovate literature within the realm of *new thoughts*. Symonenko did believe that. He noted in the first entry: "with our feeble thoughts we will fertilize the soil from which a giant will arise. A future Taras or Franko."

Symonenko held Taras Shevchenko in highest regards. What both of them had in common was their tireless effort to attain better fortunes for the Ukrainian people. Toward the end of the following entry he underlines the symbolic meaning of Shevchenko to the Ukrainian people and the fear of this meaning demonstrated by cowards and *apparatchiks*:

6. VII. 1963

Don't know, does such a thing happen to everybody, or only to me. Quite often doubts destroy any kind of trust I have for my own courage. Don't know how I will behave when real tests start falling upon my head. Shall I remain, then, a human being or will they blind not only my eyes but my mind as well? For me, to lose courage is to lose human dignity, which I regard above everything. Even above life. Yet, how many people — wise and talented — backed down as far as human dignity is concerned to save their life, and, indeed, changed it into inanition needed by nobody. This is most horrible.

Last Sunday we were in Odessa, where local numbskulls amused us plenty with their idiotic fright, like: "something might happen." As a result we were forbidden to appear at an evening dedicated to Shevchenko. It seems that there are some who afraid of Taras even now. Philistines of the revolution.³⁰

This shows that local authorities in the Soviet Ukraine have power to invoke literary censorship. It becomes even more significant when one considers the fact that most of the works written by Taras Shevchenko are not forbidden and are widely read. The idea itself, a literary evening in honour of Shevchenko, was objectionable to the local "numbskulls."

By the time Symonenko wrote his next entry he was beginning to feel the advent of his near end:

22. VII. 1963

I think that my extinction has begun. Physically I am almost helpless, though morally I am not completely exhausted. Thinking about dying I feel no fear. It is so, probably, because the end is still far away. Funny thing: I do not want to die, and yet I have no special longing for life. Another ten years would be more than enough for me.

I glance back upon my past with irony: soon I'll be twenty-nine, and what have I accomplished? Did I even begin to scratch the surface of some-

30) *Marges of Thoughts*, p. 178.

thing worthwhile? Not a life but a chain of petty worries, petty failures, petty disappointments, and petty achievements!

No, I didn't imagine myself living like I do. Fortunate is he who wants little from life — he never gets to be disappointed in it. The most simple and most lapidary path to so-called happiness is to become a Philistine. The brain can give birth to thoughts, yet is not capable of making its owner happy.³¹

To great regret not "another ten years" but somewhat more than four months was destined for Symonenko as he was writing the above lines. Nevertheless, before the approaching end, he made still another serious accusation, at this time directed against the Soviet Ukrainian printing media, for having censored his works. In the next entry, dated 3. IX. 1963, after reminiscing about the past summer and his journey to Kaniv, he wrote:

... My friends have fallen silent, nothing can be heard about them. The press media became even more inept and impudent. *Literaturna Ukraina* castrates my article, *Ukraina* (Ukraine) treats cruelly my poetry. Every lackey is doing as he pleases. How is it possible not to burn with thankfulness, how can one fail to pray every morning and every evening for those, who bestowed such "freedoms" upon us? To all this one can add that in April my poetry was taken off the press in *Zmina* (The Relay), lashed out at *Zhovten'* (The October), and later rejected by *Dnipro* (The Dniepr) and *Vitchyzna* (Homeland).

Ay, ay, ay, merrily, we're all under press.

That's what is needed for the progress.³²

At this point a careful search was carried out by the author of this study throughout the issues of *Literaturna Ukraina* and *Ukraina* for the year 1963 to locate the article and poetry by Symonenko which the poet claimed to have been abused by censorship. In *Literaturna Ukraina* (August 20, 1963), there appears the only article by Symonenko printed during the year, under the title "Dekoratsii i zhyvi dereva" (Decorations and Living Trees). There can be no doubt, therefore, that this is the article, mentioned by Symonenko as "castrated" by censors. In it, Symonenko presented a whole chain of critical thoughts about the contemporary Soviet Ukrainian poetry. One can only imagine the size of Symonenko's indignation in the original version. Nevertheless, although mutilated ("castrated") by censors, the article still carries quite a punch and, therefore, is provided here in translation from what was printed in the *Literaturna Ukraina*:

DECORATIONS AND THE LIVING TREES

They say that Chukcha people know forty different "sorts" of snow. In their language, however, there is no common notion for snow. There is creaking snow, bluish snow, web-footed snow, even, hot snow, and, each one of them continues to live its separate life, stubbornly refuses to unite

31) *Ibid.*, pp. 178-179.

32) *Marges of Thoughts*, pp. 179-180. The entry contains some titles of the most popular Soviet Ukrainian periodicals. They are *Literaturna Ukraina* (described already earlier), *Ukraina* (a fortnightly, published in Kyiv), *Zmina* (now re-named *Ranok*, a Communist Youth monthly journal, published in Kyiv), *Zhovten'* (a literary monthly magazine, published in Lviv), *Dnipro* (a literary monthly magazine, published in Kyiv), and *Vitchyzna* (the official literary monthly magazine, published by the Soviet Ukrainian Writers' Union in Kyiv).

with its brothers into a word-federation, into one, common notion. It is not clear, how the Chukchian poets find their peace with such an outrage. The poor devils have to learn by heart all these "sorts" of snow. And that occurs at the time, as experience tells us, when some of us should remember, no doubt, that snow is white, and that one can intersperse the poetry with it to full heart's desire.

Of course, each highly developed language contains countless amounts of common notions. To complain about it would be unwise, yet, it seems to me, that a writer, or an artist, should remember about the other phenomena once in a while. At least, while drawing a forest, one should not draw just an image of a tree, it would be much better to depict with the pencil certain species, let's say, a maple tree. More so, as this beautiful tree is mentioned only when there is lobbying about someone's dissertation, or discussing an article.

It seems to me at certain times that in our literary grove, especially in poetry, there "sprout up" quite a few synthetic tree-growers, which, having all the common indications of a tree (green, wooden), do not possess their own crowns, nor own deep roots. Again, it seems to me, that the best breeding ground for such marvel-tree-growers is our rather loose, so to say, really boundless, admiration for common words and notions. Let's take, for instance, such a notion as *work*, sacred to all of us, and let's measure with the eye's corner what kind of treatment we afford for this notion.

To that, to what senior writers arrived by painstaking efforts, through human suffering and doubts, that, what for them used to be a windfall and discovery, we, with selfassurance and importunity of dabblers, turn into banality. When we write about work then we know, quite convincingly, that it can be physical, or, that it can be mental. If we are lauding physical work, then — "let's have" corns on palms of the hands, if mental — a pensive brow and inspired look. For deductions we do not always look. Inference is readily there: work glorifies the human being, work is needed by the society, therefore, thank you, Mary, for your corn-covered hands, for your sleepless nights, and for the noggin of tasty milk.

All this quite true and very noble. Yet, it is not poetry, it is only Philistine lipping, profanation of literature. Well, anyhow, can a thoughtless, repetitious writing, marked by "vile, pupillary desire to make everything smoothly correct," be ever regarded as poetry?

In the contemporary, average young poetry, one can observe a paradoxical phenomenon: separation of work from the human being. If a poem happens to fall into the "labourite" category, then what is lauded by it is not the individuality, but some kind of a central-arithmetical toiler. Human work has its own internal content and if the poet does not notice it, if he can only admire mechanical gestures made by, let's say, the turner by his lathe, then, he is not writing about work, but about who-knows-what. The production processes can and should be mechanized, physical work can, eventually, disappear completely. Yet, the poetry of work will stay, if there is to be poetry and not the mechanized process of versification.

Maksym Ryl's'kyi has written a short cycle called "In the Harvest." It was done so humanely and so cordially that after first reading it I have literally mused by it.

Sung away, this scythe of mine,
The warm hays dry and soothe.
I am passing the forests by —
Quietude, quietude...

Reading this cycle some kind of tempestuous joy is awakening within the soul, obscurely tender and beautiful. Here, the poet does not take into account how do any of the swatherers handle the scythe, instead, he

splashes upon the paper his sunny mood — and, indeed, a strange miracle occurs! The words spread with the aroma of intoxicating hops, with tart joy and sweet fatigue of labour. At such times one can see, and hear, and feel so much in common.

You raked the whole day long into tight cones
Intoxicated hay, with wine and honey.
The heat, without a mercy, burned on
Your barren knee, exposed without cunning.

An even this, grandiose, "lyuto" (fiercely), which appears so suddenly out of the combination "bez zhalyu tobi" (without mercy to you), in the middle of the third line, how justified it seems to be within the context. Permit me to provide also the final accord to this little symphony.

Oh, how green is my land,
Bluish river-bank rows!
By a blot, blot so grand,
Wind the pastures had thrown.

In the labour joy I do sink —
Hundreds scythes are joy-strong . . .
From the red kerchief, as by wink,
Wind delivered a song.

So much about human labour, for this is a clot made out of energy and thought. Can't say anything better about a swatherer, no matter how much you strain. One can only add that the above cycle was written almost thirty years ago, yet, the time did not touch it and will not touch it, ever. Because it's the real thing, not a duffer. You can't fail to love such poetry, you can only try and compete with it in a nice way.

Therefore, it is a great joy, indeed, when a young poet is most demanding to himself, while realizing this elementary verity, that Ukrainian literature does not begin with him, that he only contributes to its development.

But how sorry one feels to read a young poet, when he, in captivity of declaratory generalities, confines himself to the following screams and conjurations while writing about labour:

Everywhere today away we're flying:
To the Kazakhstan, Lena, Donbas.
In the workshops — the machines we're building,
So the wheat in songs should grow for us.

(Dm. Holovko)

Of course, it is not my contention that every poet should muster out copies of the above cited cycle, written by Maksym Ryl'skyi. Every truly talented poet must be innovatory. A talent can not remain conservative and keep on repeating long known notions. A talent must be an innovator and a searcher, an explorer of the spiritual deposits.

Mainly with such a demand in mind it is necessary to approach the evaluation of every poet, and young poets also can and should be evaluated without any regard for their youth. Anyway, there is no room for compassion in literature, it only spoils writers. What is needed, is stern and merciless criticism, that would develop our brains, not our self-esteem. To start and believe in one's own genius can be done without the flattery of review writers. No special down payments to the brain are needed for that. But to pass stern judgement over oneself, that — not everybody can do. If all a poet can do is to get insulted by criticism, then, already, he is not a poet at all.

Many discussions are being conducted about the sensitive, delicate,

impressionable soul of the writer, which, as they say, should be protected from all kinds of unpleasanties. Yet, what kind of sensitivity is it, what kind of spiritual daintiness, when all it can see in honest criticism is a nuisance? It should be remembered, that from overconsumption of sugar one looses teeth.

I am saying all this because, as it is well known, criticism is of stupendous importance to writer's work. By its help alone we can achieve that in our literary forest less trees should be "growing up" as some undetermined species.

Cherkasy

V. Symonenko

The first thing to remember, after reading the above article, is that it was written in the Soviet Ukraine and published there, after going through censorship. Such lines as "a talent can not remain conservative and keep on repeating long known notions," well known by and often repeated to a western intellectual — are not to be taken for granted in the world, where the established patterns of "socialist realism" say, practically, the opposite. It takes special courage in the Soviet Ukraine to say, for instance, that "a talent must be an innovator and a searcher, an explorer of the spiritual deposits," and that there is more to labour than "flying to the Kazakhstan and Lena." Such bold statements, considering the circumstances, allow to speculate that not everything was "castrated" in the above article by the censors and that such thoughts, as why the cycle written by Maksym Ryl's'kyi is "the real thing" and "not a duffer," like the poem by Dm. Holovko, who "is a captive of declaratory generalities." There is no way one could tell to what extent this article was mutilated by censors, what remained shows that Symonenko had a well-developed aesthetic taste, and that he tried to pass the general conceptions of that aesthetic taste to his young contemporaries.

Further research revealed in *Ukraine* No. 19 (August, 1963), p. 10, two short poems "Zemne tyazhinnya" (The Earth's Gravity) and "Ridna zemle..." (Oh, My Native Land), a short biographical note and a portrait of the poet. Both poems were also included in Symonenko's posthumous book published in Kyiv.³³ These finds allow me to document the extent of censor's intervention on the basis of two Soviet Ukrainian publications, or what Symonenko meant by stating in the entry dated 3. IX. 1963 "*Ukraine* treats cruelly my poetry." To illustrate this the variants of both texts are provided below in translation as they appeared in the two Soviet Ukrainian publications mentioned above. Omissions and word changes are shown in italic type.

In *Ukraine*:

THE EARTH'S GRAVITY

Oh, my hollow world, *millioneyeful*,
Tender, and benevolent, and cruel —

³³ Vasyl Symonenko, *Zemne tyazhinnya* (Kyiv: v-vo "Molod" — 1964), p. 7 and p. 49.

*Passionate, perturbed, evermute,
Give me all your ampleness, turmoil,
Fill my thirsty soul with sun astute!*

*With the dynamite my thought do torch, and
Give me love, and goodness for me save,
Oh, my world, roar into my fortune,
With the Dniepr river's ancient waves.*

*Don't deny to me, a man, deep chattels,
Nor the bliss toward my years to turn —
Anyway, I'll drop-by-drop these riches,
Back to you shall lovingly return.*

* *
 *

*Oh, my native land! My brain does lighten,
And more tender gets to be my soul,
As your hopes and daydreams truly brighten
Tear themselves into my life by storm.*

*Just by you and for you I am living,
Out of you I came, to you I'll pass,
Under your high-forehead sky upheaving
I have forged my strength with youthfulness.*

*He, who'd steal from you, in love unkindly,
He, who'd pass your worries, let you down —
The earth's gravity should be denied him,
He, with curse, be swallowed by unknown!*

Now, the same two poems, as presented in the posthumous book of poems *Zemne tyazhinnya*:

* *
 *

*What a world — a fairytale embroidery!
What a world — no foreground and no end!
Stars and pastures, glimmer in the morning,
Magic face I love and understand.
Oh, my hollow world, millioneyeful,
Passionate, perturbed, evermute,
Tender, and benevolent, and cruel,
Give me all your ampleness, turmoil,
Fill my thirsty soul with sun astute!
With the dynamite my thought do torch, and
Give me love, and goodness for me save,
Oh, my world, roar into my fortune,
With the Dniepr river's ancient waves.
Don't deny to me, a man, deep chattels,
Nor the bliss toward my years to turn —
Anyway, I'll drop-by-drop these riches,
Back to you shall lovingly return.*

* *
 *

*Native land of mine! My brain does lighten,
And more tender gets to be my soul,*

As your hopes and daydreams truly brighten
Pour themselves into my life by storm.

Just by you and for you I am living,
Out of you I came, to you I'll pass
Under your high-forehead sky upheaving
I have forged *my soul* with youthfulness.

He, who'd steal from you, in love unkindly,
He, who'd pass your worries, let you down —
The earth's gravity should be denied him,
He, with curse, be swallowed by unknown!

As can be constantly seen, the first four lines of the first poem were omitted by *Ukraina*. The order of the next two lines was changed and there was a different spelling for two separate, identical words ("millioneyeful" and "roar"). The first poem in *Ukraina* also carried the title "The Earth's Gravity" while in the posthumous volume it is marked only by three asterisks. The next poem suffered only minor changes. The word order of the first sentence in the first line was changed, one different spelling changing the meaning of the word "pour" to "tear" (vlyvayut'sya — vryvayut'sya) and replacing the word "dushu" (soul) by the word "sylyu" (strength) in the eight line of the poem.

All these omissions and changes in both poems do not carry some special political consideration, it is also possible to assume that two different variants of the poems existed and that the variants appearing in the posthumous book were part of Symonenko's files, from which the book was compiled. However, Symonenko did accuse *Ukraina* of "cruel treatment" and all these omissions, changes and different spellings do not improve the poems as they appeared in the posthumous volume (even here it would be hard to believe that the posthumous volume contains poems as written by Symonenko). Exactly the opposite is true, after the volume appeared in print there were some protests printed in Soviet Ukrainian periodicals, which lead to believe that the posthumous volume was also abused and severely mutilated. Here is one of them:

... A few words I wish to say about the editorial work done in preparing the book for publication. If today they talk about the publication and say "it's a good book", then what is meant by it is the content. The shaping of it is rather slipslop. To begin with the portrait, where the retoucher used all his skills to distort the face of the author, through some kind of an "allurementary" foreword by Mykola Som, and ending with the very principle of selecting the order of presented poems. Why was it necessary to spread the entire cycle "Ukraini" (To Ukraine) throughout the book? It is now impossible to tell to whom the poet is speaking — to his native land, or to his beloved woman? ...³⁴

That is precisely what Symonenko meant, as he wrote in the entry of 3. IX. 1963, that "every lackey is doing as he pleases." Above statements confirm his indignation and show that censors continued to abuse his poetry even posthumously. The official censorship did

34) Zhanna Bilychenko, "Na semy vitrakh," *Zhovten'* (February, 1965), p. 140.

not fail to notice the above complaints of Zhanna Bilychenko; her book review was ridiculed in the parody section of the *Radyans'ke literaturoznavstvo* five months later.³⁵

When Symonenko said, in the same entry of 3. IX. 1963, that: "to all this one can add that in April my poetry was taken off the press in *Zmina*" — he, probably, did not see yet the issue of *Zmina* for September, 1963. In that issue a cycle of Symonenko's poems appeared along with his portrait. It is possible that this was the same cycle "taken off the press in April." After comparing the poems to the same ones printed in the posthumous volume we note, besides some insignificant syntactic changes, that in one poem, marked by three asterisks, the fourth stanza was omitted in *Zmina* altogether. Here, in translation, is the entire poem. The stanza, omitted in *Zmina*, is shown in italic type:

* * *

The sun fell to the dusk of an evening,
Silence crawled from the village out.
Ruffled up heavens started, stormingly,
With the hovering threats to sprout.

Night was nearing with roaring rumble ring,
Night was carrying madness and fear,
With it's shadows misshapened, creeping,
In the terse-rebound bushes appeared.

Night was screaming to me, torn to pieces,
By the lightning engirdled crosswise.
In her tense birch-tree wailings and hisses
A loud-simmering protest arised.

*And the long-napped clouds were groping,
The moon prowled the sky, like a cat,
The wind settled on gray hut's topping
Whirling thatch roof to zenith by fret.*

... But the nacreous dawning is rising
Through the cold and ill-roaring to hight,
And the sunbeams — the wounds are belicking
Of the trees slaughtered during the night.

Helpless are, agonies of the fury,
Break through harmony — no fury does!
The sun visits us, not in a flurry —
The sun lives among us!

Out of dusk, by the dawns, it uppers
And sheds pollen on grasses around,
And sails on, only angering gophers,
Full of power and tenderbound.³⁶

This poem, basically, consists of a three-feet *anapaest*, but does

35) Yuri Ivakin, "Parodii," *Radyans'ke literaturoznavstvo* (July, 1965), p. 91.

36) Vasyl Symonenko, *Zemne tyazhinnya* (Kyiv: v-vo "Molod" — 1964), pp. 63-64. For the omissions within the same poem, see: *Zmina* (September, 1963), pp. 4-5.

not adhere to it in every line. Whenever the *anapaest* is broken off it creates a rhythmic dissonance within the poem. That, in turn, gives an impression of a raging storm, the main topic of the poem. The poem also shows a whole chain of contrarious images and antonyms: "sun — moon," "silence — screaming," "dawning — night." At the same time the *day* and the *sun* contain positive qualities in the authors interpretation and the *night* — negative qualities. The *day* and the *sun* includes "silence" (it crawled out of the village only when the day ended), "life," "healing wounds," "tenderness," "power." The *night* carries along "madness," "fear," "roaring rumble ring," "misshapened shadows," "lightning," "clouds" (and a prowling moon!), "slaughtered trees," and "agonies of fury." The *dawning* wins with the sun, that is, the *goodness* and *light* prevail, Symonenko's optimism here is self-evident. This is a literal interpretation of the poem and we could stop right here, but, let us remember Symonenko's poem "Roses in Mourning," where literal interpretation would amount to an *anti-religious* demonstration. Symonenko, himself, states that it is not so in the entry dated 8. X. 1962, saying, that his poem is directed against the "hypocrites who are turning, and not without success, to convert Marxism into a religion," that is, against the Marxist "dogmatism." Accordingly, one could imagine, that the above poem is also open to a different interpretation, and, that the main symbols in it, the *dawning* and the *night* could contain additional semantic signification, as was the case with the poem "Roses in Mourning." There are certain hints, comparisons, and metaphors that allow us to speculate, for instance, why did the sun "fall" to the dusk of an evening, the term "fell," as used in the poem, indicates a sudden, rapid, disappearing, rather than mild, slow descent; what kind of a "storm" is it, when "night was screaming" and a "loud-simmering protest arised"? Is it possible to protest against a night carrying a storm, no matter how "loud"? And, then, the "dawning," that is "belicking the wounds of the slaughtered trees." What kind of a "protest" is it, who got "slaughtered" during the night? Can "bushes" be "terse-rebound" during a storm? Exactly the opposite is true, the "bushes" relax and breathe with the rain during a storm. "Madness and fear" can be brought not only by a stormy night but also a *battle*. Could it be, really, that the "gophers" would get angry at the "sun," or could it be that the term "gopher" carries in the poem a semantic signification completely other than its literal meaning?

The possibility of interpretations *other than literal* is motivated even more if we turn our attention to the stanza omitted in *Zmina*. There, "the moon prowled the sky, like a cat," and we all know, that there can be no *moon* in the sky during a raging storm. Not in a *realist* poem, anyway. But in Shevchenko's poem "Prychynna" (The Mad Woman), there is a "pale moon" in the sky during a storm. In the very same poem it is said about the girl, that "not into a bed,

into a casket, like an orphan, she will lie down." Vasyl Symonenko, an orphan himself, gravely ill, could not have failed to compare his own predicament to that of "prychynna." In the poem there is also the line "night was screaming to me," by which Symonenko underlines the lyrical aspect of the content. To conclude, it is possible to assume that by the *night* Symonenko meant the *presence*, and under the *dawning* — he meant the *future*. Therefore, the optimism of a gravely ill poet is in his belief in a better day to come, and that can indignant only the "gophers."

I cannot bring myself to insist that the above interpretations are the only valid way to interpret the poem. What is certain is that the poem *could* be interpreted like that and the possibility of *more than one* interpretation proves the existence of semantic signification in Symonenko's poems.

There are only two more entries in the diary. Both are quite important to understand fully Symonenko — the poet, and Symonenko — the human being. In the first he mentions Mykola Nehoda³⁷ (1928-), namely, he states that their friendship has ended. It is the same Mykola Nehoda who later appointed himself to denounce Ukrainian cultural workers in exile for daring to print Symonenko's diary and for using excerpts of it in the broadcasts to listeners in Ukraine. He made his accusations in Symonenko's name, in the name of "a departed friend." About that newspaper article by Nehoda, "Everest pidlosti," there was already a mention in the beginning of this chapter. Quite an irony, as we see that three months before his own death, Symonenko crossed Nehoda out from among his friends:

5. IX. 1963

Yesterday I wrote "Kazku pro Duryla" (A Fable About Durylo). I wrote it in one breath, although some notes were taken before. Today I still like it, how sad that there is nobody to read it to.

Now I am even lonelier than before, here in Cherkasy. Even the group at the *Molod' Cherkashchyny* is now gone. The paths of friendship between me on one side, Nehoda and Ohloblyn on the other, one could say, were overgrown by thick rank weeds. To one of them I was useful, as long as I could have been helpful; the other one simply proved to be a fly-by-night operator. I have no doubt that he will bound me down with the same enthusiasm with which he used to praise me earlier. Anyway, he already had demonstrated that from several pulpits at a number of meetings.

But — to each its own.³⁸

The last entry refers to Symonenko's own poem "Samotnist'" (The Loneliness) which was first printed in exile, in the cycle "Poezii, zaboroneni v USSR" (The Poems Forbidden in the Ukrainian S.S.R.), that appeared in the same publication containing the diary. The poem was printed in the Soviet Ukraine only three years after Symonenko's death, in another posthumous volume.³⁹ This fact again

³⁷) *Dictionary* V., p. 190.

³⁸) *Marges of Thoughts*, p. 180.

³⁹) Vasyl Symonenko, *Poezii* (Kyiv: v-vo "Molod'" — 1966), p. 189.

testifies for the authenticity of Symonenko's works published in exile. The poem and the last entry:

THE LONELINESS

Often I am lonely, like the Crusoe,
From beyond horizons — await boards.
Feebly my thought sinks and loses
Itself in the mud, swamp of words.

On my wild, by all forsaken island,
Draped in pelt of the hopes butchered here,
I'm knifing the sky with my lashing eyes:
Where are you, my Friday, where?

Volleys of despair tear out of me,
To apathetic distance fret:
Oh, God, send to me down an enemy,
If sending a friend you regret!

And in the diary:

20. IX. 1963

When I speak about a "wild islam" and my loneliness I do not mean it in contempt of people. The fact that in Cherkasy I have almost no friends does not mean that I regard everybody as objects, not worthy of my attention, etc. (my wife is accusing me of that). It is simply that I have not found among them anyone with the same spiritual outlook as I, and friendship, as we all know, can not depend upon "ratio" alone.

Not long ago I have become acquainted with B. H.

It seems that I am writing worse than a year ago. My brain and heart have fallen into idleness.⁴⁰

After comparing the poem to the last entry we can clearly see that they relate to one another. The entry also mentions Symonenko's wife, in one of the earlier entries Symonenko mentioned that he had a son. That means that besides the aging mother Symonenko left behind a widow and a small son. What became of them now is not known. From the scarce literary notes appearing in print after Symonenko's death we learn that shortly after his departure there were commemorating literary evenings in his honour organized by his friends, that those attending listened to his voice reading poetry on a taperecorder. Some of those evenings were attended by his mother. There never was any official mention about his widow, nor about his son.

Passing along with the diary one year and two days of the poet's life we have learned about his philosophy of life, his doubts, his worries, and above all — his honesty. Symonenko started the diary with the motto: "To read other people diaries without permission is the Everest of baseness (unknown aphorism of commoner Wilson)". Mykola Nehoda did not forget to remind us about that in his newspaper article. Well, to ask Symonenko's forgiveness will have to be done in the world beyond.

40) *Marges of Thoughts*, pp. 180-181.

The Diary shows distinctly the place of Vasyl Symonenko among other Soviet Ukrainian writers. This place is not on the side of the regime, nor on the side of the "socialist realism," nor on the side of the literary "stylars." The place of Symonenko is among the creative searchers, among them — he is one of the prime discoverers, he is the fearless spokesman for the truth, for the Ukrainian people. Getting to know his *Marges of Thoughts* we have followed the secretive paths of his thoughts. There he left for his heirs a key to understanding of the semantic significations in his works.

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The
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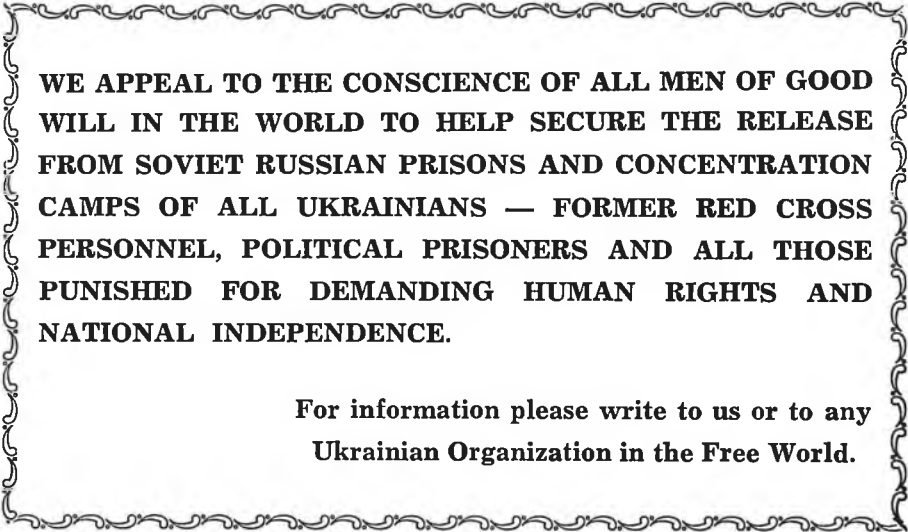
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THE UKRAINIAN REVIEW

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C O N T E N T S

Ukraine on the World Forum

<i>Yaroslav Stetsko</i> : UKRAINE IN THE WORLD POLITICAL FRAMEWORK	3
MEMORANDUM TO THE GOVERNMENTS OF WESTERN POWERS	8
UKRAINIAN PATRIARCHATE	12

Ukrainian political Prisoners

AN APPEAL FROM THE UKRAINIAN POLITICAL PRISONERS	14
THE CRUEL TREATMENT OF UKRAINIAN POLITICAL PRISONERS IN CONCENTRATION CAMPS	17
DECLARATION BY MYKOLA HORBAL IN DEFENCE OF IHOR KALYNETS	20
PROTEST OF Z. ANTONIUK AGAINST MOSCOW CHAUVINISM	23
A DEMAND FOR POLITICAL PRISONERS STATUS	24
WITH LEV LUKIANENKO IN PRISON — from conversations with Simas Kudirka	26
<i>Simas KUDIRKA</i> : MY ENCOUNTERS WITH THE UKRAINIAN POLITICAL PRISONERS	29

Ukraine Past and Present

<i>Prof. Dr. Vasyl Plyushch</i> : THE UNION FOR THE LIBERATION OF UKRAINE (SVU) AND THE UKRAINIAN YOUTH ASSOCIATION (SUM)	38
<i>Slava Stetsko</i> : THE NATIONAL REBIRTH OF YOUTH BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN	50
<i>V. Bohdaniuk</i> : PREHISTORY OF UKRAINE	60

Ukrainian Poetical Art

<i>Vickie Babenko</i> : THEMES OF BORIS OLIJNYK, — A CONTEMPORARY UKRAINIAN POET	72
<i>Lina Kostenko</i> : GREEN BIRDS & IF YOU CANNOT PAINT THE WIND	83-84

Political Forum:

DOCUMENTS OF THE 8th WACL CONFERENCE	85
SUPPLEMENTS TO THE FINAL COMMUNIQUE OF THE 8th WACL CONFERENCE IN RIO DE JANEIRO BY ABN DELEGATION	86
RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY WACL AND WYACL	87
WACL AND WYACL CONCERNED FOR VALENTYN MOROZ AND YURIY SHUKHEVYCH	88
FOR ADMITTING THE NATIONAL LIBERATION ORGANIZATIONS TO THE UNITED NATIONS	89
IN DEFENCE OF UKRAINIAN WOMEN POLITICAL PRISONERS	90
IN DEFENCE OF UKRAINE	90
CALL TO COMBAT RUSSIAN IMPERIALISTS	91
IN DEFENCE OF UKRAINIAN POLITICAL & RELIGIOUS PRISONERS ON RELATIONS WITH SOVIET TRADE UNIONS AND MURDERER A. SHELEPIN	93
BOOK REVIEW	94

Ukraine on the World Forum

Yaroslav STETSKO

UKRAINE IN THE WORLD POLITICAL FRAMEWORK

Ukrainian nationalism has always formed its planned directives for action, cultural in content and idealistic in outlook, through a long and active struggle, full of sacrifices, as the generation of the persecuted has again confirmed. Our youth has not grown up isolated from the revolutionary processes of OUN-UPA,¹ but has grown up on the sacrifices of the fighters of OUN-UPA in the national struggle on two fronts. The current revolutionary-liberation process in Ukraine should thus be regarded as an integral fact.

Against enemy diversions

In the period of psychological warfare, which is a composite part of modern warfare as imposed by Moscow, the enemy has attempted and keeps on trying to redirect the Ukrainian liberation movement onto an ideological-political basis and thus tear it away from its true roots. Many various forms of diversions have been attempted, such as trying to assimilate the ideological content of our liberation movement into the enemy's ideology, or to reduce it to the role of mere sectarianism, pseudonationalism, deprived of social, economic and cultural originality in growth through struggle. The enemy has tried also to underrate the Ukrainian nation, its vitality and strength, claiming that any creativity under occupation is impossible since there exists a "barren field" in the sphere of creative activity in Ukraine. The enemy's plan includes the division of the Ukrainian revolutionary process into two, away from the concentration of all forces of national life into a general uprising which would mobilize all spheres. The nation only stands united behind the dictates of armed force when actions in all fields of life are fundamentally directed at armed conflict.

When the revolutionary-liberation movement was headed by Col. Y. Konovalets, Gen. Roman Shukhevych and Stepan Bandera the ideological-political diversions of the enemy were always uncovered in time and successfully combatted. Such protection of the purity of the liberation movement's line is an inseparable part of the ideological battle.

The process of Ukrainian liberation is unfolding in a unique age in the history of liberation movements. In our opinion, a great

¹) OUN-UPA — Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists — Ukrainian Insurgent Army.

achievement in the current epoch of the liberation movement is the realization by the leading and political elite in general of Ukrainian national rights, the conception and creative solution and definition of many aspects in life of original Ukrainian qualities, spirituality, sociality, traditionality, a deeper study of the origins of our history, and the projection into Ukrainian ideas of the spontaneous aspirations of a nation, thus guaranteeing it invincibility.

Revolution and tradition

“Back to tradition, back to original Christianity!” — these are the revolutionary slogans of our epoch, though the concepts of revolution and tradition may seem contradictory. A nation enslaved always goes back to tradition of the revolutionary category, the origin of its strength. Even Solzhenitsyn tries to seek salvation for Russia in this, thus imitating Berdiayev.

Tradition not only encompasses the spiritual values of a millenium, but also the social and juridic institutions, the style and way of life of a nation. Although the general strategy of liberation can nowadays be outlined as the defence of a nation, on the ideological, cultural and ethnical level the national, political, and offensive character of struggle cannot be denied. The formula for the current revolutionary-liberation struggle is to defend oneself by taking the offensive.

No process of revolutionary-political uprising is fully complete if the government of the nation is not taken over. Revolutionary movements in all aspects of life must aim at one central point — the government of the nation. However, this cannot be achieved without a political commanding organisation which brings the various proceses of struggle under one common denominator and organizes the nation for the decisive armed uprising.

The clandestine revolutionary-liberation movement of OUN with its heroic fighters, proven in battle, its leaders in concentration camps, massive strikes and armed conflicts with the enemy, and also unbroken spiritual leaders — put forward the alternative of Ukrainian national rule. The alternative of Ukrainian national rule is the renewed category of the revolutionary uprising of a nation today. The nation's struggle nowadays is not only for “land and liberty” but for national rule, land and liberty, caused not only by the situation within the empire of the Soviet Union, but also by the international fragmentation of empires and the resulting influence of this fact upon the revolutionary processes in Ukraine. The indestructibility of the revolutionary liberation organization is a fact, as its characteristics show — a common ideal, a common direction of actions, carried out through modern methods for the mobilisation of the whole nation, and technical contacts on a high technological level.

The ideological, political and activity concentration, aided by modern technical means, together with organizational and technical deconcentration, has been the continual aim of a clandestine organization which has many forms. On the whole, all organized revolutionary processes meet at one centre of command, without which there can be no liberation. The revolutionary cadres, the revolutionary nation, a revolutionary uprising, people and ideas in many spheres of life and creativity and not only in the armed or ideological aspects — these component factors of the revolutionary process interweave into one fundamental union whose principal purpose is opposition to the whole national enemy body. That what is gained in battle serves as a stepping stone to further achievements, for this is a struggle not for any partial gains but for the whole. People are dying not for an 8-hour day, but for social justice. Instead of merging into a foreign cultural, social and political body, they are struggling for Ukrainian national life and its manifestation in various aspects of life and creativity.

A struggle for legality against injustice

One of the greatest revolutionary slogans of our days is the struggle for legality and justice, according to Ukrainian law. Herein lies our struggle: all the actions of OUN are legal in the eyes of God and human, Ukrainian law, because any occupation, any foreign coercion in occupied lands, is a crime. Force can never legitimize laws. The seizure of foreign land by an invader can never be legitimized since it is against God's, human, national, and international laws. The nation is the highest spiritual community, and the national idea, according to writers from Ukraine, catalyses the purest ideas of mankind, and having enriched them in the national climate thus enriches the treasure-house of human culture. Therefore, in view of ethics and heroic humanism, violence committed against a nation is the worst crime possible. Furthermore, there are no non-national cultures, and denationalisation is the absence of culture, that is, a despiritualisation, deheroisation, and demoralisation of life.

Thus, the current revolutionary slogan in Ukraine is: "Against injustice — for justice, Ukrainian and international legality, and the restoration of national rights to Ukraine and the Captive Nation." International law which permits the violation of every nation's right to independence and legalizes servitude is not valid, since it is against God's and human law. Ukraine's fight against Russia is legal and just. It is a fight against an illegal violator who has broken the law of nations, human law and God's law! The actions of OUN are equally just and legal — the actions of Moscow and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union are illegal and criminal!

The fight against injustice and for legality is the driving force of our struggle. I would like to draw attention here to several episodes

connected with the period of "calling upon the Constitution," "legal procedures" and "legal exonerations" regarding the actions of several cultural workers, especially: the systematic illegal actions committed by the enemy, regardless of the fact that it was breaking its own laws; the underlying political motives of several cultural workers in pointing out the lies of the regime, and, in general, calling upon universal laws, such as the U.N. Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Under no circumstances can this section of the national struggle be classed under the category of attempted reformism or liberalisation, or a struggle to make reality conform to the constitution, or under the category of Ukrainian "dissent." The principal aims of our fighters are: national and human laws, the restoration of national sovereignty, the realization of a fully Ukrainian life, the revelation of traditional and historical Ukrainian qualities, and the defence of Ukraine. *There are no Ukrainian dissident-patriots.* The position of Russian reformers and 'liberalizers' — dissidents trying to right the system from above or below but keeping the empire intact — is completely opposed to that of Ukrainian cultural workers. The Ukrainian fighters for national and human rights in the cultural elite can in no way be considered naive, just as they cannot be accused of having no experience in the struggle with the KGB.

Thus the actions of OUN, which objects to any calling upon of the occupant's laws, give that historical section a definite place in the system of extending a wider front against the enemy, and includes the more timid elements, who supported the cultural workers by throwing flowers to the arrested and protested by letter against illegal actions. The process of revolutionizing and mobilizing wider circles has got farther than ever before . . .

The international ideological basis of our actions

The journal of the "People's Labour Alliance", "Possev", comparing Valentyn Moroz with Pomerants, a Russian dissident, described him as a man of an extraordinary character, high morals, courage, and of genius but . . . as a "man of yesterday" with his ideas of a new national, international, political, ideological, ethical, traditional, cultural and religious order.

It is important to point out that our persecuted Ukrainian fighters consider nationalism and humanity not in opposition to, but as part of, the one whole, since people live in nations and world culture lives only through national culture. Humanity is not the mechanical sum of individuals — it exists through nations. Humanism is not the antithesis of nationalism, but the ethical and social qualities of a person of a common individuality. Religion is an inherent part of culture, and ethics have their origin in religion. The human "I", that

is, the veritable "I" of individuality, is similar to the divine, according to Skovoroda, whose philosophy is close to the spiritual principles of Ukrainian nationalism. Social order is thus based on the respect of individuals and their nations.

Moroz — as a representative of the new Ukrainian national order, which is to save the world not only from an atomic cataclysm but also from barbarism and the cult of false god worship — puts forward the fundamental national, traditional and cultural principle of differentiation, and the harmonious international mosaic of diverse national beings. This is called into question by Pomerants, who is considered by Possev to be a representative of the real "progressive" world, and who enumerates the various 'facts' about the existence of the so-called Soviet nation: the intermingling of nations, the creation of a supra-national culture based upon selected intellectuals from various nations, nations torn up from their roots, whose reason for existence is to save the world from destruction.

The current ideological-political crisis is not "our fault." It is a consequence of both the communist and capitalist systems attempting to create, in the former, a fictitious or real "paradise on earth" from the point of view of wordly materialism, obedient servants, a doctrinal classless Marxist society, and a traditional Russian community, and, in the latter, an individual who is above the nation.

In order to explain abroad all the existing contradictions between historical and dialectical materialism on the one hand, and Russian national-imperialistic messianism on the other, as the Russian nation is founded on the former and the international, proletariat on the latter, the Russian imperialistic order has linked the Russian nation and its world interests with the international proletariat and the so-called proletariat internationalism, completely in accordance with the messianic ideology of Dostoyevsky. Thus the 'Soviet nation' is supposedly something higher, a denationalised community, a 'historical reality', "a new creation on the path to withdrawal from nationhood". The vision of Pomerants's Babylon is a delusion for "useful idiots" thought out in the sclerotic head of the ideologue Suslov; it is a delusion as a model of 'a higher level of human development' for the unification of a denationalised international community. Furthermore, the Constitution of the USSR defines the USSR not as a "union of national republics" but as "a workers', farmers' and industrious intelligentsia's state" from which one easily arrives at the concept of a "Soviet people."

Ukraine has commenced the struggle against such an anti-constitutional, unnatural world order, behind which hides brutal Russian lawlessness. Thus the ideological, national and political fight of Ukraine against Russia has nowadays taken on a revolutionary meaning of universal dimensions.

(To be continued)

MEMORANDUM

May 27, 1975

To: *The Government of the Western Powers*

From: *Yaroslav Stetsko*
 Ukraine

Subject: *Soviet Russian Colonialism and the Current
 Situation in Ukraine.*

I. Russia and the Free World

The present international scene is dominated by several problems, foremost among 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 to blackmail the free nations and for further conquests and suppressions of national liberation movements of the nations under Russia's yoke. Moscow's development of intercontinental 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. She attempts to make at least some nations economically dependent on her 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 domination and influence. It is through these countries that Russia has the status of "superpower", since it is by being in control of these countries that Russia has access to the Mediterranean, the Near and Middle East as well as Africa. It is also because of these countries that Russia plays a key

role on the Asian continent. Concurrently, while Russia extends her sphere of influence at the expense of the Free World, explosive national liberation movements take place within the Russian empire and systematically weaken it. This struggle for independence within the empire goes on in every domain of life: it is economical, political, cultural, religious and, most importantly, national and in general anti-Russian as well as 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 national liberation revolutions of the subjugated nations within the Russian empire, for the aim of these nations is the final 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 independent 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 the 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 was 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 Russian communist invaders in the course of the war of 1918-1921. Then at the outbreak of World War II, the Ukrainian National Liberation Movement 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, Yaroslav Stetsko, 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 of the Ukrainian National Defence Front tells of 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 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 rights, such as Yuriy Shukhevych, Svyatoslav Karavansky, Ivan Svitlychny, Vyacheslav Chornovil, Leonid Plyushch and many others are cruelly imprisoned and sentenced as well as subjected to the application of 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 numerous writings have exposed the Russification of the Ukrainian language and culture and the lawlessness of the Soviet state. Moroz conducted a 145 day hunger strike beginning June 1, 1974 in protest against Russian terror in the prisons and concentration camps.

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:

a) 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;

b) 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, neo-colonialism and the attempt to create a so-called "Soviet nation" by force and by a so-called "merging" of nationalities;

c) to brand the persecuting, imprisoning and sentencing for long years of prison and concentration camps of fighters for national and human rights, as for example, Zynoviy Krasivsky, Osyp Terela, Anatol Lupynis, General Hryhorenko and others; to condemn the

sentencing to harsh prison terms of women and cultural leaders, as for example, Iryna Kalynets, Nadia Svitlychna, Stefa Shabatura and others; to condemn the confinement of political prisoners for terms up to 25 years or 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;

d) 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;

e) to defend all persecuted and imprisoned freedom fighters, intellectuals and cultural leaders 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 staunch stand of defence of Ukrainian culture as well as national and human rights.

Appeal to the Geneva Conference

We therefore ask the Geneva 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 the persecution of believers in God and cultural leaders who defend the 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 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 Soviet Russian imperialism and communism in the USSR and the "satellite" states.

Respectfully yours,

YAROSLAV STETSKO

Chairman of the Presidium
of the Organisation of the Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN)

CONCERNING THE UKRAINIAN PATRIARCHATE

His Holiness,
Pope Paul VI

Your Holiness,

In the name of eight thousand Ukrainians gathered in Leicester, Great Britain, on the 12th of July 1975, for the 50th Anniversary Rally of the Ukrainian Youth Association, we beg to submit this telegram in order to bring to Your attention the vital importance of the present situation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

In respect of this we beg to ask Your Holiness, most humbly, that a Patriarchate of the Ukrainian Catholic Church be created.

The Archbishop-Major Metropolitan Confessor Cardinal Josyf Slipyj is regarded as the undisputed Spiritual Leader of the Ukrainian Nation and a dedicated Soldier of Christ, and consequently the Ukrainian Catholic Faithful in Great Britain have acclaimed Him to be the Patriarch of the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

We Humbly appeal to Your Holiness to hear our plea and to recognise Cardinal Slipyj as our Patriarch.

We remain in filial devotion to Your Holiness.

On behalf of the Ukrainian Youth Association
in Great Britain,

J. DEREMENDA
Hon. Chairman

B. HARHAJ
Chairman

R. KRAWEC
Rally Comandant

His Beatitude Patriarch
of the Ukrainian Catholic Church
Cardinal Joseph Slipyj.
Rome.

Your Beatitude,

On the occasion of the 50th Jubilee of the Ukrainian Youth Association, the eight thousand strong Rally of the Ukrainian Youth Association in Leicester in Great Britain, would like to send you, our

Spiritual Prince and Father, Patriarch of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, our humble and sincere veneration.

Similarly as all the Ukrainians in the Free World we turn our hearts and thoughts to your Beatitude, Martyr for the Christian Faith and for Ukraine, we pray to Almighty God to bless you with good health and a long life in the service of God, the Church and our persecuted Ukraine.

We learn with great sorrow that the Vatican has ignored your merits for Christianity and the Ukrainian Church, and also ignored the one desire of the faithful of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, and has rejected our request to formally recognise your Beatitude as the Patriarch of the Ukrainian Catholic Church Church.

For us you were the Patriarch and remain so. In doing so the Vatican is ignoring the clause of the Brest Union and the Decree of the II Vatican Ecumenical Council and is undermining our Faith in God and in man's Justice.

We request your Beatitude to convey these our feeling to His Holiness Pope Paul VI and to those Vatican circles who oppose the Patriarchate of the Ukrainian Catholic Church and the lawful right of the faithful of the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

Recognising you as the Patriarch of the Ukrainian Catholic Church we pledge our total and continuous support and our love and Christian dedication.

The Ukrainians at the Ukrainian Youth Association Rally,
Leicester, Great Britain.
12th July 1975.

J. Deremenda
Hon. Chairman

B. Harhaj
Chairman

R. Krawec
Rally Commandant

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).

Ukrainian political prisoners

A N A P P E A L

from Ukrainian political prisoners in the U.S.S.R.

We, a group of political prisoners from the sub-Ural concentration camp no. 36, appeal to governments of all countries, to the United Nations Organisation, and to all honest people, to call attention to the unbearably harsh conditions of political prisoners in the USSR and to influence the leaders of this country to change these conditions and bring them into line with the international standards laid down for holding political prisoners.

Not wishing to acknowledge the irrefutable fact that opposition to the present regime, as well as a national-liberation movement of the countries within the USSR, exists, the government does not recognize the existence of political prisoners within the USSR, depriving us of our rights as provided for by our appropriate status.

We have been sent thousands of kilometres away from our families, and many have been taken outside the country they were living in until their arrest. Thus we have been deprived of the opportunity of seeing our loved ones even two or three times a year because of the expense and difficulties involved in such a long journey. Apart from this we can be deprived of visits for any reason whatsoever — all that is required is for the KGB representative to give an order.

Our mail comes under fierce censorship and incoming and outgoing mail is systematically interfered with. In fact, a non-Russian is actually forced to write in Russian. Many letters are confiscated on the grounds that their contents are "suspicious." Many complaints and declarations are not sent away at all either because of a supposed distortion of Soviet reality or they are arbitrarily readdressed by the administration. As a rule, our complaints receive a formal, bureaucratic and mocking answer.

We are forced to undergo degrading searches. Even our families, supposedly free citizens, have to strip naked during searches when they come to visit us.

We are forced to shave and have haircuts. We have to dress in ugly prisoners' uniforms all exactly the same and to wear breast-plates.

Our camps are out of bounds not only to representatives of foreign organisations, but also to Soviet organisations.

We are not allowed to meet with foreign correspondents, legal representatives of the International Red Cross or the U.N to tell them about the conditions under which we are kept, about our convictions, about our cases (the majority of which have been fabricated up), about the closed trials, and about the enormous violation of the law and our rights, permitted by the judiciary organs of the USSR.

During transportation we are often mixed in with war prisoners (probably with a provocative aim) and also with criminals, this with an obvious aim.

We are harshly punished for any reason whatsoever, tormented with hunger, have physical and moral pain inflicted upon us, are taunted in all sorts of ways, deprived of even elementary citizen's rights, and have our human dignity lowered. Through continuous victimisation and unnecessary prohibitions the guards manage to create an insufferable atmosphere, a shocking situation, which leads many to fall gravely ill or even to commit suicide.¹

The whole system of so-called re-education is directed at the creation of a denationalised, silent and submissive slave, who obediently carries out the orders of the leadership.

Much can be said about the atrocious situation of medical supervision, about the disgusting nourishment provided by valueless food, which does not even have the protein of its animal origin and is often putrid.

The reaction to this whole system of force and violation is constant hunger strikes to which the administration responds with an increase in repressive measures. For many years now Soviet political prisoners have attempted to attain legal recognition and the definition of their prison terms in accordance with the generally accepted status of political prisoners.

A group of political prisoners from the neighbouring camp no. 35 (Svitlychny, Hluzman and others) were on hunger strike for over three months in support of their demands. The administration paid no attention to their protest.

The political prisoner V. Kalynychenko is threatened with being sent to a lunatic asylum because of similar demands. Thus anybody who attempts to obtain rights due to him through his status is declared psychologically abnormal.

While going into the fight for our rights, we are aware of the fact that in the first days we will be confronted by the full might of the enormous state machinery of this country which will try not only to eradicate our beliefs but also to destroy us. Nevertheless, we are determined to carry out our objective to the very end — to achieve the fulfillment of our valid demands.

We are neither thieves or robbers, nor gangsters, hooligans or

¹) For example, Josyf Mishener attempted to commit suicide in camp no. 35 1/p Perm. at the beginning of November, 1974.

swindlers. We are not guilty of any criminal acts. We were sentenced because of our beliefs and designs. Therefore we are convinced that our appeal for support will be answered by all honest people everywhere. We trust that at the next session of the General Assembly of the U.N. the question of the status of political prisoners in the USSR will be discussed.

The propaganda agencies of the USSR savagely expose other countries for the inhumane treatment of political prisoners. We believe, however, that this criticism will not draw the world's attention away from the terrible conditions of Soviet political prisoners or from the gross violation of their rights by the Soviet government.

Jakiv Suslensky, Pavlo Kampov,
Yuriy Hrodetsky, Mykola Bondar,
Anatoliy Zdorovy, Vitaliy Kalynychenko,
Stepan Sapeliak.

SUSLENSKY Jakiv

Ukrainian. Arrested and charged with taking part in underground publications. At present in a sub-Ural concentration camp.

KAMPOV Pavlo

Ukrainian. Born 1929. Mathematician and lecturer at Uzhhorod University. In 1970 Kampov and three others were struck off the list of candidates for deputies of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. In support of the candidates, about 100 propaganda leaflets were distributed, and, on the 16th June, 1970, two days after the elections, Kampov was arrested without the prosecutor's authority. He was kept in isolation before the trial and was then charged with having distributed pre-election leaflets. It is also said that Kampov wrote a brochure in Ukrainian entitled "25 years of hope and disillusionment."

HRODETSKY Yuriy

No information about the above-named is available at present.

BONDAR Mykola

Ukrainian. Born 1939. Between 1968 and 1969 he was a lecturer in philosophy at the Uzhhorod University, Ukraine. From 1969 onwards he was forced to work in a boiler-house in Cherkassy. He was removed from his university post for criticising the excessive celebrations of Lenin's jubilee. He was then charged with defaming the Soviet regime, and on 12. 5. 1971 was sentenced in Kyiv, in Soviet Socialist Republic, to 7 years imprisonment. He declared he was

innocent and, as a protest against his imprisonment, he went on hunger strike between the 10th of November and the 10th of December, 1971, in camp no. 17 of Dubrov, in the Mordovian ASSR.

ZDOROVY Anatoliy

Ukrainian. Born 1939. Sentenced in 1972, in accordance with par. 70 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR to 7 years imprisonment. At present he is in Perm camp no. 36.

KALYNYCHENKO Vitaliy

Ukrainian. Born 1946. In 1963 he destroyed his Komsomol membership card. Arrested on 12. 1. 1967. Sentenced to 10 years imprisonment by the Murman regional court in accordance with pars. 15-64 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR for attempting to escape abroad. On 24. 11. 1974 he wrote a protest letter from Kuchynsky camp 389-36, in the Perm region, to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the UN Commission for Human Rights in which he demanded the rights of a political prisoner. He rejected the accusations against him except for admitting that he destroyed his Komsomol membership card and that he does not agree with the political regime of the USSR.

SAPELIAK Stepan

Ukrainian. Born 1950. Arrested and sentenced in 1974 to 5 years in concentration camps for distributing Ukrainian protest letters and for an assumed affiliation to a youth organisation. He is at present in Perm concentration camp VS no. 36.

THE CRUEL TREATMENT OF UKRAINIAN POLITICAL PRISONERS IN CONCENTRATION CAMPS

The case of S. Sapeliak

Information obtained from The Chronicle of Current Events states that a Ukrainian, Stepan Sapeliak, age 24, is being held in Perm camp VS no. 36. He was arrested and sentenced in 1974 to 5 years imprisonment for distributing Ukrainian protest letters and for an assumed affiliation to a youth organisation.

On the 22nd of June, 1974, several political prisoners, including Sapeliak, were sunbathing in the dwelling zone of the camp when the captain in charge, Milentiy, told them to get dressed, which they duly did. Sapeliak was taken away to the guard room and ordered to write an explanation for "breaching clothes regulations." Sapeliak refused to do this, and Milentiy then told him to stand with both hands against the wall, as if he was to be searched. He

Sapeliak's demanded for medical attention, Dr. Kotov, wife of a former head of the camp, was called for. She declared that the red marks on Sapeliak's body were "from birth." Alexey Safranov, sentenced to 12 years for attempting to escape to the West while doing military service in East Germany, was on guard duty at that time. Sapeliak was ordered not to mention to the other prisoners what had taken place, but once he was let go he recounted everything. Soon afterwards, a guard came to take him away to the guard room again. Sapeliak was then surrounded by the prisoners, who refused to let him go. On the following day about 45 prisoners announced a strike, demanding that Sapeliak's case be investigated. Major Kotov carried out the inquiry, and on the 25th of June he declared to the prisoners that Sapeliak was a "slanderer" and for this he would be punished. That same evening Yevhen Sverstiuk, Anatoliy Zdorovy (a 35-year old mathematician from Lviv, sentenced to 7 years imprisonment, date of sentence unknown) and Symon Aronovych Hrylyus (born 1945, student at the Ryazan radiotechnical institute, arrested in the case of "Komunar") were put into solitary confinement. After this several prisoners stopped the hunger strike, but 32 others carried it on for a whole month. They included: Sapeliak, Sverstiuk, Pokrovsky, Mendelevych, Gulil, Dymshyts, Zdorovy, Zal'manson, Hryn'kiv, Makarenko, Syn'kiv, Zhykavskas, Berniychuk, Maravskas, Lukianenko, Shylinskas, Kalynychenko, Kudirka (now in the West), Kifiak, Vorobyev, Hryhoryev, Davydov, Gerchak, Safranov, Chernoglas, Astra, Putse, Saarte, Lapp, Aban'kin. Several prisoners, amongst them Lukianenko, were finally transferred to Vladimir prison. Some ended up in hospital, while others were put into solitary confinement.

Some other cases

Lyubomyr Starosolsky (born 1955, sentenced to 2 years in concentration camps) and Roman Kolopach (born 1954, sentenced to 3 years in concentration camps) are imprisoned in camp no. 19 in Mordovia. They were sentenced by the Lviv regional court for hanging up blue and yellow flags on the 9th of May, 1972, in the village of Stebnyk (Lviv region). They were tried on the 19th of February, 1973.

In October 1974 the prisoners Ivan Svitlychny, Volodymyr Balakhnov, Zynoviy Antoniuk and Semen Hluzman passed on to the academician Sakharov the following declaration: "We have been on hunger strike now for 3 months. We demand to have our status as political prisoners recognized. We have written to all the higher authorities of the USSR — none have replied. Thus they have given then brutally beat him up, cursing away "Here's your law."¹ Upon

¹) In the original text this phrase is given in Russian: "Vot tebye zakon."

a free hand to the camp administration to treat us as brutally as they will. We appeal to you, a well-known activist in the democratic movement, to do everything possible to bring our plight to the attention of higher authorities."

V. Balakhnov was a translator attached to the Soviet delegation of the UN in the Meteorological Commission in Geneva. During his period abroad he decided not to return to the USSR, but after a discussion with the Soviet consul (who persuaded him that he would not be punished) he returned to Moscow on the 1st of December, 1972. On the 7th of January, 1973, he was arrested and then sentenced to 12 years imprisonment.

The Ukrainian, Pavlo Fedorovych Kampov, born 1929, mathematician, candidate-member of the Academy of Sciences, lecturer in Uzhhorod University, is presently serving out his sentence in Perm camp VS no. 36.

In 1970 Kampov and three others were struck off the list of candidates for deputies of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. Kampov was dismissed from the Uzhhorod electoral district by the Volovetsky woodwork combine. About 100 pre-election propaganda leaflets were distributed in support of the candidates.

On the 16th of June, 1970, two days after the elections, Kampov was arrested without the prosecutor's authority (who signed the arrest warrant only on the 1st of July). He was kept in isolation before the trial, and in a closed court was charged with distributing pre-election leaflets. Another version of this claims that Kampov wrote a brochure in Ukrainian entitled "25 years of hope and disillusionment" and sent it to various publishing houses of the USSR. He was also charged with writing a letter to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union asking to be allowed to form a separate Communist party in Transcarpathia. His family were not even allowed in to hear the verdict. He was sentenced to 5 (or 6) years in concentration camps, and has been threatened by members of the KGB that if he talks about his "case" he will be forbidden to see his family.

* * *

We have received news from Ukraine that the KGB is planning to transfer Valentyn Moroz to a psychiatric prison hospital. The so-called psychiatric treatment is one of the most brutal measures used by Moscow in its fight against those who dare to have different thoughts.

At the beginning of November, 1974, after the end of his hunger strike in Vladimir prison, Moroz was moved into a cell with other prisoners, but in December was put into solitary confinement. He was then taken back into a cell, and during the following months his health improved. However, throughout these past weeks he has

again been victimised and menaced. The prison doctor declared that Moroz must be transferred for "treatment" to a psychiatric prison hospital because, he said, "no normal person would have been able to survive a 5 month hunger strike." It is thus obvious that the KGB wishes to break Moroz by this refined method of violence.

* * *

DECLARATION BY MYKOLA HORBAL' IN DEFENCE OF IHOR KALYNETS

The following document, a declaration by the Ukrainian political prisoner Mykola Horbal', has been recently smuggled into the West from the Perm concentration camps in the USSR. The declaration, dated October 1974, has been written due to the fact that the camp administration did not allow Ihor Kalynets, a Ukrainian poet, to meet with his mother. The declaration also describes the various methods used to treat cruelly the prisoners. M. Horbal' writes as follows:

To the Prosecutor of the RFSSR from inmate Mykola Horbal' Andriyevych (VS 389/35), Perm region:

Declaration

On the 1. 10. 1974 I was informed of Prosecutor (illegible) and jurist Holdyrev's answer to my repeated declarations about the fact that Ihor Kanynets has been forbidden to see his parents. The answer states: "Kalynets has not been forbidden any such visit, and is completely entitled to one."

I was not satisfied by this answer since it is not true. As you already know, Ihor Kalynets has not been allowed to see his family. His elderly mother and young daughter travelled from the region of Lviv to visit him, and the reason for his not being permitted to see them was quite petty. Having found out about this, many prisoners, including myself, were quite indignant and declared a hunger strike as a mark of protest, demanding that Kalynets be allowed to receive visitors.

I wish to bring to your attention the fact that the groundless deprivation of visits is not a solitary incident: it has become part of the accepted system, the aim of which is to lower one's human dignity, to create the appearance of a hopeless situation and the feeling of doom for the prisoner, to provoke despair and fear among his family, to cause misunderstanding within the family, and to occasion material, physical and moral loss to the prisoner and his family. Having found out about the planned visit to the prisoner in advance (for this reason the prisoner has to apply well before his next visit so that he may be accorded a date), the administration

usually finds a reason to punish the prisoner by not allowing him to see his visitors. A reason can always be found, and it becomes impossible to prove that one is innocent. The transgression, on the basis of which a punishment is handed down, is noted. On such occasions it is not even worth complaining.

However, this declaration is not about the fact that the administration forbids the visits when the family has already set out to, or has arrived at, the camp. This happened, for example, with the families of prisoners Butman, Torosian, Hluzman, Ahman and Davydenko. Apart from this, the administration is not even particular about legalizing such a prohibition. As you can see, a whole complex of lawlessness has been created for just this. Forbidding Kalynets to receive his visitors on 28. 8. 1974 was the last straw. Over 20 people declared a hunger strike in protest.

On the following day, the substitute of the head of camp VS 389, Major Kotov, in the presence of the head of the local settlement, senior Lt. Poliakev, admitted to Kalynets: "To allow you to see your family would amount to a victory for the prisoners. There will be no visit." He said the same to those of us who were on hunger strike: "Disperse. There will be no visit for Kalynets." We later found out that Kalynets's family had received the same categorical reply: "Don't bother waiting. There will be no visit."

A large group of prisoners were on hunger strike for 10 days. Four prisoners (Hluzman, Svitlychny, Antoniuk and Balakhnov) are in the 37th day of their hunger strike. Many complaints and declarations have been sent to various higher authorities.

In compliance with the MVD's orders,² the prosecutor of the Perm region, General Vychyzhnov, explained to Kalynets in a letter of the 10th September, 1974, that: "... with regard to the groundless prohibition of a family visit, the regional prosecutor's office has taken certain measures." Later, Kalynets received a letter from the Perm prosecutor's office, signed by the head of the department in charge of the area containing the Perm camp, Matsiyevsky, dated the 16th of September, 1974. It stated: "All the necessary measures have been taken. An application for the refund of costs incurred during the journey can only be put forward by the mother."

Did they make a mistake? It happens. Only then how is one to interpret the fact that on 18. 3. 1974 Davydenko, a Ukrainian political prisoner, was not allowed to see his family? After many complaints the explanation given was that: "... the application card for a visit was filled in wrongly. It should be rewritten and the costs will be refunded." But what was the result? When Davy-

²) Ministry of Internal Affairs.

denko's mother arrived a second time for a visit, on the day stipulated by the administration, they refused to discuss the matter of compensation at all. In actual fact, the costs of the visit were never refunded. Another mistake? One can rarely prove that the administration has broken the law, and the thought then comes to mind that such answers are intended to make the prisoner and his family fed up with seeking justice and a refund of expenses incurred. And they are right in counting upon such a reaction, proven through long years of experience, because it is difficult to find anybody who would wish to bring the camp administration to court with the outcome of the trial uncertain. Even in the most justified of cases it is uncertain whether so much as the costs of the trial will be refunded. And is there any sense in filing a complaint when it takes months for the case to come before the court and a further few months for the court to pass judgement? If you 'sit quietly', on the other hand, the administration may change its mind and allow a further visit. Thus, if people should start filing complaints in the future, do not make any noble gestures claiming that a mistake had been made and parents are entitled to file complaints, since this will be interpreted as a gesture not backed up by any concrete actions. However, if I am wrong then please answer me the following questions:

- 1) If it has been admitted that the forbidding of Kalynets to see his family was unfounded, then why not stop the victimisation and punishment of those who protested against it?
 - 2) What "measures have been taken" with regard to the groundless prohibition of Kalynets's meeting with his family?
 - 3) What is the guarantee that similar systematic illegal incidents will not take place again?
 - 4) Why are prisoners immediately punished for the smallest infringement of the numerous regulations, while the camp administration gets away with gross violations of the law?
 - 5) Even if a miracle happens and Kalynets's mother receives material compensation for the costs incurred during the visit to her son, whom she did not see, who will compensate, and how, the moral suffering caused to his young daughter through coming into contact with the savagery of those entrusted with the re-education of their son and father? Who will compensate the elderly lady for the harm caused to her health through such an "outing" and through the degrading, desperate and tearful conversations with the administration?
3. 10. 1974

(Horbal')

N.B. A similar statement has been sent to the MVD.

PROTEST OF Z. ANTONIUK AGAINST MOSCOW CHAUVINISM

Letters of Ukrainian political prisoners to the USSR

State Public Prosecutor

Zinoviy Antoniuk, a Ukrainian political prisoner at the Perm camp VS 389/35 sent a declaration on 20th June 1974 to the leader of the branch of the administrative organs of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, in which he writes about a commission from Moscow which in June of last year came to the camp to investigate the prisoners' grievances, about which they had written to Moscow in May of that year. The said commission was headed by Lieutenant-Colonel Anastasov, of the MVD, and an official of the Prosecutor's office of the Russian Federal Soviet Socialist Republic, Ryzhov. The text of the declaration is as follows:

"Instead of an investigation into the case, on the 20th of June, 1974, I was witness to an arrogant display of super-power chauvinism on the part of Lt. Col. Anastasov, who offended my legal national rights, guaranteed by the Soviet constitution. He literally said to me: "What language do you write in? Wouldn't it be better to write to your wife telling her to ask a neighbour to write a letter in Russian for her?"

Antoniuk then carries on: "It might be possible to ignore this coarse attitude towards a non-Russian, just as so many similar daily incidents are ignored and ascribed to the lack of culture and savagery of this or that bearer of national chauvinism. However, in this case, it concerns a representative of the MVD from Moscow with considerable authority and with the errand of appraising in practice the lawlessness and arbitrary rule which exist in the camps. When insults are addressed at a Ukrainian (such as 'khakhly')³ by standard-bearers or by camp guards, one swallows them silently, attributing them to the low cultural level of these bearers of international ideas. When one sees the same display of Ukrainophobia on the part of the administration — this arouses one's indignation."

There have also arrived in the West letter of Ukrainian women prisoners — S. Shabatura, I. Senyk, N. Strokata and N. Svitlychna — sent to the Supreme Prosecutor of the USSR, A. Rudenko, in 1973.

Stefania Shabatura, in her letter dated 12th June, 1973, writes: "Our descendants will talk of our age as the age of great scientific

³) Derogatory term for Ukrainians, used by Russians.

and technical achievements, but not as the age of a harmonious development of individuality. What sort of development can there be when the circulatory vessels of culture are periodically cut open in interrogators' offices and in the halls of court investigators? But how long can all this go on for with impunity? Maybe you share the conception of Sherwood Anderson that "every human being is Christ — and all shall be crucified"? If so, then I am willing to be crucified for my country, for my nation, which has not been allowed to develop freely neither by the Batyj hordes,⁴ nor by the Tsarist oppressors, nor by the actions of your colleagues, both former and present."

Iryna Senyk, in a letter of the 15th December, 1973, states: "I, who with anguish narrated my life in the lines of a few hundred poems, have lived to see court investigations of poetry and poets." The poetess further states that victimisation and imprisonment is coercion of human rights, as defined by the Declaration of the United Nations Organisation, of which the USSR is a cosignatory.

Nadia Svitlychna makes the same appeal in her letter of 10th December, 1973. She writes: "In fact, I have been deprived not only of my liberty but also of my motherhood because an unguarded faith in such documents as the Constitution of the USSR and the Declaration of Human Rights has led me to prison. The Criminal Code has taken priority over the abovementioned as regards constitutional guarantees which result from international stipulations about human rights."

Nina Strokata, in her letter of 10th June, 1973, writes: "If the law of government is the essence of Socialist democracy, then all those who reject such a democracy will be right."

A DEMAND FOR POLITICAL PRISONERS STATUS **by Vitaliy Kalynychenko**

To the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
(Copy to the Human Rights Commission of the UN)

A statement about the demand for political prisoners status

The Circumstances:

On the 12th January, 1967, I was sentenced by the Murman regional court to 10 years imprisonment for my political convictions.

⁴) One of the Mongol hordes which invaded Ukraine during the 13th century.

The judge did not allow any errors to be made, and the sentence was convincingly put, as follows: "In disagreement with the social and political regime of this country... he committed a crime from political motives, etc."

I myself admitted that my convictions contradict those which are officially sanctioned in the USSR, so... "in the beginning of 1963 I destroyed my Komsomol membership card..." However, this action does not provide any grounds to class this as an attempt to escape the country, as stated in paragraphs 15-64 of the Criminal Code of the Russian Soviet Federal Socialist Republic.

Interpreting the attempt to leave the country illegally (as in pars. 15-83 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR) as treason, the court once again showed the true face of political terror.

Thus, there has been no crime committed which warrants the imposition of a stiff sentence.

The Aim:

With regard to the above, I bring my demands to the attention of the Presidium:

1. That the conditions under which I am held be in accordance with political prisoner status.
2. That the sentence passed upon me by the Murman regional court be revoked.
3. That representatives of the United Nations and of other international agencies be allowed to investigate the grounds of my charges and imprisonment, as well as the conditions under which I am held.

If my demand for political prisoner status is not met by the 12th January, 1975, I shall be forced to introduce for myself from that day onwards two stipulations in accordance with political prisoner status: a) not to take part in any forced labour, b) not to cut my hair.

As a sequel to this protest about my illegal imprisonment, I declare a hunger fast for one day on the occasion of the acceptance of the General Declaration of Human Rights on 10th December, 1974.

24th November, 1974

Political prisoner Vitaliy Kalynychenko
of Kuchynsky concentration camp
no. 389-36, Perm region.

WITH LEV LUKIANENKO IN PRISON**FROM CONVERSATIONS WITH
SIMAS KUDIRKA**

At the time that Michailo Yatsychyn was dying there appeared in the Vladimir Prison a strange official, who called out individual prisoners from their cells for questioning. For example he called out the Ukrainian prisoner Afanasenko and led him to understand that he was interested in learning how we got along with each other in our cell; he wanted to know how Russians, Jews, Ukrainians and Lithuanians in the same cell were living together, what they talked about, etc.

The first day Afanasenko did not tell anything to the young KGB official. He was called out the next day and the questions became more concrete: how does this one or that one feel? Maybe you could give us some news about them? Afanasenko told the KGB officer: "You know, we talk a lot about you." The officer, became red-faced and embarrassed. Afanasenko continued: "I do not wish to cooperate with you and will not give you any sort of information. If you want to learn anything, call out the people in whom you are interested and talk to them. But do not ask me anything. My status as a political prisoner forbids me to do this and my conscience does not allow it." That particular KGB officer was not seen again.

About that time Lev Lukianenko was called out for questioning by an official from the town of Vladimir who called himself a doctor-psychiatrist, and was assigned to the Vladimir Prison to report on the physical and mental health of the prisoners. He asked Lukianenko interesting questions: biographical information, why he was arrested, how he behaved in the camp. He also told Lukianenko that he knew about his stay in the Vladimir Prison, where he was being poisoned. Lukianenko confirmed that last statement and the doctor-psychiatrist asked him: "And how did you know that you were being poisoned? Were you told this by a doctor or did you get in touch with a doctor?" Lukianenko answered him: "No. No doctor told me, but I am educated well enough to know that something abnormal is happening to me. I also read medical literature, know what the Soviet government is like, know about the prisons and what methods are used here."

"Ah!" said the doctor. "Explain to me in detail what symptoms you experienced."

Lukianenko began to explain how he started to feel extremely exhausted, had vertigo, feelings of fear or apathy towards everything, numbness in his arms, etc.

"And you think that this poison was given to you in tablets, or how?" asks the doctor psychiatrist.

"No," answered Lukianenko "but you know that it can be added to soup and to water."

"And did you see it?" asked the officer.

"Of course, I did not see it." But the officer kept insisting. "Then how can you ascertain this?" he asked.

Lukianenko then asked how one could account for this lassitude, apathy, sleepiness, pain in the joints. He never had that before and these symptoms are not experienced by a normal person.

"Aha, then this is your opinion" said the officer. "And what was your relationship with the chief doctor of the Vladimir prison. Butova?" Lukianenko told him that he had conflicts with Butova; he wrote protests against her and had unpleasant conversations with her since she, as a medical doctor, did not give him proper medical care when he had liver and stomach ailments.

It is true that Lukianenko's health was really bad: he was tired, thin, with sunken eyes, slow and low speech and slow movements. He is a man of mild character, educated and a believer. He graduated from the Law Institute in Moscow and became a lawyer. He was incarcerated and sentenced to fifteen years for writing about the right of Ukraine to legally secede from the Soviet Union on the basis of Article 17 of the All-Union Constitution. He was suffering from a liver ailment since before his imprisonment and had to take some pills for his digestion (I fortunately, having spent less time in prison, could still digest the cabbage. But Lukianenko, who has been imprisoned much longer, suffered much more). He had to take pills to digest the awful prison food and then began to have problems with his eyes (such was also my case) since there was no adequate lighting in prison.

Lukianenko was in a very bad state of health. We had to think how to help him immediately, for tomorrow might be too late. Both Volodymyr Bukovsky and Afanasenko were in the same bad state of health. One could play tunes on the ribs of Bukovsky and Yatsychyn; they were skeletons covered with skin.

In Lukianenko's case, one session with the doctor-psychiatrist was not enough. After the session, which lasted approximately one hour and a half, Lukianenko returned to the cell frightened and on guard. He shared with us his impressions of this official, who supposedly was to look us over and take care of our health. He had told Lukianenko that he would give him medical attention, since the state of his health intrigued him.

And truly the next day Lukianenko was again called out from the cell for a two hour conversation which began as follows "Then you are here for the second time, yes." "That is right," replied Lukianenko. "Oh, but how stubborn you are! Don't you understand yet

that it is madness to oppose the regime and the order established in the camp. Why do you not to obey orders? You always cause problems, interfere with the normal routine of the prisoners and the guards. Therefore you must be placed in isolation. And for what? You yourself aggravate your condition, your health is not strong and you do yourself harm. I am sure that you still wish to live a while longer? Can't you be still?"

Lukianenko answered the official that he could not be still in the face of a beating that was administered to his fellow prisoner and countryman; his conscience was aroused and he had to interfere. The officer replied: "But you yourself complain that the food is bad and that you are treated badly; you create those problems for yourself and then you complain." To this Lukianenko replied that the official was entitled to his philosophy and logic and Lukianenko to his. It was better not to talk about it. The psychiatrist continued his questioning: "And how do you propose to behave with Butova? Does she give you medical treatment? Lukianenko replied that since he had been there less than two months it would be impossible to answer the question. He was receiving some tablets for his liver and stomach, but his eyes were bad. He would rather not have anything to do with her.

"And how do you plan to behave yourself? Do you plan to go to work?" Lukianenko replied that it depended on the work and if he was able to do it. This was the end of the second session. Lukianenko was a test case. At the same time as sessions were going on, Yatsychyn, our young Ukrainian friend, was dying.

Before ending the session the psychiatrist said: "I will call you out again. Maybe you have some complaints and I will be able to help you."

Lukianenko stated that at the present time he was getting some medical help and then he would see. He came back from this session disturbed and shared his impressions with us.

"Damocles' sword is hanging over my head," he said. "It forebodes something unknown and something very frightening."

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

Simas KUDIRKA

MY ENCOUNTERS WITH THE UKRAINIAN POLITICAL PRISONERS

Simas Kudirka was born in Lithuania in 1929 and worked as a radar technician on a Lithuanian fishing vessel. In November 1970 he escaped from the vessel and got aboard an American cutter, sailing within the territorial waters of the United States. However, the captain of the cutter returned Kudirka to the Soviet vessel "Soviet Lithuania" where he was put in irons, returned to Vilna and imprisoned.

Kudirka was tried on May 20, 1971 on the charge of "treason to the Fatherland". He pleaded "not guilty" to the charge stating that he did not engage in treason against his Fatherland, Lithuania, and he did not consider "Russia or the USSR as his Fatherland".

S. Kudirka was sentenced to ten years of hard labour in severe regime camps. He spent one year in Mordovia, in camp no. 3 and in July 1972 was transferred to the Perm camp, where he spent almost two years.

Due to persistent inquiries and intervention (Kudirka's mother is a native American, born in Brooklyn) in August 23, 1974 Kudirka was released. In November of that year he received permission (together with his wife, children and mother) to emigrate to the U.S.

Kudirka met Ukrainian political prisoners, especially Lev Lukianenko, in Mordovia (in Barashev) and in other camps. These meetings form the basis of this interview, which is transcribed in a shortened form, from a tape recording.

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I became acquainted with Lev Lukianenko in Mordovia in 1971 in the camp for political prisoners in Barashev, which lies approximately 52-56 kms from Pot'ma. Lukianenko is an exceptional person, a trusted and honourable friend. We, the sons of countries subjugated by Russian imperialism, had many interesting conversations; we had the same spiritual outlook and had both thought deeply about the same problems. We even wrote several complaints together. I think that Lukianenko even signed the letter to President Nixon which we sent out in April 1972, asking the President to appeal to the Soviet government to ease conditions in the camps and to release all political prisoners, irrespective of their nationalities and their "crimes" according to Soviet law. We also asked for permission for the political prisoners who would be released to emigrate from the USSR. Unfortunately, because of my carelessness this letter fell into the hands of the KGB officials in Mordovia when we were being transported to the Perm camp, and an exhaustive search was being conducted.

We spoke with Lukianenko about innumerable matters. About 250 prisoners such as Lev Lukianenko and others (myself included), all undaunted and all resisting their re-education by the regime, were transported on July 3, 1972 to a special camp, with appropriate arrangements and appropriate administrative personnel; this was the Perm camp in Chukino, in the Chusovsky district.

This was a harrowing trip which even prisoners who survived 1949, having passed through the entire empire of the Gulag from Vorkuta to Magadan, have not experienced.

All 250 of us were herded into a hermetically sealed "stolypin" car, resembling on the outside a passenger train, washed, freshly painted and with white curtains on the windows. But nobody could tell what was hidden behind those white curtains, drawn tightly over the windows. I was brought into the train later, after lunch, for I had proclaimed a hunger strike, protesting the fact that several papers (The Declaration of Human Rights, prayers, three letters to President Nixon and a letter of protest written by some of us to the Soviet government) were removed from my personal possessions.

I walked into this innocent, nice-looking passenger car and as soon as I crossed the threshold I found myself in a "stolypin" car, filled with extreme heat, tobacco smoke and the odour of hot bodies. It was like a steam bath; but there bodies do not smell and there is no such hell as that created by the Kremlin tyrants. The compartment in which my fellow prisoners were locked was filled to the brim; under normal circumstances it could contain about 10-12 people, while now there were 17-20. They were lying on the shelves like sardines. They were sitting and lying on the floor, half naked, sweating, their bodies glistening and their eyes shining. All this was enveloped in tobacco smoke, which spread through the entire car.

When I walked into this hell my breath was knocked out. Five of us were placed in a secluded corner, where there was room only for three. We were considered incorrigible, interested in politics, always opposing administrative tortures; in other words, we were dangerous, for we could even attempt an escape . . .

I took off my clothes, for I was soaked in a minute, lost all my good spirits and began to choke in this terrible atmosphere. The other prisoners were all exhausted and reduced to such a state that would satisfy all the Kremlin dynasty and the KGB: they were becoming unconscious. Suddenly there were shouts "We need a doctor!" But the KGB kept quiet and only smiled, for they knew that here no stranger would see anything or hear any of the moans and groans from the sealed cars. So they did whatever they wanted: they plugged up all the openings, closed all the doors and then turned on water hoses to wash down the train. This created condensation on the inside walls and continued until evening. Finally the hosing down of the train with cold water stopped; the locomotive

was attached, trains from camps nos. 17 and 19 were added and we were on our way. This awesome cortege was headed for the Perm concentration camps from which hardly any news reach the families of prisoners or the free world. These camps are run by special personnel and a special administration who greets the prisoners with surprises that are even unknown in Mordovia.

On the morning of July 13, 1972 we arrived at the Perm camp and were fed. Major Kotov, the commandant of our camp, said it was true Russian hospitality. But the next day all this "Russian hospitality" disappeared: instead of plain bread we received prison bread and instead of a piece of fresh fish they cooked us a smelly fish soup made from rotten fish; it was really poisonous. The plates into which this smelly soup was poured stank unbelievably of rot. Petrov our doctor, to whom we complained asking why the fish was rotten, feigned surprise. He told us that he had two helpings and had even licked his fingers: "My God, it's normal fish! Give me more of it." This is the way the doctor was taking care of our health. In his study there still hung a copy of the doctors' oath consisting of five points: a Soviet doctor has to attend all the patients, irrespective of their national origin, race or position, give everyone his help, cure their illness and try to prevent their death. And when prisoners, men who spent 15, 19 or 23-24 years in camps lost consciousness and we would ask for speedy help, he would, without hurrying, look through his papers to find the prisoner's card disregarding the fact that a prisoner with a heart condition needed an immediate injection. Petrov would smile sneeringly and say: "First of all I am a Chekist and then a doctor."

And what conditions existed in the camp's living quarters! In Mordovia we still had beds with mattresses stuffed with all sorts of leftovers. But here all the beds were demonstratively tossed out of the barracks, taken out of the living area and replaced by double bunks with bars soldered to them. The prisoners could not mistake the camp for a convalescent home but were shown that this was a real concentration camp, a corrective labour colony. You were made to feel that you were in a colony and not at home in your own bed. The mattresses on the bunks were so thin that we felt the iron in our backs.

This is the way our life in camp started. They shaved the beards of the prisoners and took off the side curls from the Jews. This shaving was conducted according to Peter I's tradition, with the help of a modern, 20th century stick: why beat a person when you can handcuff them, bring them into a room, put them on their back on the floor and shave them. This shaving was done in the same spirit as the shaving of the boyars' beards during the time of Peter I which was widely practiced throughout the Russian empire. This same spirit exists today, although the practice is different: barbed

wire and isolation cells where you cannot call for help and where no one will hear you.

This is the way we were met at Perm, this contemporary Buchenwald. We were assigned to work in different sections. Lev Lukianenko became an electrician, while in the beginning I was a helper and then I was assigned to put in parts into electric heaters. Since I had bad eyesight and thus had difficulty with the work, I was given the job of cleaning tubes with sand and heating the sand up.

After a while we began to think and to write. During one of the searches conducted by my compatriot Karpaviches, a KGB official, they found in my possession "The Declaration of the Rights of Man," several prayers, letters to President Nixon and papers about Lithuanian history and literature. After a "friendly" talk with Karpaviches, a faithful servant of the Kremlin, I was put in a cell for 6 months, and was then moved to a PTK, a prison like accommodation.

At that time I lost sight of Lev Lukianenko and did not see him for a year and a half. But I met another Ukrainian, honest, good, educated Olexander Serhiyenko. Serhiyenko was 40 years old and suffered from tuberculosis. He was also placed in the PTK, for a year and a half for some slip of paper that KGB man found among his possessions. It is here that we became friends. Serhiyenko was sentenced because he read some poetry at Shevchenko's monument and thus fell into disfavour with some KGB functionary, a Kremlin servant. In order to destroy this sick man he was sentenced for many years and sent to the camps in the Urals.

Serhiyenko was married and his mother spent ten years in the camps, while his father died in the camps of the Gulag hell. His wife bore him a child but he could not see it. How can you have visits when you are confined to the PTK? His wife had to work hard, struggle for the existence of the child and for her sick mother; her father also died around that time. To make a trip to the Perm camps cost much money and when she would come, a visit with her husband would be denied on some pretext or other: for a button not buttoned correctly, for a cap not worn properly, for reading a book at the wrong time, etc. This is how they tortured poor Serhiyenko.

To somehow survive in the awful camps of the Gulag Archipelago we began to study yoga; we wanted to somehow preserve our health so that if we ever got out of there alive, we would at least be able to tell a few words about the awful conditions in the camps, about this hell of the Russian empire.

But it happened that Serhiyenko, already exhausted and suffering from tuberculosis, fell and gashed his leg. The wound would not have been serious if it was disinfected with iodine. We began to demand this from our "guardians" but they refused, telling us that they did not have any and that Serhiyenko would not die by the next day.

What could we do! We waited until the next day. Our cell was quite cold and filthy. Although we tried hard to keep it clean, the condi-

tions in the cell were not conducive to this: our bread had to be kept next to the slop tank and the whole cell was 3 m, 60 cm long and 2 m, 80 cm wide. Three of us shared the cell — Serhiyenko, myself and Safronov, a 23-year old boy who tried to escape to West Germany, but was caught and sentenced to twelve years. In conditions as those in our cell diseases start very quickly and infections develop.

Olexander Serhiyenko used to be a medical student, having finished three years of medicine. Then he began to be persecuted and was dismissed from the medical school on instructions from the KGB. He had to go to Russia to find work and make a living. He came back to Kyiv and got married. There he was arrested and sentenced to imprisonment for life.

Having studied medicine he knew all about infections. Since he was suffering from tuberculosis he could contract blood poisoning from a small infection. This is exactly what happened. The next morning Serhiyenko's leg became red, but the doctor did not come. We all began to demand that he be given medical attention. Finally, before lunch Serhiyenko was led to a doctor, who put some smelly ointment on Serhiyenko's leg. This caused him sharp pains, we tried to calm Serhiyenko down, telling him that he should wait a bit. But he did not trust this doctor and took off the bandage; then we saw that black-blue spots were appearing around the wound. Serhiyenko became upset. "That serpent probably put some poison there!" And in fact the entire bandage gave off a poisonous odour.

Then we all began to demand iodine, but no one brought it. They told Serhiyenko: "You got a dressing and that's enough. If you make too much noise we will quiet you by any means at our disposal and then you can blame only yourself."

Towards evening Serhiyenko began to shiver and again we insisted that help be sent, not caring if we all ended up in the lock-up room. Finally a doctor's assistant came, put on some ichtiol salve on the foot, and bandaged it up. The pain in Serhiyenko's leg diminished but then started again. His foot seemed to be in flames. Serhiyenko took off his bandage and we began to investigate the salve. The mixture seemed to separate itself in the bottle. On the top floated something that looked like fish grease and at the bottom there was something opaque and dark. If you shook it up it looked like medicine, but then it settled and God knew what it was.

Next day Serhiyenko's leg swelled up like a pillow. He again demanded that a doctor be sent in, and not Petrov, but Captain Kotov, the wife of the camp administrator. Finally she came, looked at the leg and said: "Well, it does not look good, but we have no medicine. All we had I took to another camp." (Next to us was a camp for semi-free prisoners, who performed the functions of chauffeurs, or delivered wood, etc.).

The next day Serhiyenko went with his leg, which by now had

turned blue and very swollen, to Kotov, for a change of dressing. Having changed it, Kotov wanted to fool him and told him that his wound was only a small scratch.

On his return, Serhiyenko was still suffering from a nipping ache. He took off the bandage, washed out the wound and suffered this way for almost a week. The small wound became larger, infected almost to the bone, and the leg swelled up even more and turned bluer. For this reason we, not caring if we were put in irons, (this was on a Sunday) began to yell through the windows of the cell as loudly as possible to attract the attention of our fellow prisoners. The cell in which we were confined was separated from the rest of the camp, completely isolated; this did not allow our fellow prisoners to give us any sort of help, even a piece of bread. (Actually the food that we got was enough to keep us from dying). Because we were yelling as hard as possible, our friends finally noticed us, understood that something was not right and that we needed immediately help. Only then was some medicine brought over; by this time Serhiyenko was developing gangrene and could have died from it.

The incident with Serhiyenko is only an example of the awful reality of camp life in which the recalcitrant prisoners are doomed to die. When Serhiyenko needed help the camp authorities did not rush up with medicines; in fact their actions said: "Well, we have more people to take your place and we have no medicine. This is not a place of recreation. You should not have opposed the Soviet authorities. Now you have to take life the way it is. We did not ask you here. You brought this upon yourself."

After a month and a half Serhiyenko got better, the swelling went down and the leg began to heal. Such are the conditions in the camps, such is the most "humane of all medical help" available to a person. Those camps are still blooming in the Gulag Archipelago.

Serhiyenko and I talked often. He told me about his mother, about her hard life, about the loss of his father, about the sad fate of Ukrainians, how they spent over three hundred years under the "protection of the older brother." Serhiyenko was greatly disturbed about the fate of the Ukrainians, on whose bones stand the foundations of Petersburg. The Ukrainians built a capital for their oppressor, giving their best sons for the erection of buildings, so beautiful on the outside. Now tourists are awed by them and do not even think how many people died while Peter I was building St. Petersburg, the city of death. We spoke with Serhiyenko about Shevchenko, Adam Miskievych, Pinaas Kudirka and other national heroes.

Finally doors were opened and Serhiyenko and I left the camp prison and were again among our friends. But we only spent eight months together. We were again separated when the case of Sapeliak came up.

Sapeliak was a young Ukrainian patriot, a fighter, a nationalist and a student. He was beaten up by Captain Melentev about June

20; on June 26 Lukianenko, Chornohlaz and I were put into the lock-up room. On June 28 we were taken to the court in Chusov and in 15 minutes the following sentences were handed down: Lukianenko (who only had a year and a half of his 15 year sentence left) was sent to the Vladimir Prison; Chornohlaz, who still had to serve ten months and then was to leave for Israel to join his parents, was also sent to Vladimir; I, still having 6 years of my sentence to serve, had to serve three of those in the Vladimir Prison.

This was the case of Sapeliak: in 1974, all of us, exhausted by prison and camp life, were forbidden to go out into the sun and engage in sports. Soviet courts and medicine worked hand in hand with the administration of the camps. They all decided that a political offender, i.e. a political prisoner, was not allowed to sit in the sun and engage in any sports, for this makes his health stronger. And if a prisoner is healthy he will not be forced to his knees, for his spirit is strong; so he must be exhausted physically, given such punishment that will make it impossible for him to rebel. We were forbidden to do exercises and to take our shirts off during our free time, so that the sun would not reach our bodies.

Sapeliak, Hrilius, myself and other prisoners considered such an order to be illegal and refused to follow the orders of the administration. One day we were working during the first shift, (during the day) while Sapeliak was free until the second shift (5:00 p.m.). He went outside, took off his shirt and began to do exercises. At this time Captain Melentev came by and began to yell: "Sapeliak, why are you undressed? Why are you not obeying orders?"

"I am not disobeying orders," answered Sapeliak. "According to Soviet law prisoners may take off their shirts and do exercises..." Melentev began to berate him in a foul language and told him to get dressed immediately, but Sapeliak protested:

"If we cannot do exercises and stay out in the sun then please announce this during the reading of the order of the day. For now there is no such order, only the secret directive No. 20. Please explain to us why the administration applies this illegal punishment?"

Captain Melentev was very angry; he told Sapeliak to get dressed and go with him to the administration building. There he searched Sapeliak, told him to raise his hands and put them against the walls and then began beating him with his fists. Sapeliak began to yell: "Go ahead, beat my body but you will not get my soul!" Melentev wanted to gag Sapeliak, but could not do it. Sapeliak was still yelling and Melentev came to and stopped beating him. At the insistence of Sapeliak Melentev called Dr. Captain Kotov. She came after a while and asked: "What is bothering you Sapeliak?" He answered that he was beaten up by the officer on duty Melentev. Kotov looked at the bruises on his body and said that those were natural marks. She also wrote this in the report.

After this Sapeliak was allowed to return to camp. He came to us and told me: "Look at this, Simas, they are beginning to beat up the political prisoners." Then he showed me his bruises. Among us was a Lithuanian doctor Sharunas Z. who finished his medical studies at Kaunas University and ended up in the camp because of his nationalistic views and for the help he gave to my family. (For this he got 6 years in a concentration camp and 5 years of exile from Lithuania). He looked Sapeliak over and wrote a protest to the procurator and the director of the camp and also I think to the Supreme Soviet.

We also started a protest and refused to go to work. We did not go for one day, two days, three days, four days. Then the prisoners (about 45-50) were called out by the KGB. Some were searched and their writings and notebooks and other personal possessions confiscated. The prisoners were called out one by one and interrogated. The KGB was trying to soften them up, promising to return the confiscated possessions but then they started to threaten. "If you do not go to work we will be forced to punish you according to Article 77 of the Criminal Code; you will be punished for fomenting trouble in the camp and this is punishable by death."

For they truly considered our protest as a rebellion. How could they tolerate the fact that a few prisoners did not want to go to work? We demanded that they punish Melentev and remove him from our camp; then we would return to work. But our demands were thrown out. They began to put us into the lock-up room; some prisoners spent 5 days there, some 10, 15 or more, while some got 3 months or even 6. Lev Lukianenko, myself and David Chornohlaz were sent to the court in Chusov, and then sentenced to the Vladimir Prison. We were tried by one civilian comrade and a judge, with two sworn witnesses present. Our "lawyer" was a representative of the camp administration — Captain Liapunov. In our civilized age this was a "model" court: in 15 minutes everybody was sentenced — Lukianenko to a year and a half, I to three years and Chornohlaz to 10 months in the Vladimir Prison.

Thus we said good-bye to our "Kuchinwald," our friends, and to the camp about which a young woman wrote her husband: "I am happy that finally you will leave this camp of death, no, this valley of death." When we came across this letter we thoroughly agreed with the expression. My God, although Mordovia was hell, this camp was the very bottom of hell.

In this camp I also met Yevhen Sverstiuk, who is an unusual and very intelligent person. His face looked tired, his eyes glowed with some inner painful light and were filled with suffering, not for himself, not even for his family but for the awful fate of his imprisoned people, whom he loved with a passionate love, for that nation which is persecuted and demoralized by the most ruthless of all imperialists — by the Kremlin despots. I spoke several times with Yevhen Sver-

stiuk and together we studied English, of which he knew a little and read Longfellow's "A Psalm to Life in English.

Here I also met a young Ukrainian intellectual who was sentenced to this hell for several years. He was Ivan Pokrovsky, son of a priest. His father and the entire family were murdered, while Ivan was sentenced to 25 years. He was finishing up his way of the cross through the awful islands of the Gulag Archipelago. He did not give in to his persecutors but remained freedom loving and a believer. At the end of 1974, when he was to be freed he was put in the lock-up room because he did not go to work, protesting Sapeliak's treatment. He was freed, probably right from the lock-up room

One must say that it is truly a "beautiful life." Twenty five years of labour camps and prisons, not of the Western kind, but of the kind created by the most modern of today's empires, an empire that outstripped the czarist one. In his book "The History of Czarist Prison" Gernet describes them in detail. Everyone should read this book and see and understand the difference between the prisons of the czarist empire and those of today, of this most progressive Russian socialist empire. In czarist prison the prisoners received half a pound of meat per day. We have not seen half a pound of meat in a whole month. Not only did we not see meat, but we did not even see meat scraps. And Gernet writes that czarist prisons were terrible and that the boodthirsty government sucked from the prisoners sentenced there their health and their blood.

Read this book and compare those prisons of czarist times with camps like "Kuchinwald" and prisons like the Vladimir.

In Mordovia, and in "Kuchinwald," I also met Volodymyr Vasylyk, who was a blacksmith with "golden hands." From a piece of metal he could make beautiful things. He was sentenced to seven years of labour camps because he did not let the KGB cut down crosses in his native village. One night he heard three people climbing the church steeple and beginning to saw off the crosses. He ran out, began a commotion; people gathered and the agents sought refuge in the church. People surrounded the church and demanded that the perpetrators come out and show themselves. The KGB became frightened, brought out their personnel through a secret passage, and then arrested Vasylyk and sentenced him to 7 years of labour camps and 5 years of exile, for not letting the KGB agents defile the church and saw off the crosses. Vasylyk became as thin as a rail and is now probably in Krasnoyarsk. He may even die there.

My God, where can one find the strength and the words to arouse the conscience of mankind, to intervene for these innocent people, children of their nation and their church, to liberate them from the sufferings of a hell created by this terrible empire.

(To be continued)

Ukraine Past & Present

Prof. Dr. Vasyl PLYUSHCH

THE UNION FOR THE LIBERATION OF UKRAINE (SVU) AND THE UKRAINIAN YOUTH ASSOCIATION (SUM)

*On the 50th Anniversary of the Founding of SVU and SUM and the
45th Anniversary of the Trial against them*

This year marks the 50th anniversary of the founding of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine (SVU) and the Ukrainian Youth Association (SUM) and the 45th anniversary of the trial against these organizations.¹

The SVU and SUM have been the greatest and the most carefully studied² movements of resistance to the Russian government in Ukraine. Their activity constitutes an entire epoch in the Ukrainian liberation movement and, thus, merits the utmost attention of the general public, the historians of Ukraine and the USSR and the Sovietologists and sociologists of the free world.

The study of this movement is especially significant and interesting today, when we notice an intensified persecution of dissidents in the Ukr. SSR and the USSR generally, persecution in particular for the manifestations of struggle of the subjugated peoples for their national independence and culture, freedom of thought and the basic human rights.

Resistance to Moscow-imposed government, ideology and totalitarianism began in Ukraine immediately following its occupation by the Russian troops and has not ceased to this day. It has taken and still takes various forms and dimensions and has been and still is conducted under various slogans. But it is undying.

Following the four-year war of the Ukrainian National Republic against Soviet Russia, there came the guerrilla warfare of the Ukrainian people against the Communist Russian oppressors lasting for many years. It was a struggle of the people, almost completely unarmed and without any outside assistance, against the Russian army,

¹) Natalia Pavlushkova, sister of M. Pavlushkov, the Head of SUM, in her work about the SVU notes that the first organizational meeting dealing with the founding of the SVU was held in December 1924, but the year 1925 is the generally accepted date of the founding of the SVU.

²) See literature at the end of this article.

armed and supported from abroad, the huge party machinery and foreign functionaries, which inevitably had to end in defeat.

The introduction of the Soviet "New Economic Policy" and the social and national concessions (in particular the proclaimed transfer of land to the peasants and of factories to the workers, the Ukrainization of the party apparatus, concessions regarding the development of the Ukrainian culture) weakened the desire for further struggle, forcing broad circles of the Ukrainian elite to search for new ways of defending human rights and the rights of the Ukrainian people.

Among this elite three basic factions emerged.

One segment of the Ukrainian leaders continued to support the position of the need for further armed struggle against Moscow. At the time, this position had no prospects of success, since on their own the Ukrainian people had neither strength nor possibility to fight against Moscow and its agents in Ukraine.

The second segment of the Ukrainian elite believed the deceptive promises of Moscow and recognized the "sovereign Ukrainian Soviet Republic," accepting as reality and not as a strategic manoeuvre the introduction of the new economic policy, the Ukrainization, the decrease of terror and totalitarianism, and with incomprehensible trust began collaborating with the Soviet government.

On the one hand, there began the so-called "change of power" trend, with Ukrainian national leaders in the past such as Mykhaylo Hrushevskiy, Volodymyr Vynnychenko, Andriy Nikovskiy and others returning to Ukraine as well as representatives of Ukrainian intelligentsia of Western Ukraine, such as Stepan Rudnytskyi, Vasyl Kasyan, Mykhaylo Lozynskiy and others.

On the other hand, prominent Ukrainian Communists, as for instance, Oleksander Shumskiy, Hryhoriy Hrynko, Antin Prykhodko, Mykhaylo Poloz, Vasyl Elanskyi, Panas Lyubchenko, Mykhola Khvylovyi, Matviy Yavorskyi and scores of others, became the tool of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine (Bolsheviks), or more precisely, of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) and the organs of the Soviet Russian government.³

The third segment of the Ukrainian elite and fortunately for the Ukrainian people, the largest, the most highly educated and the wisest, took the position of defence of the Ukrainian people, the Ukrainian statehood, the Ukrainian culture, the Ukrainian mentality and the Ukrainian economy by all means possible at the time. This group was clearly aware of the de facto impossibility of further continuing the armed struggle, of further decimating the already exhausted nation. But, at the same time, the leaders of this group did not trust for one second the apparent change of course of the Russian occupational government. They realized that the new

³) All of them were later annihilated by the Russian Cheka, GPU, NKVD, i.e. the organs of the Russian secret service.

economic policy, the weakening of the anti-Ukrainian course, the social concessions and the lessening of terror are only strategic manoeuvres, that all this will in no way lead to the transformation of the totalitarian Russian Communist regime into a democratic system.

It adopted a program of resistance to the occupational power in all phases of life. This resistance consisted of work in Ukrainian underground political organizations, activity in lawful organizations, primarily in scientific and educational institutions (in the Free Ukrainian Academy of Sciences with all its departments, commissions and other institutes, at universities, research and educational institutions), in publishing houses, cooperatives, schools, theatres, associations of artists and writers and other establishments of art, and finally work through the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, around which there gathered many highly educated, nationally conscious, people.

It was from this group that the organizers of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine and the Ukrainian Youth Association came.

As we know from the history of the Ukrainian liberation movement, a large number of the future organizers of the SVU and SUM belonged to the Brotherhood of Supporters of Ukrainian Statehood (BUD) or came from the ranks of Ukrainian parties, namely the Ukrainian Social Revolutionaries, the Ukrainian Social Democrats, the Socialist-independence supporters, the Socialist-Federalists, or from the ranks of prominent leaders of Ukrainian science, culture, the cooperative movement and the Church.

These people were united by the all-Ukrainian, non-party, profoundly democratic, humanistic attitude to the problems of political and community life, a conviction as to the need of far-reaching social reforms, and an aversion to all kinds of totalitarian tendencies and terror, their guiding principles being the slogans about the superiority of the interests of the nation over those of classes, the interests of the community and individual over the interests of parties or bureaucratic apparatus. Their spiritual leaders were the enlightened figures of the Ukrainian universal humanism of Taras Shevchenko, Lesya Ukrainka, Ivan Franko, and from more recent leaders — the figure of Symon Petlyura who, after becoming president of the Ukrainian State, broke all ties with political parties and in his policies was the leader of the Ukrainian people, regardless of their class, their party affiliations, and social position.

The organizers and later members of the SVU-SUM movement took upon themselves an unusually hard task: under conditions of a totalitarian and terrorist state, saturated by agents of the secret police, under conditions of a recently suffered defeat in the national liberation struggle, and at the same time under conditions of a certain disenchantment and weariness of the broad popular masses —

to create an ever-acting resistance of the entire nation against the occupying power.

To do this was infinitely more difficult than, for instance, to establish underground organizations under Poland, in various countries of Europe in Nazi times, or in totalitarian states of the present world.⁴

In an article limited as to size it is impossible to give a detailed history of the SVU-SUM movement and its trial, and to thoroughly expound the part played by these organizations in the history of the Ukrainian liberation movement.⁵

Above we have already dealt with the principles of the SVU movement. This movement did not have a carefully worked out program, a charter. The SVU movement was first and foremost an all-national and an anti-Communist movement. The SVU membership had a sharply negative attitude towards Communism as a philosophical and socio-economic system. The experience of history has shown that a people cannot have political freedom, cannot develop normally in a social sense when it is nationally subjugated.

From this stemmed the first postulate of this movement, namely that the foundation of the life of the Ukrainian nation, as of every other nation, is the primacy of national existence before all other problems: political, economic, social, etc. National existence and, hence, full development of the nation, are possible only under conditions of the establishment of a sovereign national state. Political, economic and social reforms are possible and effective only under conditions of creation of the nation's own sovereign national organism.

The course of events in Ukraine following the destruction of the SVU — SUM, the Ukrainian elite and the Ukrainian peasants, has proved this without a doubt.

The second principle of the SVU was the impossibility of compromises with a foreign government imposed from without. All compromises with a foreign government of occupation, no matter what apparent concessions it would make with respect to the national question, no matter what social benefits it would promise to the people, are inadmissible and deadly for a nation. Attempts of Ukrainian intellectuals, progressive peasants and workers to wrest some concessions from Russia and its agents in Ukraine, even in such a limited field as the development of Ukrainian culture, to gain even the Ukrainization of higher education, science, government apparatus, have culminated in a new wave of repressions.

Hence, the SVU-SUM movement was first of all a national move-

4) The author wrote in detail about the situation in Ukraine prior and during the New Economic Policy in his monograph entitled "The Struggle for the Ukrainian State under Soviet Rule," London, 1973.

5) See works by V. Plyushch, N. Pavlushkova, Mykola Kovalevski, Volodymyr Naddnipryanets and others about detailed history of the rise and activity of SVU-SUM. See bibliography at the end of this article.

ment, a movement for the preservation of the Ukrainian nation from physical and spiritual genocide.

As a matter of fact, Russian dissidents still do not understand this. A. Solzhenitsyn and M. Chavchavadze, for instance, talking about the SVU-SUM movement in their works, call it an anti-regime movement. Russians who are combatting the Soviet regime, who are fighting Communism, will most likely never understand that they are fighting for the relaxation of this Russian regime which in no way endangers the existence of the Russian nation, while Ukrainians are fighting for the very existence of their nation.

The next principle of the SVU-SUM movement was the establishment of the Ukrainian State based upon respect for an individual and his rights, respect for freedom, upon the principles of genuine democracy. A trait typical to all leading SVU activists was broad liberalism and orientation upon Western culture.

In contrast to the party movements of the Liberation Struggle period (1917-1921) the form of state system of the future Ukrainian State and its socio-economic structure were of secondary importance for the SVU-SUM movement. Both the leaders of SVU-SUM, the members of these organizations and the sympathizers of this movement believed that the form of government and the social and economic structure of the Ukrainian state should be established by the people themselves by way of free expression of their desires in a normal democratic process. It is true that the majority of members and sympathizers of the SVU-SUM leaned towards a republican form of government and broad social reforms. The social program included the following basic traits: the land must belong to those who work it, i.e. the Ukrainian peasants; large industrial concerns, banks, railroads and water ways should belong to the state, but employees and all workers should participate in the management of the national concerns. Private ownership of small business and a limited amount of land (without large estate owners) should be renewed. In particular all types of private initiative should be encouraged.⁶

In the course of 1924 and early 1925 preparatory work was being done for the establishment of a new liberation movement. Serhiy Yefremov, a prominent Ukrainian leader, vice-president of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, a well-known literary critic, a man who enjoyed great prestige among the Ukrainian schools, the Ukrainian elite and the Ukrainian people, become the head of this movement. He was frequently called "the conscience of the Ukrainian people."

In June 1925 an organizational meeting of the SVU was held in Kyiv with the participation of Serhiy Yefremov, Volodymyr Che-

⁶) For more details on the ideological and socio-political principles of the SVU-SUM movement see the above-mentioned works — see Note 5 and testimony at the SVU trial — "The Union for the Liberation of Ukraine," stenographic report from the trial. Published by "Proletar," Kharkiv, 1931.

khivskiy, Volodymyr Durdivskiy, Andriy Nikovskiy, Yosyp Hermayze, Oleksander Hrebenenko and Lyudmyla Starytska-Chernyakhivska.⁷ All these people were prominent Ukrainian leaders. At this meeting the functions were distributed among these individuals as follows: S. Yefremov — chairman, V. Chekhivskiy — vice-chairman, V. Durdykivskiy — treasurer, Y. Harmayze, and later Oleksander Chernyakhivskiy (an M.D. in charge of the histology department at the Medical Institute), Hryhoriy Ivanytsya (prominent Ukrainian linguist, a professor at the Kyiv Institute of Public Education), Hryhoriy Kholodnyi (Head of the Institute of the Ukrainian Scientific Language, professor at the Kyiv Institute of Public Education), Volodymyr Vdovenko (an M.D., chairman of the department of public hygiene at the Kyiv Medical Institute) were entrusted with the organization of SVU in scientific institutions and higher educational establishments; work among college and high school students. A. Nikovskiy, L. Starytska-Chernyakhivska (writer), later Mykhalo Ivchenko (writer) were to work among writers and artists, to establish the SVU network in Soviet publishing houses. Volodymyr Chekhivskiy (former Prime Minister in the UNR government) was entrusted with establishing contacts with the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church.

The organizational form adopted by the SVU-SUM in the initial period of its activity were the highly secretive cells of five in various institutions, organizations, universities and so forth. Later these cells were established in cities, towns and villages throughout Ukraine. According to plan, members of these cells were not to have any contacts among themselves and knew only the cell's leader. The cell's leader was to know only that member of SVU from a different cell who introduced him to SVU and to maintain contacts with him.

Natalia Pavlushkova, sister of SUM's head and niece of S. Yefremov and V. Durdykivskiy says in her work that the executive organ of SVU was in the form of a presidium which consisted of about 12-15 people, and the presidium had about 100 representatives of the headquarters, linked locally with the cells.⁸

In the course of time it became impossible to adhere to strict conspiracy of five-men cells. We learn from testimony of the SVU SUM members about the existence of SUM-SVU societies.

But the most important form of SVU-SUM activity was the establishment of open literary, theatrical, musical, sports, church and

⁷ Natalia Pavlushkova maintains that meetings dealing with the founding of the SVU were held prior to this organizational meeting, in particular in December 1924. On this occasion the meeting was also attended by academicians Ahatanhel Krymskiy, Kostyantyn Voblyi, Prof. Vasyl Vynohradov, M.D., "one of the prominent poets of Ukraine" and "one high-ranking military man."

⁸ Natalia Pavlushkova: *The Union for the Liberation of Ukraine and the Ukrainian Youth Association*. SVU-SUM. Symposium. Vol. II. New York-Munich, 1964.

other groups whose members did not even know that they belong to the SVU movement; individual work in institutions, publishing houses, cooperatives, schools, scientific, educational and other establishments. This work was conducted according to a plan worked out in advance by the SVU-SUM leadership and the instructions of leaders of these organizations.

We do not know precisely when the Ukrainian Youth Association was formed in the organizational sense. It is certain that it was conceived in the Ukrainian Taras Shevchenko High School in Kyiv whose principal was V. Durdykivskyi and where a student society, the Unity and Accord Society, was in existence. In a very short time these students were joined by hundreds of students from the Kyiv Medical, Polytechnical, and Cooperative Institutes and the Institute of Public Education.

How many SVU-SUM branches there were in Ukraine, and how many members these branches had is not known and will never be known since, first of all, any registration of membership was strictly prohibited, and secondly, even the SVU-SUM leadership could not know precisely where and how many SVU-SUM members there were.

On the basis of materials collected by the author of this work through the years it can be said with certainty that SVU-SUM centres existed in Kyiv, Kharkiv, Odessa, Dnipropetrovsk, Chernihiv, Vinnytsya, Poltava, Mykolayiv, Nizhen, Kherson, Zaporizhzhya, Uman, Cherkassy, Smil, Zhytomyr and Kuban.

In Kyiv the SVU-SUM cells existed in a number of institutes of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, in the Medical, Cooperative, Polytechnical, Agricultural, and Zoo-technical Institutes, at the Institute of Public Education, in a number of technical and high schools, in publishing houses and cooperatives. In other large cities such cells existed in UAS institutes, in educational establishments, publishing houses and cooperative institutions.

According to the testimony of Natalia Pavlushkova, well-known singer Mykhaylo Donets was a SVU representative at the Kyiv Operatic Theatre, while Keparenko-Domanskyi was one at the Kharkiv Opera. Several SVU members were employed at the I. Franko Theatre in Kyiv. Through Chardynin and Shtabovyi the SVU was able to influence the Ukrainian Photo and Movie Board. According to N. Pavlushkova, the most prominent Ukrainian painters such as Fotiy Krasnytskyi, V. & M. Kruchevskyi, M. Kozik, M. Boychuk and I. Padalka⁹ were linked with the SVU.

Very strong SVU organization, according to the materials found in my archives, existed in the Kyiv Medical Institute (professors, M.D's O. Chernyakhivskyi, V. Udovenko, Volodymyr Pidhayetskyi, Mykola Kudrytskyi, Arkadiy Barber, Mykhaylo Levytskyi, Valentyna

⁹) Ibid.

Padzymovska, Vasyl Vynohradov and a number of others.) There were several SUM cells at the Medical Institute.

Based on my materials and other authors, unusually strong cells existed in the cooperatives (managers Avksentiyy Boloziivych, Maksym Botvynovsyyi, Petro Blyznyuk, Dmytro Koliukh and others.)

Among writers, journalists and employees of publishing houses there were dozens of SVU and SUM cells. (Even today we do not dare publicize the names of writers and poets who belonged to SVU, but let us remember that in connection with the SVU trial no less than 200 writers had been liquidated.¹⁰)

On the basis of my calculations, at one time or another about 500 scholars and writers were linked with the SVU-SUM movement.

The Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church played an unusually great role in the propagation of SVU ideas, that is, ideas of national liberation, Christian humanism and in general the spread of an idealistic viewpoint. The UAOC was founded in 1921. After two years of its existence in Ukraine there were 26 bishops, 2500 priests and deacons and about 2000 Ukrainian parishes.¹¹ Ukrainian intelligentsia actively joined in church activities. Many highly educated people joined the priesthood of the UAOC. Students, teachers and research workers took active part in the parish brotherhoods and sisterhoods, in church choirs and various charitable organizations.

SVU leaders were well aware of the great role of the Ukrainian National Church in the struggle against Communism and the preservation of Ukrainian spirituality and national consciousness. Besides, the UAOC was the sole semi-legal way of uniting the people.

A great role in the propagandizing of SVU ideas in the sphere of national education and awareness of the peasant masses was played by the cooperative movement. "Vukospilka" united 41 regional associations with 9636 cooperatives which had 3,065,000 members. "Sil'skyi Hospodar" united 22,116 cooperatives with 2,947,000 members. The "Ukrainbank" had 17 credit unions and 5,800 cooperatives. Aside from this there existed other cooperatives and their associations, such as "Promyslova Kooperatsiya", "Buryakosoyuz", "Knyhospilka" and others. In cooperative enterprises the SVU influence was particularly great.¹²

Through the SVU group of teachers, a fierce struggle was being waged for the Ukrainization of educational establishments and the

¹⁰) See the above-mentioned work: Vasyl Plyushch, "The Struggle for the Ukrainian State under Soviet Rule." London, 1973.

¹¹) See: M. Yavdas, *Materials to the Lives of Saints of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church*. Munich, 1951. Prof. Dr. N. Polonska-Vasylenko, *The Characteristics of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church*. Ukrainian Collection. Vol. 14. Munich, 1958.

¹²) See: Vasyl Plyushch, *The Struggle for the Ukrainian State under Soviet Rule*. London, 1973. Natalia Pavlushkova, *The Union for the Liberation of Ukraine and the Ukrainian Youth Association*. SVU-SUM Symposium. Vol. II. New York-Munich, 1964.

national education of young people. At that time it was possible to almost fully Ukrainize the high schools. Ukrainian became the language of instruction in a large number of institutes, technical and professional schools.¹³

In particular, great attention was paid by the SVU to publishing. The SVU leaders were well aware of the fact that appropriate national educational and ideological work was best accomplished through the printed word. In spite of Soviet censorship, in these years it was possible to publish dozens of textbooks penetrated by national ideology. N. Pavlushkova writes that almost all textbooks for schools were compiled according to the methodical instructions of the Educational and Pedagogic Commission, whose members and authors of the textbooks were such SVU members as H. Ivanytsya, H. Holosknych, K. Shylo, V. Doha and others.¹⁴

In the decree of the People's Commissariat of Education dated Jan. 10, 1929, M. Skrypnyk wrote: "These textbooks of the Kyiv authors, particularly their leading group, comprise up to 90% of the total number of textbooks which are used in village schools of our republic." He was talking about the very textbooks which were compiled by SVU members.

Special attention was paid to the publication of literature.

Thanks to SVU influence in the then largest publishing houses of Ukraine such as "Knyhospilka", "Derzhvydav", "Slovo", "Rukh", "Syayvo" and others, in these years it was possible to publish complete works of the Ukrainian classics, translations into Ukrainian of works of prominent writers of world literature, such as Shakespeare, Schiller, Goethe, Balzak, Zola, Ibsen, Hamsun and others, and support was given to the publication of works by young Ukrainian authors who stood on national positions.¹⁵

The extension of SVU-SUM activities to the whole of Ukraine could not help but attract the attention of the Soviet apparatus to the work of these organizations. The organs of the Russian secret police and the leadership of the Communist Party used all mean to infiltrate the SVU movement by their agents.

With the extension of activities, the changeover to the group system and a marked increase in membership the infiltration of the movement by GPU agents became easier. It is hard to determine how

¹³ In comparison with the present state of affairs, where instruction in all universities is conducted in Russian, while kindergartens, elementary and high schools are mercilessly being Russified, it must be admitted that the then conditions were exceptionally good.

¹⁴ Natalia Pavlushkova. *The Union for the Liberation of Ukraine and the Ukrainian Youth Association*. SVU-SUM Symposium. Vol. II. New York-Munich, 1964.

¹⁵ See: Vasyl Plyushch. *The Truth about Khvylovism*. Munich, 1954 and the abovementioned work of the same author — *The Struggle for the Ukrainian State under Soviet Rule*. London, 1973.

widespread was the Bolshevik agents' penetration of the SVU-SUM movement. Some data on this are to be found in the articles published in *Misiya Ukrainy*, in the works of the author of this article, in the works of V. Naddnipryanets, M. Prykhodko, D. Solovey and others.¹⁶

Already in the spring 1929 mass arrests were held throughout Ukraine. In the course of 1929 an investigation of the SVU-SUM case was conducted. At the same time the case was considered to be of such importance that aside from ordinary and special GPU investigators, Veber, Bruk, Grozny, Leopold and others, prominent leaders of the CP(B)U such as M. Skrypnyk, A. Khvylya, P. Lyubchenko, V. Bilytskyi, P. Mykhaylyk and others took part in the investigation.¹⁷

The Supreme Court of the Ukr. SSR heard the case of the 45 members from March 9th to April 19th 1930 in the great hall of the State Opera in Kharkiv. The Russian government and the Communist Party used all means to exploit this trial for the crushing of the national movement in Ukraine. The court room was overfilled by representatives of the Communist centres, especially selected "activists" in factories and institutions. The proceedings of the trial were transmitted over the radio and commented on in the press. Special meetings were held in offices and business enterprises which had to condemn the "enemies of the people", the "foreign agents." The primary task of the trial was to compromise the Ukrainian liberation movement and to portray its leaders as "counterrevolutionaries", "foreign agents" and "traitors of the Ukrainian people."

The membership of the court, the state and public prosecutors and witnesses, was painstakingly selected by the Politburo of the Central Committee of the CP(B)U and was confirmed by special decree of the All Ukrainian Central Executive Committee.

Anton Prykhodko, a Communist and former member of the Ukrainian Party of Socialists-Revolutionaries, was appointed the court's head. The court's members were Havrylo Odynets (also former mem-

¹⁶) See bibliography at the end of this article.

¹⁷) An article by V. Naddnipryanets, published in the newspaper *America* on February 14, 1975, contains a very interesting piece of information, namely that S. Yefremov was taken to Moscow from the Kharkiv jail for some time, where he was given a nice apartment and good living conditions. There, according to V. Naddnipryanets he was visited by "various high-ranking GPU officials" and even by "the People's Commissar of Internal Affairs of the USSR J. Yagoda, himself." All these high GPU officials questioned S. Yefremov and attempted to persuade him to "repent." Finally, according to V. Naddnipryanets, S. Yefremov was taken to the Kremlin where he was received by Stalin in the presence of S. Kosior (the then Secretary General of the CC(B)U, i.e. the highest lord of Soviet Ukraine) and Lazar Kaganovich. During that talk Stalin and Kosior tried to persuade S. Yefremov to acknowledge his and his associates' guilt, to denounce SVU ideas and to sign a statement of repentance. The same proposition was repeated once more by Stanyslav Kosior at the headquarters of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. S. Yefremov categorically rejected all these propositions.

ber of the UPSR, member of the Central Committee of the Organization of Poor Peasants), Korobenko (worker at the "Arsenal" factory which used to be a centre of the Communist movement in Kyiv), worker Mukha, Prof. Ivan Sokolyanskyi (a representative of the Scientific and Technical Section of the All Ukrainian Council of Professional Unions, Prof. Volkov, a peasant woman Korzhenko. State prosecutors were: Deputy People's Commissar of Justice and Senior Assistant of the Prosecutor General of the Ukr. SSR Pavlo Mykhaylyk, Deputy Prosecutor of the Supreme Court Akhtamov, Prosecutor of the People's Comisariat of Justice Yakymyshyn and the Prosecutor of Kyiv Distric Court Bystrukov. Public prosecutors were Panas Lyubchenko (in the past a prominent member of the UPSR (the Borotbists), later Head of the Peoples' Commissars of the Ukr. SSR), Prof. Oleksiy Sokolovskyi, writer Oleksa Slisarenko, academician and well known mathematician Prof. Mykhaylo Kravchuk, was to have appeared as prosecutor on behalf of the All Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, but he declined to participate in this mock trial citing ill health as an excuse.

There were also defence attorneys — 14 members of the college of advocates, 10 of whom were Jews.

Due to lack of space we do not have the possibility to describe in detail either the "investigation" or the "trial." The methods of investigation and the conduct of "political trials" in the USSR and the Ukr. SSR are already very well known throughout the world.

During the investigation, as it is well known, all methods of psychological and physical pressure were used against the defendants to make them acknowledge their guilt, i.e. confess that they are "counterrevolutionaries", "foreign agents", "spies", "restorers of the landlord-capitalist system", "staunch enemies of the Ukrainian people" and so forth.

At the trial, both the state and public prosecutors and judges used all means to prove the "findings" of the "investigators", to make the defendants acknowledge their guilt and "repent."

Neither during the investigation nor at the trial was it possible to establish everything planned by Moscow and its agents in Ukraine (the CC CP(B)U, AUCEC, GPU). All defendants conducted themselves with dignity and admitted only one thing, namely, that they fought for the liberation of the Ukrainian people from Russian occupation, for the establishment of a democratic Ukrainian state, primarily struggling for the development and flourishing of the Ukrainian culture and economy, and for a normal, free life of their people.¹⁸

¹⁸) For details about the SVU-SUM trial see the above-mentioned work: Vasyly Plyushch. *The Struggle for the Ukrainian State under Soviet Rule*. London. 1973; *The Union for the Liberation of Ukraine*. Stenographic report of the trial. Kharkiv. 1931 and other works. See bibliography at the end of this article.

Who were these people tried at the Kharkiv Opera House in March and April 1930?

All of Ukraine was being tried, not only the Ukraine of the present, but also the Ukraine of the past and the future.

In the dock sat not only the 45 defendants whom we shall mention later on. No, in the dock sat the entire Ukrainian nation, all its fighters for freedom and destiny in the past — the Zaporizhian Cossacks who fought Ukraine's conquerors from the North, the South, the West and the East, all the Hetmans, such as Petro Sahaydachnyi, Bohdan Khmelnytskyi, Ivan Mazepa, who fought Russia for centuries. Directly accused were leaders of the Ukrainian liberation struggle of 1917-1921 with Symon Petlyura at the head, the soldiers of the Ukrainian armies, the insurgents of the 1920-1924 period. In the dock were not only Serhiy Yefremov, Mykola Pavlushkov, Lyudmyla Starytska-Chernyakhivska and their associates, but thousands upon thousands of those active in Ukrainian science and culture, teachers and cooperative workers, and last but not least millions of Ukrainian peasants who shortly paid for their "crimes" by death through famine.

In the dock there sat not only the then "nationalists" and the "nationalists of past centuries; in the dock there sat all those who were to fight in the future for the freedom and fate of their nation, for its culture and free social and economic development.

Hence, in the dock there sat the entire Ukraine, the Ukraine of the past, present and future.

It is a paradox, but in the dock there sat the judges themselves, the prosecutors and hundreds of their henchmen from the ranks of the Ukrainian Communists who prior, during and several years after the trial helped Russia to search out and destroy Ukrainian "nationalists", but who themselves were already doomed to destruction, for they, nevertheless, were members of the same Ukrainian nation which for centuries resisted, resists and will resist Russia.

(To be continued)

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Slava STETSKO

THE NATIONAL REBIRTH OF YOUTH BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN

Dear Youngsters from the Free Nations!

I salute you on behalf of those youngsters that do not have freedom but live with a great anxiety for freedom, national independence and social justice for their countries and men subjugated by Russian colonialism and USSR communism, as well as by its satellite countries. Communism, which is the most barbarically tyrant exploiter of countries and human beings, is the modern manner of Russian imperialism and colonialism. It is the veil that covers Russian neo-colonialism, especially for the so-called Third world.

Russian imperialists and communists claim in a deceiving way that countries of the so-called Third World, and those so-called developing countries, have created a new type of communist-person, a new type of nation, (the so-called socialist nation), a new type of man in the USSR (the so-called Soviet man), a new type of super-national society (the so-called Soviet people). Many of the so-called western Soviet experts fall into this trap that Russian neo-colonialists prepare for them, and they support it with what they call scientific investigations. Sovietology is the science of the Russian communist lie, the science of a different type of procedure tending to deceive the free world and to hide Russian neo-colonialism under the above-mentioned phraseology.

Our modest purpose is to prove — by shortly analysing the spiritual work of the young generation in the subjugated peoples, as well as the facts of their national liberation struggle, especially that concerning youth, — that there is no such thing as the so-called socialist nation, nor the so-called Soviet people, nor the communist or socialist man, nor the so-called Soviet youth, nor the so-called Soviet man!

Christianity — the religion of the unique and eternal God — has been re-educating us for the last two thousand years. Nevertheless we have not become angels on earth, nor is it its final goal. How would it be possible, then, for the devil's religion, the one of wickedness, — that is, militant atheism and communism, — to be able to change man's nature in only fifty years?

Communism has not re-educated the youth of the captive nations subjugated since the twenties; neither the Ukrainian, the Georgian, the Byelorussian, the Turkmenistan, the Azerbaijan, nor the Latvian, Lithuanian and Estonian nations, subjugated since 1940, have been re-educated; the peoples subdued since 1945, such as the East German people, who, in 1953 proved their anti-communist posture by means of the Berlin workers' revolt have not been re-educated; the Hungarians, who in 1956 made the Russian domination oscillate because of the heroic uprising of the whole nation, particularly of the Hungarian youth have not been re-educated; nor have the Czechs and Slovaks, who in 1968 left evidence of their strong and vital anti-Russian and anti-communist position; nor have the Bulgarians, Rumanians, Poles or Croatians been re-educated: today we all know about the heroic performance of the nationalist Croatian youth . . .

The anti-communist and anti-Russian national liberation struggle of recent times, in Ukraine for example, and also in Lithuania, could be framed within the following periods: from 1942 to 1953, the rising of the whole Ukrainian nation took place under the command of General Roman Shukhevych (Taras Chuprynka); Ukraine and the ABN commemorate this year the twenty-fifth anniversary of his heroic death in the fight against the NKVD armies. We refer here to the struggle against Nazi Germany up to 1944 and, simultaneously, against communism and Russia until 1953. The period between 1953 to 1959 is the epoch of uprisings in concentration camps of several million prisoners from Ukraine and other nations, especially the uprisings of youth which threatened to extend their fire up to the prisoners' own native countries; that was why Krushchev was forced to reorganize the concentration camps, and free some of the prisoners, sending them to different countries subjugated by the USSR. The period extending from 1959 to our days has been the miracle of creative activity and of the liberating struggle carried on by the young generation of the captive nations in the USSR and its satellites; activity and struggle which have been born from the ideals and the heroic blood of entire generations!

It is about this creative activity and about that struggle that I want to speak to you . . . They are the best proof of the bankruptcy of communism in countries behind the Iron Curtain.

Communism, both as an idea and a system of life, has suffered a definite bankruptcy in the countries subjugated by Russian imperialism and communism; and it is only kept up thanks to the Russian neocolonialists' bayonets, as well as those from communist tyrant-magnates. The tragedy of the world is that, while communism and the Russian empire are close to their down fall — due to the action of the liberating struggle of the captive nations, under the influence of liberating nationalism, fighting Christianity and by religion in general — the West is saving Communism and the Russian empire. They are

being saved by the United States of America and by other states of the free world by means of their economic support and by the policy of power balancing; they are being saved by the Western societies disintegrated by communism.

It may happen that communism and Russian neo-colonialism will be destroyed in our captive nations, but triumph in the West, thanks to the foolish policy of the West, governs. And our countries — liberated from communism and Russian neo-colonialism — will be the ones assigned to free the Western countries from communist tyranny. Such is the irony of fate!

While nationalism, patriotism, heroic Christianity, religion in general and the morals supported by it, the respect for the human being created in God's image, for the nation as "divine thought," and social justice are stepped on, there will be no renaissance for the West, which is now morally, culturally, socially and politically spoiled.

These ideas are the ones that give strength to the youth of the nations subjugated by Russian neo-colonialism and communism.

An alternative to imperialism, a separate road from communism and capitalism, is a nationalism that denies and rejects any kind of class discrimination, every usage of man by man or by the state, since for it the member of a nation are brothers and sisters that help each other through solidarity and by fighting any type of exploitation.

All of you are aware of the crimes of communism: genocide, ethnocide, destruction of language, mass murder of those who believe in God and in the nation, exploitation and terror which have no parallel in the world. Sixty to eighty million people destroyed by the communist system within the Russian empire — entire countries among them throughout half a century — the creation of an artificial famine between 1932 and 1933, which destroyed seven million peasants in Ukraine alone, seventeen million prisoners in concentration camps, the hell that faces the martyr people of Vietnam is in front of US. This all cries out to heaven for revenge! It is not *towards* communism but *from* communism that millions of poor Vietnamese peasants are running away with their children and old people. But the world pretends not to see it! It keeps silent also before the tragedy of the heroic Kurdish people that is being guillotined along with cattle by the pro-Russian government of Iraq that uses new Russian arms for that purpose.

The world kept silent when, in 1947, the USSR, Red Poland and Czecho-Slovakia signed a military treaty against the Ukrainian Insurgent Army in order to destroy it with their united forces. In the same manner as the Kurdish heroes of today, hundreds of Ukrainian people that were fighting for freedom from then until 1953, destroyed each other with grenades in their trenches, surrounded by the armies of the three communist states, and in between a mighty state: The Russian Empire, the USSR.'

Nationalism and Christianity triumph in the underground struggle and in the fight against Communist tyranny

Since part of the youth of the nations in the Free World carries with it destructive communist ideas, which are despotic and impious, why is it, that the youth of the nations of the Free World cannot become the mouthpiece of the ideals of the fight for liberty, for national independence, social justice, God and the Fatherland, for the anti-communist and anticapitalist liberating nationalism of the youth in the nations subjugated by Russian neo-colonialism and communism, as well as by state capitalism? Convert yourselves into mouthpieces of the ideals of Valentyn Moroz and Yuri Shukhevych, two Christian and national heroes of Ukraine!

This is the way we tackle today, as the central political problem of our day, the right of nations to struggle for national freedom, hence, up to now, human rights in the subjugated nations had never become reality without the primordial condition of national independence previously having been realized.

Youngsters renew themselves thanks to the great idea of what a nation is. "A nation," writes one of the dissidents, "is sanctuary, whose profanation constitutes the worst of crimes... denationalisation is equivalent to de-heroisation... dechristianisation, collectivisation, colonialist industrialisation, forced displacement of rural masses to the city." And this is destruction without precedent in the history of a nation, a destruction "whose catastrophic results have not been completely revealed yet."

These words synthesize the thought of the young generation of our countries in their position before the world. It is deeply rooted to traditional and national spirituality and these roots determine the quality and essence of freedom to which the young paladins of the subjugated nations aspire. The struggle for national freedom is not made on the basis of philosophical materialism but is entirely opposed to it. When describing to you the ideals of these youngsters, I shall not use my own words; instead, I shall quote the words of the representatives of the young generation. This is what the new generation believes and teaches:

"God created man... if there is no God, there are no people... the basis of morality is the idea of God and the soul's immortality... spiritual life is the only truthful one... and the Church, the spirit's carrier, must be kept..."

The young generation has refused Marxist materialism; it has seen that only religion-motivated ethics have a long-lasting basis. It is not

by chance that a clandestine Ukrainian author writes: "We will build a Cathedral, we will send our spirit to heaven and it will remain for many centuries... How much did our ancestors have to sacrifice in order to teach their children the ideas about humanitarianism, faith and devoted love for truth, respect for their ancestors, God..."

Another young author says, "It is impossible to imagine traditional cultural treasure outside of the church... to fight against the church means to fight against culture... How many times has the nation been saved only by the Church!"

Faced with such revelations of the opinions of the captive nations' young generation, do the Soviet experts from the majority of the western investigation institutes not declare their complete failure with their false theses about the so-called "new" communists and the so-called "Soviet man?"

The young writers that are being persecuted maintain in their literary, historical, philosophical and sociological works the tradition of their nations and their own way of living.

One of them says, "The past is our most precious treasure, a spiritual shield, an experience of a very high value. A person that has only the present is as if he were a tree without roots."

Another author says: "Our nation didn't follow the oldest brother, it chose a hard way sown with thorns, but its *own* way."

"Spiritual slavery," says another one, "is the greatest national calamity: prosperity does not make happiness. What does it matter compared to freedom, to the life that one longs for and to the rights to think!

Richness is within each one of us and not in money. Remorse of conscience is the worst of tortures."

Refuting theses about the so-called Soviet fatherland, a spokesman of the young generation strongly declares: "you can choose your friends or wife, but you cannot choose your fatherland... a human being has just one mother, or none."

After 40 years, these nations still hate the collective system which eliminates the personality of man, the individual himself, creative initiative and makes human beings into mere sheep, each one a "small screw," so says one of the writers. One of the young poets, who is presently in jail, says: "And the ground became a torture to Ukraine..."

Valentyn Moroz, a defender of national principles, of tradition and the religious foundations of culture, compares the city of Kosmach, one of the most ancient cultural centres in Ukraine, with Babylon: that is, he contrasts the national organic concept of the world's organization with the concept of the fusion of nations. Megalopolis, he says, effaces the individual and kills freedom.

And the Latvian Knut Skuenis points out: "Art is created by those that have a free mind."

Nevertheless, truth does not triumph by itself. It triumphs when those who have it are able to sacrifice their lives for it.

As Ivan Dzyuba said: "There are epochs when decisive struggles are engaged in the field of social morals and public behaviour, when even the basic human dignity that resists brutal terror may become a revolutionary force. The epoch in which we are living is one of those."

Valentyn Moroz continues: "you can have great spiritual values, but those will not even be noticed if someone full of enthusiasm does not take and melt them in the crucible of his enthusiasm."

When Ivan Dzyuba made his confession public, Valentyn Moroz said before the court: "Well, we will fight. Precisely now, when one of us has signed a declaration of repent it is necessary for someone to show his strength... It has been my turn... It is a difficult mission. It is not easy for anyone to be in jail. But it is even more difficult not to respect oneself. And we shall fight for that!"

As you can see, subjugated nations have men that believe in the idea of national freedom; they have apostles and speakers of such ideas. Events occurring within the captive nations show this faith in nationalism as an unbreakable force.

On November 5, 1968, Vasyl Makukh, father of two children, UPA and OUN soldier, ex-prisoner from Russian jails and concentration camps where he had been for a long time burned himself in Kyiv, while crying "Long live free Ukraine!"

In 1960 Jan Palach, a Czech student immolated himself in Prague, screaming: "It is better to die in fire, than live under the Russian colonial yoke!"

In 1960, Mykola Beryslavsky, a Ukrainian patriot of 55 years old, tried to immolate himself in protest against Russification.

In 1972, a Lithuanian nationalist student, Romas Kalanta, immolated himself in Kaunas, Lithuania while shouting "Long live independent Lithuania!"

The national idea is incarnated in concrete facts — in the open struggle of the subjugated people in their native countries and even in concentration camps — such as the well-known hunger strike in Potma in March of 1972, which included Ukrainians, Lithuanians, and other political prisoners; the street riots and uprisings in Dnipropetrovsk and Dniprodzerzhynsk in 1972; the violent riots of Georgian nationalists with Russian detachments in Tiflis, and in recent struggles in Frivan, Armenia.

In June, 1971, there was an uprising of the Kabardinians from the North Caucasus in the city of Nalchik.

In December 1972, in Derbenti, Dagestan, (also in the North Caucasus) armed men from the collective farms forced the KGB to set the leader of the farm, who had fed several starving peasants and because of which he was imprisoned, free.

In June 1971, in Tyraspol students from Moldavia held a two day demonstration, organized for the purpose of asking for the separation of Moldavia from the USSR and its annexation to Rumania.

A famous document from Estonian intellectuals appeared in Estonia and established the right of the Estonian people to their independence. It also mentioned the threat that the time would come when tanks would not roll through Prague and Bratislav, but over Moscow and Leningrad.

In May 1960 in Wurkestan the Uzbekistans rioted in the concentration camps screaming "Russians get out of Uzbek!" These riots were repeated in Tashkent and Bukhara. The famous struggle of the Tartars in Crimea, who were defended by the Ukrainian general Hryhorenko, is widely known by the whole world. The Armenian groups SHAND (on behalf of their Fatherland) and PAROS (torch) fought for Armenian independence and unity in 1969 and 1970, printing newspapers and propaganda. In this struggle both students and workers participated.

Recently there were also mass demonstrations against Russification and religious persecution in Kaunas, Lithuania. In Byelorussia, the Russian writer Bykov strongly protested against the Russification of that nation and the Byelorussian youth raised its voice in indignation. A clandestine organization, the so-called Baltic federation, was founded by Lithuanians in 1962. Their goal was the united struggle for the independence of the Baltic nations subjugated by the Russian invaders.

National resistance grows constantly in Bulgaria and Rumania. In Hungary there were other student demonstrations in 1973. In Poland the uprising of the workers in 1971 contributed towards the fall of Gomulka.

The captive nations realize the contradictions that exist between the system and the empire. Constant communist propaganda emphasizes national independence even in the minds of school children, so when the Russian invader attacks nonexistent western imperialism and colonialism, he is using a two sided weapon.

It is, therefore, not strange that the official ideology is unable to stop the flow of national forces. Even Brezhnev mentions the "local patriotism," related to "nationalism," in the economic field. The secretaries of the Communist party from Georgia, Ukraine, Lithuania, Latvia, Uzbekistan, Armenia and other pseudo-republics, were removed from their jobs because they were unsuccessful in their struggle against nationalism.

We have to point out that the national liberation movement in the subjugated countries is a popular movement in which students, intellectuals, workers and collective farmers all play a very important role.

The editions of the so-called SAMIZDAT, a clandestine publishing

organization from the captive nations, the "Ukrainian Herald," the "Latvian Herald" and similar publications in Armenia, Georgia, Turkmenistan and Lithuania all represent popular movements.

There are revolts among the rural youth, as the Soviet press confirms, while revolutionary acts become more evident every day. In Dniprodzerhynsk, the workers of a metallurgical plant protested the increase of working regulations. Starting in 1956 there were uncounted similar examples that ended in the year of 1974. What are their origins?

The decisive factor, and this must be underlined, is the fact that different social levels within the subjugated countries have joined in the struggle. The slogan no longer is: "Freedom and land" but "Sovereignty, Freedom and land."

We have to point out that political self-definition alone is not enough for a mobilisation plan of the captive nations. The only one and real slogan is the one of national independence and absolute secession from Russia. There is no other alternative. The ultimate goal is that of the disintegration of the Empire and the restoration of the Independent Democratic state.

The greatest achievement of our fight for national freedom and for a guarantee of our final victory lies in the fact that this struggle for the nation's spirit has been taken up by youth whose parents grew up under the Bolshevik occupation, a generation that has never seen the free world but, on the contrary, was educated in an atmosphere that is hostile towards national feeling. For this reason it is not possible for national spirit to clash since, as a rule, the soldiers' revolution is preceded by the revolutions of poets and creators of spiritual values. But someone will ask: Is a revolution truly possible?

In the ideological and nuclear era, the revolutionary concept that best fits is the concept of insurrection, of eagerness for freedom; the concept that shall destroy the system from the inside.

The uprisings from 1953 to 1959 in the concentration camps of the prisoners from Ukraine, Lithuania, Turkmenistan, Georgia, Armenia, Byelorussia and others; the riots and attempts at revolution in Eastern Germany, Hungary, Poland, and Czecho-Slovakia; the insurrection of the entire population of Ukraine from 1942 to 1953; the presence of guerrillas in Lithuania, all confirm that a revolutionary struggle is possible even within the Russian imperialist totalitarian system. The brave acts of the nationalist Croatians have uncovered before the eyes of the world the weakness of Yugoslavia as an artificial European structure, imposed and colonial.

It is not just by chance that the trial of a clandestine organization within the Red Army, which had branches in Poland, Azerbaijan and other places ended up in a military court of justice of the Military Baltic District on August 31, 1970.

The usurping Russians are trying to counteract the liberating nationalism of the captive nations in many different ways: by putting hundreds of thousands of patriots and intellectuals into jail and madhouses; by using chemical and medical means to break down their human will; by assassinating those who fight for national independence; by applying Russification and national and cultural genocide; by imposing the phantom concept of the so-called Soviet people; by carrying out the deportation of groups of people, and by creating a new artificial system of an economic geography united in the empire.

Regardless of all this, spiritual and moral revolution is a fact; the primary condition for a political revolution exists.

There is no other way to freedom apart from the simultaneous revolution of the captive nations in the USSR, and the guerilla strategy is the only one that is realistic.

In the nuclear era, ideological, psychological and political warfare is becoming stronger each time. Military strategy and technology is demonstrated in guerilla warfare. Moscow, as well as Peking, realizes it. But such a conscience does not yet exist in official Western circles.

Unfortunately, the West not only does not appreciate the military potential of the captive nations in the Russian Empire, but, to a great extent, still does not fully realize the tragic position of these countries and the permanent fight of their freedom leaders.

Thus, on the 16th of August of 1973, the "Daily Telegraph" published an underground message from Ukraine. This gave the names of 24 writers, artists, intellectuals, scientists and priests, who were jailed several times for their opposition to the Soviet regime and the domination of Ukraine from Moscow. The message also mentions the joint responsibility that the United States and other capitalist countries have in regard to the use of barbaric measures against the paladins of freedom from Ukraine and other Soviet republics, because it was exactly during the time of the massive reprisals made by the KGB that Western governments signed agreements with Russia, and and did not make any protest at the violation of national and human rights.

The message ends by demanding the immediate ending of the use of chemical and psychological means against political prisoners and the release of all religious and political prisoners. It is signed by the "National Liberation Ukrainian Front."

Finally, in view of this alarming information from the captive nations, we ask from this Conference:

- 1) To strongly condemn and demand, jointly with us, the elimination of all concentration camps in the Soviet Russian Empire.
- 2) To demand the freedom of all prisoners tried and imprisoned because of their national, political and religious beliefs.
- 3) To demand that the utilization of chemical and medical means,

designed to weaken the will of political prisoners in order to force them to confess, ends.

- 4) To strongly condemn the practice of confining in asylums those who fight for their national and human rights.
- 5) To demand an end to the persecution of those who believe in God and of those who defend the essence and spirituality of their own nation, without which a country will perish.
- 6) To demand the withdrawal of the Russian occupation forces and the Communist terror apparatus from subjugated nations within the USSR and its satellites.
- 7) To demand the restoration of national sovereignty to all the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and communism in the USSR and the satellite states, as well as to all the nations enslaved within the artificial state of Yugoslavia.

We appeal to the youth of the entire Free World to join us in our protest against the crimes of Russia and of Communism and to defend those who are in prison, persecuted because they fight for the rights of nations and men.

Address delivered at the World Youth Anti-Communist League (WYACL) Conference, Rio de Janeiro, 23/IV 1975.

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.

U K R A I N E

PREHISTORY OF UKRAINE

The Stone Age

The Old Stone Age (the Paleolithic Period) in Ukraine which lasted for many thousands of years during the repeated retreat and advance of the huge Scandinavian glacier dates back some 300,000 years. Earliest finds of human stone implements from those times occur on the banks of the middle course of the Dniester river. Others are found on the Dnieper bend, in the Crimea, in Volhynia and Galicia, and many other places. Hunting wild animals was the main occupation of man who moved from place to place usually along the river course. The life of groups of men centred around the hearth. Flint and bone instruments became gradually more perfected and female statuettes made of mammoth tusks indicate the development of primitive art which probably had magic purpose. Towards the end of the Old Stone Age more permanent dwellings in the form of pits covered with animal skins have developed.

The Middle Stone Age (Mesolithic Period) lasted between 8,000-5,000 B.C. With the warming of the climate after the last glaciation, a nomadic population appeared on the dunes. These people lived chiefly by hunting small animals and birds with the bow, by fishing, and by collecting molluscs. Very small flint implements became predominant.

The New Stone Age (Neolithic Period) lasted between 5,000-2,000 B.C. in the modern geologic and warm and damp climate conditions. Neolithic man greatly improved his flint and stone implements; cut, drilled and polished stone was widely used. He knew weaving and pottery-making; he had domestic animals, permanent dwellings, and often lived in large settlements; he built pit dwellings and houses and began to work at primitive agriculture. His mastery of the boat permitted the spread of fishing and relations between tribes, which meant also the beginnings of commercial exchange.

During this period Ukraine was inhabited by various tribes which were of various origins and in various stages of civilization; they had different customs, techniques of production, and religious rites. The population lived in large matriarchal family groups united by a woman. The matriarchate was reflected in the cult of the woman-mother. Belief in life after death was reflected in definite burial

rituals; the bodies were either burnt or buried depending upon the tribe. Conflicts occurred between tribes for the possession of better land for agriculture, animal-raising, or hunting.

The basic Neolithic population of Ukraine, except for the Left Bank of the Dnieper, was of the so-called **Trypillian culture** (the name comes from the village of Trypillia in the Kyiv province). It belonged to a great group of Neolithic tribes of Europe who were noted for pottery decorated with incised or painted spiral bands. Some scholars attribute the origin of the Trypillians to Asia Minor, others to the local Mesolithic population.

Hundreds of settlements and burial grounds mainly between the Dniester and the Dnieper have been found. In the opinion of scholars, the Trypillians were the oldest ethnic base from which the Ukrainian people grew. Their culture was connected with what were then the most developed cultures of the world, those of Asia Minor and the Aegean.

The Eneolithic Period (Copper Age) (2500-1800 B.C.) is the final period of the New Stone Age during which the first metallic (copper) instruments appeared. The Trypillian culture continued to develop. Characteristic of this period is the cult of the mother-goddess which came to Ukraine, along with copper, from Mesopotamia. The steppe part of Ukraine, between the Caucasus and the Dniester, was settled by matriarchal hordes of nomads who lived from hunting, fishing and food-gathering. Later they adopted primitive agriculture from the Trypillians.

In the second half of the third millennium Nordic tribes with a Megalithic (big stone monuments) culture came in two waves along the Vistula and the Buh river. They depended more on stock-raising and hunting than on agriculture.

At the end of the third millennium new northern tribes came from Silesia bringing with them pottery decorated with the imprint of a cord.

The Bronze Age (1,800-800 B.C.) witnessed a slow process of replacement of stone implements with bronze (an alloy of copper and tin) which was harder than copper. But owing to the lack of copper in Ukraine it was extremely expensive and had to be imported from Transylvania or the Caucasus. The Bronze Age saw a great development of stock-raising on the territory of Ukraine and of acquisition of carts, wooden ploughs, and bronze sickles. At the same time there was a great influx of various tribes which came from the east, west and south and were better armed, and seem to have conquered many Trypillian tribes, whose culture became impoverished. The southern steppe was dominated by the Cimmerians, whose characteristics remain unexplored.

The Iron Age

At the end of the second millennium B.C., the expensive bronze imported from afar was replaced by a new, native (inexpensive) metal — iron. The first iron products came to southern Ukraine from the Kuban region.

In Western Ukraine the early part of the Iron Age is dominated by Illyrian and in the later (500-1 B.C.) phase by Celtic influences. The Eastern Ukrainian Iron Age is known as the Scythian-Sarmatian Age.

Early History of Ukraine

The Scythians were Iranian nomadic tribes which came to Ukraine from the East in the seventh century B.C. and were known to Herodotus as the Royal and Nomadic Scythians. They lived in the steppes in the north Crimea and North of the Sea of Azov. They drove out the Cimmerians to Asia Minor whom they pursued, and plundered Asia Minor for 28 years.

The north-western half of Ukraine was populated by native agricultural tribes whom Herodotus calls Scythian ploughmen and other tribal names. Contrary to some misconceptions, Scythian nomads did not bring any higher culture to Ukraine, as is attested by Herodotus who describes them as warlike and savage nomads. Typical Scythian monuments are the great "royal" mounds with wooden chambers with traces of barbaric burial rites.

In the 7th C. B.C. Greek ships entered the Black Sea and began to trade with the Cimmerians and the Scythians. They founded colonies chiefly at the mouths of the great rivers: Tyras at the mouth of the Dniester, Olbia at the mouth of the Boh, Chersonesus in the Crimea, Panticapaeum on the Kerch Straits, Phanagoria at the mouth of the Kuban, Tanais at the mouth of the Don.

The native agricultural population of Herodotus' Scythia, descendants of the Trypillians, lived in the central forest-steppe zone of Ukraine and was known to him as Scythian ploughmen or Hyperboreans ("Northern People"). The agricultural tribes Kallirides and Alizones (most likely of Thracian origin) which lived close to the Black Sea were greatly influenced by Greek culture and beliefs. In the northern forest zone of Ukraine there lived the following people, according to Herodotus: Agathyrsi in the Carpathian area (probably of Caucasian origin), Neuri in Volhynia and Polissia (ancestors of some Slav tribes), Melankhleri ("Black-Cloaked People"), in Chernihiv region and Budini in Poltava-Kharkiv area (probably ancestors of the Lithuanians). There was a strong Greek colony among the Budini centred around the city of Gelonos (located probably at the present village of Bilsk in Poltava province).

The Scythians established a powerful barbaric state between the Don and the Dniester in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. They made

frequent raids against neighbouring peoples, especially Asia Minor. In 513 B.C. Scythia was attacked by King Darius of Persia. Although they were not conquered, their power was weakened and they ceased their attacks on Asia Minor.

For several centuries, close economic, cultural and political contacts existed between the Scythian world and that of the Greeks who were centred in Olbia in the West, and in Panticapaeum (the capital of the Kingdom of Bosporus) in the East. Gradually the Scythian state began to disintegrate. During the fourth century B.C., southeast Ukraine was settled by the Sarmathians (a people of Iranian origin, closely related to the Scythians). The Sarmathnians later dominated the steppes from the Ural River to the Danube; they remained there from the second century B.C. to the second century A.D., largely driven out by the Alans (also Iranians) in the first century A.D.

The Hellenic Bosporus Kingdom, centred on the Greek colony of Panticapaeum at the Kerch Straits in the Crimea, was founded soon after Darius' invasion of Scythia and lasted for over eight centuries. We know the names of 51 kings over a period of 840 years between 480 B.C. and about 360 A.D.

At the end of the second century B.C., the Greek colonies began to decline. To secure protection from a new flood of barbarians, they sought assistance from the Hellenic Kingdom of Pontus on the south shore of the Black Sea. The Pontic King, Mithridates IV, broke the power of the Scythians, but he also subdued Panticapaeum and the Kingdom of Bosporus, and in 106 B.C. founded a new Pontic-Bosporan state.

Various barbaric tribes — Celtic, Germanic, Thracian, Iranian — attacked the Greek colonies. Only the extension of the power of the Roman empire into south Ukraine at the end of the first century B.C. prolonged the existence of these ancient centres for a few more centuries.

In the second century A.D. the Germanic tribes of the Goths penetrated Ukraine from the northwest and around 200 A.D. reached the Black Sea. In 251 they destroyed Olbia, Tyras and other cities. One branch of them, the Ostrogoths, founded a great barbaric state, centred on the Dnieper region. It reached the height of its power under King Hermanaric (350-75). In the fourth century Christianity spread among the Goths. It existed even earlier in the Hellenic cities because a representative of the hierarchy of the Bosporus State, Cadmus, took part in the Council of Nicea in 325 A.D.

Roman influences on the territory of Ukraine, above all by way of trade, spread from the provinces of Pannonia and Dacia (the territory of Hungary and Rumania today).

In the fourth century the great migration of peoples from the east began. At the end of the fourth century the Alans on the Don

were destroyed by the hordes of Huns (of Altian origin) who went on to destroy the Kingdom of Bosphorus and the Gothic state on the Dnieper, bringing the entire area under their control. The Hunnic empire stretched as far as the Rhine and was centred on the middle Danube where it achieved its high point under Attila (444-53). But although the Hunnic empire soon fell apart, it destroyed all barriers to the invasions of ever new Asiatic hordes into the Ukrainian steppes which were insecure until the 18th century.

At the end of the fifth century came the hordes of the Bulgars (a Turkic people) who under Khan Asparukh pushed into Ukraine and later into the Balkan peninsula. In 680, the Bulgars formed a Bulgarian kingdom from the conquered Slavic tribes on the lower Danube, but took their language and culture.

In the sixth century Ukraine was invaded by the savage horde of the Avars. They established the centre of their great empire on the Danube plain in 568 and cruelly treated the subject Slavic tribe of Duliby in Western Ukraine. But after their defeat at the hands of Charlemagne in 797 the Avar state fell apart and disappeared.

At the beginning of the seventh century the Khazars (a Turkic people who later adopted Jewish faith) came from Asia and formed a great state between the Ural River and the Dnieper, with the capital city of Itil at the mouth of the Volga. They laid tribute on several Slavic tribes in Eastern Ukraine. Khazaria became a great commercial state through which even Arab merchants from the Baghdad Khaliphate travelled on their trading expeditions along the Volga and Dnieper to Volga Bulgars and the Eastern Slav tribes.

At the end of the ninth century the horde of Ugrians (Magyars) broke through Khazar defences and crossed Ukraine in the 880s and settled in Pannonia among the conquered Slavic tribes in 896, where they founded their state, now called Hungary. The Ugrians were followed by the Pechenegs, who dominated a large part of south Ukraine in the tenth and eleventh centuries. This movement of Asiatic hordes into Ukraine lasted for several centuries more.

The Slavic Epoch

Writers of antiquity knew little about the Slavs. Pliny the Elder and Ptolemy (1st and 2nd C.A.D.) referred to them as Venedi (Veneti) and vaguely indicates that they lived east of the Vistula and north of the Carpathians. Thus the original home of the Slavs is not known with certainty. However, modern research on the whole confirms that in the first-second century A.D. the Slavs lived at a considerable distance from the seas between the Vistula and the Carpathians in the West and the middle Dnieper or even farther in the east. This area roughly coincides also with the home of the Ukrainians since time immemorial. From this area Slav tribes migrated in all directions a few centuries later and from their mixture with the conquered native population new Slav tribes and states came into being.

The State of the Antes (4th-7th Centuries)

The great movement of the Slavic tribes began after the Huns had driven out the Goths from southern Ukraine and destroyed the Kingdom of Bosporus at the end of the 4th century. The Huns went on to the West but the Slav tribes from northern Ukraine moved south to the Black Sea. They were known as the Antes to the contemporary Byzantine authors and seem to have been a union of tribes ruled by princes and tribal councils. In the fourth century they dominated the territory from the Danube and the Balkans to the Sea of Azov. In 380s Bozh (Boz), a prince of the Antes, led a struggle against the Goths who attacked his people. He was taken prisoner and crucified, together with his sons and seventy Antian elders. Byzantine historian Procopius of Caesarea (6th C.) writes of "the innumerable tribes of the Antes." Jordanes, historian of the Goths (6th C.) writes that the great nation of the Venedi was divided into two parts: the Slovenians in the West and the Antes in the east. "The Antes, the bravest of them, live on the curve of the Black Sea from the Dniester to the Dnieper."

The Antes, together with the Slovenians, jointly invaded the Balkans during the rule of the Byzantine emperors Justin I, Justinian and Justin II (6th C.). In the 550s mention is made of Mezamir, an envoy of the Antes, who was killed by the Avars. After 679, when Asparukh with his Bulgar horde conquered the territory of the present day Bulgaria, and cut off Byzantium from the Antes, Greek sources no longer speak about the Antes. One must assume that their tribal alliance fell apart and that they had been forced inland from the Black Sea coast. Some tribes of the Antes were subdued by the Avars (as the Duliiby), and others became tributaries of the Khazars.

The Ukrainian Tribes and Their Neighbours in the 9th Century

The dawn of history in the 9th century finds the Ukrainian people living in the north-western half of the present territory, grouped in several tribes. The central of them, **Poliany**, lived in Kyiv area; the **Derevliany** lived to the north-west, between the rivers Teteriv and Pripet; the **Siveriany** — east of Kyiv, on the rivers Desna and Seim; the **Duliiby** — in Volhynia; the **White Croats** — in Subcarpathian area; the **Ulychi** — south-west of Kyiv on the river Boh (southern Bug); and the **Tyvertsi** — between the Dniester and the Prut.

North of the Ukrainian tribes lived other East Slavic tribes: Drevovichy on the Pripet, Kryvichi — on the headwaters of the Dnieper, the western Dvina and the Volga, the Slovenes — to the north of them on the Lake Ilmen; the Radimichi — east of Upper Dnieper; and the Viaticy — between Upper Desna and the Oka. From them evolved the Byelorussian and the Russian peoples.

The Lithuanian tribes lived to the north-west, between the Upper Vistula and the western Dvina.

The entire central and northern part of eastern Europe was inhabited by Finnish tribes who in the 9th and 10th centuries, together with all East Slavic tribes, fell under the domination of the Kyivan state centred in Ukraine.

In the west the Ukrainian tribes neighboured on the Polish tribes and the Great Moravian State which came into being in the first half of the 9th C. and, from the end of the 9th C. on Hungary.

In the south their neighbours were the Bulgarian kingdom and the Byzantine Empire which controlled the Greek colonies to the north of the Black Sea (especially Chersonesus in the Crimea).

In the East the Ukrainian tribes neighboured on the Khazar khaganate and on the Volga Bulgars (the area of the present city of Kazan).

The Ukrainian tribes lived a settled life and engaged in agriculture and cattle-raising. They fished in the rivers, hunted wild animals and birds and collected honey and wax of the wild bees. The Ukrainian tribes differed little from one another in their mode of life. They had similar religious beliefs (they were pagans) and a common language. The centres of tribal organization were the **horody** (fortified places). The tribes were ruled by influential families and important matters were decided by tribal councils (**viche**). In times of war military leaders were chosen who soon became tribal princes.

Trading Routes

In the 7th C. A.D. Arab merchants opened up a trade route to East Europe via the Caspian Sea, the Volga and along its tributaries to Lake Ladoga and the Baltic Sea. Later the great trading route "from the Varangians to the Greeks", i.e. from Scandinavia to Byzantium, came into being. It ran from the Baltic Sea by the river Neva, Lake Ladoga, the river Volkhov, Lake Ilmen, the river Lovat, then, by land, to the headwaters of the Dnieper and down to the Black Sea, to Byzantium, or to its chief colony in the Crimea, the Chersonesus.

A third route crossed Ukraine overland from the Arab East to Western Europe via Kyiv. The two latter routes crossed at Kyiv thus making it an important centre in medieval Eastern Europe.

UKRAINE IN THE MIDDLE AGES

The Princely Era

The Rise of the Kyivan Rus' State. Rurik, Askold and Dir.

From about the middle of the 9th C. the East Slavic tribes began the process of unification into what became known as the Kyiv Rus' State, with its capital in Kyiv, the tribal centre of the **Poliany**.

Before that time each tribe lived separately under its own tribal ruler. Some of them since the 8th C. paid tribute to the Khazars, a Turkic people on the lower Volga and Don, whose khagans and leading strata were converted to Judaism.

In the second half of the 9th century, according to the ancient Chronicle, Varangian (Scandinavian) warriors and adventurous merchants, known collectively as Rus', established their domination over the waterway "from the Varangians to the Greeks." The first of them, Prince Rurik, according to legend, was invited in 862 by the tribes of the Slovenes living around the Lake Ilmen in the North to arbitrate among its warring factions. He established his rule also over the neighbouring Finnish tribes. Two men from his retinue, Askold and Dir, ventured further South, and became independent rulers over the tribe of Poliany in Kyiv and the neighbouring tribes, freeing them from Khazar dependence. This was the time when the attacks of the combined Varangian and Slav forces against the Byzantine possessions in the Crimea and Byzantium itself began and therefore the first scanty information about the Rus' state is contained in ancient Byzantine sources. During the reign of Askold and Dir Rus' attacked Constantinople.

In 867 a Christian mission was sent to Rus' by Patriarch of Constantinople Ignatius, which apparently was crowned with some success, because a church is known to have been built on the grave of Askold, which means that he must have become Christian. At the same time a Christian Bulgarian State was coming into existence south of the Danube, and on the southwestern borders of Ukraine the Great Moravian State was expanding — both these states were Christian of the Byzantine Slavic Rite.

Oleh the Seer (878-912)

According to the ancient Kyivan Chronicle, the rule of Askold and Dir in Kyiv was ended by Oleh (Oleg), a relative of Rurik. Oleh appeared in Kyiv about 878 in the guise of a merchant, tricking Askold and Dir into a trap and then killing them. He ruled as regent in the name of Rurik's young son (or grandson) Ihor (Igor), and built up a vast empire centred on Kyiv stretching over large expanses of Eastern Europe, embracing most of the Ukrainian, East Slav, and some Finnish and Baltic tribes. This state received the name of Rus'. Some tribes were annexed without much resistance, some rose against the Prince of Kyiv again and again.

During Oleh's reign there appeared in the Black Sea steppes the formidable nomadic Turkic hordes of the Pechenegs who came from beyond the Volga and drove out the Ugrians (Hungarians) from Bessarabia and Wallachia across the Carpathians into Pannonia, where they destroyed the Great Moravian State and subjected the Slavonic tribes, including Transcarpathian Ukrainians, to their rule.

Oleh's main concern was the enrichment of his state by means of conquest and trade, above all through maintaining control over the great waterway "from the Varangians to the Greeks" and extorting the best trading terms from the Byzantines. With the latter purpose in view he made a victorious campaign against Byzantium in 907 which ended in the first commercial treaty being signed in 911 between Rus' and the Greeks. Rus' merchants received preferential treatment in Byzantium. The treaty was in force until 944.

Many legends are connected with Oleh who appears in them as a warrior hero and a wise ruler.

Ihor (912-945)

After Oleh's death the power of the Realm of Kyiv passed into the hands of Ihor, son or grandson of Rurik. Little is known about his reign. The chronicler dwells on the unsuccessful expedition of Ihor's army against Byzantium in 944, as a result of which Rus' merchants lost their preferential treatment. Ihor continued the work begun by Oleh of binding the various parts of the empire closer to Kyiv and toured with his retinue the subject tribes collecting tribute. His excessive greed in collecting the taxes in kind caused the revolt of the tribe of Derevlany who ambushed and killed him in 945. In this time the territory of Rus' proper extended only to the area of the Ukrainian Poliany tribe around Kyiv while the rest was dependent Rus' land. The process of Slavonization of the ruling Varangian dynasty began in his time. Ihor married Olha, a Slavic girl from the area of Pskov, and their son had already a Slavonic name — Sviatoslav. Among the boyars (elders) who signed the 944 treaty with Byzantium there are already many with Slavonic names.

Olha (945-964)

Ihor's wife Olha succeeded him on the throne of Kyiv as Regent. Her first act was to revenge the death of her husband at the hands of the tribe of Derevlany. But after that revolt was put down, she ruled peacefully and continued with the work of centralization, above all improving the system of tax collection.

Olha was the first of the Rurikides to be baptized, probably in Kyiv in 955. But Christianity was not popular among her military retinue and people in general, and her son, Sviatoslav, resisted Olha's efforts to persuade him to become a Christian.

Olha went on a diplomatic mission to Constantinople in 957. Her reception there is described by Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus in his work *De Ceremoniis Aulae Byzantinae*. In 959 she sent an envoy to the German King Otto I the Great asking him to send western missionaries to Rus'. Olha died in 969.

Olha's pioneering efforts to introduce Christianity into Rus' earned her recognition as a Saint by the Church.

Sviatoslav the Conquerer (964-972)

In 964 Olha handed over the reign to her 22-year old son Sviatoslav, who though a Slav by name was a Viking by spirit. He was primarily an adventurous warrior knight who was attracted by distant campaigns and wars of conquest. In 963 he waged war on the Khazars, captured their fortress on the Don, Sarkel, and extended Kyiv's control over the Tmutorokan Rus' (Taman Peninsula), Eastern Crimea and the Kerch Straits. The weakened Khazar State was unable to withstand the pressure from the nomad horde of the Pechenegs who now began to roam the Black Sea steppes at will.

In 964 Sviatoslav put down a revolt by the Viaticchi and defeated the Volga Bulgars. In 967 Sviatoslav, in alliance with Byzantium, occupied part of Bulgaria, but had to hurry back to Kyiv (968) to save it from the Pechenegs, who laid siege to the city. In 968-69 he destroyed the power of the Khazars, capturing their capital, Itil, on the Volga. Returning to the Balkans he had to fight both Byzantium and Bulgaria and suffered defeat. On signing a peace treaty with the Greeks he was on his way to Kyiv when he was ambushed by the Pechenegs on the Dnieper rapids and killed in battle (972).

Volodymyr the Great (930-1015)

Sviatoslav was succeeded by his eldest son, Yaropolk (972-980), brought up as a Christian. Court intrigues drew Yaropolk into strife with his younger brother, Oleh, suspected of a plot. Oleh was killed in a battle and the third half-brother, Volodymyr, son of Malusha, a slav court lady, brought up as a pagan, fled to Scandinavia. With a Varangian and Slovene forces Volodymyr captured Kyiv and Yaropolk was treacherously murdered.

Volodymyr restored the worship of the pagan gods which fell into decline under Olha and Yaropolk. He waged war on Poland and annexed to Rus' the so-called Cherven cities, a frontier area between the rivers Buh, Vistula and Wisloka, in the West (981). Rivers Wisloka and Vepr (Wieprz) became Western boundaries of Ukraine with Poland for four centuries. Volodymyr also subdued the tribes of Viaticchi and Radimichi (of the Russian and Byelorussian group) in 982 and 984.

Volodymyr soon realized that the old pagan faith was outdated and a new religion was necessary to cement the restored unity of the Rus' state. In the choice of this new religion he vacillated between Judaism of the Khazars, Islam, Greek and Latin Christianity. According to the Chronicle he sent envoys to various countries to report on their faiths so as to choose the best. His choice fell on Greek Christianity with its majestic Eastern ceremonial and Byzantine art. But in order not to become a vassal of the Byzantine emperors he first captured their colony of Chersonesus in the Crimea

and returned it in exchange for the hand of the Byzantine princess Anna, the Emperor's sister, and assurance of missionary help in baptizing the population of his empire. The population of Kyiv was baptized in 988 and this marked official introduction of Christianity as state religion into ancient Ukraine and its dominions. The liturgical language, however, was not Greek, but the old Slav language of Bulgaria, which was very close to old Ukrainian vernacular. This was extremely important for the spread of literacy and education in the Kyivan Rus' realm in the Middle Ages. Volodymyr established the first schools attached to the churches for the sons of the boyars (nobles).

Volodymyr's relations with the Western neighbours, Poland, Hungary and Czechia were peaceful. The greatest menace to his possessions came from the Pechenegs against whom he waged several campaigns in the 990s. He built several fortified lines along the rivers south and east of Kyiv as a defence against them. The reign of Volodymyr marked the golden age in the history of the Kyivan Rus'. The exploits of Volodymyr and his heroic knights in the fight against the nomads of the steppe were sung in the ancient *byliny*.

In recognition of his services to Christianity Volodymyr has been acknowledged a Saint by the Church.

Yaroslav the Wise (1019-1054)

Volodymyr died unexpectedly and the throne was seized by one of his sons, Sviatopolk "the Damned" (1015-1019), who was married to a daughter of the Polish king Boleslaw the Brave. He had three of his half-brothers murdered and consolidated his rule over the southern part of the realm. A war broke out between Sviatopolk and Yaroslav, one of Volodymyr's sons, the prince of Novgorod in the north of the realm. With Varangian help Yaroslav defeated Sviatopolk and the Pechenegs and took Kyiv. Sviatopolk escaped to Poland and with the Polish army of Boleslaw the Brave recaptured Kyiv. But the population of Kyiv soon rose against the Poles, who withdrew annexing temporarily the Cherven cities to Poland. Yaroslav took Kyiv again and Sviatopolk had to flee again and perished somewhere between Poland and Bohemia.

But the capture of Kyiv by Yaroslav did not restore the unity of the state. Another of Volodymyr's sons, Mstyslav, the prince of Tmutorokan in the North Caucasus refused to acknowledge Yaroslav's sovereignty. In a war between them Yaroslav suffered a defeat (1024) and the Kyiv Realm became divided between him and Mstyslav along the Dnieper line until Mstyslav's death (1036). During this period Yaroslav stayed in Novgorod, and only afterwards he moved back to Kyiv. Yaroslav took the Cherven cities back from Poland in 1031 and completely routed the Pechenegs at Kyiv (1036) so that they ceased to be a threat to the Rus' population. On the

site of the victorious battle outside the old ramparts, the Cathedral of St. Sophia was built, the greatest shrine of the Ukrainians. Yaroslav transformed Kyiv into a great city and fortress, and devoted his energies to raising the cultural level of the state. A library was set up at the church of St. Sophia and many books were translated from Greek into Slavonic. Yaroslav first codified the laws of the Realm in the code known as *Ruskaia Pravda* (Rus' Law). Yaroslav maintained good relations with West European states. His wife was the daughter of the Swedish king. His daughter Elisabeth married the Norwegian king Harold Harrade, and his second daughter Anna, married the French King Henry I, and after his death was Regent. His son Izyaslav married the German princess Gertrude. In an attack on Byzantium in 1043 Yaroslav's naval expedition was defeated.

The death of Yaroslav the Wise marked the end of the unity and power of the Kievan Rus' State.

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Ukrainian Poetical Art

Vickie BABENKO

THEMES OF BORIS OLIJNYK – A CONTEMPORARY UKRAINIAN POET

There are two reasons for my preoccupation with Boris Olijnyk: first, the increasing amount of attention being given to his works not only in the Soviet Ukraine, but also in Russia. Several articles and reviews discussing his verse have appeared in the Soviet press. The second reason is my recent trip to the Soviet Union, where I had intended to buy some of his books. This proved unsuccessful, since all good poets are always sold out there.

In his native land, Olijnyk was obtainable nowhere, only his recent collection of poems, *Stoju na zemli* (I am standing on the Ground),¹ was still available in Russian translation. Faced with the above situation, I was intrigued as to whether or not this process of Russification on a grand scale was reflected in Ukrainian poetry. And the next question was why a contemporary Ukrainian poet has become so interesting for Russians.

Because of a lack of available material, it was impossible to cover the subject completely. But what I had at my disposal was sufficient to reveal some of the main themes of Boris Olijnyk, as presented in his poetry. The material I dealt with also gives ample evidence of his artistry, which I will discuss briefly in this paper.

Boris Olijnyk entered into literary prominence at the beginning of 1960s. In 1962 his first small collection of verse entitled *Gong* (Gong) appeared, and two years later he was awarded the Ostrovsky Prize for Literature for his collection *Dvenadtsjaty val* (The Twelfth Wave). Since then he has published nine books of verse, and two of these were translated into Russian.²

Upon analyzing Boris Olijnyk's poetry, I detected two main, constantly recurring themes:

1) Boris Olijnyk, *Stoju na zemle* (Moscow: Molodaja gvardija, 1973). Further references to this edition will be given in text.

2) Boris Olijnyk, *Gong* (Kyiv: Radjanskyj pysmennyk, 1962); *Dvenadtsjatyj val* (Kyiv: Radjanskyj pysmennyk: 1964); and the following further publications: *Molod* (Kyiv: Radjanskyj pysmennyk, 1964); *Vybir poezii* (Kyiv: Radjanskyj pysmennyk, 1965); *Kolo, poezii* (Kyiv: Radjanskyj pysmennyk, 1968); *Vidlunnjy* (Kyiv, Radjanskyj pysmennyk, 1970); *Na linii tysi, poezii, poemny* (Kyiv: Dnipro, 1972); *Rukh, poezii* (Kyiv: Radjanskyj pysmennyk, 1973). Further references to these editions will be given directly in text.

1. The universal themes, such as love, concern with the individual human being and humanity in general, the role of a poet;
2. The patriotic theme, which includes the Ukrainian past, and the responsibility for its future.

It is, of course, not because of these themes that Olijnyk became known, and was able to draw the attention of wide literary circles in Russia. My analysis shows that his poetry is rich in original similes which distinguish him among his contemporaries.

Perhaps the most striking element in Olijnyk's art is his lyric verse, which is of a superb quality and could compete with many of the world's great poets. Most of these verses deal with universal subjects. Even in the most intimate of them where Olijnyk speaks about his personal affairs, the subject matter assumes this universal character, without, however, losing a certain national tint. The poem "XX Vek i Gamlet" (XX Century and Hamlet) — unfortunately it was not available in Ukrainian — is an excellent example of his lyrics. It reads as follows:

Лишь погас за башнею угрюмой
Солнца луч, как девичий каприз, —
Желтый месяц над моею думой
Йориковым черепом повис.

Юный Гамлет вышел из тумана,
Он бежал от ссор и передраг.
У него в глазах мерцает странно
Вечного вопроса черный знак.

Скованы уста его печатью,
За семью замками брезжит суть . . .
На вопрос, исполненный проклятья,
Ты ответишь, принц, когда-нибудь?

Но молчит он . . .

И не спит ночами,
Опершись на рукоять меча.
Сотканный из мрака и печали,
Плащ спадает с белого плеча.

Мы вдвоем . . . И месяц смотрит косо,
И сова тревожит сон ночной . . .
Черный знак проклятого вопроса
Повисает грозно надо мной.

Тень и свет. Победы и утраты.
Истина родится тяжело.
И уводят девушку закаты
Далеко-далеко, за село.

Над рекою — облачная пена,
 А в селе — веселье и галдеж.
 Там, на свадьбе, пьет вино измена,
 И со всеми вместе пляшет ложь.

А в эфире — атомные крики . . .
 Боль. Надежды. Вечная вражда.
 Но проходит ночь . . .

Раскрыты книги.
 Первая дымится борозда.

Радостно взмывает к солнцу птица,
 Синевой омыт весенний лес . . .
 И рука страдающего принца
 Падает устало на эфес. (*Stoji na zemli*, pp. 95-96).

The poem has an introduction, a centre and an ending. It consists of nine quatrains which form three parts. The first part (the first four quatrains) present Hamlet, a figure who conveys an image of the search for truth, honesty and resignation. This part serves as a prelude to the main theme — the hero's disappointments in his pursuit of love and honesty; at the same time, the main theme parallels Hamlet's experiences.

The second part brings us in medias res (this is the central part of the poem): "My vdvoem . . ." Here we learn that there are two people, between whom something has happened, for the lyrical hero, like Hamlet, seeks some kind of honesty in their relationship: "Černyj znak prokljatogo voprosa . . ." Thus, however, proves disappointing. Although they are in love with one another, the girl marries someone else. This is disclosed through the following images:

И уводят девушку закаты
 Далеко-далеко, за село.

and

Там на свадьбе, пьет вино измена,
 И со всеми вместе пляшет ложь.

In the last part, consisting of two quatrains, the theme of Hamlet is reassumed. Although the lyrical hero belongs to the atomic age, suffering, frustration, and pain did not cease:

А в эфире — атомные крики . . .
 Боль. Надежды. Вечная вражда.

The following images reveal that the lyrical hero is a poet. He seeks consolation in art:

Но проходит ночь . . .
 Раскрыты книги.

Первая дымится борозда.

The fresh furrow ("pervaja dymitsja borozda") is a simile, indicating

the first line the poet writes. Now the hero, identifying himself with Hamlet, is resigned to facing the eternal cycle of life:

И рука страдающего принца
Падает устало на эфес.

The structure of the poem also resembles a closed cycle, A-B-A: the Hamlet, contemporary experiences by the hero, and the recurrence of pain, frustrations, hopes and disappointments.

At the beginning of the poem, a number of original images draw the hero's portrait: the yellow moon — is Yorick's skull; the dying ray of sun is compared to a girl's whim: "solnca luč, kak devičij kapriz," "zelyj mesjac . . . Jorikovym čerepom povis." In Hamlet's eyes glimmers the sign of the eternal question, "mercaet stranno večnogo voprosa černyj znak." His coat is woven from darkness and sadness, "sotkannyj iz mraka i pečali." Sentences without verbs, which Olijnyk uses quite frequently, create static scenes, enhancing the quality of timelessness: "Ten' i svet. Pobedy i utraty," "A v efire — atomnye kriki. Bol'. Nadeždy. Večnaja vražda." In only two lines Olijnyk presents a particular atmosphere, that of a Ukrainian village — a microcosmos parallels the macrocosmos: "Nad rekoju — oblačnaja pena, a v sele — vesel'e i galdež," — "A v efire — atomnye kriki . . . Bol'. Nadeždy. Večnaja vražda." The cosmic dimension of time appears as a cyclical pattern of "eternal returns" of victories and defeats. Nothing changes the life process.

Olijnyk's attitude to art and poetry is best represented in the poem entitled "Romantyčne intermezzo" (A Romantic Intermezzo), written as early as 1965. The contemporary poet is identified here with the image of Don Quixote; like Don Quixote in his time, the poet of today appears as a ridiculous, useless romantic. The stanzas depicting the problems of the modern poet are deftly ironical, especially in picturing the rural Ukraine; again, there is a girl who deserts the "unpractical" poet:

Я родивсь безнадійним романтиком —
Дон Кіхот у масштабі села . . .
А любов моя з синім бантом
До практичнішого пішла. (*Vybir*, pp. 65-68).

Then the poet addresses himself to Don Quixote sharing with him his sorrow; it is hard for them to survive in the practical age of the twentieth century. With sarcastic scorn Olijnyk censures the philistine crowd immersed in self-satisfied banalities. Criticizing its "logic" the poet contends that he is called to move life forward:

Дорозмножуйтесь в теплім болоті,
У помірність одягши свій ляк . . .
Я кажу: не було б донкіхотів,
Вже б давно посивіла земля. (*Ibid*, p. 68).

Thus the poet of today is also a Don Quixote. Established society hates him, for it sees him as a disturber and as a threat to their

Щоб кипів телеграф од тревог, мов казан,
 Й телетайп захлинався кулеметом,
 І щоб з ока локатора впала сльоза
 На сувору печаль планети.

... А як хтось запитав, де цеш я забаривсь,
 І чому, й на якій роботі, —
 Щоби друг мій спокійно тоді повторив:
 »Він іще... не вернувся з польоту«.
Vybir, p. 39).

The original images employed in this poem dramatize the theme and provide the poem with a unique expressive power. The women waiting for the return of a pilot are compared with broken grass, "zlamani stebła." The landing platform of the airport are the green palms of the hands reaching into the sky in their grief, "I zeleni doloni aerodrom u rozpuči zdijmav do neba." The telegraph is boiling like a pot, and the teletype is choking like a machine gun, "ščob kypiv telegraf od trevoh, mov kazan, j teletajp zaxlynavs' kulemetom." At the same time these images create a tragic vision of the human being's death.

Although Olijnyk's poetry reflects our twentieth century technological achievements, particularly in space, his prime concern rests with the human being, whom he values more than any achievement of civilization. Another poem, "Maty" (Mother) provides a frame for this theme. It deals with a cosmonaut in space. Medical men are reporting on the condition of his body; scientists are busily making all kinds of statements and predictions, men and women are getting ready to write stories and articles about his daring deed. Only his mother cares for him as a human being. The scientific findings and the whole hubbub about her son are completely meaningless to her; she fears he may not return from space, and she waits for him while swallowing her salty tears:

І тривога її кригою
 пада на серце:
 »А як з космосу чорного
 син не повернеться?«
 О, тоді він для хлопців одвічною зіркою,
 Будуть пафосні вірші
 і оклики в збірках!
 Будуть довгі романи
 й поеми, як ринви...
 Лиш ніколи не буде у матері сина.
 І тому вона йде
 за село, на околицю,
 І стає на коліна,
 і небові молиться.

Та не хмурте ви брів
 і не хмуртесь осінньо:
 Мати молитися в небо . . .

на рідного сина. *Vybir*, pp. 62, 63).

The beginning stanza of the poem includes the portrait of the mother. It is drawn by implying images corresponding to the theme, the greatest of all achievements is the human being:

Мати дуже висока,
 древніша од космосу.
 На плечах її райдуга гнеться коромислом. (Ibid).

Moreover, the mother stands as a symbol for the Creator Himself; that is why she is older than the cosmos (*drevniša vid kosmosu*). The burden of worries she bears is configurated through the similes from Nature, "na plečax ii rajduha hnet'sja koromyslom. (on her shoulders the rainbow is bending like a yoke).

In most of the poems on a universal theme, Olijnyk's advocacy of the human being is contrasted with science and technology, and, above all, it is enhanced by similes which have life itself as their source. Death, for example, is sometimes conveyed by introducing images of poppy-flowers, as is the case in "Kak upal on" (How He Fell):

Встрелулась,
 и во мраке
 Птичий голос задрожал,
 И цвести остались маки
 На снегу, где он лежал. (*Stoju na zemle*, p. 34).

The soldier's wife's grief is also expressed through the image of blossoms:

Пошатнулась, словно колос,
 Тонет взгляд её вдали.
 Молодые её косы
 Белым цветом зацвели. (Ibid, p. 35).

And the moon is a stork that builds a nest in the sky:

..... месяц,
 словно аист,
 Золотые гнезда вьет. (Ibid, p. 34).

In the poem about a revolution in Cuba, "liubov' i pistolety" (Love and Pistoles), night appears as a gypsy, the moon — a drum:

Полночь в звездном черном платье,
 как цы-ган-ка,
 Вьет рукою в гулкий месяц, словно в бубен. (Ibid, p. 91).

The similes which Olijnyk employs in his poetry give conviction to the beautiful or tragic incidents he is depicting. In fact, Olijnyk's ability to introduce different images is so unbounded that he sometimes tends to overload his poems with metaphors, as has been

justly observed by Kovalev in *Literaturnaja gazeta*.³ But Kovalev also underlines Oliijnyk's genuine artistry in presenting pictures of unusual beauty, as, for example, a village at evening in the poem "Selo" (Village):

Осенний день уже склонил чело,
В багрянно-голубом лежит долина.
И, зазвенев от ветра,

паутина

Баюкает уставшее село. (Ibid, p. 56).

The poem "Selo" was actually the cause for Kovalev's lengthy discussion when he was answering many letters written by Russian readers who found Oliijnyk's images somewhat unreal. Kovalev went on explaining that Oliijnyk's original text sounds much better than the translation, and the images, depicting the village at evening, are of the first rank, revealing a true poet with exquisite sensibility to Nature. The above text in Ukrainian reads as follows:

Осіння днина опуска чоло.
Далекий обрій —
голубе з червоним.

І павутиння малиновим
дзвоном

Вколисує у вибалку село.⁴

Indeed, the small picture of the village, due to the images employed, seems a large canvas. The horizon in blue and red implies a wide panorama of space; and the gossamer in Fall, lulling the village into sleep, is "ringing pinc." These fine details are not chosen just by accident, but reveal a true poet's eye for observing even invisible details. If Oliijnyk sins by sometimes using too many similes in a single poem, it is certainly not because of poor imagination but rather from an abundance of creative forces and iridescent colors. A superb picture of Nature emerges in his later works. Nature assumes an important role, and above all, emphasis is on Man's unity with Nature. This, in turn, brings us to Oliijnyk's patriotic theme, which occupies the central place in his works.

The patriotic theme can already be encountered in Oliijnyk's earliest collection, such as in *Vybir* (The Choice). Most of the poems in this work have the Ukrainian past and future as subject matter. The lyrical heroes are contemporary Ukrainians, who have chosen the road of hard work and courage in the modern progress of life. Their aspirations, however, are juxtaposed to the Ukrainian past, full of suffering and frustrating struggles for national independence. Although Oliijnyk is always concerned with the human beings, the emphasis is now placed on man's national roots. In Oliijnyk's opinion,

³ Dmitry Kovalev, "Pocemu zvenit pautina," *Literaturnaja gazeta* (23 February 1972).

⁴ Ibid.

man is able to profit from the brotherly bond with others only if he preserves his national character. If, on the contrary, he renounces his national heritage, he becomes a nobody, and the meaning of his life is lost.

In his last collection, *Stoju na zemli* Olijnyk turns more to the question of national identity. His patriotic feeling are displayed in such poems as "Ballada o pervom" (The Ballad of the First One), "Syny" (The Sons), "Moj dolg" (My Duty), and "Skvoz' vremia spesat" (They Hurry Through Time). — Unfortunately this collection was available only in Russian translation. The poem "Moi dolg" may be considered a pragmatic one. It focuses on the Ukrainian land, its poetic nature, its beautiful women, its abundance of natural resources, and its heroic courageous ancestors. The hero is proud to be a Ukrainian, to live in such a rich country and to share all its bounties with his people. Although for all this he feels indebted to the entire universe, Ukraine and things Ukrainian are underlined.

In another poem, "Skvoz' vremia spesat," there is a strong emotional anguish, which is due to the fact that global technological progress has scattered Ukrainians all over the world. The poet complains further about the machines' merciless rhythm, which has now become the rhythm of life, and is destroying his native country. A feeling of sadness with a tinge of bitterness are evident in the following lines:

Сквозь время спешат
луноходы, экспрессы, ракеты.
Одни только хаты
как будто бы в землю вросли.
По всем континентам,
по всем закоулкам планеты
Судьба разбросала
сынов украинской земли.
(*Stoju na zemli*, p. 59).

And further:

Везде, от Чикаго
до Щецина и до Берлина,
От прашевских стрех
до сиднейских задымленных крыш,
Под модным нейлоном
льняная моя Украина
Застонет журавликом
в эту полночную тишь. (Ibid, pp. 59-60).

But the tragic vision of a human being within the framework of industrial development notwithstanding, in many poems Olijnyk offers the possibility that the future generations of Ukrainians will reestablish their ancestor's customs, and will in doing so engender virtue within themselves. This idea is also expressed in his longest

poem "Dolia" (Fate) with its central theme — the rediscovery of Ukrainian national identity.

The poem consists of six parts. Its structural design is rather free, slightly reminiscent of Voznesensky's "Oza," which also deals primarily with the fate of a human being. The concern with the human being in Olijnyk, however, looms larger, in that it dwells upon the historical and traditional heritage of the Ukraine. Each chapter has a different metric pattern; rhymed and unrhymed verses alternate; yet the structure of the single chapters correspond with their topics.

The narrator, a contemporary Ukrainian, is lost in modern civilization. Although he has everything — a wife, a house, and all the material comforts, he is restless and cannot sleep at night because of these "chamber worries," as he puts it. He realizes also that he has become estranged from Nature and his fellow men. There is no meaning to his life. Then one day he takes a train and goes to visit his mother in the country. But the places of his childhood — the memories of his past — do not move him too deeply, and he finds no peace among Nature. He rushes on in the pursuit of the Real Thing — the meaning of his life, which he, however, cannot find anywhere. One night, while working at his desk (the narrator is a poet), he hears an approaching, familiar sound. Somebody is already mounting the stairs to the fourth floor, and now there comes a knock at his door:

И стукнуло глухо в двери,
И разом качнулась ночь.
И строчки мои, как звери,
Рванулись с бумаги прочь,
Смертельно листы побелели,
Покрывшись холодным потом,
Я голосом задубелым
Несмело выдохнул:
— Кто там« —
Открывю двери смертельный.
А на пороге стоит Конь.
Большой-белый . . . (*Stoju na zemli*, p. 124).

The white Horse, which is a Fate, invites him to go along in search of the Real Purpose in life. The narrator looks at his oil painting at the wall — a legendary Ukrainian hero on horseback — and realizes that the horse has descended from the painting. While they go then through field and steppe, Fate delivers a talk in which the entire Ukrainian past is reviewed. Since the spirit of his Ukrainian ancestors is still alive and calls for men who would continue their struggles for independence — Fate wants him to choose his road: he can live like the many, taking an easy way to success; he

also can choose another horse, of a different colour; most important is that he should choose what his own spirit tells him to.

The poem concludes with the motif of brotherhood. Olijnyk claims that in all human endeavours there is a certain limit, but there is no limit to brotherly love for a human being. And finally, he urges all his contemporaries to remember their fathers and those who fought for their country. Brotherly love among nations is emphasized toward the end of the poem. It is, however, difficult to prove how much the motif of brotherhood is a political "must." Indeed, when comparing these poems with the ones where he displays his patriotic feelings, the latter appear more convincing. Olijnyk's vision of rediscovery of national identity also encompasses the return to Nature. Allusions to Longfellow and Whitman, the American poets, who glorified man and Nature, support this vision.

A cycle of poems dedicated to Hryhoriy Skovoroda, a distinguished Ukrainian philosopher, humanitarian and poet forms the climax of his patriotic themes. One of them was published in memoriam to Skovoroda in *Literaturnaja gazeta*.⁵ The central point in this poem is Skovoroda's pilgrimage to Rome. According to Olijnyk, Skovoroda went there as a representative of his people, the Ukrainians. Due to Skovoroda's knowledge and the nobility of his spirit, he was treated by the Romans with great respect and admiration. Skovoroda's speech to the Romans could be viewed as an apotheosis of Olijnyk's drive for the rediscovery of the national identity:

Народ мой — сеятель.
Под благостным дождем
Ещё взойдут, светясь, его деянья!
Всем смертным он подарит их сиянье —
И вас, бессмертных, пригласит в свой дом.⁶

The above observations lead us to believe that Olijnyk's urge for rediscovering the Ukrainian national identity is intense, and his patriotic feelings occupy a central place in his works. As a sensitive artist, Olijnyk must be aware of the outside forces aimed at the destruction of the Ukrainian independent spirit. Olijnyk's works promote the patriotic feelings of the Ukrainians. It seems that in the service of this spirit lies Olijnyk's greatest goal. This issue is enhanced through his truly artistic ability which is much in evidence in his images.

⁵ F. V. Konstantinov, "Filosof, humanist, prosvetlitel," *Literaturnaja gazeta* (December 3, 1972) p. 6.

⁶ Ibid.

Lina KOSTENKO

GREEN BIRDS

Green birds
At evening time
Came down to sleep
In the fresh clearing.

Green birds
Quietly descended
On yellow pine needles.

Their wings fluttered
They lost their feathers,
Low, low
They bent their heads.

Stumps all around —
They are their blood brothers.
Cuttings on stumps —
They are full moons.

Green birds!
What more do you need?
You have the moon,
You have the sky.

But in the golden light
Of the morning
The green birds
Started to fly.

Only fly they could not,
Fly they were not able
They had so little room
That their wings were entangled.

Lina KOSTENKO

* * *

If you cannot paint the wind,
The transparent wind against a bright background
Then paint the oak trees, powerful and branchy
That the wind is bending to the ground.

* * *

I will not ask people for strength,
In life I never asked for anything.
The granite rocks do not ask
The rains to slack their thirst.

I will only ask people for faith
In every word that I utter,
In each glance of my grey eyes,
In every touch of my warm hands

* * *

One can live in this world without blinders,
One can look many ways upon the world:
 with eyes wide open,
 from under a brow,
 through one's fingers
 through open windows
 or
 through a crack in the door.

From this the world will not change one iota.
It all depends upon the person's eyes —
In the wide open ones, the whole world will be
 reflected
The narrow ones will only mirror pettiness.

Documents of the 8th WACL Conference

EXTRACTS FROM JOINT COMMUNIQUE OF THE EIGHTH CONFERENCE OF THE WORLD ANTI-COMMUNIST LEAGUE, Rio de Janeiro, April, 1975

From April 21-25, 1975, delegates from sixty four national member units and twenty international organizational members of the World Anti-Communist League, representing all the world regions, have gathered in Rio de Janeiro in the great Latin American Republic of Brazil for the 8th WACL Conference to demonstrate their gallant fighting spirit against Communism and for human freedom and national independence, and to step up endeavour in unity under the theme "Appeasement, No! Freedom, Yes!"

As regards the policy of détente between free nations and the Communist block and the deplorable results thereof, the Conference, after an extensive critical review, hereby calls upon all people of the free world and behind the Iron Curtain to be vigilant and courageously stand together for the enhancement of greater unity and for the reversal of the critical situation.

The Conference has also decided to direct reproach to the criminal North Vietnamese and the Viet Cong who, supported by the Russian and Chinese Communists, have openly torn apart the Paris peace accord and flagrantly launched massive military offensives to massacre the people and communize South Vietnam. All free nations are urged to act collectively and swiftly to safeguard freedom and punish these malicious aggressors.

Because of the reversal of the situation in Indochina, the importance of Northwest Asia in the global anti-Communist strategy is now all the more pronounced. We therefore positively support the unwavering anti-Communist efforts of the Republic of China, the Republic of Korea and other free Asian Pacific nations. We emphasize in particular that the United States ought to abide strictly by treaty obligations and defence commitments and refrain from damaging in any manner these Asian allies who have for years fought shoulder to shoulder with Americans for the common security of the Asian-Pacific region.

The conferees, gravely concerned about developments in the Middle East, call upon the free nations of that region to constantly guard against Communist attempts to sow seeds of discord and strife. It is ardently hoped that the oil resources in the region will be properly put to use for the safeguarding of freedom and security — the common interest of all peoples — as well as for the promotion of Middle Eastern peace and prosperity.

The Conference urges that all free African nations firmly stand on the side of freedom, cooperate closely to bring about economic

development under the principles of equality and mutual benefit, and check the advances of Communist forces bent on infiltration and subversion.

The Conference requests that the free nations of Europe cooperate for further enhancement of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and to bring about greater European security and prosperity, while vigilantly guarding against Russian Communist schemes to divide and win over nations. The Conference supports the gallant struggles for national independence, freedom and human rights waged by the peoples of nations now held in captivity under Russian imperialism and the Communist rule of slavery.

The 8th WACL Conference supports the liberation movements for national independence and sovereignty of Ukraine Lithuania, Turkistan, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Byelorussia, Croatia, Bulgaria, Rumania, Latvia, Czechia, Estonia, North Caucasus, Armenia, Hungary, East Germany, Poland, Slovakia, and other nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and communism in the USSR and the "satellite" states.

The Conference also expresses poignant sorrow and sincerest concern over the fate of the enslaved and oppressed people kept by the Communists behind the Iron Curtains of the Chinese mainland, North Vietnam, North Korea and Cuba. It has been resolved that spiritual encouragement and material assistance be adequately given these people continually so that they can rise, wherever they are, expand isolated cases of individual resistance into a well-organized, all-out anti-Communist revolution and furthermore join with free world forces as a rising tide of the age for bringing down the Iron Curtains from within and without.

The World Anti-Communist League points out that confused and depressed though the world situation may be, free people will awaken as a result of the failure of détente and bring about a resurgence of freedom forces. Struggling for freedom, the League is correctly in the mainstream of the age. The 8th WACL Conference therefore urges all the peoples of the free world and Iron Curtain countries to rise as one with strong determination to gain and enhance freedom by eliminating Communism. A united freedom camp should march against the raging Communist forces and through vigorous, coordinated action put a decisive end to aggression.

SUPPLEMENTS TO THE FINAL COMMUNIQUE OF THE 8th WACL CONFERENCE IN RIO DE JANEIRO BY ABN DELEGATION

Co-ordinated and simultaneous national liberation revolutions of the subjugated nations are the alternative to thermo-nuclear war.

Through such national revolutions, with the support of the Free World, the disintegration of the Russian empire and the annihilation

of the Communist system will undoubtedly be achieved. Elements of a "superpower" are not only technological or thermo-nuclear capacity, but also, and most importantly, spiritual and moral values. To view the subjugated nations from this perspective another superpower is formed.

The 8th WACL Conference condemns Russian Communist neo-colonialism, ethno-lingual genocide, Russification, the attempted annihilation of national cultures and economic exploitation and subsequently demands the liquidation of concentration camps, the release of all nationally conscious political and religious prisoners, termination of all chemical, medical and psychiatric methods of persecution, the immediate, non-conditional withdrawal of Russian occupational forces from the subjugated nations within the USSR and its so-called satellites, and the return of national independence to all these nations. If for some reason the aforementioned conditions are not fulfilled, — the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Geneva can only bring disaster and capitulation upon the free world, since here a base is being created for further Russian colonialist conquests.

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED AT THE 8th WACL AND 6th WYACL CONFERENCES

WACL recognises the real threat to European and world peace in the continuing militarily imposed and maintained Russian colonial empire in Europe and Asia, and urges all Western governments through their Ministers in Geneva to regard the dissolution of the Russian colonial empire, the USSR, as of overriding importance to the establishment of lasting peace and security in Europe. With decolonisation of the USSR and a return to the 1918/19 re-establishment of national states in Europe and Asia, WACL believes there will be an end to nuclear and conventional military confrontation, and the consequent immediate lessening of tension in Europe and in the world.

Since Russia has been a consistent advocate of national independence for all former colonial peoples, WACL urges upon Western governments the necessity of adopting the same approach to all countries now under Russian colonial rule. With decolonisation also would come the disbandment of concentration labour camps, the end of russification, religious and political persecution, the need for constant political warfare, and the restoration not only of a free voice and world forums for the subjugated nations but also their constitutional and human rights, namely, their independent, national democratic statehood. WACL supports national independence for all nations in Europe and Asia, and condemns the continuing efforts for further Russian colonisation.

WACL 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.

Submitted by:

Ivan Matteo Lombardo
President of the European Freedom Council

II

WACL AND WYACL CONCERNED FOR VALENTYN MOROZ AND YURIY SHUKHEVYCH

WHEREAS, the young Ukrainian historian and poet Valentyn Moroz, regardless of the severe tortures he has been subjugated to by the KGB and his five month hunger strike in the Vladimir prison of the strictest regime, continues — as a patriot and Christian — to defend the right of his homeland Ukraine to independence, Christian faith, human rights and the Ukrainian Christian culture, sentenced again by the Russian godless court to 14 years of imprisonment for having written three Christian-patriotic historical essays and for revealing the cruel methods of the NKVD and KGB;

WHEREAS, Valentyn Moroz by his heroic self-sacrificing attitude of a martyr full of love for his nation, heroic humanism and unbreakable faith in God, defends the human ideals of the whole world against exploitation, oppression, militant atheism, destruction, evil and decay; and

WHEREAS, Yuriy Shukhevych, the outstanding son of a great father — General Roman Shukhevych-Chuprynka, leader of the Ukrainian national liberation struggle and Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), who died as a hero 25 years ago, in 1950, fighting for the freedom and independence of Ukraine and the Christian faith against the Russian NKVD, — sentenced to 30 years of imprisonment is detained in Bolshevik prisons and concentration camps only for having refused to renounce his father and condemn his ideas having thus given up freedom and the promised comfort of life at the cost of betraying his father;

The Eighth WACL Conference and the Sixth WYACL Conference proclaim *Valentyn Moroz and Yuriy Shukhevych* symbols of the noble, heroic, patriotic and religious youth of the entire world, and *models* being worthy of imitation, and *they appeal to the young people of all nations of the world to stand up for these two prisoners in order to attain their release from incarceration!*

FOR ADMITTING THE NATIONAL LIBERATION ORGANIZATIONS TO THE UNITED NATIONS:

III

WHEREAS, the UN Charter, the UN Resolution on world decolonisation and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights recognize *the right to national independence* of all nations of the world by dissolving world empires, as well as *equal rights* of all individuals irrespective of race, religion and wealth;

WHEREAS, by admitting the Palestine Liberation Organization to the General Assembly of the United Nations a legal precedent has been created;

WHEREAS, the United Nations Conference held at Vienna in March 1975 has approved the Convention on the legal status of missions and delegations to international organizations temporarily appointed by liberation organizations and sent to the respective host countries, setting forth in detail the diplomatic privileges of the representatives of such liberation organizations in international organizations;

WHEREAS, the Russian Communist colonial empire is still a member of the United Nations in spite of violating the basic principles of the United Nations, its Charter, the UN Resolution on Decolonisation and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; and

WHEREAS, the Russian colonial Communist empire is systematically enslaving, colonially exploiting and destroying by means of genocide and linguicide the captive nations and subjugated individuals — fighters for national independence and human rights, and is torturing political and religious prisoners in concentration camps by applying the most barbaric — physical, chemical and psychiatric — means;

The Eighth WACL Conference, severely condemning the Russian colonial Communist empire and its system of oppression vis-a-vis the enslaved nations and individuals, *resolves to appeal to* the General Assembly of the United Nations, in particular its non-Communist and anti-Communist members, and to the Governments and Parliaments of the free states of the world:

To admit, according the same legal status as to other members, revolutionary national liberation organizations of the nations enslaved by Russian Communist Neocolonialism within the USSR to the United Nations, namely the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists — Revolutionaries headed by Yaroslav Stetsko (the so-called “Bandera

Movement") to represent Ukraine, as well as analogous liberation organizations of Byelorussia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Turkestan, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, the North Caucasus and all other nations subjugated in the USSR, recognizing the right to national independence of these nations enslaved by Russian imperialism and Communism, as stipulated in the UN Charter and the UN Resolution on World Decolonisation.

IN DEFENCE OF UKRAINIAN WOMEN POLITICAL PRISONERS

IV

WHEREAS the United Nations have proclaimed the year 1975 as International Women's Year, and

WHEREAS the Soviet Russian government has adopted this programme as its own by proclaiming March 8, "Soviet Women's Day" in an effort to concoct a bogus ostent of progressive humanitarianism, and furthermore the whole concept of a day dedicated to women in the USSR is a complete farce, since there is no system in the world that represses its female citizens more; specifically

WHEREAS the Ukrainian sculptress Alla Horska was murdered by the Russian-regime for creating the stained glass window depicting a portrait of her nation's greatest poet; the Ukrainian microbiologist, Nina Strokata-Karavanska is incarcerated and continuously mistreated for refusing to renounce her husband;

WHEREAS other prominent Ukrainian women, such as IRYNA STASIV-KALYNETS, IRYNA SENYK, STEFANIA SHABATURA and NADIA SVITLYCHNA have been persecuted by the Soviet Russian oppressive regime for defending the national rights of Ukraine and the human rights of other Ukrainian political prisoners even though such rights are guaranteed by the U.N. Charter and the Universal Human Rights Declaration and the Declaration on Decolonisation.

BE IT RESOLVED that the 6th Conference of the World Youth Anti-Communist League, recognizing the plight of woman living in the USSR condemns the above mentioned and other crimes perpetrated by the Soviet Russian regime upon female victims and vows to employ all efforts to influence the mass media and press of the "free world" to unmask this farce, alias "international women's year" in the Soviet Union.

V

IN DEFENCE OF UKRAINE

WHEREAS Russian colonialism under the guise of communism enslaves many peoples, among them most notably the Ukrainians, and is trying to eradicate by all possible means the liberation move-

ment of Ukraine for its national sovereignty and independence, and WHEREAS the Russian imperialists attempt to destroy the Ukrainian nation by destroying its culture, assimilating its language and persecuting its artists and intellectual elite, through a repressive policy of Russification, and furthermore,

WHEREAS the foremost of those persecuted within the USSR, the Ukrainian historian, Valentyn Moroz, has been mistreated and tortured to such an extent in his 10 year period of confinement, that he was forced to undertake a 145-day protest hunger strike just last year as a result of which, complicated by harsh forced feeding, he suffered severe damage to his stomach and oesophagus, and yet the bestial regime denied him 200 grams of honey and some cod liver oil just recently sent to him by his wife Raisa to alleviate his aggravated gastric condition,

WHEREAS Yuriy Shukhevych, the son of General Roman Shukhevych-Chuprynka, leader of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement and Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), who was killed in battle with the Russian NKVD, was sentenced to 30 years imprisonment and is still detained in Soviet Russian concentration camps, recently has been transferred to the Vladimir Prison (notorious for its cruel terroristic treatment), for having his father's ideals, thereby defending the national rights of Ukraine,

BE IT RESOLVED that the 6th Conference of the World Youth Anti-Communist League condemns the efforts of the Soviet Russian imperialists, to destroy all vestiges of Ukrainian culture, all traces of the Ukrainian nationality in the so-called Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, demands an end to the persecution of Ukrainian intellectuals in the USSR, and vows especially, that all anti-communists throughout the world shall not rest until Valentyn Moroz, Yuriy Shukhevych, and other Ukrainian political and religious prisoners are released.

VI

CALL TO COMBAT RUSSIAN IMPERIALISTS

WHEREAS the governments of many "free world" states who naively trust in the possibility of "peaceful coexistence" and eagerly strive to fortify the "status quo," continually extended trade credit to the government of the USSR, pursue a policy of "détente" or conduct a programme of "cultural exchange" with that government, and support it economically, and

WHEREAS Russian imperialists continue the repressive policy of infiltration and subversion, economic, political, and psychological warfare, and even guerilla warfare in the free world,

BE IT RESOLVED that the 6th Conference of the World Youth Anti-Communist League appeals to these "free world" governments

to finally recognize the true nature of Soviet Russian politics, and therefore discard their robes as "peacemakers," and employ all their efforts to combat Russian imperialists with all possible means, and support the liberation struggle for independence for Ukraine, and other subjugated nations.

VII

IN DEFENCE OF UKRAINIAN POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS PRISONERS

WHEREAS, in Ukraine and other countries enslaved by Russian imperialism and Communism in the USSR and its satellites, terror, national and religious persecution, Russification and social exploitation, imprisonment and banishment to strict regime concentration camps of fighters for national independence and human rights and of cultural and religious workers have been intensified in the past years; and

WHEREAS, the politics of convergence and cooperation with the Russian empire — the USSR — in particular, and Communist tyrannies in general, have promoted genocide and linguicide in the Russian Communist empire;

The Eighth WACL Conference calls upon the Governments and Parliaments of the free nations in the world, the free trade unions, economic circles, industrial and agricultural organizations, political, cultural, intellectual, youth, combatant, humanitarian and women associations of the free world, to display various kinds of activities, e.g. break off economic and other relations with the USSR and its satellites until the fighters for national and human rights and the cultural workers of the Ukraine and other captive nations, sentenced for their striving for freedom of creativity to 15, some to 25 and even 30 years of imprisonment, are released from prisons, concentration camps and psychiatric hospitals where they are detained, among these fighters the most outstanding cultural workers of Ukraine — Valentyn Moroz, Zynovyi Krasivsky — poet, Ivan Svitlychny — literary critic, Iryna and Ihor Kalynets — poets, Vasyl Stus — poet, Iryna Senyk — artist, Sviatoslav Karavansky — writer and translator of Shakespeare, Nadia Svitlychna — writer, Nina Strokata-Karavanska biochemist, Yuriy Shukhevych — 30 years of imprisonment for refusing to renounce his father and condemn his ideas with respect to freedom for Ukraine, Mykhaylo Osadchy — writer, Ivan Hel — student, Yevhen Sverstiuk — historian, Vyacheslav Chornovil — writer, Lev Lukianenko — lawyer, Ivan Kandyba — lawyer, Vasyl Romaniuk — priest, Yevhen Pryshliak, V. Leoniuk, Y. Hasiuk, I. Ilchuk, B. Khrystynych, O. Bilsky, Leonid Plyushch — mathematician, Stefa Shabatura — painter, as well as hundreds of thousands of other unlawfully sentenced to long-term imprisonment for advocating religious and cultural freedom, for opposing Russification and defending the right of the Ukrainian nation to independence and the right of every Ukrainian to free development.

VIII

**ON RELATIONS WITH SOVIET TRADE UNIONS AND
MURDERER A. SHELEPIN**

WHEREAS, Soviet trade unions are controlled by the State and the sole Communist Party and fully depend on them;

WHEREAS, Soviet trade unions do not defend the workers' interests but those of Communist state capitalism and neo-colonialism, and constitute an instrument for exploiting the workers by the Communist State and Party apparatus;

WHEREAS, Soviet trade unions serve as an international instrument of Russian Communist imperialists and neo-colonialists for splitting and controlling the free trade unions of the free world; and

WHEREAS, the former KGB Chief, Alexander Shelepin, is an ordinary criminal and assassin — as affirmed by the Federal Supreme Court of the Federal Republic of Germany, sentencing Shelepin in October 1962 for ordering and organizing two murders, i.e. against the leader of the Ukrainian liberation struggle, Stepan Bandera (1959), and the Ukrainian scientist Prof. Lev Rebet, both fighting for a national independent Ukraine;

The Eighth WACL Conference resolves:

to fully support the position of the American trade unions, especially their President, George Meany, condemning any relations with Soviet trade unions and calling upon the European trade unions to abandon any cooperation or relations with the totalitarian Soviet trade unions constituting only an instrument for the exploitation of workers;

to call upon German, British, Swiss and all other free trade unions of the free countries in general to break off relations with Soviet trade unions exploiting the workers;

to appeal to the governments of the free countries of the world to refuse an entrance visa to the criminal and assassin Alexander Shelepin, convicted by the Federal Supreme Court of Germany of two murders, and thus respect law and justice;

to call upon the prosecutors and courts of the free countries of the world to arrest the criminal Alexander Shelepin sentenced for two assassinations; and

to appeal to the citizens of the free nations of the world to prevent the criminal A. Shelepin, former chief of the KGB and present chief of the Soviet trade unions, responsible for hundreds of thousands of murders and other crimes, including planning to assassinate former U.S. President R. Nixon, from staying in the free world, by organizing mass demonstrations.

BOOK REVIEW

SUBJECT: INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS Index No. 598

BOOK: *The Soviet Union and Eastern Europe*. By Henry W. Morton, Professor of Political Science, Queens College. Macmillan Publishing Company, New York, N. Y., 1975, 152 pages.

REVIEWER: Nicholas G. Bohatiuk, Professor of Economics, LeMoyne College, Syracuse, New York.

The author correctly states in the *Prologue* that the Soviet system of government and economics (p. 2) is "in most ways directly in contrast to our own" but in the next paragraph he indiscriminately blames both the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. for blocking better information and acquaintance with each other. With a quotation from J. F. Kennedy there begins an endless confusion of terms such as Russia, Russian people, Communist Russians, Soviets, Soviet people, Soviet peoples, Soviet Russia (the terms that must not be used synonymously because of their different meanings — the error so frequently committed by our communications media, our political leaders and even our professors of Soviet affairs) and this is quite consistently followed throughout the whole book. In this respect Soviet publications are much more consistent.

The author declares that since the 1917 Revolution the term Russia has applied to the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (R.S.F.S.R.) only (p. 4). However, the terminological confusion remains supreme. Mr. Morton further declares that (p. 4) "in the historical period before 1917, it is with the Russians and their ancestors that this book is primarily concerned." Why only with Russians who constitute about 50 percent of the Soviet population? A quotation from K. R. Whiting (p. 5) refers to European Russia, but one does not know what he means by that.

The numerous illustrations used in the book and their descriptions are borrowed from Soviet sources and they consistently follow the official Communist line giving undue credence to Soviet Russian propaganda. Also the chapter on *Peoples* (pp. 17-31) is replete with questionable material.

For example, Ukraine, the second largest republic of the Soviet Union with a population of almost 48 million and a national history much older than that of Russia, is erroneously called *Ukrania* (p. 18).

It is totally wrong to assert that only for the purpose of political administration the Soviet Union was divided into 15 republics. It should be known that during 1917-1922 the non-Russian nations of today's U.S.S.R. not only gallantly fought for their national independence from both Tsarist and Communist Russia, but even succeeded in establishing their own non-Communist national states many of which gained diplomatic recognition from numerous world powers, including the United States and Communist Russia. To state that the Eastern Slavs — the Russians, the Ukrainians and the Byelorussians — shared a common history and cultural tradition until recent centuries (p. 20) cannot be further from truth.

Such statements constitute blind repetition of the Tsarist and Communist Russian propaganda intended for justification of the ruthless exploitation of the neighbours and the occupation of their national territories, forcing upon them their imperio-colonial rule.

In the chapter on *Russian History* the confusion and misinformation are enormous (pp. 32-46). The statement that Soviet history reaches back "almost a thousand years before Columbus discovered America" is totally incorrect; the Soviet Union is less than fifty years old; it was formed in December 1922. It is equally wrong and misleading to speak of Southern Russia (p. 33); the terms such as Kyivan Rus (ancient Ukraine) or

southern part of the Soviet Union are the only correct ones. Russia is much younger than her neighbours, now victims of her imperialist appetites.

Today when we so intensely study the history and culture of every most exotic small nation and tribe and with fanfares admit them to the United Nations, it is an inexcusable mistake to completely ignore, degrade and disregard the present and the past of all the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union.

Mr. Morton should know that the opposition to Russian Tsarist dictatorship did not come from the Russian groups alone (p. 44), but to a very decisive extent from the non-Russians who fought their national independence war — the goal that was realized when the Tsar was deposed in 1917. After a short-lived independence they were overrun by the Russian Communists who desperately tried to save the integrity of the Russian Empire. Some more fortunate ones such as Poland, Finland, Rumania, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia succeeded in liberating themselves from the now Red Russian imperialists; others such as Ukraine, Byelorussia and Caucasian countries succumbed to Russian aggression — the fate that 20-25 years later was shared by the former ones.

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (U.S.S.R.) was created in 1922 and since then it has been used to perpetuate the enslavement of the non-Russian nations within the Soviet Union (so-called internal satellites of Russia) and without (the external satellites that came under the Russian domination as a result of World War II and with full consent of Western Powers).

The chapter on the *Communist Revolution* (pp. 47-56) faithfully repeats the official Communist Russian version of the 1917 Revolution and the whole Soviet history. Communist publication are given undue status as objective sources; their credence is never questioned and there is not even a hint at their being part of the sophisticated Communist propaganda (p. 57). Only "some costly mistakes" made during the planning period of the Soviet Union are mentioned by

the author (p. 63). Describing the most horrible peace-time crime committed by the Soviet Government, the forced collectivization of agriculture during the early 1930's, Mr. Morton does not even mention the cost of this cruel experiment which was 10-15 million lives. Arrests and deportations and even the "death from malnutrition" (pp. 64-65) of several million peasants is made to sound so mild and so "humane" that the reader is left without any image of the seriousness of the situation. Soviet agriculture was so badly hurt by this experiment that it has never recuperated. Even now, four decades later, the Soviet Government is still compelled to buy food from capitalist nations.

To add more prestige to Soviet efforts "to keep peace," the author cites the Communist decision to join the League of Nations in 1934 (p. 66) in the hope of "safeguarding her borders" and in 1935 to ally itself with France. However, Mr. Morton again failed to explain that the door to the West for the U.S.S.R. was opened one year earlier by President Roosevelt when he granted diplomatic recognition to the Soviet State. This example was quickly followed by both big powers and small nations. It must be added that on December 14, 1939, the Soviet Union was expelled from the League of Nations for its aggression and invasion of Finland.

We should also recall that American war aid to the Soviet Union under the Lend-Lease Program of 1941-1946 was worth over \$12 billion, this being in addition to opening the Second Front in Western Europe which saved the Soviet Union from total annihilation (p. 69). The Soviet account of war losses needs a further clarification. A very substantial part of war damages to Soviet equipment, houses, plants, facilities, railroads, highways etc. was intentionally inflicted by the retreating Soviet troops and special demolition squads. Losses of civilian lives during the early stages of war (hundreds of thousands of political prisoners in Ukraine, Byelorussia and Baltic republics were killed in manner identical to the widely known Katyn and Vinnytsia murders) resulted from

action by special commandos, the (p. 70) "teams of executioners."

Further on, Kyiv is not, and never was, the Mother of Russian Cities (p. 70), but the Mother of Cities of Rus' (Rus' being the old name of the medieval Kyivan State, the ancient Ukraine). Moscow never controlled the Kyivan Rus, but instead was only a small part of the Empire and was annexed by it in the XIth century. It is true that in 1941 the victorious Hitler armies were at first warmly greeted as liberators by the non-Russians (p. 68), but soon after all the illusions vanished. In Ukraine the terrible atrocities committed by the Nazis, the liquidation of the short-lived Provisional Government of Ukraine, the arrest of Premier Yaroslav Stetsko and his cabinet and their deportation to German concentration camps turned the entire population against the Germans.

The author hints that (pp. 87-88) "the enlarged and more varied Party membership has resulted in a greater degree of critical discussion within the Party." This is, perhaps, his expression of wishful thinking because even in the Soviet Union of 1973 free discussion, criticism or any dissent are not tolerated.

In the chapter on *Soviet Economy* (pp. 90-102) the author ignores the problem of income inequality in this "workers paradise." And the reader of the book has the right to know that Communist leaders and top Party officials earn 2,000-5,000 rubles a month; scientists-academician — 800-2,500 r.; opera and ballet stars — 500-2,000 r.; industrial workers — 70-120 r. a month and farmers — 35-45 r. a month. Further on, that the arbitrary official rate of exchange is 1 ruble equals \$1.11 whereas on the Soviet black market (a sort of free market in miniature) the rate is 5-6 rubles for \$1.00, indicating the real purchasing power of the Soviet ruble compared to the American dollar.

It is true that Soviet health services are free (p. 97) but Mr. Morton fails to tell of their extremely bad quality (even a simple aspirin is very rare). Education in the Soviet Union is free now, but it was not always so.

The state farms (pp. 100-101) (sov-

khozy) have shown better performance and higher productivity due to a total state control, and the state farmers are paid regular wages which are substantially higher than those paid to collective farm (kolkhozy) peasants because they have had better land, best facilities and their capital provided fully by the state.

The chapter on *Education* (pp. 103-112) is handed quite well, except for total disregard for the damaging effects of the Russian-oriented education system on the non-Russian nationalities (some 50 percent of the total population of 245 millions) which aims at the total Russification.

Sports and Arts (pp. 112-125) is devoted to the glorification of Russian successes. The chapter ignores the contribution of the non-Russian nationalities of the Soviet Union. In line with official Communist version, the Soviet Union is presented as a monolithic state with many nationalities having joined the Russians voluntarily and allegedly having found in such a union the fulfillment of their aspirations.

The treatment of *Foreign Affairs* (pp. 126-134) is not quite correct either. It is true that in 1953 the Soviet Union had established itself as a nuclear power second only to the United States. However, it should have been added that this was achieved through intensive spying, stealing, treason, and subversion.

The chart *Path of History* (p. 139) is also full of errors. Under 1000 B.C. we find the Slavic migration into Russia. But what took place at the same time on the territories of Ukraine, Belorussia, Baltic countries etc.? Under 800 A.D. is the birth of Kyivan Russia. Correction: Russia in the form of Moscovy emerged only 400 years later. There was only Kyivan Rus at that time, and Kyivan Rus' was never Russia.

Further on, recall that the Tatar rule extended mainly over parts of present-day Soviet Russia and not over the entire territory of today's U.S.S.R. The chart on p. 139 disregards the existence of the XII-XIII century Galicia-Volynian Rus' on the territory of the present-day Western Ukraine. Nothing is said of the Ukrai-

nian Cossack State of the XVI-XVIII centuries. Nothing about the three partitions of Poland which, for the most part, involved the change in the occupation of Ukraine from Polish to Russian rule. What happened to the "milestones of history" of other major nations of the U.S.S.R.?

And finally, the *Epilogue*. What a misleading statement (p. 145): "Over-

all, the present dictatorship is less repressive than it was in Stalin's time; the policy of mass terror against the people has been abandoned, thereby loosening the Party's control over society." Any conscious and serious scholar of Soviet affairs should be better informed about the true situation there.

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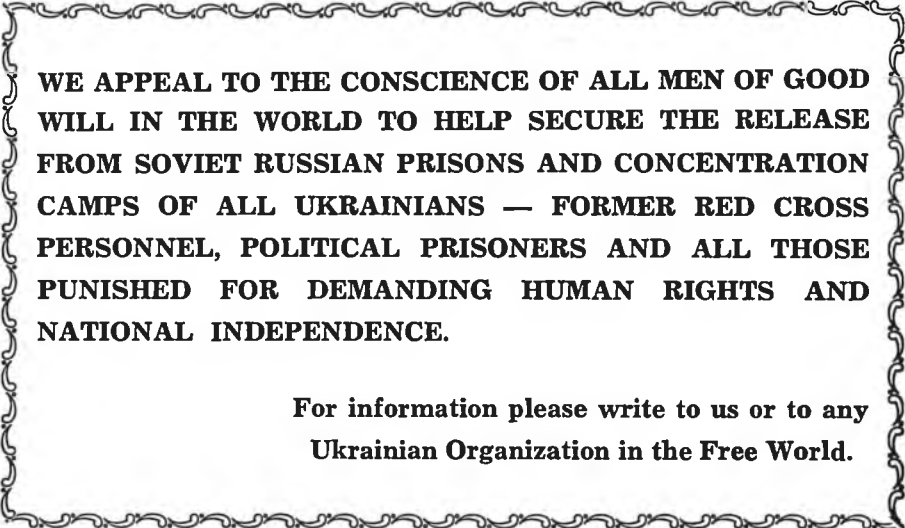
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C O N T E N T S

Ukraine on the World Forum

<i>I. Wowchuk:</i> — FORGING AHEAD	3
<i>Y. Stetsko:</i> — UKRAINE IN THE WORLD POLITICAL FRAMEWORK (Conclusion)	11
<i>A. Azergailis:</i> — NATIONALISM IN WORLD POLITICS AND HISTORY	16
<i>E. Sverstiuk:</i> — IN PRAISE OF WOMEN	31
<i>T. Osmachka:</i> — ROARING LAUGHTER	37

Prisoners of Conscience about themselves

<i>V. Stus:</i> — I ACCUSE	38
THE VERDICT	42
MY COMMENTS ON THE VERDICT	45
IN DEFENCE OF CHORNOVIL	48
<i>V. Chornovil:</i> — AN OPEN LETTER TO PRESIDENT G. FORD	50
*** PRISONERS OF PERM CAMP TALK ABOUT THEMSELVES	53
<i>Father V. Romaniuk:</i> — AN APPEAL TO POPE PAUL VI	62
*** LATEST SENTENCES: Artem YUZKEVYCH and Leonid TYMCHUK	65

The Life in "Soviet Paradise"

<i>L. Plyushch:</i> — THE HORRORS OF PSYCHIATRIC PRISONS	66
<i>Y. Deka:</i> — EPISODES FROM MY LIFE IN UKRAINE	73
<i>V. Sawchak:</i> — UKRAINE WITHOUT ITS OWN HISTORY IN "BRITANNICA"	80

In Defence of Prisoners of Conscience

<i>O. Marunchak:</i> — THE WIND OF CHANGE	85
*** 6,000 PETITIONS TO THE STATE-DEPARTMENT	87
*** LEAFLETS OF PROTEST	88
*** RUSSIAN COLONIALISM IN SOVIET GEORGIA	91
OBITUARIES, EDUCATIONAL, REVIEWS	92

Ukraine on the World Forum

I. WOWCHUK

FORGING AHEAD IN THE DECISIVE YEAR

The high priests of party dogmatism call Brezhnev's era of Soviet politics the period of "mature or fullgrown socialism." During this period the Party strengthens its struggle against all aspects of "federalism" within the USSR, cruelly repressing everything that stands in the way of Russification of non-Russian nationalities. According to the theory of the merging or blending of nationalities, the federative system should transform itself into a socialist Muscovy, populated with a Soviet nation, ruled by a centralized power, grounded on the premise of despotism.

This desire for the creation of a Soviet people has been reflected for more than fifty years in the social, economic and political contradictions of five-year plans and in the rise of national problems. The last year (1975) of Brezhnev's ninth five-year plan will be a tense one, as can be seen from the proceedings of last year's plenum of the CC of the CPSU. In a leading article of the official organ of the CC of the CPSU entitled "The Party leads us to new accomplishments" an explanation of the tension is given: "The tasks planned for 1975, no matter how strenuous, should be regarded as minimal." (*Pravda*, December 18, 1974).

This *Pravda* editorial and "The Address of the CC of the CPSU to the Soviet People" which calls upon all to accomplish those "strenuous tasks" were reprinted in all the Soviet press. The meaning of these tasks and the fight for their accomplishment were discussed at length by the Secretary General at a plenum meeting of the Party: "In 1975 the country stands before tasks which have great economic, political and international meaning... The entire party, the entire people must be mobilized for the realization of these tasks; the party's cadres must be uplifted and every communist and every worker must make the achievement and over-achievement of the five-year plan into his own inner need." The style of Brezhnev's speech and of the address of the Party to the people are alarming.

Such planning is only possible in a country where all the state means of production are centrally controlled by the all-powerful party and its ruling elite. The plenum approves the "strenuous tasks" but warns that they are only "minimal", demands that they be exceeded and claims that this is possible both economically and politically. How is this possible? *Pravda* writes that "it is possible

economically if the people work better." It can be accomplished politically by strengthening the influence of the Party upon the workers; i.e. strengthening the role of the party overseers. "We can exceed the plan if politically we increase the influence of party organizations upon the workers, relying on the initiative and consciousness of the worker and by spreading the mass effort to successfully accomplish and exceed the aims of 1975."

The two avenues that were discussed at the plenum mean a strengthening of administrative and political pressures to increase the exploitation of the workers through supplementary plans planned and directed from the centre. Supplementary plans were widely practised in the early years of the five-year plans, and did not justify themselves from the technical point of view since they produced shortages rather than goods. When quality of products began to be taken into consideration, supplementary plans were forgotten. And now, in a time of technological and scientific advances, supplementary plans, set up collectively according to the demands of the party overseers, are being brought back.

According to a statement of academician T. Khachaturov, the supplementary plans of the first five-year plan "have been endowed with a new quality, exhibiting the new high consciousness of the masses and their statesman-like understanding of national economy." (*Pravda*, January 2, 1975). This officially approved academician, praising the goals of the five-year plan, states that, following the noble traditions of the first five-year plan, the collective body of many industries have studied at the end of last year their capacities and reserves for the accomplishment of supplemental plans.

In the Soviet press there is much information on how the workers in various industries set up supplemental plans ahead of each other and how those plans exceed even those set up by the plenum of the CC of the CPSU and the Supreme Soviet. Through increased collectivisation and emphasis on collective responsibility, the rulers of the party forge ahead with the achievements of their goals and their demands ring out in all the corners of the empire: "It is the patriotic duty of each Soviet person to celebrate with dignity the 30th anniversary of the great victory by reaching new heights on the labour front."

Supplemental plans and socialist accomplishments directed from above are not only means of fulfilling the requirements of the five-year plan but are also instruments used for destroying human individuality and dignity, while creating a Soviet man — homo sovieticus. A common trait of this Soviet man is submission and acceptance of everything that is decreed from above. For the robot-man, who is the ideal of collective education, the freedom of choice is difficult and arrival at a decision without instructions from above is impossible. Lack of initiative, together with the naive ability to

believe in lies, to close one's eyes to everything that tries to open them, to accept amorality as a means of reaching the goal — all these are the components of the personality of the Soviet man, with a unifying national (Russian) spirit. The high priests of communism are attempting to forge such a man, having first proclaimed the myth of the formulation of a new historical community — the Soviet people.

Collectivism, with its collective responsibility for each and for everyone, is an important tool in enforcing obedience and meekness while remaking the people. Alexander Solzhenitsyn gives a brilliant analysis of this process in the brigades of the GULAG. He notes that the frequently used "collective responsibility" is not new. The earlier term mutual responsibility" carried with it an odour of the barnyard (beatings were often meted out in the time of serfdom. I W.). Now it is called "collective responsibility." Contemporary collective responsibility is much worse than previously: "Oh, without the brigade you could still live through the camps! Without the brigade you are still an individual, you choose your own behaviour pattern. Without the brigade you can still die with dignity; in the brigade you are allowed to die ignobly, only on your stomach. From the commander, from the foreman, from the overseer, from the guard, from all of them you can still hide to rest a minute, to pull a little less, to lift a little less. But from the lead reins, from friends of the brigade, you have no hiding place, no salvation, no respect." (*The Gulag Archipelago*, Vol. III-IV, p. 116).

Normal human personality does not conform to the one decreed by the high priests of Communism. It must be reforged, through the creation of a new person. The building of socialism is not too different from the remaking of people. This remaking of different nationalities, herded into the complex of the USSR federation, the forging of their international consciousness instead of a national one has been going on since the creation of the Union of Socialist Republics. The basis of this reforging is Lenin's class formula: "The interests of Russian national pride merge with the interests of the Russian (and all other) proletarians." *Ukrainian Communist*, No. 11, 1974 "Socialist All-National Pride."

Lenin's formula only describes the merging of the national interests of the Russians with the socialist interests of the Russian proletariat. The proletarians of other nations are only mentioned in parenthesis, so that they would not be frightened off. Lenin's formula of the great state became the basis of the Russo-Soviet formula for the unified state, obscured only by appropriate incantations to internationalism. During Stalin's reign the national anthem was re-named The Hymn of the Fatherland, and now we hear how a "Union of free invincible republics was brought about for all times by great Russia." The Russian people became the "first among the equals", "the older brother", the "moving force" of the USSR.

During Brezhnev's rule, as was underscored by the 25th congress of the CPSU "its (the Russian people's) revolutionary energy, self-sacrifices, hard work and deep felt internationalism have rightfully obtained the deep respect of all the peoples of the socialist family."

The above mentioned qualities have gained for the chosen people the appellation "great" and around this greatness that the high priests of socialism are trying to forge a "Soviet people." At the same time the press has begun a campaign writing about the "all-national" pride of the mythical "Soviet people."

"Now, fifty years after the creation of the Soviet Union, we may speak about the deeper understanding, about the more patriotic feelings of our nation — about the all-national pride of the Soviet man" writes V. Stepanov, a member of the editorial board of the *Communist* in an article in *Pravda* "All-National Pride" of December 12, 1974. There are many examples of such pronouncements. In the journal *Communist of Ukraine* (No. 11, 1974) there appeared a long article of M. O. Kostyk and O. S. Lebedev "Socialist All-National Pride." This topic has also been discussed by Shcherbytsky, the head of the Communist Party in Ukraine, in his article "The International Meaning of the Experience of National Relations in the USSR" *Communist* No. 17, November 1974. The same article also appears in the journal *Problems of Peace and Socialism* (No. 11) and in the *Communist of Ukraine* (No. 12, 1974).

It is no accident that in the official party publications as well as in all the Soviet press the need to accomplish the goals of the five-year plan is emphasized, while national pride and patriotism, these all-important realities, are contrasted to a mythical all-national pride of an abstract "Soviet people." It is possible that the transformation of this myth into reality is encountering real difficulties and resistance. National problems deeply plague the policy of unification.

At the press conference held on the occasion of the publication of the first issue of the journal *From under the rubble*, published by the exiled Russian writers, it was stated that the national problem is one of the most dangerous problems for the Kremlin rulers. Solzhenitsyn told the European journalists that if the degree of national tension is measured on a twelvepoint scale, during Brezhnev's reign national tension has reached ten points; during tsarist autocracy the degree of national tension reached two.

The high priests of the Soviet empire claim that national problems do not exist within the USSR, however still pointing out their importance in today's complicated world relations. "The national question is one of the most critical areas in the ideological struggle between socialism and capitalism" stated Shcherbytsky in the above mentioned article. Underlining the fact that this question was always one of the most important problems for the state in its struggle for socialism, Shcherbytsky himself does not give a solution to the

problem but quotes a two-year old directive of the CPSU. At that time the Party, during the fiftieth anniversary of the USSR, summing up its fifty year fight against the non-Russian nationalities during the building of state socialism, spoke about the solution of the national problem "which we inherited."

In the present world "national problems", maintains V. Shcherbytsky, "are characterized by their complexity and diversity." The authors of the article "Socialist All-National Pride" in the *Communist Ukraine* acknowledge that "in the present stage national bias is still intertwined with parochialism." It is hard to fight against them because "national bias is a phenomenon that is alive and has a firm hold in the psychology of people who are not politically matured enough." (*Communist of Ukraine*. No. 11, 1974). Under the influence of this phenomenon the Ukrainian people "do not correctly understand national pride." Of what does their immaturity consist of?

The authors insist that the Ukrainian people have fallen under influence of "nationalist bias" and "although recognizing the social and political values of socialism", in their perception of existing reality "they permit them to exist side by side with the remainder of their national aspirations."

Therefore it is not only nationalist bias but also nationalist aspirations that are alive and active and interfere with Moscow's policy of unification which attempts to liquidate the remainder of any federalism in the USSR. To avoid any difficulties the authors very circumspectly discuss "the nationalist phenomenon" and its social dangers. Due to this phenomenon a growth in national pride and a climate of nationalism has arisen in the very depth of a nation, beyond the reach of the party. Sinking into the national morass, and influenced by the "national bias and aspirations" the leading functionaries in those areas lose all criteria of party centralism and exhibit a tendency towards decentralization in economic and social areas of the so-called socialist republics.

According to V. Stepanov any reasons for intra-national antagonisms have been liquidated and great material treasures have been created; these treasures are "a source of common pride to all the Soviet people." "However, there are, in the psychological make-up of some people", asserts the author, "still very strong national biases. If they are not constantly fought against, they sometimes will manifest themselves in hypertrophy of national feelings, in national narrow-mindedness and conceit, in a idealization of patriarchalism and parochialism." Such are the assertions of one of the highest party propagandists in his article in Pravda.

M. Kostykov and O. Lebedev speak in more detail about the "national bias and the idealization of patriarchalism", (i.e. the past) asserting that "a falsification of the past" is seen in the interpretation of the history of nations, "their relations with the brotherly Russian

people;" the authors of such histories "falsify the objective process of the coming together of people, their cultures and traditions which are taking place in our country." (*Communist of Ukraine*, No. 11, 1974). Pretending to be afraid of such "falsifiers of the rapprochement between peoples" Shcherbytsky reminds the readers how in the 1920s the Party "destroyed the national deviationists O. Shumsky, M. Chvylovy and others, who tried to weaken the friendship of the Russian and Ukrainian people and disrupt the building of socialism."

It is with good reason that this current Moscow emissary in Ukraine mentioned the 1920s on three separate occasions. We believe that the current tense situation is reminiscent of those years, when during the struggle of Russian "internationalism" against national ideas and Ukrainian nationalism, the paramount question was "Who whom?" The First Secretary of the CPU, having stated that the national question is one of the most vital in the ideological struggle between the two worlds, reminds and emphasizes that "The position of the Party is that proletarian internationalism and bourgeois nationalism are two irreconcilable and mutually exclusive ideologies and systems." (*Communist*, No. 17, p. 21).

Leading the "Soviet people" in the accomplishments of the tasks of the most decisive year of the five-year plan, the rulers of the Party and their high priests have announced the menace of national pride, patriotism and autonomy, juxtaposing to real national sentiments an "all-national pride of the Soviet people" — a new abstraction. Truly can the Byelorussians, the Uzbeks, Lithuanians, Georgians, Ukrainians, Khazaks, Armenians and other nations have any national pride common with the Russian nation? Fighting against traces of nationalism the Kremlin dogmatists have created a "socialist all-national pride" which is supposed to replace national pride.

A new enemy in this war against nationalism has made its appearance during Brezhnev's rule; its name is autonomy, a phenomenon mentioned frequently in the Soviet press. Many times has the Secretary General called upon the Party to fight against autonomy, "the dangerous relative of nationalism." The December plenum of the Party which urged that the goals of the five-year plan be taken by storm in 1975 also referred to the dangers of autonomy. As can be seen from the news in the Soviet press, this phenomenon is spreading. Three years ago there were only isolated instances of it; now it has become a dangerous social phenomenon, spreading from the cultural sector, where the hardest struggle against the politics of autonomy is being waged, to the agricultural and economic life.

Even individual ruling members of the local party elite are under the influence of "nationalistic gossip" and of the entire climate of nationalism; they are losing the party criteria of Moscow centralism and are beginning to exhibit tendencies favouring decentralization. Autonomy is a Russian phenomenon. In the 15th-17th centuries it

was associated with a strict hierarchy in the rights of the boyars for state positions and privileges. In the 17th century, with the strengthening of central authority, it began to get in the way of state centralization and was abolished by a tsarist ukaz in 1682.

*

By proclaiming the myth about the "new common history" and "the Soviet nation" the Kremlin rulers did not destroy the feelings of national pride among the non-Russian nationalities of the empire. Wanting to give content to this abstraction, the high priests of Soviet ideology have created a new abstraction — the myth about the "common national pride of the Soviet people"; in this manner they wish to combat the national spirit of nations, nurtured over centuries. The Ukrainian nation and other nations, have through centuries of admirable efforts created their own national culture, with its ethical standards, religious beliefs, legal, philosophical and sociological norms, traditions and customs. All this, which seems to go back to eternity, has taken root in national life, has become the national characteristic and the national pride of Ukrainian people.

National pride, together with patriotism, is incompatible with any form of tyranny of the dogmatists of the Russian empire, the USSR and its mature socialism, "which was developed through the efforts first of the great Russian people and other nations and nationalities." This is one of the arguments used by *Pravda* in its propaganda directed to the nations forcibly incorporated into the empire about the "all-national pride of the Soviet people." But those nations who possess national pride and patriotism are waging a fight for human dignity and against the slavery evident in mature socialism, through which Soviet dogmatists try to replace human individuality with a human robot possessing the "all-national pride of the Soviet people."

During the celebrations of the 50th anniversary of the formation of the Soviet Union L. Brezhnev called upon the party to increase its struggle against nationalism and autonomy. He said: "We have good reason to talk about a widespread feeling among our people — about the all-national pride of the Soviet people." From this statement stems the widespread emphasis on the all-national pride of the Soviet people. It is accomplished according to the Leninist principles enunciated in *Social-Democrat* in 1914. At that time Lenin proclaimed that the building of socialism by the Russian proletariat is compatible with the national interests of all the Great Russians. It is this principle, which has become dogma, that has built and holds together the Russian-Soviet empire. In 1975, at the same time that the party proclaimed an assault upon the goals of the five-year plan, it began to emphasize the importance of "Soviet all-national pride" instead of national pride. This is the climate in which the Party is getting ready for the 25th congress of the CPSU.

In the first year of their rule, the Bolsheviks, consolidating the dictatorship of the Party, promised that with the building of socialism and with an end of the class struggle, the role of the party would diminish and the dictatorship will disappear. However, every year during the building of socialism the role of the party, in the forefront of the life of the country, was increased. Now during the period of mature socialism, during Brezhnev's rule, the party is no longer in the forefront; it has become now "the wisdom, the conscience and honour" of the Soviet people. According to the latest article of Stepanov in *Pravda*, the Party "is the repository of all the energy and collective wisdom: it contains all that is the best and most progressive in the people."

What is the function of the Soviet people in this entire scheme? If the party is all-important, the Soviet people have to become the obedient appendage of the Party, the tool of the CPSU. This is what they dream about in the Kremlin, while they are building socialism, with its unprecedented tyranny and slavery, and bragging about their progress. The dream is not real but the disasters that it brings are.

*

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Yaroslav STETSKO

UKRAINE IN THE WORLD POLITICAL FRAMEWORK

(Conclusion)

In the realization of God's truth, in the absolute confrontation with all evil, church politics replace the quest for "paradise on earth" and shun *martyrdom for the truth*. If religious beliefs had been as weak in the early Christian era as they are now, then not even one martyr would have died in the arena for Christ. People are willing to die for the Church not where it is being 'reformed' but where it is being persecuted.

In the endeavour to achieve a materialistic "paradise on earth" to fit in with the so-called modern world, which is captivated by the cult of false-god worship, the Vatican of Pope Paul VI, together with other official Churches, makes agreements with atheistic powers, justifying this because of the "great morality of communism as a doctrine". Peter did not make pacts with Nero. The Church is not just the sum of its priests, but something much higher, and the word of God comes in hidden forms.

The fact that nations are being drawn closer together through technological progress does not cancel out the spiritual qualities of nations but, in making possible the drawing closer together of nations in the territorial sense, it mutually enriches them through their individual inherent cultures by which nations grow, as does world culture and mankind as a mosaic of nations. *What took a thousand years to create cannot disappear in a decade*. The Hellenic culture, or faith in one God, spread to billions of people, but did this even deny the existence of any nation? Did Goethe, Socrates, Shevchenko, Confucius, Shakespeare stop being sons of their nations after having become international geni? The disappearance of nations would mean complete barbarism, a world tyranny of the cult of false god worship, and finally an end of the human race as a spiritual category. Hence, another conclusion arises: the progress of civilisation and technical development must have the same intensiveness as the growth of spiritual culture and the ethnical and heroic concept of life; a nation's culture is not the product of a rationalist intellect, but the fruit of the spiritual life of a nation through the ages, bringing forth geni, prophets and heros, personified in many figures.

In this chaos of civilisation's achievements, the Robespierre goddess of reason has lost the key to the truth, the world of great thoughts has become confused, but Ukraine of our days has not. She has not only found her ideological place, but also a direction for the world. The persecuted have not become confused, and above all the

revolutionary strength of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists with its dogmatic, ideological and world outlook truths has not become confused. Some may think that with the elimination of passports, national currencies and customs duties, nations will cease to exist, as if a nation were not an everlasting reality, a historical and natural fact! The fact that membership of the U.N. has trebled since its creation proves this!

CURRENT PROBLEMS OF REVOLUTIONARY STRATEGY

A principal factor in Ukrainian revolutionary strategy and guarantee of its success is continual confrontation of the two national organisms in all aspects of life, a continual gravitation to the achievement of a Ukrainian Sovereign Independent State, opposition to the enemy's imposed way of life (e.g. for private ownership of agricultural land), and the achievement today, if only in part, of the revolutionary aims which are linked to the vital interests and demands of the nation, binds the slogans of today with the realized plan of tomorrow.

Armed confrontation between the two national organisms thus arises since the captive nation is in daily battle with the captor nation. The nation's ideal cannot be torn from its soul except by destroying its actual physical existence.

Ideological, political social, economic or cultural categories alone do not determine the success of the national-liberation movement. An armed uprising is its zenithal completion, but it is preceded by political, social and spiritual processes. The "Marseillaise" preceded the burning of the Bastille, the encyclopaedists preceded the Jacobins, Petifi preceded Kossuth, Hryts Chuprynska preceded Taras Chuprynska. Parallel to the growth of nuclear weapon capable of mass destruction, the significance of the armed nation also increases, as was demonstrated by the Second World War and the events following it. For every weapon there is a counter weapon. The nuclear stalemate is a fact. Tomorrow not only Israel and Brazil but even hijackers may have access to nuclear weapons. Bipolarism turns into multipolarism not only in relation to the growth of technological states but also to the growth of nuclear states. The process from empire to nation has its own regularities in this connection, and the so-called "aristocratic-absolute" way of waging war has become outmoded. Insurgency and guerrilla warfare which then turns into a combined partisan and regular liberation war has become the modern way of waging war, as foreseen by Gen. Fuller. The new element of urban partisan warfare complements rural rebellions which have always been stressed up till now as the foundation for an uprising. Even the kolhosps are a two-sided sword in the plan for an anti-Russian revolutionary uprising. In an industrial-agricultural country, territorially close to the occupying country and without great ex-

panses of land, the Chinese type of partisan warfare is not suitable. However, the presence of many subjugated nations neighbouring the occupant and the territory which he occupies, creates the possibility of simultaneous armed uprisings stretching from Berlin to Vladivostok. In our current ideological and nuclear age the nation-Davids paralyse the technological-Goliaths. The west is saving the Russian empire from collapse, but for how long? Tyrannies and empires are not eternal!

The concept of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) extends the occupant's front and strains his strength. Russian expansion onto various continents, seas and oceans scatters his strength against which fronts are mobilized. Eventually the precedent of the Hitlerite strategy of El Alamein, Narvik and Stalingrad, insatiable expansion, brings with it its own downfall. Internal fronts join forces with external fronts.

THE INTERNATIONAL CRISIS OF EMPIRES

One aspect of the actual position of Ukraine and the complex of captive nations is important here. The Russian empire is not only a colossus sitting on a volcano, but the international processes in the downfall of empires and the creation of new sovereign states, which Moscow itself emphasizes, unsettle her. To put the "Soviet people" forward as a formula for the new "historical reality" and to exclude from the preamble of the Constitution of the so-called German Democratic Republic mention of the fact that it is a country of German people, will result in collapse jointly with the unnatural and anti-constitutional "Soviet people". The world is expected to be under the impression that through the doctrine of proletarian internationalism something new is being created, unprecedented by any Socialist nation — a Soviet people — about which not only the persecuted Ukrainians, but even the Russian 'dissidents' headed by Solzhenitsyn, protest, and which is fiercely denied by Jewish emigré authors who particularly underline the national problem.

Unfortunately, for Western Sovietologists this will become a new source of study and conclusions, which another Moroz or Palach or Kalantas or Makukh will send into the rubbish bin of history by just one of their declarations.

"Kontinent", the new organ of the dissidents, stands for the system of Sakharov, for the transfer of the centre of empire to the North-East (already being developed by Japan and the USA) with the preservation of the 1939 frontiers and the Berdiayevskyj ideological vision of a new Russia-Messiah. It stands for "reformism" from above, for liberalization from above, for "human rights within an empire" (which is an absurdity), for the modern technological liberalism of Sakharov, for the reaction of Osipov and the doctrine of yubermenshiv — Russian Christian messianists (who were exposed so well by Horyn' in the concentration camp!).

This will probably be a mosaic of views, destined to captivate the western snobs, led by Germans who write books about the "ufathomable Russian soul". For the western Russophiles a change of Russian rule, in conjunction with the NTS*, will be able to replace the present order. An old, historical phenomenon is repeating itself: the Russian opposition, just like a change of guard, is forming in the West, creating the impression that there are many other good, non-imperialistic Muscovites. Will the 'Babylon' of Pomerantsov, in contrast to Moroz's 'Kosmach' find its speaking trumpet in "Kontinent"?

In a reply to the memorandum of OUN concerning political prisoners and suggesting a different alternative to co-operation and balance of forces for the West, the State Department of the USA replied thus: "We have moved from confrontation to co-operation because of the threat of nuclear warfare, and hope that the road of co-operation will help to improve the situation of nations ("minorities") and people in the USSR". "Kontinent" is probably included in this plan as spokesman for the Russian "opposition", wittingly or unwittingly in accordance with the basic lines of Moscow's Western policy, which has become Washington's Eastern policy.

Every weakening of the present Bolshevik regime, all forces which speed up Russian destruction are useful to us. Our strategy must widen the rift, create splits, point out the concealed plans of all Russian imperialists, particularly of those in power, and intensify all internal conflicts, remembering that the alternative put forward to Russian rule will preserve the empire. It was not by accident that the persecuted Ukrainians distinctly disassociated themselves from the "democratic movement of Russia, the Baltic States, Ukraine" just as Moroz was distinguished from Pomerantsov by "Possyev".

WHAT IS OUR POSITION?

The approximation of two social, economic and political systems, understood as two national and homogeneous structures in which the highest centre of attention are the rights of the individual, as characterized above, is an element of crisis. Nations, and especially subjugated nations, play a completely subordinate role in the American concept of approximation and co-operation. Fear — as clearly stated by the State Department — has created the concept of co-operation; however, fear has never been a creative force but always the seed of decline.

Our path to liberation, and also our concept of a solution to the international political crisis, are opposed both to co-operation and approximation between the power blocs. Tyranny and slavery, empire and nation, man as an instrument or man as an individual, the Soviet people and nations, Babylon and Kosmach, Moscow and Kyiv, St. Sofia and the Kremlin, are two opposing worlds with different

*) Narodovo Trudovoy Sojuz.

systems of values. We therefore absolutely reject this concept of strengthening the current situation which expects to transform tyrants and invaders into lambs and liberators. The great strength of subjugated nations and people, spiritual strength, and an unbroken will for a free and dignified life of both nations and individuals creates a separate strength, a separate force in world politics, with its own liberation, anti-Russian and anti-Bolshevik strategy, its own system of values and ideas, of universal significance in this hostility to the Russian system and in its opposition to the American. The approximation and collaboration between the nuclear superpowers, through fear of a nuclear Armageddon, attempts to halt the world's progression from empire to nation, from the mass to the individual. However, we are moving towards just such a progression of the world, and with all our strength we resist the attempt to halt the process of the downfall of empires on the frontiers of the Russian empire. Uprisings, national-liberation revolutions, which then turn into liberation wars of an insurgent-partisan or normal type, aimed at the destruction of empires, result not from fear of self-destruction but from a resolute determination, based on the nations' own strength, to escape from the eternal fear of tyrants and subjugators.

We will not be a part of any policy of collaboration or appeasement and will not co-operate in it, but will widen and deepen every apparent rift during its intermittent development. We are unfolding our activities on international scale. *And our time will come.* A new alternative for the world must be found in place of the current one. Our nonconformism will one day save the world. All the American concepts have been shown to be bankrupt. From the Truman-Kennan doctrine of "containment" through the Eisenhower-Dulles phraseology of liberation of the subjugated nations contained in the laws of the Congress of the USA but never realized, to the Nixon concept of balance of power and co-operation, following the historical-reactionary Metternichism which was destroyed by the "Spring of Nations" in 1848 and ended with Metternich being exiled to England and Nixon to San Clemente.

The life of nations which are striving for freedom create situations different from those envisaged by the modern gendarmes such as Metternich, Talleyrand, and especially Brezhnev, Hitler, and also Kissinger. We are not a semaphore on railroad tracks but a signpost in the active structure of world power. And this is our path. It may be long but it is sure because it is our own and not Big Brother's, and has grown out of our nation's situation and that of her natural allies in the anti-Russian front — ABN!

The revolutionary place of Ukraine in the world has been caused by its ideo-political positions, geo-political situation and revolutionary-moral and economic potential. They are the key force in the destruction of the Russian empire! ●

Andrew EZERGAILIS

NATIONALISM IN WORLD POLITICS AND HISTORY

The word *nationalism*, as it is generally used in the United States by scholars and journalists, is a pejorative term. If by using the term the writer himself does not mean to evoke unfavourable associations, then by necessity he fails because the educated public in America understands the word to be derogatory. The question therefore is seriously to be considered whether the word continues to be serviceable for impartial analyses of world politics and modern history. Many journalists and, unfortunately, also many historians and political scientists, use the word as nothing other than an elegant expletive to disparage statesmen and countries — foreign and their own. One may suspect that diplomats and men of affairs have already learned to consider the word useless for day-to-day decisions. Unless scholars begin to use the word with more precision and discrimination, they will be forced to follow the example of practical men of affairs.¹

The difficulty with the usage of the word is a multiple one. It is one of plain bias but also of definition and conceptualization. The word is frequently used by people who, while describing nationalism as an ideology and a passionate state of mind, themselves are committed to an ideology and a passion. The word is undergoing a similar fate in Europe and elsewhere in the world but nowhere has it deteriorated to the degree that it has in America.²

The major difficulty that users of the word have may be its overuse and its indiscriminate application. Frequently it is used more like a label than a word. It has come to pass that some historians, but especially many journalists, contribute all major developments of modern history to nationalism. Nationalism for many people has become a portmanteau that explains the causes for imperialism,

1) The pejorative connotations of the word nationalism were already recorded in the 1935 edition of the *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*: "... the term nationalism also connotes a tendency to place a particularly excessive, exaggerated and exclusive emphasis on the value of the nation at the expense of other values, which leads to a vain and importunate overestimation of one's own nation and thus to a detraction of others." Max Hildebert Boehm, *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* (New York, 1935), XI, 231.

2) There are, however, numerous English and continental scholars who have been able to avoid the more obvious biases in their discussions of nationalism to which their counterparts in America seem to be impervious.

revolutions, wars, the rise of fascism and of communism.³ Major statemen, such as de Gaulle, Franco, Hitler, Stalin, Mao-tse-tung, Dubchek, Nixon, Kissinger, Ian Smith, Ceaucescu, Trudeau, and Ho Chi Minh frequently are referred to as nationalists. It may be true that they all are nationalists, but if they are, then the minimum requirement should be a definition of nationalism that is constant and consistent. But quite the opposite is the case if one examines the existing definitions. One can boldly claim that all American scholars of the problem have in fact confessed their inability to define the word. A recent statement by Harold R. Isaacs is typical.

The issues of nation, nationalism, nationality, and national consciousness appear around us now in an immense variety of shapes and forms, whether as political fact, fiction, goal, idea, myth, state of mind, or emotional drive. This confusion is fully reflected in the confused scholarly literature on the subject which appears in as many different guises and aspects, and uses as many different definitions, it often seems, as there are authors. The meaning of *nationalism*, as a governing idea or attitude or political movement, is more or less uniformly seen. The usage of *nationality* differs sharply, reflecting the wide variance in the way it is used in different environments to mean either membership in some distinguishable group or citizenship in some particular state. Most definitions of *nation* include some version of a more or less homogeneous people sharing common beginnings, a common history, and a piece of territory. There is a blurred area at one end of the spectrum where clans and tribes become nations according to this or that specification, and all sorts of other distinctions at the other end where nations become states.⁴

Similar statements have also been made by Hans Kohn, Carlton Hayes, Boyd Schafer, and Louis L. Snyder.⁵ The irony of it is that

3) The rise of communism is perhaps not attributed to nationalism as frequently as the other cases in point. But that seems to be the thrust of Theodore H. von Laue's *Why Lenin? Why Stalin?* (New York, 1964). Von Laue's position on the question is more clearly articulated in the paper he read at the Northeastern Slavic Conference of the AAASS in Montreal, Quebec, May 5-8. "The Radicalization of Nationalism in Lenin's Thought." Berdyaev wrote: "It is particularly important for Western minds to understand the national roots of Russian communism and the fact that it was Russian history which determined its limits and shaped its character." Nicolas Berdyaev, *The Origins of Russian Communism* (Ann Arbor, 1955), p. 7.

Today it is frequently said that Ho Chi Minh is a nationalist before he is communist. Intermixture of nationalist slogans with communist slogans is possible, but then the question still remains whether one is typically a nationalist or a communist. After one has made the distinction, then it still remains to ask what difference it makes.

4) Harold R. Isaacs, "Nationalism Revisited — Group identity and Political Change," *Survey*, LXVIII (October 1968), p. 76.

5) "Nationalities are groups of very recent origin and therefore are of the utmost complexity. They defy exact definition." Hans Kohn, *The Idea of Nationalism* (New York, 1944), p. 13. In a more recent work Hans Kohn finds the existence of three different types of nationalism: 1. English, American, and Scandinavian; 2. French; 3. German. *Prelude to Nation-State* (Princeton, N. J., 1967), p. 2.

"There is no easy general rule. Phenomena of utmost complexity and variety, capitalism and socialism, nationalism and imperialism differ in content and consequence with historical circumstances." Hans Kohn, "A New Look at Nationalism," *The Virginia Quarterly Review*, XXXII (Summer 1956), p. 323. Carlton J. H. Hayes in 1931 saw five types of nationalism: humanitarian, Jacobin, traditional, liberal, and integral nationalism. Carlton J. H. Hayes, *The Historical Evolution of Modern Nationalism* (New York, 1931), *passim*.

In his final summing up in 1960 Hayes chose to emphasize the fluidity and continuity of nationalism. He thought nationalism partook of religious sentiment. *Nationalism: A Religion* (New York, 1960), p. 6.

"Nationalism is what the nationalists have made it; it is not a neat fixed concept but a varying combination of beliefs and conditions. It may be in part founded on myth, but myths like other errors have a way of perpetuating themselves and becoming not true but real... Tidy formulas do not fit a sentiment which is itself in the process of becoming." Boyd C. Schafer, *Nationalism. Myth and Reality* (New York, 1955), pp. 7 and 11.

nationalism has been called the most powerful force of modern history by the very people who have refused to define it.

The difficulty of solving the problem of definition stems from two factors. The first is the making of history, the second of historians. It may be that the word nationalism simply shows its age. Like imperialism, nationalism is a 19th century word and it might have outlived its usefulness for describing 20th century political constellations and urges. As the ages of words go, nationalism is not a very old one.⁶ Its misfortune perhaps was to get involved in the ideological passions of an epoch. Various revolutionary and political movements competing for the allegiance of the people adopted nationalism as their battlecry. Each movement added something new to the word until it became overburdened with contradictory meanings and values.

Historians should have been the ones to unravel the entanglements and contradictions; they not only failed to do so — as it was shown above — they refused to do so. Their failure is a threefold one. First, they failed to conceptualize and break down categories for a more detailed analysis. Second, they went the other way. They attributed qualities to nationalism that should not have been attributed to it. Third, they failed to counteract the above failings because the historians themselves became emotionally involved in their subject matter. All significant American historians of nationalism have been committed anti-nationalists and have consistently shown partiality towards an international world order. Two sorts of historians are especially likely to show the above failings: the specialists whose field of study is expressly nationalism and the generalists who have no fields or are pursuing some study outside of 20th century politics. On the other hand, specialists in fascism, revolutions, and the world wars are less likely to commit these faults. The following quotations are typical of the sentiments that one encounters in the writings on nationalism.

If men are not brothers, it is not because they inherently differ. That sentiment of unity and exclusiveness which we have defined as nationalism now keeps them apart. This nationalism, however, does not mean that men could not be brothers, could not live in peace. For there is no basis, historical, biological, psychological, for believing this nationalism must be or will be permanent. Below the surface of their national peculiarities, men remain, so far as we know, more alike than different.⁷

The human race seems united in a common desire to destroy itself,

Louis Snyder put it this way: "What is nationalism, this most powerful of historical forces? It admits of no simple definitions, since it is a complex phenomenon, often vague and mysterious in character." Louis L. Snyder, ed., *The Dynamics of Nationalism. Readings in Its Meaning and Development* (New York, 1964), p. 1.

6) For a discussion of the origins of nationalism, see Louis L. Snyder, *The Meaning of Nationalism* (New Brunswick, N. J., 1954), pp. 74-84. Also Don Luigi Sturzo, *Nationalism and Internationalism* (New York, 1946), pp. 1-5; Carlton J. H. Hayes, *The Historical Evolution of Modern Nationalism* (New York, 1931); Hans Kohn, *The Idea of Nationalism: A Study of Its Origins and Background* (New York, 1944).

7) Boyd C. Shafer, *Nationalism. Myth and Reality* (New York, 1955), p. 237.

and nationalism happens to be the most popular, contemporary method.⁸

The concept is superimposed upon the natural order and is interpreted as the final goal of the community. Thus, we are faced at the outset with a fallacious and perverted idea capable of causing untold mischief.⁹

An intolerant attitude and behaviour towards one's fellows; a belief in the imperial mission of one's own nationality at the expense of others, particularly at the expense of backward peoples; a habit of carrying a chip on one's national shoulder and defying another nationality to knock it off; a fond dwelling on the memory of past wars and a feverish preparing for future wars, to the neglect of present civil problems; a willingness to be led and guided by self-styled patriots; a diffidence, almost a panic, about thinking or acting differently from one's fellows; a spirit of exclusiveness and narrowness which feeds on gross ignorance of others and on inordinate pride in one's self and one's nationality: these are all too prevalent aspects of contemporary nationalism. If in these respects nationalism is not mitigated it will be an unqualified curse to future generations.¹⁰

Cultural freedom can only exist if intellectual life is guided by an effort at critical and objective thinking. The greatest threat to such thinking, and therefore to cultural freedom, was represented centuries ago by authoritarian and absolutized religion. Today it is represented by nationalism, above all in its over-resentful or semi-totalitarian forms.¹¹

An especially vitriolic anti-nationalist whose influence in America has been considerable is the British historian Arnold J. Toynbee.

The nationalism that, in the Atomic Age, is threatening to lead mankind to self-destruction is the Sumerian nationalism of the third millennium B.C., intensified and reproduced on a world-wide scale.¹²

Before proceeding, it must be recognized that the historians of nationalism have without doubt explored many byways of history and given us much valuable information about 19th and 20th century political and social movements. But it must also be recognized that their sympathies, antagonism, and themes of wishfulfillment weave in and out of their work. The values of internationalism are profound moral pronouncements and therefore one hesitates to call them biases, but in more unkindly moments one is forced to recognize them as biases, and it helps little to grant that everybody else has biases and that these particular ones are small by comparison. Biases are not harmful to scholarship in all instances — they can enliven a deadly topic. In this particular instance of nationalism they have not, however, been conducive to the opening of new avenues of inquiry or brought clarification to the subject matter. The pronounced anti-nationalist and pro-internationalist sentiments of scholars of nationalism seem to have had these three effects.

First, study of nationalism in the form that it takes has had the tendency to create a revivalist spirit among undergraduate and graduate students and has made them divide the world into forces of

8) *Ibid.*, p. 227.

9) Louis L. Snyder, *The Meaning of Nationalism*, p. 75.

10) Carlton J. H. Hayes, *Essays on Nationalism* (New York, 1926), p. 260.

11) Hans Kohn, "A New Look at Nationalism," *The Virginia Quarterly Review*, XXXII (Summer 1956), p. 332. The internationalist aspect of Hans Kohn's work stands out especially in his *The Age of Nationalism* (New York, 1962.)

12) Arnold J. Toynbee, *Change and Habit. The Challenge of Our Time* (New York, 1966), p. 108.

good and evil. These attitudes have not led to fresh starts of research in modern history. Second, these moral attitudes have been the very key reason why the definitional problems of nationalism have been recognized as impossible by the best scholars in the field. It is a common-sense conclusion that it is impossible to come to a fair definition of nationalism if one considers nationalism evil. If nationalism showed some positive accomplishments they would be ignored or underplayed. Thirdly, and this is part of the second effect, the moral values have stood in the way of recategorizing the concept, which is the accepted logical procedure when a concept becomes too unwieldy. Quite the opposite of recategorization took place. The dimensions of the concept have incessantly expanded since historians began to work on the history of nationalism. As it was noted above, much of modern history is presented as if the cause for all evil developments had been nationalism. Not only was imperialism deprived of an independent existence, but nationalism was also blamed for racism, fascism, and the two world wars. Toynbee, as the quote cites above showed, would go even farther than that. He feels confident in predicting that any future thermonuclear war would be released by the finger of a nationalist.

In this essay it is not intended to rewrite history as it "should" be written. Here the work will be negative in nature. For the remainder of the essay, some of the most frequently encountered fallacies about nationalism will be discussed.

Fallacy No. 1. Nationalism was responsible for imperialism.¹³

Upon reflection it seems that more nations have been victims of imperialism than the other way around. The wave of imperialism that began in the 1870's was restricted to the great powers or the ones that had ambitions to be great powers. Would this, then, indicate nationalism could only come to a final flowering in the great powers? This, it seems, is demonstrably wrong. Some very small nations have been fiercely egocentric about their folklore, traditions, and language, and yet have not shown any desire to be imperialists. On the other hand, historians have recognized that England, the greatest of imperialist powers, had a very temperate national egocentrism.¹⁴ If

13) This is a favorite interpretation of Carlton Hayes, *Generation of Materialism, 1870-1900* (New York, 1941), pp. 196-241. Hannah Arendt, for example, is not very consistent in her treatment of the causes of imperialism, but it is clear that in her view nationalism had much to do with it. H. Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (New York, 1958), p. 153. Also see Horace B. Davis, *Nationalism and Socialism* (New York, 1967).

14) For this we have an expert opinion. Hans Kohn wrote in 1940: "But as a result of the origin of English nationalism every manifestation of the English power, even if at many times brutal and bent upon exploitation, as is all imperialism, has been accompanied by a deep moral undercurrent, fundamentally Christian and liberal, which has been one of the most potent factors in shaping modern civilization. English imperial politics in the nineteenth century was power-politics, but in contrast to German or Russian power-politics of that day, never only power-politics. It seldom wholly lost the demand for and the promise of political and intellectual liberty and equal justice under law, and in its best representatives may always be discerned traces of the Puritan Revolution's enthusiastic hope and anticipation of the establishment of a universal kingdom of God on this earth." "The Genesis of English Nationalism," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Vol. 1., No. 1 (January 1940), pp. 93-94.

nationalism had something to do with imperialism, then today there would be more imperialism than ever before. The converse is the case. Nationalism was an important force in liquidating imperialism. The causation of imperialism no doubt is a very complex matter, and it must be noted that it has existed since antiquity. However, it must also be recognized that imperialists used nationalist sentiment for their cause. To say that nationalism equals imperialism means to contend that the victim and the victimized are moved by the same sentiments. This may seem like an amusing paradox, but in reality it is a perverted paradox which is unfounded unless proven by painstaking analysis in each individual instance to be true. The logic of the argument frequently runs that nationalism is self-glorification which at some moment loses all modesty and then it becomes imperialism.¹⁵ People and groups may boast about all kinds of things. Communists boast about communism, believers in democracy may boast about democracy, and fascists may boast about fascism. Why is it, then, that it is precisely nationalism that leads to imperialism? Self-glorification may lead to aggression if it is accompanied by confidence in one's powers, but seldom do the two coincide. The teller of tall stories and the bully are not one and the same. A closer examination may reveal the nationalist posture to be much more self-defensive than aggressive in spite of any boastfulness that nationalists may at times exhibit. Imperialism has a self-propelling logic of its own — imperialism breeds imperialism. It may also be noted that most historians of imperialism do not consider nationalism to be a cause for imperialism. That association has been made by the historians of nationalism.¹⁶

Fallacy No. 2. Nationalism is conservative and/or reactionary.

This may not be a fallacy of the historians as much as it is of journalists and the lay public but even in historical writings it is frequently there as a stated or unstated premise. The proof of this contention could be shown through an examination of the writings of Kohn, Schafer, Snyder, and others but anybody who doubts the existence of this fallacy can verify it by polling any ten majors of history — undergraduates or graduates. If one says that nationalism is conservative, then the proper question is — conservative in relation to what? The historical fact is that during the course of the 19th and 20th century nationalism had had a hand in corroding several empires and that it toppled several monarchies. It was also present

15) Hannah Arendt, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

16) For a discussion of the causation of imperialism, see E. M. Winslow, *The Pattern of Imperialism: A Study in the Theory of Power* (New York, 1948); George H. Nadel and Perry Curtis, eds., *Imperialism and Colonialism* (New York, 1964); Wright, Harrison M., ed., *The New Imperialism* (Boston, 1961). The most thorough discussion of the concept is to be found in Richard Koebner and Helmut Dan Schmidt, *Imperialism: The Story and Significance of a Political Word, 1840-1960* (Cambridge, 1964).

at the liquidation of imperialism. In the future we may also expect to hear more from the nationalities of the Soviet Union.

As opposed to the conservatism of nationalism, it is maintained that internationalism is the forwardlooking doctrine. Then the question may be — what is meant by internationalism? If by international order is meant a United Nations type of organization, then a conflict between internationalism and nationalism does not exist. The only states that have balked against cooperation in an international organization have been the great powers and the closed societies of our times. Democracies and small countries especially have been eager participants in international projects. Especially the Scandinavian countries have been exemplary in promoting international policies. Internationalism has in fact become a component of Scandinavian nationalism.¹⁷ It must also be noted that two of the greatest early theorists of nationalism, J. G. Herder and G. Mazzini, saw nationalism and internationalism as complementary.¹⁸

Among the more recent studies of nationalism that suffer from the fallacy of associating nationalism with conservatism is P. Tauber's monumental scholarly contribution: *Beyond Eagle and Swastika. German Nationalism since 1945*.¹⁹ Upon examining the work you will find that the author only writes about some groups and parties that he calls rightist. The title would have been less misleading if he had called the book: pro-fascist or pro-authoritarian sentiments in Germany since 1945. In describing these rightist groups, it is significant to note that Tauber hardly ever uses the word nationalism without adjectives that are contradictory — such as radical, folk, traditional, conservative, revolutionary, national-socialist, opportunist, and fanatical.

Marxism was the first school of thought which, in the name of revolution and internationalism, began to associate nationalism with reaction. May it be suggested that our inclination to place nationalism on the right wing comes from the contemporary popularity of neo-Marxist thought? Whether we should or should not be taking the Marxist definition of what is conservative or reactionary is a different question, but it is pertinent to note that our century's greatest Marxist — Lenin — after the Revolution of 1905 found it necessary to consider nationalism as a revolutionarily movement.²⁰

17) John H. Wuorinen, "Scandinavia and the Rise of Modern National Consciousness," E. M. Earle, ed., *Nationalism and Internationalism* (New York, 1950), pp. 453-79.

18) Robert R. Ergang, *Herder and the Foundations of German Nationalism* (New York, 1931.)

Giuseppe Mazzini, *Life and Writing of Joseph Mazzini* (London, 1890).

19) Kurt P. Tauber, *Beyond Eagle and Swastika. German Nationalism since 1945*, Vols. I and II (Middletown, Connecticut, 1967).

20) Andrew Ezergailis, "The Nationality Question in Bolshevik Ideology," Manuscript. Also see Pipes, Richard, *The Formation of the Soviet Union* (Cambridge, Mass, 1954), pp. 41-49. A. Mayer, *Leninism* (New York, 1963), pp. 107-144.

Fallacy No. 3. Nationalism is racism or leads to racism.

In many countries around the world various nationality groups have been hated. For these hatreds there have been various causes. Sometimes the causes have been religious, sometimes economic, sometimes national. Frequently these hatreds have been without substance and perhaps they have been inexcusable in all cases. The fiercest hatreds of this century it may be argued have been released by the Russian Revolution. But these hatreds have been largely initiated by the internationalist assumptions of the revolution. To what degree anti-Semitism, e.g., comes from nationalism has not been widely studied. Some nationalists, no doubt, have also been anti-Semitic, but to establish a necessary connection seems unwarranted. In many countries anti-Semitism or any other kind of racism has been practically non-existent, and it is reasonable to speculate that a referendum to liquidate or incarcerate Jews would not have passed even in Germany. The science of anthropology may have had more to do with racism than any other factor.²¹ In the case of Hitler the more significant aspect of his thinking appears to be racism rather than nationalism. It may make an interesting study to see the two strands of Nazi ideology separated.

It may also be noted that anti-Semitism was not altogether a racist theory in all parts of Europe. It was also religious and economic. Especially in Eastern Europe there was an anti-Semitism that had nothing to do with racism or nationalism. It had more to do with the passions that were released by the Bolshevik Revolution. In the Arian catalogue of races the Eastern Europeans themselves had a rather low standing and therefore Hitler's racist theories found little currency there. Hitler did, however, hit upon a very responsive chord in Eastern Europe by presenting the Jews as perpetrators of the red terror and by claiming that Bolshevism was nothing other than a Jewish plot. This brand of anti-Semitism had as little standing in fact or history, as did the other types of anti-Semitism, but for the record the distinction may be of some significance.²² Even if some nationalists were anti-Semitic, it is very problematical whether nationalism in any sense led to racism. The two developments simply might have overlapped.

Fallacy No. 4. Nationalism is fascism or leads to fascism.

Some of the same arguments that were used to repudiate fallacies Number 2 and 3 also pertain to this one. Fascism was of very short

21) For origins of racism see Jacques Barzun, *Race: A Study in Superstition* (New York 1965), pp. 34-49. Also see Louis L. Snyder, *Race, A History of Modern Ethnic Theories* (New York, 1939), pp. 1-29. Both works are limited in scope. They are concerned almost exclusively with Germany and France. The same can be said for Hannah Arendt's treatment of the race problem. *Op. cit.*, pp. 28-53.

22) See chapter 5, "Varieties of Fascism in Eastern Europe," F. L. Carsten, *The Rise of Fascism* (Berkeley, 1967), pp. 160-193.

standing in history. It was pretty much liquidated by the end of World War II and unless one uses the word in a loose sense, as it has been used by the ideologues of the Soviet Union²³ and the American New Left,²⁴ fascism does not exist today as a significant force. Without doubt nationalism was a component in the fascist ideology, but fascism was much more than nationalism. It was also peculiar for anti-capitalism, socialism, anti-parliamentarianism, totalitarianism, and an urge to nationalize economy, politics, and society. In Germany and some Eastern European countries it was also peculiar for its anti-Semitism.²⁵ It may be a useful slogan of indoctrination to say that nationalism equals fascism, but it clarifies nothing and makes confusion of recent history.²⁶ Another totalitarian order of our century was proclaimed in the name of internationalism. If one is to study the speeches of Hitler and Lenin to find out whether Hitler uses the word nationalism more frequently than Lenin uses the word internationalism one should not be surprised to find that Lenin would come out ahead. There are many conclusions that may follow from this double experience of the 20th century. One that seems to be warranted is that communism in itself does not invalidate the values and sentiments of internationalism, but neither does fascism invalidate those of nationalism. To find out whether internationalism and nationalism are good or bad the neutral scholar should establish a criterion that goes beyond the communist and fascist experience.

Fallacy No. 5. Nationalism is a cause for wars.

It is undeniable that nationalism has been the cause for some conflicts, but to say that nationalism was the cause for the big wars of this century means to engage in simplification of history. In both world wars only the big powers were the significant participants and even most of them said they acted in self-defence. Most of the powers that engaged in World War I were multi-national states rather than national ones. Austria-Hungary declared a war on Serbia to preserve

23) Theodore Draper, "The Ghost of Social-fascism," *Commentary*, February, 1969, pp. 29-42.

24) Andrew Ezergailis, "Anglosaxonism and Fascism," *The Yale Review* (Summer 1963), pp. 481-506.

25) *Ibid.* The best summary statements about the direction in which recent research on fascism is going can be found in "International Fascism 1900-1945," Walter Laqueur and George L. Mosse, eds. *Journal of Contemporary History*, No. 1 (1966). A new direction has also been charted by David Schoenbaum, *Hitler's Social Revolution: Class and Status in Nazi Germany 1933-1939* (New York, 1966) and George L. Mosse, *The Crisis of German Ideology. Intellectual Origins of the Third Reich* (New York, 1964).

26) Professor Carsten is somewhat loose in his use of the term nationalism, but otherwise his work substantiates this author's interpretation of the rise of fascism. He writes: "There was no 'Fascism' anywhere in Europe before the end of the first world war. Without the slightest doubt, it was this great upheaval, the destruction and the crises resulting from it, and the fear of 'red' revolution which arose in man's European countries, that brought forth the movement which — after the Italian example — we call 'Fascist.' In comparison with the world after 1918 — a world torn by bloody conflicts, political hatred, civil wars, revolutionary and counterrevolutionary convulsions — the world of the years before 1914 was a haven of peace." *Op cit.*, p. 9. Also see pp. 230-237.

the integrity of a multi-national state. In World War I only Germany and Italy came close to being national states. Russia and Britain were empires. France had extensive colonial holdings. The United States was unique and it is doubtful that the word national in its European sense would describe it very accurately. The viciousness of modern war fundamentally stems from modern armaments, and nationalist passion has little to do with it. In World War II the three armies that had moments of glory on the battlefield were the Germans, Americans, and Russians. None of them were inspired by nationalism. The Germans did as well as they did because they were charged with the fanaticism of Hitler. Americans were inspired by a democratic faith and a sense of responsibility to liberate Europe. The glory of the Soviet army is somewhat more mysterious. On the one hand, it was a result of a brutal leadership and the decision to pay any human price for victory. On the other hand, the war gave the freedom and dignity to the Russian people that the Stalinist regime had taken away from them and which Hitler in turn was threatening.²⁷ General De Gaulle might have fought for nationalism, but his contribution to the war was minimal.

There are a few scraps of counter evidence to suggest that nationalism has lessened the frequency of wars. Before the nationalist era some of the most vicious wars in Europe were fought between the Swedish and Danish kingdoms, but in the modern era their relationships have been without incidents. One would also be hard put to show that after World War I the principles of self-determination in Eastern Europe in any way increased the militancy of these people. The minor incidents among these states that arose in the immediate post-War period were promptly liquidated. Even the fall of democratic regimes in Eastern European countries was not accompanied by violence among these states. The independence of these Eastern European countries was wrecked by two super powers, one of which based its expansionism on racism, the other on internationalism.

Fallacy No. 6. Nationalism is a myth.

This is a proposition that Boyd C. Shafer's book *Nationalism. Myth or Reality* has helped to make popular.²⁸ Schafer certainly is justified in pointing out that nationalism is based on many unfounded assump-

27) Alexander Solzhenitsin's hero Kostoglotov remembering and reflecting upon his war experiences said: "Those were the best years of my life, incidentally, though that may sound odd." *The Cancer Ward* (New York, 1968), p. 257. "And when the war broke out, its real horrors, its real dangers, its menace of real death were a blessing compared with the inhuman reign of the hell, and they brought relief because they broke the spell of the dead letter. "It was felt not only by men in your position, in concentration camps, but by absolutely everyone, at home and at the front, and they all took a deep breath and flung themselves into the furnace of this mortal, liberating struggle with real joy, with rapture." Boris Pasternak, *Doctor Zhivago* (New York, 1958), pp. 507-08.

28) Boyd C. Shafer, *op cit*.

tions or myths, but it seems that he overreaches his evidence when he tries to show that nationalism in itself is a myth. He may be correct in concluding that men are more alike than different, but that still leaves a large in-between area in which various individual and group distinctions stand out. Language is the chief and overriding factor which cannot be ignored. To ignore linguistic differences and to call them myths is not only absurd — it means to put humanity upon a Procrustean bed; and then who knows what mischief that may lead to. This century's greatest internationalist — Lenin — in reference to nationality problems in the Russian empire frequently quoted from the nineteenth century's greatest internationalist Marx: "No nation can be free if it oppresses other nations."²⁹ Lenin came to ignore this pronouncement, but the kernel of the statement is still very much pertinent.

The practical questions that revolve around the solution of the language problems are so monumental that to ignore them means to relegate any abstract theory of internationalism either to a Utopia or to cruel totalitarianism. To say that Russian or English should be the language of an international community means to leave the overwhelming majority of humanity at a disadvantage. That would be specially inequitable to the artists and the disadvantaged classes of minority nationalities. Education is more efficient if it is done in one's own native language.

To forget that there are elements of commonness that all humanity shares certainly is a myth. To forget that there are individual and group peculiarities is also a myth. One of the creative sources of energy has been a tension between the particular and the universal. To call nationalism a myth means to destroy the tension without supplying a replacement for it. It is correct to point out that certain nations in our century have erred by forgetting the universal for the particular. To suggest that only nationalists have erred in this respect is myopic. The communist states erred in the other direction, and who is to say whose error is the more colossal one. If nationalism leads to a mythical subdivision of humanity, what then is the rational one? Unless we can give an un-Utopian answer to that question, then to call nationalism a myth means to set up an ideological straw man.

Fallacy No. 7. Nationalism has been victorious over communism and socialism.

It is true that there is a paradox in the history of communism. The communists came to power as internationalists by calling nationalism a bourgeois prejudice. They promised to wreck the state apparatus and establish a stateless society. The realities of the world did not allow the communists to fulfill any of these grand designs.

²⁹) V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works* (Moscow, 1964), XXXI, 317.

Quite to the contrary, instead of the withering away of the state there occurred a flowering of the state. This paradox that many pundits find so titillating came about in spite of rather than because of any plans that the communist powers had. Their choice was to give up power or to call it socialism in one country. This had nothing to do with overt or covert nationalism. To call this necessity to consolidate power nationalism is to forget that states throughout history have been established for a variety of reasons and that nationalism has been one of the many. If Russian communism is really Russian nationalism in a "new" disguise, then it is nationalism in the most novel and also perverted sense imaginable. Among the millions of people who have lost their lives since the Bolshevik takeover the Russian nationality has perhaps lost no less people than Ukrainians. Should we conclude, then, that the peculiarity of Great Russian nationalism is the decimation of Great Russians? Since World War II the Soviet ideologues have begun to talk about Soviet patriotism and the socialist motherland. Stalin even exalted the Russians as the most heroic of peoples, and in many areas of the Soviet Union Russification is taking place.³⁰ What is significant to note is that all of this was artificially introduced by the Agitprop apparatus and had no organic origin. Neither did the adoption of nationalist slogans in any way replace their doctrines of internationalism. Here is a case where nationalist sentiments were used to support a cause that in its origin was anti-nationalist, but this is no indication that nationalism in the Soviet Union is victorious. There may be a great deal of nationalism in the Soviet Union, but that has a different level of existence, and the official pronouncements do not speak of it.

The epitome of illogical usage of the word nationalism is reached in reference to Communist countries in Eastern Europe. When it comes to Eastern Europe, then much of what transpires there in the minds of some people seems to fall under the description of nationalism. For some reason, journalists and scholars use the word nationalism to describe both the leaders of the Communist Parties as well as the perpetrators of protest against the Parties. Theoretically it is possible that the two nationalist groups may hate each other, but if it is true that two antagonistic groups are nationalists, then it follows that nationalism is not the main factor that keeps the two apart or would bring them together. Some more basic or subtle issue must be at work there.

Fallacy No. 8 A definition of nationalism is impossible.

It seems that a definition is impossible only to those who are bent on piling up all of the agony of modern history on the shoulders of

³⁰ If there is a point to the theory of emergence of nationalism in the Soviet Union, then F. C. Barghoorn has made it. His work, however, is so inconsistent in definitions that the evidence he advances to prove the existence of nationalism in the Soviet Union could also be used against his conclusions. F. C. Barghoorn, *Soviet Russian Nationalism* (New York, 1956).

nationalism. If one is to search for a definition of nationalism, then distinctions must be found between nationalism and such phenomena as imperialism, fascism, and racism. One must also separate the doings of nations that are great powers from those that are not. Above all one must penetrate to the mystery of why nationalism has become so many things to so many historians. Why is it that historians who have performed lucidly in analyzing other phenomena have become involved in a maze of contradictions when it comes to nationalism. To unravel this problem fully, we may need to go into the analysis of the current training of historians and into a dissection of the sub group of the human species called intellectuals. For an abbreviated analysis of the problem may the following two points be offered as a partial explanation. 1. It appears that especially in America for the last half of the century the problem of nationalism has attracted students who at least have wanted to change the world and frequently have even been pursuing the dream of utopia. Their attitude towards nationalism has been dualistic: on the one hand they have seen it as an all pervasive force that is celebrating victory over other forces in history, but on the other hand they have tended to view nationalism as a conspiracy needing to be unmasked and defeated. The error that historians of nationalism most frequently have tended to make has been one of failure to draw proper distinctions between nationalism as a principle of legitimacy in the modern world and nationalism as a synonym for patriotism and/or propaganda about the virtues and vigour of a nation. It may be suggested that to speak of nationalism in the former sense does not make any sense at all because it means to declare the obvious, the repetitive, the universal, and the ephemeral. It is true that the contemporary world tends to organize along the fissures of ethnic frontiers, but this process may be as much the consequence of the passion for equality and passion for democracy, as of the passion for nationalism. There is no particular mystery about this process; it is simply the kaleidoscopic formation of our age and there is no viable alternative to it.³¹ To call this principle of order nationalism means to place Mazzini and Stalin, a man who promoted the wellbeing of the people of his

31) Perhaps the best discussion of the origin of nationalism is to be found in Eugen Lemberg, *Geschichte des Nationalismus in Europa* (Stuttgart, 1950), especially see pp. 9-32. In this respect the work of another German scholar, H. L. Koppelman, *Nation, Sprache und Nationalismus* (Leiden, 1956) is important. Two French scholars, Guy Michelat and Jean-Pierre Hubert Thomas, have recently attempted to quantify the attitudes of French people towards their nation through the use of questionnaires. The amazing result of this study is that on the questions that touch upon the legitimacy of the French nation there seems to be little difference between the French Left and Right. *Dimensions du Nationalisme* (Paris, 1966). Otherwise the book, although it purported to put the discussion of nationalism on a completely objective basis, failed to do so because the term nationalism is used very loosely. A work that explores the significance of nationalism in the structure of the modern world is by the English scholar Herbert Tint, *The Decline of French Patriotism 1870-1940* (London, 1964). One of the author's conclusions is that the decline of the Third Republic is attributable to the decline of French patriotism. Although the work by Thomas Hodgkin, *Nationalism in Colonial Africa* (New York, 1957) does not add anything new to the solution of theoretical problems of nationalism, it does illustrate the basic absence of alternatives for the statebuilders in the modern world.

nationality with a man who decimated the people of his, in the same category. In our time the ethnic component is the basis of order in the same sense as in the 17th Century monarchy was. A principle of legitimacy is a vessel into which various contents can be filled, such as fascism, socialism, communism, or liberalism, tyranny or democracy. The error that historians of nationalism have forced us to make is, first to call this vessel of order — nationalism, and second they have confounded the error by associating much of the content, the moods, the philosophies, and ideologies that rise and fall in the course of human events with the vessel.³² One could of course call this principle of order nationalism, but one invokes confusion by it because what name is there left for the description of the other phenomenon; the mystic effusion that the word "folk" evokes; the pursuit of ethnic arts and culture; and the vainglorious exultation of some nations' vigours and virtues.

The closest competitor that the ethnic principle has in our times is internationalism, but the difficulty that it as yet faces is that internationalism is still an elitist principle and can serve as an organizing principle of states only if democratic rights of the people are ignored. The principles of democracy and internationalism do not as yet seem to be compatible, and that appears to be one of the realities of the world that historians of nationalism do not want to recognize.

2. Yet there is another more basic problem why the historians of nationalism have failed to develop an adequate definition of nationalism. This failing they share with the historical profession in general. The branch of learned men known as philosophers of history by now have analyzed the historical "mind" sufficiently for us to know that it is deficient in conceptual rigour. The philosophers of history since Collingwood, through the famous Popper-Hempel debate, through the writings of W. H. Dray, A. C. Danto, L. O. Mink, W. B. Gallie and many others have said much more than that but is the minimum of what they have said.³³ They have pointed out that historians have a faulty understanding of causal relationships and a deficient sense of objectivity. They have exposed the historians' pretence to scientism and shown the ideological biases in the epistemological presumptions of the historians. There is no reason to single out the historian of nationalism for any special maladies: the general ones are condemn-

32) Works by some English and continental scholars that as yet have not been mentioned in the study, but in which one can find sufficiently unbiased descriptions of the "vessel" are Elie Kedourie's *Nationalism* (London, 1960); Walter Sulzbach, *Imperialismus National-bewusstsein* (Frankfurt, 1959); also Morris *Nationalism. A reappraisal* (Leeds University, 1961).

33) The literature that analyses the many pitfalls that historians are heir to is too huge to be enumerated. The works mentioned below are only a very small sample of books that have appeared recently. William H. Dray (ed.), *Philosophical Analysis and History* (New York, 1966); David Hackett Fischer, *Historians' Fallacies* (New York, 1970); Thomas S. Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (Chicago, 1962); Arthur C. Danto, *Analytical Philosophy of Knowledge* (Cambridge, 1978); and W. B. Gallie, *Philosophy and the Historical Understanding* (New York, 1964).

ing enough, except that the historian of nationalism happens to have his subject matter at the ground zero of action, the point where past and future meet. Therefore, it is more likely that the historian of nationalism becomes more ideological. To be a prophet of the future is a more glamorous undertaking than to be a custodian of the ruins of the past. The historians of nationalism whose conceptualizations have been analyzed in this essay have not perhaps really infused the biases of the present in their work — they have allowed their dreams of the future to interfere with it. After having read the available literature on the topic of nationalism and having noted the difficulties that the writers have had with the definition, I am persuaded that the reason why these writers have had the difficulty is that in reality they never wanted to find a definition of nationalism. Perhaps this is because of a fear that if they did find the definition they might need to accept the world as they find it which would mean that continued use of the trumpet of prophesy would be inappropriate.

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Evhen SVERSTIUK
Translated by Marta SAWCZUK

IN PRAISE OF WOMAN*

She was never a queen, nor a princess, the woman of my country.
 From far away times, shrouded in legend, came images of the first
 Christian ruler, Princess Olga and of the sad Yaroslavna.

The figures of masterful women — the sultan's wife Nastya
 Lisovskaya, the women who held power through the kozak leaders,
 the peasant woman Rozumykha, who set the tone for the talkative
 gentry in the palace of her daughter-in-law Elizabeth — are all
 muted through cloudy retelling.

She was a queen with a shining halo only in the realm of the
 spirit, when she composed this song:

Up the high rocky twisted mountain
 I will carry the heavy stone,

And carrying this terrible burden
 I will sing a happy song.

Very early the unhappy historical fate placed a heavy burden upon
 her and demanded from her courage, as part of the right to live.
 Under this burden, she, together with her husband, created, preserved
 and passed on to the children, as part of their soul, the language, the
 song and the memory of an honorable ancestry.

Her equality with man from times immemorial, has been one of
 the great Ukrainian national traditions. During the hardest times,
 in days without hope, she ascended over man and knowingly carried
 the main moral responsibility for the honour of her family and there-
 fore for the dignity of her people.

Not bound by the household manual, the Ukrainian woman, forced
 to raise and support her children alone, was the protector of moral
 steadfastness and health, language, song, tradition and customs,
 more so than the man, who carried the wounds and pains of defeat,
 lived a lonely life, wandered through the world and sang:

Oh how high the sun rises
 But how it sets . . .

*) This essay was written in Ukraine in 1969 and appeared there in the samizdat literature. It is translated in its entirety.

For him the well-trodden paths were overgrowing with thorns and fate was showing him the way to a foreign land . . .

Where are you going without asking?
Who will take care of your father
Your mother
And your young sweetheart?

Socially more independent, she was more sublime and spiritually more integrated. In "Natalka Poltavka", the "Zaporozhian Kozak Beyond the Danube", "Fata Morgana", "At High Cost", by Kotsu-bynsky, the exaltation of the Ukrainian woman is evident; the woman is especially heroic during the unheroic periods of our history, which thrust upon men the role of traitors and "lost souls". This truth has become an original conception in many of our literary works.

Emaciated and black, beaten but not broken by fate, in the works of Panas she denounces her only son, who, drinking himself into an animal state, breaks moral precepts.

She laughs at the half-breeds who try to be masters and insults those weaklings who "through miserable greed" lose face. Clenching her teeth, she turns away from bread which she did not earn: "We are poor, but honest." She only laments, but takes no part in the lynching of slaves, who have become base from fear.

The ancient Greeks and Romans symbolized their woman as a strong lioness, "who, with all her being seeks victory."

Revolutionary France placed on the barricades the image of a woman, young beautiful and brave. This image became France's national flag and was given the name *liberté*.

Her majestic image migrated to the continent of young America, where a statue of liberty was raised over dark centuries of slavery and brigandry. It expressed the hope that the people would be allowed to breathe freely . . .

At the same time our greatets poetical genius wrote with tears about her fate as a seduced woman, a mother and a dishonoured girl; she became a symbol of Ukraine, standing on the barricades of our national sorrow.

Nowhere in world literature is there such a tragic figures as that depicted by Katherine, Oksana, Sova, Marina, the Servant Girl, the Blind Woman, the Witch or the Lily. The apotheosis is reached in the figure of the Virgin Mary, who knew the greatest sorrow and this time, in a purely "Ukrainian style" under a fence,

Sorrowing in the weeds
Died from hunger.

She underwent unusual posthumous transformations when professional liars dressed her in royal purple and in fact

The torturers spit on you, pure one
Corrupted you, meek one! But,
Like that gold in the crucible
You were renewed in people's souls . . .

But she lived on and was renewed through her own tears and her own songs, like the one Ivan Franko listened to:

I listen, oh sisters, to your sad songs
I listen and sorrowfully think
How many broken hearts, how many plundered graves
How much insatiable grief, how many tears
Went into the making of such a song

One will forget the names of many authors, but in the history of our culture the name of Yavdokha Syvak will never be forgotten. This illiterate woman of the Podilia spent her life in poverty, but she stored in her memory, sang and had transcribed more than a thousand folk songs and told hundreds of tales and sayings. But this seventy year old grandmother preferred to be known as Zuikha, for she wanted to use her own name only when she transcribed her beloved songs.

Hundreds of names of such women were forgotten and marged with the names of the people. They sang their souls out and became part of life through their melodies.

It is no accident that from such a people came the greatest poetess of the world, Lesia Ukrainka. It was ordained that three women — Lesia Ukrainka, Maria Zankovetska and Olha Kobylanska go "up the rocky, winding mountain" and become, in the highest expression of our culture, symbols of national nobility.

After the Revolution women were helped by technical progress. Old customs began to change. Dropping her embroidery, Olesia Kulyk, without her "old-fashioned" mother's knowledge, began attending courses for tractor drivers. For lack of a cause, the girl suddenly raised the issue of emancipation against her own mother. Maybe there should have been no poems for Olesia Kulyk, the tractor driver. She might have become a tender mother and a good wife of a tractor mechanic. However, socialism preached equality not so that girls would grow fat, while their husbands worked; and the boys directed and sweetly sang about the work achievements of women . . .

"The woman in the kolhosp is a mighty force."

This unceremonious aphorism, coined by a great cynic, expressed the true equality of women in those years. This equality grimaced frightfully at a woman already weak, exhausted and burdened with a family.

War turns everything up side down. The woman was forced into the hardest tasks. She became a widow and the only parent.

The years grew
Your waiting grew
Grief was sucking at your joy.
From above, the nightingales madly mocked
Your decimated love.

Today the most fearful word about a woman is the word of statistics. It was not as hard for the men: dying was easier.

At the present time the social problem of the break between the town and the village is borne by women. It appears that not only in the kolhosp she is a powerful force: the hardest and the lowest paying jobs in the city are done by her. She digs ditches, builds roads, removes snow, carries bricks. She is building a town in which she will not live. She is building it according to instructions and directions of men, under the gaze of passing men, who look and turn away, shrug their shoulders and gaze at everything with the uncaring eyes of eunuchs...

She comes into town, dressed in work clothes as a heavy reproach to our conscience and as a heaviest curse for someone's guilt. If we are not ashamed of ourselves in this situation, then will we ever be able to feel shame?!

Someone remembers the old words "honour", "respect", "nobility". Can those words ever be applied to a man who, whistling, is used to passing by women doing hard labour.

Someone reminds us that her calling is motherhood, the bearing and rearing of children. But to have children, one must be in love, happy and beautiful... And to rear children, one must have a legacy to leave them. Can a woman under the present conditions preserve a happy smile, her native language, the customs and traditions that for years have developed as an expression of national identity?

In the village she is most likely the only moral force, that, through maternal instincts, preserves some sort of order, while the men are demoralized by drink and the current idea of "easy bread".

Above her head passed and were engraved as wrinkles on her forehead wars, revolutions, fratricides, collectivization, famine, cannibalism, fires, occupations and graves — graves, graves, without crosses. 'Let us hope that these wrinkles will not be passed on to the children as a parent's legacy of sorrow and helplessness.)

With roars and whistles technological progress was passing above her house.

But my God, why does it bring to some people easier and better living but from her only takes away food and children? Why does it talk to her in a foreign tongue and never looks her in the eyes? Why is bread no longer holy and has lost its taste? Why

do people, both old and young, no longer kiss each other, at least once a year, at Easter time?

Technical progress has passed by her house like a tractor. But people no longer get together in the evening to chat, to get advice, to sing. She wants to hear old songs, which to her are perpetually new.

Take a handful of sand, mother
Plant it on a rock.
And when that sand begins to grow
Your son, the soldier, will be back . . .

They begin to drink early in the morning, even before they have a chance to look at each other. Sons and grandsons become drunk, depend on the earnings of the daughter and become strangers.

Exhausted by the pain of her losses and by work, dried up by her aloneness, she no longer follows the voice of love, of life, of wisdom about continuing the race. She has become doubtful about her natural calling and raises unheard of questions: is it worth bringing children into the present world? One, two children per family that is the formula for the destruction of a nation . . .

She has not yet recovered from the past, while she is faced with a present above which gather clouds of overpopulation and all around evil lightning is striking and familiar thunder is heard . . .

What can one say about equality and the rights of women? She has all the rights, but she has more obligations. And she still dreams about chivalrous love, manly protection a plentiful home and peace. She thrusts on the new, over changing world of unstable norms the unchanging oath: the old question of decency and faithfulness.

On foreign roads I have lost all my words,
So what can I tell you, my very own road.

M. Rylsky

Our poets do not sing about her beauty, but laboriously confess to her.

For several years "The song about Rushnychok"* became our sentimental hymn. It was not an accident. The obscure words and the sad melody of this song served as an expression of our guilt complex about some far away, long forgotten mother. It is not known why "she took me to the fields at the edge of the village"; on the other hand, it is well known how she helplessly folded her hands and submitting to fate "accompanied me on God knows what far away trip." And the only thing that we all wanted, regardless of our rank and status, was to cry in intimate surroundings about our sub-conscious guilt and long for this true and unique love of a mother, who never asked why she loved us . . .

*) Rushnychok is an embroidered piece of cloth that is given to a loved one as a sign of good luck.

So in the world of well-known indifference and hatred, in a world rooted in lack of trust and suspicion, she remained alone like the sun. It was not difficult to know her true worth.

But how hard it was to rebuild one's life so that at the most important moments one could go for advice to her and openly honour her — not by words, but through a son's love and faithfulness. So that in the every day scheme of values she would be raised from the very depths and placed above others — the way she placed her children above all values.

"With white lips and quietly I will tell you about myself. I was going away from my mother, in a white shirt, myself all white. They laughed at my white shirt. They punished me and hurt me. And I walked quietly, like a white cat" (Vasyl Stepanyuk).

And as what kind of person do we return to her, to the one who sent us out in the white shirt and how do we measure up before her and before our childhood?

In English translation

REVOLUTIONARY VOICES

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Teodosiy OSMACHKA
Translated by Orysia PROKOPIW

ROARING LAUGHTER

The Mediterranean Sea is roaring,
with waves resounding upon the waist of African pyramids,
bloodstained rivers splash in the valleys of ages
onto the cragged skeleton coasts of mankind . . .
And through the sound of the elements over the bodies of slaves I hear
the whistling of whips . . .
Along the coasts they drive the bleary-eyed, unwashed, and naked,
falling, perishing, as flies before winter,
to the valleys of Egypt, Hellas, and Rome,
and the Middle Ages . . .
The whistling of whips ! . . .
And with those paracious whistles are blending into one song
our own conflagrations, bellowing, smoke, and stench,
like the clang of the censer and incense in church . . .
Whips whistle,
The sun blinks,
and blood spurts high onto the ceilings of the worlds:
the drops of blood give birth to starlets
and poets pluck
the starlets in the heavens,
like cornflowers in the fields,
and plait wreathes
for their mistresses' fair brows . . .
The wise philosophers raise the seas
in granite chalices onto the mountaintops beneath the sun
and plait the rivers into earth's braid,
but will not find the truth . . .
Blood bursts to the skies and starlets bloom . . .
Hey, earth!
your devillish laughter I hear
in the roar of a million planets
in the millions of ages,
and I would spit from despair
upon you, mother earth
to brand a scar, a desert,
like the criminal's lasting mark,
upon your back,
and vanish with smoke into time's abyss.

—*—

"The Poetry of Lina Kostenko, Published in Ukrainian Review No. 3, 1975, was translated by Marta Sawczuk."

Prisoners of Conscience about themselves

V. STUS

I ACCUSE

Accusation of Soviet State by Ukrainian political prisoner, V. Stus

I have appealed several times already to official institutions to bring to justice those who are carrying out mass repressions against the whole generation of Ukrainian intellectuals. However, I have either received no reply whatsoever to these appeals, or I have been given the prosecutor's answer, which evaded the essence of the matter and stated that the accused was rightly sentenced so there are no grounds for a review of the case. I am thus forced to turn to the public and repeat the reasons which impel me to take such a step.

1. Together with those of many others arrested in January 1972 and later tried and sentenced, my house was searched by permission of the Lviv prosecutor, Malykhin. The reason for the search was said to be my involment in the DoboZh case. Almost all those who came under the successive attacks of the KGB had nothing to do with either DoboZh or his case. I demand that those who sanctioned these searches and arrests under false pretences be brought to justice.

From the very beginning of the interrogations, the KGB did not even mention the DoboZh case to me, for the simple reason that I had never seen DoboZh. The fact of the matter is that the DoboZh case is a cheap falsification; it was thought up to publicly discredit those arrested and thus to temporarily paralyse open protest. Inasmuch as the DoboZh case is a complete fabrication, I declare that the Ukrainian trials of 1972-73 were carried out analogously with the fabricated trials of the 1930s and were conducted with the aid of Yezhov-Beria methods.

The massive amount of falsification bears witness to the fact that the author of this scenario was the KGB leadership in the Council of Ministers of the USSR, thus I accuse it of conscious falsification with the deliberate aim of concealing the real criminals and publicly discrediting people already persecuted for their convictions.

2. During the house search, almost all that I had written during 15-17 years of literary work was confiscated: poems, critical essays, prose, translations. The works of young Ukrainian authors such as Victor Kordun, Mykola Kholodny, Ihor Kalynets, Hryhoriy Chubay, and some works of Symonenko, M. Vinhranovsky, L. Kostenko and I. Drach were confiscated. Articles by M. Braichevsky, L. Taniuk, I. Dzyuba, and S. Telniuk were also taken, as well as the poetic works of V. Vovk and E. Andiyevsky, two Ukrainian authors living abroad.

Even individual works by Pasternak and Y. Yevtushenko, M. Horsky and O. Solzhenitsyn, Berdiayev and Karl Marx, K. Jung and Ortega y Gasset, were confiscated. The KGB thus demonstrated that their enemies are the works of writers of the whole world.

For this I demand that they be tried as enemies of the humanism of world literature and of humanity.

3. In the charges against me, many of my works describing the repressions of the 1920s, 1930s and later periods, the 1930 genocide of Ukrainian peasants, the destruction of the Ukrainian intelligentsia in the 1930s, the poverty experienced by those in the collective farms in the 1930s, 1940s and at different times in the succeeding decades, were included. The interrogators and the court considered my statements about the lack of freedom in the removal of rural populations to different places and their deprivation of passports, which I termed a form of serfdom, as anti-Soviet. My declaration that the 1961-71 period was a decade of systematic deterioration in the material and spiritual conditions of the existence of our nation, a period of advance of reaction, was also termed anti-Soviet. Even my poem "U Maryintsi stoyat kukurudzy" (The corn is growing in Maryinets), which described well-known facts of the past, when the workers of the collectives were hardly paid anything at all, was also called anti-Soviet.

Having termed the above texts as anti-Soviet, the KGB thus took upon itself the role of direct author of the bloody period of our past and of participant in the merciless state exploitation of people. In claiming that the above statements are incorrect, in concealing the well-known facts about the unparalleled repressions in the past, the KGB attest to their links with the Yezhov and Beria gang and take full responsibility for all the crimes committed by their predecessors in the past decade. I call the KGB a parasite, an exploitative and harmful organisation, on whose conscience lie the millions of executed, murdered, and starved to death souls.

4. I was accused of an absence of the class approach in my creativity, of not belonging to either the Party or the Writers' Union, of not keeping to the principle of party communism or social realism, of standing for abstract humanism, and of the fact that an existentialist vein is reflected in my works (which is problematical). It thus appears that anybody who has noncommunist convictions is considered a criminal and is forbidden to exist. I therefore accuse the KGB of being criminal and of having violated even the most elementary human rights.

During the interrogations I was not given any juridical code which would have allowed me to familiarize myself with the rights of an accused person. I demanded such a code every day before the trial, but was not given one. I then refused to attend the interrogations, so the KGB threatened that they would take me by force. I refused to

talk to the interrogators and they threw me into the psychiatric prison hospital. In addition to all this, when I shouted out in the prison corridor that they were preparing to take me to the hospital, I was attacked by the head of the prison, Sapozhnikov, and another officer. In order to break me psychologically, the interrogators joined forces under the supervision of Makarenko, Pohorilyj and Malyj, and they take full blame for the mob-law which prevails and which violates the elementary rights of people under interrogation. To support the charges which were put forward against me, several witnesses incited by the KGB — Matskevych, Sidorov and Kyslyn-skyj — were produced, though I had called them clients of the KGB from the very beginning, and of a chauvinistic type at that.

"I immediately understood that Stus was a nationalist, because he talked in Ukrainian all the time," said Sidorov, on being questioned.

With the direct intention of framing the prisoners, Z. Franko and L. Seleznenko, psychologically and morally broken people, were produced as "witnesses". The latter stated in court that I had supposedly given him the impression of being a true nationalist. When I denied this as groundless, he then repudiated his statement. However, the judge Dyshel then threatened the witness with prison and Seleznenko backed down in the face of such blackmail. The same thing happened with the witness I. Kalynychenko. The KGB forced a false confession from him about my poem, which he then retracted. The judge then began to curse him and threaten him with being thrown out of his job and of losing his qualification as a teacher.

Throughout I demanded an open trial — this was refused, so I refused to accept a defence lawyer. I demanded literary experts — also in vain.

In connection with this, I accuse the whole interrogation section of the KGB, the head of the prison, Sapozhnikov, the whole college of judges, the prosecutors Makarenko, Malyj and Pohorilyj, who used this criminal mob-law on me and my colleagues.

6. I accuse the internal reviewers of the KGB, who wrote criticisms of the works confiscated from Ukrainian writers. Of the reviewers I can name A. Kaspruk (Literary Institute of the Academy of Science, USSR) who reviewed my collection of poems and literary-critical essays; A. Kovtunencko (Literary Institute AS USSR), author of the "response" to the collection "Cry from the grave" by M. Kholodnyj; the authors of the collective review of I. Dzyuba's book "Internationalism or Russification" A. Skab, V. Yevdokumenko, Y. Zhanatskyj, V. Kozachenko, L. Nahornyj (of the Institute of Party History) and P. Nedbaylo (lecturer at the faculty of journalism, Lviv University). Grounds for their prosecution could be produced in the case of their reviews with their blatant police-type bloodthirsty declarations. I believe that their share of the blame in the mass repressions carried

out is just as great as that of the KGB. They are the same type of murderers as the interrogators and judges.

I accuse the KGB for the physical torments inflicted upon Ukrainian political prisoners, such as the knifing of V. Moroz in 1972. At the beginning of 1975 M. Osadchy was badly beaten up in a cell in Potma. Soon afterwards, V. Chornovil, on the sixth day of his hunger strike, was transported by force, put in irons, and compelled to walk barefoot in the snow. Ukrainian women political-prisoners also suffer cruel physical treatment, for example, N. Strokata and S. Shabatura, who were thrown into prison cells on hunger rations in January 1975 which led them to extreme physical emaciation. The lives of other prisoners are also methodically shortened, either by cold, hunger, or the absence of necessary medical treatment, etc.

I accuse the KGB who have kept Ukrainian political prisoners M. Plakhotniuk, V. Kovchar, V. Kuban, Lupynis, L. Plyusch, Terelyu, Krasivskyj and others in psychiatric prison hospitals for four years. I consider the KGB an evil organization, which realized savage repressions during the 1972-73 period on a scale heretofore unknown during our days and which caused irreparable harm to the Ukrainian nation and its culture. I accuse the KGB of being a blatantly chauvinistic and anti-Ukrainian organization because it has made my nation speechless and acephalous. The trials carried out in 1972-73 in Ukraine were trials of human thought, of the very process of thought, of humanism, and of the manifestation of filial love to one's nation. The generation of young Ukrainian intellectuals, which became the generation of political prisoners, was brought up on the ideals of humanism, justice and freedom. This is its only guilt. But only sons like these will be glorified by their nation — now and forever.

I am convinced that sooner or later the KGB will be judged as a criminal and police organization, openly hostile to the nation, though I am not sure whether I will live to see that day.

I thus ask you to pass on my declaration to the accused of this criminal organization. Let my declaration-accusation be amongst the many volumes of its crimes.

Vasyl Stus
concentration camp "Dubrovlah"

THE VERDICT

(an abridged text)

In the name of

The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic

on 7th September, 1972, the college of criminal judges of
the Kyiv regional court composed of:

H. A. Dyshel — Chief Judge

A. P. Vaytenko, I. Samchenko — Peoples' Representatives to the Court

T. H. Kukharskyj — Secretary

I. P. Pohorilyj — Prosecutor

S. M. Krzhepitskyj — Lawyer

has studied in closed court session in the city of Kyiv the case against Vasyl Semenovych Stus, born 8th January 1938, in the village of Rakhnivka, Haysynskyj district, Vynnytsia region, Ukrainian, citizen of the USSR, non-party man, of higher education, married with a son born in 1966, resident in Kyiv, Lvivska street 62, apt. 1, who worked as a senior engineer in the technical information branch of the republican union of Ukrorhtekhbud materials; having no previous convictions is charged with Article 62, section 1 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR.

With evidence presented during the interrogatory and court proceedings the college states that: the accused, Stus, resident in Kyiv, on the basis of his anti-Soviet convictions and his dissatisfaction with the current State and social order in the USSR, with the aim of subverting and weakening the Soviet government, beginning in 1963 up to the day of his arrest — January 1972 — systematically prepared, kept and distributed slanderous anti-Soviet documents reviling the Soviet State and social order, and also took part in vocal anti-Soviet agitation.

Thus, in the period 1963-72 he wrote and kept in his apartment up till his arrest 14 poems.* Between 1962-72 he wrote 10 documents of an anti-Soviet slanderous nature.** In these defamatory documents he maliciously slanders the socialist conquest of our country, the Soviet democracy, the constitutionally guaranteed personal inviolability, the national politics of our country and attempts to "prove" the impossibility of constructing a communist society in the Soviet Union. On the 28th July 1970 Stus wrote a hostile letter to the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party and to the KGB. This letter was subsequently published in the illegal anti-Soviet journal "Ukrainian Herald" No. 3 in 1970, which was distributed both within the USSR and abroad.

*) There follows a list of those poems, omitted here.

**) There follows a list of those documents, omitted here.

About the middle of 1970 he wrote another defamatory document in the form of a letter to the head of the Writers' Union of Ukraine, to the Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, and to the head of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of USSR. This document was also included in the illegal journal "Ukrainian Herald" No. 3 in 1970.

This document reviles the national policy of the Communist Party, endeavours to defend people who undertake hostile activities and expresses anger at the attempts made to halt the anti-Soviet activity of these persons.

Sometime after 1965 he wrote a slanderous document in the form of a letter addressed to the Presidium of the Writers' Union of Ukraine and sent copies to the Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine and to the editorial office of "Vsesvit".

In 1969 he wrote a letter to the editor of the journal "Vitchyzna" and sent copies to the editorial boards of the newspaper "Literaturna Ukraina" under the heading "A place in battle or in justice" in which he slanders the policy of the Soviet government towards cultural workers. In January 1970 this letter was printed in the illegal journal "Ukrainian Herald" no. 1, published by enemy elements within Ukraine, and it was reprinted in Paris in 1971. In June 1971 it was broadcast by the foreign radio station "Svoboda" and in August of this year (1972) it was printed in the newspaper "Schlach Peremohy" in Munich.

In 1970 Stus compiled an illegal collection of his poetry under the title "Winter Trees" in which he included the poems he had written throughout 1963-70. In this collection were poems of a defamatory nature such as "I need the smile of Ivan," etc. These poems revile life and work in the collective farms, Soviet democracy and Soviet people. That same year Stus typed this collection and distributed it amongst his acquaintances.

In 1970 Stus prepared an illegal collection entitled "A cheerful cemetery" in which he included, amongst other poems, the slanderous anti-Soviet poems "To you, Sun", etc. These poems attempt to portray a false picture of Soviet socialist society, slander the efforts of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and of the Soviet State to celebrate the 100th anniversary of the birth of the founder of the Soviet State, and defame the living conditions of the Soviet people and the Soviet socialist democracy. Having typed this work on his own typewriter, he then began distributing it.

Between 1970-71 Stus wrote two hostile articles under the headings "Phenomenon of an era" and "The disappearing bloom". In the article "Phenomenon of an era" under the guise of analysing the work of poet P. Tychna, he tried to impress upon the reader anti-Soviet nationalist views and ideas regarding an evaluation of his

creativity and tried to demonstrate as 'harmful' the party principle in literature.

The accused, Stus, confirmed the facts as written by him in the above-named documents and pleaded 'not guilty'. He said that none of the above-mentioned poems, letters, or literary-critical essays contain any anti-Soviet or slanderous statements and as a whole reflect reality. Only in certain cases, mainly in the draft copies, did he make any harsh judgements, he said, but without the intention of subverting or weakening Soviet rule, and although these comments are to a certain extent damaging, which he came to realize during the trial, they are not harmful.

The judicial commission does not accept Stus's explanation that some of the drafts of his most slanderous poems were written in an agitated frame of mind and do not express his convictions since they were later rejected by him, nor that in preparing and distributing manuscript collections, letters and articles he did not intend the subvert or weaken Soviet rule, nor that he does not consider these documents as anti-Soviet or slanderous. The college of judges is thus of the opinion that:

- 1) Stus did not destroy his most defamatory documents and anti-Soviet poems but kept them until their confiscation. A considerable number of these poems have appeared in the illegal collections "Winter Trees" and "A cheerful cemetery" which Stus distributed amongst his acquaintances and "Winter Trees" later reached the West where it was utilized by anti-Soviet enemy groups.
- 2) The fiercely anti-Soviet views of the documents, expressed in the slanderous attack upon the Soviet State and social order, upon the CPSU and the Soviet State in the field of literature, national policy, and upon the life, work, and material conditions of existence of the Soviet people, are obvious. The preparation and distribution by Stus of these anti-Soviet documents throughout ten years and the fact that he is a highly educated person attests that Stus was conscious of the social danger of his actions and acted with the direct intention of subverting and weakening Soviet rule. The college of judges accepts as extenuating circumstances the fact that in his final statement Stus confessed his deep repentance and assured the court that he would do his best to serve the Soviet socialist homeland.

The college of judges thus considers that his sentence should be lightened. For having committed an extremely dangerous state crime, according to Article 25 of the CC of the Ukrainian SSR, Stus shall serve his sentence in strict regime camps. On the basis of the above charges, and bearing in mind the mitigating circumstances, the college of judges, guided by Articles 323 and 324 of the CPK of the

Ukr. SSR orders that: V. S. Stus, on the basis of Article 62, section 1 of the CC of the Ukr. SSR, is to be imprisoned in a strict regime camp for five years and banished for three years. This sentence is to be dated from January 13th, 1972. Factual evidence — anti-Soviet poems, collections, letters — is to be retained by the court. Court costs for examination of documents, 100 karbovantsi; travelling expenses of witnesses for questioning 114 karb.60 kopeks; travelling expenses of witnesses to trial 68 karb. 35 kopeks; altogether 282 karb. 95 kop., to be paid by the accused, Stus.

MY COMMENTS ON THE VERDICT

I pleaded not guilty, right up to my final statement. My sincere repentance, therefore, pertained only to the draft phrases such as: "a gang of bandits, KGB agents, thieves and convicts set to work as the as the Bolshevik Party." I made no promises to faithfully serve the fatherland. I must admit that such phrases like the above have an anti-Soviet bias, but I maintained that I was not a nationalist and did not agree that my works were anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda. I then still called this country my homeland and could not make up my mind to disown it; however, if one is crucified in one's own homeland just for loving it, for wanting to work for one's people by the sweat of one's brow, then one is forced to realize that though one has a country one does not have a homeland. It has become the country of one's captivity, it has turned one into a slave, forcibly tearing one from one's homeland.

My land, Ukraine, lies behind barbed wire and hundreds of barricades, entered only through restless dreams. She shines like a distant star in the Mordovian evening sky, and your path of slavery spreads further and further away from her — past the grey Ural mountains to remote Siberia. The tormentors test you to see if your heart will stand it, or whether it will break from sorrow.

During the search of January 12th 1972, M. Kordun's collection was confiscated from me (there follows a list of the poems in the collection, omitted here — trans.), as were a poem of Symonenko "Where are you now, tormentors of my people", several letters from V. Holoborodko and Vira Vovk, the book "Rechenschaft und Ausblick" by Jasper, L. Kostenko's collection "A starry integral", the collections "A cheerful cemetery" and "Winter Trees", two letters from Telniuk about "Phenomenon of an era" and I. Dzyuba's "Internationalism or Russification" (two copies), Karl Jung's book "An archetype of a symbolic dreamer", V. Vovk's book "Kappa Khresta", Yevtushenko's book "Bratskaya HES", Emma Andriyevsky's "Bazaar", Assonov's "Krutoy Marshrut", Kasimir Edschmidt's collection (Ukrainian translation), abstracts of Hrushevsky's articles published before the revolution, over twenty of my own notebooks, synopses, and about ten notebooks of drafts of my poems and their

variants. All this was retained by the KGB and only a small proportion was used in the trial. The rest, it seems, was burnt, like the prosecutor Mazerya said: they'll burn it before your very eyes.

Here are further extracts from A. Kaspruk's review of the collection "Winter Trees" which he wrote for the prosecution: "This is decadent poetry, poetry of ideological decline. In Stus's poems "Soviet life springs up as a voluntary prison in which the slovenly teacher of ethnics, yesterday's Judas, the drunkard, the dustman's daughter, live and work. A more loathsome abomination, a more dreadful hatred could not have been thought up even by the most resourceful dreamer prejudiced against our reality". It requires no proof that Stus's book is harmful in all its idealistic directions, in all its substance. A normal, unprejudiced person can only read it with repugnance and disrespect for the 'poet' who so smears his own land and people."

Kaspruk writes thus about the collection "A cheerful cemetery": "According to Stus, Soviet people are soulless automatons, acephalous mannequins who mechanically and schematically enact an incongruous spectacle. From an artistic point of view, Stus's poems are nonsensical evil mumbblings, and from a social and political point of view it is a conscious slander of and lie about our reality." His reactions to "Phenomenon of era" and "The disappearing bloom" are similar. In one word, thus, my blood is on the hands of this doctor of philology, and on the hands of the interrogators Lohinov, Mezerya, Parkhomenko, the judge, the prosecutor, and the lawyer-prosecutor who was forced upon me. A. Kovtunencko, candidate to the Academy, also wrote in the same spirit when he reviewed the collection "Cry from the grave" for the KGB. "In some poems" he wrote, "Kholodny shows himself to be a sufferer for his nation, but his 'nation' is something abstract and elusive. He hates the true working people, the Soviet people, however, and writes about them contemptuously and scornfully. Kholodny cherishes the thought of a bourgeois nationalist renaissance in Ukraine, proclaims shocking ideas about an armed uprising against the existing order and workers' revenge for their devotion to their socialist homeland." In his fear of the KGB the Don poet, Yevhen Letiuk, also made an interesting statement: "I was always impressed by the fact that Stus always talked in Ukrainian, even when there was no need to." God forgive them — all the Letiuks, Skasenkos, Klosks, Seleznenkos,

And now a comment on the verdict itself. The 14 poems mentioned at the beginning of the verdict are simple drafts, hastily written in a certain frame of mind. The majority are unfinished, and some are even unintelligible. I did not even know of their existence myself, except perhaps for "Thirty S — as though a joke", written long ago on an old topic. Even the KGB agents were unable to decipher it. "The Thirtyseventh — as though a joke, like a lump in your throat" describes the repressions of the 1930s.

The 10 subsequent documents are copies of articles, and among them are copies of two letters to P. Y. Shelest (1965 and 1968 I believe). Each of these 10 articles are usually just one page long. True, some parts of them were too severe, just as were certain parts of the previous 14 poems, for example: "a gang of bandits, KGB agents, thieves and convicts set to work as the Bolshevik Party". I therefore explained that these were written in a temporary un-reasoned frame of mind.

In the collection "A cheerful cemetery" I had the biggest problem with the poem "The wheels are silently turning", dedicated to the memory of M. K. Zerov. I defended it to the end and denied that it was of an anti-Soviet nature.* Who is a "marxist, racist and cannibal?" I replied: "Beria and his gang." Svitlychny said in court that it was Stalin. The judge, apparently, was an old Stalinist for he almost burst, so mad was he.

There are 43 poems in the collection "A cheerful cemetery". I do not particularly like all of them, but I included the best in the collection "Winter Trees" which lay in the editorial offices of "Radyansky pysmennyk" for almost 5 years. I. Drach and Y. Adelheim wrote very praising reviews of it (1968 and 1970 respectively). It would be interesting to show these to Kaspruk. The collection was confiscated from the publishers and after the trial I demanded that the KGB return it to my wife. Even a week's hunger strike demanding the return of the manuscripts to my family did not help. The KGB would not do this — it seems they had to destroy all the poetry, since I am forbidden to be a poet or even to have an aptitude for poetry.

The article "Phenomenon of an era" was 107 type-written pages long. It has probably disappeared without trace and it was dear to me. I especially liked Tychna in it, recognizing his fate of being an all-national, that is, State poet, when — to quote the article — "his all-national fame was complete, but his fame was not that of a genius, but of a pygmy. The fame of a genius was forbidden to him and he was forced to be a pygmy, a buffoon waiting outside the door of the blood-stained kings. The fame of a pygmy, which became a parasite on the body of the genius, was assured by an enormous amount of propaganda." To write that Tychna was "more alive than the living and dead than the dead" was not easy, but his grief has become our grief, and we may reflect upon our own grief, even if brutally, "for the poet's genius turned against him with damnation, and became his worst enemy, against whom he continually had to battle so as not to reveal his biggest 'sin' to himself." The article "A fading bloom" was 13 pages long, compositionally unsuccessful but dear to me, as is all of Svidzinsky's work. It was included in the

*) Here follows part of a poem describing the imprisonment of Ukrainian poet M. Zerov.

verdict because of the fact that I wrote in the 1930's that the true intellectual was an undesirable person, thus it is not surprising that they were destroyed almost completely.

During the investigation I wrote many poems and translated over 100 of Goethe's poems. I refused a defence lawyer but asked for juridical literature in order to prepare my own defence. This was refused and I did not even receive the Criminal Code. At the trial I protested against the closed court proceedings, I demanded literary experts and refused to accept the defence lawyer who was forcibly imposed upon me. Nevertheless he remained — to help the judge, Dyshel, who used obscene language towards the witness I. Kalynychenko who gave testimony inconvenient to the prosecution; he cursed Seleznenko as well when he began to speak the truth (the latter then retracted his statements through fear). Let me also mention the fact that the head of the solitary confinement section for those under investigation, Sapozhnikov, beat me with his fists when I cried out in the prison corridor while they were dragging me to the Kyiv madhouse on May 5th. I shouted out: "Vasyl Stus is being taken to Pavliv psychiatric hospital". This was done because I would not give any testimony and called the interrogators "Stalinist dogs". The atmosphere in the prison was just like in the days of Beria, except for the fact that there were no floggings. As for the trial, this was brutal mob-law, at which one does not even wish to open one's mouth to the tormentors. "Please give me a knowledgeable explanation of the term 'anti-Soviet'" I told the judge. The judge smirked and kept silent. For what could he say?

* * *

V. STUS IN DEFENCE OF V. CHORNOVIL

The repressed Ukrainian poet, Vasyl Stus, now in a Mordovian concentration camp, has forwarded a declaration to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR in defence of Vyacheslav Chornovil:

"The Ukrainian journalist Vyacheslav Chornovil recently suffered a very unpleasant experience. On the fifth day of the hunger strike which he began on 6th February 1975 while in solitary confinement in the Lviv headquarters of the KGB, some MVD* officials entered his cell together with a KGB* escort and announced that he was about to be transferred, in spite of his illness. Spent by hunger, Chornovil refused to make the journey, citing relevant legislation in his defence. His escorts then seized, handcuffed and gagged him, and after dragging him half-naked along the prison corridors and badly bruising his face, threw him into the cage of a prison van, where he fell unconscious. On regaining consciousness Chornovil asked for some clothing, but his pleas were only met with jeers. He was kept in this state for several hours in the cold cage. Then,

after being taken to the railway station, he was escorted barefoot through the snow, wearing only his underclothes, to a prisoners' wagon. Only then was he thrown some clothing.

This type of physical punishment is now becoming commonplace.

Without fear of exaggeration, I declare that this kind of treatment is only one step away from murder.

No other democratic movement of any other nation in the USSR, in fact, suffers from such widespread cruelty. These traditions stemming from the time of Stalin and Beria are stronger in Ukraine than anywhere else in the Soviet Union.

I demand that the tyranny of the KGB be ended and those responsible brought to justice.

3rd March, 1975."

(At the beginning of 1975 Chornovil was transferred from a Mordovian concentration camp to Lviv, where an attempt was made to break his resistance and force him to recant. This attempt failed, and the above passage is a description of the beginning of his return journey to Mordovia.)

SHORT BIOGRAPHY OF VASYL STUS

Vasyl Stus was born in 1938 in the Vynnytsia region of Ukraine. He graduated from the Don Pedagogical Institute in 1964 and his persecution and harassment began in September 1965 when he was forbidden to continue his doctoral studies at the Institute of Literature of the Academy of Science of the Ukrainian SSR due to his participation in a protest meeting in Kyiv in defence of the repressed and persecuted Ukrainian writers and cultural workers. The publishers 'Radyanska Ukraina' then refused to publish his collection of poems, and in June 1966 he was fired from his position at the State Historical Archives. His first major collection of poetry "Winter Trees" which was published in Belgium in 1970 contained many of the poems in the collection rejected by 'Radyanska Ukraina' in 1965. He has written many publicistic articles and essays. He has also written many protest letters in defence of persecuted Ukrainian intellectuals, and was arrested on January 13th, 1972, while convalescing. His trial was held 'in-camera' and even though he pleaded 'not guilty' he was sentenced in September 1972 to 5 years of hard labour and 3 years of banishment. He is married with one son. In 1975 he was gravely injured by a former fascist collaborator, Sidelnikov, who now works with the KGB in the concentration camp. At present Stus is in the Mordovian concentration camp Zh.Kh. 385/19.

* * *

*) MVD — Ministry of Internal Affairs.

*) KGB — Committee of State Security.

Vyacheslav CHORNOVIL

**AN OPEN LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED
STATES OF AMERICA G. FORD**

Mr. President,

I dare to think that the dialogue between West and East, which has somewhat widened in scope in recent years and received the name of detente, is the business not only of the leaders of states and parties but, first and foremost, of the peoples themselves.

However, while various strata of the citizens of the US can voice their evaluation of your efforts through numerous institutions in a democratic society (Congress, the press, public opinion polls, etc.), the citizens of the USSR are completely deprived of such an opportunity for the prevailing social order in their country excludes the possibility of any internal dialogue under the threat of criminal prosecution and permits its citizens only to be silent or to "approve unanimously" the actions of self appointed Party leaders. Yet the right to an independent evaluation of ideas and actions and to oppose is an inalienable human right affirmed by the present stage of humanity's development and promulgated in international legal acts (The Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the UN). Even in societies that are more regimented than the present-day Soviet one no progress has been made towards a complete levelling of human personality and a standardization of thought, and opposition has not been eliminated for any significant length of time. There is also an opposition in the USSR.

One of the indications of its existence are the periodic repressive actions of the political police (KGB) and the existence of political prisoners in the state.

Citizens of the USSR know that even moderate criticism of the actions of the leading summit of the CPSU or of the sole ideology admitted in the state entails unavoidable persecution and possibly even imprisonment. It is clear, therefore, that for every one of us, political prisoners repressed for voicing opposition, there stand hundreds and thousands of people who think like we do and who have not lost their capacity for independent thought, but dare not express their views in public.

The leadership of the CPSU and the press that is fully subordinated to it react sensitively to everything that is said in the US on the question of detente, popularizing attitudes advantageous to themselves and combating the opposite point of view.

I think that you also, Mr. President, could take into account the opinion of the political opposition in the USSR, which is represented in the first place by political prisoners. I have the boldness to assert that the thoughts expressed below are not only my personal ones but reflect the attitude to the problem of a wide circle of Soviet political prisoners of various nationalities.

In the first place, we still do not have a clear idea of what is after all meant by the oft repeated phrase "international detente". If one does not see detente as a short-term campaign to meet the situation of the moment and as being of a tactical or even prestigious nature, but considers it a long-term action holding out the prospect of bringing relief to the whole of humanity, then it is clear that detente cannot in any way be reduced only to a certain restraint in the arms race or to an extension of trade. It is obvious that a firm international detente and the impossibility of a return to a policy of active confrontation can be secured not so much by military disarmament as by the demilitarization of the mind. Reality, however, shows that the Soviet leaders, especially Mr. Brezhnev, understand the matter differently.

Do you know, Mr. President, that the proclamation of the policy of international detente has been directly linked by the leaders of the CPSU to the suppression of any critical thought within the country? The Central Committee of the CPSU has put forward a thesis about an intensification in the ideological struggle against ideological subversion by world imperialism under the conditions of detente, very similar to Stalin's old thesis about the intensification of the class struggle in the USSR the nearer communism approached. This thesis provided the theoretical grounds for the mass repressions of the 1930s-40s. Now too, practice does not lag behind theory. Beginning with 1972, a wave of political arrests and harsh sentences at unconstitutional trials (mostly *in camera*), the biggest one of the post-Stalin period, swept over a number of the Republics of the USSR (Russia, Ukraine, Armenia, the Baltic Republics). Extra-judicial persecutions have occurred on an even larger scale. In order to strengthen the role of the Army and the political police, for the first time in recent decades the ministers of defence and of the KGB have been introduced into the Politburo of the Central Committee of the CPSU which has *de facto* become the supreme agency of *state power* in our country.

You, Mr. President, sign inter-state treaties not with the leader of the state but with the leader of the ruling party.

The campaign of repressions of 1972-73 in Ukraine was particularly massive and brutal. Scores of people were thrown behind bars or locked up in mental hospitals of the closed (prison) type. During this campaign traces of "ideological subversion" were uncovered in poet's verses and in painters' pictures, in literary studies

and in publicistic articles, even in intimate correspondence and in writers' working drafts. If something similar were taking place in the US, in order to get your compatriots to learn "unanimously to approve" the actions of the authorities half of them would have to be put into prison and the other half turned into prison wardens.

KGB investigators do not even conceal from us, the prisoners of recent years, that they have set themselves the task of completely eradicating within several years all opposition which, so they say, obstructs the implementation of the policy of detente by openly discussing various sensitive problems of the USSR before the whole world. The punitive agencies are specially angered by attempts to raise the nationalities problem. Therefore, however paradoxical it may sound, we, the prisoners of 1972 and the subsequent years, consider ourselves to be the victims of the policy of detente, and so far one of its most physically tangible results.

It is for this reason that we, the political prisoners of the USSR, consider the US Congress Amendment to the Trade Bill to be particularly important and timely, although, if the Soviet press is to be believed, your attitude, Mr. President, to this amendment was negative. Soviet propaganda, sharply criticising the Congress Amendment which stipulated that the assuring of the freedom for citizens to leave the USSR be a condition of granting to the Soviet Union the most favoured nation status in trade and credits, calls this condition interference in the internal affairs of the USSR. We find such an interpretation of the law to be illogical.

The amendment does not raise the question of a change in the regime existing in the USSR or in its compulsory ideology. The question at issue is only the implementation of one of the axioms of democracy clearly expressed in Article 13 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the UN and in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. If, having ratified these documents for propaganda purposes, the leaders of the USSR at the same time do not wish to observe them, does not the same fate await the unsupported and loud declarations accepted in the course of the detente campaign? It is also clear that, when the critically thinking portion of Soviet citizens is given an alternative to the Mordovian and Perm camps and psychiatric hospitals, viz. a possibility of leaving for abroad, this without radically changing the existing regime in the USSR, may nevertheless bring about some humanization of it. This in turn, may become a prelude to a real, not paper, detente.

We, Soviet political prisoners, support the stand of the US Congress as being one that may have a positive influence on our own harsh fate of being potentially life-long prisoners of the system. On 1 March this year I personally wrote to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR renouncing my Soviet citizenship and petitioning them to

let me go outside the boundaries of the USSR. Similar, but thus far unsuccessful requests have been sent to Soviet institutions by Soviet citizens of other nationalities.

One would like to think, Mr. President, that, being genuinely concerned about the outcome of the process of international detente, you will, during your meeting with Mr. Brezhnev or through other channels, draw the Soviet leaders' attention to the question of the freedom of citizens to leave the USSR and stress the impossibility of a lasting and firm international detente while the policy, adopted in the USSR, of suppressing all critical thought is maintained.

With respect,

Vyacheslav Chornovil

Ukrainian journalist, political prisoner.

1 August 1975.

UKRAINIAN AND OTHER POLITICAL PRISONERS OF PERM CONCENTRATION CAMP TALK ABOUT THEMSELVES AND ABOUT THE CONDITIONS IN WHICH THEY ARE KEPT

Conversations with Svitlychny, Kandyba, Kalynets, Pryshliak, Antoniuk and others.

A very descriptive samvydav document, which is currently being circulated in the USSR, has reached the West. It contains the notes from an interview which opponents of the Russian Soviet regime managed to hold with a group of political prisoners of Perm concentration camp towards the end of 1974. The following Ukrainian political prisoners took part in the interview: Ivan Svitlychny, Ivan Kandyba, Ihor Kalynets, Yevhen Pryshliak, and Zynoviy Antoniuk; Jewish political prisoners Semen Hluzman, Yosyf Mehener, Ar'ye-Leyb Khnoh and Lev Yagman, Russian political prisoner Volodymyr Balakhnov and Armenian political prisoner Bahrat Shakhverd'yan also took part.

The prisoners talked first of all about the isolation in which they are kept by the camp administration. I. Kalynets said:

"It's obvious to me that this is done to hide the true facts as they contravene international laws and moral norms, and even go against the Soviet constitution. I was sentenced, for example, for my literary works which were not anti-Soviet in any way whatsoever, nor even did they have a socio-political character. It is ridiculous to claim that there were any state or military secrets in my works. Furthermore, my trial was held 'in-camera', and even my closest family was not allowed to be present. This is understandable: my trial for committing "an extremely dangerous state crime" was based solely on a few

poems which were completely apolitical. This would have surprised even the Soviet public, accustomed as it is to everything.

They attempt to keep all materials relating to such cases in the strictest secret, and many — completely illegally — are held back even after the termination of the trial.

Apart from this, the camp administration holds even suspected 'criminals' in inhuman conditions. They are kept half-starved, exhausted by hard labour, and their human dignity is continuously degraded. If all this were made public, such things would not be allowed to take place.

The cases of V. Stus, Y. Sverstyuk, M. Osadchy, and many others, are similar. M. A. Horbal' was sentenced to 5 years in prison camps and two years of banishment for writing just one poem: 'Duma'."

Asked about the legal position of the political prisoners in the USSR, I. Kandyba replied thus:

"The USSR denies the existence of political prisoners, and we are forbidden to term ourselves as such. This tradition dates back to Czarist Russia, only then they were called "state criminals" while now they have additionally become "extremely dangerous".

Another difference is that there are many more "extremely dangerous state criminals" now in the USSR than before, and the authorities treat them even more cruelly.

There is one important feature in the position of political prisoners in the USSR. If one bears in mind the fact that there indeed exists a constitution in the USSR which is the supreme law, then the majority of so-called political prisoners, imprisoned because of their attempt to make use of the rights guaranteed by the Constitution, have been imprisoned illegally. Strictly speaking, it would be difficult to term such people even as political. Nevertheless, there also exists the Criminal Code which defines the use of basic democratic rights, as guaranteed by the Constitution, as a crime, and the people who have dared to use them as "extremely dangerous state criminals".

Thus political prisoners appraise themselves and their action in various ways: those who call upon the Constitution consider themselves innocent as a rule; those who take the Criminal Code into account admit their guilt. The position of political prisoners in the USSR is thus doubled from the very beginning."

Lev Yagman added to this:

"The same disparity which exists between the paper Constitution and the Criminal Code can be seen between the new Labour Code* and the actual rights of political prisoners.

Here are a few examples. In the Preamble of the principles of the new Labour Code it is stated that the serving of one's sentence of imprisonment should not cause any physical or moral sufferings. How, then, is one to interpret the fact that prisoners are often put into

*) The new Labour Code relates to the forced labour camps.

solitary confinement for up to six months at a time, where food, low in quantity and poor in quality, is served according to the miserable norm no. 9. This is a well thought-out way to undermine a person's health, and you can understand what it means to survive on reduced rations for half a year, when even the normal camp rations, as confirmed by the camp doctors, (in the employ of the KGB), cause stomach illnesses as a rule after only a few years."

I Kandyba said thus:

"The rights of non-Russian political prisoners are especially limited. They are taken outside the territories of their own republics, and forced to live in harsh climates to which they are not accustomed. Their families cannot always come and visit them, and not only the prisoners but other members of the family also suffer because of this, and families are thus split up. This is to the regime's advantage, which explains that this is done for political motives. Non-Russian political prisoners are forced to communicate with the administration only in Russian, and incoming and outgoing mail is held up under the pretext of being written in a non-Russian language. We are even forbidden to speak in our own language with parents during visits. The numerous appeals and demands of political prisoners to be allowed to serve out their sentences in their own countries have all been flatly rejected."

The prisoners' conditions of work are described thus by Z. Antoniuk:

"The combination of two jobs into one, (without pay, obviously!) is widely practised. The number of hours on the night shifts is not strictly defined, and we are often forced to work two shifts one after another without any payment for extra hours. There are no shortened hours for doing work which could be harmful to one's health or any compensation for special work carried out; extra food (which usually means powdered milk) is given out infrequently and not to everybody, and has thus taken on the form of a reward. The timetable of workloads is completely fictitious — there are no possibilities for rest for the second shift. Theoretically, work is in two shifts, but in reality there are three, since the second shift works two shifts in a row."

A. Khnoh added:

"The conditions here are semi-regimental, with constant searches both during the day and night, forming up into lines and inspections, living in barrack-like dwellings with forty people or more to one section, prisoner's clothing and footwear, having to wear degrading name tags sewn onto one's clothes, low-calorie monotonous food daily, etc."

Asked about relations between the political prisoners themselves, S. Hluzman said:

"In general, I can confirm that here, for the first time, I saw true internationalism, not on paper but in action, especially between the so-called "bourgeois nationalists", in spite of the fact that the KGB and MVD have been trying for a long time to make prisoners of various nationalities quarrel amongst themselves."

Y. Pryshliak talked about the different groups of Ukrainian political prisoners:

"Immediately after the war, the concentration camps were full of political prisoners in the category of 'war criminals'. Some of them were released, others died, while others are still languishing in prison to this day. Such 'criminals' are still tried even nowadays and brought to the camps — the aim of which is evident. Up until the 1960's this category usually consisted of members of the Ukrainian underground movement, their families, and those who either morally or materially aided them. This was generally the rural youth, skilled workers, students and intelligentsia. The political prisoners from the Baltic countries also consisted of the same category of prisoners. They were harshly sentenced to between 10 and 25 years of imprisonment; many of them died in the severe conditions of the prison camps, though the majority of them were released in 1957, some even before serving out their whole sentences. Those left are people with broken health and an unbalanced nervous system.

During the second half of the 1950's, after the total destruction of the armed underground movement, political prisoners of a different category were brought to the prisons and concentration camps. These were mainly people who had grown up under the Soviet system — almost all of them intellectuals or workers. They saw that elementary democratic freedom did not exist in the USSR and decided to struggle to achieve them. New arrests and trials began. In 1961 a group of 7 people (all with secondary or university education) were tried in Lviv for calling upon the appropriate paragraph of the Soviet Constitution and conducting a propaganda campaign for the withdrawal of Ukraine from the Soviet Union. This was the Lukianenko-Kandyba group.

Twenty people, members of the "Ukrainian National Committee", whose aim was to print and distribute literature propagating the idea of Ukrainian independence, were tried the following year. Two persons were executed, and others were sentenced to between 5 and 15 years imprisonment in concentration camps. About 20 people were tried in Lviv, Ivano-Frankivsk, Kyiv and other Ukrainian towns in 1965 for coming out in defence of democratic freedoms. In 1967 members of the "Ukrainian National Front", which printed and distributed samvydav literature, were tried in Ivano-Frankivsk. It would be difficult to enumerate all the trials which took place and sentences passed, but their main characteristic was the fact that

writers, artists, scientists and intelligentsia all came under the repressions."

Asked what means the prisoners could use to fight for their rights, Svitlychny replied:

"A hunger strike is worth special mention here, and both the camp administration and the prisoners take different attitudes towards it. "You are punishing yourselves" said several officers to us gloatingly when in May-June of this year (1974) a large group of prisoners went on hunger strike in protest against the arbitrary rule of the camp administration.

Generally speaking, hunger strikes in Soviet prison camps are not as effective as in other countries, and prisoners are not even allowed to inform their families, let alone widely publicize them. Nevertheless, they do have some positive results, so prisoners do not go on hunger strike just by chance. I have been in this prison camp for less than a year, but have already taken part in four hunger strikes. We have at least been able to draw the attention of the authorities to the situation in the camp, since it is only during and after a hunger strike that higher officials come to the camp to try and settle the matter in question. Although the outrages committed by the camp administration are always numerous, they at least examine some of them and try to rectify them. At the end of 1973, for example, all my notes on philologic topics were confiscated, and I tried for more than half a year to find out what had happened to them but in vain, until, after having finally decided that they had been destroyed, they were unexpectedly returned to me during a hunger strike."

To the question of whether they regretted the fact that fate had brought them to prison camps, the prisoners gave very characteristic replies, such as that of Antoniuk:

"On looking back over my life from the beginning of the 1960's, I regret not having felt like a citizen earlier but having been only a passive observer of sociological processes in Soviet society. I heard about the different faces of Soviet legality only through rumours, therefore I am glad that at least now I am able to experience everything myself . . . He who has not been in the DOPR's* is not a citizen."

Lev Yagman:

"Do I regret anything? Obviously I don't feel any particular pleasure in being separated from my wife, in being deprived of even the elementary necessities for a normal human existence, in being behind barbed wire. This will all definitely leave its mark, reflect on one's health, influence one's character and introduce new elements onto one's outlook. I believe that imprisonment has freed me from just the "intellectual weakness' that Lenin accused the intelligentsia of in his time, and this I do not regret."

Ar'ye-Leyb Khnoh:

*) DOPR — concentration camp.

"It is sad to be separated from one's family and country for so many years, but in many respects I am satisfied. The arrest and trial of myself and my colleagues was one of the factors which caused the Soviet Union to change its policy on Jewish emigration."

Ihor Kalynets:

"Just as in every prisoner, my heart grieves for freedom, but considering the oppressive situation which exists in Ukraine today, I prefer to be in a prison camp, and, as Antonych said: 'I prefer the harsh and grim life.' It brings me friends, who prove their friendship through daily ordeals, and here I again bring to mind Antonych's prayer:

"but let us pray to the distant stars
to give us in this world
a great and suffering life."

Ivan Kandyba:

"I do not regret having chosen the path which led me to this concentration camp not so long ago. I cannot grieve for a lost freedom, which I never had. How can one feel free when one is aware of the fact that one's motherland is in chains? We have to undergo many hardships, but morally I feel better now than when, as a supposedly free citizen, I could do nothing to improve my country's fate. The longer I stay in these conditions the clearer it becomes to me that I chose the right path and that true freedom will only exist when Ukraine — my motherland — is free."

Slava Hluzman:

"Yes, I have my regrets. Although I am here, I am not only serving my prison sentence. I am here because in freedom I could oppose the criminal psychiatric treatment of healthy people more vigorously. I am a psychiatrist and at present members of various professions are protesting against the imprisonment of healthy people in psychiatric prison hospitals, except, unfortunately, psychiatrists. There is an objective reason for this. My colleague — Leonid Plyusch — is being held in a special psychiatric prison hospital of the MVD . . ."

Ivan Svitlychny:

"The passage from freedom to imprisonment for me was not as brusque as for some others. For many years before my arrest I was unable to find employment within my profession, my literary works, which in no way were anti-Soviet, were not published solely because my surname was not in favour with the official circles, and up to the time of my arrest I was in fact treated as an outlaw. In this respect I did not lose much after my arrest. Obviously, it is hard not to see for years one's wife, family and friends, with whom I formerly shared all my joys and troubles. Apart from this, my main object in life was my philological work, and not 'politics'. Here in this camp there are no possibilities whatsoever for the continuation of this work.

The arrest, trial, imprisonment and many ordeals freed me from certain naive illusions and occasioned a more serious examination of my moral beliefs, so in this respect this school of life is richer than mere study. I lost several friends who did not survive the harsh ordeals, but my friendship with others strengthened. Apart from this, I also made friends with those whom I could not even dream of before. As a writer I am able to observe many different types of character here in the camp and to acquaint myself with such unbelievable human destinies which I would not meet during my whole lifetime if I were free. Therefore, it is difficult to say whether I would lose or gain more by being free. I do not complain about my fate, nor do I envy my friends who are free."

Vladimir Balakhnov:

"I have no regrets..."

Bakhrat Shakhverdian:

"I know what fate holds in store for me, but freedom will never be achieved without sacrifices. For a true patriot, to struggle for the independence of one's country is good fortune, honour, and the essence of life. A fight to the final victory! Such is our slogan! Our way of fighting is peaceful and honourable although we are up against perfidity, cruelty and despotism. Physically we can be destroyed, but we can never be defeated! Although it is hard for me in a concentration camp, hard for me to reconcile myself with the mockeries and the arbitrary and severe regime, I will not denounce nor give up my beliefs and ideals. I am ill (with heart and stomach trouble, etc.) but my strength of will, steadfastness, spiritual energy, hopes and dreams all give me strength. I met many people in the concentration camps who have been held there for over 25 years, young patriot-democrats. This was the university of life for me. I met people of many different nationalities — Ukrainians for an independent Ukraine; people from the Baltic states whose only crime is that they love their country too much; Jews who wish to live in their own country, Israel; and many young people struggling for the democratic reorganization of society. Their only crime is that they wish to live a free and worthy life.

I love life and liberty. I want to see a free and democratic Armenia, and it is not my fault that I was born here and am what I am. I cannot understand how people active in politics and society can claim that repressions against patriots and democrats, their arrest and imprisonment in psychiatric prison hospitals, prisons and concentration camps, is an internal matter of the USSR. For us political prisoners, it is below our dignity to bargain with our own conscience."

SHORT BIOGRAPHIES OF THE ABOVE MENTIONED PEOPLE

STUS Vasyl, born 1938, poet and literary critic, Arrested in January, 1972 for "the distribution of false ideas which are a menace to the Soviet Nation and Social order". Sentenced in September, 1972 to 5 years imprisonment and 3 years banishment from Ukraine. At present serving his sentence in a Mordovian concentration camp.

CHORNOVIL Vyacheslav Maksymovych, born 1. 1. 1938, journalist. First arrested in 1966 and sentenced to 3 months imprisonment. Arrested again 3. 8. 1967 and sentenced 15. 11. 1967 to 3 years imprisonment. 12. 1. 1972 arrested for the third time and sentenced on the 9-12th April, 1973, in Lviv, to 7 years hard labour and concentration camps, and 5 years banishment from Ukraine. At present serving his sentence in a Mordovian concentration camp.

ROMANIUK Vasyl, born 1922 in the town of Chernivchi, Orthodox parish priest in the town of Kosmach, Ivano-Frankivsk province. First arrested in 1944 and sentenced to 10 years imprisonment. His father died of starvation and his brother was murdered. Re-arrested in 1972 and sentenced to 7 years imprisonment and 3 years banishment from Ukraine. Serving his sentence in Mordovia.

SENYK Iryna Mykhaylivna, born 1925. She is a renowned poetess. First arrested in 1946 and sentenced to 10 years imprisonment in concentration camps. Released in 1957 because of illness. Arrested for the second time in the summer of 1972 and sentenced in December, 1972, in Ivano-Frankivsk, to 6 years imprisonment and 5 years banishment from Ukraine. Iryna Senyk is at present serving her sentence in a Mordovian concentration camp.

STASIV-KALYNETS Iryna Onuphriyivna, born 1940, poetess. Arrested in January 1972 and sentenced in July 1972, in Lviv, to 6 years imprisonment and 3 years banishment from Ukraine. Her husband, Ihor Kalynets, is also serving a long sentence of imprisonment, leaving their young daughter an orphan. Iryna Kalynets is serving her sentence in a Mordovian concentration camp.

STROKATA-KARAVANSKA Nina Antonivna, born 31st January, 1927, in Odessa. She is a doctor and biologist. Arrested on the 18th December, 1971. Tried in Odessa between the 4th and 19th May, 1972. Sentenced to 4 years imprisonment. Her husband, Sviatoslav Karavanskyj, is also serving a long prison sentence. Nina Strokata is serving her sentence in a Mordovian concentration camp.

SHABATURA Stephania Mykhaylivna, born 1940, a painter and specialist of tapestry. Arrested in January, 1972, in Lviv and sentenced in early August, 1972, to 5 years imprisonment and 3 years

banishment from Ukraine. She is serving her sentence in a Mordovian concentration camp.

POPOVYCH Oksana, born 1928 in Ivano-Frankivsk. She is a self-taught historian. First arrested in 1944 and sentenced to 10 years imprisonment in a concentration camp, where she became an invalid. Arrested again in 1974 and sentenced to 8 years imprisonment and 5 years banishment from Ukraine.

SVITLYCHNA Nadia Oleksiyivna, born 1942, teacher and philologist. Arrested on the 19th May, 1972, and sentenced late in March, 1973, in Kyiv, to 4 years imprisonment. Her four year old son was taken to a state orphanage because her husband, Danylo Shumuk, is also serving a long prison sentence. Nadia Svitlychna is serving her sentence in a Mordovian concentration camp.

OSADCHYJ Mykhaylo Hryhorovych, born 22. 3. 1936, poet and lecturer. Arrested 28. 8. 1965, and sentenced 18. 4. 1966 to 2½ years of concentration camps. Arrested again in January, 1972, and sentenced in September, 1972, to 7 years imprisonment and 3 years banishment from Ukraine. Serving sentence in a Mordovian concentration camp.

HORSKA Alla Oleksandrivna, born 18. 9. 1929, an artist. On the 28th November, 1970, in the town of Vasylkiv, near Kyiv, she was found murdered. The murder was committed by the KGB.

* * *

Documents smuggled out of Ukraine

THE CHORNOVIL PAPERS

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

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

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AN APPEAL TO THE POPE FROM REV. ROMANIUK

In the summer of 1975, the imprisoned Ukrainian Orthodox priest Vasyl Romaniuk, sent an appeal from captivity to Pope Paul VI, imploring the Holy Father to plead for the Ukrainian women and other victims, convicted during the Soviet Russian repressions against Ukrainian intellectuals in recent years.

"To His Holiness Paul VI, Pope of Rome, the Vatican.
From the repressed Ukrainian Orthodox priest Vasyl Romaniuk.

An Appeal

Your Holiness,

The violation of basic human rights in the USSR has assumed such great proportions in recent years that people are sent for long terms to concentration camps or psychiatric clinics for even the slightest displays of dissidence. In 1972 around 800 people were repressed in Ukraine alone; some of them received long sentences and are kept in concentration camps in Mordovia and the Ural region, while others were dismissed from their jobs, expelled from educational establishments or evicted from their apartments. A large proportion of those under repression are women, some of which have received long sentences. Furthermore, the Soviet Themis* has paid no attention whatsoever to the fact that there are sick women and mothers of very young children in their number. The Soviet government pays a considerable amount of lip service to the ideas of peace and friendship between nations, and condemns the "Chilean Junta" in every way possible, while at home it savagely suppresses dissidence.

I regard it as my duty to ask Your Holiness to take note of this inhuman attitude adopted towards repressed women. Some twenty or thirty women, under repression for their beliefs, are currently detained in a Mordovian concentration camp. There are Ukrainian women amongst them whom I know about personally: Iryna Stasiv-Kalynets, the poetess; Iryna Senyk, the poetess; Nina Strokata-Karavanska, the doctor and biologist; Stefania Shabatura, the artist; Nadia Svitlychna, the teacher and philologist, and Oksana Popovych. The only "crime" of these women, as is the case with all those under repression, lies in the fact that they do not think in the way the "powers that be" would like them to.

I Beseech Your Holiness to demand that the Soviet government puts an end to this violation of human rights, releases all those

*) Themis — goddess of law and justice in Greek mythology.

who are under repression and allows those who wish, to leave this terrible country. I must also mention that the women named above refused to work during International Women's Year as a sign of protest against the tyranny and lawlessness perpetrated against them, and have consequently been starved for a period lasting almost half a year in prison cells and in solitary confinement, and threatened with re-trial.

It has come to my knowledge that certain members of the Catholic and Protestant clergy have received a so-called "Lenin prize for strengthening of peace between nations", and therefore taking advantage of this opportunity, I would like to remind them that if they believe in the good intentions of the Soviet government, then they should try to influence it to stop the suppression of basic human freedoms and religious convictions, since only then will their high-flown statements about peace and friendship make any real sense. If the Soviet government refuses to comply with these demands then the obvious conclusion is that it has no desire for peace whatsoever, but is merely deluding worldwide public opinion, since without justice there can be no peace. In this case, those church members who received the above award ought to decline it.

A country where all justice has been quashed, where propagation of rampant atheism over the years has inculcated brutality into people, is incapable of peaceful relations and cooperation with other nations. I, for example, have written almost four hundred letters of complaint and appeals concerning the tyrannical and lawless acts committed against me. However, my pleas were in vain. They were met with cold inhuman response in all quarters; "You were convicted with good reason", I was told and, furthermore, there are people who have written thousands of such complaints and received no reply. This is a typical example of progressive Soviet cannibalism.

The Soviet Union is the fiercest opponent of Christianity (especially of Catholicism) and national and religious rites and traditions. A KGB official told me during my interrogation that, "the Church in the Soviet Union should cease to be active and go into decline. Consequently, we regard those members of the clergy as undesirable, who painstakingly attempt to force their convictions upon the faithful, and we will fight against them". For the last three years I have been writing to every court for permission to receive a Bible. However, they informed me that I will not receive one: "We will not allow you to spread religious propaganda in this country". This is how freedom of conscience is manifest in the Soviet Union.

Your Holiness, it is impossible to enumerate all the facts concerning the suppression of human rights in the Soviet Union in this

short appeal. In any case, it is not necessary to do so, since there are numerous documents in the West bearing witness to the awful crimes committed against peace and humanity by this government. My friends and I, therefore, hope that the Holy See will help in the formation of an international committee to investigate information about the violation of human rights in the Soviet Union. We also ask that we may be allowed to meet representatives of other nations, and that they might be made fully aware of all that is taking place in this country. I ought to remind Your Holiness that dissidents are not only sent to concentration camps and psychiatric hospitals, but some are even murdered. In 1970 Alla Horska, the artist, was murdered in Kyiv; this year an Orthodox priest was murdered in the Lviv oblast, and quite recently Volodymyr Osadchyj, brother of Mykhaylo Osadchyj, the Ukrainian writer currently under repression, was murdered in the town of Sumy. This list is not by any means complete. Even I was threatened with physical violence, and also a term in a psychiatric hospital, before my arrest. The governor of the Vladimir prison imparted the following 'wisdom' to me; "I'll tell you something; you anti-soviets, should be sent to psychiatric hospitals, because you're abnormal. Can't you see what powers we possess, our tanks and our rockets. Nixon himself will be visiting us soon and soon America will be kneeling at our feet. Meanwhile, you've taken it upon yourselves to criticise the Soviet government. Normal people would certainly not get involved in this business."

Your Holiness, we appeal to the Vatican in great expectation. We appeal to all Christendom and everyone of goodwill, in this Holy Year, to raise their voice in protest against all the injustices mentioned in this appeal.

I, for my part, announce that on the 1st August 1975, I shall begin a hunger strike in protest against the cruelty and barbarity perpetrated against the dissidents, and against the refusal of the authorities to allow me to possess a Bible.

Father Vasyl Romaniuk

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

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UKRAINIAN SENTENCED FOR PARTICIPATING IN ESTONIAN MOVEMENT

New York, N. Y. — Artem Yuzkevych was one of five defendants sentenced by the Supreme Court of the Estonian SSR for taking part in the so-called "Estonian National Front".

Other defendants included Kalju Miattyk, Matty Kyirend, Avro Varatov, and a Russian, Serei Soldatov. They were charged with "anti-Soviet agitation", for disseminating over 40 illegal documents, such as "The Programme of the Estonian National Front", "The Programme of the Estonian Democratic Movement", journals "The Estonian Democrat", "The Estonian National Voice", and the Russian-language publication "Ray of Freedom".

The prosecution also accused them of preparing a memorandum to the United Nations General Assembly and U.N. Secretary General Dr. Kurt Waldheim.

The five defendants refused a

defence attorney, arguing that he would not be able to defend them properly because he would fear being in conflict with the authorities. Soldatov further protested against the make-up of the tribunal, claiming that he is a democrat and Communists cannot objectively decide his fate.

In his final statement, Yuzkevych affirmed his belief in Communist ideals. He said that all his life he protested the inequalities in the Soviet Union, and was never accused of anti-Soviet propaganda, until now.

The trial is political in nature, he said, and added that in "10-15 years people will look in shame at the proceedings as they do at those of the 1930's and 1940's".

Miattyk and Soldatov were sentenced to six years, and Kyirend and Yuzkevych to five. Varatov received a reduced term because he admitted his guilt.

LEONID TYMCHUK SENTENCED FOR SUPPORTING NINA STROKATA

New York, N. Y. — Leonid Tymchuk, a Ukrainian sailor from Odessa, was sentenced by an Oblast court on trumped-up charges of disorderly conduct to one year in prison, according to the press service of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (abroad).

Sources in Ukraine feel that Tymchuk is being harassed by the KGB for being a co-founder of an organization in defence of Nina Strokata, said the Council's press service.

On December 21, 1971, Tymchuk, along with Vasyl Stus, Iryna Stasiv-Kalynets, Vyacheslav Chornovil, and Petro Yakir, formed an organization in defence of the incarcerated Ukrai-

nian microbiologist. Since that time Tymchuk has been persistently harassed by the secret police.

He was first arrested on charges of "disorderly conduct" on November 4, 1975, and was detained for 15 days. Four days after his release he was again picked up by the militia on the same charges, and this time the prosecution had statements from witnesses attesting to his alleged "disorderly conduct".

Despite many letters to the courts from Tymchuk's friends disclaiming the allegations that he was ever a "hooligan" or "alcoholic", he was sentenced as charged by the Odessa court on December 30, 1975.

The Life in "Soviet Paradise"

Leonid PLYUSHCH

THE HORRORS OF PSYCHIATRIC PRISONS

At the Press-Conference, Held in Paris, the 3rd. of February, 1976

(EXCERPTS)

I am 37 years old, Ukrainian by nationality. I graduated from Kyiv State University a mathematician by profession. Up till 1968 I worked in the Institute of Cybernetics of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR. Officially I was dismissed because of a reduction in staff, in fact, it was because of a letter of protest sent to "Komsomolskaya Pravda" about the GINSBURG-GALANSKOV affair.

After that I was unable to find any work. In January 1972 I was arrested and accused of anti-Soviet propaganda.

What was I sent to prison and then to a mental hospital for?

In 1964 after the fall of KRUSHCHEV I wrote a letter to the Central Committee of the Communist Party in which I put forward my ideas about the democratization of the Soviet Union. By chance the letter got into the hands of the KGB. The KGB talked to me and asked me to refrain from writing any such letters for some reason for two years. I retained my job and even continued as a propagandist, running a philosophy seminar.

From 1966 on I began to write articles for Samizdat. The articles were about the problems of the nationalities in the USSR.

As far as the nationalities are concerned the Soviet Union continues the policy of the Tsarist government.

Wishing to be of some practical help in the struggle for democratization *samizdat* collected information for the "*Chronicle of Current Events*" and "*the Ukrainian Herald*" which throw light on the fight for human rights in the USSR.

In 1969 I became a member of the "Initiative Group for the Defence of Human Rights in the Soviet Union" which legally protested against infringements of the Soviet constitution and the Declaration of Human Rights.

On the 15th of January 1972 I was arrested and put in the investigation and isolation prison of the KGB in Kyiv. I was charged with everything described above.

From the first day of the investigation I refused to make any statement whatsoever. I knew that anything I said about my friends,

even if it was in their favour, would only be used as an accusation against them. Neither the KGB, nor the Prosecutor's Office are interested in the truth. I told the investigators that I considered the KGB an anti-constitutional organization and that I did not wish to be a party to their crimes against the people.

As early as 1969, an acquaintance of mine, BAKHTIYAROV, was told during an investigation that I was a schizophrenic and that I was in a mental hospital. For this reason I was convinced from the first day of my arrest that I would be put into Dnipropetrovsk mental hospital. I understood that my tactics of silence during investigations increased the threat, but I did not want to go against my principles.

In May 1972 I was sent to the Serbsky Institute for a so-called in-patient forensic psychiatric examination. For 6 months I was in Moscow's Lefortovo Prison. The decision to send me for forced treatment was taken on the ground of several conversations with psychiatrists, among whom were some leading Soviet psychiatrists — Academician Snezherski, Lunts, Nadzharov and Morozova. I went before two expert psychiatric commissions. As I subsequently found out the diagnosis was "sluggish schizophrenia from an early age".

From July 1973 to the 8th of January 1976 I was in Dnipropetrovsk special mental hospital. I underwent a "treatment" of Neuroleptics — Haloperidol and Triftazine — and was subjected to two courses of insulin therapy.

Most of those detained in the Dnipropetrovsk special mental hospital are mentally deranged — murderers, rapists, hooligans. There are about 60 political prisoners, in general mentally normal people.

People like PLAKHOTNYUK, YATSENKO, RUBAN, EVDOKIMOV, LUPYNIS who are there because of so-called "anti-Soviet activity" as well as those who leave for the West — "the border-crossers".

The horror of "psikhushki" (the mad house) gripped me from the start. In the ward there were more patients than beds. I was put as the third person on two bunks that had been pushed together. On the beds patients were writhing from Haloperidol. One man's tongue was lolling out, another was rolling his eyes, a third walked around unnaturally bent over. Some lay and groaned with the pain — they had been given injections of sulphur. As they explained to me, they were being punished for bad behaviour.

All the patients walked around in their underclothes, which were without buttons. I felt embarrassed in front of the nurses as one man's genitals were visible in these "clothes".

Patients stood around the door and begged the male nurses to let them go to the toilet.

When I woke up next morning, I saw two male nurses beating up a patient. In the afternoon I was summoned for interrogation by

Dr. KAMENETSKAYA. A male nurse came in and said that a patient had attacked some nurse and had then tried to hang himself in the toilet. She ordered him to be tied up and burst into the ward and started shouting at him.

The patient told me that he hadn't attacked anyone but they had beaten him up because he had asked to go to the toilet. But no one could make up his mind to tell the doctor about this because they were afraid of being punished with sulphur. The patient began to make fun of the victim, but he told them: "they'll beat you up too you know".

I arrived in prison with a group of thieves who were feigning illness in order to "have a rest" and a good feed up. On the second day they all admitted that were quite healthy — horrified by what they had seen.

A week later I was taken to another floor. Here the regulations were not so strict — hardly anyone was writhing in pain from Haloperidol; it was easy to get to the toilet, the patients wore dirty, ragged clothes; but they wore pyjamas . . .

They put me on a plank bunk between two patients — one man was seriously ill and had completely lost any resemblance to a human being (he was swollen, defecated where he lay and spent his time masturbating). As he was dying he was soon taken to an ordinary hospital. This is a common practice to "bring down" the death statistics.

The patients immediately explained to political prisoners that they shouldn't complain here. If you did you were given a reinforced treatment of Neuroleptics, injections of sulphur, and they prevented you from going to the toilet.

You had to admit to the doctors that you were ill and renounce your views.

At the beginning I argued with them and then I came to the conclusion that they were right.

I met a journalist from Leningrad called EVDOKIMOV. We began to have ideological arguments. They broke us up, saying we were antisovietchiki. One of the nurses told the patients we were "yids". Several patients began to complain that we prevented them from sleeping during the day. I was put in another ward.

There was a political prisoner there as well. But doctors warned him not to speak to me. He didn't.

One very sick patient who was known as "Mister" used to yell out anti-Soviet slogans and asked me to correct his delirious letters to the Soviet authorities. The male nurses promised to secretly "smuggle them out" and in return took all his groceries. (Food received in food parcels from outside. Translator's note). He died after 2 months.

The male nurses in the hospitals are criminals serving out their sentences. They demand groceries, socks, etc. from the patients. In

return they allow you an extra visit to the toilet or they increase your ration of shag. If you refused to give them the bribe they might beat you up. They beat EVDOKIMOV up for this. I complained to the doctor and things got worse. They searched me several times a day, took away my shag. I had to give them the bribes.

According to the rules they take you to the toilets in groups six times a day and during three of the visits you are allowed to smoke. The patients try to smoke as much tobacco as they possibly can, hence people vomit.

I was prescribed "Haloperidol" in small doses. I became drowsy and apathetic. It became difficult to read books. I started to spit out tablets secretly.

After 3 months they put me in the worst department — n^o9. Here the arbitrary rule of the male nurses is less evident but to make up for it the "treatment" is much more intense. You are under more strict supervision, the doctor's interrogation becomes more humiliating.

I was put in a so-called "supervised ward" where they put the violent serious cases — some fight, others writhe in epileptic fits, a third cries, a fourth roars with laughter, a fifth sings thieves' songs, a sixth describes his case and his sexual adventures in a loud voice, a seventh asks to go to the toilet — in short, bedlam.

Then one of the the "border-crossers" ask to go to the toilet. He is incontinent and has the doctor's permission to go to the toilet at any time. But the male nurses do not take this into account. So he urinates on the floor in the ward. And he's not the only one who uses this form of protest...

In the toilets the picture is even more depressing — it's full of people, there's a fight for a place at the "peephole", people search for "fag ends", cigarette stubs among the used toilet paper. Some of the patients also eat their excrement or masturbate. I don't want to blacken the picture — this last did not happen every day.

I was considered as the most dangerous patient in the hospital. The male nurses and the nurses were forbidden to talk to me. The other political prisoners were warned that if they talked to me it would be the worse for them. When one male nurse started to take science fiction books from me he was told that he was associating with an "antisovietchik". For two days I sat next to a political prisoner in the dining-room. They moved us and put us at different tables.

Once I talked to a young murderer for a whole evening — about science fiction. The next day he was put in another ward. What is more, the doctors reproached me for making friends with another murderer which was completely untrue. At the same time they reproached me for not talking to any of the patients.

To keep me in complete isolation I was forbidden to go to the

kitchen or into the yard in case I might, accidentally meet other politicals.

Even 8 months before my trial instructions were given to the Dnipropetrovsk prison that I was not to have any contact whatsoever with the doctor from Kyiv, PLAKHOTNYUK.

At the interviews, the doctors asked me about my contacts outside. I told them that these questions were interrogator's questions and refused to answer them. The interviews themselves were very painful for me as they discussed my beliefs and made humiliating comments about them. They commented on my letters and the letters of my relatives. When my wife complained about something in the behaviour of my eldest son and praised the younger one, they told me that eldest was on the right track whereas the youngest was schizophrenic. They hinted that my wife wasn't normal either. And as for a close woman-friend who wrote me affectionate letters — she was supposed to be my lover and so they would not give me her letters.

In general the doctors suggested I cease writing to all my friends as they were all antisovietchiki and my correspondence with them proved that on leaving the hospital I would continue my "anti-soviet activities".

After the Yakir-Krazin trial they suggested I write a confession. I asked them, "surely you don't think that an adult can change his views so quickly. They must be lying".

The doctor agreed that they lied but continued to put pressure on me to recant.

But a confession was not enough, there had to be proof that it was genuine, and there had to be proof why I considered I was mentally ill. I answered the last question carefully, saying that I was not a specialist and that I could not express an opinion about my own illness. Here it must be taken into account that I did not know their diagnosis and did not know what I should be disputing.

A few words about doctors — their moral and intellectual level.

— . . . a patient: — When will I be let out?

Doctor: — Not until I'm on a pension.

One of the patients called the doctors Gestapists. They prescribed injections of sulphur (After an injection of sulphur your temperature goes up to 40°, the place where you had the injection is very painful, you cannot get away from the pain. Many people get haemorrhoids as a result of sulphur injections). This patient groaned loudly for 24 hours, mad with pain he tried to hide himself under the bed, in despair he broke the window and tried to cut his throat with the glass. Then he was punished again and beaten up. He kept asking everyone "Am I going to die?" And only when he really did begin to die and another patient noticed it, did they stop the sulphur. And for 2 days they gave him oxygen and brought him various medicines.

They saved him. As I understood the use of sulphur was counter-indicated for him.

In a nearby section a patient, a common-law criminal, told the doctors that three political prisoners (one of whom was dumb) "are having anti-Soviet conversations". These patients were suspected of plotting. When they searched the dumb one they found a note: "And how much do oranges cost?" this was regarded as a coded message. They began to inject into the veins of the "conspirators" hitherto unheard of in the hospital doses of Barbamyl. They were brought into the word completely unconscious. At the same time they began to give them sulphur. And all this without explaining why. And then we heard about the "conspiracy" in roundabout way.

Doctor E. N. KAMENETSKAYA, whom the patient called Illse KOCH boasted in front of EVDOKIMOV that she had bought Remarque". Someone reported the nickname. EVDOKIMOV was put on Haloperidol.

Doctor LYUBARSKAYA said to me:

"You are just an ordinary person — why did you go in for politics?"

I explain that one of the ideas of the Communists was the involvement of all the working people in political activity. The Bolsheviks were ordinary people too.

Answer: "But you're not a Bolshevik" and explain: "your abnormality is shown by the way you have always, from an early age been concerned with things that were none of your business". (She was thinking of my activities at school when I took part in the Brigade which helped the border guards, then I was in the vigilantes who went after thieves, speculators and prostitutes — that is, I was an active KOMSOMOL member).

The following episode says a great deal about the professional standard of the doctors.

I asked the same doctor:

— "Why is psychotherapy not used in the hospital?"

Answer: — "There is no use for psychotherapy in psychiatry".

I have described what I heard and saw. But I was asked to describe what it was like before I was there.

The conditions for both the sick patients and the same ones were much worse. The male nurses used to beat them up for the slightest thing, and they nearly beat them to death.

The doctor who was in charge of my case, Doctor LYUBARSKAYA was the head of a department. In her department the male nurses killed a patient. The incident was hushed up and the male nurses were sent off to a camp. LYUBARSKAYA was transferred to our department as simple doctor.

At the beginning of the 1970's the male nurses beat out political prisoner GRIGORIEV's liver. He died.

Sbviously such iincidents led to "a relaxation in the regulations". I cannot check these stories, but I heard about this from political prisoners whose sanity I do not doubt and from ordinary criminals.

What is the aim of a "treatment" and regulations like this?

I saw this in my own case. The first days should break a person morally straight away, break down his will to fight. Then begins the "treatment" with neuroleptics. I was horrified to see how I deteriorated intellectually, morally and emotionally from day to day. My interest in political problems quickly disappeared, then my interest in scientific problems, and then my interest in my wife and children. This was replaced by fear for my wife and children. My speech became jerky, abrupt. My memory deteriorated sharply.

At first I felt it keenly when I saw the patients' suffering or learnt that some friends had turned traitor. Then I became indifferent to all that. The effect of the neuroleptics increased my isolation from the healthy politicals. I did not want to hear the cries, the fights, the laughter, the crying, the delirium. For whole days I lay and tried to sleep. The neuroleptics helped me.

I did not have a thought in my head. The only thoughts that remained were — toilet, smoking and the "bribes" you had to give to the male nurses to have an extra visit to the toilet. And one other thought:

... "I must remember everything I see here, so I can describe it later. Alas, I didn't remember a hundredth part of what I saw".

In spite of my apathy I was afraid that my deterioration was irreversible. I looked at the really serious cases, who, they told me, had been quite well a few years ago. You had been able to have some communication with them.

Several politicals broke down and gave in before my eyes.

I was very worried by the somatic health of EVDOKIMOV and PLAKHOTNYUK.

I must emphasize that thanks to the protests of my wife and friends and the concern expressed by public opinion in the West great attention was paid to my physical health. I cannot say the same for the others.

I consider my statement and this press conference as an opportunity to draw the attention of public opinion all over the world to the situation of political prisoners in the USSR and to call upon people everywhere to intensify their fight for HUMAN RIGHTS throughout the world.

Here in the West, I consider it a duty to my CONSCIENCE to join in the fight for the release of political prisoners from the prisons, camps and psychiatric prisons of the USSR.

At the moment the fight is going on for the release of my friends Vladimir BUKOVSKY, Siemen GLUZMAN and Valentyn MOROZ.

I call on all honest people to join in this fight.

Y. DEKA

EPISODES FROM MY LIFE IN UKRAINE

I have already spent three months in Israel — the land of my fathers. But still memories remain. Different memories — some good, some bad. Thinking back and analyzing, I must say that most of my good memories are from Western Ukraine, where I spent the last 18 years, before emigrating to my homeland.

Most of my contacts, during all these years, were with many Ukrainian students, middle-aged intelligentsia, and in the last 3-4 years, with workers.

From the very beginning of my acquaintance I began to understand that Ukrainians can be divided into two categories. I believe that the group of the so-called “damned nationalists” merits most attention. In my opinion, their ideas and outlooks are very close to the heart and mind of any normal and educated person. The desire to see a rebirth of one’s culture, and language, to give them national characteristics and to rid them of any foreign influence seems a normal desire. It is self-understood that such ideas are intimately connected with the idea of statehood. The truth of this statement is obvious: a nation that gave the world so many humanists, scientists, poets, singers and folk artists is perfectly capable of ruling its own country, without any “help” from the so-called older brother.

People who express these, or similar ideas, are called Ukrainian nationalists. They encounter all sorts of difficulties in their life and work. Those that are courageous and do not hide their beliefs, can be assured of “being supported by the government (of the USSR)” for a term limited only by a person’s life span. (To balance the suffering, the family of such a “rebel” is also denied any means of supporting themselves).

Among Ukrainians there is also a group that is totally opposed to the actions and beliefs of the “damned nationalists.” Such people, with a few exceptions, have no restraints. Is it possible that a desire to obtain another star on the epaulette would limit the consciousness of someone who would imprison his own father for no reason? (Policeman’s rank of H.N. in one of the regional centres).

Such people have forgotten about their origins and background and are ruled only by the desire for material comforts, power and advancement. When it comes to ideas, they subscribe to those that are officially sanctioned, for in this manner they will not have to think independently. Such are the people that bring the most suffering to Ukrainians and Jews. My friendship with Ukrainian "nationalists" changed a lot of my thoughts about the Ukrainians and the various events in Ukraine. I want to relate some of these events.

At one time I studied in the Lviv State University and lived in the dormitories on Pasichna Street (now Boulevard of the 50th Anniversary of Lenin's Komsomol) in the Mayorivski district. Visiting a friend from the philological department (students of different disciplines lived on different floors in the dormitory), I heard coming from several rooms the well-known Israeli broadcasts from station Kol-Israel. I rushed to my friends' rooms and asked: "Am I hallucinating? Do we have that many courageous Jews who listen so openly to Israeli broadcasts?"

My question was answered very simply. These broadcasts were being listened to by Ukrainian nationalist students. Quite soon I became acquainted with many of them, and we became friends. After having conversations with them I truly understood the difference between thoughts (and their ensuing consequences) and actions of Ukrainians.

All these students were well-educated with independent and critical opinions, and good manners. (Although this last observation may not seem important, their manners contrasted sharply with the manners of the majority of "the proponents of leading ideas.")

From the students I learned the fact that Ukraine was given the status of a sovereign state and not of a "sister republic" because of necessity and because of the dissatisfaction Ukrainians exhibited at the dissolution of their culture, individuality, language and national consciousness. (When I spent some time in the Baltic area and in Central Asia, I heard the same information from the local "nationalists"). In one conversation my friend Bohdan told me: "Ukraine is rich and generous. From times immemorial many different nationalities have lived in Ukraine. They lived in a friendly manner, but now Ukrainians consider each other almost as enemies. Who is at fault?" He explained to me, that it was not the fault of the horses, but of the driver, and this could only be changed through the concerted action of all Ukrainians.

Myroslav, after I got to know him better, told me even more openly: "If Ukraine belonged to the Ukrainians, they would be happy to live together with different nationalities."

My own thoughts about national culture, individuality and statehood for each nation were in complete accord with those of my friends. This shows that Ukrainians, not all, but the best of them, are my friends and the friends of my people.

I

An interesting question was why the students listened to Kol-Israel without hiding? They considered it to be a source of information and also as a means of protest; legal protests were also conducted by students who would pass difficult examinations from special disciplines, would get low grades on examinations in the philosophy of Marxism-Leninism, the history of the CPSU, communism, atheism, etc. These are the very subjects that are considered very important in Soviet education, and if one does not pass them, one can get into many difficulties. This statement is amply substantiated with many examples, of which I will give only one.

II

First year students of the mechanical-mathematical department conducted a survey as to the name and form of their newspaper. They wanted it to reflect their interests and news from the discipline and the recommendations of the president, dean, Party or Komsomol organs. Therefore the bulletin was not called "The Soviet Student" or "For Soviet Science" but "Extremum." But this was not all. The trouble began after the first issue, which was considered to contain material that might set a bad example for other departments. Some of the articles expressed dissatisfaction with the situation in the department, with the work done by the public and other university departments, the success of some of the Komsomol leaders, the quality of the lectures of some professors, etc. That is when trouble began.

But Professor Chaykovsky, one of the first Ukrainian professors at the University of Vienna, published his own articles in the magazine and then went to the party members assigned to the department to defend the students engaged in the publication of the bulletin (myself included).

Somehow the matter was taken care of quietly, but our magazine ended up in the river, across which Charon rows his boat.

III

The New Year fir trees in Lviv were a very significant indication of national spirit. In the centre of the town — exactly opposite Lenin's monument — a "general municipal" tree was decorated. All the time the tree was guarded by the militia, komsomol patrols and people's guards. The tree was always surrounded by many people — grown ups, children, and older people. Suddenly amidst the noise one heard the voice of a young man. Handbills were passed from hand to hand and the speech continued until the militia came through the crowd. Sometimes they did not catch the speaker, but in most cases they put them and the listeners close to him into a nearby truck.

The text of the handbills and speech reflected to the atmosphere that prevailed around the trees. But the most interesting point was that those rounded up did not end up at the militia station, where logically they belonged since the charges against them were "hooliganism," disturbing the peace, etc. The truck went to a quiet place and the militia let everyone out. But when they came across a drunk they would take him to the station.

It seems strange, but it is a fact. The militia were simple Ukrainian boys who read those handbills, listened to the speeches. I am sure this affected them and somehow stirred them.

It is much worse when the komsomol patrols or people's squads are involved in these matters. Then those who are taken to the militia station are in trouble. The students, for example, are expelled from the university; the number of such victims (from university and polytechnical institutes only) would be about 8-10 per year.

In 1968-1969 in Lviv (also in Kyiv and Kharkiv) there was a silent wave of dismissals from work of a large number of Ukrainian intelligentsia. There were many rumours going around about this, but the socialist press was silent. It was even rumoured that the underground printing presses were seized. If this is true, then judke for yourselves: all the handbills as well as a great number of printed material that is passed from hand to hand were still being printed. One of my friends named Kezer, was dismissed from the university because of his uncle, and then readmitted after a year or two when the KGB found out that he was not in any way involved in this matter.

Many people claim that the crest of this wave coincided with the demonstration of the Lviv soccer fans when the club Karpaty won the USSR cup. Among the crowds that gathered, one could hear urgent discussions. The militia stood around not doing anything, but it was well-known that there were many agents in the crowds. These are events that many people remember very well. Without making any long-range conclusions or any summaries, I can say that in my opinion, there are still workers in the field. And, as it is well known, Ukrainian fields bear a good harvest.

IV

Having finished the University of Lviv (until my departure for Israel) I spent three years in a town in the Chernivets oblast, on the banks of the Cheremosh. On the other side of the river is the large village of Kutý (Ivano-Frankivsk oblast) whose inhabitants would come over to work to our side of the river. I worked in DOK together with many people from Kutý. Many of them have families in the U.S., Canada, France. They correspond with them regularly and sometimes they have visitors from abroad. They also regularly receive parcels from abroad. Thanks to those parcels, visits from relatives

and gifts of dollars, the people of Kutly live, by Soviet standards, not badly.

After I got to know them better, I realized that most of them at the first opportunity, would leave all their possessions and would emigrate from the Soviet Union, even to go to Canada.

To live in your own country well or to leave? This question that I posed to them received many different answers.

And here is a true incident. A grandfather came from Canada to visit his family. There were many gifts, much talk. It was around some holy day and the church in Kutly was still open. Grandfather went to church and came back home furious. Who's business was it if he went to church or not. Finally he returned to Canada while his relative was chastised at a meeting of the professional society and accused of disrupting work discipline. As a result of this he did not receive a bonus and his allotment of flour. He did not care that much about the money, (the amount being small) but he regretted the loss of flour, for it was very hard to buy corn and wheat flour in the stores. He had difficulty feeding his chickens and pig. He had to buy flour privately and expensively.

There was no reason for this, but this is the way things are done. Must one add anything more?

V

Working in the DOK I was in charge of a convoy of trucks. The conditions were not bad, people treated me kindly and did not share the outlook of the administration of the shop.

I had good relations with all the workers, since people were more interested in my attitude to them and to their work, than in my national origins. But it was a different story with the administration. During a break, the man in charge of the drivers, V. R. sat with me, pulled out a newspaper (either *Izvestia* or *Pravda*) and said: "Read." I began to read a long article about the terrible conditions of the workers in France, U.S. and Canada. "Well?", I asked. "Well nothing," he answered. "Only my neighbour has a family in Canada and she regularly receives from them letters and parcels. They write that they are not rich: they own a house, (5-6 rooms) they have a car and a motorcycle; the children have all been educated, one of them an engineer who is starting his own company. However, his wife also has to work." V. R. himself read the letters to his neighbour, since she is illiterate. "Well?" I said. "Well, I do not know who to believe. They write that they plan to come for a visit, but not until next year, since they want to give some money to their son for the business. And I don't understand any of this, although I read it with my own eyes."

Both I and the old man sighed, lit up and kept quiet. What can one say! The people of Kutly are visited by their relatives from

Canada or France, but they cannot go there; especially the young people would not be allowed to leave. A friendly driver told me once that he has been trying for two years to receive permission to visit his family in Canada. But the appropriate organs told him: "You cannot go, you are too young." He will soon be a grandfather. He asked to be allowed to travel alone, without his wife and children. But the answer is always the same.

So it was no surprise to me that after I applied for emigration to Israel, I was being greeted on the street by strangers. They all wished me happiness and success and looked at me with envy. One man really surprised me. He was a big burly fellow from the militia. He told me: "Don't get involved in any trouble at this time. If somebody gives you trouble just tell me and I will take care of it." I thanked him, and although not expecting trouble thought about his offer.

For this reason I was not at all surprised by the following event. I finally received my permit (only 11 months delay) and got a truck to load on our things. Suddenly young men that I never saw before appeared, helped me with everything while I and my wife stood by not believing our eyes. I wanted to give them some money or offer them a drink but they did not want anything. "Really, are you stupid or do you think we are. You were without work for a year and you must be careful of every kopek. Do you think we are doing this for money? As for a drink, we will be happy to treat you." And then they said good-bye.

This is not an isolated incident.

VI

Having put in an application for immigration to Israel, I automatically was left without a position, since I was a lecturer in a school. In such a small town as V., everybody knows about everybody, no supervisor had enough courage to give any sort of work.

But the world is full of good people. One of them decided to give me something to do. Many kolhosps had subsidiary industries — i.e. they employed volunteers in carving different wood, wood souvenirs, which are quite popular, like any folk art. Finally I also become employed in this manner. I had quite a number of items which had to be gathered and polished. It was time to get a formal agreement with the kolhosp and hand over my product.

I went to the head of the kolhosp who signed a paper for me. I was happy and continued working. After several days I was called for a talk with him. I took along my work book, thinking that the informalities would be taken care of. I walked into his office and he began to tell me all sorts of tales; he even called in the secretary of the party bureau. At this point I gave him back the signed paper and left.

Later I found out that the administrator of the kolhosp did not know about my application for immigration when he signed the paper. So now he had to reverse himself.

But my friend H. V. did not get upset. "These are stupidities," he said. "We will find a way." And he found a man who made such souvenirs. We were introduced, looked each other over and settled the matter. Not only was I reimbursed for the money I had spent (on paints, glue, shellac) but also earned something into the bargain. And the man would also make a profit, since he had all the items ready and the kolhosp price is higher.

(To tell the truth, he did not really need the things I made and I was not yet that good at it. But he knew about my situation and tried to help me).

How can I not remember these people with a kind word?

I do not give their names so that they will not encounter any difficulties. And nobody will be surprised at this. It is similar to the case when in the school for folk artists, the best pupils often would fail their examinations. This occurred when their personal history came to light: when they were not members of the Komsomol, or they did not hide the fact that the father was a believer, well known in the area or abroad, although he was a simple worker. The son was not admitted to the Komsomol because of his family background and not because he was a thief. His life could have been ruined, but the fact that his father is known abroad helped. Somehow they looked over his work, changed some things and admitted him..

But who is to guarantee that such "misunderstandings" will not still await him in the future?

NEW ON THE BOOK-SHELVES:

FOR THIS WAS I BORN

The Human Conditions in USSR Slave Labour Camps
Photographs, Testimonies, Poems, Readings Petitions,
Letters, and other Documents.

Compiled and Edited by Yuri Shymko

Ukrainica Research Institute,
83 Christie Street,
Toronto M6G 3B1, Ontario Canada.

Volodymyr SAWCHAK

UKRAINE WITHOUT HER OWN HISTORY IN THE NEW "BRITANNICA"

Robert M. Hutchins, Chairman of the Board of Editors of the Encyclopaedia Britannica, claims that the newest, fifteenth edition, published in 1974 "... is a revolution in encyclopaedia making..." because supposedly it "combines the reference and educational functions".¹

However, this claim proves to be empty from the point of view of a reader who is interested in learning about the history of Ukraine "one of the 10 most economically developed countries in the world..."²

Scanning the very sketchy references about Ukrainian language, literature, churches, etc. in Micropaedia (10:240-41) one finds there a reference to the article "Kievan history and modern times" (Macropaedia 10:468 ff.) Surprisingly, this article deals only with the history of the capital city Kyiv (Kiev)³ and not with the history of the medieval *state*, known as Kyiv-Rus' (also Kievan Rus' or Kiev Rus') which existed in South-Eastern Europe for almost five hundred years and flourished as an important socio-political, cultural, and economic centre during 11th, 12th, and in the first half of 13th century.

In despair one searches further and finds an article "Russia and the Soviet Union, History of" (Mac. 16:39-89) where, in the opening paragraph, one reads that "... the title of this article... is used very loosely to describe the European part of the Soviet Union from ancient times as well".

If the reader accidentally comes across the article "Livonia" (Mic. 6:278) he will be surprised to find that the history of this "European part of the Soviet Union" is presented fully and independently from the history of "Russia and the Soviet Union", thus contradicting evidently the above quoted statement. One starts to wonder and raise

1) Foreword in "Propaedia". The new Britannica consists of one introductory volume, called "Propaedia"; ten volumes of "Micropaedia"; and 19 volumes of "Macropaedia". Thereafter these volumes are quoted as "Mic." or "Mac." before the volume and page number.

2) Mac. 18:833.

3) The transliteration used throughout this article is the Ukrainian one. The editors of Britannica erroneously and persistently use the Russian transliteration of Ukrainian names and even of the titles of books written in Ukrainian. There is no justification for such a use and unnecessary russification in this country and in the English language. In parentheses are the forms generally accepted in English usage, although they differ from the original form and pronunciation in Ukrainian.

the question *WHY* the editors of Britannica saw fit to give the readers an opportunity to learn the history of presently non-existent Livonia but not the history of still existent Ukraine?

This discriminating treatment of the history of LIVONIA and that of UKRAINE seems to prove that the editors of Britannica violated their own guidelines as expounded in Propaedia: "objectivity and neutrality".

Trying to squeeze many diverse historical variables into a single article under the fallacious heading "Russia and the Soviet Union" the editors created a monstrous mixture of the histories of such medieval states as Kyiv-Rus', the tsardom of Muscovy, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania the Polish-Lithuanian-Rus' Commonwealth, and Kozak-Ukraine under the Hetmans. Such an "unified" treatment of these diverse entities casts very serious doubts about the editors competence. Moreover, such a treatment seems to promote the centuries old "traditional scheme of 'Russian' history"⁴ promoted by the "Court historians" in tsarist Russia and since 1934 the "Party historians" in the Soviet Union.⁵ And this is neither "revolutionary" nor, for that matter, new.

Uneven Authorship and Basic Fallacies

The article under review consists of five separate parts, written by different authors, whose initials appear at the end of each part.⁶

Part I, entitled "From the beginnings to c. 1700" (Mac. 16:39-49) written by E. L. K. (Edward Louis Keenan, Harvard) contains the greatest number of misguiding statements, errors, and omissions, thus rendering this period of history incomprehensible. One wonders what prompted the editors of Britannica to commission Prof. Keenan, a specialist on 16th century Muscovy to write about pre-history, pre-Slav and early Slavic historical developments in Eastern Europe.

In the first paragraph dealing with pre-history Keenan fails to even mention many important sources: the Greek historian HERODOTUS and his description of SCYTHIANS: "At the Ister [Danube] begins the ancient Scythian land..." and "... ends at the eastern Sea [Black Sea]. For the Sea to the South and the Sea to the East are two of the four boundary lines of Scythia...";⁷ the excellent

4) "The traditional scheme of 'Russian' history was rejected by the Ukrainian Historian M. Hrushevsky in 1904 in the publication of the Imperial Academy of Sciences "Zbornik stattey po slavyanovedeniyu" (Symposium of Slavic Studies). A. E. Presniakov in his *The Formation of the Great State* confirms that "Hrushevsky's views can find support in a number of conclusions and opinions developed and accepted in the literature of general Russian history".

5) Lowell Tillett, *The Great Friendship: Soviet Historians on the Non-Russian Nationalities*. University of North Carolina Press, 1969; also: Konstantin F. Shtepa, *Russian Historians and the Soviet State*. Rutgers University Press, 1962; Cyril E. Black, *Rewriting Russian History*, Vintage Books, 1962 (revised edition in paperback).

6) Initials and names of Contributors and Consultants are listed in "Propaedia" pages 7-106.

7) Herodotus, *Works*, Book IV, translated by A. D. Godley. Harvard University Press 1963, 301; see also Aubrey de Seloncourt, *The World of Herodotus*, Little, Brown and Company, 1962.

study *THE SARMATIANS* by T. (Tadeusz) Sulimirski,⁸ the writings of Pliny, the Elder, and the Greek geographer Ptolomy, where one can find many references to the early Slavs, and the relatively recent accumulation of archaeological sources and among them the study *ROMAN COINS ON THE TERRITORY OF THE UKRAINIAN S.S.R.*⁹ The author's omissions are even more numerous than those cited, but some of his factual statements are really startling.

"In the 9th century Scandinavian traders... established a new centre near Ryazan" writes Keenan. Unfortunately, according to *Britannica* (Mac. 8:730) Ryazan's existence was not recorded until the 11th century (1055)!

"This Volga-Rus kaganate may be considered the first direct antecedent of the Kievan state" Keenan makes unsupported "discovery"; is he not familiar with the history of the state of ANTES, which existed from the 4th to the 7th centuries on the territory between the Danube and the Sea of Azov?!

Jordanes, the 6th century historian of the Goths, as well as the Byzantine historian, Procopius of Caesarea, write about the first Slavic state without any mention of the mythical "Volga-Rus kaganate". Almost all historians agree that "the political antecedent of the Kievan state" was the state of Antes and only Keenan thinks otherwise. And on page 42b one reads an even more unexampled and unfounded statement:

"The lands of Galicia and Volhynia were always ethnically and economically distinct from the Kievan region proper..." If this is historically accurate, Keenan should describe where this ethnical distinction lies, and what his sources are, and, as historian, not make such an unsupported statement.

It is clear that the author adheres to that school of Russian historiography which believes that all Eastern European history should be treated as "Russian" history and that neither Ukraine nor Byelorussia have had any history independent of the "Russian mainstream". This theory of "one stream" of 'Russian history' existed in Russian historical science since the times of Karamzin and Pogodin who were "Court historians" and whose writings were the histories of the Russian *State-empire*, not of the Russian *people*! The confusion of two different terms *s t a t e* and *n a t i o n* leads to important omissions of the great segments of the East European history: the histories of Ukraine and of Byelorussia. Is this "educational"?!

Part II, entitled "The 18th century" signed by M. Ra. (Mirc Raeff, Columbia) describes the reign of Peter I. and the "Petrine state" (pp. 49-52), the reign of tsarina Anna, Elizabeth, and Catherine II (pp. 53-57) as well as tsar's Paul I. The author does not mention

8) T. (Tadeusz) Sulimirski, *The Sarmatians*, Praeger Publishers, 1970.

9) M. Y. Braichewsky, *Ryms'ka moneta na terytorii Ukrainy* (Roman Coins on the Territory of Ukraine) in Ukrainian with English summary. Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian S.S.R., Kyiv 1959.

even the name of the Ukrainian Hetman Mazepa in his discussion of "Peter's decisive victory over Charles XII at Poltava in 1709" (p. 50), in spite of the fact that no historian, from Voltaire to R. M. Hatton, makes no such omission. He does not say a word about the destruction of the Kozak's republic "Zaporizhian Sich" in 1775, the abolition of the Hetman state system (autonomy) and the extension of serfdom in Ukraine by Catherine II. How then can the history of Ukraine of 18th century be evaluated by the objective and knowledge-thirsty reader?!

Part III deals with "Russia (a more proper term would be "Russian empire") from 1801 to 1917" and was written by H. S. W. (Hugh Seton-Watson, University of London), an expert on East European affairs. In this part the treatment of Ukrainian history is the most objective. The editors of the Britannica have done a great disservice to the whole article by not finding scholars of similar stature to author Parts I. and II.

Part IV — "The U.S.S.R. from 1917 to 1939" (pp. 68-78) written by R. V. D. (Robert V. Daniels, University of Vermont) has a misleading heading, because it is a well known fact that the "Union of Soviet Socialist Republics" (U.S.S.R.) was created only by the end of 1922 in the "Treaty on the Formation of the U.S.S.R." of December 30, 1922 and not in 1917!

Although the author refers to the "formal federation" of 1922 on p. 72 in the part entitled "The politics of succession", even there his statement that "Lenin recognized the personal power that Stalin was accumulating" contradicts the original quotation from Lenin's co-called testament: "Therefore I propose to the comrades to think up a means of transferring Stalin from that position." Is this a recognition or rather rejection?!

If the first pages of this chapter followed Richard Pipes' book *The Formation of the Soviet Union* or Robert Sullivant's book *Soviet Politics and the Ukraine 1917-1957* the reader of Britannica would receive more objective and accurate information. However, curiously enough, neither of the aforementioned books are even listed in the bibliography in spite of the fact that Prof. Pipes is listed among Consultants!

Part V — "The U.S.S.R. since 1939" written by M. F. (late Merle Fainsod, Harvard) presents a well balanced history of the last 30 years (to November 1969). One wishes that certain aspects of the Communist Party's policies toward the Ukrainians and Ukrainian S.S.R. during WW II and later would be presented in more detail e.g. the incorporation of Western Ukraine in September 1939, the Ukrainian Partisans' (U.P.A.) struggle with the "Soviet power", mentioned even by Khrushchev (Khrushchev Remembers pp. L40-41), and the admission of the Ukrainian S.S.R. to the United Nations

Organization in 1945), but the reader can always acquire quite detailed knowledge about these events reading such excellent books as John Armstrong's *Ukrainian Nationalism*, Yaroslav Bilinsky's *The Second Soviet Republic*, and Konstantyn Sawczuk's *The Ukraine in the United Nations Organization*, probably not known to the author because of his prolonged illness.

Conclusions

Western European literature on Ukraine is vast and easily accessible¹⁰ to the historians who want to write an objective history of the nations and not only of empires, past or present, tsarist or communist!

Even many Russian historians recognize that the "one stream" theory of "Russian" history is basically inaccurate. This is reflected in the works of V. O. Kliuchevsky who referred to the "complete breakdown" of the Kyivan socio-political forms, laws, cultural, and ecclesiastical structures in XIII-XV centuries and the development of new forms of life, new social types, and new relations arising from the local conditions in the upper Volga country. M. F. Vladimirsky-Budanow, and authority on Russian laws, writes that: "In the Muscovite state already in the 14th century there are no more traces of the influence of the legal system of 'Rus'ka Pravda...'" A. F. Presniakov in a 3 volume work *Kievan Rus', West Russian and the Lithuanian state*, and *The Formation of the Great Russian State* stimulated the revision of many theories formerly held unchallenged.

Therefore, after careful reading and examination, one can state that the article "Russia and the Soviet Union, History of" in the newest edition of *Britannica* is a failure of both, as a "reference" and as an "educational" source about the nations of Eastern Europe and especially Ukraine, which remains without her own history in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.

Contrariwise in the *Encyclopedia Americana* (vol. 27th) and even in the very specialized *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (vol. 15th) one can find the articles where the history of Ukraine is presented independently from the history of "Russia and the Soviet Union". The editor of *Britannica* should keep this in mind when the new 15th edition of *Britannica* will be revised, as announced.

10) Élie Borschak, *L'Ukraine dans la littérature de l'Europe occidentale*, *Le Monde Slave* volumes III & IV/1933, I, II, & IV/1934, and vol. I/1935, available also in special reprint of 1935;

Volodymyr Sichynsky, *Ukraine in Foreign Comments and Descriptions*.

Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, 1953;

Paul Horecky, *Russia and the Soviet Union: A Bibliographical Guide*, University of Chicago Press, 1965;

Peter A. Crowther, *A Bibliography of Works in English on Early Russian History to 1800*, Basil Blackwell 1969; first published in the United States, 1969 by Barnes & Noble, Inc. and many other bibliographies.

In Defence of Prisoners of Conscience

Oleksander I. MARUNCHAK

THE WIND OF CHANGE?

The Motion introduced in Parliament earlier this year and intended to promote a debate on the plight of Ukrainian prisoners of conscience, has been meeting with hitherto unprecedented success.

In the House of Commons, Mr. William Whitlock, the Labour M. P. for Nottingham North and a former Parliamentary Under Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, has been drumming up support from his fellow M. P.'s with the close co-operation and assistance of the Committee for the Defence of Ukrainian Political Prisoners in the USSR.

Working long hours, irrespective of whether it is weekday or weekend, a small group in the Committee's administrative section has thus far contacted almost 400 M.P.'s in an effort to obtain support for Mr. Whitlock's 'Early Day Motion 30'. So far the response from the Commons has been both encouraging as well as unexpectedly positive. Over 130 M.P.'s have signed the Motion — whilst many others have promised to discuss the probability of their doing so with their colleagues. Mr. Whitlock's Motion has now become so well known that he no longer needs to approach his fellow M.P.'s individually — they come to him to discuss the merits of his proposal and offering their support.

Quite clearly the fact that not one single Ukrainian political prisoner has been released before the expiry of his sentence, unlike those of minority groups, prominent Russian dissidents and Jews for instance, needs to be publicized. Likewise the failure of international amnesty organizations to secure concessions from the imperialist authorities in Moscow as regards Ukrainian prisoners, particularly Valentyn Moroz, Sviatoslav Karavansky, Vyacheslav Chornovil, and Father Vasyl Romaniuk, has been ignored by the media and others connected with these matters.

However, the Committee prides itself on having a close liason with other similar non-Ukrainian organizations on an international scale. It is anticipated that as pressure from all these civil rights groups begins to mount, and in turn exert influence over influential individuals in their respective countries, Brezhnev and his reactionaries will have to gradually give way to the weight of foreign public opinion or face the serious threat of a complete collapse in their policy of detente with the West.

In view of the Helsinki accord, the Committee, not unreasonably,

feels that this would be an opportune moment for the Russian imperialists to clearly indicate a change of heart in respect of their maltreatment of Ukrainian political prisoners by releasing Valentyn Moroz, Svyatoslav Karavansky, and Vyacheslav Chornovil.

It is gradually becoming painfully obvious to the West that the Russians have only been paying lip service to all the declarations on human rights that they have signed but failed to strictly adhere to. The Committee can confirm this by letters of support they have received from Government Ministers and their counterparts on the opposition benches.

Despite being persuaded to enter into negotiations at Helsinki, the majority of British M.P.'s now accept without dispute that the existence of the present social and political system in the Russian empire is solely reliant on the presence, force and numbers of the Red Army, and that that system has never stood the test of free elections.

Of particular interest to most M.P.'s was the fact not one single Ukrainian political prisoner has ever been released in good health under any form of 'amnesty'.

Until recently the British newspapers were swamped by publicity concerning various Jewish activists who were demanding to be allowed to emigrate, supposedly to Israel. Only gradually the British press and public have become aware that there are many other political prisoners and groups, notably Ukrainian, fighting for individual and national freedom and independence. In this respect it is worth pointing out that the majority of Western journalists in the USSR are only aware of what goes on in Moscow and Leningrad — due mainly to the restrictions on travel placed upon them by the authorities. It is more than coincidental therefore, that Western newspapers report mainly on cases emanating from these two cities, since many Jews and their supporters have been concentrating their protest efforts here, in a deliberate and determined attempt to covet the greater part of any publicity regarding unrest in the Russian empire. Ukrainian political prisoners have received only fleeting mention in the national dailies here in Britain, and yet they constitute the largest revolutionary group opposed to the neo-tsarist structure of the 'USSR'.

Many M.P.'s have taken the point that the great majority of Jews do not want nor are even interested in a change of the Soviet internal system, but simply seek to leave the empire, whereas Ukrainians wish to remain in Ukraine in order to bring about a democratic system which would culminate in the economic and political independence of Ukraine.

The Committee quite clearly regards it as no sort of challenge to obtain the support of a least 200 M.P.'s — although of course this still requires a great deal of preparation and administrative work, which, in these inflationary times does impose a certain financial burden. However, thanks to the generous donations of well wishers

throughout the country, these financial obstacles are in part being removed. Although wonders are being worked with an extremely small budget, if more money was forthcoming it would be that much easier to publicize the present situation of unrest in Ukraine, as well as the inhuman conditions in which political prisoners in the USSR are forced to exist.

It is quite apparent from conversations with various M.P.'s that they feel the forthcoming year will see substantial changes in the British Government's attitude to the Moscow totalitarianists and imperialists. Because of the work of the Committee, more and more M.P.'s have accepted that the Russian treatment of Ukrainian political prisoners is the only yardstick by which the adherence of Moscow to the principles of the Helsinki Agreement can be measured.

WOMEN PRESENT 6,000 PETITIONS TO STATE DEPARTMENT

Washington, D.C. — Over 6,000 petitions in defence of Ukrainian women political prisoners and other incarcerated dissidents were presented to State Department officials by four leading Ukrainian American women activists here Tuesday, March 2.

The petitions, which were collected in New York, New Jersey, Ohio, Illinois, Michigan, Connecticut, Colorado, Virginia, Maryland, Nebraska, Pennsylvania and Florida, were to be handed over to President Gerald Ford.

In a separate memorandum addressed to the President, the representatives of the central Ukrainian women's organizations asked for U.S. intercession on behalf of Iryna Stasiv-Kalynets, Stefania Shabatura, Oksana Popovych, Nadia Svitlychna, Iryna Senyk, Valentyn Moroz, Sviatoslav Karavansky, Vasyl Stus, Ihor Kalynets, Vyacheslav Chornovil and Ivan Svitlychny. It also cited the cases of Yuriy Shukhevych, Nina Stokača and Danylo Shumuk.

The meeting with the State Department officials and the four women, Ulana Celewych, president of the Women's Association for the Defence of Four Freedoms of Ukraine and chairman of the World Committee for the Defence of Political Prisoner,

Lidia Burachynska, vice-president of the World Federation of Ukrainian Women's Organizations, Maria Karpyszyn, member of the committee for the Defence of Political Prisoners who is related to the Kalynets family, and Ulana Diachuk, treasurer of the UCCA and UNA, was arranged by Rep. William Walsh (R. — N. Y.).

In their talks with the women representatives, James Wilson, Coordinator for Humanitarian Affairs, and Benjamin Tua of the Soviet Desk, showed a keen interest in the Ukrainian American defence actions and demonstrated in-depth knowledge of all aspects of human rights violations in the USSR.

Mr. Tua added that he would immediately apprise the American delegation at the U.N. Human Rights Commission meeting in Geneva of the petitions submitted.

The memorandum included a historical background of Ukraine and factual information on repressions in Ukraine. It was signed by Mesdames Burachynska and Celewych, and Joseph Lesawyer, Executive Vice-President of the UCCA, who was unable to attend the meeting because of the death of his brother.

LEAFLET DISTRIBUTED DURING GROMYKO VISIT
TO GT. BRITAIN

WILL you help?



Valentyn Moroz

The visit of Andrei Andreevich Gromyko to Britain for talks with the Foreign Minister and Prime Minister is a prelude to a much more important occasion later this year, when either Brezhnev or Kosygin are to come here on an official visit.

In view of the importance of this preliminary meeting, it is worth considering the social and political system that these rulers of the Soviet-Russian empire preside over.

It has been estimated that this empire has at least 75,000 political prisoners. Amnesty International calculates that there are 330 prisons and concentration camps in the USSR for political prisoners alone.

The Ukrainian prisoners of conscience have been deprived of their liberty not because of some unpardonable inhuman crimes against their fellows, **but because they believe that people should be allowed to hold and express many different types of ideals and political views** — not just those dictated by Moscow.

People like the historian **Valentyn Moroz**, the journalist **Sviatoslav Karavansky**, the lawyer **Lev Lukyanenko**, the artist **Stefania Shabatura** and the poetess **Iryna Stasiv Kalynets**, have paid the price of being incarcerated in a prison or concentration camp for terms ranging from eight to fourteen years **simply for holding these elementary democratic ideals.**

They undergo imprisonment and torture because they believe that Ukraine should be separated from the Russian empire and exist as an independent state which, in theory, it is already supposed to be. They and their families are subjected to every kind of humiliation and repression only because they continually stress that the 'Soviet internal system' ultimately relies for its existence on the presence of force, and that **it has never stood the test of free elections.**

Despite their imprisonment, countless number of Ukrainians have **continued to protest vehemently** at the Moscow authorities' arbitrary attempts to impose the Russian language and culture on the fifty

million inhabitants of Ukraine. Amnesty International has stated that there has never been an acquittal of a political defendant in the 'USSR' and that political considerations override 'Soviet' criminal law and theory.

ALL THESE FACTS ARE KNOWN TO THE BRITISH FOREIGN MINISTER.



He is also aware that in the House of Commons there is at present a Motion, signed by over 130 MP's calling for the release of Valentyn Moroz and other Ukrainians and condemning Moscow's maltreatment of political prisoners.

Despite all this, successive British Governments continue to formally hold polite discussions with representatives of a regime that is a former ally of nazism and fascism, and which is in no way less totalitarian, extreme, repressive or authoritarian than that of Mussolini's Italy or Hitler's Germany.

PEOPLE ARE BEING
TORTURED AND ARE

DYING IN PRISONS, PSYCHIATRIC PRISON-HOSPITALS AND CONCENTRATION CAMPS THROUGHOUT THE SOVIET UNION.

WE APPEAL TO YOU TO HELP THEM BY DOING ONE OF THE FOLLOWING:

WRITE TO YOUR M.P. ASKING HIM TO SIGN THE MOTION IN PARLIAMENT IN DEFENCE OF VALENTYN MOROZ AND UKRAINIAN POLITICAL PRISONERS IN THE USSR, AND ALSO TO WRITE TO THE SOVIET AMBASSADOR IN LONDON.

WRITE TO YOUR LOCAL OR NATIONAL NEWSPAPER CONDEMNING RUSSIAN IMPERIALIST ACTION IN UKRAINE.

JOIN US NOW AND RAISE YOUR OWN VOICE IN DEFENCE OF UKRAINIAN POLITICAL PRISONERS IN THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE.

March, 1976

UKRAINIAN WOMEN PRISONERS IN CONCENTRATION CAMPS IN THE USSR



Oksana Popovych A self-taught historian from Ivano-Frankivsk. Oksana Popovych became the first woman to be given a prison term during the International Woman's Year for political "crimes" in the USSR and was sentenced to **8-years imprisonment** in a Mordovian concentration camp. In 1944 she was sentenced by the Russians to 10 years in a concentration camp for taking part in the Ukrainian liberation movement. As a result of injuries received in the camp, she became an invalid. In 1955 after returning to Ukraine and settling down with her elderly mother, an unsuccessful operation left her a full invalid, able to move about only with the aid of crutches.

At the time of her arrest in 1974 she was preparing for a second operation. During her investigation and trial the KGB was said to have treated her very harshly, denying her the permission for the operation as well as access to medical aid.

Mykola Plakhotniuk. Dr. Plakhotniuk is being held in the psychiatric prison in Dnipropetrovsk and has no contact whatsoever with the outside world. All mail is confiscated by the K.G.B. and he has no close family who might otherwise visit him. It is known that he suffers from tuberculosis and fears for his health and fate have caused the greatest concern since 1972 when, in his absence, he was sentenced to an unspecified time for forcible 'treatment'. Should he survive and 'recover' he is to be tried as accountable for his actions, these being his unwillingness to give false testimony against young Ukrainian poets and his defence of the well-known historian Valentyn Moroz.

WILL YOU WRITE? — just one letter expressing your concern at the imprisonment and treatment of this man and demanding his release. It may not reach him, but it will certainly reach those who hold him, and in joining with others could send a tide of protest which would help to secure the release of this man from a living death. The address is: —

U.S.S.R.
Ukrainian S.S.R.
m. Dnipropetrovsk,

vul. Chycherin 101,
P.O. Box YE — 308-RB9
Plakhotniuk Mykola Hr.

RUSSIAN COLONIALISM IN GEORGIA

The Tiflis Initiatory Group for the Defence of Human Rights has appealed to the academician I. R. Shafarovych of Moscow to defend Valentyna Paylodze. The letter was apparently written on or after 17. 7. 1974:

"We wish to inform you of several details from the case of V. S. Paylodze, who has been sentenced for "spreading blatantly false information smearing the Soviet regime" and for "religious propaganda about citizens' rights". (Valentyna Serapiyonovna Paylodze was sentenced on 26. 6. 1974 to one and a half years imprisonment in concentration camps). She is accused of writing 136 anonymous letters which were sent out to various organisations in Tiflis throughout 4 years, though the court could not prove that she was the author. These letters are original appeals of a religious-political nature, and their main point is the position of Georgia, whom the author considers oppressed by Russian super-power chauvinism, hiding behind Communist slogans. The author regards the Soviet regime and Communist party as an evil of Satan's will and calls upon people not to be tempted or deceived by them, and to refuse to join either the Communist Party, the Komsomol or the pioneer organisations. The author also appeals to those who are already members to leave the ranks, and considers Georgia a Russian colony, points out the dangers of Russification, loss of freedom and nationhood which threaten the Georgian people, Georgian culture and the Georgian church, and brands with infamy the renegades who serve the interests of super-power imperialism in their quest for a career and distinction.

Nevertheless, when the Georgian Soviet press writes about Paylodze, the fact that she is a political prisoner is never mentioned and, to disorient the people, she is classed as an anonymous parasite who also took part in political agitation.

V. Paylodze was visited not long ago in her concentration camp by a female KGB interrogator called Julietta (surname unknown), who promised her that she would be set free if she agreed to work in Rustav (a metallurgical town near Tiflis) and live in Dzhandzhar, (a village set in the Azerbaijan wilderness, in a dark forgotten area, about 50 kms. away from Tiflis, where murders, robberies and all sorts of crimes often take place). V. Paylodze could be "accidentally murdered" even in broad daylight, and what better place for this to happen than in Dzhandzhar! She thus refused to accept such 'clemency' or to ask for her sentence to be shortened.

We appeal to you, an indefatigable fighter for religious freedom, to defend V. Paylodze, a deeply religious person and true patriot of her country, and to demand political prisoner status for her.

Z. K. Hamsakhurdia, translator, member of the Writer's Academy of the GSSR, M. I. Kostava, musician, O. Tsikolia.

Obituaries

ELIZABETH SKOROPADSKY, LEADER OF UKRAINIAN MONARCHIST (HETMAN) MOVEMENT, DIES

Obertsdorf, West Germany. — Elizabeth Skoropadsky-Kuzhim, the daughter of the last Ukrainian Hetman, Pavlo Skoropadsky, and the leader of the Ukrainian Hetman Movement, died Monday, February 16, after a prolonged illness. She was 77 years old.

Mrs. Skoropadska-Kuzhim became leader of the Hetman Movement after her sister, Maria, died in 1959.

A sculptress by profession, Mrs. Skoropadska-Kuzhim was born in 1899 to a noble and ancient Ukrainian clan which played a leading role in the history of Ukraine. One of her ancestors, Ivan Skoropadsky, was hetman of Ukraine from 1708 to 1722.

Her childhood days were spent on the family estate in the village of Trostianka in the Poltava region. At the age of 14, Mrs. Skoropadska-Kuzhim began studying sculpture at the St. Petersburg studio of M. Dillon, while her sister embarked on a career in medicine.

Both of them completed their secondary education with honours. Because of the outbreak of World War 1, Mrs. Skoropadska-Kuzhim was unable to

begin studies at the Academy of Arts.

In 1918 her father was elected hetman of Ukraine, and because of the ongoing turmoil in the country and the subsequent occupation of Ukraine by Soviet Russian forces, she was forced to interrupt her studies.

The Skoropadsky family was compelled to flee Ukraine after the war, and finally settled down in Berlin where Mrs. Skoropadska-Kuzhim was able to devote herself again to sculpture.

There she entered an art school and also studied in Florence, Italy. She received many awards and prizes for her work at exhibits across Europe, and she was invited to display her sculptures in Germany, Holland, Finland and America.

Since childhood, the Skoropadsky girls, along with their brother, Danylo, took an active interest in Ukrainian affairs. When their father was killed in an air raid over Germany in 1945, the brother took over the leadership of the Hetman movement. He held the post until his death, at which time the oldest sister, Maria, assumed the title.

MYKOLA PONEDILOK, NOTED WRITER & HUMORIST, DIES

New York, — Mykola Ponedilok, noted Ukrainian writer, playwright and one of the most popular Ukrainian stand-up humorist and storytellers, died here Sunday, January 25, 1976, after a prolonged illness. He was 54 years old.

Born in 1922 in the Kherson region of Ukraine, Mr. Ponedilok studied at the University of Odessa before the outbreak of World War II interrupted his pursuit of higher education. He found himself with thousands of other Ukrainian refugees in West Germany

after World War II and joined the Ukrainian theatrical ensembles of Volodymyr Blavacky and Joseph Hirniak. It was at that time that he also made his first contributions as a playwright.

He came to the United States in 1949 and continued his acting and writing careers with rapidly growing success. His first collection "Vitamins" (Vitamins) was published in 1957 and his second "Sobornyi Borshch" (United Borshch) appeared in 1960.

In subsequent years he published

"Hovoryt' Lyshe Pole" (Only the Field Speaks, 1962), "Smishni Sliozny" (Funny Tears, 1966), "Zorepad" (1969) and his last novel "Riatuite Moiu Dushu" (Save My Soul), in 1973. The last work, like Mr. Ponedilok's previous two, were published by the Svoboda Press with which he was associated virtually since his arrival in the U.S.

For years Mr. Ponedilok was in high demand at various Ukrainian fuctions and events as a humorist with a distinct style, sophistication and subtle satire on Ukrainian themes. He often appeared with his writer-friend Ivan (Iker) Kernytsky, the pair having

made a distinct mark on the Ukrainian scene in the U.S. and Canada. One of the most frequent places of Mr. Ponedilok's appearances was Soyuzivka where for years he had charmed thousands of guests and visitors.

Mr. Ponedilok was a member of the "Slovo" Association of Ukrainian Writers and scores of other organizations, including UNA. He lived alone in New York.

Funeral services were held on Saturday, January 31st, at the Ukrainian Orthodox Cemetery in South-Bound Brook, N. J.

EDUCATIONAL FILM STRIP INCLUDES UKRAINIANS

New York, N. Y. — Ukrainians are among 27 ethnic groups portrayed in an educational film strip recently brought out by the Westinghouse Learning Corporation.

The film strip, entitled "Inside the Golden Door: Ethnic Groups in America", depicts Ukrainian religious ceremonies during Holy Saturday, Epiphany and "Providna Nedilia" at various churches in the East-St. George's Ukrainian Catholic Church in Glen Spey, N. Y., St. John the Baptist Ukrainian Catholic Church in Hunter, N. Y., and the Ukrainian

Orthodox Consistory in Bound Brook, N. Y.

Also shown: a Ukrainian family at Christmas Eve supper, youngsters performing Easter dances on a Manhattan Street, a Ukrainian couple exchanging wedding vows, and Plasti members participating in a St. Nicholas party. Photography and commentary are the work of freelance journalist Katrina Thomas of New York.

Although intended for use in secondary schools, the film strip and accompanying commentary on either tape cassette or record are available to anyone.

NEW YORK LEGISLATIVE PAYS TRIBUTE TO UKRAINE ON INDEPENDENCE ANNIVERSARY

Albany, N. Y. — Tuesday, January 20, 1976, will go down in the annals of the Ukrainian American community and those of Ukraine as a historic event. That day the New York State Legislature unanimously passed a resolution calling on Governor Hugh Carey to proclaim January 22nd "Ukrainian Independence Day" in the Empire State of New York to give "encouragement... to these brave people (Ukrainians) by the people of America" in their struggle for national independence.

The resolution was sponsored by State Senators Edwyn E. Mason and Warren Anderson, Senate Majority Leader.

PROGRAMME

On the initiative of State Sen. Mason, the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America sponsored a programme dedicated to the 58th anniversary of Ukraine's independence, which was attended by both houses of the state legislature, American guests and a group of 300 Ukrainian Americans.

The programme, held in the large marble hall of the legislature, began with the singing of the American and Ukrainian national anthems, followed by the invocation of Very Rev. Dr. Bohdan Volosin, pastor of the Ukrainian Catholic parish in Watervliet.

Subsequently, Dr. Walter Dushnyck, master of ceremonies, welcomed the guests and delivered a brief address, stressing the significance of January 22, 1918 and 1919 dates. Short addresses were delivered by Lt. Governor Mary Anne Krupsak, Senators Mason and Anderson, and Assemblyman James Tallon.

The entertainment part of the programme consisted of songs by Orysia Hewka and Marusia Shtyn, bandurists M. Bandera and T. Symchyshyn, and dances by the youth group from Watervliet, under the direction of W. Kocur. The programme ended with the singing of the Ukrainian carol, "Boh Predvichnyi" (Eternal God), by the entire Ukrainian assemblage, including pupils of Ss. Peter and Paul Ukrainian School of Cohoes, who came with their pastor, the Very Rev. Volodymyr Andrushkiw, and their teacher-sisters. Rev. T. Humanitzkyj of Hudson also came with a group of his parishioners. Among the guests at the programme was Assemblyman Maurice Hinchey, who is of Ukrainian lineage on his mother's side.

At 3.30 p.m. the official session of the Senate, with Lt. Governor Krupsak presiding, was convened, with the invocation by Rev. I. Kulish, pastor of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Troy.

Senator E. Mason introduced the "Joint Resolution of the Senate and Assembly of the State of New York", praising the contributions of the Ukrainian people and memorializing Governor Hugh L. Carey to proclaim January 22, 1976, as "Ukrainian Independence Day" in New York State. After the Senator finished reading the text of the resolution, Lt. Gov. Krup-

sak presented it for a vote, which was unanimous.

Sen. Mason again took the floor and introduced the Ukrainian group — some of whom were in the chamber, with the majority in the gallery — and terminated his speech by exclaiming in Ukrainian: "Long Live a Free and Independent Ukraine!"

Most of the 300 Ukrainian Americans came from Albany, Amsterdam, Binghamton, Cohoes, Elmira, Glen Spey, Hudson, Hunter, Kerhonkson, New York, Schenectady, Troy, Watervliet and Yonkers.

Representing the UCCA Executive Board were its Executive Director Ivan Bazarko; Dr. Walter Dushnyck, editor of the Ukrainian Quarterly, and Michael Shashkevych, as well as Ivan Kedryn-Rudnytsky, editor of UCCA News. In response to the call of the UCCA Executive Board there were the following representatives of UCCA branches and local organizations: Mrs. Rosalie Polche and Mykola Chomanchuk (New York); Lev Koldynsky (Yonkers); M. Magera (Elmira); R. Harasymiak (Troy); V. Halich and M. Zobniv (Binghamton); O. Popovsky (Cohoes); E. Kushnir and Prof. M. Yurchak (Watervliet); O. Paschak (Amsterdam) and 12 representatives of local organizations. The Regional Council of the UNWLA was represented by Mrs. M. Kushnir; the UNA — Russell Kolody; the UWA — Charles Sklaryk; executive board of SUMA — Christine Shaskevych; and the Ukrainian Orthodox Youth — M. Herets.

All the proceedings of the programme were recorded by the local TV and reported by radio and newspapers.

Following the official ceremony, Sen. Mason hosted the Ukrainian group at a reception held in his office and prepared by Walter Kwas, manager of "Soyuzivka", who also helped in mobilizing participants from the Kerhonkson-Hunter areas.

Book Reviews

IN THE GERMAN MILLS OF DEATH (1941-1945)

by

Petro Mirchuk

\$6.95

Had a passenger on a train travelling between Krakow and Germany during World War II peered out the window as he passed the small Polish town of Oswiecim, he would have seen a magnificent villa, and imagined that behind the villa was one of the factories where the Nazis had said they had concentrated their enemies to serve the industrial needs of the Reich.

The passenger, of course, would have been deceived. For *Oswiecim* in German was *Auschwitz*, and behind the illusion of serenity and beauty lay the ugly reality of a concentration camp, a "mill of death." There, on a round-the-clock basis, millions of men, women, and children were subjected to humiliation, torture, and death.

Systematically beaten and tortured to reduce them to the level of animals, many of the prisoners, their spirit and bodies broken, were eventually, like animals, led to the slaughter. Those who could not be broken easily were slaughtered even sooner.

Between these two groups was

another, composed of those individuals who were able to use their resourcefulness and little physical strength so somehow survive, and to tell the world of the incredible hell that the Nazi-German supermen had made not only for the Jews, but also for a broad spectrum of political parties and nationalities.

In this remarkable book Petro Mirchuk, who was a Ukrainian political activist when he was taken to Auschwitz, relates how life — and death — was from day to day in a place which most prisoners were convinced they would leave only as corpses.

Neither coward nor hero, Mr. Mirchuk graphically describes how his own imagination and quick thinking combined with coincidence and luck, bring him through almost four years of concentration camp existence. Such was the nature of the concentration camp that simple existence was a miracle of no small accomplishment, and those who managed it are well worth listening to.

*

Oksana Asher. *DRAJ-CHMARA ET L'ÉCOLE "NÉO-CLASSIQUE" UKRAINIENNE*. Dept. of Slavic Studies, University of Manitoba. Readings in Slavic Literature No. 11, 324 pages. Winnipeg — New York, 1975. Price \$6.00.

Dr. Oksana Asher, the daughter of Mychajlo Draj-Khmara, in addition to her previous articles and separate publications in Ukrainian and English has enriched studies of the modern Ukrainian literature with one more scholarly work — a book about her father and the "school of neo-classicists" in the French language. *Draj-Chmara et l'école "néoclassique" ukrainienne* was published in the series "Readings in Slavic Literature" by the Slavic Department of the University of Manitoba (Winnipeg — New York, 1975). This book deserves

special attention of Ukrainian as well as non-Ukrainian readers.

First, this is one of the few monographs about modern Ukrainian literature written in French. Lately our scholars and in particular our specialists in Ukrainian literature were attached to the English speaking world; a sufficient number of publications, studies and translation have already been published in English; one cannot compare these scholarly works to the studies made in French, Spanish, Portuguese, German and Italian. Although the new publication

of Asher does not balance the difference, its appearance is one of important steps in this direction.

The presence of numerous translations of the original poems of Draj-Khmara into French makes an agreeable impression. For the most part there have been prosaic translations like those of Professor Clarence A. Manning or V. Kirkkonnella in the English language, but the exactness of the content (the "deep structure") in the originals and in the translations is astonishing. So one can see, in these translations, the understanding, the perceptibility and the feeling of all the details of Draj-Khmara's poetic expression and the world of his ideas, his wishes and his feelings. Certainly the free verse of the originals aids in translations, as for example:

Ніколи туги повіль
Не розливалася так,
Як нині.
І так ніколи не дивлялись
тривожні
гарячкові
очі

У шафірові береги
моєї мрії.¹⁾

["No flood of sadness ever
Did totally surround
As on this day,
Nor did I search so far and keenly,
With anxious
And impassioned
vision
Into the sapphire misty shore
Of dreaming shadows."]²⁾

We must stress here that the French translations of Draj-Khmara's poem are important, because most of the work of Asher is dedicated to the formal analysis of his poetry (to his "poetic technique, language, style, metrics and rhythm," pp. 85-252).

The importance of this new publication lies in the fact that the author discusses the role of the "neoclassicists" in the Ukrainian literature and thoughtfully connects the creative works of Draj-Khmara with the five

"neoclassicists" of that time. With objective, scholarly perception, the author reveals the conditions in which Mykola Zerov, Maksym Ryl's'kyj, Pavlo Fylypovych, Oswald Burghardt (Klen) and Mychajlo Draj-Khmara happened to live and write in those well known "cursed years" up to the complete liquidation of this group in the early 30's.

The author does not forget to relate the creative works of the "neoclassicists" and in particular those of Draj-Khmara, to the poets of Western Europe, and especially to the French Symbolists and the French Parnassians. But there is one more reason which speaks in favour of this French edition.

Just as the school of the "neoclassicists" was an unusual occurrence in the history of Ukrainian literature, so is the work of Asher an unusual event in Ukrainian literary studies. Being well equipped with contemporary methods of research, excellently acquainted with the "spirit of the time" and intimately connected with the world of ideas of her great father, the author gave a thorough study of his "life and creative work," on the background of the epoch and the literary climate of the "cursed years."

And when taking into consideration all the efforts connected with the publication of this book, we must objectively acknowledge that few of our culturally active people in the present as well as in the past have been as well served by their descendants as Draj-Khmara. We may state it truly that the optimism in his poem "Povorot" (Return) was not without grounds:

Я вміру
а те, у що я вірю,
залишиться
і житиме без мене.³⁾
"I shall die,
And that in which I believe,
Will remain
And live without me —"

J. B. RUDNYC'KYJ PhD

1) "Povorot," Draj-Khmara, *Poeziji*, New York, 1964, p. 75.

2) O. Asher, *A Ukrainian Poet in the Soviet Union*, New York, 1959, p. 33.

3) "Povorot," Draj-Khmara, *Poeziji*, p. 85. Winnipeg, Canada.