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**UKRAINIAN
REVIEW**



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THE UKRAINIAN REVIEW

A Quarterly Magazine devoted to the study of Ukraine.

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THE UKRAINIAN REVIEW

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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.

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Yaroslav STETSKO

COMMUNISM BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN IN CRISIS

While Communist parties within the Free World have recently obtained some substantial gains (in European countries, like Italy and France; or in Africa, like Angola), within the countries behind the Iron Curtain enslaved by the Communist totalitarian system, Communism as far as ideological, socio-political, and economical matters are concerned, is getting bankrupt. At least this situation calls for a somewhat paradoxical diagnosis: should the nations presently enslaved within the USSR free themselves through national revolutions? They could in the future, after their own liberation, come to assistance of some Western countries and help to free *them* from the Communist yoke, by which these countries are now directly endangered.

How come that Communism is in crisis within the countries controlled by it and what are the means to get rid of the Communist menace?

The Communist system did not grow organically out of the life of the peoples in their own countries. The enslaved nations neither selected the Communist way of life by free will, nor by democratic election, nor civil wars within their boundaries. Not one single subjugated nation within the USSR nation (Ukraine, Turkestan, Byelorussia, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Northern Caucasus, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, and others), nor any of the satellites (Poland, East Germany, Bulgaria, Rumania, Slovakia, Czechia, Hungary, Croatia, and others) established Communism upon themselves by their own desire and efforts. Communism was bestowed upon them by the tips of Russian bayonets and maintained by force of the occupying troops.

During 1918, and a short time after, the independent states of Ukraine, Byelorussia, Turkestan, Georgia and others (some even with Socialist governments) were re-established by the will of the peoples after the downfall of the Tsarist regime, defending their independence. The "advent" of Lenin was a clever masking of the Messianic, imperialist Russian-Communist ideology by which the new Russian chauvinistic *mafia* was trying to save the empire namely, by replacing the corrupt Tsarist elite with a Bolshevik one. New slogans took over the old. Instead of the old Messianic ideology of the Tsarist regime

in defence of the "Orthodoxy", Panslavism — there came to be a new one, with more perfidy and deceit, yet just as Messianic as before, preaching proletarian, international Communism aiming at "proletarian revolutions" throughout the world. Such "ideas" had been stated already before, it was Dostoyevsky who wrote late in the XIXth century: "The Russian national idea is an universal idea, therefore, all people must become Russians".

The Tsarist ideology, and the system, therefore, became the *modern* Communist Russian *neo*-Imperialist and *neo*-Colonial ideology and system, in that order. Lenin had Marxism applied to the Russian realities, to the collective mentality and sociological needs of the broad Russian masses. Russians were always used to a collective way of life, having their *mir*, their *obshchina*, their "collective" tilling of the earth. Yet, Karl Marx had meant his doctrines for the industrially developed nations and had excluded any possibilities for them to take root in Imperial Russia.

MARX ABOUT RUSSIA

Marx did warn the world about the "advent" of Russian imperialism. During 1853-1856 he wrote a series of essays in the *New York Tribune*, which later were included in the collective volume *Eastern Question*, published in London (1897) by his daughter. Communist publishers in the USSR and elsewhere never did offer these essays to public attention. There Marx exposes Russian imperialism from a historical perspective, shows that it always used deceiving ideas in order to get a hold of and rule the entire world. Here are some quotations from what Marx had to say:

"What remains constant and unchanging is the politics of Russian government. Methods can change, but Russian politics remain the same . . .

. . . Pan-Slavism, as a form of Russian imperialism, is not a movement which aims at national independence, it is a movement which aims at Europe, aims to destroy all that, that was created by thousands of years of history. And it can not be achieved without burning out of the world's map Hungary, Turkey, and a large part of Germany . . .

. . . There is only one way to deal with such a world power as Russia: fearlessness . . .

. . . The way of intimidation is less costly than open warfare. Russia is handing out so many diplomatic notes to Western diplomats, just like throwing bones to some dogs, to give them some harmless pleasure, while using all opportunities to gain in time . . .

. . . Conting upon cowardice and fear of the Western powers the Russian is intimidating Europe and screws in his demands as high as

possible only to show later how generous-hearted he is after obtaining what he really wants

. . . The Russian bear is going to get away with anything, as long as he knows, that other creatures he is dealing with are good for nothing

. . . Europe is decadent, but war would stir up some healthy elements. War would revive some lasting strengths

Marx also cites the court poet of Russian Tsarina Catherine the Second (Dzerzhavin), who said: "Why do you need allies, oh, Russian? March ahead and the world shall be yours!"

And finally, from Marx:

" . . . It can not be denied that at the time Russian influence upon European politics is at its peak — the true strength of the Russian army does not justify such a political conception at all"

This volume by Karl Marx, containing over 150 pages about Russian expansionist plans always covered up by some Messianic "ideas", did *not* take into account at all the fact that *Marxism* shall become the new deceitful "idea", by which Communist Russian *neo-Colonialism* and *neo-Imperialism* shall cover themselves up, to force new nations and their peoples under the whip.

FIRST ELEMENT OF THE CRISIS

The first element of the crisis the Communist system is undergoing now in the countries behind the Iron Curtain is caused by the fact, that Communism has taken a modern form of Russian *neo-Colonialism* nad *neo-Imperialism*. The *Union* of the Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), with all the satellites, *is not* and *does not* represent voluntary union of the sovereign nations. It is a "union" under a totalitarian system making up the new Communist Russian empire, enforced by Russian arms and terror, into which highly cultural nations, some looking upon more than one thousand years of heritage, are hammered. *The Achilles heel of every empire was and is any enslaved nation held within it by force.* The national-liberation struggle of any enslaved peoples destroys an empire from within.

During times when contemporary development of world affairs is characterized by disintegration and decolonization processess, such processess *can not* terminate after reaching the present borderlines of the Communist Russian empire. Membership in the United Nations has quadrupled since the inception of this organization. At the same time Russian imperialists, under cover of Communism, proclaimed the creation of a new, unheard of, phenomenon: under Brezhnev's leadership — one *Soviet people*, with one *Russian* language is to be moulded out of all. On 13 February 1976, during the XXVth Communist Party Congress of Ukraine, the first secretary,

“comrade” Shcherbitsky, delivered his address in *Russian* rather than in the Ukrainian language. The official language during the congress, held in the Ukrainian capital, Kyiv, was also Russian. There was no doubt made about the fact that the Communist Party of Ukraine is directly *subordinated* to the Central Committee in Moscow, the Polit-bureau, the General-Secretary of the Central Committee Brezhnev, etc., etc. Just as it used to be in Tsarist times and about what Karl Marx had so much to say — also now, it is being decided in Moscow who can and who can not wear the label “patriot”. The present line is: a “Russian-Orthodox-Nonseparatist” can. And what does that mean?... Internationalism or Russification? During his address to the XXVth All-Union Communist Congress held in Moscow, Brezhnev said: “We, Soviet Communists, regard the defence of proletarian internationalism as sacred!” How about that!

In the Soviet constitution we read that the USSR is a state of workers, peasants, and working intelligentsia, and not a “union of separate nations, states and republics”. How about that?

Proletarian internationalism, Communism, Marxism — *deny*, in principle, the *nation* concept and by ethno-, geno-, and lingicide try to destroy it by blending themselves into one anti-national, classocratic, anti-human doctrine, reinforced by Russian *neo*-Colonialism and *neo*-Imperialism, covered slyly by proletarian-internationalist slogans.

The *Nation*, however, is a natural phenomenon, with God-given rights, everlasting and indestructible, while the *Soviet people* is an artificial, enforced “gobbledig” created by the Russians. This is an attempt to melt various nations into one fictitious concept, and in reality — by enforced Russification — into *Russian* haemophilic chauvinism, so badly in need of some new blood. It is not by chance that the “German Democratic Republic” only recently left out any reference that it is a “state of *German* people” — the tendency is toward the *Soviet people* concept.

DISTRIBUTION OF POWER — 2:1

Collision between the concept of *empire* with that of a *nation* within the territorial space overpowered by Communism (including Yugoslavia, which continues to oppress Croats, Slovenians, Bulgarians of Macedonia, and others) — only contributes to the peculiar crisis of Communism behind the Iron Curtain. The distribution of power within this theatre of operations is visibly 2:1, if to take the population of the enslaved nations and the satellites of the USSR (temporarily on the outside) on one side and the Russian nationals (in great majority chauvinistic and intolerant) on the other. The more hungry Russian imperialism in its Communist version gets to be —

the more conflict situations arise. The more nations are swallowed up — the stronger the possibilities to destroy Russian Communist oppression from within, by coordinated effort of national revolutions. The *Domino* theory not only could but *must* work also in the reverse. The Russians suffocate in their own controversies more and more. To deny the existence of various nations and nationalities within the USSR, to deny their inalienable right to be sovereign, with all the attributes, and, at the same time, to defend the rights of Angola and all its prerogatives for sovereignty — must be regarded as a slap on the face in Georgia, Tuskestan, Ukraine or Lithuania even by school children. To say that these nations are disappearing from the face of the earth and are melting into one *Soviet people*, while the Uganda of Idi Amin has inalienable rights for absolute sovereignty is absurd. Uganda certainly does have its inalienable rights to exist, but let's not be hypocritical about it, so do all the other nations on this earth. If Russian *realpolitik* is to be valid, should not, then looking from such a perspective, *the whole world* be composed only by one, "great" *Soviet people*? Should not the entire mankind melt in?

In the Russian language the word "Soviet" means "council". What a strange, if not macabre, nation the whole world would then become: *Council people!* All speaking *Russian*, of course!

What kind of prospective world would the *Council people* make? During the XXVth All Union Communist Party Congress Brezhnev said: "to deny ourselves the conception of proletarian internationalism would mean to take proven arms out of the hands of Communist parties and labour movements throughout the world". Brezhnev emphasized the "interests of the working class" and said nothing about the fact that there are still some national states present. The proletarian class makes up only a part of the population in these states. More than half of the world's population, according to underground writers in Ukraine, are marching today under the banner of nationalism.

THE ALTERNATIVE TO COMMUNIST INTERNATIONALISM

The alternative to Communist internationalism is national freedom and independence of individual states. The choice is clear. Communist internationalism, proletarian internationalism, Soviet anti-nature "patriotism" of the non-existing "Soviet people" — all bring at the end the total barbarization of life. There is no culture without tradition. All cultures of the contemporary nations are based on centuries old religious and social traditions. Without the mosaic of national cultures there is no heritage for the world civilization, only automatic thoughtlessness. *If you know how to drive an automobile that does*

not mean that you know how to make one. The World's most famous inventors (Edison, Pasteur), philosophers (Plato, Confucius), writers (Shakespeare, Shevchenko, Goethe) — all became part of the world's civilization by being first national geniuses, pride of their nations. There is no such a thing as a *synthetic* genius. Denationalization, or "Sovietization" — robs people of their cultural heroes and ends in the vulgarization of life, the *anti-hero* cultism of pseudo-international ignorance in a mob of faceless mongrels. National cultures did not appear overnight, they can not be *forced* to appear. They are a part of centuries-old processes. There is no such a thing as a "cultural revolution". Only national-political revolutions can take place. They are anti-imperialist by nature and make it possible for the cultural development of the involved nation to continue while preserving a centuries old cultural heritage, not destroying it. "Back to traditions", "back to the original principles of Christianity", "back to Confucianism" — these are the revolutionary slogans in the epoch of struggle against the barbaric Communist proletarian internationalism. Maoist "cultural revolutions" are destroying more than five thousand years of Chinese culture by importing into the Chinese spirit anti-Chinese *Stalinist, Leninist, and Marxist* elements, all foreign to the Chinese heritage.

Some peoples have *Christian*, others *Hebraic* or *Islamic*, still others *Buddhist, Confucian, or Shinto* based cultures. Neither "Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism-Brezhnevism", nor "Maoism" can be accepted, all of a sudden, as basis for one Universal monoculture. Enforced indoctrination by such unnatural, anti-religious, and anti-national elements in a long run must end in spiritual emptiness, bastardity, the animalization of humans, and the creation of people without roots. Peoples can grow and develop only if supported by centuries of national heritage. The same goes for the human being, a person must have a sense of belonging, must have national identity. Marxist theories are robbing national roots from mankind, and flexible Leninist theories, the Russian variety of Communism, aim at filling an emptied shell of a non-Russian with Russian contents.

INTEGRAL IMPERIALISM

Such an aim already creates a crisis. The integral difference between Russian Communist imperialism and Western imperialism (as once practiced by such powers as Britain, France, and Spain) is: Russian imperialism does not suffice with strategic, military and economic means. It attempts to enforce upon the overpowered nations as well as upon an individual *its own conceptions about what life is*, enforces its own ways from ontology to philosophy, from atheism to collective farming and "Socialist Realism" in culture. For two

thousand years Christianity and other religions have tried to change the human nature. So how can it be possible for “dialectical materialism”, the diabolical Communist system, to change all that two thousand years of religious preaching could not? In the very root of *bolshevism* lies the beginning of its own crisis and eventual downfall.

THE THIEF OF IDEAS

Already at the beginning of “war Communism” there was rape, terror, the *Che-ka* (today the KGB), and law of the gun. From the beginning there was deceit. Never did Communism obtain a victory by its own ideology, it always used stolen ideas. Lenin threw slogans around about giving all land to the peasants, all factories — to the workers; he promised independence, self-determination including separation of national states from the claws of “mother-Russia”. Not one of these slogans is of Communist origin, nor was any of them ever fulfilled. What Communism did bring to peasants and workers was enforced collectivisation of farms (millions perished in Ukraine alone during 1933), rejection and denial of private ownership, the takeover of factories by thieving party bureaucrats, and national enslavement rather than national sovereignty, or even autonomy, to peoples. One-party state, collectivism, state-capitalism, party dictatorship, Politbureau cliques, enforced colonialism, Russification, religious persecution — this is the true face of the Communist system in the USSR. No other version of a “Communist system” was ever demonstrated there, nor anywhere else. *Humane* Communism just can’t be had. The anti-nature ideology can not thrive in any other way but enforcement through terror. The very conception of “dictatorship of the proletariat” implies dictatorship of a one-party system, which means, by the way, the close circle of the party’s Central Committee, subordinated to an even closer circle of the Politbureau, subordinated to the unlimited power accumulated in the hands of the “general secretary” — with terror down the line. There was never a *democratic* empire on this earth and never shall be. Parliamentary democracy always was metropolitan, But in the “colonies”, or enslaved nations, there was always a reign of terror supported by military occupation.

WITHOUT RIGHTS FOR NATIONS NO HUMAN RIGHTS CAN BE HAD

Human rights can not be gained, nor respected, in any empire. The fundamental prerequisite for human rights is maintenance and respect of the peoples’ rights in sovereign states. It is ridiculous to

talk about "democratization", or "Communism with a human face", within the borders of an empire, and even more so ridiculous to imagine any human rights possible in the Russian Communist state. Downfall of the empire must come before any human rights can be had there, for only downfall and dismemberment of an empire would automatically assure the inalienable rights of every nation, including that of the former oppressor.

Let us not forget: terror and deceit are the cornerstones of the Russian Communist empire. The accompanying chorus for its formula of "Communist internationalism" consists of: a) dialectical materialism; b) historical materialism; c) classocracy (with a special recipe for dictatorship of the proletariat); d) militant atheism; e) anti-nationalism; f) international anti-nature union of proletarians with misfits of all kinds; g) active demonstration of Russian imperialism as a cover-up for the *neo-Colonialism* elsewhere, like: *Titoism* (Europe), *Maoism* (Asia), *Castroism* (Latin America), all bound to the *personality cult*, in a "worthy" tradition. It remains to be seen what new "personalities" shall appear in "united and liberated" Vietnam, and in Angola.

Can human rights be gained and respected under such circumstances? Not under terror and deceit. Both are significant elements of the crisis and bankruptcy of Communism as such.

RENAISSANCE BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN

In my address to the WACL World Conference in Washington, D.C. I have made an attempt to prove by underground documents that a miracle of renaissance is taking place, especially among the young generation of the enslaved nations, behind the Iron Curtain as well as in the satellite countries, in the ideological, national, political, socio-political, philosophical, religious, economical aspects, a renaissance based upon the lasting traditions of natural pride factors in nationality and religion. Among the ideological programming principles of the liberation processes in Ukraine, Georgia, Byelorussia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Turkestan, as well as in Croatia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania, East Germany, and others — the following points are in the first line of interest:

- 1) Primacy of spirituality in philosophy and social activities.
- 2) Primacy of the nation, which throughout history (to mention only the many peoples that gained their independence in the past three decades) was and continues to be the cornerstone of international relations.
- 3) The ideal of one's own, sovereign, fully-independent state.
- 4) The ideal of social justice for all classes and national minorities within the state.

5) Nationalism, as a basis for renaissance, justice throughout the world instead of the pseudo-internationalism, Communism and anarchy.

6) Human beings, proud of being made in the image of God.

7) Belief in God, importance of the religious life.

8) Traditions and native identity.

9) Cults of bravery, honesty, freedom of thought and scientific discovery instead of the *personality cult*.

10) Heroic conception of life.

11) Primacy of community over egoism.

12) Heroic nationalist humanism.

13) Nationalism as an alternative to imperialism.

14) Nationalism as a spiritual and socio-political movement that leads in the struggle for development of the nation within its borders as a sovereign state, under duly elected leadership, in harmony with world's progress and respect for the sovereign rights of the neighbouring states.

The only power that can be contrapositioned to proletarian internationalism is liberating nationalism, for it is the most prominent phenomenon of the contemporary times. There is no nation without nationalism. Even Lenin knew that. The same had been underlined by Brezhnev during the XXVth All-Union Communist Party Congress, who warned about "... demonstrations of nationalism and separatism, appraisal of historical events *without* class conscience, local narrowmindedness, and leanings toward patriarchal forms of life..." This was a direct hint about the strengthening of the nationalist tendencies in Ukraine, Armenia, Georgia, Turkestan, Lithuania, and all other enslaved nations and satellites of the USSR. Lenin, conscious of the apparent antagonism between the doctrine of proletarian internationalism and the living reality of nationalism, tried to make a distinction between the nationalism of the enslaved nations from that of the ruling ones, defending the first. The latter degenerated into chauvinism, great-state vanity, imperialism, and colonialism.

The moment of final collision between proletarian internationalism (that is, between Russian *neo-Colonialism*) and the forces of liberating nationalism shall arrive, for the two are on a collision course. Liberating nationalism represents denunciation of every form of chauvinism, imperialism, anti-semitism, fascism, and nazism. It truly represents a lawful and just socio-political system for mankind, in the world of tomorrow.

COMMUNIST HERMAPHRODITISM

The liberating nationalism is striking into the fundamentals of Russian *neo-Imperialism* and *neo-Colonialism* in every phase of life. Looking from the historical perspective it is also true for the artifi-

cially composed satellite CSSR, and for Yugoslavia. In the same way as the creation of neither a *Soviet*, nor *Czechoslovak*, nor *Jugoslav* people met with any success — a *Communist human being* also failed to materialize. This is just as much in conformity with the laws of nature, as failure of the contemporary science to create animals like *elephantdogs*, *mousecats*, or *snakebirds*. I have documented this failure of the “Communist human being” to materialize, in my address at the Washington conference. There I have revealed and quoted from the documents about the life and mode of existence in the enslaved nations under Russian oppression. Proletarian internationalism degenerated into enforced pouncing upon the enslaved nations of reactionary Russian traditionalism with the cult of grasping tsars and feudal marshals like Suvorov, or Brusilov.

Escape into national-communist heresy by some satellites is also a clear indicator of crisis for it is a hermaphroditic phenomenon. Such a political, ideological, philosophical, or even socio-political combination does not exist. Communism can be only internationalist, national — never. Talks about national-Communism are only transitory attempts for a compromise between Communism and some antipodal tendencies in certain aspects of life, since the Communist doctrine is dependent exclusively upon Moscow's bayonets within the enslaved nations and within the satellites, that is — dependent exclusively upon Russian military intervention (examples: the Berlin uprising (1953), Hungary (1956), CSSR (1968).)

With the downfall of bolshevism within the enslaved nations and dismemberment of the empire, regimes like those of Husak, Gierek, and even Ceaucescu collapse. They can only exist as long as a Russian Communist empire does. The analogy could be extended to include Tito's Yugoslavia. Therefore, at a decisive moment, all Giereks, Husaks, Ceaucescus, Castros, even Titos must find themselves on the side of rescuers of the Russian Communist empire, fully conscious of the fact, that were it not for Moscow's powerful presence, their own peoples would wipe them off the face of the earth. Every hybrid is harbinger of a crisis. Therefore — the national-Communism conception must be as well.

RENAISSANCE IN FACTS AND FIGURES

Colision between the Russian Communist mode of life on one side and the organic desires of liberty intrinsic within every enslaved nation on the other — results in a lasting, difficult struggle of these two opposite worlds. One of them shall be victorious. Resistance and tensions systematically increase. From 1942 to 1953 massive, organized, liberation wars (directed first against Nazi and after 1944

against Russian occupation) took place in Ukraine & Lithuania. In 1950 the Commanding General of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) Taras Shukhevych-Chuprynka died on the field of glory with honour, his operational Headquarters overrun by the NKVD troops. Between 1953-1959 massive strikes and uprisings by Ukrainian, Turkestan, Lithuanian, Caucasian and other inmates (it is estimated that over 17 million inmates were involved) took place in concentration camps located in every corner of the Russian Communist empire. In 1962 — uprisings in Novocherkask, in Temirtau — 1959, others in Vorkuta, Kingir. Violent demonstrations in Dniprodzerzhinsk and in Dnipropetrovsk in 1972, massive demonstrations of students in Kyiv, Lviv, Odessa, Kaunas, Erivan, Tibilisi, workers' demonstrations in Donbas and Nalchik during the sixties as well as the seventies — make up an impressive record. Just like the uprisings in Berlin (1953), Hungary and Poland (1956), CSSR (1968), again in Poland (1971) they were motivated by a desire for sovereignty and independence, justice and human rights, in defence of national cultures. It is indicative, for instance, that the Ukrainian inmates in Vorkuta concentration camps complex appealed to the Western world demanding help, arms and medicine to be dropped to them by a massive airlift so that they could destroy the empire and Communism along with it. Equally important is to know that during the Temirtau, Novocherkask, and Kingir uprisings the regular army units had to be withdrawn and crushing of the uprisings had to be done by the special units of KGB-MVD forces. Both in the Hungary and CSSR uprisings regular army units had to be withdrawn as well. This fact signifies that factors of oppression are maintained mainly by the KGB-MVD special forces and regular army units can not be trusted, for regular army units are drafted mainly from the population reserves of the enslaved nations which hate the Communist system and imperialist greed.

It is people who bear arms. The value and power of the arms depend upon the value of the people, what if the people serving in the Russian Communist occupying army turn the arms against the oppressor? The most modern arms shall not save the empire should the soldiers of its army turn against it. More than a half of the regular Soviet army units are composed of non-Russian nationalities; if to take into account the satellite countries the distribution of the non-Russian versus Russian soldiers is 2:1 in favour of non-Russians. It should be realized by the Western world that psychological warfare for the soul of the non-Russian soldier is of the utmost importance and should be conducted systematically. It is Brezhnev who consistently reminds the Western world that *detente* does not and never shall include *ideological warfare*. Let the Western world remember that.

Let me say it again: Communism as *neo-Colonialism*, *neo-*

Imperialism, is a totalitarian, monoparty-anti-natural system of a sheep-like collective way of life which denounces the human being and individuality and cultivates faceless conformity. Communism, by its materialistic manipulations has antagonized against itself and mobilized for open warfare all national-liberating, democratic, anti-collective, anti-materialistic, theistic, and freedom-loving forces. During the sixties and early seventies there appeared and is still growing the miracle of national renaissance of the young generation within the enslaved nations in a national, traditional, theistic, anti-materialistic, anti-Communist spirit and this miracle was a deadly blow to Communism and Russian imperialism, as I have documented during the Washington conference. Both shall never recover.

Various underground publications in the USSR, literary works voicing what was stated above, the revival of the church in catacombs, massive protests by writers, poets, and artists, activity of the younger generation in every walk of life, demonstrations, strikes, protests, assaults against the "Socialist Realism", sabotage in manufacturing, collective farming, massive stealing of goods, shortages caused by bureaucratic indifference, massive deportations to far corners of the empire — all these good and evil symptoms indicate crisis and bankruptcy.

ECONOMIC BANKRUPTCY

Communism, as an economical entity, negates the principle of private ownership. Cultivation of the official state capitalism is maintained by force. A human being can only be free if the freedom is extended to include economic enterprises. With the enslaved nations in the USSR the principle of private ownership is inherent, especially where the soil is concerned, while for the Russian people it is not specific. The richest soil in Europe belongs to Ukraine. Ukraine was always regarded as the granary by other European nations, yet there is famine in Ukraine today. Here are the figures resulting from after-effects of the enforced collectivisation: out of the 215.7 million tons of grain planned to be obtained by the USSR for the year 1975 — only 137, or 135 million tons were reaped. This is some 35% less than the figure necessary for the empire to maintain its equilibrium. And even the admitted figures are probably manipulated.

During the ninth five year plan in the USSR the capital investment in agriculture throughout the imperial complex was increased some 75% over the figures of the eighth five year plan, yet the average grain production increased only 10-13%. It seems that under the collective system the soil does not want to yield any crops, its productivity in comparison with the capital investment is relatively

small. And out of all the industrialized countries in the world the USSR shows the lowest productivity of labour. As the folk saying goes: "life is great on the collective farm — one man works, another hundred charm". Two thousand peasants in the Dniester region (Ukraine), where initiative still thrives because collective farming was introduced only after the second world war, have succeeded in covering by plastics some 735 acres of land yielding early cucumbers and saved their crop from frost bite, while all collective farms of the region covered only 7 acres of the aforementioned crop. Private initiative does not accept collective thinking, goes around it. "Collective responsibility" is cruel, it robs the individual of his or her initiative, makes mechanical parts out of people.

Every simulator knows quite well that he will always find some manual labour and therefore can calmly go on and drink his vodka while on a job. Everybody is in need of manual labour. A true craftsman earns more than a qualified engineer in the USSR by accepting orders on the side. If one desires to simulate and get away with it — the USSR is the state for him.

Brezhnev stressed during the XXVth All-Union Communist Party Congress the difficulties encountered in strategically important production sectors and postponed any consideration of consumer needs. He admitted, that billions of rubles are wasted because of organic defects within the system. During the XXVth Communist Party Congress of Ukraine Shcherbitsky said that the capital investment in Ukraine during the recent five year plan was 500 billion rubles. 60% of the entire production resulting from this capital investment was taken away by Moscow, mainly for production of arms. Tens of millions of tons of Ukrainian steel went into the production of Russian tanks, rockets and naval vessels including atomic submarines. Should a direct conflict arise all this naval hardware would be vulnerable facing the Western fleets for lack of supply routes and naval bases. Is not that the true reason why Russians show so much interest in Somalia and Angola, supplied arms and millions of rubles per day for Cuba and North Vietnam?

In the meantime, the *lumpenproletariat* is on the increase in the USSR. The wild "state-planned" economy can not supply work for qualified workers in their fields.

Billions of rubles in gold are being spent to buy needed goods and consumer products from, as Brezhnev puts it: "rotting capitalist Western countries". 30 million tons of grain now, another 30 million tons will be needed soon after. During the next five year plan Moscow wants to take from Ukraine alone 235 billion kilowatts of electrical energy, three times the amount needed by Ukraine by 1980. Plans are approved to take out of Ukraine by 1980: 229 million tons of coal, 54,6 million tons of iron ore, 61 million tons of steel, 61 million tons of readied blooms, 6,9 tons of steel pipeline, 50 million

tons of grain. In return — some million sets of “Collective works” by Lenin are to be delivered to Ukraine. Ukraine, its national economy, is being geared to become a raw material producer to feed industrial complexes and production centres located outside Ukrainian territories.

The tenth five year plan aims to increase heavy industry in Ukraine by 35-39% and agricultural enterprises by 14-17%. Nothing was said about the light industry and production of articles for every day needs. The promised “paradise to come” is still, somewhere, in a distant and hazy future. Shcherbitsky attacked the “bourgeois nationalists” and Zionists for trying to ruin “the spirit of Helsinki” instead.

ACUTE ASPECT OF THE CRISIS

By showing facts and figures in Ukraine we have made an example of the proportions of exploitation the national states are subjected to in the USSR and proved what a vital and acute role such national states are made to perform for the empire and for its arms race with the Western world. With the liberation and independence of Ukraine alone the world could breathe more easily, the natural resources and ores in all rich abundance would no longer be available for imperial disposition. At the present time Ukraine is forced to contribute 60% of arms for the empire. The national-liberation struggle, growing and expanding in Ukraine, makes the crisis of Communism in the USSR an acute problem. To aid this national-liberation struggle means driving a wooden peg into the heart of the Russian imperialist vampire; it means bringing the acute crisis to its final stage, the actual downfall of Russian Communism. Strategically, Ukraine holds the key position in the national-liberation struggle, with all its human revolutionary potential, its geo-political position on the world's map, its economic capacity, and almost 50 million people most of them conscious of their national-political destiny.

Ukraine and other enslaved nations are the political factors of the future with immense importance for the fate of the entire world. With their independence the political maps of Europe, Asia and Africa shall change, for Russia would lose the seaways to warm oceans. The independence of Caucasus, Turkestan, Byelorussia and the Baltic states, as well as all present satellites would then make the *domino* theory work in reverse.

So it must be clear to all where the *Achilles heel* of the Russian empire and the Communist system lies.

LEADING CRISIS

The Communist leadership is corrupt, morally decadent, degenerate. It failed to create the classless society, instead — it created a privileged class out of itself. The gap between Communist leaders on

one side and the broad masses on the other is immense. In practice — Communism is responsible for making up a system of total exploitation, worse than any capitalist system ever could be. Between 70 to 80 million people fell victim to and perished because of this system. Most of the victims were non-Russian national elements of the enslaved nations or of the satellite countries. How acute the crisis of Communism must be if it must turn to geno- and ethnocide over and over again in order to survive. Internationalism, indeed! 70 to 80 million *international* victims! Such degeneration of humanity, such cruelty — there never was before. Nazi Germany was only a grade school pupil in comparison. The horrors of concentration camps, massive extermination of nations (Northern Caucasus), the starving to death of seven million Ukrainian peasants (including women and children) by the artificially created famine in 1933 to break the resistance against collectivisation and at the same time selling butter to Holland at minimal prices so as to gain access to world markets, using slave labour to construct canals (e.g. White Sea Canal, 1933 and Moscow-Volga Canal, 1933-1937) where thousands perished, using chemical and germ warfare against the Ukrainian insurgents (UPA) that was directed by Nikita Khrushchev personally during 1944-1945, criminal abuse of inmates by prison and concentration camp guards — is all evidence of deep crisis and the total bankruptcy of Communism in practice.

As Communism denies the immortality of the human soul and the existence of any form of transcendental life, as Communism only depends upon the impetus of force backed up by materialistic, economic, and classocratic factors in its historical development — then it must end in the animalization of mankind. Ethic without transcendental fundament degenerates into absolute egoism and mortal self-consumption. Dechristianization practiced by Nazis — brought about the gas chambers. Total denial of religion by Bolsheviki — brought about the hell of concentration camps and slaughter of more than 70 million men, women, and children, within 58 years.

“Humane” Communism is just as impossible as “humane” gangsterism. For that reason more and more party members let their children be baptised which proves that they themselves have little faith in Communist dogmas. The spread of religious faith by churches in catacombs, especially among the young, even the fact of reluctant tolerance of the Russian orthodox church shows that Communism is capitulating in confrontation with transcendental values. The fact that the Russian orthodox church is doing all it can to appease the regime is only one side of the medal. The other side is the faith in transcendental life and that means total collapse of Communism ontology about the “original matter”. Controversies continue. If religion is the “opium” of the people, then why tolerate the Russian orthodox church and wag one’s tail at the Vatican? Real religious

faith, no matter of what denomination, destroys the very fundament of Communism and does not compromise either with dialectical, or philosophical materialism.

CONTRADICTIONS THAT CANNOT BE RESOLVED

The Russian Communist empire slyly finances and supports with arms national-liberation wars outside its own domain. This is a contradiction that cannot be resolved, for here the Communist *class* conception collides with the conception of *national independence*. Communist doctrine regards *nation* and *national* as "bourgeois inventions". At the same time a monstrosity like the "Soviet nation", which in itself is a contradiction *in adjecto* (international nation!) is replacing another monstrosity, just as contradictory *in adjecto* — "socialist nation" at home, while the latter is exported for foreign consumption abroad. National-liberation wars outside the countries behind the Iron Curtain naturally connect mentally to similar wars in the Communist sphere of influence. In order to survive, "proletarian internationalism", just like imperialism, must expand, must go on frightening people about fictive "aggressions and assaults", about some fictive "capitalist aggressive forces", about atrocities awaiting the class of "peasants and workers" and by other nonsensical slogans about dangers that simply do not exist. By frightening the naive and by using speculators and opportunists, "proletarian internationalism" expands, furthering Russian Communism and its imperialist interests by taking over more and more countries. All these "takeovers" also contribute to the crisis of Communism behind the Iron Curtain, for they antagonize more and more people, foes and friends alike. Nobody believes in Communist ideas anymore, they have become rather transparent, revealing the true face of Russian *neo*-Imperialism hiding behind them. Nobody wants to die for Russian imperialism anymore, not even some of the Russians. Only the Kremlin clique is pushing Great-Russian chauvinism and expansion at any cost.

The Kremlin clique creates the core of the Russian Communist imperial centre. Should a member of the Politbureau be a Latvian, a Finn, an Armenian, a Georgian, a Jew, or a Ukrainian — it is of no importance. What is important is *whom* they serve. If comparison is to be allowed, then Admiral Mountbatten (Battenberg in the German language) was one of Great Britain's foremost strategists, General Renenkampf headed Russian armies during the battle of Tannenberg against Marshal Hindenburg. Trotsky, when he choked the young Ukrainian National Republic to death together with Russian commissar Muraviov, was not serving the Jewish cause, but the Russian imperial cause. So was the former Georgian seminarist Dzuga-

shvilli (Stalin), members of Politbureau Pelshe (Latvian) and Kuusinen (Finn). Is it in the interests of the world's "international proletariat", or of world Communism to rob small Finland of some of its territory, to make the Karelian SSR out of it between 1940-1956, to Russify it thoroughly during that time, and then — reduce it with Kuusinen's help to "autonomous region" status within the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic in 1956? Does "proletarian internationalism" require enforced Russification of the non-Russian peoples, does it require installation of Russian "tsars" and military expansionists' as a *cult* to be worshipped by the non-Russians? Does the "world Communist revolution" require enforced deportation of Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Lithuanians, Latvians, and others to Kazakhstan, where Russian settlers are busy denationalizing Kazakh — Turkestani people, so as to add flavour and some "international" tint to the bloody Russian work and impose sharing of the blame? What does all this have to do with the *theory of Communism*. Could it be that there still is a serious person somewhere in the world, who believes this fairytale? All this is not just a problem, it is a crisis that causes the bankruptcy of Russian Communism and of its doctrines behind the Iron Curtain.

CONCLUSION

With Russian imperialist policies in an agony which is growing before our eyes, the intellectuals of the enslaved nations along with revolutionary cadres, are presenting an alternative to Russian power. Freedom-fighters of the enslaved nations are not *dissidents*. They do not fight to "heal" the Russian Communist system and save the empire. They are a revolutionary force that strives for downfall and disintegration of imperial Communist Russia. The unlikely "healers" and "savers" of the empire are, paradoxically, some countries of the Western world.

The Helsinki agreement not only confirmed the *status quo* of the Russian empire, but, as the Kremlin interprets it — gave Moscow a free hand to actively intervene in Angolan internal affairs, or, tomorrow, as Brezhnev and *Pravda* brag about, to intervene in the internal affairs of Northern Ireland, Scotland, Wales, Brittany, Sahara, *Puerto Rico*, Panama, and others.

The Western world should finally realize that the *Achilles heel* of the Russian Communist empire are the enslaved nations and the very antinatural aspect of Communism as such. The strategy of the Western world should be exactly the opposite of what was demonstrated in Helsinki. The Western world should renew the ideological, psychological, political, and if necessary — guerilla warfare, against

the Russian Communist empire. Do exactly the same to the Russians as they are doing to the West.

Instead, in constant fear of a possible atomic holocaust, the Western countries try to appease the Russians in every possible way. They help, therefore, to strenghten the bankrupt Russian system. Why are the Russians not afraid of the atomic holocaust and inflict subversion after subversion upon the West? The answer is, that they know quite well that nobody is insane enough to start using atomic weapons at large, because this would mean the end of the world.

What could be easier than to recall to active validity the United Nations Declaration of 14th December 1960, dealing with the "granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples" (reconfirmed in 1972), the United Nations charter about the "rights to independence of every nation in the world", the *law* passed by the Congress of the United States of America 1959 in "support for independence and sovereignty of the enslaved nations in the USSR and in the sphere of Russian Communist influence". These items should be considered as preconditional for *every* agreement, *every* treaty, and *any economic dealing with Russians!*

What could help to deepen the crisis of Communism and *neo*-Imperialism behind the Iron Curtain more than such a principal stand by the Western world? What could be more desirable for the well-being of the West than active support by the Western nations of the national-liberation struggles now taking place in the nations enslaved by the Russian imperialism?

There should be one, unified stand of all Western states, all freedom-loving forces, threatened by Communist menace.

There should be one, united, stand, one solid front, of all monotheistic religions of the world against the deadliest of all enemies of Religion.

There should be bravery instead of cowardice.

The way things are, the "savers" and "healers" of Russian *neo*-Imperialism are mostly in the West. Will the West ever awake?

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Kyiv versus Moscow — The Main Ideological
and Political Principles of the OUN.

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Lina Kostenko – the Poet of the Freedom of Spirit and of the Truth of the Word

During the short years of the so-called “thaw” which followed Stalin’s death, the miracle of the revival of Ukrainian poetry began. The end of the 1950’s and the beginning of the 1960’s brought dozens of new names and works with entirely new methods of expression. It was an outburst of creative vitality, rich in true original talents, and refreshingly new voices which strongly deviated from the rigid formulas of socialist realism. These poets, in spite of many differences, can be linked together by similar thematic and poetic features, and they are known in critical literature under the name of *shestydesyatnyky* (“sixtiers”) — the poets of the 1960’s. This name designates only the most outstanding innovators. The majority of present Soviet Ukrainian poets, whose number mounts to several hundreds, do not rise above mediocrity, and they usually follow the official line of socialist realism.

New innovative trends were initiated by Lina Kostenko. The oldest in the group of the *shestydesyatnyky* (born 1930 in the province of Kyiv), she is also the best among them. Her poems published in three collections in Ukraine opened a new chapter in modern Ukrainian poetry.¹⁾

From the very first, Kostenko’s works so captivated the attention of the reader in Ukraine that the collections of her poems were sold out within a few days. Discussions about her poetry started in literary journals which, under the circumstances of the Soviet approach to literary works, were controversial and aimed primarily at political ends. However, the acceptance of Kostenko’s poems by the critics and readers outside the Soviet Union was unanimously enthusiastic. The noted critics and experts in Soviet Ukrainian literature evaluated her as the leading poet of the post-Stalinist era. They stated that she is the first who pioneered in rediscovering anew pure lyrics and in reviving the correct understanding of the nature of poetic works, so

1) *Prominnia zemli* — (*Earthly Rays*). Molod’. Kyiv, 1957. *Vitryla* (*Sails*). Radyans’kyj pys’mennyk. Kyiv, 1958. *Mandriuky sercya* (*Wandering Heart*). Radyans’kyj pys’mennyk. Kyiv, 1961. A selection of her poems was published in this country under the title *Poeziji*. Smoloskyp. Baltimore — Paris — Toronto, 1969.

badly neglected in Stalin's era,² and that "with three books of poetry, she established herself on the peak of Ukrainian poetry of the twentieth century",³ a praise quite high, if we keep in mind the great contribution of many outstanding poets into Ukrainian literature in the first half of the present century.

As a true poet, Kostenko had to reject the falseness and empty rhetoric of socialist realism, the official trend imposed on all writers by the Soviet authorities. She knew that the only fundamentals for creative work are absolute truthfulness and uniqueness of personal expression. The wide range of her motifs and poetic ideas reveals Kostenko's manifold interests: humanism, patriotism, love, nature, reminiscences of childhood and World War II, philosophical meditations, the purpose of poetry and art, etc. Whatever subject is touched by her creative pen it turns to pure gold of true poetry.

The thematic variety corresponds to a wide range of forms and genres of her poems. She handles with the same ease short and long poems, allegoric fables, miniature paintings of nature, and, in particular, short aphoristic poems. With a wealth of technical means at her command, she displays an extraordinary skill in different metrical and strophical devices; however, she avoids both strict classical rigidity and excessive modernistic experimentation.

But her innovation and accomplishments as a modern poet are demonstrated primarily in the poetics of her works. Kostenko's sensitive ear for language and sound, and her special mental aptitude to perceive inanimate things and natural phenomena with the animistic insight, endow her with a talent to invent highly poetic and colourful metaphors, symbols and interesting images, especially when she uses concrete objects for abstract ideas and inferences. Of course, because of inadequacies of translation, Kostenko's metaphoric devices can not be presented in their complete beauty.

Already in one of her early aphoristic poems, the poetess metaphorically presented her understanding of the purpose and function of poetry:

"If you don't know how to paint the wind,
Transparent wind against the bright background,
Paint the powerful and branchy oaks
Which bend down to the ground from wind". (P. 31).

This device of concrete objects or details for presenting the ideas that are beyond the reach of human senses, is quite frequent in Kostenko's poetry. Some of her metaphors, aimed at exact concreteness, are expressed with great artistic economy — with only one verb or adjective, some others are more elaborate, or even developed into complete allegories. For instance, to create the sensation of

2) Ivan Kosheliviec', *Suchasna literatura v URSSR*. Prolog, New York, 1964, p. 293.

3) Yuriy Lavrinenko, *Zrub i parosty*. Suchasnist'. (Place is not indicated), 1971, p. 313.

silence the poetess applies acoustic effects which in the original Ukrainian form consist of the repetition of the consonants *s*, *sh*, *z* in the words that simultaneously are also colourful visual metaphors. In English, the musical qualities of this poem can be rendered only approximately:

“Silence sits at my bedside,
 Spinning oblivion for me.
 It rocks my wounded memory,
 Like mother rocks her babe . . .

 Somewhere behind the window
 The evening softens its steps on the grass,
 And it puts its big fingers
 On the window pane’s yellow eyes.
 It walks under my house
 Timidly, silently and sadly.
 And wind sounds like trumpets,
 And silence — like dead thunder.
 And stars as shy, as conjecture,
 Are crossing their slender rapiers.
 My memories walk on their tiptoes
 And knock at the gate of my soul”. (P. 199).

In the poem “Music”, with the same purpose of exact concreteness, the poetess uses the expressions relating to the sense of touch and not of hearing to convey the soothing effects of music on her saddened heart:

“I am opening the dawn with the G clef.
 The black night is incrustated with tenderness.
 Horizon lifts up the day with a crimson shoulder,
 Like a music page of eternity.
 What is ahead of me today? What kind of joyful fragment
 Of my burning fate?
 The world embraces me coldly
 And creates from me just flats . . .

 I want music, music, music.

 Music kisses my shoulder like a horse
 With his good velvet lip.
 My soul stained with troubles,
 Washes itself under an antenna.
 One can draw handfuls of Chopin’s nocturne
 Directly from the air”. (P. 226, in excerpts).

The poetess displays her mastery in presenting miniature nature paintings of morning, evening and night, or of seasons of the year, or of landscapes, by developing metaphors into complete allegories:

Evening

“On the dark sea
Swims out a boat bound by copper,
Its oars — the slender rays —
Push away the foamy cloud.

.
Evening — the gray beacon-keeper,
Presses the oar in his hand,
And with his shoulder
Pushes away the cloud.

From his lighter
He strikes yellow fire
And silently lightens the stars —
The beacons of the far away worlds. (P. 104).

Her poetic credo based on artistic and human truth, which is expressed either with classical simplicity — “Poetry is my sister, and human truth — our mother”, (p. 163) or in elaborate form of sophisticated metaphors:

Poetry is my roentgenogram
Of my pulses, my rhythms and timbre.
Haziness, oddities and spots —
If you look at it in darkness.

Roentgenogram is looked at in light —
In the light of the sun and the light of conscience.
Then you will see clearly in it the heart
And the transparentness of lungs”. (P. 238).

Her basic philosophy is reflected in the metaphoric titles of her collections of poems. The symbolic meaning of the first collection, “Earthly Rays” implies Lina’s idealistic humanism. For her, our earth, in spite of turmoils and human misery, radiates with warmth, beauty and goodness. Ripening wheat radiates like sun rays, wild flowers radiate with multicoloured light, human beings radiate with goodness and warm up our planet with their palms. With disarming optimism, unabashedly and persistently, the poetess proclaims her confidence in humans, and her faith in their goodness which permeates many of her poems, from the first collection to the last known to us, the poem “Zoriany integral” — “Starry Integral” published in 1968.

To the uninformed reader, Kostenko’s humanistic philosophy might

seem to be derived from the aesthetics of Soviet socialist realism. However, the basic aspect of her humanism is that it is directed not toward abstract humanity, but it deals mainly with the real, and, in most cases, modest and simple people from her immediate surroundings, for whom she has a profound feeling of indebtedness and love, as she expresses it in her poem, "Starry Integral":

"Every moment of my life
was rescued by somebody.
Otherwise I would have perished long ago
from hunger, from cold,
from loneliness or from smallpox
All I give back to the people
is only a small part of my debt". (P. 338).

The western reader who is used to contemporary literature dealing mostly with negative sides of human existence, might also be puzzled by Kostenko's life-affirming world view and her great enthusiasm for life. The poetess disregards dark sides of life, and only memories of traumatic experiences during the war — which she records in several outstanding poems — cast a shadow on her optimism. But the triumph of life over destruction and death comes to her consciousness as naturally as the memories of the war. She sees manifestations of life in small and insignificant objects, such as a geranium on a windowsill and a canary bird which survived the air raids while entire city blocks were burned down. She is awe-inspired when she contemplates the greatest triumph of life amidst the horrors of war:

"In the chaos of death,
in the hell of inhuman pain,
the life-obedient mothers
created life". (P. 123).

The poetess erects a magnificent poetic monument to motherhood — symbol of immortality, in her poem "in Front of the Portrait of a Woman with Child". (Excerpts):

"Gentle woman!
Your countenance
bears the reflection
of unextinguished fire.

Doubts don't distort it,
contradictions don't disturb it.
Your son feels warm
in the nest of your palms". (P. 66).

In harmony with her life-affirming philosophy is the poetess's vitality and proud awareness of her own strength — "I am proud that I have strong hands", — a metaphor she obviously uses with symbolic meaning. She also proudly mentions her family traditions as the source of her inner strength. Her heart

"... is fearless, since
my great-grandfather was a Zaporozhe Cossack:
he was commander of a Dnipro fleet". (P. 142).

And her grandfather was "a hermit who did not divide his soul between God and devil... In his thoughts, he built cathedrals all his life and chased away the merchants from his temples". (P. 216-217). Similarly, the poetess built her house "from the sky, the mountains and freedom" (p. 241), and with determination defended the temple of poetic word against the graphomaniacs who sell their cheap product for the price of unworthy favours. Her courage, uncompromising spirit, and will "to swim against the current" grew up also from her native land, and from the literary traditions of Taras Shevchenko who to her is "the conscience and the law" (p. 109). With warmth and fondness, the poetess writes about her native places:

"I grew up in the orchards,
Where warm pears were ripening ...
.....
I grew up in the fields,
Where the sunrise was like the flame of fire ...
.....
And colours of those distant years —
Where I would go,
What I would write, —
Are reflected in my papers". (P. 10).

The poetess leads the reader to the country from which her heart drew in her strength, and where she was dreaming about far away journeys. And when years went by like "stormy clouds", and her heart went "through storm and fire", her memories came back to the native fields, and to "the roots of the trees" in her fatherland. The dominant feature of Kostenko's images are storm, stormy clouds, swift currents, steep horizons, sail, and wings. But all her dynamic visions seem to be subordinated to the dominant image of the native land:

"You can start to fly only
if you have firm ground under your feet".

The same idea recurs in her poems in a slightly different version: "Even water flowers / have their roots in the ground". (P. 69). Kostenko's love for her country is expressed without extra strong emotions, however, each word in her patriotic lyrics is an organic

part of herself. One of the best poems in this category is dedicated to the river of Dnipro, the beauty of which she identifies with the qualities of her nation:

“Dnipro, Dnipro,
You are like my nation,
Tender, simple and magnificent . . .

And again the same refrain:

“Dnipro, Dnipro,
You are like my nation,
Proud, freedom loving and powerful”. (P. 160).

Primarily a lyricist, Kostenko excels in poems conveying intimate feelings of her inner self. Among those poems love lyrics occupy a considerable portion of her works. As in other poems, the poetess here also displays her originality and invention. Instead of superficial sentimentality and exalted emotions, she applies the technique of contrasting feelings. The meetings are followed by farewells, blissfulness of love by cool detachment, closeness by estrangement:

“You and I, we are
Like the sea and the sky,
Far away and close.
We should meet at the horizon,
But horizon runs away from us”. (P. 150).

As her other poems, Lina's love poems are charged with dynamic ideas. Her thoughts about her dream man are “dreams of the sea about hurricanes”. (131). She addresses her beloved:

“ . . . I don't know yet
Are you the lightning
That will burn me,
Or are you the light-giving ray
From which I'll blossom . . .” (132).

From the idealistic philosophy emanates her romantic concept of the mission and role of the poet. She presents her poetic “platform” in the poem “Bequests”:

“There are various bequests.
Poets of poets make requests
And pass from tongue to tongue
The freedom of spirit and the truth of the word”.⁴

To Kostenko, poetry is a height to which leads a steep road of suffering and sacrifice. In a society ruthlessly pushed on a path where

⁴ George S. N. Luckyj, ed., *Four Ukrainian Poets*. Quixote (place not indicated), 1969, p. 61. Translated by Danylo S. Struk.

no distinguishable borders between right and wrong exist, she fearlessly proclaimed the urgent necessity of spiritual values for artistic creativity. In the situation where "dishonesty is as consistent as geometry", and, for the brave and freedom loving, "prisons are as graves", the poetess elevates herself above the evil of the bleak days:

"Crimson flowers grow by the road to eternity.
Short fragments of life flap against the wind.
Only victory of the human spirit
Will lead them to immortality". (P. 173).

Freedom, truth, justice, conscience, human spirit — these words ring with silvery resonance throughout her verses expressing the hopes and expectations of her generation to restore human value in the time of the short-lived "thaw". The truth, which is, the poet's basic responsibility in the face of history, seems to be one of the leading guide poles for Kostenko:

"No fear, no compromise,
My conscience, face each challenge!
In historic cellars
The wine of truth will effervesce.
The burning mead of truth
Will ferment bitterly with blood". (P. 343).

Perhaps the strongest expression of Kostenko's faith in the indestructibility of the human spirit is presented in her allegorical poem, "The Wandering Heart", in the chapters, "Dragon's Eyes" and "Bosom Friend", p. 314-325. Vasylysk, a monstrous lizard, is a perpetual source of human suffering. His flatterers, the servile dogs — former people, serve him for food and meat which he throws them as a reward. The real people who tried to fight him were defeated. Even the hero of the poem, Human Wanderer, who is strong because of his goodness, is arrested by half-humans. The henchman tortures the starving hero by showing him a piece of bread. But in the face of deadly agony, the Human Wanderer is assisted by his indestructible spirit who helps him conquer exhaustion, hunger and death, and liberates him from captivity by giving him back his faith in humans. The idealistic and humanistic philosophy of this poem is quite clear. So also are the allusions to the methods of the system with its ruthless terror and violence.

Her passionate longing for artistic truth led Kostenko's pen to the scathing indictment of the official literary establishment and "writer-dom" who unabashedly and senselessly trample the most essential qualities of poetic works. The poetess's good-natured humour, adorning many of her poems, changes to anger and bitter sarcasm against cheap graphomaniacs "who know how to rhyme" and who in "a jungle of words throw the stubs of thoughts", forgetting that

that "even the highest stilts can't elevate them above their own height". (P. 174). For these kinds of poets Lina reserves only utter contempt:

"Hares, parrots and sparrow's nests . . .
A lot of chirping, twittering and squeaking . . .
Quite a lot . . .
It might, perhaps, be better to search for poetry in silence".
(P. 184, in excerpts).

The motif of voluntary or coerced silence recurs often in her works. In the poem "Vyrlooke sonce" — "Protuberant-Eyed Sun", p. 241-242, attacking with biting sarcasm the editors who "chewed the ideas and maimed the thought", she, with astounding courage points to the reasons for the shortcomings and low standards of contemporary Ukrainian literature:

"The high idea doesn't know how to bend.
It put its forehead against the extinguished slogans . . .
and it died away, like a candle without air.
It ached with the truth. It wept in verses.
It learned how to be silent. It hung itself on a beam.
Or it went north to enjoy the polar lights.⁵

Beaten by frost, drilled by scum
It turned grey from those academies.
It died on the long tables
Killed by the epidemic touch of editors.

And people are asking:

"Where are the great stories:
Where is the epochmaking idea, joyful and pathetic?"
It left in a locked train
And it was buried in the cemetery of silence.

"To get the gold of poetry, based on falsehood, is a hopeless alchemy", declares the poetess in the same poem, since "the art can resurrect only if it is blessed with the living water of truth".

Lina Kostenko's humanistic philosophy, her determination to serve artistic and human truth, the wide range and high qualities of her poetic production place her in the ranks of the best Ukrainian poets and make her a worthy of Lesia Ukrainka, and even of Ivan Franko. Unfortunately, in a totalitarian system, by all evidence, because of "the living water of truth" in her poems, her creative work has always been inhibited and distrusted. She was given only a few short years to write and publish. Her last book appeared in Ukraine 14 years ago, and some of her last poems, of which we know, were

5) Evidently an allusion to northern concentration camps.

published in Poland 1968. For seven years we have had no possibility to read any of her new works. During these years the poetess has been criticized for "subjectivism" and "formalism", terms which are standard clichés directed by the official critics at the outstanding writers who are in the disfavour of the government. We have no information if she still continues her creative writing at all. We can only be sure that she, as a poet of uncompromising artistic principles, would never choose a career of a servile graphomaniac. We close our present paper with her own words:

"Poet!
Be able to search and wait.
The best poem still remains uncaptured". (P. 184).

—oOo—

In English translation

REVOLUTIONARY VOICES

UKRAINIAN POLITICAL PRISONERS CONDEMN RUSSIAN COLONIALISM

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

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Slava STETSKO

NATIONAL PERSECUTION IN THE USSR

From the Constitution of the USSR:

Art 17: To every Union Republic of the USSR is reserved the right to secede freely from the USSR.

Art 125: In conformity with the interest of workers and for the purpose of strengthening the Socialist system of the USSR the law guarantees: Freedom of speech, of the press, of assembly and meetings and processions and demonstrations on the street.

According to the Soviet Constitution 15 *national republics are sovereign states*. The Russians further state that the autonomous Soviet socialist republics (20 units) enjoy restricted sovereign rights.

Formerly Lenin called Russia a prison of peoples. The reorganization of the Russian empire into the USSR means nothing more than the preservation of the "prison of peoples" status because the USSR only allows for a nation's right to self-determination as interpreted by the rulers.

It is said that the peoples have sovereign rights which they can exercise within their respective republics. There is no official in the "national Soviet republics" who would be in the position to take a decision without Moscow's consent. Nobody has such a right because the Party officials have no autonomy within the framework of the Communist Party apparatus. The Government officials are responsible to the central organs of power according to Soviet laws. On the other hand, arbitrary actions annulling Soviet laws are legally prohibited.

The Union Government does not have proportional representation of the individual nations in its administrative organs. The so-called Council of Nationalities and Union Council have no influence on legislation. Briefly, anything *the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union decides is to be considered law*. The individual peoples, therefore, have no right to represent their own interests freely.

Thus the people do not have national sovereign rights or autonomous rights as such. As is well known, the Russian officials support the regime and centralized power within the "national Soviet

republics" as well. Particularly the Army, the Police with its security service and the media of communication are controlled by Russian Communists. Russians living in the Union republics are the pillars supporting the regime in non-Russian countries. There are 21,267,000 Russians living and working outside the RSFSR in national Soviet republics. In the RSFSR there are 107,748,000 Russians; 50% thereof are living and working in the so-called national autonomous Soviet republics included in the RSFSR. Everywhere in the national Soviet republics Russian officials occupy Government and Party posts (from the bottom to the top). Moscow succeeded in establishing a system of control over all peoples that has remained operable so far. (Official data: 1970).

The tsarist policy concerning *the merging of peoples* into the Russian people has become a chief object of the present Soviet Russian regime. The assimilation of peoples is part of the programme of the Communist party of the Soviet Union, too. In the guise of internationalism, Moscow aims at Russifying the non-Russian peoples in the USSR. School education, i.e. teaching young people of non-Russian nationalities in Russian, also greatly contributes to the assimilation policy. Thus the so-called *national Soviet states* have actually become *forefields of the struggle against these nations*.

Ivan Dzyuba, a Ukrainian literary critic living in Ukraine, documented a study of the Soviet nationalities policy in practice. Ivan Dzyuba's constant experience of the problems discussed gave his work an authority which outside experts can never have. Human rights and liberty are closely linked with the national ones, declares Dzyuba. He gave a wealth of irrefutable evidence, both historical and contemporary, from cultural, educational, social, economic and administrative spheres, to show Russian chauvinism to be holding, swaying and striving to engulf all other nationalities.

He writes: "The term 'Russification' is very unpopular today with the authorities; it is considered politically too dissonant to be used in public and of course only a hardened 'nationalist' can speak today of the Russification of the Ukrainian population."

He analyses by what means this Russification policy is carried out in the national republics. Of course, he is of the opinion that language plays the most important part in it. Further, the state's economic machinery is one of the most important and effective levers of Russification.

"Where the 'authorities' speak Russian soon everybody will also be forced to start speaking Russian. The language of the administrative machine gradually triumphs over the whole environment".

"Further, the Army is a big instrument for the Russifying of Ukraine and the whole non-Russian population. "Millions of young Ukrainian men come home after several years service nationally disorientated and linguistically demoralized and become in their turn

a force exerting an influence for Russification on the other young people and on the population at large. Not to mention that a considerable number of them do not return to Ukraine at all". The further means of colonization and Russification is the resettlement of a large percentage of Russian population into cities and smaller towns. "Our cities have been, and unfortunately remain, gigantic Russifying machines. Formerly this was true chiefly about large cities, today it is also true about small towns."

"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'. This Russian petty bourgeoisie does not feel like a friendly guest or a good friend of the people among which it happens to live, but like the master of the situation and a superior element. It shows contempt towards these peoples, and instead of taking an interest in them, studying and absorbing their culture, language and history — as any good visitor, guest or friend who has been called upon to help always does — this petty bourgeoisie not only fails to study and absorb these things, but does not even show any interest in them. Moreover, they do not miss a single opportunity of slighting, mocking and ridiculing them. "Well, they know Ukrainian borshch, they know Ukrainian bacon", Mayakovsky wrote about them forty years ago. But even now they do not know any more.

"The attitude of this petty bourgeoisie to the Ukrainian people has crystallized and keeps on crystallizing in such 'pearls of folklore' of sad repute as 'khokhlandis', 'Hapkenstrasse' and the like."

"They are not more favourably disposed towards other peoples of the Union. "Those Georgians are such loafers, such boors . . . and such terrible nationalists"; 'those Azerbaijani are so dirty, such boors . . . and such terrible nationalists'; 'those Latvians are such nationalists', etc, etc. In short, the whole world is made up of boors and nationalists, and only they, the Russian Philistines, are shining lights of culture and good genii of internationalism."

For some time past, Russification has been creeping inexorably into the smaller towns and centres of rural districts, accompanied by the proliferation of officials and bureaucrats in them who, naturally, speak or attempt to speak Russian and thus force their subordinates to do likewise, accompanied by the decay of folk customs, folk art and cultural 'landing parties', accompanied by the ascendancy of Russian newspapers, books, broadcasting and films . . . As a result there is developing a language which is neither Ukrainian nor Russian but a hideous mixture, popularly called *surzhyk*; there is developing not a culture but a vulgar ersatz, a shoddy mass product with pretensions to the 'city style'; there is developing the historically well-known type of the 'khokhol turncoat with a low cultural out-

look' (from the declaration of the All Ukrainian Federation of Proletarian Writers and Artists). A tragedy is unfolding in vaudeville style.

Our literature is far from being on the level on which it should and could be. The Ukrainian theatre is in obvious decadence. The Ukrainian cinema is virtually non-existent in spite of the existence of two studios, in Kyiv and Odessa: the films they make are either unbelievably bad or (with very few exceptions) not Ukrainian at all.

Anything that is interesting and promising does not usually receive support but the opposite — to quote I. Dzyuba:

"the situation in the Ukrainian theatre is almost catastrophic. The Kyiv Franko Academic Dramatic Theatre is in a state of permanent helplessness and drabness, while at the same time the talented young producer Les' Tanyuk was refused work until in the end he was forced to leave Ukraine. Now he works in Moscow, he is gladly invited to the best Moscow theatres, where the shows he directs enjoy tremendous popularity."

"Thus our culture is being deliberately held back and impoverished by various measures, by administrative brutality, by a caveman cultural level, by a 'deeply echeloned' bureaucratic vigilance', and by an automatically repressive reflex. Our culture is being compromised in the eyes of a mass public which has opportunity of seeing this concealed 'restricting' mechanism in action and therefore attributes all the backwardness of our culture to its own innate traits."

"A second factor limiting the appeal of Ukrainian culture for millions of readers is the artificial impoverishment of its past attainments and traditions, a pillaging in fact of Ukrainian cultural history."

"The same holds true of the monumental collection of Ukrainian folklore by P. Chuyns'ky, M. Drahomanov, V. Antonovych, Ya. Holovats'ky, and others, published in the nineteenth century."

"As for the works of Ukrainian historians — V. Antonovych, M. Maksymovych, O. Bodyans'ky, M. Kostomarov, O. Lazarevs'ky, or P. Kulish, are more than remarkable figures — where are they? (Meanwhile in Russia S. M. Solov'yov and V. O. Klyuchevsky have been republished in full)."

"Likewise concealed are the literary-political writings of the 1920's and works on the nationalities question by M. Skrypnyk and others."

"And what about translation? What about bringing the Ukrainian reader the wealth of world culture in his own language? This is one of the great concerns to which every civilised nation has always devoted the maximum of attention and effort."

"New translations are being produced on a fairly miserable scale, so that we have only individual books from the world's classics. Some of our most brilliant translations, such as Goethe's *Faust*

(translated by M. Lukash), Dante's *Commedia* (translated by P. Karman's'ky and M. Ryl's'ky), and others, are being published in such miserably small numbers that it is impossible to acquire them no matter how much one may want to."

"In music we have almost forgotten the great Ukrainian composers Maksym Berezov's'ky and D. Bortnyans'ky as well as the Galician composers of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Until recently no mention was made of the great and celebrated singers Solomiya Krushel'nyts'ka, Oleksander Myshuha and Modest Mentsyn's'ky, and even now we do not have their recordings, although such recordings exist in the West, where they enjoy a great popularity."

"In painting and sculpture we do not know such a giant as Archipenko, whom the artistic world places alongside Picasso. We do not know M. Butovych, M. Parashchuk and P. Kholody, we almost do not know P. Obal' and O. Novakiv's'ky. To this day silence covers a whole constellation of talented artists, the 'Boychukists', who created an original school in Ukrainian art in the 1920s. Only now do we begin to mention A. Petryts'ky . . ."

"Insufficient attention is paid to Ukrainian folk art which has long been recognized throughout the world as one of the finest jewels of beauty and human culture. As a result the renowned centres of folk art in Opishnya, Petrykivka, Kosiv and other villages are, to put it mildly, not in the best of states . . ."

"In our museum galleries too much space is given to imposing hackwork and the dreary output of honoured time-servers, whilst the latest artistic striving of less 'comfortable' contemporary talents are not represented. Many brilliant works from earlier periods, especially the 1920s, are languishing in store."

"In the Ukrainian Soviet State the responsible authorities, first and foremost the Government itself, in no way endeavour to make Ukrainian Soviet culture truly accessible to the whole nation."

A very effective means of colonisation of national republics is "voluntary" resettlement of population to virgin lands in particular to Kazakhstan. Great propaganda is made in schools and universities to incite young people to emigrate to distant central Asian republics. There, bared of their own national environment, their own schools, newspapers and books in their national language, they are easily denationalised. Cinema, theatre, if any, newspaper, and all means of communication only in Russian are advancing this process there. On the other hand the native population is declining.

On March 15, 1961 N.S. Khrushchov stated in Akmolinsk: "the population of the New Land (virgin lands in Kazakhstan) has increased within seven years to 1,185,000 people. These are no abstract figures. They contain a deep economic and political meaning". And due to this colonisation policy the native Khazakh population is drawn into a minority in its own republic. Khazakhs constitute

only 34.2% of the whole population. The small population republics, like Baltic ones, are greatly endangered by such resettlement policy.

Valentyn Moroz wrote: "One cannot imagine culture without religion". This is well understood by Moscow rulers. The Ukrainian Catholic Church and the Ukrainian Autocephalic Orthodox Church are outlawed. Lithuanian Catholics, Baptists, Jews, Muslims are severely persecuted. Only the Orthodox Church which is directed by Moscow is officially recognised.

Russian rulers know that in order to destroy national tradition, national culture, it is necessary to destroy the religion of the respective nations and thus remove the heavy obstacle against colonialisation and communist indoctrination. They are doing it.

SOME FACTS ON NATIONAL PERSECUTION

As stated at the beginning, the Soviet Constitution stipulates the nation's right to self-determination. Therefore, under Soviet law, propagating the view that any of the republics should have its national independence does not constitute anti-Soviet activity, and thus the poet Krasivsky and his friends are not criminals. But in reality good people, patriots of their nation and their native country are called nationalists, and to be called a nationalist is dangerous because for this you can be persecuted by the Soviet courts.

Vaclav Sevruck, a Lithuanian Freedom Fighter who escaped to the West recalls the case of the Ukrainian poet and patriot Zynoviy Krasivsky:

"Krasivsky and his friends had to face the prospect of being sentenced to death, but they were sentenced to 5 years of prison, 7 years of camps, and 5 years of exile, respectively. After passing 5 years in Vladimir prison, Zynoviy Mykhaylovych Krasivsky was tried again for his poems; he had written about 300 poems and had passed them on to the West, reflecting his whole life starting from his early childhood. The collection is entitled "The Cries of Slaves".

All those convicted of participating in a national movement are actually condemned to lifelong imprisonment in the Soviet Union. Zynoviy Krasivsky spoke about such people detained for 10, 15, 25 or even more years, who did not know how long they would have to remain in prison, for holding deviating views, for being patriots of their nation and fatherland and for being honest and noble men and women.

In the Serbsky Institute we spent about two months together. Zynoviy Mykhaylovych read many poems dealing with the nature of Ukraine, Ukrainian evenings, addresses to his mother and friends, apart from political lyric poems he had written, all of them being beautiful and admirable poems.

Zynoviy Mykhaylovych maintained that he had been subjected to a medical examination and was sent to a psychiatric hospital precisely because the authorities were afraid of the influence his poems might exert on his friends staying in the camps and therefore he had to be isolated from his friends. I was aware of Krasivsky's strong influence on other prisoners of the Serbsky Institute and I testify that he was sent to a mental asylum precisely for his talent. I think that all honest people should fight for the liberation of Zynoviy Krasivsky."

THE CASE OF THE SEVEN

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. For conceiving such a thought they had to be punished, contrary to Art. 105 of the Constitution of the Ukrainian SSR and Art. 125 of the Union Constitution, which guarantees the freedom of speech.

It is well illustrated by the so-called "Jurists' Case." 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. Later, this sentence was changed to 15 years imprisonment. The accused group had discussed 'A draft Programme of the Ukrainian Workers' and Peasants' Union', a pamphlet written by Lukianenko. 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 Ukraine; oppression of the peasantry, whose position was no better than that of tsarist serfs in the past; weakening of the Ukraine's national, political and economic rights; lack of her sovereignty and of her right to enter into relations with foreign states. The pamphlet concluded that Ukraine was actually a colony of Moscow. To secede from the Soviet Union was a move consistent with Art. 14 of the Constitution of the Ukrainian SSR and Art. 17 of the Constitution of the USSR respectively.

POISONED FOOD FOR POLITICAL PRISONERS

In June 1969, a letter was addressed to the Human Rights Commission of the United Nations Organization. It was signed by Kandyba, Lukianenko and M. Horyn. They wrote:

"We have been arrested for demanding an improvement in the position of the Ukrainian workers 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 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 poisoned food.”

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 would bear in mind that the Soviet Union, the Ukrainian SSR and the Byelorussian SSR were the founding members of the United Nations Organization.

PRISONER'S APPEAL TO THE UNITED NATIONS

A group of political prisoners from the sub-Ural concentration camp no. 36 last year sent an appeal to governments of all countries and to the United Nations Organization. The group included Jakiv Suslensky, Pavlo Kampov, Yuriy Horodetsky, Mykola Bondar, Anatoliy Zdorovy, Vitaliy Kalynychnenko and Stepan Sapeliak. Excerpts from the appeal:

“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.

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 harshly punished for any reason whatsoever, tormented with hunger, have physical and moral pain inflicted upon us. We 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. For example, Josyf Mishener attempted to commit suicide in camp no. 35/1 Perm at the beginning of November 1974.

We are convinced that our appeal will be answered by all honest people everywhere. We trust that in the next session of the General Assembly of the UN the question of the status of political prisoners in the USSR will be discussed."

THE IVAN HEL' TRIAL

Ivan Hel' 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 are some excerpts from his speech:

"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. 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 institutions (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 Russian in preserving his national identity. For example, Ukrainians have their own schools in Poland, Czechoslovakia and Rumania, but none in Russia."

THE ORDEALS OF VALENTYN MOROZ

Born on the 15th April, 1936, in the village of Kholoniw, Horokhiv region, Volyn province. He completed his studies at the Faculty of History at Lviv University and then worked for a while as a lecturer of History and Geography in Ivano-Frankivsk. He is a historian, a brilliant publicist, and a strong defender of the National and Human Rights of the Subjugated Nations. Valentyn Moroz was arrested in

August, 1965, in Ivano-Frankivsk, and sentenced in January, 1966, in Lutsk, to 5 years of severe regime concentration camps for alleged "anti-Soviet propaganda". He served his sentence in Mordovian concentration camps where he continued his studies of the English and German languages. In the concentration camp he spent 6 months in solitary confinement for writing the work "A report from the Beria Reserve", in which he disclosed the Stalinist terrorism, and also protested against his illegal arrest and conviction. He was interrogated for a year in the concentration camp, but due to lack of evidence was released on the 1st September, 1969.

In his short period of freedom he wrote three other works: "Moses and Dathan", "A Chronicle of Resistance", and "Among the Snows", in which he touched on the sharp questions of national existence and national ethics. Because of his second arrest, however, he did not complete his work about the great Ukrainian poetess Lesia Ukrainka and her national outlook. He was a collector of national-ethnographic material. At this time Moroz was constantly harassed. He was arrested for the second time on the 1st June, 1970, and sentenced on the 17/18th September, 1970, in Ivano-Frankivsk, to 9 years of severe regime concentration camps, solitary confinement and to 5 years banishment from Ukraine. He was accused and tried under Statute 62/2 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR. The trial was held "in camera". In prison Valentyn Moroz wrote his work "Instead of the Last Word" (or "Instead of a Final Statement"), and during the trial he filed a protest against the illegality of the trial. Witnesses also regarded the trial as illegal and refused to make statements. In connection with the illegal arrest and sentencing of Valentyn Moroz, massive protests by Ukrainian patriots took place in Ukraine and the Free World.

Valentyn Moroz was sent to the Vladimir prison where in July, 1972, he received 4 serious knife wounds from special prison provocateurs. Later he was moved to Kyiv, Lviv, and Ivano-Frankivsk, where the KGB attempted to force him to publicly renounce his views, but he refused. Recently Moroz passed onto the Free World the following statement: "I am being kept with the insane. They created a constant hell for me!". Moroz's wife, a lecturer of German, has experienced constant persecution and threats to their son Valik. V. Moroz is ill with anemia and a stomach ulcer. He is on the edge of exhaustion and is without medical aid. In January, 1974, in the Vladimir prison, provocateurs again gravely wounded V. Moroz. In a grave state of health he was placed into a solitary confinement cell.

On the 1st July, 1974, Valentyn Moroz began a hunger strike until death in the Vladimir prison. Despite numerous pleas from his wife Raisa and his 12 year old son, Moroz resolved to continue the hunger strike. He pointed out to his family that he "must remain faithful to his convictions and beliefs". When his son said: "Father, you must

live for all of us". Moroz replied, "It seems that I must die in order for all of you to live".

On November 10th, Reuter reported from Moscow that Raisa had written an open letter to Western government leaders and international organizations, appealing for help in saving her husband from death. In this letter she described her husband's critical state of health.

Dr. Derek C. Bok, President of Harvard University sent a letter to Valentyn Moroz, inviting him to spend the next academic year as part of the faculty of the Ukrainian Research Institute at Harvard. The letter to Moroz was addressed in care of his wife Raisa in Ivano-Frankivsk. "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". This letter was notarized by a seal and signature of the Middlesex public notary.

From a reliable private source, it was learned that Valentyn Moroz was transferred from his cell to a psychiatric ward, probably in the Vladimir prison, where he has been confined since his arrest.

Moroz is said to have ended his nearly five-month hunger strike in Vladimir prison last November; he was moved from solitary confinement to a cell with another prisoner who is said to be Ukrainian.

Recently, threats against Moroz have again surfaced. One prison doctor allegedly said that Moroz must be transferred to a psychiatric asylum for additional treatment because "a normal person would not be able to survive a five-month hunger strike".

On May 5, 1975, authorities persistently demanded that Moroz should be moved to the prison infirmary, but he refused for fear that he would lose his cellmate.

When Vyacheslav Chornovil, Stefania Shabatura and other Ukrainian political prisoners were moved to Lviv and other cities, they were beaten into unconsciousness for refusing to repent their views. While unconscious they underwent sophisticated tortures, and only when that method failed, did the KGB return them to their prisons.

YURIY ROMANOVYCH SHUKHEVYCH

In 1944, when he was eleven years old the Russians deported his mother to Siberia, and murdered his father's brother. Yuriy was first arrested on the 22nd August, 1948, and as a fifteen year old boy was sentenced to ten years imprisonment because he is the son of Roman Shukhevych who led the underground Liberation Movement of OUN-UPA in Ukraine between 1943-1950. Yuriy was arrested and sentenced on the basis of a special directive from Moscow. In 1950 Yuriy

was brought to Lviv to identify his father's body after the KGB had murdered him. On the 22nd April, 1956, Yuriy was released due to his young age and because he had been tried by an illegal court. The General Prosecutor of the USSR, Rudenko, appealed against the release on the grounds that Yuriy "is the son of a nationalist fighter" and Rudenko fabricated a charge that Yuriy "attempted to contact the foreign centre of OUN". In autumn, 1956, Shukhevych was re-arrested and sentenced to 10 years imprisonment in the Vladimir prison. Before Yuriy's release a Major of the KGB, K. Halskyj-Dmytruk, came to the Vladimir prison and demanded that Yuriy renounce his father and publicly denounce the OUN-UPA Liberation Movement which his father led. Shukhevych refused and on the day of his release, the 21st August, 1958, he was immediately re-arrested and accused of "anti-Soviet agitation amongst prisoners". The case against him was prepared by the KGB Major Halsky-Dmytruk in this way: He used two criminals, Burkov and Fomchenko, who had served in the same cell as Y. Shukhevych, and promised them many privileges and exemptions, which they later received for falsely testifying against Shukhevych. Immediately afterwards Yuriy was transported to the interrogation prison in Lviv where with the help of Burkov and Fomchenko, he was sentenced to an additional 10 years of concentration camps. The trial was held "in-camera", and Shukhevych was not allowed to cross-examine or to defend himself. A few weeks after the trial the same KGB Major again attempted to force Shukhevych to criticise (on radio or in a written statement) the Liberation struggle of OUN-UPA and his father, in return for his freedom. The KGB Major later admitted that Shukhevych was tried and convicted on the basis of the testimonies of bribed witnesses, and that the motive for this action was that the Russian authorities did not want to free Yuriy Shukhevych until he condemned his own father's activities. In 1963 Shukhevych was taken to the Kyiv interrogation prison where he was detained until 1964. Here the KGB once again attempted to force Yuriy to condemn his father, but again Yuriy refused, and for a time he was left in relative peace. In 1965 the KGB suggested to Shukhevych that he should write an "appeal" to the Supreme Soviet for his release but instead he wrote a statement in which he proved that he was convicted illegally and groundlessly. He did not receive an answer to his statement. On the 28th July, 1967, Yuriy again wrote a long statement to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR in which, through many facts, he proved that he had been groundlessly convicted on the basis of fabricated charges, false witnesses and because he is the son of the former leader of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement. He also proved the anti-National policies of the KGB and the Soviet courts. In this statement Shukhevych also warned that he could be accused of yet more fabricated crimes because his second ten years term of unlawful

imprisonment was nearing an end, and he illustrated many examples of other prisoners who, before release, had mysteriously died, and he warned that this could also happen to him. Yuriy stated that in the event of his death everyone would know whose hand was to blame.

In August, 1968, Yuriy was released from the concentration camps and forbidden to live in Ukraine — this freedom lasted for three and a half years. He is married and the father of two children. He was arrested for the third time in March, 1972, and was subsequently sentenced on the 9th September, 1972, to 10 years of severe regime concentration camps and 5 years banishment from Ukraine. He was tried "in-camera" under Statute 70/2 of the RSFSR Criminal Code (Statute 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR). He was accused of writing his memoirs about his life in the concentration camps, and of taking an interest in the circumstances of his father's death. These accusations were classed as "anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation". The truth is that Yuriy Shukhevych has been sentenced for the third time, to a total of 35 years imprisonment and banishment, for not renouncing his own father and for not censuring his activities. At present Yuriy Shukhevych is seriously ill with an ulcer, undernourished and without medical help. His life is in grave danger. He was last serving his illegal sentence in the Vladimir prison (December 1973).

NATIONAL PERSECUTION DESCRIBED IN A DOCUMENT FROM THE UNDERGROUND

An Appeal from Ukraine, smuggled to the West, appeared in "The Daily Telegraph" on the 16th of August, 1973:

"Our front is compelled to act illegally, and that is why we mail this appeal without signatures. We appeal to the public opinion of the world to raise its voice in defence of the Ukrainian people, and against Russian despotism.

"The UN Charter and Declaration of Human Rights, which were also signed by the governments of the USSR and the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, guarantee to each and every nation the right to national independence and individual freedom. However, the Party and Government of both the USSR and Ukrainian SSR completely disregard their own laws. The latter is, actually, the colonial administration of Ukraine receiving direct orders from Moscow."

"The government of the Ukrainian SSR did not even obtain the privilege for Ukrainian convicts to serve their sentences on Ukrainian territory, for here they are citizens and here they could obtain better assistance from their families. For attempting the realization of just rights, Ukrainian community leaders were punished, some by death (L. Lukyanenko, I. Kandyba who had their

sentences commuted to 15 years of prison and concentration camps of severe regime); for attempts to free cultural creativity and for opposing Russification, several hundred cultural workers, poets, artists, scientists and scholars (such as V. Moroz, Y. Sverstyuk, V. Chornovil, I. Svitlychnyj, Ihor and Iryna Kalynets, W. Stus, Iryna Senyk, Mykhaylo Osadchyi, I. Hel' and others) were punished by heavy sentences of up to 15 years of imprisonment in concentration camps and exile; for protesting against unlawful court proceedings and for the defence of the rights of individuals, punishments in the form of unspecified terms within special psychiatric asylums under KGB supervision were passed, e.g. L. Plyushch professor of cybernetics, A. Lupynis, Gen. P. Hryhorenko, Mykola Khmara and others, sentenced to long years of incarceration (the priest V. Romaniuk to ten years); Yuriy Shukhevych now has sentences totalling 35 years of imprisonment and concentration camp, the microbiologist Nina Strokata-Karavanska was sentenced to four years of imprisonment; for defending the rights and freedom of their nations A. Oliynyk, P. Kovalchuk, I. Chayka and others were executed; M. Soroka, V. Malchuk and others were tortured to death."

"For defending the discriminated Jewish people, Petro Yakir, and others, were again put behind bars."

"In order to break the will of resistance, the KGB are using modern chemicals and medical drugs manufactured by their professional staff, or are systematically poisoning foodstuffs (P. Starchyk, I. Dzyuba, V. Moroz, L. Lukyanenko, I. Kandyba and others)."

"Through the application of modern methods of breaking the will of a human being, the terror of Brezhnev-Andropov surpasses that of Stalin-Beria's type."

"We warn you that if national rights and freedom of individuals, freedom of creativity and religion are not defended not only by us, who are suffering from the present persecution and cruel treatment, but also by the entire cultural world — then a massive and intensive terror will gain the upper hand in the whole world, for Russian chauvinists and Communists will not come to a standstill and will not be satisfied with what they have conquered."

"We call upon workers, writers, artists, scholars, students and young people, women and Churches and all people of good will to demand the immediate abolition of the use of chemical and medical means and the application of malpractices including psychiatric methods, and furthermore the release of all political and religious prisoners, the liquidation of concentration camps, and end of Russification, and the realization of national independence for the nations subjugated in the Soviet Union in accordance with the UN Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights."

*The Front of National Defence of
Ukraine, July 1973.*

UKRAINIAN PATRIARCH SPEAKS ABOUT PERSECUTION

The Ukrainian Patriarch, His Beatitude Cardinal Joseph Slipyj, at the Synod of Catholic bishops, Rome, October 1974, expressed his sorrow that nothing was mentioned at the Synod 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 tradition of its religion and for which it undergoes severe persecution. He then gave a picture of the situation in Ukraine. 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 lives on in spite of those circumstances. And no one mentions the need to freely preach the world 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 persecution, the faithful in Ukraine do not lose 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 research that ancient Ukrainian spiritual culture is different from the Russian one; for this 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?" He subsequently appealed that 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".

WOMEN PROTEST AGAINST PERSECUTION OF NATIONAL CULTURE

Stephania Shabatura, born 1938, sentenced to 5 years' imprisonment in camps and 3 years' forced exile, an artist from Lviv.

Nina Karavanska-Strokata, born 1925, sentenced to 4 years' imprisonment in camps, a scientific worker from Odessa.

Iryna Kalynets-Stasiv, born 1940, sentenced to 6 years' imprisonment in camps and 3 years' forced exile, a poetess from Lviv.

The day 12th January, 1972, was the beginning of a new wave of repressions against the Ukrainian intelligentsia. We are being persecuted and imprisoned simply because we, as Ukrainians, stand for the preservation and advancement of the Ukrainian national culture and language in Ukraine. All arrests, conducted during that year in Ukraine — are violations of the Declaration of Human Rights by the Soviet authorities.

We are defenceless before the Soviet unlawful court. We are tried illegally and at present are serving our sentences in the Soviet political camps No. 3 in Dubrovlag, Mordovia. We refute all the charges that were brought against us. We are not asking for a favour, only for a normal, fair and open trial in the presence of a representative of the United Nations. 10th May, 1973.

*Stephania Shabatura, Nina Karavanska-Strokata,
Iryna Kalynets-Stasiv.*

DESPITE PERSECUTION THE NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLE CONTINUES

The aims of the liberation movements of the enslaved nations are conditioned by: a) traditional background of revolutionary struggle and realisation of the great traditions — historical and cultural; invincible will of each nation to live its own independent life; b) world-wide victory of the national idea; disintegration of almost all the empires of the world, which mobilises morally and ideologically the nations enslaved within the Russian empire; c) insurmountable contradictions within the Russian empire.

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

Thus for instance in Ukraine, a group of lawyers which founded the underground Ukrainian Workers' and Peasants Union in 1960 tried to mobilise the Ukrainian public to demand secession of the Ukrainian SSR from the Soviet Union by utilising the appropriate abstract and perfidious articles of the Constitution of the USSR and Ukrainian SSR. They had in plan to demonstratively put the motion for the secession of Ukraine from the USSR a session of the Supreme Soviet of Ukraine.

The Ukrainian Workers' and Peasants' Union headed by the lawyers L. Lukyanenko, I. Kandyba and propagandist S. Virun, was discovered by the KGB in 1961 and liquidated — seven of its mem-

bers were convicted — two of them to death, the death sentence later being commuted to 15 years imprisonment. One of the members of this group suggested action among the Soviet Army and preparation of an armed struggle. But on the whole the group attempted to utilise Soviet legal fictions.

“The Ukrainian National Front” — was a declared revolutionary organisation, ideologically akin to the old Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), and during the years 1964-66 published an underground journal “Freedom and Fatherland”. In 15 issues this journal reprinted many publications of the OUN and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army from the years 1947-49. In 1967 this group was arrested and at a trial in Ivano-Frankivsk three of its leaders — D. Kvetsko, Z. Krasivskyi and M. Dyak — were sentenced to death. Later the sentences were commuted to 15-12 years imprisonment. Others were sentenced to shorter terms.

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

In 1958/59 students and workers in Ivano-Frankivsk founded the “United Party for the Liberation of Ukraine”. Its aim was sovereignty and independence of Ukraine. At a secret trial in March 1959 they were sentenced to terms of imprisonment ranging from 7 to 10 years. Their leaders were Bohdan Harmatiuk, Yarema Tkachuk, Bohdan Tymkiv.

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

Similar centres of organised struggle exist or are in the process of formation in other countries enslaved in the USSR and in the satellite states.

There is widespread opposition to Russification policies of Moscow. And it is not by chance that the Byelorussian writer Bykov criticised “great power assimilators” at the Congress of Byelorussian Writers, and the same was done by Abashidze — at the Georgian congress.

In Ukraine, Byelorussia, Georgia, Turkestan, Azerbaijan, North Caucasus, Lithuania, Latvia, Armenia, Estonia as well as in Bulgaria, Hungary, Slovakia, Czechia, East Germany, Rumania, and Croatia, the national-liberation struggle is growing in strength on the basis of traditional national and religious ideas.

A powerful stimulus to the national liberation struggle was given by the young poets and writers in the early 1960s, the so-called

“poets of the sixties”, especially in Ukraine, where one of their leading lights was Vasyl Symonenko (b. 1935, d. 1963). In his strong-worded fresh poetry there was condemnation of the entire hypocritical and oppressive system in the USSR and the policy of Russian domination. This movement penetrated even the ranks of the Communist Party and Komsomol in Ukraine and threatened to engulf the Russian colonial domination. A whole underground literature began to spread like wildfire in Ukraine.

In 1965 the regime dealt a blow in retaliation. Over 20 of the most active Ukrainian intellectuals with the critics I. Svitlychny and I. Dzyuba at the head were arrested. And although these two were released and punished only by dismissal from their jobs, the others were sentenced to several years of imprisonment each. Voluminous material about their writings, arrests, secret trials and KGB persecutions were collected by the journalist Vyacheslav Chornovil and published in the West (*Chornovil Papers*, McGraw Hill). A brilliant work by Ivan Dzyuba “Internationalism or Russification?” circulated in Ukraine clandestinely, also was published in the West (Weidenfeld and Nicholson). Chornovil himself was sentenced at a secret trial in Nov. 1967 to three years imprisonment, later commuted to 18 months. But even on coming out of prison, he continued to sign protest statements against persecution of Ukrainian intellectuals, secret trials and suppression of human rights in the USSR. Many Ukrainian intellectuals and students helped the former Canadian Ukrainian communist Party member, John Kolasky, to collect documentary material about the colonialist Russian policies in Ukraine, which were published on his return in Canada in two books (*Education in Soviet Ukraine*, and *Two Years in Soviet Ukraine*). The savagery of the sentences meted out to Ukrainian intellectuals in the trials in 1966 — the historian Valentyn Moroz (4 years), the painter O. Zalyvakha (5 years), the poet and translator S. Karavansky (the remaining 9 years of his previous 25-year sentence was interrupted in 1960 after 16 years of imprisonment), etc. shocked Ukraine. Far from intimidating the Ukrainian nationally minded people, it encouraged them to new acts of civic courage. Reports about arrests and sentences for “Ukrainian nationalist propaganda and agitation” multiplied over the second half of the 1960s, coming not only from Kyiv, Lviv, Ivano-Frankivsk, Lutsk, but also from Donbas, Dnipropetrovsk, Chernihiv, and many other cities of Ukraine, and even from Ukrainian settlements in Kazakhstan.

The chairman of the Union of Writers of Ukraine, Oles Honchar, wrote a novel “The Cathedral” which tried to show the conflict between those who wished to preserve spiritual heritage of the Ukrainian people and those who out of servility to the occupying power worked to destroy that heritage. The novel evoked great commotion in Ukraine and the authorities took it out of circulation,

condemned it and persecuted those who spoke up in favour of it. Particularly vicious persecution took place in 1969 in Dnipropetrovsk where several writers and critics were imprisoned, incl. the poet Sokulskyi who was sentenced to four and a half years of imprisonment in January 1970.

A deep philosophical commentary on the ideas expressed in Honchar's novel "The Cathedral" is contained in the pamphlets written by the young critic Yevhen Sverstyuk under the title "Cathedral in Scaffolding" and circulating widely in Ukraine. (Published in the West, too). Sverstyuk asks the Communists: "What have you created for your people to replace the insidious propaganda against religious faith and rites, old customs, traditions and feasts — i.e. all that which a foreigner had to respect in the past if he wanted to show his respect towards the people". Seeing the barbarity of the present day Russian occupants of Ukraine, he exclaims: "How much did it cost our forefathers to instil in their children humane ideals, faith, selfless love of truth and respect to the God of their ancestors!"

In 1970 the first issue of the clandestine journal *Ukrainian Herald* appeared in Ukraine and was republished in the West. Since that time five more issues have come out. This journal republishes material circulating among Ukrainian intellectuals, especially dealing with the regime's suppression of national and human rights in Ukraine.

Having come out of prison in September, 1969, the Ukrainian historian Valentyn Moroz, did not give up his views and his public activities. He again wrote articles which could not be published in the Communist press, but were circulating among his friends and acquaintances. In these articles, especially "Report from Beria Reserve", "Chronicle of Resistance" and "Among the Snows" he scathingly unmaskes KGB terror, the arbitrariness of the Russian occupation regime and Russian colonialism in Ukraine. In his most recent work "Among the Snows" Moroz writes: "No spiritual revolution has yet taken place without its apostles. The present-day rebirth is also impossible without them... One can have great spiritual treasures but they will remain unnoticed if an infatuated person does not get hold of them and does not melt them in the hearth of his infatuation". He speaks against scepticism, "realism", in favour of what he calls infatuation with a great idea of spiritual renovation and Ukrainian national rebirth. He calls for a tremendous civic courage against all the threats, reprisals and persecutions of the lawless regime of Russian oppressors. Arrested again on June 1, 1970, he stood a secret trial in November of the same year and was sentenced to 14 years imprisonment in prisons and concentration camps in Russia and Siberia far off from Ukraine. He refused to testify at trial declaring all secret trials illegal, and refused to beg for pardon. All the witnesses refused to testify against Moroz. The unheard of

sentence called forth a wave of protests not only in Ukraine, but throughout the free world.

Historian Amalrik who wrote the politically explicit article "Will the USSR survive till 1984?" received a much milder sentence. This only shows how dangerous the national question is, especially the Ukrainian national liberation movement, in the eye of the Moscow imperialists.

The leading force of the Ukrainian resistance is the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), followers of the late Stepan Bandera, assassinated by a Soviet agent in Munich in 1959. Although the network of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists in Ukraine has suffered tremendous losses in the post-World War II years, and thousands of its heroic fighters fell in struggle, the ideas which it has sown are sprouting out in multifarious forms in the most unexpected places and the trend towards the crystallisation of the organised liberation movement is becoming ever more apparent.

All the indications show that at the present time there is taking place a spontaneous eruption of a spiritual force enveloping all the subjugated nations — the elemental volcanic force of traditional spiritual values, faith in God and belief in national destinies, original and unfalsified, an invincible urge to realise profound human aspirations of freedom, justice, honesty, truth, national and individual rights and obligations. This elemental force cannot be halted by any prohibitions and persecutions by the rigid, rotten regime, built on lies, falsehood and perversion of truth, terror and compulsion. Sooner or later it will erupt in an armed revolutionary struggle for the independence of nations and freedom of individuals, and our task is to hasten the victory of this struggle by giving it every assistance from the Free World.

MARTYRS OF NATIONAL PERSECUTION

"... Let us look at national history", — writes Valentyn Moroz, a young philosopher of history currently in prison — "had not those become its heroes who with a child's smile have passed over abysses and have raised highest the spirit of *national immortality*?"

When I. Dzyuba issued a statement of repentance, V. Moroz declared to the court: "Well, we shall fight. Just now, when one has signed a statement of repentance, another one reclassified himself as a translator — just now it is necessary for someone to give an example of firmness... The lot has fallen on me... It is a difficult mission. To sit behind bars is not easy for anyone. But not to respect oneself — this is more difficult yet. And therefore we shall fight!"

How inflammatory is the national idea is shown by protests of self-immolation:

On November 5, 1968, *Vasyl Makukh*, 50, the father of two

children, a fighter of UPA and the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), long-term prisoner of Russian prisons and concentration camps, burned himself in Kyiv with the exclamation: "Long live free Ukraine!";

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

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

On May 14, 1972, — the Lithuanian nationalist student *Romas Kalanta* burned himself in Kaunas with the exclamation: "Long live independent Lithuania!";

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

On June 3, 1972, — Lithuanian worker *Andrus Kukavicius*, 60,

On June 9, 1972, Lithuanian *Zalish Kauskas* — all attempted self-immolation;

By the heroic conduct of the young Ukrainian historian, *Valentyn Moroz*, in a Russian court, with his by now famous expression: "If having placed me behind bars, you were counting on creating something of a vacuum in the Ukrainian renaissance, then this is not serious. Try to understand at last: There won't be any vacuum anymore!"

The national idea is embodied in concrete action, in direct struggle of the subjugated nations in their native lands and in the concentration camps, as for example, the much publicized hunger strike in Potma in March 1972, in which the Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Jewish and other political prisoners participated; street revolts and disturbances in Dnipropetrovsk and Dniprodzerzhynsk in 1972; the armed clashes of Georgian nationalists with the Russian occupation detachments in Tiflis; armed clashes in Erivan, Armenia, also occurring in recent years . . .

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

In Turkestan, in May 1969, the Uzbeks, shouting "Russian get out of Uzbekistan", rebelled in the concentration camps. These disturbances spread across Tashkent and Bukhara. The famous struggle of Crimean Tartars, defended by General Hryhorenko (Ukrainian), is by now widely known throughout the world. The Armenian groups, "Shand", ("in the name of the fatherland") and "Paros" (torch)

fought in 1969/70 for the independence and unity of Armenia, publishing a periodical and leaflets. Its members included students and workers.

The heroic national and religious efforts and decisive resistance to Russification are renowned throughout the subjugated world.

V. Moroz, the defender of the national principle of world organization, of traditionalism, of Christian — or other religious foundations of culture, and defender of one of the oldest centres of Ukrainian pre-Christian and Christian culture, i.e. the old town of Kosmach, contrasts Kosmach to Babylon — i.e., the organic, natural, and national concept of world organization to the fusing of nations concept. Megalopolis effaces the individual and kills freedom. As Ihor Kalynets, poet and philosopher, proposes a new model for world order, Moroz, historian, advances a universal conception for saving the world, in another complementary aspect. However, neither of them have been offered the Nobel-prize so far. Knut Skueniks, a well known Latvian intellectual, staying in the Mordovian concentration camps, characterizes Ihor Kalynets's work as follows: "The Ukrainian, Kalynets, also presents a new world model. He has created it in a surprisingly quiet and profound way. You may enter it and leave it perplexed. You may fail to understand it but you will remain perplexed. You will start looking for something. If you find it — you are lucky; if you don't — you deny, at your pithecatrope's low level, this new world and you brand the poet as being "antique". You exclude him from society, but one day your grandchildren will cling to this new world and you will be helpless.

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

"When you enter into literature — clean your shoes" — says Vyshnya (a famous Ukrainian humorist, longtime prisoner of Stalinist prisons). Latvian Knut Skueniks writes: "Art is created by those who have a free mind. An enslaved mind can only create an ingenious model of everyday life in enslavement and reproduce its frame and bars. However, it will never be able to produce an advanced world model, i.e. a model people will understand later on . . ." (M. Osadchyi "Cataract" — *Samvydav*).

THE PERSECUTED MAINTAIN THEIR BELIEFS IN THE NATIONAL IDEA

A young Ukrainian underground author says the following about the national idea: "The national idea exists and will continue to exist. It is real for us today and means the fullness of the sovereign

nation and cultural existence of the Ukrainian nation. The national idea encompasses countless other ideas common to mankind — and the very absorption by the national idea, a dedication to it, leads at the same time into the most secret depths of other social and spiritual needs . . . The national question is knitted together by thousands of the finest threads with the most essential question of human conscience . . . Nationalism is an inseparable part of the nation itself.”

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

Lev Lukianenko, lawyer condemned to death (later commuted to 15 years of hard labour), declared in Mordovia (1972): “If I were the sole Ukrainian in the world, I would still fight for Ukraine”!

A young Estonian prisoner in Mordovia proudly said: “Do you know Estonia is one thousand years old. Once, there were sixty Estonians and Estonia survived. Estonia has survived in camps as well”. And on one occasion, presenting a bouquet to a representative of the government, which when unwrapped turned out to be a mesh of barbed wire a prisoner shouted: “Long live free Estonia!” — and then all knew that Estonia was alive. This incident from camp life was related by Prof. Osadchy, sentenced again to 10 years. (“Cataract”, 1972).

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

The wolf and the native land . . . The Russians — foreigners. Where can one find Bolshevik “success” here? These are testimonials of the total bankruptcy of Communist Sovietism and the Russian “older brother” theory.

If Yurko — the son of Gen. R. Shukhevych — Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) — had denounced his father he would be in the Crimea long ago. (A luxury holiday resort for Party and KGB bosses).

“Go away, scoundrel”, says Yurko to an overseer from the KGB who tries to talk him into signing a statement renouncing his father, “go away or I’ll send you to a mausoleum . . .” Yurko languished for

his father for 10 years in camps of severe regime (1968). *After serving his 20-year sentence, Yurko Shukhevych was sentenced anew on September 9th, 1972, to 15 years!*

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

“A nation is a temple, the desecration of which constitutes the great crime . . . Let the tenth part of a nation remain, but with full-valued spirituality — this is not yet fatal. A whole willow grows from a piece of a full-valued willow twig. We live in the spontaneously irrational, in the depths, by roots alone which continuously sprout but rarely reach normal blossom”, says one of the greatest heroes in the field of cultural creativity — Valentyn Moroz, convicted to 14 years of severe regime imprisonment. “Denationalisation is deheroisation . . . de-Christianisation, collectivisation, colonialist industrialisation, mass resettlements from village to city — all this constituted a destruction unprecedented in Ukraine’s history of traditional Ukrainian structures, whose catastrophic results have not yet been fully revealed . . .”

This formula summarizes the position of the young generation as far as its programme and outlook on the world are concerned. It is deeply rooted in the traditional national spirituality. “An individual who respects, knows and loves the history of his nation — lives not only his own lifetime but as long as his people, his land . . . The nation is immortal, it will live . . . Know yourself in your people . . .”

The young generation is captivated by the heroism of its ancestors. It gave rise to legends which were revived by the young people: “Legends which cultivate and raise our spirit above this abyss writes a young author . . . legends about the transmigrations of souls, contemplation of the soul’s immortality, legends about the continuity of the kin, about the immortality of a people . . . We are speaking about the legend of the nation’s eternity . . .” The entire class theory, Marxism, Sovietism with its theory of the traditionless “Soviet” people, the world proletariat, of the withering away of nations, the class struggle, are useless!

Iwan Wowchuk

IN DEFENCE OF HUMANISM

The Case against Myth-Creation in the U.N.

Foreword by Nestor Procyk, M.D.

Published by Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations

Buffalo — Toronto, 1970, 27 pp.

Price: 50 p., \$1.00

Abraham SHIFRIN
Israel

THE RUSSIAN CONCENTRATION CAMPS

From 1945 to 1953 I held several posts within the framework of Soviet jurisprudence. My legal training enabled me to assess violations of both Soviet law and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights with the eye of a specialist, both in my own case and in the cases of others.

In 1953 I was arrested by the KGB in Moscow, and subsequently sentenced to death. This sentence was later commuted to 25 years of special category labour camps, 5 years of exile and 5 years of deprivation of rights. However, I was born under a lucky star (my being still alive and present here today is sufficient evidence of this!), and in actual fact served only 10 years of my sentence in camps and prisons, with 4 years in exile. This may not seem much by comparison with the 25 year sentences served out fully by some of my friends, but it was long enough for me to become thoroughly familiar with Soviet penal institutions.

From 1953 until 1957 I was held as a political prisoner (even though such a "status" does not exist officially in the USSR) in 9 prisons, 18 camps for political prisoners (strict, special and punitive regime), in 2 special type prisons, and also in many 'BUR's" (barracks with stepped-up regime) and "SHIZO's" (punitive solitary confinement cells). Apart from this, I was exiled to Kazakhstan.

After being released from camp, I made two lengthy trips — one to Siberia, and one through the Asiatic republics, the Caucasus and Ukraine. My aim was to locate prisons and camps I knew of only by hearsay, and also to re-establish contact with friends who had remained, after their release, in areas to which they had originally come as prisoners.

Although I have been in Israel since 1970, I still maintain contacts with friends of my labour camp days — friends who are still in the USSR, and even those who are to this day incarcerated in prisons and camps. I hope that their letters shall be incorporated into the evidence gathered at this hearing, as part of my testimony is based on their contents.

In 1975, a group of former political prisoners from Soviet camps organized a small centre in Israel to collect information from new migrants recently released from Soviet camps, concerning conditions

of confinement, questioning methods and trial procedures in the Soviet Union today.

I

I should like to commence with my personal testimony.

My first encounter with the relentless Soviet system of crushing the individual occurred when I was 14 years old: my father was arrested, and my mother, sister and I automatically became the family of one of the "enemies of the people". Twenty years later, my father was posthumously rehabilitated. He was an ordinary engineer, engaged in factory construction. He was still in camp at the time when I, as the son of an "enemy of the people", was sent to the war front in a penal battalion which consisted of the sons of political prisoners. We were obviously sent off to be exterminated. The 500 of us were issued with 100 rifles and advised to "obtain further arms from the enemy". But I survived, and returned home at the end of the war.

I was arrested on June 6, 1953 i.e. after Stalin's death. At this time I was working as a senior legal counsel in the Ministry of Strategic Industries of the USSR, which in those days was more accurately known as the Ministry of Armaments.

I was detained on a Moscow street, and taken in a KGB car to the central prison on Dzerzhinsky Square, better known to the world as "Lubyanka" prison.

I was served with no arrest warrant, but brutally searched and thrown into a cell. For the next month I was subjected to interrogation, still with no evidence of an arrest warrant and without being informed of the charges against me. During this entire period I was not permitted to contact my family (as far as they knew, I had simply "disappeared"), nor was I allowed to call in a lawyer: Soviet jurisprudence does not call for the presence of a lawyer during interrogation, he can be present only at the actual trial. As a rule, interrogation sessions were conducted during the night, but during the day I was given no chance to sleep in my cell, for permission to sleep was used as inducement for me to "confess" that I was an Israeli-American spy. One piece of "indisputable" evidence produced by the interrogator was that upon joining the Ministry of Armaments, I had concealed the fact that my father — Isaac Shifrin — had been arrested on a political charge (anti-Soviet agitation) in accordance with Article 58.10 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR. Furthermore, I had concealed this fact both in the army and upon receiving my documents after discharge from military service.

All this was construed as proof that I had obtained a position of trust in order to engage in "activities hostile to the Soviet State".

It should be noted that at this time Soviet jurisprudence was still adhering to the absurd principle laid down by the General Prosecutor

of the USSR Vyshinsky, that the accused could be tried and sentenced on circumstantial evidence in the absence of direct proof.

At no time during my preliminary questioning was I formally charged with stealing or passing specific Soviet military secrets, either verbally or in document form, to a foreign power. But my interrogators insisted that I "knew secrets" and "had met with foreigners". This led them to the conclusion that I was a spy, for with a biography like mine it would be impossible for me not to turn over any secrets I might know to the enemy. Characteristically, this arose from one of the basic principles of Soviet criminal investigation and trial — "socialist consciousness". Soviet courts are obliged to be guided in their deliberations by "bolshhevist intuition", and by the abovementioned "socialist consciousness" i.e. to try the accused according to his attitude to the Soviet State.

I was held in detention and periodically interrogated from June to December 1953. During this time, as well as being given no opportunity to sleep for a whole month, I spent 28 days and nights in a "standing cell", which is a cell constructed to keep the prisoner on his feet. Ankle deep in malodorous, stagnant water, I was naturally unable to stand all the time: after a while I had spells of unconsciousness, when I would slump down as far as I could in that cramped space: sometimes, consciousness would return fleetingly, only to be swamped out by blackness again.

Virtually, my life was saved by the arrests of Beria, Kabulov, Merkulov, Vladzimirsky and other KGB "brass", some of whom had been among my interrogators. After their fall, the prison authorities had me removed from the "standing cell", as all my prosecutors were now prisoners themselves. However, although this saved my life, it did not bring about my release, for new interrogators appeared to replace the old.

Some 35 to 40 days after my arrest I was finally served with a warrant, which had been back-dated and carried the signature and seal of the special deputy to the General Prosecutor of the USSR for special affairs i.e. the only person in the Prosecutor's Office who had access to KGB files.

It is necessary to stress that according to Soviet legislation, the KGB is an "investigative agency", and preliminary interrogation of a prisoner must be carried out under the instruction and supervision of the General Prosecutor's Office. In actual fact, this function is performed by an agent appointed by the KGB, and this "special deputy" visés arrest warrants and protocols upon completion of preliminary interrogation. In this way, outward appearances are maintained, and the KGB is not inconvenienced.

In December 1953 I was brought before the military tribunal of the BVD in Moscow, and, at the end of a closed hearing, was sentenced to death by firing-squad.

The trial itself was a mere formality: my judges were obviously not interested in the case, and turned a deaf ear to my protestations that someone being tried for spying should at least be apprised of what secrets he delivered, or attempted to deliver, to a foreign power. The three officers of the internal BVD forces remained unmoved and obviously bored, and then the chairman of the hearing read out my sentence.

I believe one can safely say that by this time the death penalty had also become a formality: I, nor many people who had been similarly sentenced, lodged any appeals for clemency, yet were informed — days, weeks or months later — that our sentences had been reviewed and commuted to 25 years confinement to penal institutions with subsequent exile and deprivation of civil rights.

I should also add that the death sentence at this time carried a rider concerning confiscation of the defendant's property. Thus the death sentence was a source of profit to the State in its role of executioner.

Conditions of confinement undergo a change after the trial: the prisoner is transferred from his solitary cell to a communal one, holding some 50-70 people. This was my first encounter with other political prisoners since my arrest. I shall describe the prisoners typical for this period later.

A common feature of all Soviet prisons is hunger: the ordinary rations are inadequate, and hunger is used as a tool for further punishment. "Transgressors" are placed in cold punitive cells, on even lower rations than usual — 300 grams of bread and 2 cups of water every 24 hours. This form of punishment is also resorted to in the labour camps, with the added aggravation of forcing the starving prisoner to work during the day, and spend his nights in the punitive cell.

Transportation of prisoners from prison to camp is rife with not just violations of human rights, but even of the most basic rights of any living being. As many as 25-30 persons, with all their belongings are packed into "Black Marias" (in Russian, colloquially known as "coronki") built to hold a maximum of 10-11 people. The last in line are literally wedged in by the convoy staff onto the heads of those already in the van. It is quite common for those in the van, packed in and in total darkness, to lose consciousness from lack of space and air.

When the van pulls up by the special railway carriage into which the prisoners are to be transferred, things become even worse: from 22 to 25 prisoners are herded into compartments consisting of eight seats and four sleeping berths. They are literally made to sit on top of one another.

The journey to the camp takes weeks, and during this time the prisoners receive nothing but dry or stale bread and herring. There

is no water, and visits to the toilet are permitted only twice in 24 hours.

It is difficult to give an adequate description of purely physical suffering. During transportation people begin to lose all vestiges of human dignity, reduced to begging indifferent guards to allow them to use the toilet: this, I repeat, is not just a violation of human rights, it is the violation of the basic rights of any living being.

For purposes of comparison, I should like to recall paragraph 12 of the "Rules for treatment of prisoners" which were adopted by the United Nations on August 30, 1955,* which stipulates that sanitary installations should be adequate to allow *all* prisoners to relieve their physical needs in a *proper* manner *whenever they wish*.

Every time I see these words, I am inevitably reminded of the common latrines for use by 50-60 people, inhabited by grotesque, replete rats . . . but that was in the camps.

Upon arrival in camp, the prisoner must don special garb. For instance, a political prisoner sentenced to "special regime" has his number on the front of his shirt: in my time, the number was also on the back, on the cap, and on the right trouser leg at thigh level.

Escorted by armed guards and their dogs, the prisoners are daily driven out to work. The working day is 10 hours, but is lengthened by some further three hours because of searches before and after work, and the time required to get to the work-site from camp and back. Labour laws do not extend to political prisoners . . . As there is enough material on violation of labour laws in the Soviet Union for a separate lecture, I am handing over to this hearing a special report I compiled on this subject at the request of the president of the AFL-CIO Mr. George Meany.

It was not until I found myself in camp that I realized fully what an agony it is to be deprived of correspondence and the hope of being able to see one's family. The KGB, drawing on its many years of experience, has brought about such a situation, that although the prisoner has certain rights on paper, in actual fact he can never avail himself of these rights.

For example, a prisoner may write one, sometimes even two letters a month. However, as orders specify that such mail must be to "close relatives", the censor may refuse to pass the letter on the grounds that the addressee is not a "close" enough connection. Any letter can also be confiscated because of its allegedly "unsuitable" contents.

The same rules apply to letters coming to the camp — very few of

*) *Translator's note:* The author is probably referring to the "Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners" which were adopted by the first UN Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders held in 1955. They were later submitted to the eleventh session of the Social Commission in May 1957, which recommended their adoption. The Economic and Social Council approved these rules in 1957.

them reach the addressee. I have in my possession a letter from prisoner A. A., in which he writes in 1975 that 6 of his letters were confiscated. I have also experienced this, and former political prisoners among recent arrivals in the West testify that conditions are lately becoming even more stringent. I am dwelling on this problem at some length because I know from personal experience what it means to a prisoner to be deprived of even this tenuous contact with his near ones.

Deprivation of the right to correspond, moreover, is not inherent in the prisoner's sentence, and is not based on any existing law: it is an instruction issued by the KGB and the MVD.

Another privilege of which prisoners are systematically deprived is the right to receive parcels containing food or other essential articles: one food parcel not exceeding 5 kilograms is allowed per annum, and can be received only by prisoners who have served at least half their sentence. This, at least, is the official version: in practice, any guard can deny a prisoner the right to receive his annual parcel for "disruption" of camp discipline. "Disruption of camp discipline" can mean many things, among them — unfulfillment of work quotas (and they are virtually unfulfillable), nonattendance at political study sessions (imagine how prisoners feel being forced to listen about the happiness and light pervading the Soviet Union), not removing one's cap at the approach of any member of the camp administration — all these, to name a few, are considered to be breaches of camp discipline.

Jews, whose religious law forbids them to uncover their heads are thus systematically deprived of all rights to the accompaniment of jibes: "We're only teaching you manners!"

I should like to stress that Soviet law contains no provisions for the torture of prisoners by hunger and deprivation of parcels — these are the illegal manoeuvres of the KGB and the BVD.

Much has been written about food in the camps, and other speakers will be discussing this subject in detail at this hearing. Therefore, I shall touch upon only one aspect of the problem — how it affects believers, who, by their religious laws, cannot eat pork, are vegetarians, or (as in the case of Jews), are forbidden non-kosher foods.

Prisoners such as these were usually arrested for their religious beliefs in the first place, and therefore feel obliged to adhere to the rules their religion lays down about their food intake. The majority of them are indifferent to external conditions, and among them can be found Jews, Muslims, Buddhists, Hindus, Seventh Day Adventists and member of other Christian sects. Later I shall discuss the problems faced by Jews in this situation.

Another matter of paramount importance to the prisoner is the right to meet his relatives or close ones. This privilege is granted only if the prisoner has no recorded breaches of camp discipline. As

a rule, the meeting lasts only a few hours, and is carried out in the presence of a guard. A meeting in a separate room without a guard is granted only as a special privilege or reward. After I had spent 8 years in labour camps, my mother was permitted to come and see me for two hours. Before she was permitted to me, she, a free citizen, was subjected to a humiliating search accompanied by insulting references to her criminal son. I have just mentioned that a meeting could be granted as a "reward", this is used by the administration as an inducement for prisoners to co-operate with the KGB. It is an astounding but irrefutable fact that there is a sort of internal police force composed of prisoners in the camps, known as "brigades of internal order". They are made up of prisoners whose spirit has broken due to systematic deprivation of food, correspondence, parcels and meetings with relatives.

As one of the most telling examples of demagoguery and the humiliation of prisoners, I am handing the hearing an internal camp newspaper. This paper is published by the KGB, but the articles it contains are written by political prisoners who have "come to see the error of their ways". An analysis of the contents shows that the authors of these articles are the weak, in most part — onetime collaborators of the Nazis.

For those who refuse to bend or break, however, there are plenty of forms of punishment set out in secret instructions, yet not to be found in the official legislation of the land of "victorious socialism". These methods are well known to the prisoners through personal experience. To name just several, there is the "punitive solitary cell" (ShIZO), the barrack with an especially stepped-up regime (BUR) and the prison regime (closed prison). Do not be misled by the name of the latter, ladies and gentlemen, into thinking that there are any other kinds of prison in the USSR, such as the "open" kind one finds, for example, in Sweden. Soviet terminology can be deceptive and meaningless.

The ShIZO and BUR, as one prisoner accurately put it, are "prisons within a prison". They consist of a special penal barrack in a fenced-off section of the camp zone. Intransigent prisoners are consigned to the cells of such barracks for 10, 15, 20 and even 30 days as punishment. During this period, moreover, they still have to work as usual. They are also deprived of the right to move around the camp zone, and although this may not sound too bad, for a prisoner this is a great deprivation. Their food ration is lowered drastically, and after some 10-15 days they emerge "thin, sharp and transparent" (as camp parlance puts it), swaying as they walk . . .

But all this is a mere bagatelle by comparison to the closed prison to which one is despatched for a "malicious" breach of camp regulations. Most political prisoners are sent to the gaol in Vladimir, but this is by no means the only place catering for such "offenders".

I was sent to the prisons in Semipalatinsk, Ust' — Kamenogorsk and to the one at Vikhorevka in the Irkutsk region. These prisons vary from old to new. The horrors of old prison buildings in Siberia are adequately described in literature: they are characterized by stench, dirt and darkness. Nowadays, however, they have been "improved": windows have been bricked up to half their original size, and the remaining space covered with opaque shields. The new prisons have their special features, too: they are built out of reinforced concrete, to which large amounts of salt have been added to accelerate setting. As a result, in summer they are invariably damp, and in winter the walls freeze right through, covering the interior of the cells with ice. The prison at Vikhorevka was a typical example, and it is still operational to this day. I have evidence of this in a letter received this year from a former prisoner, who is still living in that area.

How can one reconcile the addition of salt to concrete as mentioned above with any accepted human rights norms? The Soviet Union is indeed "a land of UNLIMITED possibilities" as we were wont to say — and still do.

It would be a highly educational experience for prisoners from the West to be taken on an excursion through such Soviet prisons — a word of advice in the ear of Western prison authorities, plagued by prisoners revolting for being served chicken instead of steak! It would also be a very instructive experience for the Communist assassin we read of in the papers recently, who protested violently against the inhumanity of his incarceration on the grounds that he had broken his colour television set. If one were to recount this to someone confined in a Soviet prison, he would have no hope of being taken seriously.

The administration of Soviet camps and prisons is, nevertheless, afraid of the prisoners, for there have been many instances when, driven beyond the bounds of all endurance, unarmed men have thrown themselves upon their armed oppressors — and won!

A wave of uprisings and strikes swept through Noril'sk, Vorkuta, Kingir' and other areas with large concentrations of prisoners in 1953 and 1954. I hope this tribunal will hear the testimony of witnesses of these events and of the mass executions which followed them. I have only heard about them from people who were there at the time, and am touching upon the matter with the aim of showing how the KGB, in an attempt to weaken and exterminate its enemies — the prisoners — tries to turn them against each other.

It might be timely to stress at this point the difference between guarding prisoners in the West and in the USSR. In the Soviet Union, the KGB deliberately cultivates and encourages cruelty, sadism and inhumanity by guards towards prisoners. For example, when going off duty, the outgoing guard declares: "Handing over duty of guarding enemies of the people!", to which the new guard replies: "Taking

over duty of guarding enemies of the people!". And what of the execution of prisoners supposedly making an escape attempt? For shooting down such a prisoner, the guard is granted two weeks leave with the right to visit his family . . . ! And what of setting dogs on to a prisoner who lags behind the column? And of searches, necessitating the removal of all clothing in temperatures of 30-40 degrees below zero? Or showing a starving prisoner the food parcel sent by his family and then telling him that it has been confiscated? I have seen countless instances of such sadism and brutality.

I should like to recount several instances of prisoner turning against prisoner at the instigation of the camp authorities. In the "Kamyshlag" group of camps, in camp No. 3 to be precise, in the winter of 1954 I watched KGB envoys spread rumours about an armed attack that the Russian prisoners were supposedly planning against the Ukrainian prisoners. Naturally, the Russian prisoners were also "warned". The method employed was amazingly simple: a KGB agent, a Ukrainian national, would "accidentally" let slip to a Ukrainian prisoner that he knows that "the Russians are out to get you all soon". In the meantime, a Russian KGB agent would be "accidentally" telling a Russian prisoner that "It burns me up to see those Ukrainians getting ready to slit your throats".

The atmosphere in the camp became tense: on the surface, nobody believed the "well-wishers", but the careful ones began sharpening their knives just in case — after all, one has to defend oneself should the need arise!

The hostility of Ukrainians, the Baltic nations, the Georgians and other towards the Russians (whom they see as invaders) has always been deliberately fanned by the authorities, even outside the prisons and camps, in accordance with the principle of "divide and conquer".

Thus the remarks of the KGB men fell upon fertile soil, with the result that one morning at 6 o'clock, while it was still dark and the prisoners were assembling for the trek to work, a massacre broke out. It would seem that many had already "marked their man". and attacked in silence: only the moans of the wounded indicated what was going on. I was knocked off my feet in the melée and was lying prostrate with several bodies on top of me when the administration, deciding that the time was right, flooded the entire area with spotlights, and the guards opened up machine-gun fire on the prisoners. More than two hundred men died for nothing that morning and some further six (the first to fall into the hands of the guards when the shooting stopped) were sentenced to death as "ringleaders".

A second instance of mass-killing between prisoners I witnessed at "Ozerlag" in the Irkutsk region. Prisoners from dozens of camps were brought together to one work site near Angarsk, where a huge synthetic fuel combine was being constructed. Many of the prisoners were from the Caucasus region — Chechens, Ingushes, Kabardinians.

To this day, I do not know how the KGB managed to provoke the slaughter of these "blacks" by the combined "whites", but think it was probably triggered off by the KGB appointing these prisoners from the Caucasus to jobs connected with the distribution of food and clothing, thereby making them hated by the others.

But no matter how it was done, the fact remains that one lot of dying men was turned against another, and three to four thousand innocent people perished in broad daylight in the resultant slaughter. I cannot vouch for the exact number of dead, but those prisoners who were tried later as "ringleaders" reported that these were figures mentioned by the Prosecutor at the trial.

In this way, by deliberately aggravating national differences, the Soviet authorities get their enemies to destroy each other.

In the case of the Jews, the Soviet authorities leave no stone unturned, no opportunity unexploited.

In the first place, Jews are intentionally put in cells with prisoners who were sentenced in the 1945-1950 period for collaborating with the Nazis. These people are devoured by hatred, and their intellectual and moral level has sunk to a semi-human level. They are the erstwhile "Polizei" and those who served in special execution squads for Jews.

I shall digress briefly here to remind that Article 9 paragraph 2 of the "Rules for the treatment of prisoners" referred to earlier states that prisoners sharing communal sleeping quarters should be *carefully selected* to ensure their compatibility under such circumstances. How naive this sounds when one recalls Soviet camps — almost like a cruel joke.

I once heard a calm discussion between two such prisoners that went like this:

"What did they put you in for?"

"For nothing".

"Go on! What does it say in your sentence?"

"They wrote down that I killed people during the war."

"And didn't you?"

"Of course I didn't. I killed Yids, not people."

I could recount many examples of the moral degradation of these people, people who could, while aiming a stone at a bird to bring it down for fun, exclaim excitedly: "I'll get you, you Yid bastard!"

This is what the Jew who is sent to a Soviet camp must contend with. I am not speaking here of the many fine, noble people of all nationalities whom I met in camps, and whose friendship I treasure to this day: to speak of them would not be germane to the issues being examined at this forum. We are testifying to the crimes of the Soviet regime against the very conception of Humanity, and I am consequently concentrating upon the darkest aspects of the horrifying existence which is still the lot of many of my friends.

Another measure hostile to Jews and widely employed by the KGB is to send them to camps containing inmates sentenced for membership in Neo-Nazi and Fascist youth organizations. Groups of such prisoners began to arrive in camps from 1957 onwards. I remember one such group of students from Leningrad. Their anti-Semitism was ideological in character: they believed what they had read in the "Protocols of the Elders of Zion", and that Jews were the mainstay of the Soviet regime. In 1961 they tried to organize a pogrom in camp No. 7; they went around the barracks lobbying for support, addressing themselves mainly to those prisoners who had been in cahoots with German Nazi assassins. It was only because of the stiff opposition we Jews put up with the support of our friends that we escaped becoming victims.

The camp authorities and the KGB, who could not have been ignorant of what was going on, preferred to turn a blind eye instead of punishing the initiators. But if a fight had broken out, all the participants would have been brought to trial, irrespective of who was the aggressor, and who the victim. The authorities always try to extract as much profit as they can for themselves out of these situations, and have no scruples about the means employed.

I know many instances of KGB "stool-pigeons" spreading damaging rumours about the more "active" prisoners: frequently the prospective victims were my friends, Jews. Once I, too, became the target of such an operation. It should be stressed that this was in 1955, and at that time, the rumour that one was an informer was the equivalent of a death-warrant — the prisoners themselves would slit the suspect's throat that very night.

Therefore, on the day my friends and I learned that such a rumour was circulating about me, we began an immediate search for the source. After going from prisoner to prisoner, we finally tracked down the culprit. My friends forced him into a secluded corner, and by putting a knife to his throat learned that he had been given an assignment by one of the KGB men to put this rumour into circulation.

My friends then marched him forcibly through all the barracks, and made him repeat what he had told them before hundreds of prisoners. After this they released him, and he fled back to his masters for fear of reprisals. My life was saved — but how many innocent people have lost their lives through these tactics?

Jewish prisoners in camps are subject to special surveillance by the KGB: should two or three Jews gather together, they are immediately forced to disperse by guards shouting "Come on, break up your Zionist clutch!"

Should several Jews participate in a hunger strike, or should there be a preponderance of them in a labour-gang that has not fulfilled

its quota or turned out for work, the authorities try to formulate criminal charges against a "Zionist group".

Furthermore, Jews are categorically forbidden to celebrate religious holidays: they are not allowed to gather for Passover or for the New Year, nor are they permitted to bake or receive unleavened bread.

Once again, I should like to stress that in the "Rules for the treatment of prisoners" adopted both by the USSR and the UN, Articles 41 and 42 state that ministers of religion representing the faiths adhered to by the inmates must be admitted to camps in order to perform religious services, that each prisoner has the inviolable right to satisfy his spiritual requirements, and to have religious literature concerning his own faith in his possession. I have a vivid recollection of the bonfires the camp guards made with Bibles confiscated from the faithful. It would seem that they were unaware of the UN "Rules" . . .

On two occasions I participated in secret sessions of baking unleavened bread, symbolic scraps of which were later distributed among the Jewish prisoners. I well remember how careful we all were not to give the KGB the slightest chance to begin proceedings against us as "Zionist conspirators".

Jews who have been sent to camps for their religious beliefs, or Orthodox Jews who attempt to carry out rituals prescribed by their faith, find themselves in an unbearable situation. Firstly, they cannot eat in the communal dining-area, as the food served there is not kosher. Their requests to be issued dry rations are met with jeering refusals.

The administration obviously acts in accordance with secret instructions from higher up, and it is only rarely that some head of the supply section will allow these literally starving believers to draw dry rations for a month or two. Otherwise, they eat nothing but dry bread and water — for years, at that! I have personally witnessed this in the cases of prisoners N. Kaganov, L. Rablovich, L. Teplinsky and many others.

Jewish believers are subjected to special persecution for the observance of religious rituals such as prayer, obligatory washing and the wearing of a head-dress. They are forbidden to pray in seclusion, and especially to carry out the Law of Moses — Tithing — which stipulates the gathering of ten Jews to pray. On Fridays they are forbidden to visit the bath-house in order to perform their ablutions before the Sabbath. Overseers tear off Jews' head dresses in the dining-hall and in the barracks, and go out of their way to taunt and humiliate those Jews who attempt to grow beards and side-curls. In Ozerlag, Kamyshlag and Dubrovlag I saw many times how guards would handcuff and drag Jews to the guard-house, where they were forcibly clean-shaven. Incidentally, there is nothing in Soviet law to

forbid the wearing of beards or side-curls, but this does not prevent Jews or Christian priests from being forcibly shaved. I hope that the persecutions they suffer shall be dealt with separately at this hearing, and will not enlarge upon the theme myself.

Suffice to say that the indignities described above are perpetrated in order to desecrate the victim's human dignity and to violate the basic human right to spiritual freedom.

During transportation, the camp authorities and the convoy-guards do their best to set prisoners sentenced on criminal charges on to the Jews, although I cannot say whether this is done in accordance with instructions or through personal sadistic inclinations.

During transportation from the hospital at the Vikhorevka camp in 1959 (this is not far from the famous Bratsk, which was built by prisoners) to penal camp No. 307, I was unable to walk on my badly-swollen legs. Some convoy-guards dragged me along the ground from the camp to the railway, swearing and jeering. Having reached the siding, they flung me down beside a group of criminal prisoners, and the head guard told them to "Belt the guts out of that Yid so that he'll stop malingering!" Gladdened by this signal to "have a bit of fun", and probably not stopping to consider what they were doing, they flung themselves at me with a will. My life was saved by the arrival of the train and the order to begin leading. I lost consciousness, and do not know what happened after that.

I can personally testify to the deliberate humiliation and persecution of Jews, and from reports made by Jews released from camps in 1973-1975 and now living in the West, I can say that they persist to this day. I am offering the testimonies of these former prisoners to the participants of the hearing for perusal.

Another matter I should like to speak of is the burial of prisoners in accordance with certain instructions devised by the authorities.

Several times it fell to my lot to be in the funeral-detail at Ozerlag. It was generally considered that those who died in summer were "lucky". In summer, the corpses are thrown into a pit, with a wooden slat tied to an ankle of each body. This slat does not bear the prisoner's name, but the prison file number of the deceased. A marker with the numbers of those interred is placed over each pit when it is filled in.

But before the cart bearing the bodies of the dead is allowed to leave the precincts of the camp, there is a grisly ritual to be performed. According to some unknown (to us), but patently existing directive, the guards must assure themselves that no live prisoner has managed to hide himself among the corpses in the cart.

Checking procedures vary from camp to camp: in some, the cranium of each corpse is broken with a hammer-blow, in others a red-hot steel rod is rammed through each body before the dead prisoners are granted their final "release" . . .

In winter, the corpses were simply removed some distance from the camp, and piled up in a heap in the snow. It is impossible to dig any kind of grave in the frozen earth when temperatures fall 40-50 degrees below zero. Returning to the same spot several days later we would find no trace of the bodies we had left, for by then they would have been completely devoured by the wild animals of the taiga. We all knew — for the guards made no secret of it — that traps were set and hunting expeditions were organized around the “cemetery”. The pelts of captured foxes, sables and other scavengers would later find their way to the “Soyuzzagotpushnina”, the State-owned fur industry. I have mentioned this frequently since my arrival in the free world, but wherever I go in Paris, London, New York or any other large city, I see crowds of carefree women in shops selling “Russian furs”. These shops do a roaring trade . . .

II

However, let us now turn to more pleasant subjects. For instance, how one is released from camp.

Release from a camp or prison in the USSR is merely the signal for further violations of one's human rights. Up until 1955 the “liberated” prisoner was sent under guard along a prescribed route, through prisons and check-points, to his appointed place of exile. Sometimes it could take him months to travel a distance of two thousand kilometres. Before 1955 nobody at all was ever allowed to return home upon completion of the sentence.

From 1955-1956 onwards, released prisoners travel to their place of exile alone. They are issued with train tickets, and told the route they must follow. Should the newly-released prisoner chance to be delayed en route, he is faced with the threat of imprisonment and a new trial on charges of violating passport laws. I know of many cases when just this did happen. For example, Vladimir Rishal' was sentenced to a further year in prison for detouring to Moscow to see the wife and children, from whom he had been separated for 14 years. Upon release, the prisoner is issued with a document, which is exchanged for a passport when he reaches his destination. However, in some cases the authorities may issue him with a passport immediately upon release. It should be noted, that every passport issued to a former prisoner contains an entry specifying the bearer's travel limitations. Even if the prisoner was not sentenced to exile, his passport upon release will still be endorsed with an article number from the passport law, which will prevent him from registering for residence in certain towns and cities. There is an article, colloquially known as “Minus 16”, which means that the bearer of the passport is forbidden to reside in republican capitals. There are others, too, such as “Minus 30” and “Minus 40”, which indicate that the bearer may not live in 30 or 40 specified towns.

In actual practice, persons who have completed their period of exile, or have had the period shortened, can register for residence only in provincial areas. Should they venture into larger centres, the police will order them to leave immediately. A second offence can mean a trial on charges of violating passport laws, with a sentence of one to two years in prison or exile. This happened to Anatoly Marchenko.

Apart from exiles, there are persons sentenced to live for a specified time away from large population centres. We know that lately, both methods are practised by the Soviet authorities. In recent months this was the fate of Jewish activists B. Tsitlenok and M. Napshits.

These are names we know. But how many others are there, who are still unknown to us? . . .

For instance, according to reliable sources, there are 7 large prisons and 32 labour camps in the Krasnodar region in the south of the USSR. This is no Siberia, it is an area of gardens and holiday resorts. These prisons and camps hold some 30,000 prisoners, who work on tree-felling and the construction of towns and canals. I am supplying evidence of this from ex-prisoner D. B. for perusal by the hearing.

What, then, must be the true picture in areas like Irkutsk, Krasnoyarsk, Vorkuta, Kazakhstan and Kolyma? At present, there is a huge project under way in the USSR — the construction of the Baikal-Amur Railroad, the "BAM". I should think there is not a single person in the Soviet Union who has not heard of the "Bamlag" group of camps. For many years, this construction was carried out by prisoners — it was so in my time, in 1956-1963. At present, free labour has been brought in to carry on the work commenced by the prisoners, therefore the project is being widely publicized. But before this, hundreds of thousands of prisoners slaved along the 5-6 thousand kilometre tract, drowning in swamps and freezing to death in winter on mountain passes.

It is impossible to make a full estimate of the number of prisoners incarcerated in Soviet prisons and camps. One can only make educated guesses until the truth becomes known at some future "Nürnberg trial", which will have access to the files of the KGB.

However, let us return to the incidence of violation of even basic Soviet laws at the time of release from camp or prison.

It is fairly widely known that it was common practice in the USSR to send people to prison according to the decision of the OSO — the "Troika" — without trial, without the observance of any formalities, without the summoning and interrogation of the accused. But it is equally well-known that in 1956 "Khrushchev Commissions" released prisoners from camps along the same arbitrary principles?

I was a witness of this procedure, which, due to my legal training, was of especial interest to me.

In March 1956, an official announcement was made in the "Ozerlag" group of camps that a Special Commission of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR was expected from Moscow. This Commission was authorized to review the "cases" of the prisoners, to decide the authenticity of the charges against them, and to either repeal or confirm their sentences.

At this time, most of the inmates of the camps were serving 25 year sentences of labour reform colonies or special regime camps. Those whose sentences were for 15 or 10 years were considered "short-termers", and at times were even allowed to break convoy for work outside the camp zone. Sentences handed down to patently innocent people bristled with monstrous charges of terrorism, espionage and sabotage. To substantiate my statements, I shall give a number of examples. A certain prisoner, Gorman by name, was sentenced to 25 years on charges of espionage. He told me about the beatings he had been subjected to during questioning, while his interrogators demanded that he admit to being a spy. When he finally "admitted" this, they demanded that he name the country for which he had spied. Gorman told them they could put down any country they liked, but his interrogators sadistically insisted that he must name it himself. Gorman knew that to name a large and powerful country, such as the US, would mean instant execution by firing-squad. He thought quickly, and named — Guatemala. And this was entered into the protocol — "spied for Guatemala". So Guatemala can stand advised that it had a volunteer spy of which it knew nothing in the Soviet Union . . .

Another case was even more grotesque. Three tribesmen of the wild "Chukchi" tribe, which has never seen electricity or aeroplanes, were sentenced to 25 years of special regime camps for mounting "an armed attack against the Soviet military fleet". Sounds imposing, doesn't it? Yet what actually happened was this: while out in a boat, these tribesmen saw what they thought was a whale, and began to throw harpoons at it. One of them opened fire with a hunting rifle. To kill a whale would keep the whole tribe supplied with food for about a year!

But suddenly, the "whale" began to shoot back, smashed their small boat, and (to use their own words) "swallowed" them. Inside the "whale" they found lots of people, who took them somewhere where they were tried and sentenced. The "whale", as you will have guessed by now, was a Soviet submarine. Every word of this story is true — I would say that anyone who was a prisoner at "Ozerlag" at that time knew about these three tribesmen.

I have cited the above examples in order to show what an impossible task faced the Special Commission. The prison files contained only the sentence, which listed bare "facts" — spy, saboteur, terrorist, anti-Soviet propagandist, and other no less "serious" charges. Copies

of the proceedings in each case were not and could not be made available to the Commission: they would have had to be sorted in order of camps and delivered by the train-load for at that time there were millions of political prisoners.

Nevertheless, the Soviet legal apparatus found an easy way out of the dilemma: upon arrival in our camp, the Commission would interview some 60 prisoners daily, questioning each one for 2 to 3 minutes. After verifying the prisoner's name, surname and date of birth, the Commission would ask the prisoner whether he admitted himself guilty. Then the members would "confer" for a few minutes and announce: "You are to be released and rehabilitated!"

There were no supplementary documents, interrogation, protocols — a veritable triumph over bureaucracy. But even this proved insufficient, for the number of prisoners was astronomical, and it would have taken the Commission years to complete its work . . .

Therefore, some 12-15 days after the Commission began its work, an announcement (undoubtedly sanctioned by Moscow) was made over the camp loudspeakers: "All prisoners sentenced by the OSO are declared rehabilitated, and are to assemble by the guard-room with their belongings for issue of documents testifying to their release . . ." In this way, about 30% of the prisoners were freed immediately, and the Commission set to work on sorting out the remainder. Thus, the same OSO which was responsible for sending people to camp in the first place eventually became the token for their release. The cases of these patently innocent prisoners needed no reviewing.

It is typical for the Soviet Union that two or three weeks later the Commission packed up and left, although the cases of 25%-30% of the prisoners had not been reviewed.

It is quite likely that Khrushchev decided that he had done enough window-dressing for the rest of the world. Millions of prisoners had returned to their homes, and this was given broad coverage by Western media. The ones who were still in camps could therefore stay put and go on working.

My surname, commencing as it does with the Russian letter "Sh" comes towards the end of the alphabet, and the Commission had not got that far at the time of the mass releases. When I finally did come up before the Commission, it was in the last days, and releases had stopped. All I had was the cold comfort of supposing that perhaps I would be among the last to be summoned before a firing-squad should executions also be performed in alphabetical order . . .

And now, a few words about the types of people making up the population of the camps up to 1963.

Going by my personal observations after my arrest in 1953, I would break down into the following general categories the political prisoners in the many camps, prisons and other detention centres I passed

through. (I repeat that I cannot claim statistical accuracy, but am merely stating my personal conclusions).

1. The greater part of the prisoners were soldiers and officers from Vlasov's army, and nationalists. Of the latter, *the most plentiful were the Ukrainians*, although there was a fair number of Lithuanians, Latvians, Chechens, Ingushes, Tatars and other nationalities. All those listed above seemed to comprise some 60%-70% of camp and prison inmates from 1953-1955.

2. Koreans and Chinese formed a considerable part of the sum total — my estimate is 7%-8%.

3. Jews did not stand out noticeably: I would say that in camps with a population of 2,000 I would encounter some 100 Jews. However, if one takes into account that Jews comprise only 1%-2% of the population of the USSR, the "per capita" intake of Jews into camps was very high. In relation to the overall figure of prisoners, I would estimate that 5% were Jews.

4. Foreigners were very conspicuous in the camps. Especially numerous were Germans, Rumanians, Spaniards and Japanese prisoners-of-war, I was told that I was seeing the tail-end: it was said that some 100,000 prisoners-of-war relegated to camps had perished on the Taishet "Death Trail". I saw about 7,000-8,000 of them all told. I remember this figure because they were repatriated in 1955, and a fairly accurate estimate could be made of their numbers judging by the number of railway carriages brought up to transport them.

5. There were also foreigners who had been kidnapped abroad and spirited to the USSR. The majority of them had been kidnapped in Austria from the Soviet Occupied Zone. Among them I particularly recall Americans such as General Dubik, Frenchmen such as Vincent de Santerre and Swiss, such as Henri Gewurz. Furthermore, there were many foreign communists, who had come to the USSR in good faith to assist in the construction of Communism. There were also Spaniards, who had been brought to the Soviet Union as children in 1937, and had expressed the desire to return to their homeland. For this desire they were promptly sent to prison.

To this day, there are nationals of most countries among the inmates of Soviet labour camps. I am turning over to the hearing the testimony of former prisoner I. K., who arrived in the West in 1974. This testimony contains a list of names which prove that there are still Japanese, Americans, and even citizens of "friendly" Arab countries in Soviet camps. The authorities practice no racial discrimination when it comes to imprisonment. . .

I should also wish to point out that according to the testimony of former prisoner I. M. there are still many foreigners in the camp on Wrangel Island. The authorities keep their names a close secret.

6. The remainder of the prisoners were an endless miscellany:

there were students and schoolchildren, sentenced for adolescent discussions about government policies; their professors and teachers, who had allowed the education of their charges to diverge from the general Party line; orthodox communists who had come forward with proposals for bolstering the Soviet system (among these I recall the secretary of the Party organization in Leningrad); Soviet officials from all levels who had lost out in settling of scores. I also remember seeing the one-time Secretary of the Communist Party in Armenia, Grigori Tsaturian: he would recount vividly how, at Stalin's direction, he, Beria and Mikoyan would compile lists of persons to be summarily executed in the Caucasus area. There were many young people who had been apprehended while attempting to escape across the border, or who had planned such escapes. You all know that it is virtually impossible to leave the Soviet Union without the knowledge and sanction of the KGB. It is only in recent years that Jews have made a small breach in this truly Iron Curtain. But in those days, a request to leave the country would never have been granted. Therefore, many tried to escape — and got caught — and found themselves in prison. Although the maximum penalty for an attempt to cross the border illegally was 3 years, these people were nevertheless sentenced to 25 year terms on charges of "high treason"!

Among the prisoners I also encountered those who had voluntarily returned to the Soviet Union from the West. I think that few of these victims of nostalgia managed to miss out on a "cure" in Soviet camps. Between them, they knew the names of all the voluntary repatriants, and would go over them. I am afraid that a similar fate awaits those who, at present, wish to return to the Soviet Union because they have been unable to adjust to a democratic way of life.

Now I should like to touch upon the composition of contemporary camps.

To begin with, I shall describe one of the crudest violations of Soviet law I have ever witnessed in the USSR.

Some time ago — I believe it was in 1958 — the Supreme Soviet of the USSR ruled that the maximum period of penal confinement be reduced from 25 to 15 years. In theory, this was to apply automatically to all prisoners who had earlier been sentenced to 25 years. In practice we were informed that our cases were "being reviewed" in the light of the new legislation. All of us who were serving 25 years sentences were individually informed one, two or three years later of our "amended" terms. In 1961, when I had long given up waiting, I was advised that my sentence had been commuted to 10 years.

Even though I had had to wait a long time to hear this, I was one of the fortunate. Many prisoners never did get their sentences commuted, although legally they were eligible for automatic reduction of their terms. I can name among my friends those who com-

pleted serving 25 years sentences as recently as 1974 and 1975, although officially there is no longer such a term in the USSR. This happened, for example, to Solomon Berkovich, one of the activists of the Jewish Bund; and to Ukrainian nationalist Wolodymyr Horbovyi. Mykhailo Soroka did not live to be released — he died having served 23 years of his sentence, but his wife Katheryna Zarytska survived, and completed her 25 year sentence in 1974. But Rabbi Yankel' Meerovich died in camp before release (I remember that a sadistic KGB interrogator tore out half of his beard during questioning) . . .

Such is the attitude of the Soviet authorities towards the observance of their own laws . . .

I once heard a prisoner ask the head of the camp administration in "Ozerlag" why the authorities do not enforce implementation of their own legislation? The reply was that "It's more peaceful for us to have you all behind bars". This is the true position of the authorities, and as for laws — they are a blind for public opinion, for foreigners, just like the Bolshoi Ballet and the performances of the "Berioska" ensemble.

Getting back to today's political prisoners, I want to stress yet again that they number among them people who have been in confinement for 20 or more years. But there is also what one might call a "new generation" of prisoners. From 1960 to 1963 I encountered students, who had been arrested for protesting against the crushing of the Hungarian uprising. Western leftist demonstrators would do well to ponder a little about this: in the USSR they would not last an hour before finding themselves behind bars. And the "demonstration" of the Soviet students was not even a demonstration by Western standards — they had merely met for a discussion about events in Hungary. Yet although there was no demonstration, there were mass arrests. It is an ancient truth that youth is rarely intimidated by threats of repression: you are all familiar with the fact that these years saw the birth of the so-called "democratic movement" in the USSR. It was "crimes" such as these that brought a new wave of prisoners to the camps in 1960-1963.

Among these groups there was again, alas, a preponderance of Jews. I use the word "alas" deliberately, because in my personal opinion Jews should concentrate on being good Zionists, and not get mixed up in other people's revolutions. But this restless, fermenting element which has played a part in all revolutions and counter-revolutions, remained true to form yet again. Although lately there have been declarations in the West that the Jews in the USSR are only out for themselves, such statements are contradicted by facts.

One only needs to recall the names of the more prominent Jewish democrats to see this: among the first are Eduard Kuznetsov and Ilya Bokshtein, participants of the poetry-reading on Mayakovsky

square in 1961. Also among the first (and, regrettably, last) — Pyotr Yakir. Then there are such well-known figures as Yu. Telesin, Litvinov, Ginzburg, Regerman, Yakobson, Fainberg, Gorbach, Superfin, Gershovich, Tumerman, Shakhovich, Vishnevskaya, Zilberberg, and many others, not forgetting Galich, whose role it would be hard to over-estimate.

It is not necessary to waste time explaining that the only “crime” these people ever committed against the Soviet State was that they had the temerity to think in a way not prescribed by Soviet authorities, and at times expressed these thoughts either verbally or on paper. If they did demonstrate, these were silent manifestations unaccompanied by slogans, such as the annual demonstration on Pushkin Square on Human Rights Day, when people simply stood in silence, with bared heads.

Among the new wave arriving in the camps appeared those who wanted to leave illegally for Israel — one such was A. Gluzman, an officer of the Soviet armed forces. There were also those who had tried to create an awareness in the West of the persecution of Jews in the USSR and had circulated unsigned articles about State-sponsored anti-Semitism. In this connection I particularly recall the Podol'sky family — Dora and Simon and their son Boris. Tina Brodetskaya was one of this group, too. The camps absorbed B. Kochubievsky, who had declared at a factory meeting that Israel was not an aggressor. Another group of Jews despatched to the camps consisted of neo-Zionists such as Khavkin, Schneider and others. They were further supplemented by Orthodox Jews who had protested against the enforced closing of synagogues. It would be impossible to list the hundreds of names I know, and I have mentioned only a few of them to show that people who would have been considered innocent of any crime in the free world, were yet arrested and sentenced to penal servitude in the Soviet Union in 1960-1963.

The striving of Jews to gain freedom and observance of human rights in many cases found its outlet in neo-Zionism, a purely nationalistic movement aimed at emigration to Israel. I believe that the Soviet authorities feared this movement would serve as a precedent for the creation of others. It is true that many national groups in the USSR have learnt a lesson from the Jewish movement, and are demanding the right to emigrate as well as observance of their human rights.

The wariness of the Soviet authorities towards the neo-Zionists did not manifest itself in an instant wave of arrests: on the contrary, Brezhnev, who in 1964-1970 was still fairly new in his post and was marshalling his forces, even allowed some of the more active Jews to emigrate to Israel. But after 1970 we see a mushrooming of KGB operations against Jews, and many arrests. Among the better-known examples is the “Leningrad trial” of 12 Jews, charged with planning

to hijack a plane (all were sentenced to maximum terms and even the death sentence was brought down). We know of scores of arrests and trials in Riga, Kishinev and again in Leningrad: those of Galperin, Voloshin and Boguslavsky are just several of them. There was also the trial of Roza Palatnik, who was charged in Odessa for typing and distributing Samizdat; and of Grisha Berman and those who followed him in refusing to serve in the Soviet army which is being geared to attack Israel. In Kyiv proceedings were instituted against A. Feldman on trumped-up charges of "hooliganism" in 1973.

It should be noted that the Soviet authorities have of late frequently resorted to bringing criminal charges against Zionists and democrats, not even hesitating to employ false witnesses. This method ensures dual profit: the Western world cannot intercede on behalf of criminals, and the defendants can be sent to camps for criminal, and not political prisoners. Once the prisoner is in the camp, the authorities set the criminal element against him. At the same time, the movement the prisoner belonged to would appear somewhat discredited in the eyes of the West. Prominent victims of these new tactics have been Kuguy in Sverdlovsk, and Zabelyzhensky, who was crippled in the camp. Typical also is the trial of Ya. Khantsis, who was tried for his desire to emigrate to Israel, but was officially charged with hooliganism; as a result of beatings received in camp, he became a complete cripple. I am handing over to the hearing materials containing comprehensive coverage of these trials, and the verdicts brought in. These materials contain evidence of violation of Soviet law as well as of general, human laws. Not without reason has a bitter saying appeared in the Russian language since the Soviets came to power: "Find us a man, and we'll find a charge to pin on him". As well as materials mentioned earlier, I am turning over to the hearing, for wide dissemination, letters from Jewish political prisoners, and the testimonies of those who have been lucky enough to emerge alive from this Hell on the Earth.

As there is no possibility of presenting all the materials fully, I shall merely give a brief summary of their contents. They all show that conditions in the camps today serve to facilitate the physical destruction of the prisoners. For example, in camp No. 7 of the Perm' group, there is a glass factory, in which the prisoners cut and polish glass for 10 hours a day. The building is not ventilated, so all that time they are breathing in glass dust, which indisputably leads to silicosis and other lung ailments. Furthermore, the factory and the prisoners' living quarters are under the same roof, so even during their sleeping hours the prisoners are inhaling glass dust which filters through from the factory area.

Arrests of Jews wishing to emigrate to Israel continue: the arrest of Roitburg in July of this year is a case in point.

The lists of the arrested expand daily, and there are many about

whom we do not get to hear, as news of closed trials in provincial areas rarely reach the West. It was only recently that we learned, quite by chance, about the trial of two Jews in Odessa — Khenkin and Rubinstein — although the KGB had them sent to camps early in 1975.

A similar case is that of two brothers, Arkady and Leonid Weiman from Khar'kiv. These two 23 year old cellists applied to the appropriate Soviet authorities for exit visas to Israel in 1972, but we knew nothing about them as they had no affidavit from Israel. Criminal proceedings were instituted against them immediately, and due to the testimony of witnesses who did not hesitate to commit perjury, they were sentenced to four years of strict regime camps on charges of "hooliganism".

I also feel that I should mention the case of a Sverdlovsk engineer, V. Markman, who was very energetic in his efforts to obtain an exit visa to Israel. The KGB cast around for some reason to arrest him, but Markman was being exceedingly cautious. Eventually, unable to find another excuse, the KGB arrested him for making a telephone call to Israel. Yes, in 1972 the USSR had its own "Watergate scandal": the KGB admittedly tapped Markman's telephone, and a telephonist from the local telephone exchange appeared as one of the witnesses for the prosecution. She testified that Markman used obscene language during a telephone conversation. The court ruled that Markman was guilty of hooliganism, and sentenced him to 3 years in prison.

There is another case deserving of attention out of the rich collection available. An Israeli citizen, **not** a citizen of the USSR, I. Kogan went to the Soviet Union in 1963 to visit his brother, whom he had not seen since 1941. They had been separated by the war, and the brother was thrown into a German camp. Upon arrival in the USSR, I. Kogan was arrested and sentenced to 10 years of camps... for desertion from the Soviet army. The KGB "explained" that as in 1945 Kogan was fighting with a partisan group in Poland (which since the war is considered to be Soviet territory), and as the group was under Soviet command, Kogan's failure to return to the USSR and subsequent settlement in Israel* in 1945 without permission from the Soviet authorities made him a deserter as he had not been demobilized. The absurdity of these "legal" arguments is plain for all to see. Apart from this, it ought to be noted that in 1945 the Supreme Soviet of the USSR issued a directive concerning the "Amnesty of deserters from the Soviet army", and Kogan, even if he had been a deserter, would have been covered by that amnesty. But no. Nothing was taken into account in sentencing Kogan against all reason and existing Soviet legislation. He subsequently spent 10 years in Soviet prisons, to be released in 1973. At present, thank God, he is back in Israel.

*) At that time, Palestine. (Translator's note).

I should like to request that all the documentation concerning the above mentioned trials be incorporated in the final documentation of this Trial of the USSR as proof of malicious, deliberate violation of both human rights and Soviet law in the USSR.

Another matter I should like to mention is that apart from the camps we know of in the Soviet Union, there are also camps the existence of which is cloaked in secrecy: nobody knows any details about the inhabitants of camps on Novaya Zemlya and on Wrangel and Schmidt islands. About camps in the Far North near Solikhard we know nothing save the fact that they exist — no information is available concerning their inmates. Unspeakable deeds are perpetrated there, beyond the Arctic Circle — they are being perpetrated today! By the time we learn all there is to know about them, they will have passed into the realm of history, and nobody shall be unduly disturbed by these past horrors. But I adjure you to remember — there are extermination camps in the Soviet Union this very day: witness Kh. Moshinsky has testified that on Wrangel Island Soviet “scientists” carry out experiments on prisoners. These experiments, in the interests of “science” are concerned with such things, for instance, as the Cosmos: they determine endurance thresholds of the human organism, how it responds to an insufficient supply of oxygen, to motion, to weightlessness... But the prophets of detente — at any price! — do not wish to know of such matters. It is to be hoped that American astronauts who link up with their Soviet colleagues in space get to hear about these monstrous experiments. The world encourages the blackmailers and bandits holding power in the USSR. No normal society would condemn a man for defending his home against a group of bandits, even though he may have to resort to use of arms: nobody would be likely to accuse the householder of unjustifiable interference into the “internal affairs” of the bandits. And yet bandits who have in the course of their reign of terror exterminated *more than 60 million people* are thriving and prospering, and attending diplomatic banquets organized in their honour. Nations trade with them willingly, and fall over each other to grant them loans and increase their strength.

Does the (as yet) free world realize that almost every industry in the Soviet Union is founded on prison labour? We are presently engaged in a study of this matter, and here are some of our preliminary findings. The timber and oil industries, as well as mining of gold and other precious metals are largely dependent on labour drawn from the camps. Even black caviar, so popular in the West, passes through the hands of prisoners in the area around Gur'ev. Prison labour is also employed in the manufacture of gold and silver jewellery, in the carving of ornaments from bone and horn, in the production of souvenirs such as the well-known “Matreshki” dolls,

wooden spoons, painted boxes. But the West blithely goes on buying all these articles, lining the pockets of the slave-owners.

It is no secret that the US and Europe built up Soviet industry in the 1920-1930 period, and later rescued the Soviet Union with its economic aid in the war years 1941-1945. They have thrice averted widespread hunger in the USSR in post-war years, and today are assisting in the construction of huge factories which are primarily of strategic value. It is a well-established fact that an automobile plant can change over to production of tanks in a matter of a few days. The development of trade with the USSR is nothing less than suicide for the democratic world.

Lenin once remarked that it would be the capitalist countries "who shall sell us the rope on which we will hang them" . . .

We, who have managed to break out of this dark world which is preparing to slay you and your children, find it especially frightening to see the free world's encouragement of this realm of murderers.

I shall consider myself richly rewarded if my testimony and the bitter experiences of political prisoners shall provide food for thought for those who are in a position to impede the Soviet butchers and liquidate the terrible threat from the East.

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Prisoners of Conscience about themselves

Vyacheslav CHORNOVIL

TO THE MILITARY PROSECUTOR OF SUB-CARPATHIAN MILITARY DISTRICT

DECLARATION

I ask for criminal proceedings to be launched due to a crime committed by Captain Myroslav Omelyanovich Boyechko, senior investigator of the KGB commission attached to the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR, for the Lviv oblast. While conducting the preliminary inquiry into my case in 1972-73 investigator Boyechko indulged in illegal practices of a criminal character, covered by article 175 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR, although it is quite possible that he did not play a direct role in all the affairs which I shall later enumerate and which are punishable as crimes. However, as leader of the group of investigators in my case he should be regarded as the chief culprit.

I was arrested on 12th January 1972 and kept under judicial examination until 28th March 1973. The grounds for the charge against me under article 62 no. 1 of the CC USSR* were the confiscation at my home of files of literary material, the writing of critical studies on a book by another author and my participation in several collective appeals to official bodies on the occasion of repressions carried out by the organs of the KGB. Since I did not accept as legitimate the qualification of my actions as crimes, I refused to take part in the inquiry. It is common knowledge that the absence of the accused from an inquiry does not prevent the calling of an inquiry into action and the transfer of the case to court. However, investigator Boyechko perceiving the ephemerality of the charge brought against me in February 1972 and wishing to expand it by way of sheer fabrication of a part of it, employed illegal means with the aim of forcing me to take part in their inquiry and make false "confessions".

Such criminally punishable measures were taken: (1) Deceit and misinformation on various circumstances which relate to my case, including false information about my anticipated release. (2) Black-mail: threats to arrest my friends and family, my wife and sister especially. (3) The arrest of my family and the ultimate dependence

*) Criminal Code of the USSR.

of their continued livelihood on my behaviour at the inquiry. These deeds, prohibited by law were committed by Boyechko both by direct personal action and with the help of planted agents.

As the chief weapon in malevolently and falsely informing me during the first stage of the inquiry, Boyechko chose a prison provocateur named Andrij Petrovich Dubyniak. I shared a cell with this man from 12th January until July 1972. According to Dubyniak's account this is what information I have about him: born 1944, home-the village of Briukhovychi in the Lviv municipal borough; before his arrest a superintendent of works in the Dobromylsk section of the "Mizhsilhospbud"* (Lviv oblast); in 1971 he was arrested and sentenced to two years for abusing his official position and fraud. He was transferred on 31st December 1971 to the KGB investigation prison in connection with the arrest on the border of a friend of his who was transporting gold to Poland. In addition, former collaborators with Dubyniak from Dobromyl had apparently been arrested for theft and they gave evidence which compromised Dubyniak. At first he was held by the KGB as a witness, and at the end of January 1972 he was put on a new trial, charged under articles 80 no. 2 and 80 no. 86¹ of the CC USSR ("violation of the regulations on currency operations" and "excessive theft from the State").

In February 1972 Dubyniak who tried to foster the best of relations with me, told me a secret, that his brother, a vice-rector in an institute in the town of Ternopil, through the mediation of a friend and collaborator with the KGB, lieutenant-colonel Chorny, managed to bribe investigator Usaty who was investigating Dubyniak's case with 7000 karbovantsi and a Swiss-made gold watch. Subsequently, the interrogator began to alter all the protocols which contained information that would compromise Dubyniak. Dubyniak's case will soon be suspended and he will remain merely a witness. In the masking of Dubyniak's crimes it appears according to his account that friends of his brother also took part: Mumensky, the head of the Lviv Urban Executive Committee, and Khytrenko, deputy chairman of the Red Army District Executive Committee (the latter apparently even went to Kishinev to conceal some of Dubyniak's sins that were connected with Moldavia).

It is possible that this version with the bribery of the interrogator was devised and calculated so that I would repay Dubyniak's sincerity with the same. However, knowing the morality of those who collaborate with the KGB one can even accept the possibility that investigator Usaty did in fact receive a large bribe from Dubyniak's family and only then in order to give grounds before his supervisors for the necessity to withdraw the charges against Dubyniak he put him forward as candidate for a prison provocateur. How it was in reality and how long investigator Boyechko has played a part in the provoca-

* Mizhsilhospbud — Rural economic building construction.

tion together with Dubyniak will be established by an objective investigation.

As I was told by Dubyniak, the receipt of a large bribe and also Dubyniak's influential ties among the Soviet town officials had such an influence on investigator Usaty that they became very good friends: trusting each other, using the familiar "you" and so forth. Cakes began to appear in the cell which were brought with the permission of the investigator. Sometime later when Usaty was taking Dubyniak to Odessa to confirm the scene of some crime, the prisoner and the investigator drank all the way in the buffet car (Dubyniak was in fact absent from the cell for a week). Such intimacy led apparently to the investigator telling Dubyniak about other cases (mine amongst them), and Dubyniak feeling as it were a sympathy towards me and my views, relayed this information to me. He did this with an emphasis on "secrecy"; he did not speak loudly, but wrote everything on paper and then burnt it (the investigator supposedly told him about the bugging of cells), or he whispered to me in the exercise yard.

At the end of February 1972 Dubyniak informed me secretly that the investigatory organs intended to prefer charges against me under article 56 of the CC USSR ('betrayal of the Fatherland') and that some of those arrested at the same time as I had already been charged in this way (S. Shabatura, I. Hel, in Lviv; and Y. Sverstiuk and I. Svitlychny in Kyiv). In unison with these "secret" communiques investigator Boyechko himself then began to threaten me during questioning, with the possibility of applying article 56. By intimidating me with the application of this article, which stipulates even the death sentence, the investigator's aim was to procure my presence at the investigation and the evidence which he required. With the same purpose through Dubyniak and through other channels they were providing me periodically with false information about numerous arrests, detentions, searches and their consequences. Heightening the atmosphere of anxiety they informed me that in Lviv, apparently in January-February 1972, so many people were arrested for political motives that there was not even enough room for them in the KGB prison and a section of the MVD isolation prison was allotted to them. They mentioned both the arrests of people who I did not know (some lecturers or other from the polytechnical institute) and close friends of mine (L. Popadiuk, R. Kryniakovich, Y. Kendzor and others). They said what had been confiscated at the homes of these people during searches (in so doing, they did not fail to mention the magazine "The Ukrainian Herald" and my article about Stenchuk's book). Without a doubt the KGB were interested in my reaction to this information. The truth is, as I learned after the inquiry was over, that none of the people mentioned to me had been arrested or detained, and the searches at the homes of Kryniakovich and Kendzor were made after I had been told about them. Dubyniak and later Boyechko had already told me about the arrest of I. Dziuba the critic at the beginning of

March 1972, although Dziuba was not arrested until 14th April. Even before P. Yakir was arrested I already knew that he was in prison and that his Muscovite friends had apparently repleid by an attempt on the life of the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Podgorny(!). (The KGB were obviously interested in how I would react to similar actions).

In order to increase the psychological pressure they "informed" me at the beginning of March 1972 about the arrest, on arriving in Lviv with some compromising papers, of my sister Valentyna and about her incarceration in the MVD prison (this was a fabrication; my sister was detained for several days only in August 1972 — which I will talk about later).

It is significant that all this false information is somehow or rather linked with the question of the publication of the "Ukrainian Herald", an illegal journal. It comes to light that having some operative information (if it was genuine then it would become real proof) or simply, wanting to implicate someone in the circumstances of the publication of this journal not uncovered by the KGB, investigator Boyechko chose me as a target.

Because the false information about the eventual application of article 56 CC, about the numerous arrests and so forth, had no effect, because I did not change my attitude towards the investigation and did not answer any questions, they changed the tactics of the provocation. In mid March 1972 Dubyniak (directly) and Boyechko and the chief of the investigation branch Klymenko (indirectly) gave me "joyful tidings". They told me that about 15-17 March at a plenipotentiary council in Kyiv, at which Poluden, head of the Lviv KGB administration, was present, a decision was announced — after an investigation it had been decided to terminate completely the cases against me, I. Svitlychny and I. Dziuba (the latter had not even been arrested at that time), and to release the three of us. This decision was apparently made in connection with appeals made by the communist parties of Canada and Italy, who disapproved of the political arrests in Ukraine. Consequently, they intended to release the three of us to calm public opinion, whereas the others under arrest would be severely punished putting the moral responsibility for punishment on us.

It is now clear that the aim of such information was to force me as a "candidate for release" to save the others, by making false confessions. In connection with the new tactics the attitude of Boyechko and the chief of the investigation branch towards me changed sharply. The latter began to talk with me frequently, persuading me that my case hardly stood a chance of reaching court, and that I ought to think not about court but about how to remain free. He maintained that I might be of help to others who had been arrested or were under suspicion, particularly in connection with the "Ukrainian Herald" and similar matters. Boyechko told me about the conference

in Kyiv where "important positive decisions" were made which relate to certain of those arrested, myself included, that is, they corroborated by hints the truthfulness of the version given by Dubyniak. Since the new tactics did not change my attitude towards the inquiry, and I was suspicious of the information passed on to me, knowing whom I was dealing with, they applied psychological pressure on me in two directions. On the one hand they tried to dispel my doubts about the reality of my release. In the first few days of April 1972 Dubyniak informed me, that his newly gained friend investigator Usaty showed him the latest issue of Soviet Education, in which an article had been printed stating that I. Svitlychny and I. Dziuba (who had not in fact been arrested yet) in connection with the realisation of our mistakes(?) would soon be free and would "work shoulder to shoulder with the whole Soviet nation". Apparently Dubyniak read this article with his own eyes.

Today the calculated aim of this provocation is clear. If until now I had been able to accept information from Dubyniak with distrust, assuming that he was also being duped and exploited (although I somehow did not imagine that the KGB collaborators were so cynical as to speculate on the authority of other communist parties and even to invent the attempt on Podgorny's life), then I no longer had such doubts. Earlier, Dubyniak himself frequently warned me that he could not guarantee the authenticity of the information which he had received from the interrogator and had no desire to end up in the role of naive provocateur, thus compromising himself and his family, all the more so because mutual friends of ours had been freed. He now declared that he had seen the newspaper article with his own eyes. The version about my eventual release became somewhat more convincing. I imagined the kind of unpleasant situation I would find myself in when I was released and my friends sentenced, and I began to think over the possibilities of helping them, by exposing myself to the accusations brought against them or the suspicion they were under.

The other line which the psychological pressure on me at that time followed, consisted in the continuation of threats to arrest and punish severely my friends and family.

Thus, for example, almost at the same time as I was informed about the article in "Soviet Education", Dubyniak told me about the arrest of my friend M. Kasiv, who was apparently suspected of being involved in the publication of the journal the "Ukrainian Herald", and about the confiscation at his home of this journal and of other materials. A few days later I was informed about Kasiv's arrest by Boyechko and Klymenko, chief of the investigation branch. Knowing the state of Kasiv's health and allowing for the possibility of my release I decided to rescue Kasiv. However, not having any notion about what actual material could have been confiscated at Kasiv's home I sent a written declaration to the investigator in which I asked

him to inform me about what had in fact been confiscated at Kasiv's home, agreeing to confirm that these materials belonged to me. However, that unspecific declaration, which exposed the deceit even more, did not contribute to the investigation. They did it, without including it in my case. The question of Kasiv's "arrest" was hushed up, and in May or at the beginning of June, they told me that Kasiv had been released and had gone south for treatment. It was only after the trial that I learnt that Kasiv had not been arrested at all and no materials whatsoever had been confiscated from his home. Taking advantage of the regime of remote isolation in which I was kept, they organised similar provocation in connection with my other friends.

They exerted even greater psychological pressure on me by speculating on the fate of my family. Initially Dubyniak informed me that in connection with my possible release my sister had been dismissed from work and taken on again. However, they intended to arrest my wife, Olena Pashko, at least for the time being, if I did not say anything about the journal the "Ukrainian Herald". Here they exploited the fact that my marriage had not been legally consummated, saying that this does not enable me to talk about the persecution of my family. After hearing this on the next day I submitted a declaration demanding that O. Pashko be regarded as my wife and that the present actual marriage be legally authenticated. The reaction was such that the investigator and the chief of the investigation branch began to threaten to arrest my wife and sister, if I did not give the evidence they required. I was forced to write a declaration on 4th April 1972 about these threats, demanding that a stop be put to the blackmail. I did not receive a reply; the declaration, which compromises the inquiry, was not included in my case, and the threats to square accounts with my family continued.

The brutal psychological pressure put on me increased especially at the beginning of May 1972. They began to speak about arresting my wife as if it were only a few days away. They said that she had been summoned for an interview by Antonenko, the Oblast Prosecutor, who by his threats caused her to have a heart attack; an ambulance was called (after the inquiry I saw prosecutor Antonenko and asked him about this fact. He replied in amazement that he had not spoken with my wife at all). Investigator Boyechko was frank with me: "You haven't told us anything. Yes we'll arrest her. She probably knows something about this journal." He even quoted the formal grounds for arresting my wife: several of her poems, falsely interpreted by unscrupulous critics.

It is not difficult to imagine both my condition as a result of such acts of psychological terror and the motives behind my further actions.

At last they gave me the date of the future arrest of my wife — 17th May. In reply I stated before the investigator that I would write a declaration about my personal role in the publication of the afore-

mentioned journal. Talk about arresting my wife ceased immediately. They passed on to me the flowers and note she had sent (to confirm that she was at liberty) and promised to arrange a meeting (which they did not usually do); the investigator willingly allowed me the possibility of acquainting myself with all the issues of the journal "The Ukrainian Herald", which I did for three days (and which as usual the investigator did not write a report on, so that my "evidence" would not be dubious) — and on 22nd May I submitted a declaration about the journal. It contained just an unsubstantiated confirmation of my participation in the publication of the journal (without a testimony of the degree of my involvement or any concrete proof.), and the non-participation of all the remaining detainees (I counted over all the names that were familiar to me).

While I was acquainting myself with the journal I wrote the declaration and in the first few days after it had been written investigator Boyechko and others painted me the most joyful prospects. During the questioning they staged telephone conversations with Kyiv and passed on greetings from their fellow workers in the KGB. They said that for the realisation of the approved "good, radical decision" in my case (the investigator's words), a little time was needed and the concretization of the declaration made by me about the journal.

After writing the declaration about the journal on 22nd May, I continued to boycott the inquiry. To procure my participation in the inquiry and somehow to substantiate my unfounded "confession" about the journal, a version was concocted about a general "change in the situation" (the investigator's words). They told me (more often the investigator and the chief of the investigatory branch than Dubyniak), that the January campaign against the "dissenters" would be folded up, (the charge under article 56 of the Criminal Code was withdrawn from everyone), that some of those under arrest would be released or already had been released, the rest would not be punished severely, and that my declaration of 22nd May in which I wrote about the non-collaboration of those persons in the publication of "The Ukrainian Herald", had a certain positive importance in all this. A little earlier they had informed me about the release of M. Osadchy for recanting and agreeing to appear on television and write in the press, condemning his mistakes (in fact M. Osadchy had been sentenced to 7 years strict regime and 3 years exile). At the end of May and the beginning of June I heard about the release of M. Kasiv (who had not been arrested at all), the release from surveillance of Iryna Kalynets (this was fabrication), the sentencing for "only" two years of N. Strokata from Odessa (she was given 4 years) and so on. I was now receiving all this "information" mostly from Boyechko himself.

Because Dubyniak's behaviour made me even more suspicious and this was reflected in one of the declarations made by me about the

exploitation for provocation of the regime of extreme isolation, at the beginning of June he was removed from the cell. On his way out he announced that his case had been closed and that they were transferring him to the previous place and he would soon be released. (Later I learnt that Dubyniak was a regular provocateur. He was not only thrown in with me but also with others under arrest, both in prison and in the criminal camps of the Lviv oblast.)

After Dubyniak's departure Boyechko provided false information without outside help and continued along these lines: he talked about the good radical decision regarding me, for the speeding up of whose realisation certain additional steps had to be made on my part, in particular, the provision of substantial proof of my participation in the journal "The Ukrainian Herald", that is — the machine on which the journal was printed. They did not ask me for any information about other people. They talked about my future release as if it were only a short time away, and they promised to find me a good job and so forth. However, the game of provocation went on too long and I was already left with no doubts in my mind as to its purpose. Although I could still not disown my declaration of 22nd May until the trials of the others who had been arrested had taken place, all the same I had no intention of adding anything to my "testimony". Consequently the investigator decided to commit the next criminal act. On 10th August 1972 my wife and sister were arrested with the aim of exploiting their detention for the next psychological experiment.

This act of blatant self-will was committed in the following manner. On 9th August while I was in the investigator's office, my wife telephoned him to find out about the state of my health and my needs. The investigator invited her for an interview on the morning of the next day. On 10th August in the day-time they summoned me for interrogation. I asked whether my wife had been. Boyechko replied that he had rearranged the meeting with her for the afternoon and began to inquire what she should be told to bring from home. At this point the telephone rang. The investigator had apparently been summoned by his chief. Without commencing the interrogation he sent me to my cell and my wife who was under arrest was led out to meet me . . .

If you take into account the fact that in May 1972 the threats against my family had been suspended and that investigator Boyechko made every possible provision to guarantee the effect of the surprise, you can imagine what sort of cruel psychological blow they inflicted on me on purpose. The nervous shock paralysed my hands for several hours. My cell-mate rubbed them and gave me water to drink.

In protest against the criminal experiment and demanding the release of my wife, I announced a hunger strike. On 11th August, Rapota, the deputy head of the investigatory branch visited my cell and presented me with an ultimatum: "Either we get the machine

which you printed "The Ukrainian Herald" on, or we won't release your wife. We'll find a reason for charging her even if it's the poems. Make your mind up quickly or we'll put your sister in prison as well". As it turned out they had detained my sister together with my wife on the morning of 10th August, but she was being kept for the next instalment of the "psychological" experiment. Lymbak, head of the investigation prison informed me of my sister's arrest, in the evening of 12th August. Although within a few hours on the morning of 13th August my wife and sister were released, nothing was said about it to me. I replied to the news of my sister's arrest by changing my hunger strike to a "dry" strike; that is, I refused to take water. I stopped my hunger strike on 17th August, after learning indirectly about the release of my relatives. They informed me about this officially only on 2nd September, convinced that the "experiment" did not bring the results required by the inquiry.

Nevertheless, even after this extraordinary event investigator Boyechko did not stop using blackmail. In September-October 1972 he continued to say to me that the "above" "radical decision" made with regard to me and others had not been cancelled, and that it would be fitted to the 50th Anniversary of the USSR. He explained the incident with my wife and sister as a misunderstanding made by the operatives who detained them on some specific count; their release, as due to his intervention; the meeting with my wife in the prison corridor as an accident, though he would not comment on lieutenant-colonel Rapota's ultimatum. At the same time, the investigator continued to blackmail me with information about various planned and executed arrests. In November 1972 for example, he informed me that, still in connection with "The Ukrainian Herald" my friend Y. Kendzor had been arrested in Lviv and so had some other people in Kyiv and Lviv, whom I could rescue with my testimonies. The blackmail was unsuccessful.

In January 1973 in connection with the fact that the inquiry into my case was coming to an end, and the case trials of the others arrested in 1972 had mostly been concluded, I considered it important to disown the testimonies which I had made in May 1972 about participation in the publication of the journal "The Ukrainian Herald", explaining in a special petition by what methods they extracted these testimonies from me. However, investigator Boyechko illegally excluded from the case this declaration and other documents from the inquiry which exposed his criminal machinations, and referred to my "testimonies" in the conclusion of the indictment, without saying a single word about my arguments renouncing them. In these "testimonies" secured by means of blackmail and terror and also in the false conclusions of lexical and stylistic expertise (which even the experts themselves had to disown in court) lay the basis of the whole episode of my being charged with participation in the

publication of the journal, an episode, which, confused and irrelevant, appeared in the sentence.

I have not mentioned anywhere nearly all the instances relating to disinformation and blackmail which Boyechko was involved in. In case you launch criminal proceedings concerning citizen Boyechko's crimes, I will provide more detailed explanations. However, the above account is completely adequate, if the letter of the law is adhered to, for the bringing of Boyechko to criminal amenability for "the coercion of testimonies by illegal means on the part of the person in charge of the preliminary inquiry (art. 175 CC USSR). The commentary to art. 175 points out that "all methods, which include both psychological and other illegal influences on the examinee" are regarded as criminal and affirms that the term psychological influence applies "in the case of a threat by the person running an interrogation, to inflict any harm on the person under questioning or on his close ones", and "another illegal act as a method of coercion can arise for example in the bribing or deceiving of the person under questioning", if all these actions are carried out *consciously*. Consequently, the application of the term criminal to the actions of Boyechko, is unquestionable.

PROOF:

I have come to realise that just my evidence given in this declaration or included in your investigation of citizen Boyechko's crimes will not be sufficient for bringing charges against him. It is also to be expected that Boyechko will avoid responsibility for the crime, and take the typical criminal's step of denying the deed, or those who also took part in his affairs may act in the same way, especially Dubyniak. The latter will most likely not dare to give a genuine testimony, for the additional reason that he will be afraid that the suspended case concerning the currency machinations and the large thefts will be renewed. Nevertheless, I ask you to call Dubyniak as a witness and if need be arrange a confrontation with him.

However, even without the confession of Boyechko and Dubyniak's testimony, there is enough proof to expose Boyechko as a criminal. This evidence appears in my case documents: in my declarations, complaints and petitions, which reflect a large part of the false information fed to me. Obviously, during the course of the inquiry I could not have invented these facts and circumstances and there was no need to. It is also significant that Boyechko did not deny any facts given by me in the documents of the inquiry as a result of wrong information, since that would have meant a premature exposure of the provocation perpetrated against me.

In my case there is in particular such evidence of the criminal deeds of Boyechko (I give the next part in a condensed or narrative form to avoid repetition — V.C.).

1. (A reference is made to Chornovil's explanations in the event of the charge made against him on 26th February 1972 — "case" t. 1, pages 297-299 of the case — from which it is clear, that in January-February 1972 he was falsely informed about the arrest of S. Hnatenko from Lviv);

2. (A reference is made to indirect evidence apparent in the case material of the receipt by me of wrong information about my sister's arrest in February 1972);

3. On 24th March 1972 I submitted a declaration to the chief of the KGB administration about the fact that O. Pashko really was my wife (case t. 1, p. 146). The declaration was provoked by the receipt on the day before of false information about the release of my sister who had apparently been arrested and the intention to arrest my wife, with whom my marriage had not been legalised.

4. On 4th April 1972 I submitted a declaration to the investigator, which exposed the threats to arrest my relations. I refer in particular to such parts of the declaration as:

(a) (I give all the quotes in a translation from the Ukrainian — V.C.) "the chief of the investigation branch told me that O. Pashko would certainly be arrested, I heard the same kind of threats from the investigator. Even earlier, I learnt that for a certain length of time my sister had been under arrest and was being charged".

(b) In this declaration I also wrote that I was informed about the "mass continual arrests of the Ukrainian intelligentsia", which is also proof of the receipt of false information about the filling of prisons with detainees, and about the arrest of many of my acquaintances and so forth (see above).

(to be continued)

Documents smuggled out of Ukraine

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THE MYSTERIOUS DEATHS OF TWO UKRAINIAN PRIESTS

The Execution of a Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Priest from Drohobych

Reports from Ukraine indicate that on 30th January 1975 the execution took place without trial near the town of Stryj of a Ukrainian Greek-Catholic priest, Father Mykhailo Lutsky from Drohobych.

Father Lutsky was a member of an underground group of Ukrainian Greek-Catholic priests who continue to serve the faithful in Ukraine despite government bans.

On the day of the execution Father Lutsky was called out by KGB agents dressed in civilian clothes, on the pretext that a sick man needed his attention. On the next day his body was found hanging from a tree by villagers.

Claims made by the Soviet Government that Father Lutsky committed suicide, have been strongly refuted by the villagers who knew him.

The Death of Father Ivan Luchkiv

Father Luchkiv was born in 1934 and was parish priest in the village of Drohovyche on the Dniester in the Mykolaiv region of the Lviv oblast.

On 12th February 1975 Father Luchkiv rose at dawn to celebrate mass; it was the Feast-Day of the Three Saints. Since it fell during the week, mass had to be celebrated before people went to work. On leaving his house Father Luchkiv was seized by strangers, who beat him up, gagged him and hung him from a ladder in a barn. There is no doubt that his enemies were responsible. Crowds of people came to the funeral from the neighbouring villages.

The police did not interfere with the funeral in any way, although they imposed a ban on talking about it, with a fine of 25 krb. The police spread a rumour that the priest's wife was responsible for his death, since she suspected him of being unfaithful.

Father Luchkiv was a good priest, a great patriot and a fine preacher. The villagers believe that this did not please his enemies and they tried to destroy him.

The names of Father Ivan Luchkiv and Father Mikhailo Lutsky should not be confused.

—————*—————

DEEP CONCERN ABOUT THE FATE OF M. PLAKHOTNIUK

The Ukrainian doctor Mykola Plakhotniuk, has been interred in a psychiatric prison in Dniepropetrovsk and deprived of all contact

with the outside world. The KGB confiscates all M. Plakhotniuk's letters and because he has no close relations who would have the right to visit him, he is actually in a state of complete isolation which gives rise to great concern for his health and fate. They have been "treating" Plakhotniuk in the prison of ill renown from as early as 1972 and his friends are concerned that his condition may be similar to if not worse than the state which L. Plyushch was reduced to. It is known that Plakhotniuk is suffering from tuberculosis. His friends have turned to the West, primarily to medical associations and individual doctors, asking them to intercede with their protests on behalf of an accomplished human being and a professional colleague.

Dr. Plakhotniuk was born in 1936. After completing his medical studies he specialised in the field of tubercular science and made a great contribution to the methods of treating tuberculosis, in his capacity as Senior Laboratory Assistant at the Kyiv Medical Institute and as a doctor at a tuberculosis clinic in Dymyr near Kyiv. Alongside his professional activities Plakhotniuk was deeply interested in the literary, cultural and national processes which took place in Ukraine during the Sixties. As far back as 1963, after Vasyl Symonenko's death, he organised a literary evening in memory of the poet, in the Kyiv Medical Institute. In November 1969 the organs of the KGB summoned Plakhotniuk to an interrogation concerning the young poets I. Sokulsky, V. Savchenko and M. Kulchytsky — the authors of the well-known protest: "Letter from the Creative Youth of Dniepropetrovsk". Plakhotniuk refused categorically to give any kind of evidence and when two days later the directors of the Medical Institute suggested that he resign "of his own accord", he declined to do so. With this proposition they summoned Plakhotniuk unsuccessfully on twelve occasions, and in January 1970 regardless of the protests of his fellow workers Plakhotniuk was dismissed from the Medical Institute "due to cuts in personnel" with a declaration that no matter how many vacant situations there might be, he would not find a job anywhere in the Kyiv oblast. In April 1970 Plakhotniuk wrote an article "Truth is behind us", in which he replied to the slander directed at the Dniepropetrovsk poets and severely criticized Russification. This article was included in the second issue of the samvydav publication "The Ukrainian Herald".

In the summer of 1970 the KGB again summoned Plakhotniuk, on this occasion in connection with the case of Valentyn Moroz. Ignoring this persecution Dr. Plakhotniuk did not abandon his position and continued to defend the repressed in Ukraine. During the wave of mass arrests of the Ukrainian intelligentsia in January 1972, Plakhotniuk was also arrested and like L. Plyushch he was committed to the Serbsky Psychiatric Institute in Moscow, where he held a prolonged hunger strike in protest against the violence and injustice perpetrated against him.

After a medical "examination", which established that Plakhotniuk

was suffering from "paranoid schizophrenia with periodic lapses of responsibility", he was transferred to a KGB isolation prison in Kyiv. On 13th November 1972 the Kyiv Oblast Court, in Plakhotniuk's absence, investigated his case under article 62 of the Criminal Code of the USSR (anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation) for disseminating a samvydav publication "The Ukrainian Herald". The court's decision even according to Soviet norms was juridically unique: Plakhotniuk was to be sent since he was "not responsible for his actions", for an unprescribed length of time for compulsory treatment to the "special psychiatric hospital" and after his recovery he was to be tried, as already responsible for his actions, under article 62. They have now been "treating" Plakhotniuk for three years in Dniepropetrovsk, and he has yet to face the actual legal penalty. In April 1974, Plakhotniuk underwent another "examination", although it emerges that the "new diagnosis" was supposed to be a formal excuse for cruel treatment. The address of the psychiatric prison where Plakhotniuk is being kept is:

USSR, Ukrainian SSR,
m. Dniepropetrovsk,
vul. Chicherina 101,
p. ya. YE 308/rb- 9,
Plakhotniuk, Mykola H.

AN APPEAL BY THE MOTHER OF O. SERHIENKO

A new petition dated 5th January 1976 by the mother of Oleksander Serhienko, Oksana Meshko, circulated by samizdat in the USSR and directed at worldwide public opinion, has reached the West. We give the complete text of the letter below:

"My son, Oleksander Serhienko, was born in 1932 and sentenced by a secret court in Kyiv to 7 years strict regime and 3 years exile, during the period of the subsequent campaign of political arrests in Ukraine and the persecution of the creative intelligentsia and cultural workers. It is a year since he was taken away to Perm camp no. 36; allegedly for disobeying internal camp regulations he was thrown into Vladimir Prison for three years to perish.

Serhienko has for several years been suffering from an incurable type of tuberculosis: both his lungs are affected. He will not survive the inhuman conditions in which he is being kept in prison and which present a real threat to his life. The camp administration, ignoring the instructions about the upkeep of prisoners suffering from tuberculosis, are even intensifying the methods of punishing the seriously ill prisoner:

1. For writing a letter of complaint to the local prosecutor, Obrastov, in defence of a prisoner who had been beaten up by the guards, Serhienko was sentenced to three weeks in the lock up cell as punishment.

2. Because he demanded the status of a political prisoner and

refused to perform compulsory work duty in prison conditions where there do not exist the elementary norms of industrial sanitation, he was transferred to hungry regime for six months, that is — 19.5 kop. daily.

He has now been brought to extreme physical exhaustion and an acute condition of tuberculosis. They starve him, and give him injections of typhacite which together with poor food does more harm than good. Everything is aimed at killing a person who is innocent of any anti-constitutional crime or misdeed against society.

Through his professional and socio-theatrical activities in the sphere of his native culture, Serhienko made a wise, beneficial and eternal contribution. Do not allow the death of a human being and a citizen!"

5th January 1976.

His mother: *Meshko-Serhienko*

P.S. The Prison Governor of Vladimir Prison is Zavyalkin.

MURDERS AND PSYCHIATRIC HOSPITALS FOR THE FAITHFUL IN THE SOVIET UNION

Three years ago 18 year old Vitaly Oykevich arrived in Vilnius, capital of Lithuania, from Vinnytsia in Ukraine. He was preparing to enter the Catholic Ecclesiastical Seminary in Kovna, since there are no Ukrainian Catholic seminaries in Ukraine. While living in Vilnius he took an active part in church services, serving at the altar and because of this he fell under the suspicion of the KGB police. The police called Vitaly several times for very long hearings. During one such hearing they proposed that he collaborate with the security police and promised in return to help him to enter the Ecclesiastical Seminary even without doing military service. Vitaly refused to collaborate with the police.

On 14th May 1975 Vitaly's badly mutilated body was found in his apartment on Hardino Street in Vilnius.

THE FATE OF SERHIY BABYCH

Accurate reports have reached the West about the fate of a Ukrainian political prisoner Serhiy Oleksandrovich Babych. Babych was born in 1939 and worked as a carpenter in Ternopil where he was arrested in 1960 for his protest against policies of Russification, difficult living conditions and low wages. That year he was sentenced to 3 years in a strict regime camp. He spent the first two years in the Mordovian camps, though in 1962 he was transferred to Vladimir Prison, where he worked right up to the time of his release on 13th April 1963, then on 27th September 1963 he was again arrested for distributing leaflets containing criticisms of Khrushchev. He was sentenced in Rivno on 19th February 1964 to ten years strict regime. On 14th August 1964 Babych succeeded in escaping from camp, though

he was caught within two days (he was betrayed by a woman at whose house he spent a night). Locked in the isolation cell Babych tried to escape through a tunnel which he dug underground, but at the last moment he was discovered by the guards and taken to another cell.

In October 1964 a court sentenced him to an extra three years for trying to escape. During transit to Vladimir Prison Babych escaped again. He obtained some civilian clothes from the criminal prisoners whom he was being transported with and at the railway station in the town of Vladimir he left the convoy. In pursuit of him a KGB major wounded him in the leg. Babych was brought to Vladimir Prison. On orders from the administration he was not taken to hospital but to a cell and they demanded that the sick prisoner obey prison regime. For not fulfilling his work quota he was frequently put in SHIZO. On 19th February 1966 another trial took place and Babych's sentence was increased by three years for his attempt to escape. He stayed in Vladimir Prison until 1968, and later was transferred to a special zone and is at present in Zone 19 of the Mordovian Camps.



It is with deep sorrow that we announce the death, on 9th January, 1976, after a serious illness, of

Professor Vasyl ORELETSKY.

Professor Oreletsky was a former Rector at The Ukrainian Free University, for many years the Deacon of the Faculty of Law, former President of the Central Ukrainian Student's Committee (CeSUS), very active in international student affairs, colleague of Colonel Yevhen Konovalets, a brilliant linguist, Chief Editor of *The Ukrainian Review*, longstanding contributor to *The Way to Victory*, *Liberation Path*, and *Ukrainian Thought*, a great Ukrainian patriot and nationalist, who throughout his life was faithful to his nationalist convictions and a person of noble virtues. He died on his 81st year of his very creative life.

The burial took place on the 15th February, 1976, at the Ukrainian cemetery in Waldfriedhof after the funeral service at the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Munich.

With deepest sympathy for the wife of the deceased and his family in Ukraine and abroad —

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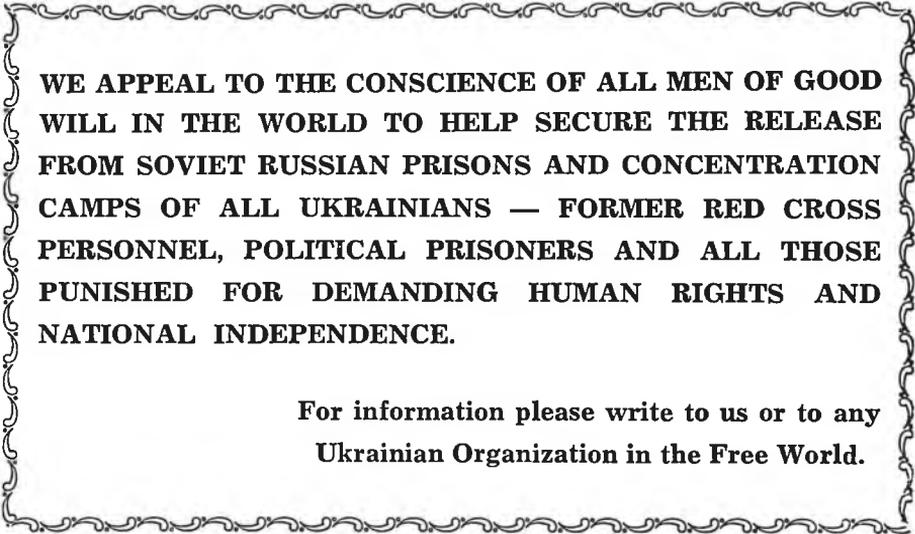
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35th Anniversary of the Restoration of Ukraine's Independence

On the 30th of June, 1941, the Ukrainian nation again documented its desire for a sovereign independent national state. This proclamation became a signpost on the nation's historic formation path, and was another expression of its thousand-year long struggle for a sovereign national life and to be master in its own land, independent of any outside forces.

The Proclamation of Ukraine's Independence on the 30th of June, 1941, was an act that encompassed the whole nation and was carried out upon the initiative and guidance of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists, under the leadership of Stepan Bandera. The National Assembly, convened in Lviv, headed by Yaroslav Stetsko, unanimously approved this act. The revolutionary OUN (Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists) began to organize the forces of the nation, based upon all her patriotic trends. OUN's action was supported and blessed by both Churches of Ukraine — the Ukrainian Orthodox Autocephalic Church and the Ukrainian Catholic Church — in separate pastoral letters.

Thirty five years ago Ukraine was the only nation during this historic epoch, when the two most powerful totalitarian and imperialistic systems, both the most bitter enemies of an independent Ukraine, went to war against each other, which not only saved its own dignity by not surrendering, but was also the only nation which did not capitulate to the invading forces of Nazi Germany. The Ukrainian National Government, headed by Yaroslav Stetsko, was the only government during the period of the so-called 'New Europe' which rejected the Nazi occupant's ultimatum to step down and recant the historic proclamation.

The nation's war on two fronts, which broke out as a result of the Proclamation of the 30th of June, 1941, was an historical semaphor for all the freedom-loving nations of the world. If this concept had been accepted — today there would be no world crisis, nor the threat of nuclear warfare, for neither the Nazi nor the Russian empire would have existed, and the principle of the national states on the European and Asian continents and in the whole world in general, would have been realized.

The Proclamation of the 30th of June 1941 was not only an act forming the Ukrainian State. Even today it is a signpost of international political importance for all the freedom-loving nations of the world and enemies of the Russian empire.

The current world crisis is rooted in the fact that the allies disregarded the will of the Ukrainian nation as well as the other nations subjugated in the Russian empire, and instead of working together with these subjugated nations against their occupier, they united with the Bolsheviks against the Nazis. The Proclamation of the 30th of June, 1941 represents a struggle against both empires for the restoration of the independence and sovereignty of nations.

From the Ukrainian point of view, the Proclamation of the 30th of June, 1941, is based not only on the Proclamation of the 22nd of January 1918/19, but stretches back to eras of the monarch-princes and kozak-hetmans and to all the heroic strivings of the Ukrainian nation for its sovereign independent statehood. It was not only a Proclamation of the restoration of the Ukrainian State, but also began the real active new period in the existence of the Ukrainian State. The vanguard groups of the revolutionary OUN, together with the nation, their spirits uplifted, set up everywhere the Ukrainian administration which governed the Ukrainian lands.

Upon the initiative of the revolutionary OUN, on the basis of the Proclamation of the 30th of June, 1941, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) was formed in October, 1942. It was indissolubly linked with the Proclamation of the 30th of June, 1941, and was an accomplishment influenced by the Proclamation of Ukraine's Independence. A Ukrainian State means Ukrainian rule by the Ukrainian nation, encompassing all the Ukrainian lands, irrelevant of the fact whether it is recognised by other governments at any particular time or not. The essence of a nation does not depend on whether it is recognized by international law, but in the people governing themselves in their own land. As long as UPA-OUN carried out the functions of government in parts of the Ukrainian lands, the Ukrainian state existed on Ukrainian soil. When the Prime Minister, Yaroslav Stetsko, and other members of government were arrested and sent to concentration camps or were shot by the Nazis, the Ukrainian Liberation Council (UHVR), led by Roman Shukhevych-Chuprynka, was formed and carried on the work of the Ukrainian National Government (UDP). As long as the all-national uprising continued between 1942-53, a period which has been well described by one of the well-known Ukrainian political prisoners, a Ukrainian state existed on Ukrainian soil, not only ideally, morally and legally, but also in reality and actively, for a State means a nation governing itself in its own land.

The 30th of June, 1941 was not only the Proclamation of Ukraine's Independence but was its actual fulfillment as long as the UPA-OUN acted militarily and governed the Ukrainian lands.

The Proclamation of the 30th of June, 1941, is, for the younger generation of Ukraine, a continuous mobilising force in the fight against Bolshevism and Russia in general, as can be seen from current underground political literature.

The Proclamation of the 30th of June, 1941 is not just a historical event, but an unchangeable signpost for the nation. It began a new era in Ukrainian statehood as an unbreakable link with the great uprisings of the Ukrainian nation which is a guide not only for today's generation but for all the freedom-loving nations of the world in their fight against bolshevism and Russian imperialism in all its colours.

The Ukrainian people, especially UPA-OUN, suffered great losses and sacrificed themselves for the ideals of the 30th of June, 1941. As a direct result of this, a whole new generation has been born and is growing, for whom the ideal of a Sovereign Independent Ukrainian State and the destruction of the Russian Bolshevism empire by the efforts of the whole nation, will become a reality.

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THE EMS UKASE OF 1876

AND THE PROBLEM OF LINGUICIDE

by

J. B. RUDNYCKYJ

Viewed from de Saussure's standpoint every language as a sociolinguual phenomenon has three main spheres of its relationship connected with the law of a country or nation.

First, the language can be legally admitted or restricted, or even forbidden, in public life, e.g. in public meetings, in the mass media, correspondence, in business life, etc.

Secondly, a language may be legally admitted in the relationship between the citizens of a country, and the administrative offices, before the courts, or in the internal public life of a country generally.

Thirdly, a language can be allowed or forbidden as an instructional language or as a subject of instruction in the whole country or in parts of it.

In all three of the above mentioned spheres, the admission or restriction, even prohibition, of a language is considered as a "language law" which regulates the language (linguistic) rights of the respective population.

In the modern states there are rare cases restricting or prohibiting the use of languages. Yet, the history of mankind shows negative attitudes of the government concerned restricting or banning certain languages from public life.

It is clear that the use of a particular language may be forbidden for reasons of uniformity, forcible assimilation, attempted deethnization, denationalization, etc.

Sometimes it is intended to curtail the development of a dialect vis-a-vis a high prestige language, and it is forbidden in public use, in print, and in schools.

As an example, the fact might be quoted that in the latter part of the sixteenth century, the shopkeepers of Fribourg in Switzerland were fined for using French in their commercial relations.

As a rule, the prohibition or restriction of a language is accomplished by administrative orders of the respective governments, following the general negative attitude of the dominant majority to discriminate against the language of minority.

Here are some examples taken from the history of Tsarist Russia, where such orders were officially known as "ukases". One such

order was issued by the Russian Minister of the Interior, Count Peter Valuyev, on June 8, 1863, known in the abbreviation as follows:

"There has not been, is not, and never can be any Little Russian language".

"To allow to be printed in the Little Russian language only such works as belong to the realm of belles-lettres; and to ban the publication of books in the Little Russian language, both religious and educational, and books generally intended for elementary reading by the people".

Valuyev's edict was soon followed by the Tsar's "Ukase". On May 18, 1876 in Bad Ems, West Germany, Alexander II signed a secret order, of which the real author was Michael Yuzefovich, deputy superintendent of the Kyiv School District.

The ukase forbade the printing in Ukrainian of anything except historical documents in the orthography of the original, and belles-lettres in Russian (so-called "yaryshka") alphabet, it also forbade the importation of any thing published and printed in "Little Russian dialect" (Ukrainian) from abroad, particularly from western Ukraine.

This, so-called "Ems Ukase" lasted two generations and it reached its climax at the end of the last century when Ukrainian composers were compelled to write the texts to their melodies in French.

These and other linguicidal acts of Tsarist Russia were intended to Russify the vast empire and bring it to cultural, language and political unity. Well known are the attempts of the Russian government in the 1860's to stamp out Polish by forbidding its teaching in schools.

A curious example of restriction of the right to print in one's own language is a Russian ukase at the end of the nineteenth century which permitted publication in Lithuanian, but made obligatory, under penalty of imprisonment, the use of Russian characters.

Linguicide is not confined to restrictive measures only. There are other kinds of linguicidal acts which cause the partial or complete lingual destruction of a community speaking a given language.

Some governments deliberately inflict on ethno-lingual groups conditions of cultural backwardness, refusing help in their organic cultural development. As a result the feeling of "low prestige cultures" of "low prestige languages" develop within the groups concerned and lingual switches to dominant languages occur.

As stated by the "Israelite Press" of December 22, 1967, in Winnipeg:

"The Canadian Jewish Congress speaks for rational elements of our Canadian Jewish community and it has been raising a hue and cry over linguicide for years. Even before Prof. Rudnyc'kyj devised this word, Congress has been hurling the charge of linguicide against Soviet Russia for deliberately throttling Yiddish language cultural expression among Russian Jews".

In general it might be stated that any attempt on the part of any society, government or institution to limit or suppress the exercise of the language rights of one or any of its minority groups may be designated as linguicide. As such the linguicide is carried out by constitutional and/or institutional arrangements, administrative measures, political means, by preferential treatment of the imposed, majority language in allocative decisions, or through social and economic pressures.

Without attempting to exhaust general or specific cases of acts aiming at lingual destruction of ethnic groups in the past and present, we arrive at the following definition of linguicide:

Any of the following acts committed with the intent to destroy in whole or in part or to prevent the natural development of a language or dialect should be considered as a linguicidal act:

- a) Killing members of a community speaking a respective language or dialect (genocide);
- b) Imposing repressive measures intended to prevent the natural, organic, development of a language or dialect;
- c) Forcibly inflicting on a bilingual (two-language) community conditions of cultural development calculated to transform it into a unilingual group.

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L. KOVALENKO
(Translation by O. Woycenko)

B A D E M S 1 8 7 6

Mikhail Vladimirovich Yuzefovich nervously paced the grounds of the park which surrounded the Kurhaus in the German town of Ems. He was the former commander of the Ulans' regiment, and later the inspector of students in Kyiv, informer on the Brotherhood of S.S. Cyril and Methodius, aid to the curator of the Kyivan school district and head of the archeological commission in Kyiv. His uneasiness precipitated after an audience with Tsar Alexander II of Russia in this famous watering place.

The ageing tsar, terrified by revolutionary threats in his country, as well as by the grumbings of the nobility since the emancipation of the serfs, was convinced that he had a liver ailment and that his digestive system was not functioning properly, and therefore had arrived in Bad Ems to take its celebrated curative mineral waters.

Yuzefovich, on the other hand, was overjoyed, but apprehensive, fearing that the good fortune, which finally came to him, might be jeopardized. After all his accusations against the Ukrainophiles, after all the detailed reports and explanations, and loyal submissions, he finally had the opportunity to travel to Ems with letters of recommendation from ministers and influential people and a promise that the tsar would grant him an audience.

And so it happened, the day before yesterday. The tsar, Great Emperor of all Russia, received him, a lowly aid to the curator, and heard his appeal to save Russia by putting an end to the separatist movement of the Ukrainophiles, this plague in the state, more dangerous than the Poles. Yuzefovich continually turned over in his mind what he had said to the tsar... It seemed that all had gone well, the tsar had listened attentively, and he, Yuzefovich, had spoken eloquently and convincingly. In parting, the tsar said that he would think the matter over, while Yuzefovich should be ready with the *ukase* project on the Ukrainian subversive movement, or more precisely, the Little Russian language, so that when summoned to appear he would have everything that he had said formulated and in written form.

And so Yuzefovich waited. Like everyone else in Ems and at the court, Yuzefovich was aware of another intimate reason for the tsar's presence in Ems: he wanted to be free with his mistress,

Katherina Dolgorukaya, and away from palace protocol. All his former loves in oblivion, she was his favorite now, and becoming more and more dominant.

Yuzefovich knew, that after taking his glass of Ems' water, the tsar would stroll over to Dolgorukaya's cottage and may not leave until after lunch, in time to take his second glass. Yuzefovich was impatient. He was curious to know what would become of the decree suppressing the Ukrainian language publications, theatre and music. Would the tsar sign it without delay, declaring it as an *ukase* without referring it to the Senate of the Imperial Council where debates, discussions and other influences might delay the implementation of these endeavours for several months or even years.

"Once the Little Russians in St. Petersburg hear of the act, the uproar they will raise might eliminate the best of it, or even obstruct its passage! — angrily mused Yuzefovich, unconsciously quickenings his steps. "I know them! The clamour they raised in efforts to free Shevchenko! Whom didn't they approach? Where didn't they seek support? And they reached their goal." — Yuzefovich smiled maliciously, grimacing at the thought of the insults and humiliations he endured after the downfall of the Cyril-Methodius Brotherhood. — "As if I betrayed the state rather than uncover the traitors!" — Even now he hissed silently. "That one doesn't invite me, this one doesn't acknowledge my nod, that one passes by as if my hand extended in greeting had been unnoticed... He lived through all this, suffered and conquered. Yes now he might proudly say that he overcame his enemies, all those Antonovychs, Rylskys, Kistyakovskys, Chubynskys and other Ukrainophiles, who thought they could insult him, Yuzefovich! Where are they now? What are they today? Nothing! They will stand in the pages of history as comical, useless dreamers who imagined an nonexistent Ukraine and a scornful language not used by respectable people! Take Shevchenko, after suffering military service, he was now dead, and he, Yuzefovich, here with the tsar, one of his loyal and trusted aides! At the appearance of the tsar, Yuzefovich may reverently bow and await his call! And he will be summoned! If not today then tomorrow. If he didn't approve the *ukase*, nonetheless, as the initiator of the new act, he would have his say in both the Imperial Committee and the Senate! . . ."

At the thought of this, Yuzefovich straightened and thrust out his chest, glancing around, wondering if he had been noticed by some of his acquaintances. And he did run into a rather haughty old Prince, Gorchakov, with a mocking smile, who was strolling away his rheumatism, supported by a cane.

Ah! your Grace is here?" — said Yuzefovich at the same time bowing to him. "I didn't know that Ems' water helps rheumatism."

"When his Highness, the Emperor, is here, then the water of Ems cures everything. Even when one doesn't drink, which, it seems is the

case with you" teasingly replied Gorchakov. — "So what is a healthy and comparatively young person like yourself doing in Ems?"

"It was not of my own will that I came here, your Grace", quietly responded Yuzefovich, sensing how his answer might strike the Prince, who had been removed from current affairs. — "I was summoned here by a letter from St. Petersburg."

"Oh-oh!" drawled Gorchakov. "Now they're even summoning you? Very good! Excellent! Recently I said, that never before in Russia were matters so hopelessly bad... as they are now... It is not surprising that you were called upon to save us! Do not have any doubts or fears my young friend, but slash from the shoulder!... A very good tactic! We were always proud of it!... I wish you success!" He tapped Yuzefovich on the shoulder and continued on his way, leaning on his cane.

"They old fool", thought Yuzefovich angrily. "He even ridicules me! Yet his own heart must ache from envy!"

This assessment put him more at ease, and he continued his walk towards the exit of the Kurhaus, where he noticed a group of people standing near the door as if carrying on casual conversations. They, as he himself, were awaiting a chance to push themselves ahead, so that the tsar would notice them and, perhaps, offer them a position, a commission, a promise or just a friendly nod of the head, which would raise their status in the eyes of the court, and if not, in the eyes of those near the court, who, too, wield influence and upon whom it was worthwhile making an impression that one was close to the tsar.

Suddenly Yuzefovich broke the thread of his thoughts and pressed through the crowd unnoticeably, working his way to the forefront, directly into the path of the tsar who was just leaving the Kurhaus.

Evidently the tsar was in good humour. He was enjoying the anecdotes being whispered to him by Count Nesselrode and suddenly burst into a loud, rollicking laughter, much to the amusement of everyone around him.

Turning aside from Nesselrode, the tsar glanced down the alley, and noticing Yuzefovich, deeply bent in a bow, remarked:

"Aha, gospodin curator. I read your project, yes, I read it. Very interesting... Come and see me after dinner. After I take another glass of that loathesome water... Nesselrode, leave word that gospodin curator be allowed entrance to see me!"

He nodded to Yuzefovich and continued on his way. The scene created a deep impresson on all those who witnessed it. They began approaching the new favourite, making his acquaintance, greeting him cordially, inviting him to their place, seeking his protection and help...

But Yuzefovich didn't notice them. Not because of conceit, but because he himself was blinded by this unexpected luck, and

intoxicated by the tsar's attention which gave him hope that the project would be accepted and implemented. Casually he nodded to several acquaintances and hurried to his room to re-read his project in preparation for its defence.

The more Yuzefovich studied his project, the more he was pleased with it.

"That's the way they should be dealt with, the *khokhols*", he thought. "Brief, clear, and without any consideration. For such declarations the Russian language is most suitable! Command — and no opposition!"

Then with relish he read once again: "His Majesty, the Emperor, on . . . day of this year of 1876, bids command on the following:

- 1) It is forbidden to import books and all other publications in the Little Russian dialect without the permission of the General Censor Control of Publications.
- 2) It is forbidden to print and publish within the empire original works and translations in this dialect with the exception of:
 - (a) historical documents, but only to be published in the original orthography.
 - (b) belles-lettres, to be published only in the Russian alphabet.
- 3) It is forbidden to perform in theatres or to recite in the Little Russian dialect; also the printing of notes to texts in this dialect is forbidden.
- 4) To suspend the publication of the newspaper *Kievskii Telegraf*.

"Now, let them stumble along, — muttered Yuzefovich, rubbing his hands in malicious delight and satisfaction with his creation. — "There is no way that they could wiggle out of this . . . No amount of cleverness will help".

Quickly he washed up, changed his clothes, and hurried to the tsar's residence, to inquire from Nesselrode at what time he would be received.

But the tsar had not yet returned from Dolgorukaya, and Nesselrode too had been detained somewhere, so Yuzefovich was compelled to chat with the chamberlain who unexpectedly stepped out on the verandah, awaiting the arrival of the tsar. He was not aware of how graciously the tsar spoke to Yuzefovich. Accustomed to the fleetingness of ministers as he worked at his post, the chamberlain knew all the tsar's idiosyncrasies, and he cared little about conversing with a stranger, seemingly a provincial official who bowing, asked him when the tsar was expected.

"We do not interfere in such matters, and it's not our concern when His Majesty deems it necessary to arrive. Besides, we never worry about it as everything is always ready for him, — a clean shirt, the uniform which he wishes to wear at dinner, gloves — everything! We have never yet detained our tsar-father, for we are aware of court discipline".

Having said this, the chamberlain turned aside and began stuffing his nose with the contents of a gilded snuff-box.

Yuzefovich bowed awkwardly and left. But he had nowhere to go and he was afraid he might miss the tsar and Nesselrode, lest he lose the rare opportunity which so unexpectedly presented itself to him and held such high promise for him.

After wandering through the streets of Ems for a goodly hour, he finally noticed Nesselrode drive up to the tsar's residence, and he ran to intercept him before the count could enter the building. Noticing him in the distance, Nesselrode stopped, and awaited him.

"His Royal Highness has taken his drink and will soon be here. You might as well enter and wait in the anteroom", he said, entering the house and motioning to Yuzefovich to do the same. Pointing to a bench in the room, he continued:

"Please wait", — while he himself disappeared into some chamber; evidently he knew these chambers quite well and felt as if he were at home. Having previously eyed with envy Nesselrode's figure from head to toe, Yuzefovich humbly resigned himself to wait.

But he did not have to wait much longer as abruptly the stillness of the quiet house stirred to action. Two lackeys scurried by, and Nesselrode appeared in the anteroom whipping his mouth with a handkerchief. A young aide-de-camp scampered across and adjoining room, his hand clutching the silver shoulder-knots that were rolled under his left arm.

"His Royal Highness!" announced Nesselrode, "Please rise!"

Yuzefovich quickly rose from his seat as the tsar entered the anteroom, looking no longer gay or pleased — as if heavy from overindulgence at Dolgorukaya's dinner.

"Aha, so you are here already", said the tsar nodding his head carelessly towards Yuzefovich. "Wait. I won't be long".

Yuzefovich bowed again with a feeling that his head was useless for anything else except to bend in obedience. He did not dare to sit down again either but remained standing, expecting to be called soon.

But he was kept waiting a long time, and in the duration heard the harsh voice of the tsar from one of the chambers, as he reprimanded someone. Finally Nesselrode himself appeared in the anteroom, pale and angry, and he curtly directed to Yuzefovich:

"Please follow me".

They passed through several chambers, not spacious, but opulently furnished, until they reached the tsar's cabinet. He was seated behind his desk, frowning in dissatisfaction, reading some paper.

"My project", conjectured Yuzefovich to himself and his heart stopped beating.

"Sit down", motioned the tsar to Yuzefovich and a chair in front of his desk and the tsar continued reading Yuzefovich's material.

"Why is it taking him so long to read it?" wondered Yuzefovich. "The ukase is so brief". Then he noticed that the tsar's eyes were motionless; they were fixed on one part of the ukase as if they had frozen there.

"Is he asleep, or what?" — pondered Yuzefovich, his heart sinking even deeper, distracting his thoughts away from his project as well as from the matter of settling accounts with the Little Russians.

He wished he could swiftly disappear from this room, and away from the glassy eyes that remained glued to the paper, the paper onto which he had poured all his hatred and all his bile.

Nevertheless, he did not stir nor dare to stir. So as not to sigh loudly, he exhaled softly, afraid even to reach for a handkerchief in his pocket, although for a moment he was on the verge of a sneeze. With great restrained effort, he sat motionless until suddenly the tsar blinked his eyes — although he did not lift them off the paper.

At last he looked up at Yuzefovich with a fully conscious gaze and said:

"Are you sure that the Little Russians would really want to separate from Russia?"

"I am positive your Highness", retored Yuzefovich, remembering his period in the Ulans.

"Devil knows what!" grimaced the tsar. "We had barely subdued the Poles, which almost led to a war, and now the Little Russians are having their illusions. If you are sure that it is so, then naturally, your project is very good . . ."

Yuzefovich knew, that until the tsar questions him, he must not speak, but it wasn't clear; it was as if the tsar were directing his questions to him, and yet — it appeared as though he were not.

Not knowing whether to speak up or keep silent, greatly distressed Yuzefovich.

Then the tsar continued:

"I do not understand, where they get all those absurd ideas from. Even Herzen didn't write anything about some little Russia".

"Especially him, usually he did not write, yet, when an occasion arose, he would respond very favourably", daringly interjected Yuzefovich. "For such as Herzen, all disorders are always advantageous..."

"H'm, yes, it is true", — sighed the tsar. "Now then, if that's the way the matter stands, then your project would have to be adopted. I will sign it at once and then Lobanov can finalize its formulation. As for you, I will thank you appropriately . . ."

"Nesselrode", he called into the adjoining chamber, "Remind me to recommend Yuzefovich for a decoration . . . Specify that he has already received it and that he deserves it . . ."

Yuzefovich rose abruptly to express his thanks, but the tsar's brows knitted and he asked wearily:

"Is there someone else awaiting me?"

“No your majesty, there is no one”.

“Good . . . Go, go”, he motioned his hand in Yuzefovich’s direction. “There is no need for thanks, you are a fine youth, who has done his duty . . .” “Help him out, Nesselrode”.

Yuzefovich, bowing incessantly finally backed his way out of the tsar’s cabinet, and bidding his farewell to Nesselrode, happy and content almost ran to his room — which he had temporarily taken not far from the tsar’s residence.

* * *

Note: This is an English translation of a chapter from a novel *Still Waters* by Ludmila Kovalenko pp. 266-276, published by the United Sisterhoods of Ukrainian Orthodox Church of U.S.A., S. Bound Brook, N.J. 1973.

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Jaroslav STETSKO

COMMUNISM EXCLUDES A DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM

I

I began to fight for the liberation of my fatherland Ukraine against its occupants when I was still a secondary school student. For many years I was detained in prison while studying at the University of Lviv, western Ukraine, and simultaneously doing political work as member of the OUN (Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists) leadership and editor of underground publications published in western Ukraine. In 1934 I was sentenced to 5 years of prison for my political activity. On June 30, 1941 the national assembly which I presided proclaimed the renewal of the Ukrainian state against the will of and without informing Germany. I was elected Premier of the Ukrainian Government. I was 29 years old when our Government declined Hitler's ultimatum requesting us to recant the Act proclaiming Ukrainian independence. On July 12, 1941 I was arrested by the Gestapo together with other members of the government, two of them being finally assassinated. I was imprisoned in the concentration camp of Sachsenhausen. The OUN leader Stepan Bandera (I was deputy leader at that time) was also detained in Sachsenhausen for several years; he was assassinated by the KGB in October 1959 in Munich on the orders of Shelepin and Khrushchev. Stepan Bandera has become the symbol of the Ukrainian anti-Russian and anti-Communist national liberation struggle for independence.

We were released after the downfall of Nazi Germany and continued our revolutionary liberation struggle against Bolshevik Russia for an independent Ukraine. The Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), coming into being in 1942, continued the war on two fronts, fighting against Nazi Germany and Russia. When the three states USSR, CSSR and Poland concluded a pact in 1947 they finished by defeating the UPA as a military power, but not ideologically. In March 1950 Gen. Taras Chuprynka, Commander-in-Chief of the UPA, died in battle against the MVD forces near Lviv, and the national rising was finally suppressed in 1953.

In November 1943 the Antibolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) was created on the initiative of UPA and OUN in the forests surrounding Zhytomyr in Ukraine, composed of representatives of revolutionary liberation movement and insurgent formations of 13 nations. In 1946 I was elected President of this organization.

The OUN, organizes the revolutionary liberation struggle in Ukraine and mobilizes Ukrainian emigrants living in the free world in an anti-Communist and anti-Russian front for an independent national democratic Ukrainian state joining sympathetic circles of the free nations to our liberation activity.

The OUN organizes together with our friends in the West mass demonstrations in front of Bolshevik embassies and various missions, diplomatic actions, international anti-Communist Conferences in defence of Ukraine and other captive nations, especially the recent actions in defence of national, political and religious prisoners fighting for national independence, human rights and Christian faith, and publishes relevant documents and material in many foreign languages. This type of mass action for instance in Great Britain in 1975 contributed to the fact that A. Shelepin, chief of the Soviet trade unions and former chief of the KGB, was thrown out of Great Britain and that he finished by being removed from the politburo of the CP of the USSR; he had been condemned by the Federal Supreme Court in Karlsruhe, Germany, as chief perpetrator of the assassination of Stepan Bandera (the KGB agent B. Stashynsky who executed the murder was sentenced to 8 years only; he had escaped to the West fearing that he might be liquidated by the KGB as a dangerous "witness" of the crimes committed by the KGB, especially as he had been honoured with the "Red Banner" by the President of the USSR, Voroshilov).

The Antibolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) is a cofounder of the World Anticommunist League (WACL); the ABN President as spokesman of the captive nations is a member of the Executive Board of WACL.

The ABN mobilizes to common anti-Communist actions not only the emigrants of the captive nations and their friends in the free world, but above all seeks to create a common front of all revolutionary liberation formations opposed to the Russian occupants and fighting against the Communist apparatus of terror and the system installed in our native countries.

The goal of the European Freedom Council (EFC) as coordinating centre of West European anti-Communist organizations and emigrant organizations of the captive nations is the consolidation of the patriotic anti-Communist front in the free part of Europe as well as political and moral support for the captive nations in their fight for independence and freedom.

Our goal: the dismemberment of the Russian empire (of any form) into independent democratic states within the respective ethnographic borders of the captive nations, and destruction of the Communist system by means of coordinated and synchronized national liberation revolutions of the subjugated nations backed up by the West.

Ukrainian liberation nationalism opposes proletarian internationalism which is only a form of historical Russian imperialism. Liberation nationalism rejects imperialism, chauvinism, racism, nazism, antisemitism, totalitarianism and one-party rule. Its slogan: independence for nations, freedom for man and social justice . . . Nationalism has so far not been put into practice in any state and socio-political system. It is the system of the future. Nazism, i.e. National-Socialism, racism, imperialism, totalitarianism, Antisemitism, contradicts true nationalism which considers nations to be "God's thoughts". Therefore, nationalism respects the right of every nation to independence, irrespective of race, religion and wealth. It treats the individual as a godlike creature. Men and women belonging to one nation are brothers and sisters, one mother's sons and daughters. Thus it excludes oppression and exploitation within the nation . . .

II

It is not understandable that western politicians, and particularly journalists, are astonished that in the USSR concentration camps exist altogether, especially those of the Stalinist type. The Communist regime cannot exist without concentration camps since terror is inherent in the system. The film transmitted by the TV of London, Paris and Rome is undoubtedly authentic. Such concentration camps do not only exist near Riga, but in various republics of the USSR, especially in Siberia and Kazakhstan. We are in possession of numerous authentic documents from prisoners of these concentration camps which we are publishing. However, the western press usually keeps silent to avoid annoying Moscow. Recently, for instance two Ukrainian Greek-Catholic priests, rev. Luchkov and rev. Lucky, were hung by the KGB. Nobody protested, not even the Vatican. As regards the interpellation of some serious western agencies the Vatican wraps itself in silence . . . There are approximately 1,700,000 political prisoners detained in the concentration camps, and about 3,500,000 prisoners altogether. Brezhnev's system also includes psychiatric prisons for political prisoners. These political prisoners are employed for extremely hard and harmful work in the concentration camps, such as glass grinding all over the prison.

The political prisoners are accorded the absolute minimum of rights or respect for human dignity, especially with regard to food rations, permission to write letters to their relatives in their national language instead of Russian, detainment in penal isolators (for weeks or even months) and subsistence on bread and water only . . . During the Woman's Year Ukrainian women political prisoners — writers, scientific workers — e.g. Nina Karavanska, Iryna Senyk, Iryna Kalynets, Nadia Svitlychna and Stefa Shabatura, were severely punished in the concentration camps where they are detained, for requesting compliance with fundamental human rights and respect for their

human dignity, when forced to perform hard physical work in cold and hunger. Nadia Svitlychna and Iryna Kalynets were separated from their little children who are not only deprived of their mother but also of their father, respectively. Ihor Kalynets, Iryna's imprisoned husband and a prominent Ukrainian writer, has been sentenced to 12 years exclusively for his poetry emphasizing Ukrainian spiritual elements and traditional values . . .

Among those most severely persecuted by Russian Communists are fighters for the national independence of Ukraine and other captive nations. The verdicts passed upon Ukrainian political prisoners are the most severe ones: nationalists are sentenced to death, cultural workers to 15 years of imprisonment. None of them has succeeded in finding his way to the West. Although there exists a third Russian emigration in the West not a single, non-Communist Ukrainian cultural worker is permitted to emigrate to the West . . .

The risings of the workers of Dnipropetrovsk, Dniprodzerzhynsk in Ukraine (1972) were not only due to social factors, but were primarily based on national considerations, the striving for national independence — separation of Ukraine from Russia . . . Opposition to Russification is one of the essential components of the liberation struggle fought out by cultural workers and the whole nation . . . in spite of the existence of concentration camps and the murders committed by the KGB!

For example, 4 years ago the KGB assassinated (with an axe) a prominent Ukrainian cultural worker Mrs. Alla Horska in her cellar, near Kyiv, since she resisted Russification and Socialist Realism requesting freedom of cultural creativity.

The strategy of the French and Italian Communists with respect to the seizure of power is in absolute agreement with that of Moscow, the Italian Communists by way of a so-called historical compromise with the Christian Democrats and the French Communists in a "popular front" with Mitterand's socialists . . . In order to lull the voters they pretend to be astonished about and mildly condemn Moscow's concentration camps, emphasizing that they *stand for* democratic pluralism. Togliatti not only condemned Stalin but pointed out that Stalinism was not just the rule of one man but a system that could not exist without terror. What was the result of this perception? Italian Communists still pursue their path with Moscow. Russians have crushed the Hungarian revolt of 1956, in 1968 they once more invaded Czechia and Slovakia. The result was that Italian and French Communists protested verbally, but still followed the same course as the Russians, being conscious of the fact that should the Communist system and the Russian empire — USSR — collapse, Communism would also break down in Italy and France. They are very well aware of the concentration camps and the terror ruling in the USSR, at least as well as western anti-Communists. In

accordance with the refined Communist tactics (which are of course accepted by Moscow as well) they "criticize" Moscow pretending to be independent of Moscow . . .

The Communist system which contradicts human nature and the nation cannot exist without terror and concentration camps. Communism excludes a democratic system and imposes totalitarianism which in turn excludes democratic pluralism. As long as Nazism existed in Germany Quisling could exist in Norway, and all Communist leaders know that. Communism is incompatible with human and national freedom just as it is incompatible with religion, since militant atheism and belief in God must exclude one another. Communist victory would be the victory of Antichrist. Thus all attempts at a historical compromise between the devil and the faithful Christians, between freedom and tyranny are in vain . . .

III

We have various forms of connections with the captive nations maintaining them by various means. We give them moral and political support in their national liberation struggle. We provide them with informative literature, corroborate their national aspirations and acknowledge their way of struggle as being correct. We support the trend "back to traditions" cultivating the bright past of the nations; "back to traditions" is the revolutionary slogan of the nations subjugated by Communism and Russian imperialism strengthening their forces and their national self-consciousness . . . The return to original catacomb Christianity with its martyrs is another widely spread slogan at present . . . Reverting to the past of one's nation is by no means reactionary . . . Communism enslaving the human being, negating the nation on principle and denying the existence of God is the most reactionary system.

A Ukrainian author puts it as follows: "De-christianization, collectivization, colonial industrialization and forced migration from the village to the city have destroyed the traditional national structures, the consequences of which have not yet become apparent in all their destructive injuriousness".

We are backing the captive nations morally informing them about the response to their struggle of the western parliaments, about the resolutions of international anti-Communist Conferences, and send them comments of the western press, translations of foreign publications etc . . .

IV

ILLEGALITY AND ARBITRARY RULE IN THE USSR

Lenin gave his approval to executions without trial, torture, the shooting of hostage, excesses committed by local officials, the shooting down of workers' demonstrations, and the armed pillage of the countryside in a period when the economy was disintegrating, when starvation and disease were rife, due to the civil war. In the years 1917 to 1923 ,about twenty million died, not counting war losses. These are the figures, which speak for themselves.

Stalin: Lenin's Pupil

The myth of the evil Stalin, who perverted the good Lenin's teaching, should also be destroyed. Stalin was, of course, a monster, but he himself invented nothing. He was Lenin's diligent pupil, who consistently carried out the precepts of his teacher.

The myth of the liberal Khrushchev was created by the Communists for propaganda purposes.

Khrushchev was forced to release prisoners, because a series of uprisings in the camps had made the further imprisonment of fifteen million people behind barbed wire impossible. The first such uprising took place in 1952, while Stalin was still at the height of his power at the penal colony of Ekibastus. It was followed by others, after the death of Stalin, in Vorkuta, Kingir, Dzheskasgan and other labour camps. If Khrushchev had not released a great number of prisoners, he would have had to keep a division of soldiers near every labour camp.

The denunciation of Stalin and partial rehabilitation of political prisoners were necessary to Khrushchev in his struggle for power. At the same time, Khrushchev's novel methods in agriculture and other spheres brought great hardships to the peoples.

ESKIMOS MACHINE-GUNNED

The following incident was one example of Khrushchev's "liberalism" in 1963-64. After atomic bomb tests were carried out above the Arctic Circle, the Eskimos and other Northern nationalities were subjected to radiation and the effects of radio-active deposits. A huge fall in the numbers of reindeer also began at this time. As they did not understand what was happening, these people decided to go to Yakutsk, to ask for help, medicines and food. A few kilometres outside the town, the crowd was met by a punitive detachment of Secret Policemen, who ordered them all to go home, to certain death. The people tried to explain the desperate position they were in, but the inhuman orders were merely repeated to them and they were

given thirty minutes to think it over. When this time ran out, the secret police opened fire with machineguns and automatic rifles on the unarmed, peaceful crowd of people, ill and worn out by their journey. Only a few survived, ran into the taiga and later entered the town, avoiding the main roads, which were guarded.

The number of political prisoners, at this time, is not less than 1,700,000 and the number of those imprisoned, as a whole, is 3,500,000. The system now includes the detention of dissidents in psychiatric institutions, which are overcrowded as a result.

Brezhnev's regime crushed in blood a number of strikes and mass demonstrations by the discontented population, in the 1960's; the whole world knows this. One such rebellion took place in the town of Karaganda, at the metallurgical factory construction site. As usual, the cause was the chronic insufficiency of food supplies, even of bread in this case. Milk products and vegetables rarely appeared in the shops and were sold out in a few hours when they did. In the shops only vodka was in plentiful supply, and even that was of low quality. The angry workers took over the factory and then the town itself. Discussions achieved nothing. The rebelling workers fought with workers fought with special punitive detachments. The rebellion was finally crushed with the help of tanks, artillery and helicopters. Work at the factory was resumed only when workers from other factories had been forcibly mobilised. Because of the terrorisation they were subjected to, the families of those who suffered in these staggering events are afraid to speak out about them.

Only in Ukraine the larger rebellions rise to the surface, such as those in Dneprodzerhinsk, Novochoerkask, which the regime hide because of their proximity to the centre and the greater awareness of the workers. But in all places more distant — over thousands of miles of USSR the "law of the taiga" is supreme, permitting any illegality or tyranny on the part of the Russian Communist authorities.

Peoples have developed quite effective ways of indirect economic struggle and opposition. Although the workers have been deprived of the right to strike and participation in strikes is regarded as a grave political crime, it is no longer so rare for strikes to occur, even in large industrial centres. In 1970, Brezhnev's administration introduced new measures in their battle against strike movements. At the larger factories, armed brigades of guards were organised, who terrorised the workers with searches in the passages inside the factory, openly walked round the workshops during work, spread rumours and so on. By these means, disorganisation and fear were rife during the first, most dangerous, period of strike action, when the strikes meet and talk with each other. The ringleaders would be beaten up and isolated until the strike was declared. The guards

were recruited largely from the secret police, who retire at the age of 40/45, as service in the KGB brings all kinds of privileges and advantages with it. Secret policemen who retire on a pension in the prime of life are allowed to take jobs as guards, and their wages as guards are added to their pensions.

V

Under Brezhnev, wide use was made of the *druzhinniki*, founded by Khrushchev. *Druzhinniki*, usually members of the Party or Komsomol, are mainly employed in the struggle against freedom fighters and religion. Brezhnev's stormtroopers are no different from Hitler's stormtroopers. They often provoke an incident on the streets, in order to detain some dissident; they search him; check the contents of his wallet, confiscate his books; beat up and threaten him with the worst kind of violence. There have been well-known instances where *druzhinniki* were used to break up monasteries or religious assemblies of believers and to disrupt religious services. Especially in the provinces, such a detachment can break into the house of any citizen on the pretext of searching for forbidden underground (*samizdat*) literature.

In this way, mass outrages, begun under Lenin, underwent a change during Stalin's purges, as in those years they were centralised in the hands of the NKVD (former name of the KGB) and perfected in the epoch of Brezhnev. Nowadays the KGB carries out its work with the help of *druzhinniki* and psychiatric staff.

VI

One of the regime's worst crimes is the way in which it indoctrinates people ideologically from childhood. At the same time as family ties are being weakened in every possible way. Marxism and godlessness are forcibly inculcated. The main aim is to break down the inner man; to make him obedient to any orders and to reduce his ideals to those of a robot, blindly approving all the decisions made by the Party and government. The education they receive is designed to deprive people of the pangs of conscience, of painful self-recrimination, it aids them in accepting the crimes of the regime and participating in these crimes.

The inculcation of an inner slave-mentality should be considered the regime's worst crime against the peoples. Far more often, we are troubled by outer manifestations of oppression, illegality, erosion of national and human rights, and we do not always notice this terrible work of destruction.

The nature of the regime gives no grounds for hoping that democratisation and liberalisation will come about, but the subjugated peoples still have sufficient strength and inner independence to form a basis for their liberation.

B. PENSON
V. CHORNOVIL

EVERYDAY LIFE IN A MORDOVIAN CAMP

Dear Friend,

It will soon be a year since I wrote to you about our life under strict-regime. During that time many different events have taken place, which are only possible in the monotony of our existence: humiliation, punishment, hunger strikes, the sad joy of meeting "fresh hands", the joyful sadness of parting with friends who had finished their sentences, and the healing balm of news from the free world outside, which instilled hope . . .

However, I am constantly plagued by the thought as to whether I will succeed while describing daily camp life, in reproducing the specific microclimate of prison which strangles the prisoner every day, every hour, even during relatively peaceful periods and perhaps during these periods it is at its most oppressive. Consequently, I decided to write this letter with my new cell-mate, Vyacheslav Chornovil, a political prisoner from Ukraine. It is possible that his experience in journalism and camp life will help in some way at least to express the inexpressible.

His is the typical fate of a rebellious Ukrainian intellectual, however, I will ask Vyacheslav to introduce himself to you in person.

CHORNOVIL

I am 37 years old. In 1960 I graduated at the University of Kyiv. I then worked in Kyiv and Lviv for the press, radio and television and also spent some time involved in Komsomol affairs. Apart from that I have worked as a literary critic and I completed a thesis on the history of Ukrainian literature. However, since 1965 I have been in the sphere of "interests" of the organs of the KGB. This was in connection with the revitalisation at the beginning of the sixties of Ukrainian literary-social life and my part in a series of protests, especially in the campaign launched on the occasion of the first wave of political arrests in Ukraine in 1965. I prepared two volumes of documents whose material was based on these arrests and trials: "Justice or a Return to Terror" (1966) and "Woe from Wit" (1967). In 1966 I was finally relieved of my post as journalist and expelled from the press altogether. The periods when I was unemployed were followed by

casual work: in a meteorological laboratory expedition, in book advertisement, in a society for the protection of nature, as a navvy, as a weigher at a railway station and so the list continues.

In 1967 I was arrested for the first time and sentenced to 1½ years for compiling the above mentioned volumes. In January 1972 I fell prey to a second KGB round up of Ukrainian intellectuals. They accused me of writing criticisms of a brochure inspired by the KGB: — “What Ivan Dzyuba is fighting for and how”, the aim of which was to persuade the Ukrainian intelligentsia that the nationalities question in the Soviet Union had been ideally handled, and to discredit those who opposed chauvinism.

The charges included my defence of victims of oppression (V. Moroz, N. Strokata, and others) and my possession of literary works, mostly poetry, by a long line of authors. In addition, on the basis of subjective suspicion the KGB tried to implicate me in the publication of the illegal journal “The Ukrainian Herald” which was in circulation between 1970 and 1972. (The celebrated “chekists” failed scandalously in the attempt to learn something about this journal). During the course of the inquiry which lasted 14 months, they repeatedly employed prison-cell provocateurs, intrigue, blackmail and outright psychological terror, putting particular pressure on me by speculating on the fate of my family. A member of a democratic society can hardly imagine what took place in Lviv on 12th April 1973. The court chamber into which they led me secretly through the back door, was empty; there was no lawyer; the bored judge mechanically rejected one after another my pleas for an open trial, the admittance of representatives of the press inside court, the calling of indispensable witnesses and the inclusion of necessary witnesses and so forth; a certain stalinist-type public prosecutor Rudenko, withered and permeated by the smell of naphthalene (in fact the brother of the Attorney General of the USSR) who ignored the details of the case and the confessions of a few witnesses repeats the nonsense of the KGB charges and demands the maximum penalty permitted by statutory law; and finally, the sentence, which wipes out 9 years of life. Nineteen months after my arrest I found myself in a camp in the Ozirny settlement (Zh Kh 385-17A). Officially, camps for political prisoners are under the jurisdiction of the MVD, though in actual fact even here our fate is in the hands of the KGB with the help of their representatives attached to the camp. Then in the autumn of 1973 in order to conceal the piquant details of my “investigation” and “trial”, the KGB drove away from the camp gates my wife and sister, who travelled on separate occasions a distance of 3000 kilometers to visit me. Only at the price of a hunger strike lasting almost a month (December to January 1974) did I managed to obtain permission to see my mother and sister (I was not allowed to see my wife). Also on the orders of the KGB I suffered

constant harassment, not to mention trivial punishments; I was honoured with 43 days and nights in the *SHIZO** during less than a year's stay in Zone 17, and eventually I was trundled off for six months to the *PKT*.* I shall say more about how this was done later, when I talk about the treatment of undesirable persons in the camp.

PENSON

I think that a little should also be said about punishment inflicted upon Vyacheslav in February 1975, before he was transferred to our camp.

But let us be consistent. My previous letter ended with a description of events in Zone 19 (The "Lisova" Zone) at the beginning of 1974.

The following weeks in this zone were rather dull and uneventful, and I shall skip them and start with an event that was joyful for me and all the Jewish prisoners. On 15th June 1974 Anatoly Goldfeld walked out of the Potma camp gates to freedom and his Fatherland. Perhaps it will be worthwhile pausing, however briefly, to say something about the procedure here for releasing political prisoners. Fearing leaks of new information from the camps, especially in the form of written statements, the KGB here implemented a complicated system of dealing with such releases. In many cases, prisoners are unexpectedly transferred to a new place for weeks before their release is due. They are transported either to prisons near their homes, to different zones or sometimes to hospitals. The zek* must give back all the clothing which he wore in the camps and is issued with a new zek uniform in return. All his personal belongings are carefully examined. All self-made suspicious looking articles, including suitcases, are torn to shreds (just in case they contain notes which the KGB fear as much as bombs). Even if a prisoner is not transferred beforehand, he is nevertheless taken to a deportation point a few days before the end of his sentence, after being searched and re-clothed. This deportation point is situated at Potma station in zone Zh Kh 385-18, and all political prisoners on their way to or from Mordovia pass through it.

On 17th June, two days after Goldfeld's release, a hunger strike began in Zone 19. The first to announce his intention of fasting was Kronid Liubarsky, and he was immediately incarcerated in the *SHIZO* so that he might not set "a bad example" to others (usually, in accordance with some secret instruction, this is done on the fourth day of a hunger strike, and in solitary confinement the striker has

*) Penal solitary-confinement cell.

*) Isolation cell.

*) Prisoner.

to perform three days' work and fulfil certain norms: otherwise he is punished).

The hunger strike was initiated as a result of the unfavourable circumstances surrounding our correspondence with relatives and friends, a matter of great pain to us. We have frequently made complaints and statements in connection with this. For example, just before the hunger strike I sent the following declaration:

To the chief administrator of camp Zh Kh 385, comrade Smagin.

"Recently, incidents marked by the disappearance of postal and telegraphic mail sent by me and addressed to me, have become distinctly more frequent. It is only in the last three months that I have not received several letters and telegrams sent to me by my mother and also by my family and friends living in the Soviet Union and abroad.

In this instance I am not counting over all the correspondence which was sent to me and disappeared without trace. During the years of my stay in camp Zh Kh-385 so much of it has accumulated that to reckon it all up you would need to cover more than any one page of this declaration. If need be, I myself and my correspondents will be able to provide exact information according to the matter in hand.

In my opinion you have it in your power to know about all the correspondence which failed to reach me. It is obvious that such a state of affairs contravenes the law. I know for a fact that failure to deliver correspondence is in most cases not the fault of the post, and therefore all the responsibility for this injustice falls only on the shoulders of the administration of camp Zh Kh-385. I think that you have sufficient authority to arrange the delivery of correspondence in compliance with the legal norms. In particular, I request that all the mail previously sent to me which I did not receive, be handed over to me. If this does not happen soon, then quite naturally I will be forced to take the drastic measures which are at the disposal of the prisoner.

30. 5. 75.

B. Penson

However, neither our complaints nor our talks with the command changed the position. From time to time they would announce the confiscation of some letter or other, without thereby giving the name of the sender nor the reason for the confiscation.

"On the basis of order 20 of the MVD, b 29^a" — this is all we can satisfy ourselves with. Although, in most cases they secretly confiscate our letters and similiary those letters addressed to us, without any statement whatsoever, that is, they simply steal them. Eventually we lost our patience.

CHORNOVIL

Some interesting developments took place in the PKT and SHIZO after Liubarsky who was on a hunger strike was confined there. Apart from Kronid there were four of us who had been sent to this soul-destroying place. I spent the next fortnight in the SHIZO; in one of the PKT cells the Ukrainian poet Vasyl Stus, who had been arrested in January 1972, was completing a six month sentence; in another cell there was Zoryan Popadyuk from Lviv, who in 1973 had been sentenced to 7 years in labour camps and 5 years exile for taking part in the Ukrainian *Samvydav** and for printing anti-chauvinist leaflets, and an old-looking worker from Volgograd, who had been sentenced to 7 years in labour camps because in 1972 at an American Trade Exhibition in Volgograd he tried to hand to the Americans an appeal in the form of a declaration (about the absence of democracy in the USSR and the necessity in view of this of United States intervention, the intervention of other non-totalitarian states and so forth). Having learnt from Liubarsky the reason for beginning his hunger strike we all joined in. Stus and Popadyuk, aside from the question of correspondence, demanded that a stop be put to my persecution. Liubarsky made the same demand in a supplementary declaration. The reason was that they had locked me away again in the SHIZO for a fortnight — with a break of six days in all — without bringing me out for work, in other words: on hunger keep. Such occurrences are rare. Between the two turns in the punitive isolator there is usually a certain period of time, of longer duration, for the prisoner's recuperation. In my statement I pointed out that in the first half of 1974 six of the twelve registered letters sent by my family disappeared, although every letter passed through the camp censorship and its dispatch was authenticated by postal receipt. Stus and Popadyuk gave similar examples.

PENSON

And so events rebounded unpleasantly on the administration and the KGB, the more so, since the outside world learnt of the hunger strike. On 20th June the collaborators (of the KGB) appeared in the camp zone; nevertheless the hunger strike continued. In the morning of the day in question I made a statement in which I noted that no steps were being taken with regard to my previous statement — and this compels me to declare a hunger strike. During the dinner hour I was summoned to the staff headquarters, to the commandant's "study". As it happened, lieutenant-colonel Drotenko (now a colonel) the commander of the KGB station in Yavas (he assumed this position shortly before the events described) wished to make my acquaintance.

— "Well then, Boris Solomonovich, how's life? How are you feeling?"

*) Underground self-published material.

How's the food? Of course, this isn't a holiday resort. So you've decided to follow suit with Liubarsky and fast? It's no use. You're making too much of the post. There are people who deal with this business, they decide and the letters are their responsibility. I don't need your letters. Why have you declared a hunger strike now of all times? The letters are just an excuse! A devious disturbance before Nixon's visit, but he won't help you. You'll be kicking yourselves!"

CHORNOVIL

Later a large group of the command appeared in the SHIZO and began to exhort us. They promised me that they would look into my complaints to the camp administration and declared that they would terminate my punishment (I still had seven days to spend in the SHIZO) and that on the next morning they would transport me away again to Ozirny. They also showered the other cells liberally with promises, trying to discharge the atmosphere of the surroundings at any price. However, for the present no one gave up their hunger strike, not even Popadyuk who suffered from hypertonia and who had a severe attack during the fasting.

On the next day they actually released me from the SHIZO and sent me to the camp zone. But there, of course, no one even had any intention of complying with my grievances. (I demanded the repeal of illegally imposed penalties and the cessation of the terrorisation of political prisoners by certain 'activists' from among former policemen and fascist chastisers) — and I again refused to go out for work. I expected to be sent to the PKT or to Vladimir Prison as punishment for such 'stubbornness', but the days went by and no one bothered me. I was summoned before the chief of the district, Captain Dezhurov, who told me that the President of the United States had already gone, that my "relaxation" was therefore coming to an end and that they were putting me in the PKT for six months.

PENSON

Meanwhile, in Zone 19 events were developing on a large scale. On 21st June Azernikov and Pashnin joined the hunger strikers, and on 22nd June as a token of support for our claims, Komarov (a former officer in the Soviet army who escaped abroad and then voluntarily returned, whereupon he received ten years in the camps) announced a one-day hunger strike.

CHORNOVIL

Camps for political prisoners differ from the customary zone camp in that here they do not even adhere to the relative objectivity which is displayed towards criminals. I arrive at this conclusion from personal experience, because I spent my first term in the customary

zone in spite of the political accusations against me. In the political camps one can keep to the rules of the regime perfectly and never leave the SHIZO. They had introduced a law here: for every action of protest particularly for collective action, the people taking part must be punished on any conceivable pretext. They do not indicate the real reasons for the punishment in their decrees, though in open "conversation" the representatives of the administration are frank to the point of cynicism.

In November 1973 a certain Captain Tartashov of the political corps of Zh Kh-385 administration lectured me as follows: "Chornovil, believe me, all your complaints about the administration are useless and will only do you harm. So, you like to rely on laws. But you're a state criminal, you oppose the Soviet land and therefore no laws extend to you. If for example war breaks out then you and your like can be transported to some forest and shot there. It's about time you realised that you're in a special situation and that in every action regarding you the KGB are behind the backs of the authorities. You were deprived of visits on the orders of the KGB. If there is another order then you will receive permission for visits even tomorrow, regardless of the decision to the contrary. By the way, I am telling you this so that you'll understand your real position. So, don't get any thoughts about relying on my words".

Sometimes those people who sign penal decrees are outspoken. Thus, in connection with the declaration of the hunger strike on 10th December 1973 I was summoned to an interview on 14th December by the entire camp council headed by the commander of the 17th settlement Captain Akmayev, during which a threat was made to send me to the SHIZO.

"For what reason?" I asked out of interest. "I'm not violating the regime — as for the hunger strike — that is my right".

"If we want to find a reason, we'll find one!" came the reply, and the chief of the operations' corps, first lieutenant Pavlov, elaborated: "And if need be I'll report you ten times in three days time".

And this he did in fact do. Exactly three days later I was sent to the SHIZO for 15 days, where I greeted my birthday and the new year, 1974, while in the penal decree it said that I did not salute Pavlov and did not wear a name tab on my clothing.

Here is another example. On 9th May 1974 a group of political prisoners of Zone 17 (Graur, Glezer, Kaminsky, Korenblit, Petrov, Kuzyukin, Volonkin, Rode, Pashilis, Vilchauskas, Mykytko, myself and others) directed to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR an appeal, demanding that we be kept separate from the war-time criminals — the former policemen and members of punishment squads (and thereby made the proviso that we did not have in mind participants of national movements during the war and in the first years after, because we regarded them as political prisoners).

Our petitions were provoked by the fact that the administration of

Zone 17 endowed the fraternity of former policemen with special rights. While in other zones such 'activists' collaborate with the administration mainly by providing secret information, behaving to outward appearances quite genially, here they had gone as far as openly baiting political prisoners.

A certain Prykmeta, a former KaPo in a German concentration camp, though he was now a team leader in a Soviet concentration camp, wrote denunciations which even without official verification became the basis of punishment. Or, there was the former fascist policeman Lynkin, today a member of the camp "collective Soviet", who openly spied upon political prisoners and wrote down conversations he heard in a notebook. Here is a significant episode: during the Arab-Israeli October War, he rejoiced at the victorious radio broadcasts, describing them as follows: "Why am I in prison? But I also killed Jews!" At the end of April 1974 this 'activist' yelling: "We'll be in command here, not you!" began a fight with the political prisoner Lichutin. As a result, Lichutin was thrown into the SHIZO for a fortnight, and Lynkin received encouragement in the decree on 1st May.

We were angered by the cynical order of the leader of the settlement on 9th May. In honour of the victory over fascism he rewarded only the former fascist collaborators, 15 persons, with thanks, permission to make purchases in the camp shop, and have messages and meetings. One of us joked: "The administration had made its only correct decision. If there hadn't been any enemies — there wouldn't have been a victory".

In one of my declarations to the prosecutor's office I wrote the following on the occasion of a similar event: "It would do no harm, in fact, to analyse the reasons for such a touching understanding between the administration of the MVD units and the former guards (shutzmann) and punishment officers of the special brigades (Sonderkommando). Is this a result of the latter's adaptation to circumstances and their inveterate readiness for service during the baiting of prisoners, or, do there exist certain general socio-psychological roots of behaviour?"

Our appeals of 9th May to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR were delayed and the authors summoned one by one to the commandant's study, where an officer of the KGB also sat in, and threatened us with punishment. Prohibitions of purchases, messages and meetings rained down and later Petrov and Rode were sent to the SHIZO for a fortnight. On 24th May my turn came. It came to light that Prykmeta had reported on me several times. When, during morning roll-call Akmayev read out the order according to which I was to be sent to the SHIZO for a fortnight, I tried to show resentment, Akmayev said jubilantly in reply: "Oh, that's all nonsense written in the order. I'm not punishing you for that, but because you organise various campaigns and to this end you wanted to contact Zone 19".

PENSON

Penalties are fabricated in almost the same fashion as in Zone 19. You can always sense when something is being prepared for you. The patrols begin to nag, searches are frequent, you are followed more closely. Revenge for the June hunger strike began with your unfortunate correspondent. In the course of three days three reports were compiled: "due to the breach of regulations on clothing — he appeared outside in slippers, and there was no name tag on one of his work jackets (apropos of this, these tags are a relatively recent innovation, they will probably be followed by concentration camp numbers as "in the good old days").

Each one of these reports was a pretext for punishment: a one month ban on buying provisions, the next visit prohibited and finally, a fortnight in the SHIZO. It is difficult for the 'uninitiated' to imagine what a penal solitary confinement cell looks like. I will familiarise you first of all with the official documents: the fifth clause of extracts from "The Regulations of Correctional Labour Institutions". These regulations were proclaimed by order no. 20 of the MVD of the USSR on 14th January 1972. Their task was to "elucidate", though in reality to make more brutal the regulations of "The Correctional Labour Code". The authors of these regulations laid no claim to general popularity for they secured their opus with the following touch: "Don't spread it beyond the unit boundary".

I quote the article of the regulation about incarceration in a penal solitary confinement cell (in prison it is referred to as the lock-up room, and for the underage — the disciplinary solitary confinement cell which, moreover, does not change the essential purpose of this institution):

"The prisoner is forbidden to take with him into the penal or disciplinary isolation cell or lock-up room, any foodstuffs and personal belongings in his possession and used by him, apart from a towel, soap, tooth powder and tooth brush. During the prisoner's sojourn in the penal or disciplinary isolation cell or lock-up room, the towel, soap, tooth powder and tooth brush belonging to the prisoner will be kept in a special place and issued at toilet periods...

Prisoners are subject to random searches, they change into clothing outside the penal isolation cell.

In the penal or disciplinary isolation cell and in the lock-up rooms the prisoners will be kept under lock and key. They forfeit the right of visits, receipt of parcels, messages and printed matter, the right to buy foodstuffs and articles of first aid, and the right to send letters. They are not allowed to smoke. Such prisoners are not entitled to the guaranteed minimum wage, they are forbidden the right to receive an extra sum of money for overfulfilment of the output norm or for the exemplary completion of set tasks and they shall not receive extra food.

... All degrees of punishment anticipated in correctional labour legislation will apply to those parties who violate the regime in the penal or disciplinary isolation cells or in the lock-up rooms. Early release from penal or disciplinary isolation cells or lock-up rooms with the exception of cases where this is necessary on medical grounds, is not allowed.

Prisoners staying in penal isolation cells shall be issued with outer clothing (overcoat, pea-jacket, sheepskin coat) only when leaving for work... They shall not be issued with bed-linen and are not permitted to come out for walks...

The accommodation of prisoners in disciplinary isolation cells will take place only if it is medically substantiated that it is possible to retain them in these isolation cells taking into consideration their state of health.

... Those prisoners who are in lock-up rooms will not be issued with warm outer clothing. They shall not receive bed-linen and are not permitted to come outside for walks”.

Certain features of the SHIZO have not been reflected in this text. For example, terms in the SHIZO are fixed either with or without the prisoner being led out for work. In the former instance the prisoner receives daily hot food, although of inferior quality. In the latter case half a bowl of separately prepared *balanda** without fat, is given to the prisoner once every two days at dinner time; for the rest of the time he goes without food, receiving 400 grammes of bread every 24 hours and water. This state of affairs lasts for half a month, sometimes a month and longer, and causes dreadful harm to a person's health, and can therefore be regarded as a manifestation of legal genocide.

It is well worth noting such enticements of a stay in the SHIZO not reflected by the official documents, as cold, filth and the absence of a toilet. You are led out to it for a few minutes only once every twenty four hours and during the remainder of the time you have to use the most ancient invention of prisoners in Russia — “the *Parasha*”.* In Zone 19 it takes the form of a rusty, bent tub which cannot be shut tightly and sometimes leaks. However, you cannot open the pilot window, and all the same you freeze in the cold rags which they hand out instead of your own clothes. According to an order written down somewhere (it does not appear in quoted regulations), the temperature inside the SHIZO should not fall below 16 degrees centigrade. This is how they interpret the order here: the temperature should not rise above 17 degrees centigrade. The room is damp and cold, in winter it is heated once every two or three days and in the cold days of autumn and spring there is no heat at all. The plank beds which are opened out only at night time, are bare and made of uneven ill-suited boards with cracks.

*) A type of prison soup.

*) Slop bucket.

The regulations provide for a medical examination before incarceration in an isolation cell only for those underage and are not concerned about the state of health of adults. Even such people who suffer from serious chronic illnesses are sent to the SHIZO; for example, Stus and Liubarsky both with severe types of stomach ulcer and Chornovil with the aggravation of a disease of the hand.

And what kind of "medical aid" is provided for those locked up in the SHIZO I will show by the case of Israel Salmanson, who in August 1974 received 14 days for "violating dress regulations" (they discovered a white tennis shirt under his camp jacket). For the sake of accuracy I will express (in narrative form) Israel's complaint to the public prosecutor on 30th August 1974. Israel writes that between 16th and 30th August during his stay in the isolation cell there was a sharp drop in the temperature and it was impossible to sleep in the SHIZO without outer clothing and bedding. Undoubtedly the temperature was below 16 degrees, although those on patrol (Frolkin and Kucherov) refused to measure it and Terekhin also on patrol even turned on the ventilator in the work-room on purpose. As a result of the cold and the draft Salmanson fell ill and his temperature rose. Nevertheless, they did not release him from the SHIZO nor did they issue him with bedding and even forced him to work on the first day of his illness when his temperature was 37.7 degrees centigrade. The only "medical" treatment consisted in the provision of a pea-jacket at night. On the third day the nurse "cured" the illness in quite an original way. She put a thermometer on his shoulder and told him to hold it there by bowing his head. After five minutes of this measuring the thermometer read 35.9 degrees centigrade, the nurse declared that Salmonson was fit and immediately the pea-jacket was taken away from him. Fortunately, twenty four hours later his term in the SHIZO came to an end otherwise the result of "medical care" might have turned out to be pitiful. Israel received a reply to his complaint from the public prosecutor in control of cases of deprivation of liberty in the Mordovian ASSR, Fofanov: "It has been established by investigation that there was no violation of regulations while Salmanson was kept in the SHIZO".

CHORNOVIL

Such is the fate of 99% of our complaints to the Prosecutor's Office and to the administrative organs. No one looks at them, there is absolutely no doubt about that, and replies are composed according to several patterns. Strange things happen, when bored bureaucrats are sometimes too lazy to even read a complaint attentively and send absurd replies.

In November 1973 in connection with the illegal ban on meeting *my sister* I received a reply which stated that this prohibition was lawful, since our marriage was not yet registered and therefore she

was no wife of mine. Prosecutor Novikov of Yavas recalled that I had once written about a ban on meeting my wife, and decided without paying attention to what I had written, that I was writing about the same matter.

In the summer of 1974 I received an even more curious reply from Prosecutor Fofanov after which I wrote a declaration to him and to the Prosecutor's Office of the RSFSR, which ended thus: *"Your comical reply, which bears no relevance to my complaint, attests to the fact that you are not competent to supervise the affairs of corrective labour institutions, as you are incapable of understanding the contents of complaints sent to you or even of composing a reply in compliance with the rules of formal logic. Therefore, before the Prosecutor's Office of the RSFSR I put to question your incompatibility with the position which you hold and the advantageousness of transferring you to another job where you will be of more profit to society, for example, in the sphere of material production"*.

This kind of declaration had an effect on the representative of the usually thick-skinned tribe of prosecutors. He immediately came to the PKT of zone 19 and after a five-minute talk with me made the following diagnosis: *"For some reason you talk quickly and excitedly. You'll definitely have to be sent to a psychiatrist for examination"*. A mention of the well-known fact that healthy people are being sent to psychiatric hospitals, makes this "allusion" appear more than transparent, and calculated to kill my desire to make further complaints about the stupidity of the prosecutors.

PENSON

At the end of July 1974 in Mordovia an active shake-up of political prisoners began. I was still in the SHIZO when Azernikov was dispatched to zone 3, which had the reputation of being a godforsaken place. Boris' term was coming to an end and I already had no hope of seeing him. However, upon freeing me from the isolation cell, the duty-officer announced that in the morning I was to report to the guardroom with my belongings — I was going to be transported. It is always difficult to part company with friends, twice as difficult in camp. On August 9th came the traditional farewell: tea and the send-off to the guardroom. It was a bitter experience parting with Kronid Liubarsky, a wonderful person, whom I was fortunate enough to meet and become friends with here. While saying our good-byes we did not suspect that a difficult path had been prepared for Kronid. A month later he was transported to zone 17, to Ozirny, where he had to resort to a ten-day hunger strike, since he was not allowed to take books to the zone. In due course the hunger strike was supported by Ilya Glezer (Associate in Biological Science and former lecturer at Moscow State University, sentenced to 3 years in a labour camp and 3 years exile, accused of disseminating Zionist propaganda) and

Yaromyr Mykytko (former student of the Lviv Forestry Institute, sentenced in conjunction with Popadyuk to 5 years). The KGB colonel Drotenko after arriving in zone 17, promised to transfer Liubarsky to another zone where he would receive medical aid. Indeed, in the second half of October in accordance with a court judgement Kronid was in fact dispatched to Vladimir Prison until the end of his sentence.

CHORNOVIL

It is well worth saying a few words about the so-called "court" which decides the transfer of prisoners from camp to prison. Here there are not even the vestiges of that formal legality for the sake of the public eye which existed at the very first conviction. Usually this is how it takes place. They order the prisoner to prepare for transportation without announcing where he will be dispatched. They lead him out of the camp and conduct him to the first administrative building by the camp where the judge reads out the sentence to the political prisoner who until then had been ignorant of the matter. He is not allowed to utter a single word in connection with the accusations of violating camp regime which have been raised against him. Any kind of defence, legal aid and so forth are out of the question. Liubarsky was "sentenced" in a similar fashion.

In the Autumn of 1974 the KGB carried out yet another series of shake-ups. The political prisoners Kaminsky and Korenblit were transferred from zone 17 to zone 19, Babych was dispatched to zone 3 from zone 19. In October they transported to Ukraine for "operative work" in the KGB prisons a group of Ukrainians — I. Hel', and M. Osadchy from strict regime zones, N. Strokata from a women's zone and myself from the PKT of zone 19. Not one of these numerous displacements can be regarded in any way as accidental. From my talk with Drotenko in September I concluded that the KGB knew of the intention to declare the 30th October for the first time as the Day of the Political Prisoner in the Soviet Union, and were doing their utmost to tone down or prevent this action.

PENSON

As a result of such KGB strategy I was being trundled about on August 9th in a voronka over "Russian hillocks" all the way to Yavas. Ridding over uneven trackless forest terrain in an iron box is not a pleasant experience. Unfortunately however, for us it is a common occurrence. That is how they take people from Ozirny and Lisovo to hospital, that is how they transport the punished to Lisovo, since zones 3 and 17 are microzones without their own solitary-confinement cells.

CHORNOVIL

Sometimes this road becomes a road of death. In 1972 Kalyu, an Estonian, died while travelling over the hollows of the forest tracks. He was being taken back to Ozirny, a healthy man, after an operation. For 20 kilometres in 1974, they jolted Yeroshov, weakened by a blood clot, over the potholes, as a result of which he died in hospital without regaining consciousness. There were some prisoners (Kaznovsky in zone 17 for example) who, seriously ill, were terrified of these roads and refused categorically to travel to hospital. Formerly the political zones of Mordovia had been situated on branch-lines of the railway. The fact that they have been buried in the forest jungles is not only a method of isolating them further from the outside world but is also an additional means of cruel treatment of prisoners and their relations who come to visit them.

PENSON

I managed to get through the journey to "no. 3" with only a few bruises and presently after being thoroughly searched by the guards (at halting points this is an unavoidable oft-repeated procedure), I was released into zone 3, greeted by the smiles of Azernikov and Salmanson.

However, I have not given a full description of "zone 3", since it consists of separate sections, cordoned off from each other, and includes: living quarters (section 1), the main hospital "Dubrovlag" the section for criminals and political prisoners (section 4) and finally our zone (section 5). In all there are about a thousand prisoners in zone 3 (including the sick); and the guard-patrols and soldiers number 205 men.

The most salient feature of "no. 3" is the central hospital administration, which undoubtedly deserves a special mention. I would like to invite Vasyl Stus to do this. He was forced to visit the camp hospital more than once because of serious illness.

STUS

The camp hospital is quite a strange institution. Its *raison d'être* lies in the need to combine KGB brutality with the professional duties of the doctors. It is not very easy to link these concepts. Many a doctor is heard to repeat: "First I am a chekhist, then a doctor. "However, no KGB officer will say: "First I am a doctor, then a..." "You should be shot not cured!" shouts the wife of Zampolit Samsanov who was enlisted as a member of the medical personnel. Normally she could have been punished for such a phrase since it is improper to divulge secret information.. The main hospital "Dubrovlag" has surgical, therapeutic, and false denture units, and special buildings for the mentally ill, and for patients suffering from tuberculosis and

Botkin's disease. There is also a physiotherapy clinic and x-ray department. However, all this is mere property, made to look deliberately extensive in order to hide the laconic truth: that the main hospital building is a mortuary. Every week it admits one or sometimes two to three corpses. During the course of 1974, 68 bodies were taken to the mortuary. It is not surprising then that the attention of the patients and medical personnel is focused on this very place. Once a week a whole medical consultation team visits the mortuary — this is the only opportunity to see that there are in all ten doctors in the hospital. And the living envy the dead (who don't receive the attention which the former do). A zek who finds himself in hospital is usually examined only once, when he is first admitted. A patient is prescribed the minimum amount of medicine or none at all. He then spends the three to four week term lying in bed, during which time the patient should recover. If his condition does not improve, so much the worse for him.

P. Yakovliv lay ill in hospital for four weeks. He was suffering from heart trouble, stomach pain and a neglected thrombophlebite. They did not give him any medicine and he couldn't even arrange a consultation with the surgeon. When he was discharged, certified healthy, he couldn't move to another place without help; they brought him to the train in a cart and two months later brought him back to the hospital, this time in order to amputate his arms and legs. He died on the operating table. This is how they treat many people.

Hypertonia is just about the most widespread disease in camp. Apoplexy, blood clots, palsy — how often zeks suffer from them in the zone, and it is only after they fall ill that they are taken to hospital for treatment. Extreme delay in hospitalisation has been the cause of more than one death. M. Shestov and I. Kozlovsky died in this way and the monk M. V. Yershov who spent over 40 years in socialist camps.

There are few permanent inhabitants of the hospital. They are deaf, blind, legless, paralysed little old men on the point of death, reminiscent of the apparitions in Dante's infernal realms. N. Yukhnovets is legless, a victim of the doctor's criminal negligence: they began to operate on him only when it was impossible to avoid amputation. There is P. Huhalo who is insane, and I. Zakharchenko, sunk in senile marasmus, who still has 6-8 years of his sentence left. They are kept under lock and key like madmen or animals; they are still alive but have long been dead. Nevertheless, they remain "above all, dangerous criminals of the State", victims of the automaton brutality of so-called justice.

To a person finding himself inside the therapeutic department for the first time, the spectacle is horrific. For it is always dirty there, there is filth from the toilets, and the slop bucket from the living

quarters of the half-dead old men. The washroom reminds you of a toilet. There is a patient on duty in every section who works for the operative group and the KGB. These are zek orderlies who have lost all human appearance. At every opportunity they disturb the patients and steal from them. Particularly loathsome amongst them are the policemen Davhavietis and Chmara, state informers, parasites who live off other peoples' misfortunes. From time to time KGB men make an appearance in the building to designate those who can be discharged and those who may be retained. Their opinion is the most authoritative, for they are the better camp doctors and they treat the sick. Their medicine is death.

You cannot walk round the camp dispensary in silence. Even in the hospital the most indispensable medicaments are usually unavailable. They stuff the frequently ill with tablets whose age of applicability has long passed.

For the last 2½ years I do not know of an instance where there has been Vicalin in the hospital. Instead they issue patients suffering from stomach ulcers with "more effective agents" — novocaine, belyahin and anesthesin. Since these drugs are of no help. On many occasions I have insisted that I could obtain medicines that were not in stock from my family or I could buy them at my own expense. However, both of these alternatives are prohibited by a secret circular "law". In connection with this I wrote to the Ministry for the Protection of Health, but received no answer. The Soviet Red Cross informs me that aid to political prisoners in the Soviet Union does not come under their auspices. You see, they are only concerned with the Chile question and earthquakes in Pakistan.

An important part of the TBD system (The Central Hospital Dubrovlag) is the 12th building, the special psychiatric unit for criminals where occasionally political prisoners are sent — in most cases — usually healthy ones. Ogartsov was thrown in there after finishing his term in prison (Vladimir Prison) at the end of 1973, the pilot Alhild-Zhipre was also there, and towards the end of 1974 the Muscovite Vladimir Balakhonov and the political prisoner Kalinichenko were sent there. A. Romanov stayed in this building after he had thrown himself on the fence seeking final release from his suffering.

It must be said that in camp conditions death has lost all tragic quality, it has become an everyday fact. They display kindness to the dead: recently they have even resorted to issuing them with free uniforms, socks and plimsolls; formerly they buried them naked. It is the last opportunity of showing vigilant care, even as regards the deceased.

Usually not everyone is capable of staying in this space between life and death. Some (particularly the policemen) quickly slide down the endless slope of spiritual decline losing their last human characteristics; others unfortunately even certain amongst those who were

arrested in the 1970's,* repent and begin to collaborate with the KGB (for instance the "Marxists" O. Senin and V. Belokhov); and still others go mad after not withstanding the suffering. At the very beginning of 1973 a Latvian partisan, Sviklans, stuck a sharpened point into his heart; after failing to withstand the difficult conditions of the lock-up room Kozlovsky hung himself in the SHIZO of zone 19. Recently, cases of suicide have become more frequent, and the authorities are taking steps towards depriving the zek of the last possibility of freeing himself from suffering and at the same time to take away the final illusion of personal freedom, and it must be said, that this decision is not the last one by far in a series of others. Nevertheless, a person will survive while this last choice exists for him.

It seems that one of the functions of the hospital is to ensure a quiet death for the prisoner, away from the zone and his friends. Here in the hospital each patient dies quietly almost invariably face to face with himself. Death without witnesses is the best kind of death for a zek, his final duty.

PENSON

In the fifth section where I was driven there are in all 50-60 prisoners, the pitiful remnants of the once large contingent which belonged to the first section. In 1972 the big political zones in Mordovia — that is zone 3 and zone 17, were wound up by order no. 014 of the HUITU (The Chief Administration of corrective-labour establishments). A considerable number of political prisoners were transferred to the Northern Ural Region (Perm Oblast) and those who remained in Mordovia were distributed over three small zones — the fifth section of zone 3, section 17A and the somewhat larger 19th section. In addition female political prisoners were left in Mordovia and a strict regime camp.

CHORNOVIL

You can also see in this the KGB strategy: the desire to disperse the active part of the political prisoners throughout the dwarf zones, to prevent mass departures and to limit ties with freedom as much as possible.

PENSON

The fifth section left me with an impression of oppressiveness. Most of the inmates are little old men from the Baltic (the most active amongst the older zeks are members of the OUN movement in Ukraine, who were mostly driven out to the Ural Region) who

*) "Semydesyatnyky".

have been imprisoned for 15 to 20 years or more. Some were imprisoned for wartime activities",* others "for their part in insurgent activities".* All of them are greyhaired, withered human beings, mentally exhausted people, mostly cripples, many of whom are suffering from eczema. They hardly move and mumble things to themselves. From time to time the dead or dying are taken to the hospital. It is a horrible, pitiful spectacle — a real theatre of the absurd: you came across such people in zone 19, but a conglomeration of them in one place turned out to be absurd and uncivilized. "The youth" (a relative concept which encompasses people who are by no means young), unfortunately, were few in number. I will try to give a short introduction about it. Our group consisted of three people. But already in September Boris Azernikov had been sent to the PKT until the end of his term, and Israel and myself were left on our own. The reason for Azernikov's punishment was the fact that he had been ill and had a temperature, but they would not give him leave from work.

At first there were also three Ukrainians from Kyiv, the poet Vasyl Stus, Vasyl Lisovy — Associate in Philosophy, and Volodymyr Roketsky — student at the Faculty of Law at the University. Later Roketsky was unexpectedly sent to the Urals, V. Lisovy to the PKT and on February 19 this year Vyacheslav was transferred to our camp. They were all arrested in 1972 during the campaign of repressions in Ukraine. The charges were of the same nature: literary works, possession of literature prohibited by the censor and protests against repressions. The terms of the Ukrainians, taking into account the article of the Legal Code and the nature of the charges, were extremely severe: from 5 to 7 years plus exile.

CHORNOVIL

Yes, certainly, while crushing dissidence they pay particular attention to Ukraine, according to the well established tradition.

I would like to a certain extent to add to what Boris has said, in particular to what he said about Lisovy. They "took" us in January, and him six months later in peculiar circumstances.

On 5th July Lisovy, in his capacity as a member of the CPSU, sent an appeal to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, in connection with our arrests, and by July 6th he was feasting his eyes on the bars of the prison of the republican KGB.

At present Vasyl is in a very difficult predicament because the camp administration has refused to grant him effective medical treatment. Vasyl refused to turn out for work and after being incarcerated several times in the SHIZO, in January 1975 he was sentenced to 5 months in PKT. There he was also forced to boycott work, since he

*) "Za viynu" **) "Za lis".

was not given the books which he had taken with him (this is another manifestation of the hatred of "reading" and "writing" which we were always aware of). They keep Lisovy on a reduced diet even compared with PKT standards. He has twice been transferred to the SHIZO, each time for 15 days. The state of V. Lisovy's health shows cause for the greatest concern (he is suffering from a liver ailment and a bowel complaint). In protest against the physical destruction of Lisovy, a group of political prisoners in zone 19 declared a hunger strike in February of this year in solidarity with him. Clearly, this hunger strike coincided with the recent reshuffle of political prisoners and in particular with the transfer to zone 17 from zone 19 of Z. Popadyuk and various others who took part in the hunger strike.

PENSON

The Lithuanians here from the latest "batch" are Rimantas Chekyalis a very young man, whom I mentioned in my last letter, who had previously been in zone 19 and a sixty year old doctor, Izydor Rudaitis, who was arrested in March 1973 and sentenced to a three year term for the dissemination of documents relating to the circumstances of the occupation of Lithuania in 1940. In the same case Vidas Pavilionis a young chemical engineer who was transferred from here to zone 19 in December 1974, received two years. From among those repressed in Latvia in recent years the following were sent to zone three: Feliks Nikmantis, a student at the University of Riga, who was sentenced to three years in 1972 for issuing leaflets containing "anti-chauvinist themes", and together with him, Petro Ozolinsh an established writer. In 1973 Voldemar Kuziks, a worker in a VEF plant who was arrested under-age for distributing leaflets and for hanging up a national flag, was sentenced to three years imprisonment. He had already been in the SHIZO a few times and had spent six months in PKT.

Apart from another two or three prisoners, those are all the "juniors", or according to different daily usage, all the "semi-desyatniki" (those arrested in the seventies), (viz., article 70 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR — "anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation"), whom I found after arriving in "number three".

CHORNOVIL

I think we ought to mention the Armenians who arrived recently; Paryura Ayrikian and Azat Arshakian, who were sentenced as members of the underground National United Party which has existed in Armenia since 1966 and whose aim is the creation of an independent Armenian state within its natural boundaries (recently a slogan has been propagated in Armenia calling for the passing of a referendum concerning this matter). Ayrikian is 26 years old and has already spent four years here in Mordovia. After spending only a few

months at liberty he was again sentenced in 1974 to seven years in labour camps and three years in exile. Ayrikian was charged because of the letters which he had sent home via the censorship during his first penal term, the declarations to members of the government delivered during the inquest, the request to have the portrait of Lenin removed from the court chamber, and finally because "with the aim of spreading scandalous information about the Soviet Union, in 1967 he sent a copy of his sentence abroad, asking for it to be published there. "This is an eloquent acknowledgement of the fact that fabricated charges and judgements are in themselves compromising material".

Nearly a month after Paryura, in January of this year Azat Arshakian, 25 years old, came to zone three from Armenia. He had been sentenced to seven years in camps and three years exile. He was sentenced because since 1967 he had been a member of the NOP*, and in time became one of the leaders in a branch of the organisation. The activities of this group consisted of: anti-chauvinist inscriptions in streets and on the walls of buildings, the printing and distribution of over 10,000 leaflets and other publications of the NOP, and the burning in the centre of Yerevan of Lenin's portrait as a sign of protest against political arrests and trials. It must be said that in the conditions of a closed society, whose self-appointed leaders try to present the world with an image of "the moral and political unity of the Soviet People", concealed from their own community and those abroad there exist opposition groups within the USSR. Therefore the degree of repression serves as perhaps the only real indication of the range of opposition movements in this and other republics. Today one can speak realistically of such a movement in Ukraine (in 1972-1973 there were almost 40 political trials and several incarcerations of healthy people in mental asylums), in Armenia (11 trials took place in 1973-74), in Lithuania (no less than 10 trials have been staged in recent years), less in Latvia. It has now become known that arrests have been made in Estonia. The following members of the Estonian National Front are now under judicial examination: Kiyrenets Mati Alfred, Myatik Kalo Yanovich, Varato Arvo Gunnar and others. Due to individual public appearances and membership of various groups (adhering chiefly to general democratic lines) several dozen Russians have been sentenced in recent years. In connection with a certain liberalization of restrictions on the exit of Jews from the USSR, prisoners of Jewish nationality have ceased to come to the political camps of Mordovia (the last one was Ilyya Gleser).*

As is evident, even in our "microzone" there are at the moment representatives of many national movements which exist in the Soviet Union.

*) NOP — National United Party.

*) After the trial of Ilyya Gleser which took place in 1972, arrests were made in the USSR of Jews, who were fighting for the right to leave for Israel: their names are familiar in the West. However, after being sentenced for political motives, they spend their prison terms in criminal and not political camps.

PENSON

The problems here are nevertheless identical to those in the big zones. I was convinced of this in the summer of 1974, since from the first days of my time in "number three", I took part in the conflict between the prisoners and the administration which was caused by the intolerable living conditions there. Here is a short description of the conditions: food was exceptionally bad; the camp stall was completely bare and functioned when it had to, paying no attention to the schedule which was pinned up; the doctors did not make appearances, the nurse was rarely on duty; bed-linen was filthy, old and torn camp beds; and no complaints or declarations were permitted.

I shall dwell in more detail on the question of camp food in general.

Norm no. 1 of the daily ration of a prisoner in the ITK MVD USSR (for one prisoner).

1. Bread made from rye or wheat flour — 650 g.
2. Second-grade wheatmeal — 10 g.
3. Meal — 110 g.
4. Macaroni products — 20 g.
5. Meat — 50 g.
6. Fish — 85 g.
7. Fat — 10 g.
8. Vegetable oil — 15 g.
9. Sugar — 20 g.
10. Natural tea or artificial coffee — 1.5 g.
11. Salt — 25 g.
12. Potato — 450 g.
13. Fruit — 200 g.
14. Tomato paste — 5 g.
15. Bay leaf — 0.1 g.
16. State soap — 200 g. (every month for toilet purposes.)

For many years I was content with such food and I can recommend it: it was rare that the bread was sufficient, usually it comprised of a piece of clay-like matter; frozen fish boiled in its juices three or four times per week; meat is non-existent — as a rule instead of this they serve up at dinner a piece of boiled fat weighing 20 g; there are no potatoes, at better times a few pieces in a so-called broth — without the taste of slops of meal; throughout the whole year fruit is replaced by sauerkraut which is served as cabbage soup or is stewed; buckwheat, wheat chaff, sometimes millet, and most often unsifted oats with chaff.

An approximate daily menu:

Breakfast — wheat broth.

Lunch — cabbage soup (Russian "shchi") made from sauerkraut, oat porridge and boiled fat — about 20 g.

Dinner — fish soup.

or:

Breakfast — oat-porridge.

Lunch — an acid soup made from meal, salted cucumber, sometimes a little potato, wheat porridge and boiled fat — about 20 g.

Dinner — pearl-barley and fish — about 40 g.

There is no need to talk about the quality of flavour in such food since what flavour can there be in rotten, low-grade products?

The state of our other source of food supply, the camp stall, is no better. After order no. 20 MVD USSR of 14th January 1972 was issued, a list of foodstuffs was drawn up, which the prisoner has the right to buy in camp stalls: bread and bread rolls; herring; tinned food (fish, fruit, vegetables); fatty foods (vegetable oil, cream butter, margarine); cheese, sweets, confectionery, jam; natural tea; onion and garlic; tobacco products (cigars, cigarettes, makhorka*).

Indeed, there are one or two varieties of caramel in the camp shop, a few brands of tinned fish, peas, margarine (often stale), confectionery, tea (usually of poor quality and in bricks), makhorka, "Dymok" cigarettes and matches. As for the other products named, during the eight months of my stay in "number three", only two or three times were grey bread, cheese and onion brought into camp. We received the following reply to our demand that the established list of products be kept to: "Order no. 20 provides for only a limited maximum however, the administration can decide on the minimum itself", that is, it can reduce it to just makhorka.

All that remains to be said is that every month we can spend on purchasing foodstuffs up to five roubles, earned in the ITK (not, however, sent from home). For overfulfilment of the production plan, respecting the regime and attending political lectures, the administration can sanction the purchase of two more roubles worth of food. For violation of regime the administration can on the contrary ban the purchase of food, which happens quite frequently. It is only in the second half of his term that the political prisoners can receive per year, one food parcel weighing 5 kilograms. Obviously, this kind of parcel is often symbolic in character, although even this does not prevent the administration in the form of punishment "for violation" of the regime, from depriving the prisoner of this very symbol of paternal care.

CHORNOVIL

A few more words about camp provisions. In connection with the absence of vitamins in the food, many zeks in spring and summer go out to "pasture", preparing "salads" from grasses which grow in the zone — yarrow, orach, and other kinds. Some zeks sow parsley and fennel among the flowers that grow in the squalid camp flower-beds.

*) A kind of tobacco.

Then the guard tramples the flowers with his boots and does "the weeding".

In the Spring of 1973 officers were engaged in this activity — in zone 17, Captain Dezhurov, a section chief and Senior Lieutenant Zinenko. Later, however, they noticed that Lyassal Kaminsky continued to feed his "kibbutz" on some kind of shrubs. Agents revealed that they were eating nasturtiums. The prisoners witnessed "an operational council". "The nasturtiums must be pulled up immediately" said Zinenko showing initiative, "but nasturtiums are only flowers . . . So when the Jews start chewing poplar leaves what will we do then — cut down the poplars?" The nasturtia were spared..

It remains to be said that the receipt of vitamins from home in the next parcel or bundle allowed through is strictly prohibited in camp.

PENSON

"Training" by hunger is the chief weapon in the arsenal of methods of working on camp inmates. Annoyed at this the political prisoners of zone three began in July 1974 to demand that an inspector from the Prosecutor's office come to the zone and there and then investigate the food, medical care, the dispatching of complaints and so forth. However, the administration held back the declaration to the Prosecutor's office. Indignation grew.

The final instigation came when maggots began to appear in the food. On 19th August eight prisoners refused to go to work, and on 20th August they declared a hunger-strike demanding the arrival of the prosecutor. On the same day Mishutin, deputy chairman of the administration, arrived in camp. He received and listened to each one of us, made some personal notes, stirred the balanda which we refused to eat, with a spoon, smelled it, and promised that he would order the food to be improved, and would meet our demands as far as possible. In view of this we concluded our hunger-strike. After Mishutin's departure the camp commandant Major Shorin, punished each one of us for not turning out for work, and prohibited some from visiting the camp shop while denying others the right to receive visits. However, the next day all those who were arrested were issued with new blankets and sheets, more goods were taken to the camp stall and after a time the balanda improved.

CHORNOVIL

By some coincidence indignation at the food which was served flared up in zone 17 on the same day. The food was bad in "number three", and the shop not much better. In the second half of August in Ozirny, maggots were also found in the food for several days in a row, which the complaints committee itself had to acknowledge. Nevertheless, even after the investigation the maggots reappeared. At this point the prisoners refused to turn out for work, which

resulted in repressions. I learned of the events in zone 17 while I was serving time in PKT for they brought the leaders of the strike Petrov and Graur to the SHIZO to do fourteen days. While demanding the release of their friends from the SHIZO several political prisoners of zone 17 (Kaminsky, Korenblit, Gleser, Mykytko, Rode, and others) boycotted work duty and also ended up in the SHIZO, and Rode was locked in PKT for three months. Usually, in such cases for a week or two after an outburst of protest the food would improve somewhat, but would then always revert gradually to its former condition.

PENSON

But there were happy times too, the central of these being, as is the custom, the unexpected release of Silvia Salmanson which we received with joy and hope. Silvia's brother Israel learned of her release after us because at that time he was in the SHIZO, where they were teaching the sick man a new way of taking a temperature.

... After the reshuffles and a period of some quiet, on 30th October, 1974, we celebrated "our day" for the first time: the Day of the Soviet Political Prisoner. Nine prisoners — Stus, Lisovy, Nikmanis, Kuziks, Pavillionis, Rudaitis, Masalkis, Salmanson and myself, composed a declaration of protest and declared a hunger-strike. I sent a declaration separately to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR:

"Today on the 30th of October, on the Day of the Soviet Political Prisoner, I protest on account of the fact that for five years now I have been a prisoner for the sole reason that I, a Jew, want to get out of the Soviet Union and go to Israel my homeland.

I protest against the conditions which Soviet political prisoners are kept in, and which degrade human dignity.

Punishment in the form of hunger, detention rooms, over-strenuous physical labour, absence of proper medical care, the prohibition of reading, creative activity, and spiritual impoverishment, are all part and parcel of the constant practice by which political prisoners are treated.

I demand, in accordance with the General Declaration of Human Rights, that this be brought to a close. Today in accordance with the above mentioned, I declare a hunger-strike as a sign of protest".

CHORNOVIL

As is now known the Day of the Political Prisoner was celebrated in all the political camps of Mordovia and Perm, including the special regime camps. The women, apart from sending petitions and declaring hungerstrikes, also refused to come out for work. In revenge they put N. Svitlychna, I. Kalynets and S. Shabatura in the SHIZO and at the beginning of 1975, S. Shabatura and N. Strokata were locked in PKT.

PENSON

In November 1974 a remarkable incident, (in my opinion) happened to I. Salmanson, which is reflected in his declaration to the General Prosecutor of the USSR.

“On 12th November this year ITK-3 Zh Kh-385 was visited by Novikov, deputy prosecutor of this establishment, for the investigation of complaints made by myself and my brother Samuel Salmanson who lives in Riga, in connection with the cruel treatment of me by the ITK administration, including my incarceration in the SHIZO when I was sick.

However, as far as I am concerned, the aim of Novikov's visit was not to ascertain the circumstances of my complaints, but to try and frighten me with the possibility of being sent to a psychiatric hospital if I continued to complain about the activities of the ITK administration. In order to make this point more conclusive he brought with him a psychiatric doctor, Kokarev, who works in the ITL system. Kokarev declared that in his opinion I was suffering from a persecution complex, because my complaints about the activities of the administration were groundless.

I have no intention in this declaration of trying to prove that I am not suffering from such a complex. I think that to illustrate the prejudice shown towards me by the administration, it suffices simply to say that only in the course of the last six months, thanks to the intervention of the governors of Zh Kh 385, four penalties, imposed upon me by the authorities of ITK number three, were annulled. I must point out that three of those penalties were imposed in the presence and with the sanction of Novikov — a government official whose responsibility it is to supervise the preservation of legality. The question arises as to what kind of delusions the camp administration and prosecutor Novikov are suffering from that they penalise me so frequently and without pretext?

All else apart, this gives the impression that Novikov is providing anti-Soviet propaganda with another pretext for confirming that in this country psychologically completely sound people, are being sent to psychiatric hospitals because of their views. Possibly the latter does not enter the sphere of your direct competence, however, I hope you will not remain indifferent to this matter.

I appeal to you to take steps in order to put an immediate stop to similar practices of blackmail and intimidation. I also ask you not to transmit my declaration to the lower channels so that it does not fall into the hands of Novikov himself”.

Certain other political prisoners also sent protest declarations against blackmail, quoting similar examples.

CHORNOVIL

I have already mentioned the fact that prosecutor Fofanov even diagnosed me without the help of a psychiatrist. Many people are threatened with a term in a psychiatric hospital. Before 30th October the Mordovian camps had partly rid themselves of potential participants in the hunger strike, and I met Ninia Strokata on the way to Moscow in a "Stolypin" carriage (the preservation by a nation of old prison terminology is also loyalty to "character and custom"). Like me they were also taking her to Ukraine "for prophylactic treatment", as usual without saying to which part you were being sent. Nina was certain that they were taking her to the Serbsky Institute, of ill repute, since they had promised many times to send her to a psychiatric hospital for her frequent speeches in camp.

PENSON

We concluded 1974 by celebrating two dates. On 10th December, on Human Right's Day according to our tradition we sent our petitions.

The second date, 24th December, (the anniversary of our sentence), we celebrated in reduced numbers. Salmanson and I as usual declared a hunger-strike in protest.

CHORNOVIL

And so 1975 fell upon the Russian plains. The rotary presses threw out millions of newspapers with the New Year address about socialist democracy, the world order, and new successes in the field of labour... As the clocks struck midnight goblets were raised and toasts proposed. And on the islands of Gulag Archipelago quiet and bliss ruled. In the heavy air of the barracks (the norm was two square metres per person) the zeks, exhausted by work, slept as heavily. Someone groaned in his sleep, chased by monsters. The winter wind swayed the lamps above the "fence", rescuing from the darkness the barbed wire, decorated by snow-flakes. The guards in their towers called out mournfully to one another. Meanwhile, at the "spy-hole" of a prison cell in Lviv, where I welcomed the New Year, there appeared from time to time the guard's watchful eye. Everything was conducted in that monotonous deadening rhythm, developed during the course of decades, to which quick-witted politicians have fitted the pretty euphemism: "loyalty to the character and customs of the nation".

PENSON

Yes, captivity does not bring the joys of variety. This year in the zone began like the others. In the barrack corners we drank Christmas tea (the irreplaceable companion of all camp celebrations); then, on

12th January according to the new tradition the Ukrainians marked the third anniversary of the pogroms in Ukraine. Along the same uneven roads they drove Lisov to the PKT on 17th January and Salmanson to the SHIZO on 24th January.

Nevertheless, the monotony was invariably broken from time to time by the flights of fantasy of the camp command. Salmanson was summoned to the guardhouse with all his belongings. This is how they gather people only when they are to be sent to another zone, and we said our good-byes. However, after a careful search his belongings were kept in the guardhouse and Israel, in the clothes in which he stood, was sent to the SHIZO for seven days. It was revealed that they had decided to inspect all of Salmanson's belongings in this way.

This is just the place to recall what property the Soviet zek possesses. The only items of civilian clothing which can be taken into the zones are underwear (even womens' underwear is state property), socks, scarf and plimsolls. The remaining articles of clothing — a clumsily sown grey cotton uniform — is issued in the zones and its cost worked out. In addition you are allowed to have only writing paper, envelopes, letters, photographs and no more than five books. Apart from the customary desire to place restrictions on the prisoner in all spheres, the authorities aim to give the zeks a high level of mobility; they have to assemble quickly by the "voronka" and pack tightly into the chambers. For these very reasons no more than 50 kilogram's worth of belongings per zek are allowed.

Nevertheless, during his many years of captivity the zek adds to his weight of property. The old prisoners who have been in prison for several decades or who become puerile (there are a considerable number of these), or who remember the misery of the post-war years, collect worn clothes and all kinds of useless junk for the time of their release.

CHORNOVIL

And our friend the political prisoner broadens his collection of books. Earlier a prisoner's family or friends could send literature which he needed. However, the new savage corrective-labour code of 1969 introduced discriminatory restrictions: books can only be obtained by way of the "book-posting" system. However, the shops send literature to the camps very reluctantly; the majority of orders are not met and therefore it is impossible to select the necessary literature for purposeful study. Publications printed abroad and distributed officially throughout the USSR are not allowed in the camps; even books which are published in Eastern Europe are under suspicion. Such restrictions strike vicious blows against writers, scientists, and artists sent to the camps. Lately, the use not only of paints but also of crayons has been prohibited. Stefania Shabatura (until her arrest a member of the Soviet Artist's Union) was finally

given the opportunity to make only small sketches for future works (tapestries), at the price of hunger-strikes, refusal to work, and numerous spells in the SHIZO. Illya Gleser of zone 17 was deprived of his crayons and album of sketches. Polish periodicals issued in 1975 which were ordered for me by my family and allowed in the USSR are confiscated without reimbursement. Literature written in incomprehensible languages (that is in any language except Russian) our not very literate "tutors" find particularly irritating.

PENSON

When Israel returned from the SHIZO they refused to give back his books. It needed a great effort to secure their return. This, amongst other things, in fact led to the declaration on March 1st of a hunger-strike, during which Salmanson protested against the discriminatory restrictions on the receipt of literature in general and particularly literature written in a native tongue.

The next collective action in "number three" was connected with the arrival here of Vyacheslav. In Lviv he was kept illegally in a KGB investigation prison for almost four months. According to the corrective-labour code they have the right to transfer us for a limited period to the solitary confinement cells of investigation prisons only for questioning as witnesses, not however, for some kind of "operative work". Nevertheless, the KGB often disobeys this law hoping that under lock and key the prisoner will become more talkative (that is to say, that upon his return to the zone he will agree to inform on his friends). Only in recent years have the following spent time in the prisons of the Mordovia KGB: M. Korenblit, L. Kaminsky, Dymshyts, Babayan, L. Lukyanenko, and many others including myself. They transport people even further — to Ukraine and the Baltic region. Our protests against such illegal transfers to a prison regime are left ignored. While in the KGB prison, Vyacheslav declared a hunger-strike demanding an inquiry into the charges fabricated against him, and the registration of his marriage which did in fact exist, so that he might be given the opportunity to see his wife. All this and also other similar cases are represented in the declaration of Vasył Stus.

"TO THE PRESIDIUM OF THE SUPREME SOVIET OF THE USSR FROM THE REPRESSED UKRAINIAN WRITER V. STUS"

"I hereby express my utmost indignation at the criminal deeds of Ukrainian KGB agents who have come to the point of animal revenge on the repressed Ukrainian writers.

As is known, Shumenko a KGB agent in Lviv, during a conversation with the Ukrainian writer M. Osadchy illegally taken from camp to a KGB isolation prison, threatened him for his intractability with

all sorts of unpleasant surprises which could happen to a prisoner on his return to camp.

The promises of the KGB agent were fulfilled by criminals. When, at the beginning of January this year Osadchy was thrown into a deportation prison in Potma, two criminals Belmesov and Hotsuliak who shared the same cell robbed him there and later brutally beat him. For four days they viciously set about Osadchy, carrying out the directive of the Lviv KGB, and the prison authorities did not notice this, although Osadchy lay unconscious.

An even more scandalous incident befell the Ukrainian journalist V. Chornovil. On the fifth day of his hunger strike which he began on the 6th February in the KGB isolation prison in Lviv, a KGB patrol together with MVD soldiers burst into his cell and took him away for transportation. Faint with hunger Chornovil refused to undertake the journey referring to the appropriate legislation. Then his escorts took hold of him, handcuffed his arms, pushed a bung in his mouth and after dragging him half-naked along the prison corridors, threw him, his forehead cut open, into the cage of a prison vehicle where he lost consciousness. After coming round Chornovil asked for his clothes to be given to him, all he heard in reply was foul language. He was kept in such a condition in the frosty cage of the vehicle for several hours, and then, after taking him to the station they led him in just his underwear, barefoot over the snow to a closed wagon. And only at this point did they throw him his clothes.

Similar physical punishment is already becoming an institution.

Two years ago Valentyn Moroz (now in Vladimir Prison), the well-known historian, was seriously wounded. The Ukrainians, Lupynis, Kovhar, Plakhotniuk, Ruban and Plyusch repressed in 1972 are still in the distressful conditions of a special psychiatric hospital. The former inmates of Vladimir Prison, Krasivsky and Terelya have been flung into the same kind of hospital.

The condition of the Ukrainian philosopher V. Lisovy, is causing great concern. Initially he was reduced to a state of nervous exhaustion and then thrown from a zone into a solitary confinement cell where they are keeping him on hunger rations. Also in PKT are the artist Shabatura and the microbiologist Nina Strokata.

Without making an exaggeration, I declare that from similar punishment outright murder is only one step away.

It must be said that the democratic movement of no other people in the Soviet Union has suffered such barbarity. Similar Stalinist — Beria type traditions are stronger in Ukraine than anywhere else in the USSR.

I demand that an end be put to KGB high-handedness and that the guilty parties be brought to justice as criminals.

March 3rd 1975.

Additions can be made to V. Stus's description; Vyacheslav was transported during the course of eight days, when he was transferred between three deportation prisons, (Kharkiv, Ruzayivka, and Potma) on hunger strike, which he did not break until the thirteenth day, having already arrived in the zone

If a healthy person after undergoing the difficult conditions of transportation talked about them in horror, then one can imagine what a person sick and weakened by hunger had to suffer. Apart from Stus, other political prisoners in our zone wrote protests in connection with the cruel treatment of Chornovil.

CHORNOVIL

To tell the truth I find nothing extraordinary about the behaviour of the Lviv KGB. Infuriated at me because of the hunger strike, they unintentionally let loose, and showed their true colours. This sadistic experiment became the impulse towards final "self-determination".

TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE PRESIDUM OF THE SUPREME SOVIET OF THE USSR, CITIZEN N.V. PODGORNYY

A Declaration

Over the last ten years my status in Soviet Society has been conditioned not by my education, capabilities or aspirations, but by the dictates of the KGB. For trying to possess my own opinions about a range of questions relating to Soviet life and because I express them frankly they have deprived me of everything; the possibility of work according to my profession, of publishing my works, of the inviolability of my personal life, protection against slander, and finally they have taken my freedom away for many years.

The organs of repression have assigned to me (as they have assigned to a group of individuals from amidst the Ukrainian intelligentsia) a role concocted by them — of (actual) proof that there is truth in the dubious theory about the strengthening of the ideological war and ideological diversions in a period of detente in international relations (this theory can be considered as the present variant of the stalinist thesis about the intensification of the class struggle by drawing close to communism — the creative platform of the mass repressions during the 30's and 40's).

In fabricating my "case" the KGB not only applied an utterly fantastic interpretation of the real facts, but also did not even stop at a complete fabrication of a large part of the "accusation". The Prosecutor and the court during the "examination" of my case turned out to be obedient tools in the hands of the KGB, confirming once again the arbitrariness of Soviet laws and that it is impossible to rely on them. My arrest and conviction were accompanied by the

bullying of my family and close friends, even the children, which still continues.

According to present conditions in Ukraine the blacklisting of my name means that I have become a victim of KGB repressions for life if I refuse to become a moral degenerate, and that possibility is not for me.

Therefore, there are no guarantees that after my term of imprisonment ends, the KGB will not fabricate another "case" and throw me behind barbed wire for a third time.

Therefore, there are no guarantees that they will not pronounce me insane (there have already been similar threats) and send me for life to "ward six" as they have done with M. Plakhotniuk, V. Ruban, and other Ukrainians.

Therefore, there are no guarantees that to square accounts with me they will not throw someone close to me behind bars, since attempts have already been made to do this to my wife and sister.

Finally, therefore, there are no guarantees that I will not be physically annihilated or deliberately maimed. Nevertheless, only through these intentions can one explain the scene of ferocious sadism displayed by the Lviv KGB on February 11th this year, when they not only took me away for a prolonged period of gruesome transportation in a condition that precluded transportation, but also subjected me to physical torture: handcuffed me when I was in a weak condition after a hunger strike and sick, and afterwards kept me for over three hours naked and in my bare feet in the frost.

Not wishing to be an eternal victim of the KGB and vegetate in conditions in which elementary social rights and even my life are in constant jeopardy, I ask the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet to relieve me of my Soviet citizenship and after my release to allow me the opportunity to leave the USSR. Taking into account present precedents, I am not against a final release and lifelong exile from the USSR.

In addition to this, not wishing to break my spiritual bonds with my homeland, without which I cannot conceive myself existing, in the case of an official change in my citizenship, I shall continue to regard myself also as a citizen of Ukraine, where I will return at a time when Ukrainian patriotism ceases to be regarded as a crime and is exempted from KGB guardianship.

Whatever your reply is, from the moment when I composed this declaration, that is from the 1st March 1975, I have ceased to regard myself as a citizen of the USSR. Until a time at which any democratic country in the world confers citizenship upon me (directly or in absentia) I shall regard myself as a person without official citizenship with all the consequences that ensue from this decision.

I have sent a copy of this declaration, for information, to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR".

V. Chornovil.

March 1st 1975.

At the same time I sent a declaration to the Chief Prosecutors' Office, in which I informed them that as from March 1st: "I regard myself as a person who is being forcefully kept in the USSR", and also declared that: "I refuse to have any contact with the KGB whatsoever (conversations and so forth), for I regard the KGB as an amoral anti-social organisation".

Shortly after, I received a summons from the KGB representative in the zone, lieutenant Zuyka. The KGB agent made the following comment on my refusal to speak to him: "People have come to me before refusing to speak, but I told them something that made them start talking straight away. It will be the same in your case". "The future will show how this threat will be realised. Meanwhile, I approached the Canadian Government requesting them to bestow Canadian citizenship upon me and to petition for my release and departure from the USSR. The petition was addressed to the Canadian Embassy in Moscow, although I am certain that the authorities did not send it there.

PENSON

The month of March in our corner of the world was very eventful. On March 8th in connection with International Women's Year, we held a hunger strike in solidarity with the women political prisoners in the USSR. Those who took part were Ayrikian, Arshakian, Salmanson, Kuziks, Stus, Chornovil, and myself also. In addition, Paryur and Azat declared that they would refuse camp breakfast for the whole term of imprisonment of the Armenian patriot Anait Karape-tian. Vyacheslav began the same kind of semi-hunger strike (refusal of camp breakfast) from March 8th to the end of 1975, demanding the release of the Ukrainian women political prisoners: Iryna Kaly-nets, Nina Svitlychna, Iryna Senyk, Nina Strokata, and Stephania Shabatura. A few more prisoners, although they did not go on hunger strike, also sent protest petitions to various instances, in particular to the "Nikolaeva-Tereshkova" Committee of Soviet Women. Such events took place in other zones in Mordovia. This is evident from the appeal signed by a group of political prisoners from all the Mordovian Camps for men:

AN APPEAL FROM THE POLITICAL PRISONERS OF MORDOVIA TO THE SOVIET COMMITTEE FOR THE MARKING OF INTERNATIONAL WOMENS' YEAR, AND TO THE UNITED NATIONS HUMAN RIGHTS COMMITTEE.

"By the decision of the United Nations, 1975 was declared as Womens' Year. In connection with this we must express the sad fact that the Soviet Union is one of the few countries in the world where there are still women political prisoners. Many of

them are in the neighbouring camp Zh Kh 385/3-4 (Mordovian ASSR, Tenhushivsky Region, Barashevo settlement). Among the few dozen prisoners in this camp there are women, repressed for their religious beliefs, a few women who became victims of mass repression in Ukraine in 1972 have prison terms of 15 and even 25 years. Some women sentenced for political activities are also in the camp zones, among criminals (for instance, Anait Karape-tian from Armenia, Aleshkyavite from Lithuania and others).

An imprisoned woman, is always a tragic figure and a vivid reproach of society whatever she has been sentenced for. However, it is an absurd anachronism in our time to sentence mothers, wives, or fiancées for their convictions: for writing a few poems, for reading literature prohibited by the censor, for conversations with acquaintances, and for appearances in defence of others who have been arrested. Certain totalitarian regimes would not even dare act in a similar fashion, however, these are the very acts of which most of the prisoners in camp 385/3-4 are "guilty". We draw your attention also to the conditions in which women political prisoners live in the USSR. Exiled thousands of kilometres from their homeland, boring exhausting work, cultural, national, and linguistic discrimination, the absence of adequate medical care, severe restrictions on contacts with their families (even of mothers with their infants), periodic disciplinary punishment — these are the essential details in the every-day lives of the unfortunate women prisoners. Even the Jubilee Womens' Year is celebrated in its own particular way: with periodic incarceration in the lockup rooms of the political prisoners: N. Svitlychna, I. Kalynets, N. Strokata, S. Shabatura, and others for defending their rights and protesting against the arbitrariness of the administration and the KGB. Stefania Shabatura, until her arrest a member of the Soviet Artist's Union and the microbiological scientist Nina Strokata were in addition put (the former for six months the latter for three months) in the PKT (a cell-like room) for prolonged hunger, cold and the degradation of female dignity.

For your information, today, when International Womens' Year is being celebrated, we the male political prisoners, are commencing a campaign of solidarity with women-political prisoners in the USSR, including political hunger strikes, petitions to Soviet and international bodies and other measures. In particular, we declare a political solidarity hunger strike on the day of the opening of the International Womens' Congress. We call upon you to support our demands for the immediate release of all women political prisoners in the Soviet camps and prisons, and to give those who wish, the opportunity without hindrance, to leave the USSR with their families, in order to avoid further persecution".

AYRIKIAN, ARSHAKIAN, BOLONKIN, VILCHAUSKAS, HEL, GRAUR, HIMPUTAS, DOLISHNY, I. SALMANSON, ZOHRABYAN, KAMINSKY, KARAVANSKY, KVETSKO, KORENBLIT, KUZIKS, KUZNETSOV, KURCHYK, LISOVY, MAKOVYCHUK, MARKOSIAN, MATVIYUK, MYKYTKO, MURZHENKO, NIKMANIS, OVSIENKO, OSADCHY, PASHKIN, PETROV, POPADYUK, POLIAITIS, PENSON, RODE ROMANYUK, RUDAITIS, SARANCHUK, SARTAKOV, SIMUKAITIS, STUS, TOVMASIAN, FEDORIV, HEIFITZ, CHEKIALIS, CHORNOVIL, SHUMUK.

8th March 1975.

PENSON

The situation of female prisoners is linked with the declaration of Svyatoslav Karavansky, who travelling from a strict regime camp to hospital, met his wife by chance on her way back from PKT.

TO THE FIRST SECRETARY OF THE PROVINCIAL COMMITTEE OF THE CPSU.

"While being transported from Sosnivka station to Barashevo station, I met on the way my wife N. Strokata, who was going there from Yavas station, where she had been in the camp prison. I hardly recognised her, she had changed so much during the three months she spent in PKT. My wife has grown terribly thin and has lost her voice, without mentioning that constant bullying has left its mark on her.

For what reason was my wife locked in the camp gaol for three months? For boycotting work? Is that such a terrible crime? After spending 2½ years in Sosnivka camp (settlement 385/1-6) I observed the kind of measures they use against criminal prisoners who refuse to turn out for work. Prisoner Kostikov in the 2 years of his stay in Sosnivka camp has not once been at work. My wife has killed no one, crippled no one, nor has she fried anyone over a fire. Perhaps this in itself incites against her the hatred and fury of the camp personnel?

My wife has 8 months to serve before her release, after which she should continue her job. Why is the administration making ardent efforts to bring about the situation that she leaves camp an invalid, incapable of bringing benefit to society? In fact, the same kind of cruel treatment which my wife has been exposed to is also being inflicted on a member of the Union of Artists in the USSR, Stefania Shabatura, who was put in the camp gaol for six months for boycotting forced labour.

Seeing that the moral responsibility for all the crimes in 'Dubrovlag' falls on the leadership of the Regional Committee, I turn to you with the request that an end be put to the mockery of a citizen of the USSR, who has worked honestly for 20 years for the benefit of society, and has now refused to carry out forced labour not in line with her profession.

Since I regard procrastination in this matter as intolerable, I ask you to inform me of your decision as quickly as possible, for further bullying of my wife will force me to take unusual steps, as far as to renounce the citizenship of a country in which a person can be persecuted for boycotting forced labour not in line with her profession, which contradicts "The International Pact on Social and Economic Rights. "Such facts are all the more outrageous, since all this cruelty to women is taking place in International Womens' Year".

April 6th 1975.

S. I. Karavansky.

CHORNOVIL

A few days went by after the hunger strike of 8th March, and again — "an unusual event" took place which roused us to protest, both verbally (to the administration) and in written form (to higher bodies). Here is one such declaration, which illustrates what took place.

TO THE PROSECUTOR OF THE MORDOVIAN ASSR.

"On 17th March this year the political prisoner Arshakian was expecting a meeting with his wife. He informed the administration of the settlement of this, however, with no consideration for anything on 16th March (please note, this was a Sunday). Repairs began unexpectedly in the visiting rooms. Arshakian's wife waited in Barashov for three days and after receiving a refusal because of repair work, on 19th March she returned to Armenia, several thousand kilometres away. As the section chief Aleksandrov told Arshakian soon after, she begged them to grant her at least a two hour short-term meeting, however, even this plea was rejected.

Characteristically, on 19th March the prisoner A. F. Skibchik was transferred from our section to the second section of the third colony, to enable him to have a long-term (three-day) meeting.

And so, what was impossible for Arshakian turned out to be entirely possible for Skibchik. This is undisguised cruelty and lawlessness. It is not enough to bring us here from Armenia, they injure our families also.

It is significant that directly after Arshakian's wife had left, on 20th March the 'repairs' were completed.

There is no doubt as to who staged this performance and for whom.

With this declaration, I express my protest, and demand the punishment of the guilty parties, the payment to Arshakian's wife of all her expenses and permission for a meeting, established by law.

To stop chauvinistic cruelty I also demand the transfer of Armenian political prisoners to Armenian territory".

March 24th 1975.

A. Ayrikian.

The KGB functionaries, the real initiators of the cruel treatment of Arshakian and his wife (poor Karine will remember International Womens' Year), act according to monotonous methods. In November 1973, after learning of the coming arrival of my sister, on the day before she came they also began "repairs" in the visiting rooms, and sent my sister away emptyhanded. However, there left at the same time as her the relatives of one of the more 'active' members of the camp police, who arrived late (later they apologised to him and were given six hours visiting time instead of three hours as determined by law).

For here in the 'number three camp', they have decided not to offend the 'activists', which has cast a particularly cynical light on the situation.

PENSON

We had to issue yet another series of petitions at the end of March in connection with the 'treatment' of Vasyl Stus, who was seriously ill (he was suffering from an acute stomach ulcer). In the medical centre of our zone and in the hospital where they were forced to put Stus, there are not the most widely used drugs. Consequently, the doctor allowed Stus to receive them (vicalin and others) from home. However, when the parcel arrived the operative section interfered and did not issue Stus with the drugs, and the frightened doctor began to disclaim his permission. In our declarations to the medical division of the administration we recalled that Stus was sentenced to five years deprivation of liberty, not to death by slow extermination; we drew attention to the absence in the hospital of the administration and in the camp, of even such medicines which every more important village infirmary possesses, and we protested against the therapeutic methods of the KGB . . .

CHORNOVIL

The low morning sun peeping in through the barrack windows casts the long shadows of the fence and towers on the walls and on the faces of the sleeping prisoners. The high-pitched ring of the bell and another day begins in camp. We fall into fives for morning roll-call. As the guard, confused by his calculations, begins from the beginning, your eyes wander over the sorrowful grey crowd of spiritually spent, and physically half-dead little old men. Over their heads your gaze meets a long line of educational slogans that have long since ceased to be interesting: "Prisoners! Do good to people, and they will be good to you!" "To every prisoner the productivity of a leader!" And the capricious laws of association recall the memory of familiar facts from films and books: "Jedem das Seine", "Arbeit macht Frei" "Dismiss!" the command interrupts your thoughts and the mass sprawls along for the morning ladle of liquid known as broth, and then plunges into the deafening rattle of sewing machines and the useless minutiae of everyday cruelly limited life.

PENSON

But then, has this simple chronology of everyday life in camp exhausted you, distant friend? All the more so, since today this Archipelago is no longer terra incognita to the interested reader. Nevertheless, we hope that you will discover in our letter new facts and details, new examples for the illustration of well-known truths to which some amongst you lulled by the lullabies of proficient propaganda, are trying to close your eyes.

CHORNOVIL

And don't think that we wanted to frighten your imagination with selected horrors. Sasha Romanov's desperate leap on the barbed-wire in spring 1974, the cruel treatment which I received in February this year, the tortures already known to the world, which fell to the lot of Valentyn Moroz in Vladimir Prison — these are only extracts, atavistic displays. To carry out everyday, barbaric brutality, it is necessary to hate the victims, which the predecessors of our "tutors" did. The camp administration today and the KGB do not like us, because we cause them trouble (not like it was in the days of the old shutzman!)* However, I will not go so far as to declare, that they hate us, it is most probable, that they treat us with official indifference. They don't understand though, that there are many like us "at liberty" (or as we say "in the big zone"), that we are only the sacrifices of a campaign, people for percentages. In the same way, and for the creation for the sake of the public eye, of active "educa-

*) "Shutzman" — name for German concentration camp police.

tion" — they punish us from time to time, or make concessions to us in small matters — that is, they "encourage" us. Sometimes in the acts of the KGB and the administration there is even a sense of uncertainty and compromise, called forth by internal and perhaps even external causes. It is not always convenient to talk about Chile or Spain and to tighten the screws in your own Mordovian, Vladimir, and Perm "reserves" for dissidents.

However, the once neglected machine, having lost its components and becoming deformed, nevertheless continues to move forward, powered by "the style of inertia", burning up human misfortune instead of fuel. How much longer?!

1975

B. Penson.
V. Chornovil.

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Vyacheslav CHORNOVIL

TO THE MILITARY PROSECUTOR OF THE SUB-CARPATHIAN MILITARY DISTRICT

DECLARATION

(CONCLUSION)

After receiving this declaration officer Boyechko made no reply and did not deny the facts which had been distorted due to disinformation. Moreover, he did not include in my case this document which exposes him. This was done in fact by the court in response to my pleas. (Case Vol. 15 p. 73-74, 116).

5. On 18th April 1972 I submitted a declaration to the investigator in connection with the false announcement of Kasiv's arrest. This provocation has already been described above. By way of confirmation I quote several parts of the declaration written after the latest trail of provocation: "As I was informed, M. Kasiv, a scientific research worker had recently been arrested. He had been accused of possessing samvydav documents and apparently having somehow been connected with an issue of the illegal journal "The Ukrainian Herald".

"... I assume the possibility of my unintentional guilt in the fact that at Kasiv's house they found certain papers which supposedly compromised him. In recent months since I did not have a fixed abode and lived and worked at various peoples' homes, I sometimes left (or even forgot) papers there. I stayed with M. Kasiv and might by chance have left some papers there. Therefore please acquaint me with the materials confiscated from Kasiv. If some of them turn out to be mine, then I agree to acknowledge the fact.

In submitting this declaration I have lost the assurance that my explanations will have a positive effect on M. Kasiv's fate..."

Devising the Kasiv provocation, the investigator as usual, was not expecting this kind of "testimony". He therefore hushed up the question of Kasiv's "arrest", and then told me about Kasiv's "release". He did not include in the case the declaration which compromised him.

6. As a result of the psychological pressure on me described above my declaration about my involvement in the publication of the journal "The Ukrainian Herald" appeared on 22nd May 1972. It is clear even from the text of this declaration ("Case" Vol. 2 p. 10-17) that it came

about as a consequence of disinformation and blackmail. I quote the beginning of the declaration:

"During recent weeks I have been told frequently by both the investigator of my case and the chief of the investigation branch of the Lviv UKGB, that on my testimony as regards the publication of the illegal journal "The Ukrainian Herald" depend at present the fate of many people, even my wife and sister who in connection with the unclarified circumstances of the journal's publication might also be held responsible. I am called upon only to announce my personal participation in this publication — and this will guarantee the end of the arrests of people suspected of taking part in the issue of the journal, forestall the incrimination of the people closest to me and even influence the decision on my fate. "Relying upon such guarantees I declare . . . (Vol. 2 p. 10) and so forth.

This declaration also bears other traces of blackmail and ill-intentioned disinformation. Thus, naming all those whom I knew amongst the arrested and stating that all of them had nothing to do with the issuing of the journal, I mention M. Kasiv, who had not in actual fact been arrested, but I do not mention M. Osadchy since I received false information about his release for admitting his faults and agreeing to criticise "bourgeois nationalism" on television and in the press. (Perhaps in this way they were showing me an exemplary behaviour pattern). They even informed me that for such behaviour M. Osadchy was attacked by some "anti-Soviet elements" and ended up in the KGB hospital. Later, to explain somehow the sentencing of Osadchy who had been "released", investigator Boyechko explained to me that Osadchy had been released only on the strength of a written document in connection with his wife's pregnancy and that under the influence of his wife and bad friends he refused to recant, which led to his conviction.

7. In June 1972 after finally coming to a decision on Dubyniak's role and a basic understanding of the character of the provocation directed at me, I wrote the following on 13th June 1972 in a declaration addressed to the chief of the investigation branch: "The inquiry into my case is being deliberately prolonged. The investigations which have been conducted up to the present time could have been done in two to three months. The regime of extreme protracted isolation is in this instance being exploited not for the ascertainment of truth concerning my case, but for psychological experiment with the aim of achieving results outside the scope of the inquiry. This kind of regime during the preliminary investigation (even without any contact whatsoever with my relations) does not only shock the prisoner and level his human dignity, but also gives various irresponsible people extensive opportunities for various provocations with respect to the prisoner, his family and friends". ("Case" Vol. 2 p. 52-53).

8. On 7th July 1972 I wrote a declaration about the partial participation in the inquiry (without answering the majority of questions, particularly those which referred to other people, I still agreed to sign the reports and give explanations of the contents of the literary material confiscated from me). I composed this declaration purposely so that it still contained traces of the false information which the investigator gave me regarding the "change in the situation". I wrote especially: "in connection with the *change in the situation* (the cessation of arrests, the release of many of those under arrest in 1972, the new attitude towards me . . .) I believe that certain points in my declaration of 26th February 1972 on the occasion of the charges brought against me are not strictly in keeping with the *new circumstances* and so forth. Indeed, the situation at that time was only changing for the worse, since trials were beginning where extremely severe sentences were being passed. This document which exposes the passing of disinformation belongs to ("Case" Vol. 2 p. 87).

9. There is a great deal of evidence in the case of the crimes described above, and linked with the detention in August 1972 of my wife and sister: my declaration of 10th August about the announcement of a protest hungerstrike (Vol. 2 p. 116); the additional declaration about the dry hungerstrike of 14th August in connection with the news about my sister (Vol. 2 p. 120-21); the declaration of 17th August about the ending of the hungerstrike (Vol. 2 p. 122); the declaration of 31st August about the illegality of the actions taken against me and my relatives (Vol. 2 p. 127-131). These declaration were written after fresh traces of provocation and vividly highlight the details of this crime committed by investigator Boyechko and others. (There follow detailed quotes from these four declarations, where the character of KGB experimentation is described at length. I omit these quotes in order not to repeat myself — V. C.).

The facts laid out in these four declarations after they had been submitted met with neither answer, objection nor denial. The documents belong to my case and represent the most convincing proof of the criminal nature of the deeds.

10. At an interrogation on 20th October 1972 I pointed out in view of the irregular testimony made by I. Dziuba: "The testimony given by I. Dziuba on the eighth page of the resolution does not reflect the actual circumstances of our conversation". (Case Vol. 3 p. 197).

While referring to I. Dziuba's term of imprisonment I was quoting from the false information given to me in March 1972. Dziuba was actually arrested on 14th April 1972 and during this interrogation had only been in prison for 6 months. However, the investigator did not go into any precise details since this would have ruined the version compiled by him about Dziuba's arrest at the beginning of March, the appeal by the Canadian and Italian communist parties and the decision "above" about our release and so forth.

11. As I have already mentioned in November 1972 investigator Boyechko applied the next round of provocation by false information. He informed me that in connection with my refusal to provide additional information about the journal "The Ukrainian Herald" a series of people had been arrested in Lviv and Kyiv. This false information was reflected in the declaration which I wrote then on 21st November 1972 addressed to the Chief of the KGB Administration. I quote a passage from this declaration: "In the spring of 1972 while talking with me every day for several weeks, the chief of the investigation branch of the Lviv UKGB Major Klymenko attested, that the fate of many people relied on my testimony about the publishing of the illegal publication "The Ukrainian Herald". If I admitted my complicity in this journal and gave just a general description of its publication, he said, the organs of the KGB would not only not arrest any more people suspected of any connection with its distribution, but that such an avowal would have a positive influence on my fate also. At the same time, they did not require me to give the names of other people involved in the publication . . . The fate of the people closest to me, (my sister and wife) were even set at stake . . . That is how my declaration to you on 22nd May 1972 appeared . . . Actually, for a while the talks about arrests stopped . . . However, now they informed me that in Lviv and Kyiv in mid-November several people were arrested who apparently had ties with the publication of "The Ukrainian Herald" . . . With this declaration I want to recall those guarantees which were given to me when I wrote my declaration on 22nd May 1972 ("Case" Vol. 2 p. 293-6).

No denials of the facts set out in this declaration were made as a result.

12. On 3rd January 1973 I gave the investigator a declaration which contained the following words: "a whole year of investigation in conditions of the most extreme isolation has brought me to a state of nervous exhaustion. This was helped by a broad swing in attitude towards me: *from threats to apply article 56 CC USSR (!) to hints about an almost tangible release*". ("Case" Vol. 3 p. 77-79). Neither denials nor any answer at all resulted from this.

13. During the interrogation of 12th January 1973 in my own hand I added the following to the report: "The assertion about my part in the publication and distribution of "The Ukrainian Herald" is groundless. It has only been in my declaration since 22nd May 1972. However, the investigation cannot rely purely on this declaration in connection with the *specific conditions of its appearance*, which I will not write about for the time being, not wishing to compromise the security organs". ("Case" Vol. 3 p. 143-44). These remarks were left unheeded.

14. Finally, on 19th January 1973 I submitted a declaration to the investigator in which I made a complete denial of the forced

“testimony” made in May 1972 and explained in detail the methods by which this “testimony” was extracted from me. I shall not quote the whole declaration since I would have to repeat everything which I have said above, and therefore I ask you when you investigate cit. Boyechko’s crime to acquaint yourself with this declaration without fail. (“Case” Vol. 15 p. 52-58).

This declaration which exposes completely the criminal acts of investigator Boyechko he purposely did not include in my case, without telling me. I learnt that this important document was not in my case until the investigation had ended while I was acquainting myself with the case material. My demand made to the procurator about the addition of the declaration to the case remained unanswered. The document was finally included by the court in answer to my petition. This fuss about my declaration confirms that investigator Boyechko was quite aware of the criminal nature of his actions and tried to cover up the traces.

In this way, even before the end of the investigation, and before I became acquainted with the case material and saw my relations, when I learnt the truth, I mirrored many (although not all) of the instances of deliberate disinformation and blackmail on the part of investigator Boyechko. Investigator Boyechko made no denial of or objection to the facts set out in my declarations, complaints and petitions which also confirms the presence in cit. Boyechko’s actions of criminal intent and makes these investigation documents a serious and tangible source of proof of his guilt.

My case contains a series of indirect evidence of the crime permitted by Boyechko: firstly the regime of extreme isolation imposed on me by the investigator during the course of 13½ months which enabled him to proceed without fear of disclosure, and commit the acts of provocation.

My case-file contains several of my fruitless petitions and declarations concerning the allocation of meetings and correspondence with my relations, and furthermore, the investigator did not include several such documents in my case on purpose.

Moreover, after getting entangled in the false information, the investigator was forced into making partial infringements on legal procedure with the aim of preventing me from contacting people about whom they gave me wrong information. In connection with this absolutely imperative steps in the investigation were not completed. Here are a few examples.

M. Osadchy charged at first in the same case as me, changed the true testimony which had been given earlier to invalid evidence, declaring that I had made the repercussions from my correspondence rebound on him. I objected against Osadchy’s new testimony. According to law, a confrontation was necessary, which investigator Boyechko did not arrange deliberately. It should be noted that I was not summoned

as a witness at Osadchy's trial although my name was mentioned frequently and the defendant himself demanded that I be called, and even his lawyer, on of the number of "specially admitted" persons. However, at a confrontation and in court the extensive false information given to me about Osadchy — that he had been released and was preparing to make representations to the press and television, and was attacked because of this and so on (see above) — would have been prematurely uncovered.

The same applies to Iryna Kalynets charged at first in the same case in fact as Chornovil and others (later, afraid of bringing us together in the courtroom, they split the "case" up and tried everyone separately).

Hoping to help me I. Kalynets took on herself responsibility for the actions which she did not in fact commit. I objected against such selfsacrifice. However, a confrontation was not arranged, and factual lies were written into I. Kalynets's sentence. I was not summoned to the trial as a witness. Such a summons, and confrontation also, would have brought about the exposure of the false information given to me about I. Kalynets: about the fact that she had been released at the end of May 1972 on condition that she signed a form, that she was placed under surveillance only after the trial began and so forth.

Confrontations with I. Dziuba, S. Hnatenko and S. Shabatura, were not arranged. In view of these considerations then they did not employ me as a witness at any of the trials, although my name appeared in almost every sentence. None of the other people arrested during the 1972 campaign (I. Dziuba, I. Svitlychny and others) were subjected to such extreme isolation. This also confirms the artificial creation of circumstances which led to the crime.

Apart from an analysis of direct and indirect evidence which is contained in the material of my investigation, and an interrogatory of A. Dubyniak, the deputy chief of the investigation branch of the Lviv KGB lieutenant-colonel Vanota and the head of the isolation prison lieutenant-colonel Lymbak, who took part in the carrying out of the "psychological experiment" in August 1972, the warders who brought me face to face with my arrested wife, it is imperative to question in the matter of Boyechko's crime the following people also:

O. V. Pashko, my wife (Lviv-14, Nischynsky Street 14, flat 6) and V. M. Chornovil, my sister (Circassian oblast, Zvenyhorod region, the village of Viyevkhivets) — as to the circumstances of their detention in August 1972 and others;

Roman Hayduchok, who was in the same cell as I during the conducting of the "psychological experiment" and helped me on 10th August to recover my normal state after the nervous shock which had temporarily paralysed my hands. He can also corroborate that I spoke to him about the information which I had received from Dubyniak and the investigator; Roman Palahniak (a resident of Drohobych)

who shared a cell with me in October-November 1972 to whom I gave a detailed account of my case and cited almost all the facts from the false information which I had received (about the appeals of the communist parties, the article in the newspaper "*Soviet Education*" and my anticipated release). I told him about the circumstances in which my declaration of 22nd May about my part in the publication of the "*Ukrainian Herald*" was written. If citizens Hayduchok and Palahniak without realising why they are being questioned, avoid giving truthful testimonies, I ask for a confrontation to be arranged with them.

In calling cit. Boyechko to account and deciding on his punishment, such information which characterises his personality is also important.

In view of this I ask for attention to be brought to the absence in cit. Boyechko of sound moral and ethical norms of behaviour: not only the rudimentary decency inherent in every normal person, but also the qualities of absolute necessity for a person occupying his position: respect for legality, society, one's superiors and other widely advertised attributes of the Soviet way of life. In order to achieve certain unimportant results in the inquiry cit. Boyechko (himself or through planted agents) speculated in the authority not only of the oblast and republic leadership (examples are given above), but also abused the authority of the Soviet party press (which apparently printed the announcement that my release was near at hand) and even (odious though it might be !) the authority of other communist parties — in Canada and Italy (which apparently interceded for the release of myself, Dziuba, and others). With particular cynicism, the absence of any ethical boundaries of behaviour and complete contempt for the position of state formally the highest in the USSR, a story was made up about an attempt on the life of the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, M. Podgorny, made supposedly by some friends of an acquaintance of mine in Moscow, P. Yakir.

Turn your attention to yet another circumstance which characterises cit. Boyechko's personality. While conducting the examination of my case cit. Boyechko allowed himself to commit many gross violations against legal regulations, which though not criminally punishable actions, nevertheless together with the obviously criminal deeds uncovered above, adequately characterise cit. Boyechko's personality. I have in mind:

the inclusion in the prosecution's conclusion of obviously unreal and groundless episodes;

the insertion in the case of material which is not related to it, and the deliberate exclusion of documents which made it impossible to compose false charges;

the failure, notwithstanding the 13^{1/2} month inquiry, to complete the absolutely necessary investigatory procedures (questioning, confrontations etc.), which has led to the deliberate disfigurement of the truth;

amendments made later to the interrogation reports or even the falsification of reports;

the deliberate warping in the prosecution's conclusion of my explanations and the testimonies of witnesses;

the blatant tendentiousness in the appraisal of the contents of the works confiscated from me and of my intentions in harbouring them;

the artificial creation of conditions for false examinations and the investigation thereafter of their obviously false conclusions, which even the experts themselves and other denied in court.

These actions of investigator Boyechko which characterise the degree of his professional suitability I do not specify here. You will undoubtedly bring your attention to them while acquainting yourself with the documents of my case. It is important to note this fact also, that the Lviv oblast court, although unable to unwind in the space of four days without summoning the necessary witnesses and the addition of necessary material, everything that investigator Boyechko had wound up in 13^{1/2} months, and could not do this because of the prejudice in my conviction and sentence, nevertheless rejected more than half the prosecution's indictment formulated by investigator Boyechko, and made substantial changes in the remaining episodes (for example, although it did not refute them completely, the court did all the same reject a great deal of false argumentation and minimised the episode about my part in the publication of the journal "The Ukrainian Herald"). The Supreme Court threw out a few more episodes. Thus about one third of the indictment composed by investigator Boyechko remained. Such a large quantity of rejected inquiry documentation gathered at even the most unobjective trials has not graced any similar case under article 62 CC USSR in recent years (see the information and sentences of many trials in vol. 7 of my "case"). This adequately characterises both the professional calibre and the professional integrity of cit. Boyechko and confirms his subjective inclination towards criminal machinations.

The commentary to article 175 CC USSR points out, that the motives for criminal actions, foreseen in this article, "are of no import to the qualification of the crime". Therefore, regardless of how someone views me, my acts and my conviction, and what considerations cit. Boyechko may set forth in his defence, his crime continues to be a crime. Since, if the case is clean, then it requires clean hands and honourable expedients.

I send a copy of the declaration for the information of the Head of the KGB in the Council of Ministers of the USSR.

23rd July 1975

(Chornovil)

What the reaction was to my declaration, can be seen from the following:

To the Chief Military Procurator
of the USSR from V. M. Chornovil,
a political prisoner.

COMPLAINT

On 23rd July I sent a declaration to the military procurator of the Sub-Carpathian Military District, in which I wrote about the misdeeds of captain M. O. Boyechko, which bear the criminal characteristics defined by article 175 CC USSR ("The use of force in obtaining evidence, by illegal means").

On 17th August 1973 the administration of the colony in which I am being kept, acquainted me with the answer to this declaration signed by lieutenant-colonel of Justice Buzdizhan, senior assistant to the military procurator of the Sub-Carpathian military district. Twisting the straightforward content of my declaration, he wrote, that I was apparently complaining only about the investigator's actions during the course of the investigation of my case, and that therefore he was directing my declaration to the procurator of the Lviv oblast, which supervised the inquiry in my case.

One gets the impression that composing the formal reply according to the stereotype, procurator Buzdizhan did not even bother to read my declaration. In it I did not make a single complaint about legal infringements (I had previously sent such complaints during the inquiry to the Lviv oblast procuracy). In the case given I indicated the instances of criminal misdemeanour. The law states that crimes committed by KGB collaborators can only be investigated by the organs of the military procuracy. Therefore, the sending of my declaration to the procuracy of the Lviv oblast which does not have the right to investigate crimes of KGB collaborators, is against the law completely, and signifies a refusal to satisfy my declaration without thoroughly investigating it.

Please point out to Buzdizhan, senior assistant to the procurator of the Sub-Carpathian military district, the irregularity of his actions and oblige him to obey the law.

26. 8. 73.

Signature.

The complaint achieved only this result, that in addition to the reply of the military procurator sent earlier they sent another, in which without any kind of argumentation it was established that

there were no grounds for bringing criminal proceedings against M. O. Boyechko. "Socialist Justice" had won another dirty victory...

The exposé may be completed by this fact, that the KGB took steps to hide from publicity the criminal methods by which the inquiry of my case was run. They sent me to a small camp which is regarded as soundproof; in the autumn of 1973 they drove away from the camp gates first of all my wife and then my sister too — and I did not receive permission for a meeting with my relations until the spring of 1974, when the KGB were convinced that their provocations directed at me were now Punchinello's secret.

The fate of Dubyniak the provocateur contains a lesson. After I had detected him, he was arrested again and his previously concealed crimes were brought out into broad daylight and they sentenced him, and even announced it in the press. And in a conversation with me a certain Shumeyko (an operative worker in the Lviv KGB, who was preparing my case and who arrested me, the chief organiser and culprit of all the provocations arranged during the inquiry) declared that from now on no one would believe my declarations about the fact that Dubyniak was a KGB provocator any more.



Documents smuggled out of Ukraine

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Stepan SOROKA

Diplomaed Servants are no better than KGB Officers

One of the KGB's favourite practices as regards prisoners is to organize visits for them by "community" representatives from Ukraine, who are supposed to influence them "in the Soviet spirit". Below we present the complete version of a description of such visits to: Perm Camp no. 35, USSR, 5110/1 Moskva, Permskaya Oblast, P.ya. VS 389/35, written by Stepan Soroka, a Ukrainian prisoner.

PUNISH THEM! PUNISH THEM! LET THEM ROT HERE!

In Vissaryonovich's (Stalin's) time the bosses of party literature took pleasure in using the highflown phrase "doctrine of hatred". This conveyed totally the essence of Soviet ideology and philosophy. The educational consequences of the "doctrine of hatred" together with the ideals of material prosperity and work without wages are embodied by the generally known new society with new principles of inter-human and international relations. Although you see, hear, experience it for yourself, and stew in the cauldron, nevertheless, you refuse to believe that it really is true that not a simple, oppressed person, but a Doctor of History, a researcher in the Academy of Sciences believes and declares in public that customary Christian ideals and views common to humanity, are criminal offences.

However, sad this might be, it is a fact of life. During the last fifteen years we prisoners, cast far beyond the borders of our native land, have received visits from "community" delegates many times already, that is, five or six people from Ukraine (one worker, the head of a kolhosp, a writer, a scholar and so forth).

We were recently visited by a similar group. Amongst them was Holoveshko, a consultant lawyer. And it was to him that I turned. I did not go with the intention of arguing or for that matter proving my innocence, but in order to relate my case and to ask why I had been sitting in a concentration camp for 22 years and who was responsible for this?

However, the desired conversation did not come about, since first of all, in his talks with the prisoners, Holoveshko refers to autobiographical moments: apparently once upon a time Banderites visited his home and wanted to kill his father. Quite true, and I asked:

"Well, didn't they kill him?"

"No", he answered.

He met me today.

“So you said yesterday that the Banderites didn’t kill my father?!”

It is difficult to say why Holoveshko, the consultant lawyer, read such a meaning into my words. I had to explain the motives behind the question, which were so removed from his astute guesses.

“Your father, as a party member”, I told him “was sent from his homeland to fight against the Banderite movement; he hunted them down, captured them and sent their families and relations to Siberia. And once they visited your home (in any case the reason is not completely clear), without harming your family in any way. Nowadays for reading Ukrainian nationalist books or defending the Ukrainian culture and language, an unusual word, a poem, a view, for general human ideas you put people in prisons and camps. Where are your human standards? What then is your interpretation of justice?”

Before Holoveshko could reply, “professor” Kakovsky joined our conversation. And then came a deluge: “the Banderites are our most vicious enemies”, they’re “vampires”, “they killed people’...

“I was born in the region where the movement existed (Krychylsk, in the Rivenskaya oblast). Therefore I know very well whom the Banderites killed and what went on at that time. I am an eye witness of those events and furthermore my sympathies were pro-Soviet. I was a member of the Komsomol. So, please note that murder will come to the surface and truth cannot be spat upon and will always remain the truth”. Kakovsky’s reaction was an unexpected one:

“Rabid nationalist!.. You won’t get out of here with views like that” (the “professor” was “not in touch” with the fact that we had been sentenced to a long term)... “Don’t give them 25 years, just kill them”, it was as if the doctor were shooting historical science.

All the same, my plea to have the reasons heard out why I had been sitting in a concentration camp for so many years, was made in vain.

“You people with nationalist views”, coming from his lips sounded like reason enough not only to be able to keep me imprisoned for life, but to destroy me also. He said all this with the kind of cynical frankness which the men of the KGB do not always allow themselves to speak with. And it was unprecedented for a man of learning, working for the Academy of Sciences of the USSR to defend with some kind of unintelligible pathos the abyss of human savagery.

I recalled that in the civilized world no one sentences you for that (if you want to, read Marx, Engels and Lenin, for your health’s sake). Even those monstrous Banderites, against whose name so many accusations and asperations have been cast, never prohibited anyone from reading Soviet or Marxist literature. On the contrary, they recommended people to learn about it. They relied on the strength of their ideas and the worthiness of their aims. And this was done in conditions of armed conflict!

Now, in times of peace, in the wake of the monologue of the press,

radio, cinema and the propaganda apparatus which employs millions of people, the reading of so called samvydav books, unofficial thought, defence of one's native tongue, result in a criminal charge — they put you in a prison or a concentration camp for it, “and you in person call for greater punishment — death and decay?”

“You saw the film didn't you? The Nationalists killed Halan! Such an outstanding personality of our epoch... People shouldn't be imprisoned for nationalist views, they should be shot!” The Doctor of History defended his position with malicious joy.

I did in fact see such a film, unfortunately, it did not convince me who was guilty of the murder. The arbitrariness and lawlessness of so-called socialist democracy threw me, far from my homeland, behind the barbed wire of the hostile North, where I had the opportunity to meet some interesting people who held high ranks in the Banderite movement. Halan's murder was a great surprise to them, like a bolt from the blue: for they all believed that Halan was useful to the Banderites alive, as he was to the Bolsheviks dead. That is why I was already dubious. Only later (after Krushchev's speech) I became certain that Stalin really did have plans to avenge himself on people like Halan.

It even fell to my lot to see people sentenced in the case of the murder of a writer. As D. Lukashevich told me: of his three sons who were shot, the only “crime” of two of them lay in the fact that they kept in touch with the other. Similar executions affected others also. Thus it is too easy to see that traces were being covered up. Of those who were sentenced in connection with Halan's case, no one knew exactly whether that student organisation really was part of OUN or inspired by the KGB. At that time there were many such instigated educational institutes in Lviv and Western Ukraine. For instance, I will refer to the “organisation” for which I and my friends were sentenced.

The organs of the KGB ordered their agent Ivan Mikhailovich Kharchenko to make contact with the OUN leader “Nechai”, in order to “liquidate the bandit” in this way. To find the track, Ivan Kharchenko formed an “organisation”, gave out literature for reading, and then announced that his contacts with the underground had been broken. Consequently, the only thing to do was for each one of us to find them. Naturally, he gave “practical” advice on how to do this. However, Kharchenko did not inform the organs of the KGB about everything in good time. And when nationalist literature was discovered in our possession and its readers arrested, I. Kharchenko himself ended up in the dock. They did not believe his sincere confession (both at the inquiry and in court) and sentenced him together with us to 25 years in a concentration camp. The murderers of Y. Halan were themselves quite genuinely members of such an “organisation”.

At the beginning of the 1960's in the magazine “Zhovten”, a para-

graph was printed stating that apparently in the archives of the Lviv branch of the KGB material existed which gives grounds upon which to link Halan's death with Stalin, which is very close to the truth. A person who is interested in the truth, cannot ignore the question why the Banderites only killed Halan (and not until 1949 at that). Many other Soviet writers, historians and ideological workers have written about them no less libelously. The possibilities for the Banderite underground to do this were too great. And no one suffered except Halan. The annihilation of unwanted writers, scholars and ideologues is a typical trademark of Stalin, a Bolshevik and not a Banderite method.

The "professor's" heart could take no more: with the supplication of a doomed man he stretched out his right hand to Zampolit Kitman, put his left hand on his heart, and he fixed his eyes on the portrait of iron Felix (Dzherzinsky), almost imploring the administration: "Do you see how they think?! Punish them! Punish them! Let them rot here!"

Iron Felix was silent, amazed that half a century after the red terror the scholars of the Academy of Sciences were so devoutly begging his help. The scene left an unpleasant impression of what extremes a living being can go to!

"An educated man", "a researcher of the revolutionary movement" comes out to the distant Urals to teach the jailers how to torture us, forgetting that they know this trade well even without his help.

6th June 1975. Perm Camp VS 389/35

Stepan Soroka

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GENOCIDE OF THE UKRAINIAN PEOPLE

by

Mrs. Vera KOKHNO and Dr. Katherine KOKHNO

At the anniversary of the deliberately imposed famine in Ukraine which killed over 7 million people and innocent children.

We gather here to protest and to commemorate the victims of the Russian Communist government, who deliberately killed, by imposed famine, over 7 million innocent people and children, and we, as eye-witnesses, will testify before the whole world about the greatest tragedy and the most horrible crime ever committed in the history of mankind.

Today we appeal to the United Nations, and we declare the greatest warning to all people in the world, and we hope that the appeal and suffering of 50 million Ukrainians and 200 million people of all nations in the Soviet Union can be heard in every corner of the world. (I definitely mean 200 million, if you consider satellite countries; because only 10% are in a privileged situation as members of the Communist Party.)

In this 20th century the great scientists have led mankind to the satellite era and to the moon, but at the same time the Communist leaders, using all means of psychological warfare, brainwashing, and terror, have conquered 1/5 of the population of our planet, and they are planning to conquer the whole world. Ukraine is a precursor and horrifying example of what could happen in the USA and to other nations in the whole world.

As a mother of a family of three children, who were dying of starvation, and my husband, Archpriest, whom the Communists tortured to death in Khabarovsk Siberian concentration camp, I appeal to all mothers in the world to hear and accept my tragic testimony.

The Russian Communist government is a manager of all aspects of life and death of the children and all the Soviet citizens. The famine in Ukraine which started in 1931 through 1933 was a premeditated plan of mass murder and genocide by the Kremlin, in order to break down the struggle of Ukrainian people for freedom and independence and the resistance of our peasants to forced collectivization.

In April of 1932 I personally went to Moscow for food, I risked my life, I was hidden in a locomotive. Ukraine was under an iron blockade, no one without party passports was permitted to leave the country. I was stunned when I witnessed that Moscow's stores and food markets were overloaded with food, and white rolls could be

found on the streets. At the same time the well-known "Red Brigade" of 25,000 Russian communists and secret police completely cleared Ukraine out of food, confiscating everything in the villages from house to house, and killing even dogs and cats, so that we would not hunt them for food. The high, enormous mountains of dead bodies of children, women, youngsters, were lying everywhere, especially in front of all the doors of our church in Kharkiv that my husband, head of the Metropolitan Cathedral, was not able to open.

According to the testimonies of the well-known economist, Dr. Mark Mensheha, published in 1958, the Kremlin imposed the quotas of grain to be shipped from Ukraine to government storages in Russia. These quotas exceeded the entire crop of the harvest of the preceding year of 1932. Statistics revealed that the harvest produced 140 million bushels of grain. Moreover, Stalin and the Politburo of his Communist Party sent Mikoyan, the secretary of Food Industry to Ukraine, and also Molotov, L. Kaganovich, and the "butcher" Nikita Khrushchev.

I know for a fact that Mikoyan observed thousands of peasants' corpses, and thousands of swollen faces in the Uman district of Ukraine in the early summer of 1933. The local authorities begged Mikoyan to permit them to use part of the grain collected for the starving people to save them from death. Mikoyan rejected their petitions. In an answer to the petitions of dying and crying children and their families, came the most tragic revenge and upheaval: the total destruction and total "harvest" of death of many villages and Ukrainian Kozacs towns around the city of Uman, which disappeared like a desert because all the people died. I testify as an eyewitness, as we lived in Horodezke, 8 miles from Uman, and my husband conducted many mass funerals, with my assistance, until all my family collapsed from starvation. Some people became insane, some of them ate their own children. In the town of Yahotyia, a woman by the name of Sofia was driven to insanity, to such a degree that she ate her children. In large cities and towns, children were constantly kidnapped, and killed, and the human meat and so called "human hamburgers" were openly sold on all open markets. Communist militia and secret police did not protect innocent children and did not arrest cannibals, and received the orders from Moscow to ignore these tragic incidents. One of the American journalists described this horror in the Pittsburgh Press. Mr. Sid Goldberg stated: **Cannibalism Rife**, "Thus the calculated horror of a man-made famine hit the rural areas (in Ukraine)... whole villages died with corpses littering their streets". "Cannibalism was rife even in major cities..."

Dear mothers of the free world, have you ever seen dead young mothers lying on the streets face-up, and wide-staring, long-crying, eyes looking for salvation into Heaven, and their hopeless baby angels crawling over their swollen bodies, clutching at their breasts, hoping to get milk, and instead these poor babies leaked water and blood from their dead mothers? Can you think for a moment that these

tragedies could happen here to your children or all over the world if you will not protect your country from Communism?!

We witnessed in many districts in Ukraine and many doctors testify, that every day the trucks of the secret police army were taking dead bodies and thousands of still living people and children and without mercy threw them alive into mass graves or even deep ditches.

The Communist government overlooked the fact that although they were physically killing millions of their own people, the political criminals of Russian Communism were not able to kill immortal souls and the freedom-loving spirit of the people. We, as eyewitnesses, here speak for the silent, 7 million who perished, and we declare before the world that the Soviet Russian government rejected help and all offers from abroad. Moreover, this catastrophe of a purposely organized famine was concealed from all countries and foreign visitors. The publication or any leakage of information abroad was prohibited under the threat of the death penalty.

We testify about the visit of former Prime Minister of France, Edward Herriot, to our city Kharkov, capital at that time of Ukraine, 1933. It is an unforgivable and shocking fact that Edward Herriot gave an interview to the foreign press declaring that there was no famine in Ukraine! Dr. Mark Mensheha in his book describes how his trip was arranged, and we remember this incident. "Before his arrival in Kharkov everything was prearranged, including the routes and the places he was to visit. On the day of Herriot's arrival all of the stores on the streets were filled with bread and food... All entrances to and exits from the streets were blocked off by the police".

However, Mr. W. H. Chamberlin in his book, "Russia's Iron Age", estimates the number of dead as a result of famine in Ukraine up to 6 million. The best authority on the subject is Stalin himself. He told Mr. Winston Churchill that the collectivization of farms cost him 10 million lives. (Including those peasants who were executed or died in slave labour camps.)

Today we should appeal to the Americans and to all people in the world, to organize universal, international trials in the name of human justice in order to prevent forever a tragic upheaval and save mankind in the future from this catastrophe. To my fellow Ukrainians and all captive nations, I call upon you to organize a universal crusade for the survival of mankind. We have to build, in many countries, giant monuments for the victims of Communism, and publish, in all languages, information about the famine and all Communist atrocities in the hope that this young generation will learn the lesson and protect their immortal freedom.

Dr. A. A. ZWARUN

PERSECUTION OF NATIONS IN THE USSR:

THE CASE OF UKRAINE

Persecution of the Ukrainian Language, Literature and Intelligentsia.

An anonymous letter was circulated among high Party officials following the November 1971 meeting of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. It stated that the use of the Ukrainian language in governmental, educational and industrial institutions was to be regarded as a manifestation of Ukrainian "bourgeois nationalism". Such internal Party decisions do not appear in the Soviet press because they are unconstitutional. Nevertheless, they are adhered to and as a result, the Ukrainian language is undergoing a forcible extinction.

Recently, several ministries of the "sovereign" Republics were transformed into all-Union ministries, thereby necessitating exclusive use of the Russian language for record keeping. This form of trickery is also practiced in the academic field. For example, in 1973 the Politburo of the Ukrainian Communist Party decided that most scientific journals must be published in Russian. Doctoral dissertations by Ukrainian students must be submitted to an accreditation committee in Moscow, also necessitating the use of Russian. Students or instructors making presentations in Ukrainian are often subject to surveillance or dismissal. Professor Voytko of the philosophy department at the Kyiv Polytechnic Institute presented lectures in Ukrainian. Within a year he was removed from the faculty. At the University of Dnipropetrovsk even lectures on Ukrainian literature are given in Russian.

The result of these practices can be measured by the following. In 1971, at a state institute in Western Ukraine — an area which has had the least Russian influence — only 25% of all lectures were in Ukrainian. By 1974 this figure was reduced to 15%. Percentages for the entire country are even lower.

The development of contemporary Ukrainian culture is deliberately held back by administrative measures. Most evident in this process is the repression of innovative and revitalizing trends in Ukrainian literature.

Most Ukrainian literature of the 1960's has been given the library classification of "not recommended". This classification effectively keeps these books from the general public. The Ukrainian Writer's

Union has blacklisted certain writers, preventing publication of their works or their use as source material. Many of these writers are now in prison.

In the spring of 1973, Academician Babiý notified the "Ukrainian" Communist Party that publishers were returning all social science manuscripts to Party officials for revision. Volume III of *Archaeology of the "Ukrainian" SSR* was returned for containing references to M. Braichevsky, a noted archaeologist on the blacklist. Babiý also criticized the journal "Ethnic Creativity and Ethnography" for mentioning Ukrainian folksongs, fables and proverbs.

Large numbers of scientists, educators and students have been harassed, dismissed from positions or arrested in the past five years, many for expressing homage to Taras Shevchenko — poet laureate of Ukraine. On May 22, 1972 four scientists (Kolotylo, Minaylo, Nosorih and Skarychenko) from the Institute of Polymer Chemistry were standing near a statue of Shevchenko. They were photographed by the KGB and subsequently dismissed from the Institute. In March 1973 a student-initiated "Shevchenko Evening" at Lviv University was ordered cancelled. The meeting was held despite the order, but Party activists dispersed the participants, some of whom were arrested and tortured. Many students were expelled, while twenty faculty members were dismissed. One student, Volodymyr Udovychenko, was arrested for refusing to become a KGB informer. In March 1974 student leaders were invited to a Party — sponsored "Shevchenko Evening" where they were forbidden to stand during the singing of Shevchenko's "Testament". Most of the evening was spent singing Party and Komsomol songs with little mention of Shevchenko. Similar occurrences have taken place at Kyiv University.

Artificial Impoverishment of Ukrainian History.

Soviet Russian authorities place special emphasis on the systematic destruction of all vestiges of Ukrainian heritage.

Museums and centuries-old churches such as St. Paraskievia's in the village of Kosmach lie in neglect. Maintenance and restoration funds are rarely allotted by the government. The Ivan Franko Museum in Kryvorivna was restored only after the entire second floor collapsed. In 1972, on orders from the KGB, the Ukrainian Museum of I. Honchar was closed in Kyiv.

Cemeteries in Ivano-Frankivsk, Ternopil, Zolochiv, Horodok and other cities have been desecrated. Crosses in Lviv's Yaniv Cemetery, where Ukrainian soldiers are buried, were destroyed.

Frequently, fires of suspicious origin destroy ancient Ukrainian archives. Many are deliberate acts of arson. In November 1969 there unknown persons wearing police uniforms burned rare, ancient books in the churchyard of the Úspensky Cathedral in Lviv.

Old Ukrainian songs which touch on historical themes are

forbidden. Only songs dealing with contemporary topics are permitted at concerts and on broadcasts. Some can be sung in Ukrainian only if the majority of the repertoire is in Russian.

Ukrainian archaeological and historical exhibits displayed in foreign countries are seldom labeled properly. The New York Metropolitan Museum's recent USSR exhibit of Scythian art was an example of this form of distortion. Scythian objects excavated in central Ukraine were inaccurately described as coming from southern Russia.

Religious Persecution.

Religious persecution in the "Ukrainian" SSR is multi-faceted. The destruction of churches and religious art treasures supplements the Party's deliberate campaign to subvert Ukrainian culture integrity. Construction of new churches is strictly prohibited by law, while some existing churches are destroyed outright. In 1971 a church in the village of Pidlisky was razed and replaced by a teahouse. In 1972 a church on Artem Street in Lviv was demolished by a tank. The militia dragged away parishioners attempting to obstruct this operation.

The Lviv region — under Soviet Russian rule since World War II — contained over 1200 churches at war's end. By 1961 only 528 remained. All roadside crosses in the villages of Babukhiv, Verbylivtsi and Zaluzhya — some of which had been erected over a century ago to commemorate the abolishment of serfdom — were smashed during the night of December 19, 1973.

Harassment of clergy and faithful, particularly during major religious observances, is aimed at disrupting traditional cultural patterns. Father Sava, pastor of Kyiv's St. Volodymyr's Church, was deposed from his position by Philaret, Exarch of the Moscow Patriarchate, for preaching in the Ukrainian language. Teachers are instructed to discourage their pupils from carolling and performing other ethno-religious activities. Under penalty of dismissal, bus drivers are warned not to admit passengers carrying Easter baskets. The militia are frequently stationed near churches to deny entry to parents with children. Shortly before Christmas 1973, all principals in the Lviv region were told they would be dismissed from their positions if any of their students attended religious observances. This policy also applied to Party members, teachers, superiors and white collar workers.

Official Anti-Semitism.

Fostering antagonism between the Ukrainian and Jewish population is standard, if covert, policy of the Communist Party in the "Ukrainian" SSR. For example, during the course of the campaign

to oust Petro Shelest, his opponent — Volodymyr Shcherbytsky — accused Shelest of anti-Semitism. Two Russian KGB-organized pogroms in Kyiv were used to provoke the population. Rumours were spread among the Jews that Shelest had initiated the pogroms, while Ukrainians were led to believe that Jews were demanding an autonomous republic within Ukraine.

The publication of Trofim Kichko's *Judaism Without Embellishment* is another example of this policy. This virulently anti-Semitic volume was published in Lviv by the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in 1963. It is important to note that 1963 was the year that the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences ceased being an independent academy, and was forced to become a subsidiary of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR in Moscow. The book was universally condemned both in the West and in the Soviet Union.

The provocative nature of these affairs became apparent in light of the following. Moscow's "Literaturnaya Gazeta" formally denounced the author, calling him "a Nazi scoundrel and collaborator". However, Soviet-Russian authorities did nothing to stop publication, nor was any punishment prescribed for Kichko. Why was Kichko, a Nazi collaborator according to official newspapers, allowed to live and to write more anti-Semitic diatribes when all other Soviet citizens even suspected of Nazi collaboration are either executed or imprisoned? Why is Kichko allowed his freedom after obviously violating a definite, official ban on anti-Semitism?

Kichko's book was published in Lviv because this city is closely identified with Ukrainianism. Obviously, one was to conclude that Ukrainianism is linked to anti-Semitism. "Literaturnaya Gazeta" openly condemned the book to disassociate the Kremlin from official anti-Semitism and to make it appear as if Ukraine enjoys a certain degree of autonomy which it uses, despite Kremlin disapproval, to further its hatred of the Jews.

Ethnocide of Ukraine.

It is clear what Leonid Brezhnev meant when he recently stated "... that the nationality question... has been settled completely, decidedly and irreversibly". For Ukraine it means the destruction of everything that is Ukrainian. This includes language, history, literature, education, traditions, religion, art and even thought. Under Stalin, this objective was to be accomplished by the policy of genocide. Under Brezhnev, the policy has become one of ethnocide — the insidious destruction of the soul of Ukrainianism. In the Soviet Union this ethnocide is not called Russian chauvinism, but rather — internationalism. For this goal, Soviet-Russian authorities are prepared to destroy the civilization, the culture and, if necessary, the physical being of over forty million Ukrainians.

*News in brief:***PASTOR I. V. BIBLENKO — A MARTYR'S DEATH**

Ivan Vasilovich Biblenko was born in 1928. He was baptised at the age of twenty.

He was head of the Evangelist Church (EKHB) in Kryvy Rih for which in 1972 he was put into prison and sentenced to three years deprivation of liberty. He spent his term in Kryvy Rih camp no. 308.80. He was continually persecuted from all sides: by the camp administration and the KGB, and by his fellow prisoners. KGB agents instigated him to become a collaborator. Fellow prisoners encouraged by the administration beat him. His conversations with the KGB brought him to such a state that one day he cried: "It would be better if you had shot me immediately!" They threatened to inter him in a psychiatric hospital. They promised to call on him after his release.

He was given amnesty 3 months before the appointed time of release, on 1st November 1974.

Nevertheless, the police and KGB agents ceaselessly traced his every step and action. He was completely devoted to preaching the Word of God and all the more so in the last weeks of his life.

In family life, according to the testimony of his wife and children he was always an exemplary Christian. Nearly a month before his disappearance he told his wife that he would most certainly die a martyr's death. He hurriedly did the most necessary tasks around the house. However, in spite of his premonitions he was always happy and sang psalms, in particular: "Father be my joy!" "To the Heavenly Kingdom", and "Our life is short".

On 13th September 1975 he was preparing to go to Dnipropetrovsk for the harvest festival. On Saturday he returned from work in a hurry, asked his daughters for 6 karbovantsi and hurried off to the bus station. The buses run regularly between our district and Dnipropetrovsk, every 45 minutes. The fare is 2 krb. 90 kop. The pastor had just enough money for the return fare to Dnipropetrovsk.

However, he was not to see his family again! No one saw him at the meeting of the faithful in Dnipropetrovsk: No one knew where he had disappeared to. On 16th September his family began to search for him. They contacted the State Automobile Inspectorate (DAI) in Kryvy Rih, who answered that: "Neither in the city nor its suburbs had there been a car accident". They contacted the police of the Zhovten region and the commandant of section no. 8, who took out the file on the first page of which was written the surname Bilenko, his place of work and home address. "We know that fellow. He was going to a harvest festival and they probably detained him there for one reason or another. He'll be back all right", said the police commandant trying

to calm them down. However, Biblenko did not appear. The commandant asked: "Didn't Usyk, a representative of the police, visit you on Saturday?" "No we didn't see him".

Biblenko's family spoke to the police and hospitals in Dnipropetrovsk. They visited all the hospitals in Kryvy Rih and among others the central city hospital. However, Ivan Vasilovich was not in any of them. The search continued for two weeks.

Finally, on the night of 26th September a telegram arrived with the following text: "Ivan Vasilovich Bilenko died on 24th September in the second section of the Menshikov neurosurgical hospital, signed Arshava, head doctor".

On 26th September in the afternoon, the family went to the hospital in question for the body. They were given a document stating the causes of death.

1. Water on the lung.
2. Blood effusion in the cranial membrane.
3. Head injuries including a fracture of the forehead.
4. Injuries resulting from a car accident on 13th September 1975.

In the hospital the nurse said that Biblenko was admitted on 17th September with a skull traumatism. The same date was written in the hospital register and on the receipt for the clothes.

To the question: "But where did they bring him from?" the answer given was: "From the central surgical hospital of the Kryvy Rih". Bilenko's bible and cap were not handed over to his family. They were not included in the receipt for articles for safe-keeping.

Examining the body they noticed a large blue-black band about 15 to 20 centimetres wide which stretched from his neck and shoulders with a wound in the upper part of the chest. There were similar bands spreading over the legs from knee to thigh. The bruises on his rib-cage looked as though they had been left by gallipots.

The nurse did not allow us to turn over the body in order to look at the back. When she saw that we began nevertheless to turn the body over, the nurse began to shout, threatening to call the police and to keep the body from us, because it was a court case and there was no need for us to continue our examination.

The head, apart from the customary anatomical stitches in the cervical area, had two more rows of stitches on the left hand side: one on the forehead and another double row meeting to form an angle.

There were bruises and scratch marks on the temples.

On the legs on a level with the knees there were holes made by a sharp instrument.

(There follows a lengthy inventory of the traces of blood on the deceased.)

We conclude that when he was beaten about the head Ivan Vasilovich must have been holding his head with two hands and that the

blood ran down the front of his jacket and trousers. His trousers were creased at the knee.

Boyko, the coroner, who is conducting the taxi driver's case, visited the Biblenko family. He told them that there were four passengers in the car and that Ivan Vasilovich was sitting dosing on the back seat between two people. One of the passengers was a young sailor, who noticing the danger, opened a door, jumped out of the car and fled before the taxi collided with a lorry.

The same coroner added that at the time of the collision Biblenko was thrown forward and his head hit the windscreen. All the other passengers apart from a woman, who was slightly hurt, escaped without injury.

When the family asked for the taxi driver's surname and address, the coroner replied: "There's nothing you can do!" When asked "Why didn't they tell us about the accident when the injured pastor was still alive?" the coroner blamed the negligence on the doctors.

He told them that the accident took place near the village of Krynychky and that the injured pastor was taken to the local hospital.

Some man with his wife who introduced themselves as the taxi driver's parents, came to visit the family of the deceased. They offered them some money as a contribution to the funeral expenses. The woman who apparently took food parcels to the pastor, said that he was conscious, that he was reading some books and worrying about his family. Later they took away the books and this saddened him. His condition deteriorated and afterwards improved to such an extent that he could even sit on the edge of the bed with his legs hanging over. The woman added that she had even considered hiring an apartment in Dnipropetrovsk in order to be able to take better care of him because they told her that he did not have a family. To the question "Why didn't you inform his relations?" she replied: "I thought the doctors would do that".

Meanwhile in the hospital they declared that they did not notify the family because the patient was in no condition to give his address.

The Church (EKhB) sent a declaration to the government, presenting all the facts surrounding Biblenko and asking for a commission to be sent to investigate the circumstances of his violent death.

As a result of this, the deputy prosecutor Zaporozhets, said the following at a meeting of the faithful:

"Ivan Vasilovich was travelling in a taxi from Kryvy Rih to Dnipropetrovsk together with three other passengers. Biblenko sitting on the back seat in the middle, was asleep. The car was travelling at a speed of 80-100 or even 100-120 km. p.h. At first it ran over a cyclist (who survived), got caught on the wheel of a cart and finally collided with a lorry. At the moment of the crash Ivan Vasilovich was thrown over the driver's head and his head hit the windscreen. All the other

passengers were left alive and well. The accident took place near the village of Krynychky and the injured pastor was taken to the local hospital".

To the question "Why did they tell us at the DAI that between 13th and 16th September no car accident had taken place?" he said that the accident took place in the territory of the regional DAI and that the local DAI did not know about it.

To the question "Why was the family not notified about the accident while the pastor was still alive?" the reply was: "We didn't have the exact address and obtained it only through the address bureau". (The telegram was sent at night when the bureau in question was closed!).

Question: "Why was the injured head stitched with thread that is usually used for corpses, and not with surgical thread, which means that he was not looked after while he was still alive".

Answer: "I am not competent in this matter. It is the business of the doctors".

In answer first of all to the question about the bruises on the ribcage, the prosecutor said, that they were caused by gallipots used for his pneumonia.

Question: "How do you explain the holes in the knees?"

Answer: "They gave him a blood transfusion". (A transfusion through the knees! And what sort of a surgical needle left wounds which could only have been made by the stab of a bayonette, and which are visible even on photographs!).

At the close of the meeting the prosecutor turned to the faithful: "Do you believe in my account of the events, yes or no?"

The answer, immediate and in unison, was: "No we don't believe it!"

For an explanation of certain details, the family contacted the hospital in Krynychky and Dnipropetrovsk, but both hospitals refused to speak with them.

In this way the life of a real Christian came to an end. Only in eternity will we know about the disappearance of our brother, a father and a human being, who loved his God passionately and preferred to die rather than to play the role of a Judas.



CANADIAN JEWISH CONGRESS INTERVENES FOR MOROZ

Ottawa, Ont. — David Sator, vice-president of the Canadian Jewish Congress and chairman of the Canadian Committee in Defence of Soviet Jewry, sent a letter to the Minister of External Affairs Allen J. MacEachen asking him to intervene on behalf of Valentyn Moroz.

"Continued repressions by the

Soviet government against Valentyn Moroz prove that they refuse to adhere to international covenants on human rights", wrote Mr. Sator.

He asked Mr. MacEachen to make the Soviet government aware of the Canadian people's concern for the safety of Moroz. "It is high time for this man to be freed", he said.

KRASIVSKY ADOPTED BY AI

New York, N.Y. — The Madison Group of Amnesty International in New York has adopted Zynovij Krasivsky, a Ukrainian poet and philologist, now incarcerated in a special psychiatric asylum in Sychovka, as one of its prisoners of conscience.

Zynovij Mykhailovych Krasivsky was sentenced in 1967 to 12 years (5 years in prison and 7 in a corrective labour camp) to be followed by 5 years of exile, for membership in an organization, the Ukrainian National Front, founded in 1964.

Although the main aim of this organization was the liberation of Ukraine, there is no evidence to suggest that its members, and especially Krasivsky, were engaged in anything illegal.

Their activities were limited to a memorandum sent to P. Shelest in March 1966 and the distribution of their journal "Liberty and Motherland". As a writer and poet, Krasivsky was an important member of the organization.

After the trial, Krasivsky was sent immediately to Vladimir Prison. In spite of the harsh regime of the notorious prison, Krasivsky continued to write.

In 1971 a "cell case", was brought against him for "manufacturing and circulating orally and in writing, verses of nationalist content in particular the poem 'Apocalypse'."

In the spring of 1972 he was sent for examination to the Serbsky Institute of Forensic Psychiatry by a commission consisting of Dr. G. V. Morozov, Prof. D. R. Lunts and Prof. A. V. Snezhnevsky, well known characters in the Soviet practice of internment political dissidents in psychiatric hospitals.

After being pronounced "unfit to plead", Krasivsky was in fact sent

back to Vladimir Prison for four months to await transfer to a psychiatric hospital.

According to recent emigrés from the USSR, who have shared Krasivsky's fate both in Vladimir Prison and the psychiatric hospital, the Ukrainian prisoner is a very intelligent person with a great deal of personal charm and tact. They are convinced that the KGB did not want Krasivsky to go to a corrective labour colony (after he had completed his 5 years in prison) because there he would be among many young people who could be influenced by his personality and views.

According to the latest information, Krasivsky is presently being held in Sychovka, a special psychiatric hospital near Smolensk. It is rumoured that he is being given doses of the drugs aminazin and haloperidol, the effects of which have been vividly described by Leonid Plyushch.

Amnesty International encourages all concerned individuals and professional organizations to undertake action for the immediate release of Zynovij Krasivsky.

Letters should be sent either to Soviet authorities in Moscow or to the head of the psychiatric prison: USSR, RSFSR, Smolenskaia Oblast, Sychovka, p/ya Ya/O 100/5, Spetsialnaia Psikhiatricheskaia Bolnitsa, Nachalnik Bolnitsy, Liamin.

Amnesty International is a non-political and non-government organization whose purpose is to assist persons throughout the world imprisoned for expressing their beliefs. Founded in 1961, it has 27 national sections and more than 900 groups. Each group "adopts" three prisoners: one from each of the major political blocks, the third from the developing countries.

HONORARY CITIZENSHIP PROPOSED FOR MOROZ

As we were going to press, Congressmen Edward I. Koch, (D-N.Y.) Christopher Dodd (D-N.Y.) and Congresswoman Millicent Fenwick (R.-N.J.) stated on the House floor Wednesday, June 16, that they will introduce a resolution next week

proposing that the House of Representatives bestow honorary citizenship on Valentyn Moroz. Citing the recent interview of the Washington Star with Raisa Moroz, the legislators said that this is the least U.S. Congress could do to help save Moroz,

reported the Moroz Defence Committee in Washington. Moroz is the fourth man in the history of the United States to be proposed for honorary citizenship. Only one, Winston Churchill, received it. Resolutions still pending in the Congress are for Christopher Columbus, Tadeusz Kos-

ciuszko and Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn.

Members of the Moroz Defence Committee of Human Rights Research ask that members of the Ukrainian Community call or send letters to their Congressmen urging them to support this resolution.

MELCHUK FIRED FROM SOVIET ACADEMY

Toronto, Ont. — On, the face of it, the scientific council of the Soviet Academy of Science was gathered to review the work of a senior researcher before his recertification to his post, wrote Robert Toth in the Toronto Star of June 3rd.

Normally such a meeting would be a matter of form. But in reality, the senior scientist — linguist Ihor A. Melchuk, said by colleagues round the world to be the best in his field — was being tried behind closed doors for political nonconformity.

Melchuk was charged with writing a letter to a U.S. newspaper which criticized the sentence, in essence, to a life as a non-person.

"It doesn't matter if your (scientific) theories are successful or not", declared one council member.

"Scientific and political positions are not of the same importance".

"Mistakes in scientific work are one thing, but ideological mistakes are quite another thing", insisted another. "They are simply awful... and must be judged most harshly".

FOCUS ON FAULTS

And so it went, focusing on Melchuk's political faults and virtually ignoring his scientific abilities, to the inevitable end.

Melchuk, 43, was fired from the Institute of Linguistics. His books were withdrawn from libraries and other books footnoting his works are being revised. Professionally he is dead in USSR, and evidence he lived is being erased.

Melchuk had asked for it. He knew well the limits of the nonconformity permitted in the Soviet system and he stepped deliberately beyond them — and not for the first time.

Linguistics range from the study of grammar and language origins to information and communication theory, learning and the broad range of intellectualizing processes.

TOP LINGUIST

Melchuk was one of the best linguists and his book, said a U.S. linguist who read it all, "is a masterpiece of organization and comprehensiveness".

EMS UKASE DISCUSSED AT CONGRESS OF SLAVISTS

Quebec City, Qupe. — A special session on the Ems Ukase of 1876 was held Tuesday, June 1, during the annual Congress of Slavists at Laval University here.

The session, entitled "The Ems Ukase and its Impact on the Development of Ukrainian Culture", consisted of the following four papers: "The Effects of the Ems Ukase on the Development of Modern Literary Ukrainian" by Prof. Bohdan Medvidsky of the University of Alberta; "Ukrainian Theatre After the Ems Ukase" by Prof. Valerian Revutsky of the University of British Columbia, read by Prof. Clayton; "The Ems

Ukase and the Problem of Linguicide" by Prof. Jaroslaw B. Rudnyckyj of the University of Manitoba; and "The Tsarist Censorship and the Ukrainian Movement: the Ems Ukase" by Prof. Roman Solchanyk of Harvard University.

Chairing the session was Prof. Constantine Bida of the University of Ottawa, while Marko Antonovych, of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, was the discussant.

The Ems Ukase, issued by Tsar Alexander II in 1876, prohibited publishing in the Ukrainian language in Ukraine.

Events documented:

Resolution of the 9th Conference of the World Anti-Communist League (WACL) held in Seoul, South Korea from 1-4th May 1976

(Resolution submitted by the European Freedom Council and adopted unanimously).

THE DANGERS OF DETENTE. ANTI-COMMUNIST COUNTER OFFENSIVE

Whereas the World Anti-Communist League wishes to give full support to the successful European Freedom Council conference held in Munich, West Germany, from 14th-16th November, 1975.

Whereas the initiative for the European Security Conference came exclusively from Soviet Russia — the only participant apparently with a predetermined strategy — and Western Governments appear to have derived no appreciable benefits from it, since they offered no specific ideas for influencing or supplanting those ideas hostile to Western interests. It is vital now to recognise (1) the reason behind the Russian leaders' acute anxiety to hold the Conference, and (2) the gains which accrued to them from what is now referred to as the Helsinki "Final Act", and to assess what global action should be taken by free nations to ensure Soviet Russian conformity with the Helsinki document as a *minimum* basis for establishing true peace and security on the continent of Europe and throughout the whole world.

Under (1) above, four major reasons emerge:

- a) to lull Western Europe into a spirit of neutralism;
- b) to obtain official Western recognition of the postwar European frontiers, thus perpetuating Soviet Russia's grip on her colonial empire;
- c) to utilise the non-interference in internal affairs Clause (Basket 1) to stifle Western criticism of future Soviet Russian policy in Europe and elsewhere;
- d) to secure essential additional trade, financial and technical aid from capitalist countries.

So far as (2) above is concerned, the following are three major gains:

- a) "Bridgebuilding" by way of greater East-West movement, trade and other contacts will be used to spread communist propaganda throughout Western Europe. Additionally, it will assist the freer flow of Russian subversive agents;

- b) Soviet Russia will use the non-interference Clause to conceal her anti-West tactics;
- c) the same Clause will also be cited by Soviet Russia as an excuse to refuse armament inspection.

Whereas The European Freedom Council Munich Conference took full account of the foregoing, addressed itself to close scrutiny of the full implications for the West arising from the Helsinki document, and the manner in which it could be turned to Western advantage: in the process, delegates discussed ways in which some of the political imbalance between the Kremlin and Western Governments might be corrected. The Conference recognised that Marxism-Leninism is synonymous with tyranny and colonialism — both of which are now outdated — and that the tide of the future flows with true democracy and real freedom.

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that this ninth World Anti-Communist League conference recommends the following points to Member Organisations as a basis for action:

- 1) That it is absurd to pursue Disarmament Talks while the *political factors* — which pose the *real* threat to European security — have not yet been recognised, properly tackled and resolved.
- 2) That Russian Communist aggressive expansionism be countered, and her empire dismantled, through the de-colonisation machinery which she herself set up in 1960 at the United Nations.
- 3) That the guarantees of freedom under the Atlantic Charter for the nations within the artificially created state of Yugoslavia must be recognised and upheld..
- 4) Provision of formal facilities in world forums for free participation and expression of opinion for the National Liberation Movements of the enslaved European nations (under Basket 3 of the Helsinki document) until Soviet Russia is made to realise that their total independence must be restored, as laid down in their long-standing written Constitutions.
- 5) Early dismantlement of the Berlin Wall and removal of all physical manifestations of the Iron Curtain (also under Basket 3), which are such a constant and hideous reminder of Soviet Russian tyranny and source of irritation.
- 6) Recognition that *detente* is a snare and a delusion. The Soviet Russian leaders never tire of stressing at home that it merely conceals the ceaseless battle of ideas, and the continuing struggle to expand Soviet Russian power and influence by any means short of nuclear war. The Helsinki Conference may have temporarily revived talk of *detente* — previously “peaceful co-existence” — but renewed doubts about the benefits of it to the West cannot long be delayed. If it is to be accepted that there is no alternative to *detente* in the

nuclear age, then we must either insist that it works, to the advantage of the West, or quickly find another formula.

7) Assess the growing evidence that Western trade and aid with the Soviet Union are contributing actively to our own eventual destruction (1) by financing, building and maintaining the Russian colonialist expansion programme, and (2) by undermining the economies and balance of payments of the free nations.

8) Evaluate the widespread abandonment of Marxism not only because of its intellectual shortcomings but also, because it has proved to be unworkable for the masses. Significantly, most Marxist leaders who have been swept into power by their fellow countrymen, have proclaimed themselves to be liberators from foreign domination rather than apostles of communism.

9) Mobilize patriotism and nationalism amongst all freedom-loving peoples both sides of the Iron Curtain, and thus defeat communist internationalist trends which seek global citizenship dominated by a Marxist socialist tyranny.

10) Recognition that Soviet Russian global interference lies at the root of world fear, disorder and conflict.

11) Increase vigilance over Soviet Russian interference in and manipulation of Western communications media, with particular emphasis on Marxist-Leninist indoctrination through teachers and school textbooks.



ABN Representatives at the Conference.

JOINT COMMUNIQUE

9th WACL/22nd APACL Conferences Seoul, Rep. of Korea, May 1-3, 1976

The World Anti-Communist League (WACL) and the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League (APACL) met in Seoul, capital of the Republic of Korea, jointly for their 9th and 22nd General Conferences on May 1-3, 1976. Present were 310 delegates and observers from 61 national member units and 10 international organizational member units in Asia, the Middle East, Australasia, North America, Latin America, Europe and Africa. They reviewed the international situation; pointed out what action should be taken for free world security, national independence, freedom and peace; and in the name of both organizations formulated various plans and made requests for joint endeavours to defeat international Communism.

Messages to the conferences from H. E. President Park Chung Hee of the Republic of Korea, other Heads of State and political leaders of various countries gave great encouragement to the freedom-loving peoples of the world.

At the conferences the delegates confirmed that the international Communists are nowadays increasingly desperate because of the deepened contradictions and discords within their own system combined with the growing unrest of the captive peoples. They sternly condemned the brutal barbarous acts typified by the inhuman massacres of innocent citizens committed recently by the Communists.

It was also confirmed that the international Communists are using "detente" between East and West not as a means of maintaining true peace but as an instrument of their expansionist policy to impose the Communist system of enslavement on free societies everywhere. It was especially noted that such expansionist policy is developing in the form of intensive psychological warfare on the political front.

Realizing that for the purpose of bringing about the internal split and collapse of anti-Communist forces in

free democratic societies, the international Communists are taking advantage of the indiscreet behaviour and remarks of the so-called liberals, who are naive and unaware of the deceptive nature of the Communist aggressors in carrying out their political psychological warfare to lay the groundwork for the communization of the whole world, the delegates resolved to keep up vigilance against the "united front tactics" of the Communists.

It was reaffirmed that stricter vigilance and firmer solidarity among the free and peace-loving peoples of the world and staunchness in their determination to safeguard freedom and national independence are the most effective means to defeat the international Communist conspiracy.

It was also ascertained that unity of purpose among free peoples should be demonstrated through concrete and organized actions condemning the inhuman barbarous acts of the Communists and thoroughly foiling their deceitful campaigns.

Mindful of the fact that the Korean peninsula is the place where the threat of Communist aggression is among the most serious in Asia, the delegates expressed profound admiration for the firm determination and courage of the people of the Republic of Korea, under the outstanding anti-Communist leadership of President Park Chung Hee, who are exerting all-out efforts to defend peace and freedom in the face of the sinister southward invasion scheme of the north Korean Communists who are among the most militant and barbarous in the ranks of the international Communists.

Through the conferences, the WACL/APACL succeeded in further enhancing the general desires of the present age to safeguard freedom, national independence and democracy, and resolved to consolidate the free world cooperative bonds for the destruction of international Communism.

The next WACL/APACL Conference

will be held in the first half of 1977.

The delegates expressed sincere gratitude for the hospitality and cooperation extended to the conferences by the Government and people of the Republic of Korea and also showed their appreciation for the Korean Anti-Communist League's endeavours in preparing the conferences.

PLANS AND ACTIONS

For effective handling of the present world situation, the WACL/APACL Conferences have resolved the following:

1) Stop thinking about winning the Chinese Communists over for the containment of Russia. Any attempt to pit the Chinese Communists against the Russians is a result of inadequate understanding about their nature and will provide additional impetus for their race to destroy the free world.

2) Promote the establishment of a Western Pacific island chain of defence. Support should be positively given to the Republic of Korea, Japan and the Republic of China for enhancement of their political, economic and defence cooperation with the United States and other free nations of the Asian-Pacific region.

3) Promote peace and freedom in the Middle East. For the protection of peace and freedom and for their common goals of development and prosperity, these free nations of the area should be united strongly against Communism.

4) *Stand for the dissolution of the Russian colonial empire — the U.S.S.R. and its satellites — strongly supporting the heroic struggle for national independence and freedom for all the enslaved nations, like Ukraine, Byelorussia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Georgia, Azerbaidzhan, Armenia, Northern Caucasus, Turkestan, Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, Czechia, Slovakia, Poland, Croatia, Albania, Cuba and others.*

5) *Condemn Communist Rus-*

sian neo-colonialism, neo-imperialism, ethnocide, linguicide, Russification of the subjugated nations, enforced deportation to far corners of the U.S.S.R. and mixing up of the same peoples in matter to form the so-called "Soviet" — in reality to merge them into the Russian people — which would be equal to a total loss of identity of all enslaved nations, national oppression, economic exploitation and enforced collectivization of these peoples, integral terror applied by the Russian neo-colonialists.

6) *Demand the dissolution and abandonment of all concentration camps and forced labour camps, insane asylums designed to destroy political and religious prisoners, immediate release of all political and religious inmates, the number of which is reaching two million, such as Yuriy Shukhevych, Valentyn Moroz, Vyacheslav Chornovil and others.*

7) Support the heroic anti-Communist endeavours of Latin Americans. WACL and APACL are gratified that forces for freedom in Argentina overthrew the leftist regime. Lend solidarity to the governments of Paraguay, Guatemala, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Brazil, Uruguay and Chile for their firm struggle against the Marxist-Leninist imperialism for the permanent defence of the democratic institutions, freedom, peace, integrity, and the social and economic development of their peoples.

8) Strongly condemn the military intervention by the Communist regime of Cuba, a mercenary of Soviet imperialism, in Angola in an open violation of the principle of non-interference in the affairs of another country. Also vehemently condemn Castro's Cuba regime for its clandestine subversive movements in all

Latin American countries. Cuba must be tightly blockaded. Positive assistance must be given to the anti-Communist Cuban revolutionaries who are striving to overthrow Castro's tyranny.

9) Strongly defend Africa from Communist infiltration and subversion. Help free African nations eliminate Communist and leftist insurgency. Free Africans are urged to stand firmly on the side of the free democratic camp, and tightly guard themselves against Communist united front attempts to cut Africa's ties with the rest of the free world through so-called "Third World" manoeuvres.

10) Support the heroic anti-Communist struggles of those kept behind Asia's Iron Curtain. The WACL/APACL Conferences attach special importance to the gallant anti-Mao and anti-Communist actions of those who took part in the recent Tienanmen demonstration that served to expose the shaky foundation of Chinese Communist rule and decisively destroyed the false pictures painted by those international circles eager to please the Chinese Communists. The conferences positively support the resolute anti-Communist struggles continuing on the Chinese mainland and in north Korea. Positive support should be given to the anti-Communist national recovery efforts of the peoples of Indochina.

The conferences were conscious of the fact that the communications media has a special responsibility to assist in the protection of the free world and to expose fully the true nature of Communist tyrannies. The media must be made responsible for their actions.

The Communists have declared war on the free world. It is a battle for the hearts, minds and souls of people. The conferences recognized the need to give increased attention to the psychological warfare of the struggle

against international Communism and proposed the setting up of a special committee to further study this matter.

The conferences received a special report that had been commissioned by WACL in Brazil in 1975 on the subject of the financing of Communism, communist economic warfare, and a finance-economic programme for halting economic blood transfusions to the Communists. This report was authorized for circulation so that WACL/APACL members could study the documentation and recommendations and consider what action should be taken.

The governments of Britain, France and West Germany were asked to block financial credits and technological assistance — previously blocked by the U.S. Congress in 1974 — requested to exploit the natural gas resources in western Siberia. The governments of the free world are also asked to stop all economic and other aid to communist countries, particularly the aid promised recently to Yugoslavia by the United States of America.

Congratulations were extended to the provisional government of East Timor and the Indonesian volunteers for their success in defeating the Communist-orientated Fretelin forces in East Timor.

A special message was sent to His Majesty Sultan Qaboos Bin Said of Oman congratulating him on his country's success against Communist subversive activities and asked all neighbouring countries to give every assistance to His Majesty to maintain a free Oman.

Special greetings were sent to the United States of America on the occasion of the bicentennial celebration of the Declaration of Independence, noting the need for the Americans to support the campaigns of the enslaved nations for national independence from international Communism.

FOR THE DISINTEGRATION OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE

(Rejection of the Helsinki agreement and Appeal to the Free World Nations)

Whereas the Helsinki agreement granted a status quo to the Soviet Union and by having done so — to the Russian imperial expansionist policies, establishing defacto inviolable rights for Moscow's dominance in Europe and beyond,

whereas the Russian empire does not and never will respect any signed agreements as far as basic human rights and national aspirations are concerned,

whereas no imperial system, and more so a Communist Russian totalitarian system, could ever allow itself to respect any of the rights of the peoples enslaved within it, national independence being the prerequisite for the attainment of human rights,

whereas the politics of detente between the tyrannical Russian Western democratic world on the one hand and the Western democratic world on the other is now and will continue to be used by Moscow to expand her dominance over those who are still free, for it includes in its so-called "ideological warfare" support of "just national liberation wars" (Angola), "civil" wars (Vietnam) and armed interventions and direct assaults by its own troops, to protect, supposedly, "socialist achievements" (Hungary, CSSR),

Whereas by expanding its thermonuclear as well as conventional arsenals, as well as its naval power, which at this very moment is already equivalent to, if not surpassing that of the United States, the Communist Russian regime aims to exercise total control over the free world,

whereas Russian chauvinism fearing the mask of Communism has intensified its aid to terrorists all over the world, continues a policy of ethnocide and linguicide within the enslaved nations, persecutes dissenters and freedom fighters who aim to attain national independence for their native lands, breaks or jails cultural workers as well as priests of all faiths and their followers in insane asylums,

whereas in Soviet jails and concentration camps, organized and

maintained by the Russians and their russified comrades throughout the unholy "Union" there are now almost two million political and religious inmates serving extremely brutal sentences,

whereas brutal murders of political and religious freedom fighters has become an acceptable means for the KGB, a policy sanctioned by and in existence since the creation of the Communist Russian Empire, (Alla Horská, Rev. Lucky, Rev. Luchkiv).

THE IXth WACL CONFERENCE RESOLVES:

1. Reclining upon the God given, natural rights of every nation to be independent, upon the inalienable right of every human being to express the creative spirit, including that of striving to attain freedom, reclining upon the Declaration of The General Assembly of The United Nations Organization of the Granting of Independence to colonial Countries and Peoples of 1960 (reconfirmed in 1972), reclining upon the United Nations Charter and upon the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, taking into consideration the Declaration of the United States Congress regarding the Captive Nations Law (1959) which guarantees the support of the United States Government to all subjugated nations in the USSR and satellite countries in their struggle for independence —

The WACL CONFERENCE does not accept, nor does it recognize the validity of the Helsinki agreement.

2. Taking into consideration the above statements, the WACL CONFERENCE calls upon all Nations of the free world to instigate political, psychological and ideological warfare against Moscow, to include into their complex the true national-liberation wars conducted by the captive nations by all available means, against Russian occupation and Communist tyranny, that is, to morally and actively support the national-liberation revolutionary struggles taking place in: Ukraine, Byelorussia, Lithu-

ania, Latvia, Estonia, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaidzhan, Turkestan, Northern Caucasus, Czechia, Slovakia, Hungary, Croatia, Serbia, Poland, East Germany, Cuba, and others, including Cambodia, Vietnam, Laos and North Korea.

3. The WACL CONFERENCE appeals to the United Nations' representatives of every non-communist country to demand equal representation in the United Nations for the captive nations' revolutionary movements, both active in their occupied countries and in exile, similar to the representation granted to the PLO (Palestine Liberation Organization).

4. The WACL CONFERENCE calls on all freedom loving countries to denounce and condemn on the United Nations forum Russian colonialism, imperialism, chauvinism, ethnocide and linguicide, Russification, concentration camps, labour camps and

placement into insane asylums of freedom loving political and religious people, to demand free exit visas out of the Soviet Union and the satellite countries for all, who so desire.

5. The WACL CONFERENCE appeals to all free nations to refuse, any aid to those who practice tyranny and slavery, any aid to the ever expanding Russian military machine, by ceasing all economic relations with the U.S.S.R. and its satellites, but to support the liberation movements which are striving for the downfall of this last colonial empire and for the destruction of the Communist system of slavery, furthermore to condemn armed intervention as exemplified by Moscow's and Cuba's violation of the territorial integrity of the recently liberated nation of Angola and to intercept this and all future aggression.

WACL IN SUPPORT FOR INDEPENDENCE OF UKRAINE

Whereas Ukraine, with statehood tradition lasting now more than a thousand years, with 50 million a nation-minded strong, people with undestrated revolutionary-liberating potentiality, with huge economic riches, occupying the key geopolitical and strategic territorial area — is the Achilles heel of the Russian empire.

whereas Russian's exploiting of Ukraine as a land immensely rich in minerals and European granary, using and abusing the talents of Ukrainian people with their many inventors, scientists and artist to strengthen the political position of their own Russian empire in the world's opinion,

whereas separation of Ukraine from Russia, reestablishment of Ukrainian independence and

statehood will bring about independence and statehood to the Caucasian and Baltic nations as well as to Byelorussia, Turkestan, and still other nations within the Russian empire, which in turn shall create quite a different political situation in Europe, Asia and the Mediterranean sea from that of being a reality now, for such successive gains of independence shall surely bring about the downfall of the Russian empire.

whereas dissolution of the Russian empire shall complete the process of decolonization now prevailing in the world and thereby secure a just and lasting peace —

THE IXth WACL CONFERENCE:

supports the national-liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people for its independence, realizing

the important changes of the political situation in the entire world such independence would bring about,

requests that all available means and efforts be applied to force Russian occupying troops and the Communist terror apparatus out of Ukrainian territories.

requests that OUN, Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, popularly known as the *Bandera Movement* be granted by the United Nations the same *status* as was recently granted to the PLO (Palestine Liberation Organization),

demands bringing to an end Russification of Ukraine, Russian continuous destruction of Ukrainian culture, persecution of Ukrainian catacomb churches, Ukrainian Catholic Church, Ukrainian Orthodox Autocephalic Church, protestant faiths severe national discrimination directed against Ukrainians, integral economic exploitation, as well as massive deportation of Ukrainian youth to the far corners of Soviet Union, which equals ethnocide,

appeals to all non-Communist governments and freedom loving

peoples throughout the world to raise their voice in defence of Ukrainian political inmates and religious prisoners, like Yuriy Shukhevych, Valentyn Moroz, Sviatoslav Karavansky, Eugene Pryshlyak, Irene Senyk, Ihor Kalynets, Irena Stasiv-Kalynets, Ivan Ilchuk, Oleksa Bilsky, Vasyl Stus, rev. Vasyl Romaniuk, Ivan Svitlychny, Zinoviy Krasivsky, Viacheslav Chornovil, Vasyl Lisovy — and all the others, demanding their immediate release from Russian jails, concentration camps and insane asylums and permission for them to leave the Soviet Union, since most of them have already renounced their Soviet citizenship,

appeals to all democratic countries in the world to invite these freedom fighters and believers, offering them homesteads and respective citizenships.

appeals to all decent men and women in the world to use their influence and protests in every walk of life to bring about the total liquidation of political prisons, concentration camps and abuse of insane asylums in the Soviet Union.

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A Quarterly Magazine devoted to the study of Ukraine.

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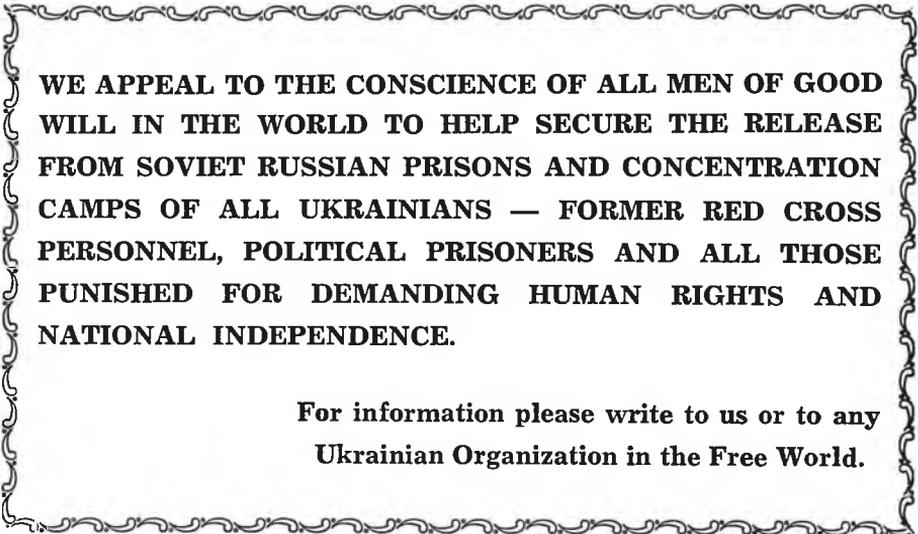
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WE APPEAL TO THE CONSCIENCE OF ALL MEN OF GOOD WILL IN THE WORLD TO HELP SECURE THE RELEASE FROM SOVIET RUSSIAN PRISONS AND CONCENTRATION CAMPS OF ALL UKRAINIANS — FORMER RED CROSS PERSONNEL, POLITICAL PRISONERS AND ALL THOSE PUNISHED FOR DEMANDING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

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In the World of Learning

Theodore MACKIW
(University of Akron)

THE RISE OF THE UKRAINIAN MILITARY REPUBLIC (THE HETMANSTATE) 1649-1764

To my dear friends Dr. Volodymyr and
Juliana Biletskyj, enthusiastic students
of Ukrainian history

dedicated

At the 14th International Congress of Historical Sciences in San Francisco, Professor József Perényi delivered a paper, which has been published in pamphlet form under the title: *The Ottoman Expansion and the Rise of the East-European Centralized States*, San Francisco, 1975. In his paper Professor Perényi mentioned the rise of such states as Brandenburg-Prussia, which was a vassal of Poland, and Transylvania, a vassal of Turkey; but for some reason neglected to mention the rise of the Ukrainian Military Republic, known also as the *Hetmanstate*.

It is not my purpose to write the history of the Hetmanstate*, but to present the historical background of the rise to statehood of the Ukrainian Military Republic, which was recognized by the Polish King in accordance with the Peace Treaty of Zboriv of August 18, 1649.

I. Introduction.

It is well known that, according to the agreement of August 15, 1385 in Krevo (Union of Krevo), Ukraine was supposed to join with Lithuania and Poland on equal terms, i.e. the rights of the Orthodox Church, the Church-Slavonic language and the code (*Lytovsky Statut*) would be preserved. Although in practice these rights were not always observed, nevertheless, there was a legal foundation for opposing Polish domination. The Ukrainian territory, which was formerly united with the Lithuanian Grand-Duchy, was ruled by its own administration. Since it was united with the Polish Kingdom through the personage of the Polish King, who at the same time was the Lithuanian Grand-Duke, the Lithuanian nobility carefully watched and defended this status. The situation was changed when the last Jagellonian, Sigismund August, forced the Lithuanian nobility to

*) There are numerous works dealing with the history of the Ukrainian Military Republic; see representative bibliography Appendix No. 6.

sign the act of union between Lithuania and Poland in 1569 (Union of Lublin). Now the Ukrainian territory was subdued by the Polish administration. Public offices were given only to noblemen of Catholic faith, and thus a great number of Polish gentry — *Szlachta* — arrived in Ukraine to take not only offices but also estates. The Orthodox Ukrainian noblemen were excluded from their rights or slowly switched from orthodoxy, which at that time meant Ukrainian nationality, to Roman Catholicism, which meant Polish nationality.

At the turn of the seventeenth century, the Ukrainians were an oppressed and exasperated people. The French engineer in Polish service, Guillaume le Vasseur Sieur de Beauplan,¹ noted in his memoirs that the peasants in the Ukraine:

“were very miserable... In short, they are obliged to give their masters what they please to demand; so that it is no wonder those wretches never lay up any thing, being under such hard circumstances. Yet this is not all, for their lords have an absolute power, not only over their goods, but their lives; so great is the prerogative of the Polish nobility (who live as if they were in heaven, and the peasants in purgatory) so that if it happens that those wretched peasants fall under the servitude of bad lords, they are in a worse condition than galley-slaves”.²

Another eyewitness, Peter Skarga, the Polish Jesuit, well-known theologian and preacher at the Polish Royal Court, wrote that

“... there is no country in the world, where the peasants, subjects of the lords would be as oppressed as they are in our country under the unlimited authority of the *Szlachta*”³

Another Polish priest, Msgr. Jan Józefowicz, stated in his chronicle of the city of Lviv as follows:

“... I heard from my older Polish countrymen, who knew the conditions in these provinces under Polish administration, and they told me that even their [Ukrainian Orthodox] Church was given to the Jews for rent so that the Cossack [Ukrainian] priest, called “pop”, could not administer in his church to his parishioners the holy sacraments of baptism, matrimony or other sacraments, if he did not pay the Jew a fee for the key. The fee was set by the [Polish] landlord. The priest had to return the key to the Jew after every service. The future generations should make a judgement for themselves on how the Christian faith was abused and profaned. Oh, Poland, you deserved this fate...”⁴

1) For details, see Frère, Edouard Benjamin, (1797-1874). *Manuel du bibliographe normand ou Dictionnaire bibliographique et historique...* (Rouen, 1858-60), 2 vols.

2) G. de Beauplan, *Description d'Ukraine, qui sont plusieurs provinces du Royaume de Pologne*, (Rouen, 1650). I used an English translation: *A Description of Ukraine, Containing Several Provinces of the Kingdom of Poland, Lying between the Confines of Muscovy, and the Border of Transylvania*, in *A Collection of Voyages and Travels*, (London, 1774), Vol. I, p. 449.

3) George Vernadsky, *Bohdan: Hetman of Ukraine*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941), p. 11.

4) “Letopis sobytij v youzhnoj Rusi Ivovskago kanonika Jana Józefowicza, 1624-1700”, *Sbornik letopisej odnosiaschchysia k istorii youzhnoj i zapadnoj Rusi* (The chronicle of events in the Southern Rus by Msgr. Jan Józefowicz of Lviv, 1624-1700, *Collection of Chronicles Concerning History of Southern and Western Rus*), Kyiv, 1888), pp. 115-212, (“... Audiivi ab antiquioribus etiam nostris Polonis, rei scientiam habentibus, quod in tantum in partibus illis insolens dominatio Polonorum processerat, ut etiam super ecclesias jus isti genti tribueret. Non enim praesbiter cosacorum, (vulgo vocatur pop) sacramenta baptismi, matrimonii atque in ecclesia sua administrare paraphianis suis licitum habebat, ni prius a clavibus judaeo (quas semper ad judaei manus ab ostio ecclesiae suae deferre et deponere cogebatur) constitutum a domino pensionem persolveret; haec cum quanto abusu et praepudicium sacramentorum ac fidei Christianae erant, judicet posteritas fidelium. Et ita merito malis tuis succubuisti Polonia, justas superbiae ac flagitiorum tuorum poenas recipisti...”, pp. 121-2).

Similarly, the situation in the Ukraine in the 17th century was characterized by the Rabbi of the city of Zaslav, Nathan Hanover, in his chronicle:

“King Sigismund, however, raised the status of the Catholic dukes and princes above those of the Ukrainians, so that most of the latter abandoned their Greek-Orthodox faith and embraced Catholicism. And the masses that followed the Greek Orthodox Church became gradually impoverished. They were looked upon as low and inferior beings and became the slaves and the handmaids of the Polish people and of the Jews. Those among them who were trained warriors were conscripted by the King to serve in his army. . . . The Cossacks therefore enjoyed special privileges like the nobility, and were exempt from taxes. The rest of the Ukrainians, however, were a wretched and enslaved lot, servants to the dukes and the nobles. Their lives were made bitter by hard labour, in mortar and bricks, and in all manner of services in the house and in the field. The nobles levied upon them heavy taxes, and some even resorted to cruelty and torture with the intent of persuading them to accept Catholicism. So wretched and lowly had they become that all classes of people, even the lowliest among them (The Jews), became their overlords”.⁵

The maltreatment of the Ukrainian population by the *Szlachta* and especially the oppression of the Orthodox Church by the Polish Catholic clergy (particularly by the Polish Jesuits, who were determined to convert the Ukrainian people to Catholicism by force) caused frequent tensions and uprisings against the Poles. This culminated in the great national insurrection by the Cossacks⁶ in 1648 led by the former Cossack Captain, Bohdan Khmelnytsky (Chmelnyckyj or Chmielnicki), who became Hetman⁷ (1648-1657) of the autonomous military Cossack Republic better known as the *Hetmanstate*, first under the Polish, and from 1654 under the Russian protectorate.

At that time the protectorate was a quite common condition even for such countries as Holland under Spain (1559-1648), Prussia under Poland (1525-1668), Estonia and Livonia under Sweden (1648-1721). Although the Ukrainian Hetmanstate was a protectorate, nevertheless, as the German historian, Hans Schumann, has observed in his dissertation, the Hetmanstate had its own territory, people, and specific democratic system of government as early as the seventeenth century, as well as military forces, namely the Cossacks, so that the

5) N. Hanover, *Yeven Metzulah*, (first edition: Venice 1653). I used an English translation by the Rabbi Abraham J. Mesch, entitled *Abyss of Despair*, (New York: Bloch Publishing Co., 1950), pp. 27-28.

6) The word “Cossack” is of Turkish origin, and meant a guard, a free soldier, a messenger, or a freebooter. For details see: I. Sreznevsky, *Materialy slovaria drevne-russkogo yazyka*, (*Materials for Dictionary of the Old-Russian Language*), (St. Petersburg, 1893), Vol. I, p. 1174; also: D. I. Evarnitsky, *Istoria Zaporozhskikh Kozakov*, (*History of the Zaporoger Cossacks*), (St. Petersburg, 1892, 1895, 1897), 3 vols.; G. Stöckl, *Die Entstehung des Kosakentums (The Origin of the Cossacks)*, (Munich, 1953), and others.

7) Hetman literally translated means “Headman”, the official title of chief-executive of the Hetmanstate, approximately equivalent to the title of “Doge” of the Republic of Venice. See the list of Hetmans 1649-1764, Appendix No. 5.

creator of this Cossack military republic, Bohdan Khmelnytsky was *de facto* an independent ruler.⁸

The Hetmanstate lasted until 1764, when Catherine II forced the last Hetman, Cyril Rosumovsky (1750-1764), to abdicate. In 1774 she also abolished the *Sitch* (Host) or *Zaporozhe* ("below the Cataracts" of the Dnieper River, approximately where the city of Dnipropetrovsk is located), the stronghold of the Cossacks. In 1783 she formally incorporated the Hetmanstate into the Russian Empire. After the destruction of the Cossack Host by General Tekeli, some Zaporozhian Cossacks were able to escape into Turkish jurisdiction and establish there the so-called *Zadunaiska Sitch* (the Host beyond the Danube River). However, Prince G. A. Potemkin, in order to prevent further migration of the Cossacks, decided to establish for the Cossacks the "Black Sea Army" (Chornomorski Kozaky), and some Cossacks returned in 1783 under Russian jurisdiction. The other Cossacks who did not want to stay under Turkish jurisdiction, were granted permission from Emperor Joseph II to establish their *Sitch* in the Banat. They did not stay long, and finally returned under Russian jurisdiction in 1828, but they were never permitted to restore the old Host. With time their descendants, retaining some old Cossack privileges, became a part of the Russian Armed Forces until 1917.⁹

II. Establishment of the Hetmanstate by the Peace Treaty of Zboriv in 1649.

In his paper *The Ottoman Expansion and the Rise of the East-European Centralized States*, Professor Perényi did not mention the relationship and alliances between the Hetmanate and the Ottoman Empire, despite the fact that on this subject there is much literature. Among other works, I would like to mention, for example: Athanasius Velykyj published thirteen volumes of nuntial reports from Warsaw about the relationship between the Ukrainian Cossacks and the Porte,¹⁰ Omeljan Pritsak wrote an excellent essay about the first Turkish-Ukrainian Alliance of 1648.¹¹ There is also a very good recent essay dealing with the relationship and alliances between the Hetmanstate

⁸ H. Schumann, *Der Hetmanstaat 1654-1764, (The Hetmanstate 1654-1764)*, (Breslau, 1936), p. 4. (The text of this dissertation is also published in *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Ost-europas*, (1936), pp. 499-548).

About Khmelnytsky's life and his activities see: above mentioned Vernadsky's monograph; N. Kostomarov, *Bogdan Khmelnytsky, Polnoye Sobranie Sochynenij*, (St. Petersburg, 1904), Vol. IV, (1st ed. 1884); M. Hrushevsky, *Istoria Ukrainy-Rusy*, (New York, 1954-1958), Vol. VIII, p. 2, and Vol. IX, two parts; there is also an abbreviated English translation by O. J. Frederiksen, *A History of Ukraine*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1948); I. Krypiakewycz, "Studii and Derzhavuju B. Khmelnytskoho", (Studies about B. Khmelnytsky's State), *Zapysky Naukovoho Tovarystva im. Shevchenka*, (further quoted as "ZNTS"), 1931, Vol. CLI, pp. 11-150; S. Tomashivsky, "Materialy do istorii Khmelnychyny", (Materials to Khmelnytsky's Period), ZNTS, 1896, Vol. XIV, pp. 1-14; and others.

⁹ For details see: V. Antonovych, *Korotka Istoriya Kozachchyny (Outline of History of the Cossacks)*, Tschernivci: 1912); N. Korol, *Ukrainske kosatstvo — rodonachalnyk kinnoho vyska Moskovti-Rosii (The Ukrainian Cossack — the Progenitor of the Cavalry in Muscovy-Russia)*, published by ZNTS, (New York, 1963).

and the Ottoman Empire in the 17th century and in the first half of the 18th written by Peter Bartl.¹²

According to Pritsak, Khmelnytsky went in March 1648 with his son Tymish to Bahcheseray to ask the Khan for help against Poland. Khmelnytsky was successful and the Khan, Islam Girey, reported on April 25, 1648 to the Porte that he had completed an alliance with Khmelnytsky.¹³ In May 1648 the Tartars under the command of *Mirza* of Perekop, Tugay Bey, joined the Cossacks and together defeated the Polish Army at the city of Korsunj (May 26, 1648).

When Khmelnytsky raised his insurrection against Poland, all Europe echoed with reports of it. Information concerning this uprising can be found not only in the nuntial and other diplomatic reports from Warsaw, but also in the contemporary European press. I would like to mention for example such London newspapers as: *The Public Intelligencer, communicating the Chief Occurrences and Proceedings within the Dominions of England, Scotland, and Ireland: Together with an Account of Affairs from Several Parts of Europe; Mercurius Politicus, Comprising the Sum of Forraign Intelligence...; The Moderate Intelligencer: Impartially Communicating Martiall Affairs to the Kingdome of England; A Briefe Relation of Some Affaires and Transactions Civil and Military, both Foraigne and Domestique*, (further quoted as "Briefe Relations").

These events were also reported in such German newspapers as: the *Ordinariü Dienstags Zeitung*, No. 31 and 32 of 1649, the *Europaeische Mitwochentliche Zeitung*, No. 36, 1649; both published in Hamburg. The Nuremberg magazine *Neu-eroeffneter Historischer Bilder-Saal* (Vol. IV, pp. 746-7), the Frankfurt *Theatrum Europeum* (Vol. VI, pp. 372-4, 545-8, 812-823, Vol. VII, p. 226), and other pamphlets and memoirs.¹⁴

After the victorious battles in 1648, (Zhovti Vody, May 6, Korsunj, May 26, and Pylavtsi, September 27), Kmelnytsky moved towards the city of Lviv, besieged it, but because of the Ukrainian inhabitants in it, spared the city after collecting ransom. From there he moved to the fortress of Zamostia, besieged it, and sent his envoys to Warsaw to negotiate peace. Among them was his former professor, a Jesuit

10) A. Velykyj, *Litterae Nuntiorum Apostolicorum historiam Ucrainae illustrantes*, (thereafter "Litterae Nuntiorum"), (Rome 1959-1969), 13 vols.

11) O. Pritsak, "Das erste türkisch-ukrainische Bündnis (1648)", *Oriens* (1953), Vol. VI, No. 2, pp. 266-298; also his essay "Soyuz Khmelnytskoho z Turechynoju 1648 roku", *ZNTS*, (1948), Vol. 156, pp. 143-164.

12) P. Bartl, "Der Kosakenstaat und das Osmanische Reich im 17. und in der ersten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts", *Südost-Forschungen*, (1974), Vol. XXXIII, pp. 166-194.

13) Pritsak, "Das erste türkisch-ukrainische Bündnis", p. 278.

14) G. de Beauplan, op. cit.; Pierre Chevalier, *Histoire de la guerre des Cosaques contre la Pologne*, (Paris, 1663); an English translation appeared in London, 1672; P. Linage de Veauciennes, *L'origine veritable du soulèvement des Cosaques contre la Pologne*, (Paris, 1674); Joachim Pastorius ab Hirtenberg, *Bellum scythico-cosacicum seu de conituratione Tartarum, Cosacorum et plebis russicae contra regnum Polonia ab Ioanne Casimiro profigata*, (Danzig, 1652); *Gründliche und denckwürdige Relation der newlichen Cosaken-Unruhwiider Cron Polen unter commando gen. Chmielnicki als gen. Hauptman...*, (1649); Alberto Vimina, *Historia della guerra civili di Polonia*, (Venice, 1672) and *Relazione dell'origine e del costumi dei Cossacchi fata l'anno 1656*, (Venice, 1890); for details see Hrushevsky, op. cit., Vol. VIII, p. 2, pp. 196-224.

priest, Hunzel Mokrski, who suggested that if Jan Casimir, the half-brother of the late Vladislav IV, were elected as the new king¹⁵, Khmelnytsky would be willing to bring the war to an end under the following conditions:

1. general amnesty for all participants of the war;
2. restoration of their previous rights and privileges;
3. permission to send naval expeditions to the Black Sea;
4. the Hetman with the increased Cossack Army should be under the King's authority only;
5. the abolition of that part of the Ukrainian Catholic Church known as the "Uniate Church", which was united with Rome in 1596.¹⁶

The King accepted the Hetman's terms and through his envoy, Stanislaw Oldakowski, promised to appoint a special commission for further peace negotiations, but insisted that Khmelnytsky dismiss the Tartars and retreat with his army into the Ukraine.

The Hetman accepted the King's conditions and at the end of December, 1648, returned to Kyiv, the centre of the cultural and intellectual life of Ukraine, where he was greeted and celebrated as victor, national leader, and hero by the entire population headed by the head of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, Metropolitan Sylvester Kosiv, and the Patriarch of Jerusalem, Paisius, who was on his way to Moscow. The Hetman was encouraged by the Patriarch and envoys from Turkey, Transylvania, Wallachia, and Moldavia, who awaited him in Kyiv¹⁷, and realized that he had now become an international figure and national leader, whose responsibilities were not limited to the Cossacks alone, but also to the entire Ukrainian people. When the Polish Commissioners arrived in January, 1649, for further negotiations, they noticed great changes in the Hetman's thinking. Khmelnytsky to their surprise demanded independence for the whole Ukraine, stating: "I am a small and insignificant man, but by the will of God I have become the independent ruler of Rusj". Of course, the Poles could not accept that, and they realized that a war was inevitable. But in order to free prisoners of the previous insurrection and at least postpone the dangerous war, the commissioners begged the Hetman to sign reasonable terms of armistice. The Hetman at first refused to do so, but finally on February 24, agreed to sign the armistice on the following conditions: 1. abolition of the Uniate Church; 2. the Metropolitan of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, the archbishop of Kyiv, was to receive a seat in the Polish Senate; 3. all civil officers to be appointed must be Ukrainians; 4. the Jesuits were not to be permitted to live in Ukraine, although other Catholic orders were allowed to remain there; 5. Prince J. Wiszniowiecki was never to be appointed commanding general of the Polish Army, (he had

15) For more details see: M. Korduba, "Borotba za polskyj prestil po smerty Wolodyslawa IV", ("Struggle for the Polish Throne after the death of Vladislav IV"), *Zherela do Istorii Ukrainy Kozachchyny (Acta Historica res gestas Kozacorum Ukrainiensium illustrantia)*, (Lviv, 1911), Vol. XII, pp. 1-60.

16) Cf., Hrushevsky, *op. cit.*, Vol. VIII, p. 3, pp. 112-115; Vernadsky, *op. cit.*, p. 56-57.

17) For details see: Vernadsky, *op. cit.*, pp. 59-60; Bartl, *op. cit.*, pp. 172-3; *Litterae Nuntiorum*, Vol. VII, pp. 19, 22.

committed many atrocities against the Ukrainian population); 6. Polish as well as Cossack troops were not allowed to cross the defined borders; 7. this armistice was to be in force until the Orthodox Pentecost, at which time a new commission was to arrive for completing negotiations and registration of the Cossack Army. It was also understood that the delegation would receive the prisoners and would surrender to the Hetman the Polish nobleman Czaplinski, who, in the spring of 1647, had seized Khmelnytsky's estates in Subotiv, destroyed his property, insulted his family, and killed his son¹⁸.

Curiously enough, Khmelnytsky's demands were known even in England. *The Moderate Intelligencer* of May 10, 1649, (No. 216), relying on information from Danzig of April 6, 1649, reported as follows:

"The Commissioners which the King of Poland sent to treat Chmielnisky General of the Cossagues, be returned to Warsovia; where they report, that this General shews but little inclination unto peace: and yet that they accord unto a Cessation of Arms until Whitesontide; during which no Polonian may advance beyond the Town of Bar, nor Cosaque further then only on this side thereof. They have brought also their Demands from that General: 1. That at the Assembly of the Realme, a Russian [Ukrainian] Archbishop may sit among th' other Prelates; 2. That the Re-union of the Russians [Ukrainians] with the Church of Rome shall be revoked; 3. That Craplinsky [Czaplinski], who carried away the wife of Chmielnisky, may be delivered into the hands of the Cossagues; 4. That no Charge, of Command, be given unto the Prince of Wieseinizm [Wisznio-wiecki] beyond the River of Borystenes [Dnieper]; 5. That the General of the Cosaques may be permitted to raise as many Troops as he will, without depending on any other, but his Majesty of Poland immediately; 6. And that none but a Gentleman of Russia [Ukraine] to be from henceforth, **Voyvode**, or Castle-keeper of Kiow. But these Conditions being found too unjust, great Preparation is made all Poland over to bring those Rebels unto reason, His said Majesty being resolved to go in Person against them with an Army of 40,000 men".

At the outset the Polish Commissioners rejected these terms, but having no alternative, were finally forced to accept them. On February 26, 1649, the Hetman handed them the copy of the armistice agreement, and a personal letter to the King in which he reiterated the above mentioned terms.

In general, these conditions were the restatement of Khmelnytsky's previous modest demands, considerably altered from what he desired at the opening of negotiations with the Polish delegation. The Polish Senate, however, rejected the Hetman's conditions as unacceptable, and early in May, 1649, the King ordered a general mobilization. Realizing that there would be no peace, Khmelnytsky also ordered a general mobilization, and the Ukrainian people responded with great enthusiasm. Everyone seemed to be aware of the importance of the historical moment. In addition, Khmelnytsky invited the Khan of Crimea, Islam Geray, to come to his assistance, which he agreed

¹⁸⁾ For details see: Hrushevsky, *op. cit.*, Vol. VIII, p. 3, pp. 145-155; also Vernadsky, *op. cit.*, pp. 65-67. *Neu-eroeffneter Historischer Bilder-Saal*, Vol. IV, p. 746.

to do. Although the Ukrainian population was uneasy about aid from the Tartars, for they remembered the Tartar raids and devastation of 1648¹⁹, the Hetman appreciated the psychological effect which the Tartars had upon the Polish soldiers.

The Polish Armed Forces were divided into three parts: the regular Polish Army concentrated between Galicia and Volhynia; Polish troops formed in Lithuania under the command of General Janusz Radziwill (to attack the Ukraine from the northeast); and the third part, composed mostly of the *Szlachta* under the personal command of the King, was held in reserve.

As soon as the regular Polish Army attacked the Cossack troops in Volhynia, Khmelnytsky marched to meet them, but by the end of June, 1649, the Poles retreated to the strong fortress of Zbarash. Here they began to fortify their positions, and were reinforced by the troops under the command of an arch-enemy of the Cossacks, Prince Jeremiah Wiszniowiecki. Meanwhile, on July 9, both the Cossack Army and the Tartars appeared on the near-by hills. Khmelnytsky laid siege to the fortress and harassed the Polish troops by repeated attacks and continuous bombardment. Since the fortifications of the Polish camp were unfinished, the Cossacks were ready to rush upon the enemy to take the camp by assault. This strategy might have succeeded had not Prince Wiszniowiecki commanded the Polish troops there. Despite the Prince's inspiration and the bravery and endurance of the Poles, their situation soon became desperate, and a drastic shortage of food was felt in the Polish camp. The Poles tried to negotiate with the Khan, but to no avail. They also attempted to negotiate with the Hetman, but he demanded unconditional surrender. Hoping that the King would send them reinforcements, the Poles were determined to continue resistance. The reinforcements could not be sent because the *Szlachta* was still in the process of assembling its forces. Early in August, the King, without waiting for all regiments, decided to march south. On August 10, a messenger, who was able to cross the Cossack lines, reached the King's camp in northern Galicia, urging him to come with help to the Polish troops at Zbarash without delay. The King spurred on to rescue his troops there. Meanwhile Khmelnytsky, having been informed by his spies of the progress of the King's army, left the main body of his troops at Zbarash, and with the flower of his cavalry and the Khan, hastened secretly northwest, from where the King was approaching. On August 15, after having safely reached Zboriv, the Poles started to cross the river of Zboriv without taking any special precautions. When, at noon, the King and half of the Polish Army crossed the river, Khmelnytsky gave the order to attack the Poles, the attack came as a total surprise to them. Soon the Polish Army and the King were completely surrounded by the Cossacks and Tartars, and defeat was inevitable.

¹⁹ Khmelnytsky complained about these Tartars raids at the Porte and the Great Vezier, Ahmet Pasha, reprimanded the Khan to stop further raids. For details see: Pritsak, "Das erste türkisch-ukrainische Bündnis", pp. 270-283, also Bartl, *op. cit.*, pp. 171-2.

However, at the suggestion of the Polish Chancellor, Jerzy Ossolinski, the King wrote to the Khan a personal letter in which he assured the Khan of his friendship and offered him suitable indemnities. The Khan consented and forced the Hetman to make peace with the King.²⁰ On August 18, 1649, the King signed a peace treaty with the Khan and with the Hetman.

This battle at Zboriv and the subsequent Peace Treaty between the Hetman and the Polish King were reported by the *Briefe Relation* of October 16, 1649.²¹ The Hamburg *Europaeische Mitwochentliche Zeitung*, No. 36, 1649 also published the text of Peace Treaty at Zboriv.²² Both the English and German texts are substantially identical, with the exception that in the German text it is mentioned that Jesuits and Jews were not permitted to live in Ukraine, (article X). Nothing is mentioned about them in the *Briefe Relation*.

III. Conclusion

Although Khmelnytsky surrounded the Polish Army so that the Polish defeat at Zboriv was inevitable, due to the treachery of the Crimean Khan, the Hetman was forced to follow the Khan's "advice" in order to prevent a united Tartar-Polish attack upon the Cossack Army. In these circumstances Khmelnytsky could not obtain full independence, but the Treaty of Zboriv was an important step in that direction, and he secured more concessions than he hoped to gain in 1648.

Although the three provinces were subjected to the authority of the Hetman, the Polish commissioners were still in office; a Polish commissioner of Ukrainian descent, Adam Kysil, was appointed by the King as a governor of Kyiv. Moreover, the power and rights of Polish magnates in their estates in the Ukraine were not abolished. Though the Ukrainian peasants were pardoned, they were ordered by the Hetman to return to work for their landlords as before.

During this campaign the number of the Cossack troops was significantly increased, and many peasants contributed to the Hetman's victory no less than did the regular Cossacks. Now, according to this treaty, only 40,000 were permitted to be registered. All others would have to return to their Polish landlords. Neither the peasants nor the participants of the Zboriv campaign intended to obey the Hetman, and they refused to return to the servitude of their landlords. In addition, the Tartars — allies (sic!) on their way back to the Crimea, with the permission of the Polish King and the consent of the Hetman, plundered villages and towns, capturing men, women, and even children to sell them on the slave markets at the Black Sea ports.

It is no wonder that the Ukrainian people felt that they had been

²⁰ N. Kostomarov was wrong in saying that the Khan was determined to capture the King, and that Khmelnytsky himself offered the truce to the Poles. *Op. cit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 301, 311.

²¹ The full text of the peace treaty of Zboriv see Appendix No. 1.

²² The German text of the peace treaty of Zboriv see Appendix No. 2.

betrayed, and they were both grieved and angry. General dissatisfaction, discontent, and criticism of Khmelnytsky and this treaty was spread all over the country. Tension was so great that any adventurous leader could organize a new insurrection against both the *Szlachta* and Khmelnytsky, who permitted them to return to Ukraine. In fact, some small revolts against the Polish magnates were led by Colonel D. Nechai and a Zaporozhian Cossack Khudolii. Both were suppressed by Khmelnytsky.

Unfortunately, as the well-known historian Michael Hrushevsky pointed out in his history of Ukraine, the text of the Peace Treaty of Zboriv was not included in the Polish Register of Documents — *Volumina Legum*²³ — Hrushevsky, using the text of this treaty from an incomplete translation from the Archives of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, published its contents in his history.²⁴

There is no essential difference between Hrushevsky's text and that of the *Briefe Relation*. There is a difference, however, in a few articles. In article II, the *Briefe Relation* mentioned that Khmelnytsky had to bow before the Polish King asking his pardon, whereas there is nothing about this ceremony in Hrushevsky's text. This ceremony had indeed taken place, however, as reported by an eye-witness, a Polish officer, Jakob Michalkowski, in his memoirs²⁵.

This might be explained by the fact that the Polish Government did not want to antagonize the Cossacks, and did not include it formally as the term of the treaty. However, in order to denigrate Khmelnytsky in the eyes of European public opinion, the Polish Government included this ceremony as one of the terms of treaty in the text defined for the foreign governments.²⁶

Articles VIII and X in Hrushevsky's text state that the Jews were not permitted to live or rent property in the provinces of Kyiv, Braslav, and Chernihiv; also, the Jesuits were not allowed to establish their schools there (article X). But nothing is mentioned about the Jews and the Jesuits in the *Briefe Relation*.

Although the *Briefe Relation* did not mention the Jesuits and the Jews, there are some other sources that confirm Hrushevsky's text. The *Moderate Intelligencer* of October 4, 1649 and the *Europaeische Mitwochentliche Zeitung* also mentioned briefly the Jesuits and the Jews, who were prohibited to settle in these three provinces in Ukraine.²⁷ Rabbi Nathan Hanover, also mentioned this prohibition in his chronicle.²⁸

23) There is also an incomplete translation of the Treaty of Zboriv, which is included in the Russian Collection of Documents and Treaties (*Sbornik gosudarstvennykh gramot i dogovorov*, Vol. III, p. 450), cf., Hrushevsky, *op. cit.*, Vol. VIII, part 3, p. 217.

24) Hrushevsky, *op. cit.*, Vol. VIII, part 3, pp. 215-217. For the full text in translation see Appendix No. 3.

25) Hrushevsky, *op. cit.*, Vol. VIII, part 3, p. 218.

26) Hrushevsky, *op. cit.*, Vol. VIII, part 2, pp. 201-202. The author of this article checked in the Public Record Office in London, but was not able to find a copy of the Peace Treaty of Zboriv.

27) See Appendix No. 4 for the full text. Cf. Appendix No. 2.

28) N. Hanover, *op. cit.*, pp. 100-101.

In conclusion, it is not only very interesting that the English press paid attention to the events in Ukraine, but since there is no original text of the Peace Treaty of Zboriv preserved, (only incomplete copies of it are available) the text of this treaty published in the *Briefe Relation* and in *Europaeische Mitwochentliche Zeitung* of 1649, not only confirms the terms of this controversial treaty, but can be considered as an authentic text, because there is no reason to believe that the *Briefe Relation* and the *Europaeische Mitwochentliche Zeitung* by the Polish Government abroad (“relatio altera quae ad extros missa est”), had any reason to change its contents.

Finally, Bohdan Khmelnytsky was described by the well-known Russian-American historian, George Vernadsky, as a military leader “at least equal to Wallenstein”, in diplomatic ability “hardly inferior” to Richelieu or Mazarin, and as a statesman and a revolutionary leader of the calibre of Oliver Cromwell.²⁹ Khmelnytsky impressed the minds of both his contemporaries and of the following generations of the Ukrainian people. He was acclaimed liberator of the Ukrainian nation, and if he had lived longer, he would probably have succeeded in establishing a stable Cossack government in Ukraine.

Appendix No. 1

The Terms of the Peace Treaty of Zboriv by *The Briefe Relation* of October 16, 1649, No. 3, pp. 28-29:

I.

“That the King should give a generall pardon to all the Cosaques, and that all things past should be as if they had not been.

II.

“That Chimelnisky their Generall should demand pardon of the King upon his knees, and his head bowed downe to the ground.

III.

“That he should neverthesse continue Generall of the said Cosaques, to the number of 40,000, in which quality he should depend onely upon the King when he had made an Act of acknowledgement for the Republicke as a Gentleman of Poland.

IIII.

“That the King of Poland should keepe a Register of the names and dwellings of the above said 40,000 men, who in case of the death of their General Chimelnisky, should be commanded by one of their own Chiefs of the Greek Church.

V.

“That the Army beseiged should be set at liberty the same day.

²⁹ G. Vernadsky, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

VI.

“That the Greek Religion may be exercised throughout the Kingdom, even at Cracovia, and that there shall be no more Greeks united to the Roman Church.

VII.

“That the Palatinate of Kion shall be always given to a Greek Lord.

VIII.

“That the Metropolitan of the Greekes shall have his seat in the Senate among the Bishops, and shall have the ninth place.

IX.

“That the Cham of Tartars shall retire with his Army: That he shall receive 100,000. Crownes, whereof one third shall be paid in hand, and hostage sufficient and solvent shall be given for the other two thirds.

X.

“That Poland shall continue to pay the Tartars the 12,000. accustomed for each yeare, as it hath been payd since the raigne of Sigismond Augustas, upon condition that they shall be obliged to come to the helpe of the Poles when they shall be thereunto required, with the number of 40,000.

XI.

“That the Cosaques shall have permission to make aquavitae for themselves, but not to sell”.

Appendix No. 2

The terms of the Peace Treaty of Zboriv by the *Europaeischen Mitwochentlichen Zeitung*, 36. Woche, 1649.

Stettin/ den 8 dito.

“Aus Pohlen haben Nachricht/ daß zwischen dem König und Cosaken/ weiln diese umb Perdon angehalten/ un dem König zu gehorsamen angelobet/ ein Vergleich getroffen seyn/ und auff diesen nachfolgenden Articulen bestehen solle:

“Puncta des getroffenen Friedens/ zwischen Ihr Königl. Majest. in Pohlen und dem Chmilinsky.

1. “Daß allezeit von der Kron Pohlen 40000 Cosaken gehalten werden sollen/ über welche der Chmielinsky soll Hauptmann seyn/ deren Zahl er Ihr Kön. Maj. übergeben soll/ wie viel aus

- einem Dorff oder Stadt/ und wie ein ieder heisse/ und weil ihm Pulvor ist genommen/ daß sie ihme möge wieder gegeben werden.
2. "Daß die Griechische Religion in der Kron Pohlen soll gelitten werden/ auch zu Krakau und allenthalben/ und daß die Union soll abgeschaffet werden.
 3. "Daß der Woywoda zu Giow allezeit soll Reussischer Religion seyn.
 4. "Was die Geistlichen der Reuschen Religion werden vonnöthen haben/ daß ihrer Expostulation möge ein genügen geschehen.
 5. "Daß alle Excessen/ so biß daher geschehen/ nicht sollen gedacht/ sondern in Vergessenheit gestellet werden.
 6. "Daß die Herren/ wann sie wieder zu dem ihrigen gelangen/ ihren Schaden an den Unterthanen nicht suchen noch sich rächen sollen.
 7. "Daß den Edelleuten/ so wol Römisch alß Reußischer Religion zugethan/ so sich bey de Chmilinsky auffhalten/ solches nicht vergolten werde/ sondern frey seyn sollen.
 8. "Daß den Cosaken soll frey seyn Brandtwein zu ihrer Nohtdurfft zu brennen/ aber nit zu verkauffen.
 9. "Daß die Cosaken zu Kiew und auff der gantzen Ukraini/ wie auch zu Crernickow: Bar: und Winnica seyn sollen/ und dem Herrn Wirth frey seyn/ Bier an die Krüge zu verschaffen/ den Cosaken aber nur Brandtwein zu ihrer Nohtdurfft zu machen.
 10. "Daß kein Jesuiter auff der Ukraine (inn den Kirchen ausgenommen) sollen gelitten werden/ auch soll auff der Ukraine kein Jude seyn."

Appendix No. 3

Translation of the Peace Treaty of Zboriv, published by Hrushevsky in *Istoria Ukrainy-Rusy*, Vol. VIII, part 3, pp. 215-217.

"Declaration of His Royal Majesty given upon request of Zaporoger Forces:

"1. His Royal Majesty preserves all previous freedom in accordance with old privileges and acknowledges this by this decree:

"2. As far as the number of the Cossacks is concerned, His Royal Majesty in order to fulfil the request of His subjects and to encourage them to serve the Republic, gives permission to establish forty thousand Cossacks of the Zaporoger Force. The Hetman is authorized to prepare a Register of the Cossacks, who dwell in the territory on the right bank of Dnieper River in the cities of Dymmer, Hornostaypil, Korostysh, Pavoloch, Pohrebyshcha, Pryluka, Vynnytsia, Braslav, Yampol up to Dniester River, and from Dniester up to Dnieper River. It is understood that the Cossacks can be registered on the other side of Dniester River in Ostro, Chernihiv, Romny, Nizhyn up to Moscovitian border and Dnieper River. In other cities and those which

belong to His Royal Majesty and landlords, the Cossacks should not be there, but whoever wants to join the Cossack Forces, may leave with his belongings into the Ukraine without the landlord's consent. This Register of the Zaporoger Cossacks has to be ready by January 15th. The Hetman has to prepare the Register by the names and sign by his hand and place the seal of the Zaporoger Forces. Those Cossacks, who are registered, should stay with the Cossack Force, and all others should be subjects of His Royal Majesty or their landlords respectively.

"3. The city of Chyhyryn within its limits is given by His Royal Majesty to the Elder of the Zaporoger Forces, Bohdan Khmelnytsky, making him a faithful servant of the Republic.

"4. What has happened during the present turmoil has to be forgotten and no landlord must punish anyone.

"5. The noblemen of Greek or Catholic faith, who joined the Cossack Forces, His Royal Majesty pardons all of them, and if some one was banished or if his property was confiscated during the present turmoil, then the punishment has to be nullified by the decree of the *Sejm* (Polish Diet).

"6. The Royal Forces must not stay in those cities where the Register Cossacks live.

"7. Jews must not live or rent property in the Ukrainian cities where the Cossacks have their regiments.

"8. The Orthodox Church united with Rome is to be abolished in Poland and in Lithuania; the property of the Orthodox Church previously confiscated and the privileges of the Orthodox Church are to be restored and its leader, the Metropolitan of Kyiv, is to have a seat in the *Sejm*.

"9. The offices and appointments in provinces of Kyiv, Braslav, and Chernihiv are to be given by His Royal Majesty to the nobleman of Greek faith as it used to be in the past.

"10. In the city of Kyiv and other cities, where the Ukrainian schools already exist, the Jesuits are not permitted to establish their schools.

"11. The Cossacks are permitted to make *horilka* (vodka) for themselves, but not to sell it. They are allowed, however, to sell honey and beer as it used to be in the past.

"These terms have to be ratified by the *Sejm*, and all has to be forgotten now. Peace and brotherhood are to be between inhabitants of the Ukraine and the Cossack Forces".

Appendix No. 4

From *The Moderate Intelligencer* of October 4, 1649, No. 237.

"It is confirmed, that the King of Poland's Army fought with, the Cossagues and Tartars two days together; on both sides a numerous

multitude was slain, the King of Poland had the greatest losse, not being so numerous as his enemy, the most of his Gentry not yet come unto him, and those present did not fight so courageously, insomuch, that the King after the fight was ended was surrounded by his numerous Enemy, and so in a manner forced to make peace in the open field to his enemies great content, and his own disparagement, and prejudice to the Crown, the Cossagues have obtained not only their ancient priviledges, honours and offices in temporall and spirituals, but brought to passe that the Jesuits, and Jews, be banished out of the Cossagues Quarters: The Articles agreed upon (amongst which an act oblivion, and no party to seeke any revenge in the future in the least degree) are to be confirmed and performed and the next Dyet to be held for that purpose, after the Armies are totally withdrawn: Five Starosteys or Counties pawned to the Cossagues till the Articles agreed on are performed, and Generall Chimehnisky is in the Kings Camp for the clearing of some intricate points and the waywode of Crakaw is in the Cossagues Campe. The Tartars for their dispatch have 300,000 Guilders, which money, for the most part, is paid already, the Cossagues are to receive all their Arrears which the Crown of Poland is owing unto them”.

Appendix No. 5

*The Hetmans of the Ukrainian Military Republic — Hetmanstate
1649—1764:*

Bohdan Khmelnytsky	— 1649 — 1657
Jurij Khmelnytsky	— 1657
Ivan Vyhovsky	— 1657 — 1659
Jurij Khmelnytsky	— 1659 — 1663

Western Ukraine (right bank):

Eastern Ukraine (left bank):

Pavlo Teterja	1663-1665	Ivan Briukhovetsky	1663-1668
Stepan Opara	1665		
Petro Doroshenko	1666-1676	Petro Doroshenko	1668-1669
Petro Sukhovy	1668-1669	Damjan Mnohohrishny	1669-1672
Mykhaylo Khanenko	1669-1674	Ivan Samojlovych	1672-1687
Jurij Khmelnytsky	1677-1681	Ivan Mazepa	1687-1709
Georg III Duka	1681-1683	Ivan Skoropadsky	1709-1722
Jurij Khmelnytsky	1684-1685	Danylo Apostol	1727-1734
Pylyp Orlyk (in exile)	1709-1710	Cyril Rozumovsky	1750-1764

Appendix No. 6

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PROBLEMS OF PERIODIZATION AND TERMINOLOGY IN UKRAINIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY

The late Mykola Chubaty, a leading Ukrainian historian who had lived in the United States since 1939, recalled in one of his numerous works (*Ukrains'ka istorychna nauka i ii rozvytok ta dosiahnennia*, Philadelphia, 1971) an event involving the then Secretary of State Dean Rusk. Asked by one of his associates why he never mentioned Ukraine, Rusk answered: "Ukraine is not a nation state, a Ukrainian State has never existed". Reminded by an insistent friend that this was not the case because Ukrainians had a state in the Middle Ages and again during the seventeenth century and the Ukrainian SSR was after all a member of the United Nations Rusk retorted instantly in a professorial manner that Russia had always had problems in the South.

Of course the late Soviet archeologist-historian, M. N. Tikhomirov, together with B. Grekov and other experts, knew that names such as "Rossiia", "Rossiiskaia zemlia", or "Russkoe gosudarstvo" did not appear in Russian annals until the 15th century.¹ Moreover, none of the known historical sources and chronicles in existence including Nestor's *Povist' vremennykh lit* (*Rus' Primary Chronicle* instead of "The Russian Primary Chronicle" as Samuel H. Cross entitled it), justify the translation of Rus' as "Russia" and, furthermore, as Omelian Pritsak recalled that almost all medieval chronicles, including *Ipats'kyi litopys*, were found on Ukrainian territory and preserved there until the nineteenth century and from there transferred to archives, museums and libraries² in Moscow and St. Petersburg.

The same happened with John Shelton Curtiss' review of Michael Hrushevskyy's *A History of Ukraine*, (edited by O. J. Fredericksen, New Haven, 1941), in *American Historical Review* (January 1943). Curtiss wrote: "His (Hrushevskyy's) nationalism is evident in his writing, with results that the reviewer believes to be unsound. Hrushevskyy, an exponent of populism, later a member of the Ukrainian Socialist Revolutionary Party, and finally in 1924 a repatriate to the Ukrainian SSR where he became a member of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences of the USSR, had been labelled a "nationalist" by an American historian who preferred to "believe" instead of to know.

Hrushevskyy's lack of luck continued after the publication of a new edition of his monumental *Istoriia Ukrainy-Rusy*, (8 vols. in 110, New

1) M. N. Tikhomirov, *Rossiskoe gosudarstvo XV-XVII vekov*. Moscow, 1973, and in particular the Chapter "O proiskhozhdenii nazvaniia 'Rossia'."

2) Omelian Pritsak, "Ipats'kyi litopys ta ioho rolia u restavratsii ukrainskoi istorychnoi pamiaty". *SVOBODA*, December 12, 1972.

York, 1954-58). At that time *Slavic Review* (April 1958) invited John A. Armstrong, a political scientist, to write a review which ran to exactly fifteen lines. This was indeed not only an insult to a great historian but an exhibition of bad taste and poor testimony to a journal which claims to maintain the highest professional standards. The editor of the *Slavic Review* may have shared William B. Edgerton's opinion expressed only recently in *Slavic Review* (March 1975 reviewing George S. Luckyj's *Between Gogol' and Shevchenko*) that on the Ukrainian question "dispassionate objectivity is almost as scarce as hen's teeth". Incidentally, the author had previously offered his version of dispassionate objectivity in an article on the history of Ukraine in the eighteenth century with the promising title: "Laying a Legend to Rest: The Poet Kapnist and the Ukraino-German Intrigue" (*Slavic Review*, vol. 30, no. 3 (1971)). His excursion, heavily leaning on Russian nationalist clichés to discredit the Ukrainian cause, has been repudiated by Oleksander Ohloblyn, a well-known specialist of eighteenth century Ukrainian history, as totally unfounded and even lacking elementary knowledge of documents and historical methodology. "Berlins'ka misiia Kapnista 1791 roku: Istoriohrafia i metodolohiia pytannia". *Ukrains'ky istoryk*. vol. 11, no. 1-3 (1974). And so the legend of a linguist disguised as a historian was laid to rest.

These episodes illustrate the climate that often stifles honest scholarship, or in which it is misused by those who were lucky enough to be either closer or nearer in time to the places where the foundations for American East European studies were laid. Since I am not responsible for the late arrival of the Ukrainian question, and history in particular, at the forum of American scholarly inquiry, I do not feel obliged to duel but rather to present the history of the Ukrainian people as it has been and still is affected by the two essential pillars of any historiography — terminology (nomenclature) and periodization.

The scope of this paper as well as its purpose is to outline the very complex theme, for the topic under discussion must be considered even on the forum of the AAASS as essentially unknown, save only a small number of individuals who are to various degrees familiar with the issue.

Let us first recall a few reasons for the self-imposed restrictions. Ukraine, the second largest Slav nation within the USSR, with a population of forty-seven million, while at the same time there are some three million Ukrainians scattered abroad: about two million in the United States and Canada, belongs nevertheless even in 1975 to the category of little-known nations of the world. In high school textbooks on Western Civilization there is only passing mention of Ukraine. At college level, several Russian history textbooks offer only sparse information (for instance, M. C. Wren and J. D. Clarkson),

either in three sentences as in Wren's case, or touching on it in various places merely confusing the subject further, as has been done by Clarkson. Furthermore, my own oral survey, informally conducted for the last ten years involving around one hundred instructors on numerous occasions at the AAASS and AHA meetings, revealed that the intellectual giant, Michael Hrushevskyyi, one of the world's greatest historians of the last two centuries with some two thousand titles to his credit, among them such monumental works as *Istoria Ukrainy-Rusy*, the six-volume *Istoria ukrains'koi literatury*, in addition to publishing almost one hundred *Zapysky* (Proceedings) of the Shevchenko Scientific Society prior to 1914, fifty works and monographs, hundreds of articles and reviews, all these in addition to his professorship at the University of Lemberg (Lviv), was well known to only five American East European specialists; some twenty individuals had a very general idea, and seventy-five of them could identify him only as "Ukrainian nationalist", "separatist", or "federalist". Only three historians were familiar with Hrushevskyyi's article "The Traditional Scheme of 'Russian History of Eastern Slavs", (available in English in *The Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the USA.*, vol. 11/4. New York, 1952). There are American textbooks on Russia's history in which Hrushevskyyi's name does not appear at all.

Other reasons, including political ones, why the subject matter on Ukraine is so confusing were discussed in my article in *Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism*, vol. 2, no. 1, (Studies of non-Russian Nationalities of the USSR in the United States"). Therefore we would like to conclude this introductory note by observing that only new political factors such as the restoration of complete political independence for Ukraine would produce an instant change in all regards, including a basic revision within American East European studies. Had he visited Kyiv, the ancient capital of a free Ukraine, Clarkson could have hardly written in his *A History of Russia* that "Ukraine is the very centre of Russian settlement", (p. 60), a myth introduced by M. Pogodin in the nineteenth century. The present political, semi-colonial status of Ukraine affects deeply and in many negative ways not only the whole nation but also its historiography⁴

³) More on M. Hrushevsky in Liubomyr Vynar, *Mykhailo Hrushevskyyi i Naukove Tovarystvo im. Shevchenka 1892-1930*. Munich, 1970; Stephan M. Horak, "Michael Hrushevsky: Portrait of an Historian". *Canadian Slavonic Papers*, vol. 10, no. 3 (1968).

⁴) For more information see, Dmytro Doroshenko, "A Survey of Ukrainian Historiography", and Oleksander Ohloblyn, "Ukrainian Historiography, 1917-1956". *The Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U. S.* Vol. V-VI, no. 4 (18, 19-20) 1957; Stepan M. Horak, "Ukrainian Historiography 1953-1963". *Slavic Review*. Vol. 21. no. 2 (1965); M. I. Marchenko, *Ukrains'ka istoriografija z davnikh chasiv do seredyny XIX st.* Kyiv, 1959; Lubomyr R. Vynar, "Ukrainian-Russian Confrontation in Historiography". *Ukrainian Quarterly*. Vol. 30, no. 1 (1974); Lowell Tillelt. *The Great Friendship: Soviet Historians on the Non-Russian Nationalities*. Chapel Hill, 1969.

and, therefore, this paper concentrates on the most poignant issues which to a very significant degree determine the individuality of a nation in the past and present.

Some common problems of historiography have been discussed before in our article "Periodization and Terminology of the History of Eastern Slavs" (*Slavic Review*, December 1972), stressing the inconsistencies and distortions affecting the histories of all three nationalities — Russian, Ukrainian, and Byelorussian. Against the background offered there as also in Lubomyr R. Wynar's "Ukrainian-Russian Confrontation in Historiography" (*Ukrainian Quarterly*, vol. 30, no. 1, 1974), let us proceed first with Hrushevskiy's concept and scheme of Eastern Slav history as accepted by all Ukrainian national historians and even by Soviet Ukrainian historiography prior to 1934, and such Russian historians as A. E. Presniakov and V. Storozhev, at least to a very significant degree. The national as also the present Polish historiography dealing with Ukraine and Russia follows Hrushevskiy's nomenclature and periodization as proven in a recently published serious study, *Ukraina: Teraźniejsze i przeszłe*. (Eds. Mieczysław Karaś and Antoni Podraza. Kraków: Uniwersytet Jagielloński. Prace historyczne", no. 32, 1970. 428 pp.).

Basically, Hrushevskiy's scheme challenges the scholarly validity of the Russian interpretation founded on geneological claims of the Muscovite line of the Rurik House, known since V. N. Tatishchev as "State school", which incorporates the Kyiv Rus' period into Russia's national history. Consequently, it eliminates Ukrainians and Byelorussians from the Rus' heritage, formation and history, considering them only as regional variations of the "ancient Russian people". Until 1904 their respective languages were referred to as "local dialects" and prohibited in print. In essence, it denies the very existence of three distinct Eastern Slav peoples.

Objecting to this scheme of the Russian court historians, Hrushevskiy argued: "We know that the Kyivan State, its laws and culture, were the creation of one nationality, the Ukrainian-Rus', while the Vladimir — Muscovite State was the creation of another nationality, the Great Russian. This is slowly invading the sacrosanct of scholarship. Storozhev, the compiler of *Russkaia istoriia s drevneishikh vremen*, for example, expressed the idea fairly clearly. The book was published in 1898 and the author stressed the fact that the Dnieper Rus' and the Northeast Rus' are two different phenomena and their histories the result of two separate parts of the Russian nationality . . .

The Vladimir-Muscovite State was neither the successor to, nor the inheritor of the Kyivan State. It grew out of its own roots and the relations of the Kyivan State toward it may more accurately be compared to the relations that existed between Rome and the Gaul provinces then described as two successive periods in the political and cultural life of France. The Kyivan government transplanted

onto Great Russian soil the forms of a socio-political organization, its laws and culture — all nurtured in the course of its own historical process; but this does not mean that the Kyivan State should be included in the history of the Great Russian nationality. The ethnographic and historical proximity of the nationalities, the Ukrainian-Rus' and the Great Russian should not give cause for confusing the two. Each lived its own life above and beyond their historical meeting and encounter . . .

The Byelorussian nationality fares even worse under this "traditional scheme". It is lost in the histories of the Kyivan State, of the Vladimir-Muscovy State and even in that of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Though nowhere in history does it appear clearly as a creative element, its role nonetheless is not significant. The Grand Duchy of Lithuania is another area where the Russian scheme can not be supported by historical research and to include the history of Lithuania as a whole in the "history of Russia" is unreasonable.

For the sake of clarity and in order to remove the pyramid of myths, half-truths, and basic inconsistencies present in the Russian schemes, Hrushevskyi concludes that this scheme in fact is a combination of several concepts molded into one of the most artificially structured national histories:

- 1) The history of the Russian state (formation and growth of the state organization and the territory involved).

- 2) The history of Russia, that is, the history of the events that took place on its territory.

- 3) The history of the "Rus' nationalities".

- 4) The history of the Great Russian people (formerly known as Muscovites) in terms of state organization and culture life.

Therefore, Hrushevskyi concludes that the history of the Russian people cannot substitute for the history of the Eastern Slavs. "No amount of speculative rationalization offers anyone the right to ignore the history of Byelorussian nationality and still less of the Ukrainian. For that matter as soon as "Russian history" is honestly and consequently reformed into a history of the Russian people, its national and cultural processes, the histories of the Ukrainian and Byelorussian nationalities will in turn find their proper places alongside of the Russians. There can be no "all-Russian" history (*obshcherusskaia*), just as there is no "all-Russian" nationality, if anyone wishes to call it so, or a history of Eastern Slavs. It seems to me, that the most rational approach to the entire problem would be to present the history of each nationality separately in accordance with its genetic (ethnogenic) development from the beginning until the present . . ."

Hrushevskyi's scheme, published in 1904, has yet to be seriously challenged by Russian national historians and was never scholarly debated or scrutinized by American East European specialists. Derogatory comments from those who never read his works are no

substitute for the honest and objective scholarship claimed by many yet practiced by few. Perhaps therefore almost all authors of textbooks on Russian history prefer to follow the traditional Russian presentation which offers them an easy escape from confrontation with additional complexities, studies, inquiries into ancient sources written in Arabic, Greek, Latin, Polish, Old Church Slavonic, Old Ukrainian and still other languages, in addition to taking advantage of the shelter of "academic WASPism", to use Alexander Dallin's expression.⁵ So far there is one notable exception, Herbert J. Ellison (*A History of Russia*, New York, 1964); he is aware of the complexity of Eastern Slav history, including its terminological difficulties. Although Nicholas V. Riasanovsky devotes in his *A History of Russia*, (New York, 1969), more space to the non-Russian nationalities and Ukrainians in particular, the organization of the material remains essentially within the Russian scheme, especially respecting the Rus' State and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The only challenge, or one should say outbursts of fury and insults, came from the post-Pokrovskii Soviet historiography. During the 1920s and until 1936,⁶ neither Pokrovskii nor the first Ukrainian Marxian historian, M. I. Iavors'kyi, (*Korotka istoriia Ukrainy*, Kharkiv, 1927), questioned the correctness of Hrushevskyi's methodology, periodization and terminology affecting the histories of all three Slav nationalities. On the contrary, in 1926 Volodymyr Perets, a member of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences felt free to entitle his work *Slovo o polku Ihorevim: Pamiatka feodalnoi Ukrainy-Rusy XII viku*, (Kyiv, 1926), and Mykola Skrypnyk in 1929 declared at the meeting of the Shevchenko Institute in Kyiv that all historical chronicles, documents, and monuments produced until the second half of the eighteenth century would be considered Russian or Ukrainian in accord with the territorial origin of the given object. Accordingly, *Slovo o polku Ihorevim* has been recognized by both sides as a Ukrainian literary work and *Molenie Danila Zatochnika* as a Russian document.⁷ Furthermore, *Literaturnaia entsiklopediia* (1930), vol. 3, acknowledges Hrushevskyi's scholarly activities without questioning his historical scheme or his *Istoria ukrains'koi literatury*, which includes the literature of the Kyiv Rus' period.

The wave of Russification, initiated by Stalin after 1934, also affected Ukrainian historiography and especially Hrushevskyi's elimination of Muscovy-Russia from the glorious age of the Kyiv State and replaced it with the new Soviet theory of the "common

⁵ Alexander Dallin, "Bias and Blunders in American Studies on the USSR". *Slavic Review*. Vol. 32, no. 3 (1973), p. 565.

⁶ The first attack on Hrushevskyi in the Soviet Ukraine came from O. P. Ohloblin. "Burzhazna istorychna shkola Dovnar-Zapols'koho". *Zapysky Istorychnoho instytutu Vseukrains'koi akademii nauk*. Kyiv, 1934.

⁷ M. O. Skrypnyk, "Aktualni zavdannia ukrains'koho literaturoznavstva". *Krytyka*. No. 6, 1929 (Kharkiv).

cradle", "the original unity of all three Eastern Slavs" under the name "drevnerusskaia narodnost", first popularized by B. Grekov in his *Kievskaiia Rus'* (Moscow 1944). From then on "the history of Ancient Rus' was not a history of Ukraine, nor of Byelorussia, or of Great Russia alone. It was the history of a state that enabled all three to mature and gain strength". This Soviet-style re-writing of the past, however, seems to be closer to Hrushevskiy's tracing of the origin of all three nationalities than to Tatishchev's, Karmazin's or Pogodin's theses promoting Russian exclusiveness.

Grekov's work and his interpretation of the origin of Eastern Slav history attempted to project not only the past unity but also aimed clearly at the recreation of the "Once-existing unit" under the new unifying names such as "one Soviet people" and "one Soviet fatherland". Thus, in the final analysis, it reflected only the policy and intention of the CPSU and the Soviet regime, and we shall not consider Grekov's "triplet birth" theory, which underwent still another metamorphosis resulting in the "elder brother" position, as a product of objective scholarship. However, the matter appears to be of prime importance in Soviet historiography since Hrushevskiy and his followers have become the target of intensive attacks. A check with Soviet bibliographical tools (both Russian and Ukrainian) reveals that in the last decade (1964-74) thirty five books and 127 articles were published in the USSR targeting Hrushevskiy and other "Ukrainian nationalist historians", in addition to those Western scholars who refuse to consider seriously Soviet political programmes of a given period. One can indeed speak about an historiographical state of war, in addition to the ideological and economic versions, within the Soviet interpretation of the policy of coexistence.

The "struggle" for Kyiv Rus' or, as Hrushevskiy named it, *Ukraina-Rus'*, and as some American historians refer to it "Kyiv-Russia", cannot easily dismiss the recent developments, new excavations and even additional documentation that support Hrushevskiy's interpretation more than those of his opponents.

Soviet historiography, while remaining stagnant and dogmatic in some areas and on some issues, has nevertheless of late contributed considerably to the broadening of research in regard to the medieval and pre-historic periods with archaeological excavations on the territory of Ukraine, including the city of Kyiv, which enrich enormously the material related to the history of Ukraine from the earliest times.⁸ In this respect, Tikhomirov's aforementioned contribu-

⁸ Iaroslav Pasternak, *Arkheolohiia Ukrainy*. Toronto, 1961; P. N. Tretiakov, "O proiskhozdenii slavian". *Slaviane*. No. 7 (1952) and his *Vostochno-slavianskie plemena*. Moscow 1953; M. Iu. Braichev's'kyi, *Pokhodzennia Rusi*, Kyiv, 1968; and his *Koly i iak vynyk Kyiv*. Kyiv, 1963; Iaroslav Pasternak, "Problemy etnohenyzy ukrains'koho narodu v svitli arheolohichnykh doslidzhen. *Ukrains'kyi istoryk*. No. 4 (1970); Mykola Chubatyi, *Kniazha Rus'-Ukraina ta vynyknennia triokh skidnoslovians'kykh natsii*, New York Paris, 1964.

tions reaffirm that there never existed a state called "Kyiv Russia". The people of Rus' were certainly not "Russians", and if they had a common national identity at all they were *Rusychi*, *Rusyny*, or people of Rus' (Ruthenians), as Ukrainians were known for centuries. Pope Gregory VII referred to them as Rutheni, and the Kyivan Prince Iziaslav Iaroslavych has been addressed as "Rex Ruthenorum", a title given also much later to Daniel of Halychyna. This ancient name "Ruthenus" survived into our days in the Vatican official nomenclature, pertaining exclusively to the people who also for centuries were known under their other name — Ukrainians.

Of course, as any medieval chronicle records or foreign sources indicate, there lived on the territory of the Rus' empire other Slavic and non-Slavic tribes and peoples in addition to *Rusychi*,⁹ however, the cradle of the state as it emerged already in the sixth century was located in an area of the Middle Dnieper River. This first state-structured society belonged to the Antes, who in turn have now been recognized as being of Slavic origin. Borys Rybakov, a Soviet archaeologist and historian, discovered that all monuments and relics, numbering circa 800, from the age known as *Cherniakhivs'ka culture* (third through fifth centuries A.D.), also identified as a period of the Antes, are almost exclusively located on the territory of present-day Ukraine.^{9a}

Equally so, all excavations indicate that the area of *trypils'ka* culture did not extend into the ethnographic territories of the present-day RSFSR.¹⁰ Using ethnogenetic methods of tracing a nation's origin and formation, we agree with Rybakov, Pasternak, Hrushevskiyi, Chubatyi, Braichevskiyi, and other specialists that the Antes should be considered the direct ur-ancestors of the Ukrainian people and therefore the history of that nation can be traced without organic interruption to the end of the third century A.D.

On the other hand and as proven again by Braichevskiyi, who after having paid lip service to the official (party) theory of "the common cradle of Rus'", contends that the formation of the Russian nationality took place in the area of the Upper Dnieper, the Oka and Volga rivers, whereby the non-Slavic Ugro-Finns, the original autochtons of those lands, merged into the Slavic (Russian) nationality; a fact which distinguishes the ethnogenic formation of the Russians from that of the Byelorussians and Ukrainians.¹¹ Also, an increased influx of Mongols into the Russian national body left a more visible imprint on the Russian national character than on the Ukrainian. This division of the Rus' empire forking into Northeast Rus' — Russia —

⁹ Victor, "Leo Diaconus and the Ethnology of Kievan Rus'," vol. 24, no. 3 (Sept. 1965). pp. 395-406.

⁹ B. Rybakov, ed. *Cherniakhovskaia kultura*. AN SSSR.

¹⁰ M. Artamanov, "Proiskhozdenie slavian". *Istoria SSSR*. Vol. III-IV (1939); Pasternak, "Problemy etnohenезy". *Ukr. ist.* no. 4 (1970).

¹¹ Braichevskiyi, *Pokhodzennia Rusi*, pp. 185-194.

and South Rus' — Ukraine (original Rus' state) — was noted by Mykola Kostomarov (1817-1885), V. N. Storozhev, and A. E. Presniakov.

This survey by far not complete, suffices however to conclude that *A History of Russia* by Michael Karpovich and George Vernadsky in four volumes, (Yale University Press, 1943-1959), by including the Antes, Kyiv Rus' and by tracing Russia's history to the Cimmerian and Scythian Era, represents a regrettable falsification of history and an attempt to borrow the birth and past from histories of other territories. The myth of the three thousand-year-old of Russia does not differ in design, distortion and intention from the present Soviet myth related to the non-Russian peoples and as discussed by Lowell Tillett in his pioneering study.¹² The Karpovich-Vernadsky violation of basic historical methodology is a step back, for even Soviet historians, realizing the absurdity of the Karamzin — Pogodin — Karpovich scheme, accepted the territorial approach in writing the history of the USSR, instead of stretching Russia's "national" history into a past which she never experienced. The most recent work of the AN SSSR, *Istoriia SSR s drevneishikh vremen do nashikh dnei*, (in 12 vols., Moscow, 1966-), though beginning with the "Stone Age", speaks however of *Kyivskaia Rus'* and not of "Russia". It at least considers the national histories of all the peoples populating the present territory of the USSR. Of course, even there Moscow and Russia are presented as a centrifugal and "progress-promoting" force, which would not be supported by Pokrovskii or by historical dialectic. It rests nevertheless on a more solid foundation in such areas as periodization and terminology which, if transferred to the national history of Ukraine and by removing Soviet pseudo-Marxian and russificational tendencies, as Natalia Polons'ka-Vasylenko did in her recently published *Istoriia Ukrainy*, (Munich, 1972),¹³ made it possible to remain basically within Hrushevskyyi's scheme. Certainly, she dismissed Hrushevskyyi's populist interpretation and favoured the Ukrainian historical national-state school of thought, initiated by such historians as Myron Korduba, Stepan Tomashiv'skyi, Viacheslav Lypin'skyi, Dmytro Doroshenko and Mykola Chubatyi.¹⁴

Polons'ka's *History of Ukraine* represents a logically structured impementation of the national and territorial methodology, acting in harmony with continuity and respecting scholarly rules. It begins

¹²) *The Great Friendship: Soviet Historians on the Non-Russian Nationalities*. Chapel Hill, N. C., 1969.

¹³) As a matter of fact, this same methodology, periodization and terminology have been accepted in *Istoriia Ukrainy: Korotkyi narys*. Eds. S. M. Bielousova et al. Kyiv. AN Ukr. SSSR, 1941, and all other subsequent histories of the Ukraine published since, including *Istoriia Ukrain'skoi RSR*. Ed. O. K. Kasy-menko. Kyiv, 1953. In the case of Belorus' this scheme is preserved in a recently published four volume *Historia Belaruskai SSR*. Minsk; AN BSSR. 1972.

¹⁴) Table of the development of Ukrainian national historiography since V. Antonovych to the present in, Polons'ka-Vasylenko, *Istoriia Ukrainy*, pp. 32-34.

with the pre-historic past of the Ukrainian territory, continuing through the peoples' movements from Asia, the settlement of tribes from the Avars to the Antes,¹⁵ the first state of the ninth to fourteenth centuries, Kyiv Rus'-Ukraine, including the Halych-Volhynian Kingdom, the Lithuanian-Rus' Grand Duchy Ukraine under Poland, the creation of the Cossack Ukraine, followed (in second volume to be published) by the Russian and Austrian occupation of the Ukraine, the national rebirth and, finally, the third (1918-1920) restoration of Ukrainian national statehood. A notable feature of the work is its lack of hostility toward the Russian or Polish peoples even in the discussion of the darkest periods of Ukrainian history. Polons'ka's academic honesty, maturity of analysis and judgment, and rejection of national prejudices, make her contribution worthy of translation into English for it can become the model of a textbook which educates, explains and suggests guarded conclusions, a quality absent in most presently used Russian history texts.

In conclusion, we submit to consider the Kyivan Rus' State first of all as an episode within the context of the history of Ukraine and indirectly of all Eastern Slavs, for Kyiv, Halych, and Lviv were founded, not conquered by the Ukrainian people. Russia and Poland were the ones who became invaders of Ukrainian lands and certainly not "liberators" as Soviet historiography would like to suggest. Therefore, Chubatyi's conclusion that the rise and formation of the three Eastern Slav nations should be considered as an independent process represents the only objective and acceptable alternative to the Russian as well as Soviet abuse of political power in writing their histories.¹⁶ Subsequent intercourse and Christianity spreading from Kyiv contributed to certain similarities which, however, never reached the stage of creation of a monolithic (homogeneous) society-nation.

¹⁵) Only recently the Soviet Ukrainian archaeologist-historian Arkadii Buhai working on excavations within Kyiv city suggested that Kyiv was a capital of the first Eastern Slavs (Antes) state.

¹⁶) Chubaty, *Kniazha Rus'-Ukraina*, pp. 141-49.

KYIV VERSUS MOSCOW

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Ukrainian Information Service,
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Contents: Appeal to the Peoples of the Free World —
Kyiv versus Moscow — The Main Ideological
and Political Principles of the OUN.

Ivan Z. HOLOVINSKY
(*Rutgers University*)

PSYCHOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION OF PROFOUND EMOTIONS IN SELECTED WRITINGS OF TARAS SHEVCHENKO

I

The ability to use language for the purpose of symbolic abstract operations is a uniquely human trait. It enables us not only to interpret present reality, but also to code and store past information as well as to project into the future.

As suggested by epistemologists and psycholinguists, e.g. Piaget, Chomsky, Vygotsky, Tsvetkova and others, human language in addition to its cognitive aspect contains affective qualities. As a matter of fact, cognitive and effective emotional aspects are closely interrelated in the process of human communication.

It is difficult, indeed impossible, to understand or explain human behaviour only in cognitive terms. Writers, poets, philosophers and psychologists past and present, while attempting to understand human behaviour were confronted not only with a question of "how", but also with the question of "why" of the observable behavioural phenomena:

Nineteenth century reflexology, which subsequently became the foundation of radical or metaphysical behaviourism denied the need for "scientific" psychology to deal with the question of "why". It postulated reduction of all experiences to physiological functions, depended upon environmental determinism and avoidance of conscious processes. As a result, it became reductionistic in nature.

Recently, however, we are beginning to see a shift in the behaviouristic position toward attempts to explain human behaviour and emotions in broader terms. Some writers have characterized those attempts as moving in the direction of positivism and macroscopic determinism.

On the other hand, analytical psychologists and existentialists believe that behaviour can never be reduced to the physiological process and explained as a result of the integration of reflexes. They always dealt with broader questions of human existence and acknowledged the writings of philosophers as well as the intuitive knowledge of poets as a rich source for psychological interpretation of behaviour. There is strong evidence that writings of Goethe, Schiller, Shakespeare and Dostoyevsky contributed rich material for Freud in the formulation of his psychoanalytical position.

Alfred von Berger, professor of literature and director of Vienna Burg theatre, after reading Freud's "Studies on Hysteria", wrote in 1896: "We do not know how science judges Breuer's and Freud's theories. The poets are altogether on their side and that is not a small thing. For until now the poets were those who knew and asserted the most and the best about the secret of man's soul".

Freud himself acknowledged his debt to Goethe in 1930 on the occasion of his receipt of the Goethe prize for literature. His early division of drives into those based on love and those based on hunger was derived from a poem by Schiller. Furthermore, Freud's paper on the "Three Caskets" suggests that it was through the study of Shakespeare's tragedies that this concept came into existence. Levitt (1960) claims that Freud was acquainted with Dostoyevsky's writings especially "Crime and Punishment", "The Idiot", and "The Eternal Husband". Dostoyevsky's works provided a wealth of psycho-analytical illustrative material.

A rich source of material for psychological interpretation of human behaviour is contained in the writings of Taras Shevchenko. It should be noted that Shevchenko's poems were written 20 to 30 years before Dostoyevsky's major works such as "Crime and Punishment" (1866), "The Idiot" (1868) or "The Brothers Karamazov" (1879-80).

However, while Dostoyevsky's works are widely known and interpreted, Shevchenko's writings have not yet been adequately researched as to their psychological content. I am aware of only two such studies both unavailable in the United States: Stephan Baley's essay on the psychological interpretation of Shevchenko's works published in Lviv in 1916, and a monograph by Hryhorii S. Kostiuk published recently in Kyiv.

To understand Shevchenko's ideas about human nature we should consider him briefly as a person, his philosophy of life in the context of political and social realities of his time.

Taras Shevchenko was born in 1814, in the village Moryntsi, son of a serf of baron Engelhardt and grew up in Kyrylivka. His life full of tragedies began very early in childhood when his mother died. Physically abused and mistreated, without any formal elementary or secondary schooling, he taught himself how to read and write. At the age of 24 his freedom was bought for 2,500 roubles. Shevchenko died in 1861 at the age of 47.

During his very productive but brief life, he spent 24 years in serfdom, 12 years imprisoned or in exile in Siberia, specifically forbidden to write or paint. Only eleven years did he live as a relatively free man. Shevchenko's brief life was an almost continuous sequence of struggle and sufferings.

From an existential point of view, he was in a much better position to develop deep insight into profound human emotions than most of the poets or writers of his time. In this respect I am reminded of Rollo May's essay on existential psychology, where while comparing

Freud to Kierkagaard he made the following statement: "Freud was writing on the technical level where his genius was supreme; perhaps more than any man up to his time he knew about anxiety. Kierkagaard, a genius of a different order was writing on the existential, ontological level; he knew anxiety".

A similar statement can be applied to Taras Shevchenko. Not only was he writing about anxiety, despair, love, hate, human conflict; he experienced them, he knew them, they were shaping his personality.

His parents died when he was only eight years of age, and from then his adjustment and development depended entirely on his will to survive. Shevchenko's love of his mother and his attachment to her are projected in many beautiful poems where the theme of mother-child relationship is treated with idealistic Platonic interpretations. Throughout his life in the realm of interpersonal relationships, Shevchenko remained in part an idealist and a dreamer.

II

This trait of his is similar to one found among many great poets, where a personified, unobtainable dream becomes substitute for reality.

However, although an idealist, Shevchenko did not run away from contacts with others, but on the contrary, recognized the value of human interaction. In the introduction to the second edition of "Kobzar", Shevchenko wrote: "To know people you have to live with them, but to write about them you first of all have to become a human being or stop wasting paper and ink".

Firm conviction of what it means to be a real human being is projected in all his writings. Shevchenko was a humanist "par excellence", able to understand, express and shape human emotions within their whole range from gentle, idealistic, Platonic notions, to the expression of hatred and rage in the most violent terms.

This philosophy of active involvement is reflected in one of his poems ("From Day to Day", transl. by Voynich):

*God, if thou do scorn to love me,
Grant me but thy hate!
Only let my heart not
Slowly, day wither by day,
Useless as a fallen tree-trunk
Rotting by the way.
Let me live, and live in spirit,
Loving all mankind;
Or if not, then let my courses
Strike the sunlight blind.
Wretched is the fettered captive
Dying and a slave;
But more wretched he that living,
Sleeps, as in a grave.*

In general Shevchenko's philosophy was influenced by 19th century Ukrainian mentality which favoured strong positivistic determinism, and rejected dogmatic materialism then emerging in Western Europe. He based his philosophy of life upon Ukrainian cultural tradition, beliefs and attitudes. For him collective wisdom of people meant more than ideas or theories of armchair philosophers. In one of his poems he gave expression to this credo: "If you would study as you should, than you would find our wisdom, Instead you rushing for the haven and cease to know: are you — you, and I am I?"

One also finds in Shevchenko's poetry continuous emphasis on the interdependence between natural phenomena and human behaviour. This naturalistic philosophy is in part related to the agrarian mentality, to which Shevchenko was exposed in his childhood. Furthermore, it is also related to strong naturalistic tendencies found among some of the European poets of that time.

For comparison, one may suggest a passage on nature attributed to Goethe: "Nature has neither language nor speech, but she creates tongues and hearts through which she feels and speaks . . . Her laws are unchangeable, even the most unnatural things are natural . . ." (Levitt, 1960).

In addition to Shevchenko's philosophical attitude it is essential to consider, for psychological interpretation of his writings, the emotional environment of his time, as well as the time period about which he was writing.

Most of his historical poems describe conditions in 17th and 18th century Ukraine which was colonized and exploited culturally, politically and socially. His powerful emotional analysis of psychological conflicts in poems depicting violent crimes such as rape and incest, "Maryna", "Princess", "Osyka", etc.) is provided within the framework of political reality. In all of those poems the victims were poor peasant girls, the villains — landlords or their sons. All the landlords in Shevchenko's poetry were foreign to the Ukrainian culture, religion and nationality.

Shevchenko recognized in the 19th century the important role of political environment in the etiopathogenesis of severe psychological trauma. It might be of interest to observe that similar notions are being suggested by contemporary psychiatrist Laing, who maintains that severe psychopathology in a broader sense has a political background.

Let us consider a few selected poems, especially those that deal with positive and negative emotions.

We will limit ourselves to a few general observations focusing on psychological material in Shevchenko's writings. Within those limitations Shevchenko's poems, whose content deals with positive and negative emotions, could be grouped into the following categories: poems depicting mother-child dynamics; poems with severe psycho-

sexual conflicts; personal tragedies within the framework of political conflicts.

Psychological conflicts built around the theme of mother-child relationships are described in several of Shevchenko's poems. Psychodynamically it is a quite understandable phenomenon when we consider that Shevchenko lost his own mother while still a young child.

Initially, physiologically and, subsequently, psychodynamically, there exist symbiotic relationships between a mother and child. This fact is recognized in the psychoanalytical literature as crucial to the subsequent development of a child's ego identity. Only through the initial interaction with the mother the child begins to build his ego boundaries and strengthens reality principle. Furthermore, being the first and the most important agent of socialization, the mother obviously is crucial in the development of a superego.

In this context it might be of interest to observe that all of Shevchenko's poems which address themselves to the mother-son relationship do not deal with the conflict or the negative emotion, but rather stress positive identification, dependency needs and almost symbiotic-like type of relationship. This, however, is not the case when Shevchenko describes mother-daughter dynamics.

As stated earlier, Shevchenko's poems depicting mother-child relationships deal with positive as well as negative psychological forces. An example of strong identification and illustration of dependency needs is the poem "Naimychka" (The Maid).

III

A young mother deposits her infant son at the doorstep of a well-to-do elderly couple. In order to be near her son she returns after a while and accepts a job as a maid without revealing to anyone her true identity. Shevchenko beautifully portrays the psychological conflict of the mother who suffers because of self-imposed silence which she is able to maintain throughout her life. She reveals her true identity on her deathbed to no else but her son. In a dramatic scene she begs her son's forgiveness for her lifelong suffering in the strange home.

Here we have illustrations of Shevchenko's analytical insight into the mother's motives. She was the one who suffered consequences of self-imposed silence, yet she recognized that her behaviour was in part unconsciously motivated by guilt feelings related to the initial abandonment of her son.

In a masterful way Shevchenko describes the last moments of the mother's life. The earth trembled while her son listened to her in a deep trance. He awakened, rushed to her, but she had already died. By the use of powerful metaphor, Shevchenko illustrates the profound psychological conflict of the son, brought about by the realization that simultaneously he is discovering and losing his mother.

The son's ego defends itself from the unbelievable reality testing by withdrawing into a trance. The cataclysmic nature of the revelation is underscored by paleological reasoning which suggests that nature (trembling earth) reacts directly to the psychological trauma involving the mother and her son.

In yet another poem depicting mother-son interaction, Shevchenko utilizes the form of a monologue to portray the mother's feelings. The expressed feelings, reveal concern, affection as well as strong attachment that transcends time.

One might list other examples from among Shevchenko's works such as "Neophites", etc. to underscore exceptionally positive treatment of the mother-son theme. This, however, can not be said about the treatment of a topic dealing with mother-daughter relationship. As a matter of fact one of the most powerful of Shevchenko's psychological poems portrays profound conflict using as a theme the mother-daughter relationship.

In the poem "Utoplēna", (The Drowned), the story evolves as a promiscuous mother abandons her illegitimate daughter in a strange village. After a couple of years the mother takes the daughter back to live with her. With the passage of time the mother notices the daughter developing into a beautiful girl while she herself becomes older and less attractive.

In the mother's apperception what the girl's ego represents becomes her own alter-ego. The stage is set for the powerful emotional conflict. Engaged by her daughter's beauty perceived as a threat to her ego, the mother's envy and hatred finds expression in frequent anger outburst, and she abuses her daughter. Shevchenko sets the stage for the powerful finale in this psychological conflict by describing how the mother and the daughter went swimming together. As the daughter undresses and lays down on her "white" shirt, uncontrollable psychotic rage grips the mother. By skillful use of verbal metaphors, Shevchenko accentuates the tempo of the conflict. "White shirt" symbolizes innocence, the young body of the daughter, mother's own alter-ego and libidinal force. The mother's envy turned hatred explodes in a fit of psychotic rage reaction. The mother kills the daughter by drowning her.

Shevchenko describes, in detail, and accurately, the psychotic rage reaction probably associated with psycho-motor equivalent seizures. The mother loses her speech from anger, her face turns blue and the saliva drools from her contorted mouth. For killing the daughter, the mother suffers eternal damnation, and the lake where the tragedy occurred becomes a haunted place.

In several of his poems, such as "Osyka", "Princess", "Maryna", Shevchenko portrays profound emotions associated with violent sexual crimes such as incest and rape. In "Osyka" and "Princess", incest, tabu in any culture, provides the background for a powerful psychological drama. In these as in other poems related to violent

sexual crimes, Shevchenko introduces nationalistic and political elements. Without exception, the perpetrators of those crimes are foreigners, enemies of Ukraine, members of the upper class small aristocracy.

In "Osyka", Shevchenko describes, the emotional torment of an obviously schizophrenic mother. The ethiopathogenesis of her condition can be traced to her relationship with a Polish landlord with whom she had two children. The mother's guilt feelings are exacerbated by the realization that she did not hate the landlord soon after the children were born but continued to see him. The mother suffered a psychotic breakdown shortly after the landlord perpetrated incest upon their daughter.

Describing the landlord's behaviour Shevchenko refers to him as a "vicious snake". This expression, also found in the poem "Princess", has been used by psychoanalysts as the concept indicating phallic symbolism. From Shevchenko's description of the behaviour of the mother we can gain a classical picture of a schizophrenic syndrome characterized by inappropriate effect, complete ego breakdown and bizarre thought disorders.

In "Princess", the poet is describing a scene where a drunk father-landlord is approaching the bedroom of his daughter. Projecting anticipation of powerful psychological drama through his own anger, Shevchenko suggests that defence against incest and violation of tabu constitutes conditions for justifiable homicide. Directing his call to the daughter, the poet exclaims: "Wake up you innocent, kill this snake; kill before it bites you and even god will not punish you". The use of the snake as a phallic symbol is clearly suggested in this poem.

In yet another poem, "Maryna", Shevchenko describes severe withdrawal tendencies and episodes of what appears to be catatonic stupor in a girl who was forced to live with a landlord whom she hated. She kills the landlord in a moment of psychotic rage, sets the estate on fire and while it burns, she dances in a bizarre trance naked with the blood-covered knife in her hand.

There the poet uses a form of monologue by Maryna, rich in psychoanalytical symbolism, such as "a snake crawling on a white snow", "a bird flying away" etc. In the last scene of this poem, Maryna waves her arms and runs away from the village. Through complete personality disorganization, flying away from reality into the bizarre world of fantasy, Maryna finally finds her freedom.

It should also be emphasized that while Shevchenko's poems with a content of severe psychological trauma represent rich source for analytical material, he differs in many respects from orthodox psychoanalytical interpretations. Whereas orthodox psychoanalysis focuses upon the individual and his conflict, Shevchenko always represented psychological conflict within a broader social context. Furthermore, he always emphasized moral values and related decline of moral

values (as accepted by Ukrainian culture) to the etiology of severe emotional disturbances.

Shevchenko had a unique gift of intuition to grasp and convey profound human emotions. This ability of a genius is especially evident in his portrayal of psychological processes related to the struggle for national and political independence.

In a number of poems such as "Haidamaky", "Kholodnyi Yar", "Yurodyvyi", Shevchenko portrays personal tragedies and psychological conflict within the setting of the political struggle for national liberation. It is impossible to understand psychological drama as represented by Shevchenko in "Haidamaky" without attempting to comprehend the "Zeitgeist" of 18th century Ukraine, subjugated and exploited by foreign occupants.

IV

Within the context of 18th century Ukrainian uprising, Shevchenko describes the battle for the city of Uman. The poet uses one of the powerful psychological plots, the confrontation between Gonta, the leader of the uprising and his two sons who were educated by the enemy. As described in the poem, Gonta kills his two sons. The historical accuracy of this event is still a matter of scholarly debate.

There are historians who question that such an event took place. Allowing for considerable "poetic license", we are not so much interested in historical accuracy as in psychological interpretation.

Symbol and Leader

Gonta, the symbol and leader of the uprising, perceives in his sons, who are a psychological extension of his ego, the denial of his own values. Faced with a threat of ego disintegration, Gonta is unconsciously undergoing a subliminal process of most primitive regression. He removes cataclysmic reality by killing his sons.

He defends himself from tremendous guilt feelings and ego disintegration by resorting unconsciously to rationalization. This ego defence mechanism, however, did not prevent him from experiencing guilt feelings and remorse. The emotional impact of "Haidamaky" is very strong and could be easily compared with the best of psychological dramas.

In part as a reply to criticism or anticipated criticism of "Haidamaky", Shevchenko wrote the poem "Kholodnyi Yar" in which he presents a clear picture of distinction between revolutionary heroes and bandits. For Shevchenko that distinction could be drawn at the level of psychological motivation. Selfish interest and greed characterizes a bandit, whereas a freedom fighter primarily is concerned with justice, truth and freedom for others.

However, Shevchenko also recognized that a total commitment in the struggle for freedom creates psychological stress. This stress

sometimes leads to the negation or destruction of the fighter's own ego. This he views, however, as a necessary sacrifice.

Use of abstract generalizations may sound stranded to a twentieth century pragmatist. Certainly, they are not operational in the vocabulary of empirical psychologists. But as a poet, Shevchenko intuitively recognized that pragmatism and idealism, to paraphrase William James, are but changing perceptions of reality within the stream of our consciousness.

Within his environment and in his time, Shevchenko was a revolutionary who believed in reason as a historical force. For him, as long as there was a difference between what reality is and what it ought to be, the former must be changed until it is brought in line with reason.

This notion is expressed in Shevchenko's poem "Yurodyvyi" (the Insane). In this poem Shevchenko strongly criticizes subdued, dependent, fearful mentality of those who for the sake of preservation of the "status quo" would declare as insane the one among them who dares violate the existing order. Shevchenko, attributes prophetic values to "Yurodyvyi". It is interesting that similar ideas can be found in the contemporary Finnish psychiatrist Sirola (Arieti p. 126).

Though Shevchenko's poetry was written more than a century ago, it has contemporary relevance. His writings possess unique qualities; reliance upon Ukrainian culture and mentality, deep understanding of human nature and ideological-political values.

Although Shevchenko's poetry has exceptional beauty and artistic quality, he never created art for its own sake. Each of his poems has significant moral and humane quality. Perhaps one of the measures of an artist's or poet's quality is his universal appeal — and Shevchenko certainly has achieved that distinction. It is manifested by the number of foreign languages in which Shevchenko's works have been published.

B. Krawciw (1963), in his comprehensive survey, lists over 50 languages into which Shevchenko's poetry has been translated. In addition to English, German, French, Italian and most European languages, Shevchenko's works have been published also in less known languages such as Korean, Mongolian, Kabardinian, Udmurt and Yakut. In 1951 and 1954 two volumes of Shevchenko's poetry appeared in China, translated by Emi Siao and Dzan Te-Svan.

Shevchenko died in 1861. He did not receive a formal education, yet through his own efforts, motivation and stamina he became a national hero to Ukrainians the world over and a recognized international figure in literary circles. His writings contain immense treasures of ideas and insights into human nature. It is only proper that he who in his poetry referred to the ideas of George Washington, should be remembered in America, Bicentennial year "ne zlym tykhym slovom".

From within the USSR:

Abraham SHIFRIN

SLAVES WORK FOR THE FREE WORLD

It is customary to think that slavery has been done away with long ago in the world. You may even say that it is impossible in the civilized world living under the aegis of the UN. And it has been a long time since the USA last witnessed a trial based on the law prohibiting the use of slave labour and purchase of goods produced by hands of slaves. However the law still exists. But it turns out that American traders, as well as merchants all over the world, understand very well the sense of Roman emperor Vespasian's saying "Money has no smell!" and buy therefore from the USSR what is being done there by prisoners-slaves.

A group of former political prisoners from the USSR addressed, upon their arrival in Israel, the AFL-CIO with an extended testimony about the existence today in Soviet concentration camps of forced slave labour, about inhumane conditions of prisoners' work there. The group suggested that a research centre should be established which could collect testimonies of thousands of former prisoners arriving from the USSR in the West; the centre could present to the world a strictly factual picture of what is going on in Soviet concentration camps today. Meanwhile, such work is being done in Israel by a force of volunteers from among the newcomers (who have neither money nor time for they have to solve their settlement problems). Here are some facts striking even for us, coming from the USSR.

To start with — there is the purveyance of timber. It is widely known that the Soviet Union has huge forests. They stretch for thousands of kilometres. But not everybody knows that those forests have been as saturated with concentration camps as a guard-dog's hair with fleas. According to the US State Department, in 1953 an overwhelming amount of timber was produced by the hands of prisoners. Let's now see if the situation has changed after Stalin's death. Here is a testimony by T. Brodetskaya concerning 1960; being arrested for her convictions, as a Zionist who wished to go to Israel, she was sent to work on cutting timber in the concentration camps of the Irkutsk and Kemerovsk districts; according to her, some 500 women every day were forced, sinking in deep snow, freezing in the taiga, to do the work which is back-breaking even for men. "We were working with hand-saws", — Tina Brodetskaya recalls.

Here is a testimony given by Valery Kukui, also a former prisoner who had been convicted for Zionism. This points already to 1975, and covers the Sverdlovsk district and the Urals. Here, too, the prisoners are being used for cutting and sorting timber, and here they sort it specially for export abroad. 24 hours a day, in three shifts, brigades of prisoners conduct this work near the railway station Novaya (New) Lyalya, according to Kukui.

But let's try to look at the same work not with the eyes of a prisoner. We read a testimony of a former Soviet Army private who used to be a guard in the camps of Kemerovsk district. Michael Neiburger recalls that in 1967 his guarding unit was guarding 18 camps each of which contained 40 to 800 prisoners used for cutting timber in the taiga. This timber was later floated down along the rivers and sorted for export abroad. M. Neiburger says: "There are many camps in Kemerovsk district and most of them work on timber-cutting; the number of camps in the district goes above 100".

As we can see from these testimonies, the system of timber-cutting for export as well as for internal use by hands of slaves-prisoners hasn't changed in the USSR till today. And it is no wonder: who will willingly leave a city, where at least bread is available, for the god-forsaken taiga, where, using the language of camp administration, "law is in the hands of bears", and where one will have to live a hungry life under inhumane conditions described already by many witnesses. Khaim Golan is one of them; he was not even a prisoner, he was "only" an exile sent to Sivtivkar (Northern part of the USSR) for his convictions. The horror of his simple and unaffected story makes one shudder: sent to Sivtivkar, into the depth of taiga, on barges (side by side in common holds) abandoned to be eaten up by mosquitoes, those people received flour (350 grammes a day) and stirred it with the river-water; that was their only food. Afterwards they lived in huts, without beds or bedding, without medical help or any medications, without meat or vegetables, they worked and died in the taiga. And, according to Khaim Golan, they were cutting valuable sorts of timber for export: nobody even tried to make a secret of it. I also, being myself in Soviet concentration camps from 1953 to 1963, more than once happened to work on timber-cutting in the taiga of the Irkutsk district and Mordovia. More than once did I have a chance to see prisoners who having been driven to despair, preferred death to the back-breaking forced labour: they walked away from the place of work to be shot by a guard. For such "prevention of an escape" a guard receives leave to go home. Twice have I seen cases when prisoners exceeding the limits of despair cut their fingers with an axe and put them into a river tree trunk, thus sending a "gift" to the freedom-loving trade partners of the USSR who bought that timber abroad.

Being in the USA in 1974 I became acquainted with some of the American timber businessmen, and asked them if they had seen cases when among lumber received from the USSR there were found cut human hands or fingers. I received an affirmative answer. I asked then why they had not reported such facts. It turned out that sometimes they had, but not always: "We have to continue the trade" — they explained.

We have still many witnesses ahead, and let's switch to the export of other raw materials from the USSR to the West. For instance, oil, this "black gold", so precious today in the whole world. A witness, I. Almagor, told me that being in the camps near the town of Ukhta (Komi SSR), he worked on geological surveys, the drilling of wells, and then in oil output at four oil wells. There were over 3,000 prisoners dying of hunger and from hard toil in their camp. Meanwhile, the oil and its by-products went for export abroad. The same witness tells about the construction of an oil pipe-line in Chubyu and an oil-processing plant for military use in the same place also by the hands of slaves-prisoners. In the same place prisoners were used for packing soot into sacks bearing a mark "USSR-Export". For a while Almagor worked in the camps producing heavy water also sent for export: the USSR is selling even this for currency, although they need it themselves for making atomic bombs. All those camps still exist and today their production is bought by Western countries.

And here is "light" work for women-prisoners: splitting mica into thin sheets. It is hard work, and the women are given an impracticable daily work quota. The results of their work go to the electronic industry of the USSR and its trade partners.

Recently released former political prisoner Yakov Khantzis (who had been completely crippled in the camps) told that he used to work in Siberia in the camps busy with accessory work for a chemical plant producing charges for rockets, and prisoners were weaving baskets for detonator fuses from the thinnest wire.

(Arrived in Israel in 1975). Former political prisoners of Soviet c/camps, Frolov and Uchitel, who testified to the fact that in the camps of Mordovia they and other prisoners worked at the plant making steering-wheels for the Soviet cars "Moskvich" and "Chaika", as well as parts of springs for these and other cars.

I wonder how nice it will be for the Americans and Europeans, who have bought such cars, that they hold the wheels made by starving slaves-prisoners.

Lovers of Soviet candies can learn, too, that boxes for sweets exported from the USSR are made by prisoners of camp no. 24 in the Voroshilovogradskaya district.

Let's look into the shops of souvenirs which are so readily bought

by foreigners visiting the USSR and in all the capitals of the world. Wooden spoons, matreshka (wooden dolls) caskets painted by masters of Palekh and Khokhloma — all this is the work of unknown slaves-prisoners. They make all those things which bring streams of currency to the USSR. But the prisoners have no right even to buy anything for themselves or to receive food-parcels from their relatives; they are starving in the camps.

But not only wooden souvenirs are made by prisoners. Look in the same shops and see pieces of ivory work, coinage on silver, ivory in silver and goat horns ornamented with silver, — which are mainly done by prisoners in the Caucasus.

Out of dozens and hundreds of testimonies we may draw a conclusion that not a single industry in the USSR can do without slave labour, whether it is gas output, building automobile plants or chemical plants, digging foundation pits or constructing roads, building cement factories or metallurgical works — everywhere up till now you can see bent backs of slaves. Like slaves of ancient times, modern slaves are kept in cold and starvation, their dignity is abased, their physiological necessities suppressed. Is it known in the world that the entire army of convicted men and women lives in complete isolation, without seeing a person of the opposite sex, for years, dozens of years? But instead they've built a caviar processing plant in the town of Guriev, (for the needs and necessities of the West), and from there the famous black caviar flows to the USA and Europe. Doesn't it seem to you that the conscience of businessmen buying all these things from the USSR is just as black?

Sept. 22, 1975
Ramat-Gan, Israel

Abraham Shifrin,
former political prisoner
of Soviet concentration camps.

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“A WORD FROM CAPTIVITY”

by

L. ZAPOROZHETS

“A word from captivity” was written in prison by the persecuted Kyivan L. Zaporozhets, who sent it to the West. In view of its profound content, which reflects the religious convictions of the author and reveals his deep Christian ethics, we present the text of this extraordinary work.

*

“In the gloom of captivity my irrepressible spirit gives birth to thought and word which I communicate to mankind... The aim of this work will be to mobilize people and to awaken them to responsibility in the face of the threat which hangs over them and which is becoming more and more real and more and more and more ominous.

Let the so-called “silent majority” in the West not live in hope that they will sit their time out in quiet corners in a period of unrest and hostility. Remember — you will not avoid that unfortunate hour when your doors will be broken down by the relentless ranks of those who, because of you, were taught hatred, violence and lawlessness. They will ruin your houses, those fortresses and quiet corners, they will rape your wives and daughters and bind you in the chains of slavery.

Punishment will come to those who by their blind solidarity strengthened as if with the water of life the dictators of the New Babylon, so that they could murder millions upon millions of people by teaching them not to think.

And you, captives of the New Babylon, awaken from the silence to which you have been conditioned by cruelty. For the appointed time is near when the new Nebuchadnezzars will send you like sheep into senseless battles where you and your children will die by the sword, without honour or glory.

There is still time to halt and turn the lightning of Providence which tomorrow may fall on the heads of those who tread the path of hatred and violence not love and mercy as was imparted to mankind through the teachings of the Saviour.

...Only blind people cannot see the obvious: the most blood was spilt, the most cruelty was committed against mankind after people broke the law which proclaimed the sanctity of the individual's right to private ownership of movable and immovable property and also

the right of inviolability of his household. This law was a great achievement of human civilization. In order to break it people thought up a theory which announced that this law was a crime, while proclaiming the legitimacy of the right to take away ownership, and gave this lawlessness an honourable name — expropriation. At the same time mankind inadvertently released from the bottle a terrible “genie” which they cannot now control.

The genie wandered over the plans of Russia, pouring out a sea of tears and blood. It killed millions of people: people killed each other, the stronger and more crafty starved the trusting and simple. All this because the people came under the power of the older beastlike “genie”, whom they themselves released from the bottle thinking that he was good, not evil.

He gave birth to fascism and in his ungratefulness sent his countless regiments against those who released him and human blood was again spilt.

With the help of the evil “genie” new tyrants ascended the thrones of large and small empires. They deprived people of the right to call things by their name: to call white things white, black — black, cruelty — cruelty and not mercy, robbery in daylight by those shameful words, — deceit and demagoguery, — deceit and demagoguery, not diplomacy and politics.

The “genie” continues to sow his evil deeds. He has taken possession of the hearts of children in Europe and Asia, America and Africa. They stride down the streets of Paris, Rome, Lisbon, London, and Tokyo with hatred in their hearts and a craving for violence and expropriation.

Who will stop those terrible columns of people filled with hatred, which are striving to create lawlessness? Who can say with certainty that on the expanses of Europe the next tragedy of mankind will not take place tomorrow?

Consequently, without sinning one iota against the truth we should recognize that today mankind has been thrown into a whirlpool of unrest and hostility and is on the brink of catastrophe.

We, children of the nations whose dignity has been trampled by the new autocrats, inveterate chauvinists of an empire which was born under the banner of illegality — address this to the whole world.

That was a lesson of history from which mankind should draw the right conclusions.

I, son of the Ukrainian people, call upon all people of good sense and kind heart to listen to the truthful and sincere confession of a person who has reached a profound understanding of the tragedy of his people and the shameful state which they are in at present.

We followed the path of violence and expropriation, but found the chains of a new slavery. By cyclopean barbarity they conditioned us to be as docile as a flock of sheep. We are frightened to say that we love our people because they will brand us as nationalists, our artists

daren't sing the songs of their people but sing Neapolitan songs about "Mother Russia", otherwise they would be thrown off the stage and persecuted.

All this came about because of deceit and demagogy — they taught us violence and lawlessness, and themselves deprived us of the right to dispose of the fruits of our work.

Seizing power over us through trickery they taught us evil: to trample the churches of our nation, our culture, language and history. And we became werewolves, a disgrace before the nations of the world.

We call upon you, children of the nations of the earth: do not follow the path of violence and expropriation, because it leads to tragedy. By the power of law stop those whose hearts are ruled by the evil "genie", who is now dancing over the surface of the planet in order to enjoy their tears and bloodshed.

Then the New Babylon will weaken — the empire of spiritual slavery, and the nations who were suppressed by it will rise...

...It has come about that as a result of the Revolution all political parties have disappeared off the face of the earth in Russia. A one-party kingdom has come to the fore. At the helm of the state stand people who are not prepared for affairs of state. They have learnt the mechanics of violence, the ruling elite has become convinced that it possesses such strength that with its help it can stay in power without change for an unlimited period of time. Stalin and his henchmen took advantage of their limitless state power in order to remove from the political arena all possible competitors — Kirov, Ordzhonikidze, and other prominent figures in the party and state, and also prominent commanders — Tukhachevsky, Yakir, Blucher, Hamarnyk and many others, those whom they suspected of disloyalty and who were reserved in the demonstration of their sympathies with the leaders of state at that time.

As a result of all this the USSR became a classic absolute state and the politburo and Stalin were transformed into the infallible "chiefs of the party and people" — they were the new despots who in many ways surpassed the all powerful eastern despots about whom we know a great deal from the history of oriental nations. A cult of chiefdom came into being which was in no way different from the cult of the Führer and his closest associates in fascist Germany.

These people have trampled the law underfoot. Human life has ceased to be of value in their eyes, a fact which is demonstrated by the mass repressions between the thirties and fifties. The press sang the praises of the new despots in chorus. Such tributes came from far and wide: from the tribunes of rallies, conferences, plenums — everywhere there echoed the strains of the universal chorus, announcing that they were wise, farsighted and geniuses even. Gradually they themselves even began to believe this. They really were foolish people, blinded by power. This was a paradox of Providence. People,

following the deceitful path of violence and barbarity, created a political system as a result of which foolish, shortsighted people found themselves at the helm of a huge state...

...Let the nations of the USSR not expect wisdom from their government. There will be none, because the political system itself is wrong. It allows individual people who in one glorious moment were able to come to power, to preserve it until another more nimble usurper comes along who can wring his predecessor's neck and expose him to the people as a scoundrel. These usurpers cannot act wisely if only because in order to retain the reigns of power they are obliged to suppress all opposition, all criticism directed at them, which means the impossibility of discussion which is the only way of revealing the truth. The chief dictator will not be told the truth by his fellow-dictators, who have held high post for decades, who became "chiefs" and who regard as their chief duty, the glorification of their patrons.

History has already shown many examples of dictators, even those endowed with wisdom and talent, who made irreparable errors which brought down tragedy on many nations.

... In the light of what has been said above it becomes a necessity of life to create the kind of political system which would limit the period in high office in the state leadership of anyone, by specific terms and establish as guarantor of such an order a law which no one would be allowed to break.

There is no need for a magnifying glass to see that for a long time now the chief support of the ruling elite of the state has been a mechanism of violence — the organs of the KGB. Events in the recent past have shown this clearly.

Everyone knows that shortly after Stalin's death, the chief of the KGB, Beria, was preparing to come to power and become the next dictator. He was prevented as we know only by the fact that Khrushchev and the state elite at the time, having suffered enough from the previous dictator, tricked Beria — they procured the help of the army: then Marshal Zhukov through the strength of the army which was devoted to him blocked Beria's terrible apparatus, neutralised it and removed Beria from the political arena. At that moment Marshal Zhukov by his own hand passed the state sceptre to the new dictator, Krushchev. If he had known how those who received state power by his hand were to wield the sceptre — he probably would not have passed it on but kept it himself. Krushchev struck a blow against the KGB organization but did not destroy its might. It soon became plain to him that without this organisation in the existing system, it would be impossible to retain power in the state. And like his predecessors he made the powerful KGB serve him. And the disturbed mechanism struck a blow against the dictator himself. Other people came to power who duly appreciated the superiority of the political system which had established itself during the long period of domination by a one-party system in the USSR — that is the dictatorship of the

party elite which rests on the state mechanism of violence. This guarantees everything: control over the cadres, over information and dissidents. All this together with social demagogy safely protects the altar of the new rulers.

... It turned out to be a mirage, a utopia, because in actual fact it had not existed from the very beginning — it literally became transformed from the first days of the revolution into the dictatorship of the party elite, which led to the creation of a new absolutism. The political system which established itself thanks to the efforts of the masses who were seized by the social demagogy of the Bolsheviks, placed at the helm of the state people, who not clever enough and at the same time in possession of unlimited power, struck a blow against those very masses who believed that violence would lead them to the promised just society. We know what kind of blow it was — the mass repressions between the thirties and fifties — during which millions of people perished. It was a blow against the vanguard of the nation, against its more active part and against the intelligentsia which still believed in the ideals declared by Lenin and his party.

The famine in Ukraine in 1933 as a result of which 7-8 million people perished was officially exposed and the dictator's hand passed its sentence on those masses who followed the path of hatred through blindness and helped the dictatorship to establish itself.

The next misfortune which fell upon the heads of the masses was the war when more than 20 million people were killed.

... The rapid growth of capitalism in Russia within a century created within the nationalities powerful forces, which laid the foundation for the consolidation of the nationalities. This was favoured in particular by the extension of political freedom after 1905. For example, in Ukraine, we see that at the beginning of the century there already existed parties which were greatly concerned about the rebirth of Ukrainian culture, language and traditions. A group, a nationally conscious Ukrainian intelligentsia, came into being which burned with enthusiasm to revive Ukrainian nationality and its original culture which had been so unjustly neglected. This group became the leaders of the nation and led the struggle for the Ukrainian national cause. We know that this struggle led in 1917 to the creation of an independent Ukrainian republic headed by Hrushevsky, a historian, one of the enthusiasts of the Ukrainian cause. We also know that the forces of the Ukrainian National Independence Movement were smashed by Lenin and the Bolsheviks, who split the Ukrainian nation and incited the ignorant against those who stood by the banner of the struggle for national liberation from the almost three hundred year old Russian yoke. In the same way events were developing in the territories of other nationalities.

We also know what price the Ukrainian people paid for believing in the enemies of Ukraine so thoughtlessly, those who taught them to throw stones at their faithful sons and to be ruled by Russia again.

Today all the nationalities by the application of absolute political and economic centralisation have been subjected to the complete control of a metropolitanate. The nationalities have today been deprived of any right to dispose of their national product. The slightest sign of economic initiative, any offence against the will of the Centre are punished without mercy by the dictator's hand. In this way the first secretaries of the communist parties of Ukraine and Georgia, Shelest and Mzhavanadze, were recently removed unceremoniously from office. By this unceremonious and arbitrary action the metropolitanate showed that it will deal in similar fashion with all those who dare even in minor details to deviate from the circular, or act against the wishes of the all-powerful centre.

With the help of all-consuming centralism Moscow robs its "equal" allies, its "fellow" nations among the Soviet Republics, without control. Who would dare to control such a beast of prey which deals with the destinies of the top administrators in the republics like a master with his lackeys. In excess of half the national product of the republics is passed on to the so-called Soviet Budget which goes to the metropolitanate in toto.

Having taken from the nationalities the keys to their economy, the chauvinist dictators strive to convert us into turncoats without initiative, mameluks of Russia, to russify our children, to denationalise them, to teach them disrespect for their native tongue, and contempt for their national cultures and traditions.

We will attempt here to analyse how Russia succeeds in trampling upon the nationalities so unceremoniously and in directing criticism so impudently against "neocolonialism", which here and there is still in existence on other continents, while at the same time implementing an unbridled policy of colonialism (no better in kind), in respect of its own national minorities?

The first and main reason for this is the fact that citizens of the USSR have been deprived of the elementary freedoms, which citizens in the civilized countries of the world have enjoyed since the very beginning of the 20th Century. A State which came into being through hatred, violence and lawlessness, deprived its citizens of elementary human rights — freedom of speech, the right to form political and social organisations, the right to all kinds of activities without state approval; which restricted and curtailed freedom of conscience — because the propagation of religion is pursued by the law as a criminal offence, (only Ancient Rome had the barbarity to apply these prohibitions) — is an empire of slavery.

For many years Soviet citizens have been taught to be docile with the help of cruel repressions. Loners, who have always refused to give in, are even today torn from society by the ruthless arm of the State and thrown into prisons and mental homes for many years, sentenced by closed political courts.

Is it not obvious that in such circumstances it is impossible for

there to come into existence an organisation which would dare to state that Russia disrespects the rights of its nationalities? If such an organisation were to come into being, the terrible mechanism of violence would be brought into play and the hounds of the state would tear apart anyone who made such a declaration. This is stating the obvious.

Nevertheless, this is not the only reason for such dumb silence among the nationalities. The ruling elite of chauvinists employs the well-tryed methods of demagogy with whose help it causes divisions within the nations, setting one section against another, that is: those who are not nationally conscious against the nationally conscious representatives — the intelligentsia.

By no means the least role is played by the fifth column of the metropolitanate — the great masses of Russians, planted in the hearts of the nations with the aim of disorganising them from the inside.

By virtue of the above mentioned reasons national cultures are doomed to vegetate and decline and today a real threat hangs over them, that they will be ousted by Russian culture, which is propagated by all kinds of possible and impossible means — radio, television, theatres, and variety and concert performances; this is easily done since the levers are in the hands of the Russians — the money taken away from the nationals by the right of centralism; and they pay generously only those who glorify Russian culture.

Let Russia not hope that she will always trample the dignity of nations. There will come a time when the nations will awaken, recover their sight and curse those who did not learn to respect foreign nations. For Providence — this we believe — will punish the cruel nation-violator if he conquered nations by deceit and perfidy.

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AN OPEN LETTER FROM TATYANA KHODOROVICH TO LEONID PLYUSCH

Tatyana Sergeyevna Khodorovich — is a member of the Initiatory Group in defence of human rights in the Soviet Union.

In the West she is known for her actions in defence of Leonid Plyushch — and first and foremost for the book “A history of the illness of Leonid Plyushch”.

*

Dear Leonid Ivanovich,

For several years my spiritual strength has been concentrated on your “case”, on the “case of Leonid Plyushch”, that is, that this scandalous affair — the incarceration of a mentally sound man for an unlimited period of time in a special psychiatric hospital — should become known to Soviet and Western societies.

The hours spent by the gates of the Dniepropetrovsk special psychiatric hospital... How many of those hours have there been now when I waited for your wife; and she would come out after the latest meeting, pale, shaken, depressed: the same “treatment” as before, his memory was fading, his speech worsening, he was dying. Could I have hoped that the moment would come when you too would appear at the gates of that terrible prison, leaving behind your butchers but not the memory of them, *not the mental and spiritual experience*, gained at the price of such suffering?

And all the same that moment came, and the first glad tidings that you had crossed the border, that you and your family (for four years it had also been my family) were safe, and that you were met in Vienna and welcomed in Paris. Finally I listened to the radio and later read about your interview. A mixed feeling of joy and triumph, bitterness and bewilderment took hold of me and has not left me since.

How could one not celebrate the fact that you were at liberty and freely expounding to free people the views, for which in your own country you were sentenced to torture by madness?

And here are your views...

I knew when I began the fight for your release, that you were a Marxist, that is a person who propagates an ideology which rejects all that is sacred to me: God, Christianity, freedom as the highest good inalienable from mankind, as distinct from Marxian “freedom

as a realised necessity"? Of course I knew. And still I fought. I fought first and foremost because you were being punished inhumanly for non-violent acts, because of your convictions embodied in words and worthy deeds.

And then I hear — *I hear from your lips* — that the horrors endured by our country, the horrors from which none of us are immune, and which you experienced in person — are only flaws, "twists", solitariness deficiencies, which discredit the "bright ideals" of communism, but according to some strange inscrutable logic do not touch upon its essence.

You are not deluding Western public opinion — you are communicating facts honestly, and honestly, that is sincerely, propagating your views. However, it is impossible for me in accordance with my ethical stance, not to regard your views as evil, and their propagation fortified by your authority as a steadfast courageous man who has been worn out by suffering — as the temptation of evil.

From time immemorial each human being has been endowed with the only real freedom — the freedom to choose between good and evil. I see my task as a human being, the meaning of my life in the negation of evil, in charity, sympathy, compassion and helping those, who are in need of this. I reject violence, and do not recognise the "dialectics" of good and evil, their relativity or "class nature". Never would I begin to preach revolution in any place. Both in another country and in another epoch I would preach that same "abstract humanism" which official Soviet morality despises and mocks, destroys and insults so much.

I defend the trampled rights not of hundreds of thousands or millions but of tens and hundreds of people; I have never asserted and do not assert that I am authorised to speak on behalf of the masses or even of some "silent majority" — I do not know them, I have never counted up those who share my opinions. People, in whose opinion statistics are identical to morals and who substitute the magic of large numerals for convictions, are probably bound to find this position absurd.

However, it is not at them that I direct my words and hopes. They are aimed at those who do not examine truth by arithmetic, who regard spiritual freedom as the most inalienable quality of life, its holy essence, which as it cannot be taken away from millions of people for the sake of one man, so it cannot be taken away from one man for the sake of millions of people. Such is my chief and hallowed conviction.

The second also main and most hallowed conviction: any ideology or world view which preaches violence or "good" bought at the price of violence should not be forcefully imposed and should be rejected.

I have not seen any contradiction between the theory of the class struggle which we were taught in school and the indiscriminate arrests, the weeping of girlfriends who in one night had lost their parents,

the fear which was inseparable from our whole way of life — in short, that entire atmosphere which is so well known to the world thanks to Solzhenitsyn, and which we still breathe and dote upon in our country.

But then people appeared (and continue to do so) who told me and tell me that everything that happened to you took place illegally, because of someone or other's fatal or criminal mistake, that Marxist communism does not at all postulate countless sacrifices, "fear and trepidation", but on the contrary, the flowering of the individual and freedom, that, if I read "early" Marx or "late" Lenin, I will be able to convince myself, that in fact everything should have taken place quite differently. I read both "early" and "late" Marx and Lenin and became convinced that everything came about correctly "in theory", that it could not have been otherwise.

That same Marxism the "bright and pure ideals" which you revere, with internationalism forming as it were the very core, the innermost essence of communist doctrine, you certainly attach a high value to, that Marxism in the words of Engels sanctions and proclaims the regularity, the inevitability, "the historical necessity" of the absorption of weaker nations by stronger ones, but which the Czech nation which you respect so much, calls "the death of the Czech nationality". Furthermore:

"The sole and inevitable part of these dying nations (Engels adds to their number "the Czechs, Corinthians, Dalmatians and others" — T. Kh.) lies in allowing the completion to come about of the process of decomposition and the absorption by stronger neighbouring nations". (Marx and Engels. Works., vol. 8, Gospolitizdat, 1957).

Don't you think that Hitler's reasoning might well have been the same — and the theoretical basis — on the eve of the seizure of Czecho-Slovakia in 1939? And that there is no contradiction between the views of the "founder" on the fate of small nations and peoples and the invasion of Czecho-Slovakia by Soviet armies in 1968?

But is it just Czecho-Slovakia? And are we only referring to 1968?

Evil exists and has always existed in the world, recognising strength (violence) as the most weighty argument: "victors are not put on trial". *However, a man, who calls an ideology based on violence and which appeals to him "bright and pure ideals", takes a sin upon his soul more terrible than the evil itself, for he is substituting evil for good, destroying the gulf between them.*

In calling upon the progressive forces of the West to fight for the release of I. Svitlychny, E. Sverstiuk and other representatives of the nationally minded Ukrainian intelligentsia, what kind of spiritual impulse do you yourself find in the Marxism which you preach and which is hostile to all national self-determination and self-consciousness, unless they belong to the strong nation — whose "physical and intellectual capacity for subjugation, absorption and assimilation by its neighbours" (Engels) has been "proven" by history?

How can you — a human being, without silencing the ideologue in you, defend the interests of your friend Alexander Feldman, who served a 3 year prison sentence in a severe regime camp for an act of hooliganism which he did not commit, but in fact for this and this reason only, that for profoundly thought out and deeply felt national motives (zionism that is) he wanted to leave for Israel?

“The Jewish question stands thus: assimilation or isolation? — and the idea of a Jewish “nationality” has an overtly reactionary character not only among its staunch supporters (the Zionists), but also among those, who try to unite it with the ideas of social democracy (the Bundists)... Karl Kautsky, having in mind the Russian Jews especially, expressed himself even more energetically. Hostility towards alien sections of the population can be eliminated “only if the alien sections cease to be different and blend with the general mass of the population. This is the only possible solution to the Jewish question, and we should support everything that promotes the elimination of Jewish isolation”. (Lenin, vol. 5).

Why did Lenin, after rejecting word for word Karl Kautsky’s views on all the political, strategic and tactical questions of European social democracy, show complete solidarity with him only on the Jewish question? Was it not because in Lenin the Marxist — “Leninist” the most characteristically Marxian “ethical aim” has “brought about” the total rejection of individual spiritual origin which stands in opposition to socio-economic determinism, no matter whether this individual spiritual origin manifests itself in separate individuals or in separate nations.

It seems that this fact has still not been appraised or interpreted, that non-Jews can emigrate from the USSR (with the rarest of exceptions) only by way of a summons from Israel. The idea of an identicalness between “dissidence” and “Jewish interests” is being stamped assiduously on the consciousness of Soviet citizens. “The internal and external enemy” has assumed clear, easily recognisable features “the dissident Zionist”. All this is a most dangerous galvanisation of Black-Hundred psychology with its savage hatred of the intelligentsia and the Jews.

Of course Leonid Ivanovich, as befits a decent, cultured man, you hate and abhor anti-semitism and you obviously consider that Marxian communism is incompatible with it. But again I still do not see any contradiction here: in today’s outbreak of Soviet anti-semitism, in my opinion, two traditions have met and combined wonderfully — on one — elemental, provoking pogroms, and of the Black-Hundred tradition — the other — ideologically “class” based Marxist doctrine. For not one anti-Soviet publication does not manage without the help of references and quotations from the “classics” and “founders”. But don’t you think that the persecution of Jews as Zionist-Imperialists and enemies of the proletariat — is no better

at all — than calling for the slaughter of “sellers of Christ” and “murderers of Christ”?

The stream of dark hatred, threats, senseless spite which has been poured over the pages of the Soviet press and has been directed against “dissidents — mental cases — Zionists”, testifies to one thing which has become manifest but which was conceived in secret, light has been thrown on the secluded crannies and the underground activities of the Soviet way of life, which were being guarded and protected from the light of day with particular care — and the system will now begin to avenge itself.

The fact that “Literaturnaya Gazeta” in the article “Baseness” described among others A. Yakobson, V. Fainberg and the husbands of the Titovy sisters as being mentally ill is not frightening; nor even the fact that in some cases this is true, in some cases, this is a lie. What is frightening is another fact: the consciousness of the Soviet people is being cultivated in the conviction, that quasi-psychological illness renders it quite impossible for a human being to be of value morally, creatively, or intellectually, and, what is no less terrible quasi-“dissidence”, heterodoxy — are the consequence (and even the reason for) the deviation from psychological norms.

Psychological illness is in fact a disease and, like every other disease does not take account of ideologies, which are nothing to do with it. Depression, despondency, insomnia, agitation, innumerable fears (phobias)... Not one of our contemporaries is insured against this verbiage, in the same way as neither Christian, Marxist, nor unemployed “dissident”, nor responsible party worker are insured against cancer.

The society whose members to a man (or whose notorious majority) are physically and mentally healthy (“harmoniously developed”) — is not a healthy society, whereas the society which is guided by healthy thought, wholesome criteria and by a scale of vital values is. And these criteria have always been love and freedom, and the complexity and depth of the human personality.

You, Leonid Ivanovich, have called the Soviet system “sick”. In the context of your speech the “sick” and “rotten” system is divorced from the “healthy” Marxist-Leninist Weltanschauung. Is this logical?

How can a system be healthy when it is based on an ideology which divides the world into camps and classes, a system which controls spiritual, creative and artistic activity, for, according to the chief commandment of Marxism, such activity must “serve” someone? *In fact the ideology continually impels the system to constantly deny, brand and “expose” someone, to create enemies and hate them.*

You appeal to public opinion in the West to mount a more decisive struggle for the release of *all* political prisoners. I do discriminate between the *acts* which people commit in the name of their convictions. Not only would I not begin to defend a terrorist, but also to

sympathise with him: bloodshed cannot be atoned for by any political convictions.

Imagine, dear Leonid Ivanovich (although this is farfetched), that those Soviet political prisoners whose interests you are defending at present will be released. Imagine something far from implausible: their places will not be taken by new prisoners immediately. You know our life and its unwritten laws so well, surely you don't think that Soviet society will not find dozens of ways to deal with all aspects and shades of dissidence — political and religious? The impossibility of incarnating spiritual, and religious experience into words accessible to others, in print or through a sermon, the impossibility of bringing up children in a religious spirit without putting their future on the block; the impossibility of having free unmonitored associations of people interested in religious, philosophical, or artistic problems — all this exists and will continue to exist in our country while it is run by the “only credible” doctrine of class warfare, classless (bereft of hierarchy) society and “the primacy of the material over the spiritual”. How and where in such conditions it is possible for the creation of “healthy forces amongst the peasants, workers and intelligentsia” about whom you spoke — I do not know. I do not see them. Spiritually healthy forces in this country are found more and more frequently in the camps and special psychiatric prisons.

Dear Leonid Ivanovich, I am not calling upon you to change your Weltanschauung. I have no right to do so, nor the words, the strength, the hope. You retained your convictions through suffering and that cannot but give rise to the deepest respect for you.

Not, however, for your convictions.

I call you to account for this: because your words, thanks to the very *moral* loftiness of your cast of mind, are at present immensely powerful and persuasive.

People by nature identify an idea with the person proclaiming it. Unfortunately they are a great deal less sensitive to the link between ideology and reality. We however, you and I, all of whom live or have lived in the Soviet Union, are dutybound, our consciences awake, to keep a particularly close ear to, and an especially sharp eye open to everything concerning the “bright ideals”, the “rebuilding of the world”, the “creation of a new man” and so forth.

Are you convinced that the West after saving you and giving you refuge will remain the same West if it instills into its peoples a belief in Marxism-Leninism?

In this necessarily open letter I am not only polemicising with you, but am taking advantage of yet another possibility to tell the West (the *free* West) about how we live, about the atmosphere of hostility, fear and suspicion, which is becoming ever deeper and gloomier. And, Leonid Ivanovich, Soviet propaganda much more frequently and actively than before your imprisonment and emigra-

tion is turning now to that same ideology, whose correctness you have proclaimed and the open propagation of which you now regard as your right and exalted duty.

I want more strongly and more urgently as many people as possible in the West to recognise and understand my true motives and impulses, so that they consider my views with the same thoughtfulness and attention as they have yours.

15. 3. 76.

T. Khodorovich

Moscow, Prospect Mira, 68, apart. 156.

INTENSIFY REPRESSIONS AGAINST SERHIYENKO

Reports from Ukraine indicate that the Vladimir Prison officials have stepped up their repressions against the Ukrainian political prisoner Oleksander Serhiyenko.

Serhiyenko, 44, was arrested in 1972 and sentenced to seven years incarceration and three years exile. He is suffering from tuberculosis. In March of this year Serhiyenko was placed in solitary confinement for two weeks.

His mother Mrs. Meshko, a resident of Kyiv, made all possible efforts to have her son released from prison. She has written many letters to party and government officials on his behalf.

After discovering the harsh steps taken against her son, Mrs. Meshko asked a doctor in the medical sector of the Ministry of Internal Affairs (MVD) how he views the confinement of a severely sick person in solitary, the lack of proper rations for him, and the denial of fresh air.

"We cannot change the regime. If he violated the law, he is imprisoned. We only treat him", he replied.

He told her that prisoners "who have to be carried" are occasionally freed, "but even then after a lot of begging".

On April 30, 1976, she went to see the director of the Department of Inspection, Bolisov, and asked him why her son was detained in solitary for two weeks. She learned from him that Serhiyenko wrote 84 complaints in one year, not only in his case but for others as well.

Bolisov also accused her of improperly raising her son.

She said that she could not have done that because she was imprisoned in concentration camps for 10 years.

"He was raised by the schools and the society, and if while being in an inhuman environment he continued to think about his neighbour, then his education was not that bad", she retorted.

G. H. YEMEC

AMONG THE SNOWS

(a *samvydav*)

Deep in the Mordovian
exiles

the arena of torture
and imprisonment that
has known millions

hunger and insanity
both forced
stalk the camps.

In the zone,
a whisper.

'Valentyn Moroz is dying
in Vladimir
Prison.'

Inside the camp

barbed wire and the laws of hunger training
reign.

Any sprout, any inflouescence
of a beet, potato or cerberian dill
are picked quickly and
implacably.

Only t h e y are allowed to decide
on the sate or hungry.

"Flowers — by all means." This is beautiful

festive, tidy

a decent cover for the cursed earth.
the one continuous grave of
Mordovia.

But,
even in the frozen barrens
when it is possible,
it is possible.

An old grey mustached
 rifleman, beaten and shot
 so much that not even the Bolsheviks
 could send him to hard labour

he digs in that earth.

He digs a little. He stands.

He lurks, bends down again
 and scratches
 in the frozen earth.

And May arrives, and out among the snows
there suddenly

blooms
 in the full
 grace of his face
 a portrait
 of Moroz.

One does not have to be Ukrainian
 to understand . . .

For a long time
 the guards
 debated
 about the flowers

whether to trample them down.

Even t h e y could not

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.

A GENERAL "POGROM"

"There are sufficient grounds for maintaining that in the course of the past half century the national question such as it existed before has been completely, definitely and irrevocably solved".

(L. Brezhnev)

*

The way in which the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is continuing to solve this problem although Brezhnev maintains that it has been definitely and irrevocably solved will be shown by the following specific examples.

1. *Policy of Total Russification*

The policy of russifying non-Russians in the USSR has always been an integral part of the domestic policy of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. During the past years, however, this policy has been considerably intensified.

The XXIVth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union may be considered the beginning of a new stage in Soviet nationality policy — the stage of total Russification. This Congress fully deserves the term Congress of Chauvinist Russifiers. Therefore, only the post-congressional events in Ukraine will be discussed.

In his report Brezhnev "theoretically" grounds his Russification policy by setting forth a new "theory" concerning the rise of a new community — the "Soviet people" and again stressing the increasing role of everything Russian in terms of internationalism.

In the post-congressional period the attack directed against the national republics is especially brought into relief against the general background of intensified terror.

Taking into account the important part of the Ukrainian SSR in the economic potential of the Russian empire it is obvious that the attack has primarily been directed against the Ukraine.

In accordance with the general guidelines agreed upon during the Congress as regards the national question the Party and the KGB have initiated specific practical measures.

Already during the plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union held in November the report of the Secretary of Lviv Obkom (regional section of the Communist Party), Kucelov, dealing with the Obkom's activity was heard. In the resolutions the achievements in the field of international and

atheistic education of the population were acknowledged as being sufficient. Suslov suggested the removal of Kucelov from the post of First Secretary of the Obkom. Only thanks to the intercession of the First Secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine, P. Shelest, has Kucelov retained his post for a certain time. Why has the attack primarily been directed against the region of Lviv? As a result of the particular historical developments the western regions (oblasti) of Ukraine are russified to the least extent. Moreover, Lviv is the main scientific, cultural and industrial centre of Western Ukraine.

It should be noted that the Soviet press does not mention this resolution altogether. After the plenum a campaign was carried out among the active Party members and a closed letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR was read emphasizing that apparently, Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists in their subversive activity were utilizing the Ukrainian language as a means of nationalist propaganda. It was noted further that requests insisting on the usage of Ukrainian in administrative and educational institutions as well as in industry must be considered a manifestation of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism. Apparently the use of the Russian language is not designated as Russian nationalism but is regarded in terms of the Party as internationalism.

Gradually the press campaign is growing not only against so-called Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism, but also against nationalist tendencies, national narrow-mindedness and obsolete national customs. A deluge of Party decisions, and instructions to local subordinate organizations, educational and scientific institutions has poured forth. A massive wave of arrests has been mounted among the progressive intelligentsia, the scientific and creative intelligentsia has been dismissed from work in great number, and purges are carried out among students. Social "spirits and elves" are raising their heads still higher. The KGB is completely beyond the control of the Ukrainian Communist Party leadership. The number of KGB men and informers is rapidly growing.

The chief of the republican KGB section, Fedorchuk, has informed Moscow that the Ukrainian Communist Party leadership has not contributed towards efficient activity on the part of the KGB. Shcherbytsky and Malanchuk, both very career-conscious, are trying to convince the Politburo in Moscow that P. Shelest is a national deviationist. Therefore, the Politburo of the CC of the CP of the Soviet Union perceives in P. Shelest an obstacle in the way of its "pogrom" policy in Ukraine.

2. Purge of the Party Cadres of the Ukrainian Communist Party

The Kremlin masters did not dare to carry through an instantaneous massive purge among the liberal-minded Party cadres in Ukraine, headed by P. Shelest. This might have produced detrimental results,

since P. Shelest was supported by the majority of Obkom First Secretaries, only three of whom opposed him openly: Dekhtyarov of Donetsk region, Dobryn of Ivano-Frankivsk region and Vatchenko of Dnipropetrovsk. All opponents of Shelest were headed by Shcherbytsky.

The situation was further complicated for Moscow by the fact that P. Shelest, as a member of the Politburo, was supported by several Party leaders in the national republics, especially in Georgia, Moldavia and others.

Therefore, Moscow decided to apply the well-tested quiet method. P. Shelest was requested by telephone to participate in a meeting of the Politburo and to come to Moscow immediately, a few hours before its beginning. The Politburo was opposed to Shelest (he was even offered the "defendant's" seat in the meeting hall, i.e. the seat usually occupied by those who take part in the meeting for the last time, the established ritual). He was informed that he was going to perform the functions of Vicepresident of the Council of Ministers of the USSR and was charged with localism and national narrow-mindedness which allegedly had given rise to the nationalist movement in Ukraine. When leaving the assembly hall Shelest said to his advisors: "Everything is finished". During this meeting Brezhnev turned to Shcherbytsky: "Get up and act as First Secretary". Shelest was not allowed to leave Moscow. The Politburo probably feared he might convene a plenum of the Communist Party of Ukraine which might create a sensation, although this seems hard to believe.

Actually at that time the Russians began to confine P. Shelest. Immediately after returning from Moscow Shecherbytsky introduced himself to the leading Party men as First Secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine, although everything had been carried through in an atmosphere of absolute secrecy. Formally Shecherbytsky was elected "First Secretary" in the plenum of the Ukrainian Communist Party on May 25, 1973. Shelest was not allowed to participate in the plenum.

In the course of the second half of 1972 and the first months of 1973 various slanderous rumours were spread about Shelest, charging him with being in favour of the growing corruption in the republic. The following event is quite characteristic: the opponents of Shelest in the CP of Ukraine and KGB men were trying to make use of two "pogroms" of Jews which took place in March and May 1972 for their ignominious aims. Rumours were spread among the Jews alleging that the "pogroms" were initiated by Shelest, on the one hand, and attempts were made to arouse a wave of Antisemitism among the Ukrainians by spreading myths that the Jews were requesting the constitution of an autonomous Jewish republic in Ukraine, on the other. In reality, however, Jews were seeking the authorization to freely emigrate to Israel as well as compliance with their national and cultural needs. In fact, this time the chauvinist

plans did not come true since the plotters did not succeed in playing off Jews and Ukrainians against each other and thus stirring antagonism among them.

After the deportation of Shelest from Ukraine a massive purge of the Party cadres was initiated. All adherents of Shelest were gradually removed from the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party and the Obkoms. One of the first victims was Ovrachenko who was removed from the post of Secretary of Ideological Questions in the CC of the Ukrainian CP. Brezhnev and Suslov suggested to have him replaced by a well-known anti-Ukrainian, an inveterate chauvinist and go-getter, V. Malanchuk, after he had appeared for a hearing before Brezhnev and Suslov. The First Secretary of the Poltava Obkom, Muzhycky, was retired and replaced by the former Inspector of Cadres (a KGB post) in the CC of the CP of Ukraine, Morhun. It is noted, by the way, that the Poltava region is the least russified one of the eastern regions.

A considerable number of Party functionaries have been retired, transferred or "advanced", as for instance Shelest. The cadre purge reached its climax in 1973, after havoc had been made of the advanced Party School of the CC of the CP of Ukraine. 34 lecturers have been dismissed, including the Rector of the school, Chykaliuk, part of the students were expelled and the entire instruction programme was reorganized by completely reverting to dogmatic positions.

On the regional, municipal and district levels of the Party 25 percent of secretaries charged with ideological questions were superseded.

In the Politburo in Moscow it was even requested to exclude Shelest from the Party and to subject him to severe censure by the press. The promoters of such measures were successful. After the April Plenum of the CC of the CP of the Soviet Union Shelest was "retired". Presently he is confined in his home and his family is closely watched by the KGB.

Shelest was charged with "nationalist" deviations by the so-called active Party members. At any rate, Party information being severely checked has only been passed on to the level of district Party leaders in the form of guide-lines for practical actions and the chain has been closed. Subordinate Party members are merely furnished with general declarations. The leading Party clique holds that ordinary Party members should not know what is going on "within the leading circle".

Kucevol, First Secretary of the Lviv Obkom, fell as one of the last Mohicans at the end of 1973. It is not quite understood why Kucevol maintained his post for a relatively long period of time although the first attacks from the central "den" had been directed against him.

Kucevol was replaced, according to Brezhnev's personal instruction, by Dobryk, former First Secretary of the Ivano-Frankivsk Obkom, an inveterate Russifier favouring cruel KGB actions and a go-getter.

In one of the first Obkom meetings held in December 1973, Dobryk declared that the Party had bestowed on him this post so that he could correct all the errors allowed by the preceding Obkom leadership. The new secretary emphasized that the Lviv Obkom had in fact not been acting along the lines of the decisions made in the plenum of the CC of the CP of Ukraine in April with respect to the selection and arrangement of cadres, but that his predecessor had limited himself to verbal declarations.

When characterizing Shelest and his adherents Dobryk stressed that grave errors had been committed as to cadres; it was Shelest's fault that the republic had deviated from the Party line with respect to the international education of the workers (read Russification) and that, if the CC of the CP of the Soviet Union had not taken decisive steps, the same might have happened in a few years in Ukraine as in Czechoslovakia in 1968; Shelest had been paralyzing the activity of the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR and could not stand Shcherbytsky. He mentioned for instance that once Shelest had asked Shcherbytsky why he did not allot sufficient funds for the publication and printing of books; when Shcherbytsky replied that the distribution of funds was centralized in our country (i.e. Russia) and that allegedly sufficient funds were available, Shelest called Shcherbytsky an illiterate and declared that he — Shcherbytsky — did not want to work.

Dobryk also recalled that he had been cautioned against meddling with affairs not being his own when he protested against the performance of the movie "Bilyi ptakh z chornoyu oznakoyu" (a white bird with a black token), but he — Dobryk — remained a high principled Communist and appealed to the Politburo of the CC of the CP of the Soviet Union against such an attack directed against him.

It is characteristic that the purge of Party cadres in Ukraine was the most extensive one in the Soviet Union. It can only be compared with the purges of the 1930s although, contrary to the purges of the 30s, it was still more Ukrainophobic in character, and was carried through in the utmost secrecy: various pretended transfers, retirements, dismissals from leading positions due to poor health, struggle against corruption, etc. The true reasons have been carefully concealed from the public.

3. Prohibition of Ukrainian Sciences and Culture, Persecution of the Intelligentsia

Ukrainian culture could not and has not freely developed throughout the Soviet period. Even during Khrushchev's "thaw" the process of forced Russification was not stopped. However, what is happening now in Ukraine cannot be compared with anything that happened before 1971.

Russification reasoned out in detail is carried out on a massive and universal scale.

Any steps that seem appropriate are taken to amputate the people's historical memory and ruin its language and culture. It would take many volumes to describe all that. Since this is not possible for us we will try to explain the events as laconically as possible by characterizing the general tendencies of the terror applied by the occupant, and for a better understanding of the political situation in Ukraine we will illustrate the situation by numerous crimes committed in Ukraine.

It is characteristic that the repressions applied are differentiated, at present the main attack being directed against the Ukrainian intelligentsia. People are not thrown into concentration camps in such great numbers as during the Stalinist period. The leadership of the CP of the Soviet Union decided to carry out an intellectual genocide by liquidating the national intelligentsia. Everybody belonging to this intelligentsia is closely watched by the KGB, i.e. by an army of informers being of course present in every organization.

Those who are not very "promising" are constantly watched, e.g. by intercepting telephone calls or any other spying devices and by controlling their mail. This sort of supervision can be practiced for a long time in order to uncover as many connections among the suspected persons as possible.

Active defenders of Ukrainian national rights and persons spreading "Samvydav" are thrown into prisons and concentration camps. The analysis of many closed trials has confirmed that materials ascertained by spying serve as the main proof of guilt in these trials. For form's sake false witnesses who have been familiarized previously with material overheard by the KGB are introduced for this purpose. During the last two years there has not been any case where a defendant of a closed political trial was acquitted by the Court except for those having ransomed themselves from the concentration camps by treason.

In almost every case the term of interrogation by far exceeded that stipulated by the Criminal Code. This is done in order to break physically and spiritually weak people by means of blackmailing and provocations and make them betray the principles of justice in the form of various declarations of repentance and defamatory letters. Thus persons who have not been active and against whom there is no evidence to justify their imprisonment for a term set by the KGB, but whom the KGB cannot tolerate, are thrown into psychiatric murder-houses. Quite often poets refusing to go against their conscience can be found there. To be acquainted with a political prisoner is a reason sufficient for being dismissed from work.

Ukrainian historical and literary heritage is reviewed completely. Ukrainian historical research is prohibited. In colleges various forged documents are fabricated at present, their object being to create and simultaneously erase Ukrainian history. Those scientists who do not put up with this are simply removed from the colleges or institutes.

This also applies to all social sciences.

In the appraisal of the past the class principle has been completely set aside and everything is now evaluated from the aspect of Great-Russian chauvinism.

The Party line on these questions has already been generally outlined in the first part of this report.

Specific instructions are elaborated by the Ideological Department of the CC of the CP and the KGB and are put into practice by means of censorship, control by the creative unions and by the directors of scientific institutions which have completely been transformed into special KGB departments — sections of intellectual terror. All this is carefully concealed from the public.

As never before, the Ukrainian language is persecuted. Under pretence of scientism, the institute of linguistics does everything to legitimize the defacement of the Ukrainian language by soiling it with Russianisms, modifying its orthographic rules and so forth.

Officially there is no law prohibiting the use of the Ukrainian language. Theoretically it is even supposed to be on an a par with Russian. Should, however, a student dare to ask a lecturer to give his lecture in Ukrainian he would immediately be suspected of Ukrainian nationalism and expelled from the institute. In an open lecture such a question would arouse the attention of the KGB always present at such meetings and would be reason enough to have the person concerned carefully watched. The lecturer would adduce the fact that "Lenin spoke Russian" and would continue to teach in Russian knowing quite well what he was paid for and that this would be his last lecture should he act otherwise.

The Ukrainian language is being eliminated under various pretexts. Thus, for instance, the imperial centralization is supposedly reaching its climax: recently almost all republican ministries have been transformed into Union republican ministries. Consequently, within these departments all documents are drawn up in Russian and all subordinate bodies are requested to proceed likewise.

Nearly all courses intended for specialization or raising qualification in Ukraine have been reorganized as all-Union courses and thus are again given in Russian.

Whenever groups of students are sent from another republic to attend an institute, its lectures are given in Russian.

In 1971 in West Ukrainian institutes of higher education about 25 percent of lectures were given in Ukrainian. In the course of the last three years this percentage has been reduced to 15 and combined with the percentage of the rest of the republic it is practically insignificant.

At the University of Dnipropetrovsk, for instance, Ukrainian literature courses are given in Russian. Lately, in the Polytechnic Institute of Kyiv only Professor Voytko, Head of the Department of Philosophy, had been giving his lectures in Ukrainian. He was removed from the Institute last year.

The Minister of higher and specialized secondary school education, Dadenkov, who, in accordance with the instructions of the Shelest CP leadership of the Ukraine had attempted to "ukrainianize" the "VUZ-y" (institutes of higher education) was replaced by Yefimenko who had never used the Ukrainian language before.

One of the meetings of the Politburo of the CP of Ukraine held in 1973 secretly decided to gradually start publishing in Russian all scientific journals so far published in Ukrainian or both Ukrainian and Russian.

On March 14, 1974 all those concerned with higher education in Ukraine met in Kyiv. Rectors and secretaries of the "VUZ-Partkoms" were present as well as responsible representatives of the CC of the CP of Ukraine, of the Council of Ministers of the Ukr. SSR and of the Party-obkoms. The meeting was held in Russian. V. Malanchuk — the leading figure in this meeting — emphasized that in general all institutes should aim at teaching exclusively in Russian since the Russian language supposedly was one of the basic characteristics of internationalism. He recalled that in the same forum his predecessors had made declarations to the contrary some years ago. However, the Party had corrected these deviations (at this moment Saba left the meeting hall).

In June 1974 Malanchuk met Tomashevsky, the Consul General of the People's Republic of Poland, in Kyiv and requested him to arrange for an intensification of the censorship of Ukrainian publications edited in Poland.

The article in the April 1973 issue of "Komunista Ukrainy" dealing with "serious shortcomings and errors of one book" became the point of departure for definitively prohibiting any Ukrainian scientific, cultural and publishing activity. We are not going to analyze this article which is accessible to the reader in detail but will rather point out those facts which cannot be found in the Soviet press.

In the spring of 1973 the academician B. Babiy announced in one of the meetings that all manuscripts of the Department of Social Studies had been returned by the publishing companies to have them reviewed and censored by governmental scientists. These manuscripts included the third volume of "The Archaeology of the Ukr. SSR" supposedly mentioning the name of M. Braychevsky too often. Criticizing a series of academic journals published in Ukrainian the academician Babiy reproved the editing staff of "Narodna Tvorchost ta Etnohrafiya" (Popular Creation and Ethnography) for idealizing traditions such as folk song, poetry, Ukrainian popular tales, sayings and proverbs in this journal.

Stalin did not even dream of having such assistants.

We have succeeded in procuring a copy of the "black" list of all Ukrainian authors who may no longer be quoted or mentioned in any publications (this list was handed over by the KGB to the Com-

mittee of Censorship in the spring of 1973). Their names are listed below:

- | | | |
|----------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|
| 1. Zalozny | 19. V. Skrypka | 36. A. Lubchenko |
| 2. I. Ohienko | 20. Zinkivski | 37. N. Polonska- |
| 3. Ye. Pelensky | 21. S. Yefremov | Vasylenko |
| 4. V. Perebynis | 22. M. Mushynka | 38. O. Ohloblyn |
| 5. V. Shcherbakivsky | 23. M. Osinchuk | 39. R. Smal-Stocky |
| 6. M. Holobyev | 24. Anastazievski | 40. D. Solovey |
| 7. B. Antonych | 25. Andriyenko- | 41. P. Fesenko |
| 8. N. Andrusiv | Nechytaylo | 42. V. Chaplenko |
| 9. S. Hordynsky | 26. Artymenko | 43. K. Shtepa |
| 10. D. Hornyatkevych | 27. Butovych | 44. V. Zakharchenko |
| 11. M. Dmytrenko | 28. O. Hryshchenko | 45. O. Berdnyk |
| 12. S. Lytvynenko | 29. B. Khmeliuk | 46. B. Antonenko- |
| 13. R. Lisovsky | 30. V. Vovk | Davydovych |
| 14. V. Sichynsky | 31. M. Hirnyk | 47. I. Dziuba |
| 15. Dashkevych | 32. S. Plachynda | 48. I. Svitlychny |
| 16. Ya. Dzyra | 33. Yu. Kolisnychenko | 49. Ye. Sverstiuk |
| 17. O. Kompan | 34. P. Shelest | 50. I. Kalynets |
| 18. M. Osadchy | 35. I. Bahryany | |

Lists of this type are constantly supplemented.

The executive body of the Ukrainian Writers Union (SPU) has been transformed into an organ of intellectual coercion — an appendage of the KGB. Writers like Kozachenko, Shamota, Levada, colonel Soldatenko (KGB colonel, in fact the manager of the SPU), Zbanacky, M. Zarudny, do everything to win the KGB's favour by smothering Ukrainian writing. Following the drive of the so-called "struggle against anti-historicism" historical themes have been completely banned from Ukrainian literature.

Since 1973 the Institute of Literature has only admitted graduate students specializing in Russian literature and in literature of the peoples of the Soviet Union in general, whereas no graduates were admitted to specialize in Ukrainian literature separately. The same position has been adopted by the Institute of Linguistics. This is how the occupants take care of the development of Ukrainian culture.

In recent years a number of talented Ukrainian writers were excluded from the Ukrainian Writers Union:

1. V. Zakharchenko,
2. O. Berdnyk — a talented fiction writer,
3. H. Kochur — translator,
4. M. Lukash — translator, a polyglot proficient in 36 languages — was excluded for requesting to be allowed to serve the term of the ailing Dziuba (even after Dziuba redeemed himself by treason).

Moreover, dozens of writers have been forbidden from publishing their works which practically amounts to being removed from the Writers Union. The Press Committee has issued a list of writers not

allowed to publish their works, wherein B. Antonenko-Davydovych is mentioned first, a patriotic writer, expert and defender of the Ukrainian language, long-term prisoner of Soviet concentration camps who has been constantly subjected to defamation by the press dominated by the executive body of the SPU which is definitely pro-KGB. Later there appear such well known writers as L. Kostenko, I. Chendey, R. Ivanychuk and V. Nekrasov (Russian writer, member of the Kyiv Section of the Ukrainian Writers Union), altogether over 100 writers are listed. The list also includes poets detained in psychiatric prisons, such as Z. Krasivsky, A. Lupynis and V. Ruban. The SPU of course includes all kinds of riff-raff who are ready to produce antiliterary garbage.

After December 30, 1971 when the Politburo charged the KGB to smash *Samvydav* a wave of arrests spread all over the empire. The terror is most extreme in Ukraine and Georgia.

Mass arrests and searches had already been started in 1972. Thus from January to March 1972 over 1000 persons were searched or arrested in the region of Lviv, 3000 copies of *Samvydav* literature being seized.

The arrests were conducted in all the district centres of many regions, but since everything was done secretly it is impossible to determine even the approximate number of persons arrested. The bulk of information available came from Kyiv, Lviv, Ivano-Frankivsk, but even there only the arrests of cultural workers who are widely known in Ukraine became known. Besides these cultural workers, however, many engineers, teachers, medical doctors, students and workers have been arrested. The staff members of "Svoboda" were completely wrong in stating that about 100 persons were arrested in Ukraine at that time.

Often the residents of a house did not know for a long time that one of their neighbours had been arrested. In such cases the KGB usually requests a certificate from the relatives of the person in question confirming that they are not going to spread the secret, and at the respective place of work or institute rumours are spread that said person has been transferred, is under notice to leave or has fallen ill.

Those released from arrest were threatened that they would have to account for spreading the secret. Thus for the time being, we may only cite some of the persons arrested and sentenced.

In 1972 the following persons were arrested and sentenced to imprisonment in strict regime camps:

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| <p>1. V. Romaniuk — 10 years imprisonment + 3 years exile (clergyman from the village of Kosmach, imprisoned for his connections with V. Moroz).</p> | <p>2. Y. Shukhevych — 10 + 5 (refused to slander his father; when he was searched only his memoirs dealing with life in camp were found).</p> |
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|--|---|
| 3. Antoniuk — 7 + 3. | 13. I. Hel — 10 + 3. |
| 4. Plakhotniuk — 5 + 3. | 14. I. Senyk — 6 + 3. |
| 5. V. Stus — 5 + 3. | 15. Dyak — 10 + 5 (Stryi, engineer and poet). |
| 6. V. Raketsky — 5 (resident of Odessa). | 16. A. Lupynis — in psychiatric imprisonment. |
| 7. O. Serhienko — 7 + 3. | 17. Kovalenko — |
| 8. D. Shumuk — 10 + 5. | 18. Gluzman — 7 + 3 (psychiatrist, Jew). |
| 9. S. Shabatura — 5 + 3. | 19. L. Seredniak — 1. |
| 10. I. Kalynets — 7 + 3. | |
| 11. I. Stasiv-Kalynets — 6 + 3. | |
| 12. M. Osadchy — 7 + 3. | |

Z. Franko, M. Kholodny, L. Seleznenko having been arrested were released after issuing shameful defamatory statements about themselves and their friends.

In December 1972 the medical doctor L. Huk was arrested in Skadovsk, Kherson region (his further fate unknown).

In 1972 Polishchuk (a Jew speaking up in defence of human rights for Ukrainians and Jews; his further fate unknown) was arrested in Kyiv.

In 1973 the following persons were sentenced:

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|--|--|
| 1. N. Strokata-Karavanska — 4 years imprisonment (Odessa, microbiologist, the wife of the political prisoner S. Karavansky, speaking up in defence of her husband, offered financial assistance to the family of Y. Shukhevych). | Lviv, editor of the underground journal "Postup" (Progress). |
| 2. Svitlychnyi — 7 + 3. | 11. V. Lisovyi — 7 + 3 (philosopher, wrote a letter of protest against the imprisonment of I. Dziuba to the CC of the CP of Ukraine). |
| 3. Ye. Sverstiuk — 7 + 5. | 12. Ye. Proniuk — 7 + 5 (philosopher, wrote together with Lisovyi a letter of protest against the imprisonment of I. Dziuba to the CC of the CP of Ukraine). |
| 4. N. Svitlychna — 4 (I. Svitlychny's sister). | 13. V. Ruban — psychiatric imprisonment (the inquest was conducted by the interrogator Kovpak, KGB). |
| 5. I. Dziuba — 5 + 5 (after being detained for almost 1½ years in prison he was released when he consented to collaborate with the KGB; the inquest was conducted by major Kolchyk, KGB). | 14. L. Plyushch — psychiatric imprisonment (the inquest was conducted by the KGB interrogator Kovpak). |
| 6. R. Cycyk — 3 (Chervonohrad). | 15. Ovsienko — (term unknown). |
| 7. B. Rozlucky — 4 (Chervonohrad). | 16. Marchenko — 6 + 2 (writer). |
| 8. V. Chornovil — 7 + 3. | 17. V. Lobko — (term unknown, sentenced in March 1974, an engineer from Kyiv). |
| 9. Yaromyr Mykyta — 7 + 3 (student of the Technical Forestry Institute of Lviv). | |
| 10. Zorian Popadiuk — 7 + 3 (student of the University of | |

In May 1973 the Prorector of the Cultural Institute of Kyiv, Avra-khov, was arrested for transmitting abroad I. Dziuba's work "Internationalism or Russification" (his further fate unknown).

In fact, the number of persons persecuted for reading or spreading I. Dziuba's work probably exceeds that of the printed letters of this work.

The wave of terror mounted against the Ukrainian intelligentsia has not ceased. Thousands of scientific workers have been dismissed from work and a large number of students have been expelled from universities and colleges.

In the Institute of Archaeology at the Academy of Sciences of the Ukr. SSR the following scientists have been dismissed from work:

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|--------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Kompan. | 4. Leskov. |
| 2. O. Apanovych. | 5. F. Shevchenko (former |
| 3. M. Braychevsky. | director). |

N. Tolochko was subjected to severe criticism for his works "Topography of Ancient Kyiv" and "Monomakh's Descendants", but remained in the Institute owing to a servile act (he wrote a libellous review on I. Bilyk's novel "The Sword of Arius").

In the Institute of Theoretical Physics V. Shelest was dismissed from the post of director (the son of P. Shelest).

From the Institute of Folk-lore and Ethnography the following staff members were dismissed:

- | | |
|----------------|-----------------------|
| 1. V. Skrypka. | 3. Syvachenko (former |
| 2. Zynych. | director). |

Severe reproofs were announced to the deputy-director and the party representative.

From the Institute of Psychology the following staff members were dismissed:

- | | |
|-------------------------------|----------------|
| 1. Kostiuk (former director). | 3. Kharchenko. |
| 2. Tkachenko. | |

From the Institute of Literature (of the Academy of Sciences) the following staff members were dismissed:

1. O. Stavycky (dismissed in 1972, two children under age and his old mother being dependent on him).
2. V. Ivanysenko (2 children and his wife — who does not work — being dependent on him).

From the Institute of Colloid Chemistry and Water (of the Academy of Sciences) Kyrylenko — head of a department (which was broken up because in scientific works the name of Prof. Barboy who had emigrated to Israel had been mentioned) was dismissed. Kruhlycky, deputy-director, was severely reproofed.

From the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences Ya. Dzyra and Skaba were dismissed from the post of directors.

From the Institute of Social Sciences (of the Academy of Sciences), Lviv, the following staff members were dismissed:

- | | |
|---------------|-----------------|
| 1. R. Kyrchiv | 5. Dumnych |
| 2. M. Valyo | 6. Hryhoruk |
| 3. Shchurat | 7. Yaroshynsky. |
| 4. Yedlinska | |

(All the above-mentioned persons were dismissed in 1972. In 1973 Oleksiuk was transferred from the post of director to become head of a department; even his servile grovelling before the occupants and his shameful slanders about the Ukrainians did not save him).

From the Institute of Highpolymer Chemistry (of the Academy of Sciences) the following persons were dismissed:

- | | |
|----------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. Kolotylo | 4. Skarychenko has completed his |
| 2. H. Minyaylo | doctoral thesis, but is not allo- |
| 3. Nosorih | wed to defend it). |

All of them were dismissed owing "to reduction of staff" whereas the true reason was that they had been photographed by the KGB beside the monument of T. Shevchenko on May 22, 1972.

In the Institute of Petroleum Chemistry Sklar was removed from the post of director to become a subordinate scientific worker because Antoniuk had been working in the Institute.

From the astronomic observatory of Kyiv the scientific worker O. Shemaka was dismissed.

From the Pedagogical Institute of Drohobych 1. Krayevska, 2. Voronchuk and 3. Chorniy (rector) were dismissed.

From the Institute of Agriculture and Cattle-Breeding of the Academy of Sciences, L. Reyblat (an invalid of the second group suffering from osseous tuberculosis) was dismissed; Samvydav literature had been found in his possession.

Two managers of editorial offices, 1. Cherkasky and 2. Pokrovska, were dismissed from the Publishing House "Naukova Dumka" (Scientific Thought). A chauvinistic pogrom was conducted among the staff of "Robitnycha Gazeta" (The Worker's Gazette); dismissed from the post of chief editor was Yu. Lazebnyk and also the heads of three departments (science, culture and information):

1. Palchyk — having been dismissed several years before from his post at the Radio of the Republic for speaking up in defence of M. Shestopal (using the terminology of the CC — "for speaking up in defence of a nationalist") — was admitted by Lazebnyk to work at "Robitnycha Gazeta" and was subsequently appointed head of the information department.
2. Tarasenko — as head of the department of culture, published an approving review on the current issue of "The Ukrainian Almanac" edited in Warsaw eight years ago. By order of "the directive organs" he was dismissed from his post. However,

Lazebnyk retained him as a rank and file worker, then transferred him to the newly instituted department of science and subsequently appointed him head of this department.

3. Korenevych was caught by the KGB eight years ago conveying a parcel on the instructions of I. Svitlychny. Korenevych justified himself by pretending to be ignorant of what the parcel contained. Owing to this incident he was dismissed from his post at "Robitnycha Gazeta". Lazebnyk admitted him as a rank and file worker and subsequently appointed him head of the department of culture.

V. Burlay, former special correspondent of "Pravda" in Kyiv, was appointed chief editor of "Robitnycha Gazeta".

The families of the political prisoners and repressed persons are persecuted as well. In this connection the following persons were dismissed from work:

1. V. Hrycenko — philologist (wife of B. Lisovyi with 2 children dependent on her).
2. S. Kyrychenko — philologist [wife of Yu. Badzyo with two children dependent on her; in fact, Badzyo himself has been unable to find work for several years now. Recently he was working as loader, but was dismissed after three days. The militia warned Badzyo that he was to be exiled from Kyiv as a "parasite" and sent away to "build communism". We should like to recall that Yu. Badzyo is the author of a famous letter to the editor of "Literaturna Ukraina" (Literary Ukraine)].
3. Ye. Proniuk's wife (with 2 children dependent on her).
4. In spring 1973 Kovalenko's wife was dismissed from work (a teacher having worked for 30 years with one year left before being pensioned off). In a school meeting major Tiutiunnikov of the KGB, tried to intimidate the teachers. However, the teachers did not yield and continued to protest against such high-handedness, but did not succeed in their defence of the teacher in question.

In 1971 the teacher I. Skrypnyk from Nadvirna was dismissed from his post for being acquainted with V. Moroz. He was not allowed to work in the region of Ivano-Frankivsk. Shortly thereafter he was again dismissed from his job in Lviv and was prohibited from working anywhere in the western regions of Ukraine.

During March-May 1973 a pogrom was conducted at the University of Lviv. Party and KGB officials ordered the rector to prohibit the traditional Shevchenko meetings. When the students tried to organize such a meeting arbitrarily, they were dispersed. Leaflets of protest appeared, and the journal "Koryto" was issued illegally.

The KGB sent its agents with provocative leaflets to join the students. Subsequently, students were arrested massively and subjected to physical tortures (for instance rubber bags were pulled over their heads and kept there until they lost consciousness, and they were beaten up).

Students were expelled from University in large numbers. First there were attempts to blame and expel them during Komsomol meetings, but as the repressed were supported by other students they were then expelled in half secrecy — by order of the rector of the University. Every student is subjected to rigorous measures of control and allowed to enter the university only after showing his (her) permit. Every student is obliged to furnish a written statement and a document justifying his absence from a lecture (such as an attestation of illness, a telegram requesting him to come and see his ailing parents etc.).

The students were forced to join labour detachments during the summer holidays and were sent to work all over the empire, mostly to Siberia. Those remaining outside such detachments were requested to give the full address of where they were staying during the holidays.

All students expelled from the University of Lviv, whose names are listed below, were excellent scholars:

From the Faculty of Ukrainian Philology were expelled:

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. Valentyn Korniychuk —
Course III | 6. Bohdan Rakytsky —
Course IV |
| 2. Nadia Stecula — Course III | 7. Yaroslav Lemeha — Course
IV (foreign philology) |
| 3. Vasyl Hanushchak —
Course III | 8. Volodymyr Yavorsky —
Course III |
| 4. Volodymyr Udovychenko —
Course III (expelled in June,
after passing his examinations
with excellent marks, because
he refused to become a KGB
informer) | 9. Ihor Sluka — Course III |
| 5. Volodymyr Pidsadniuk —
Course III | 10. Ihor Koman — Course III |
| | 11. Hryhoriy Khvostenko —
Course III (there is evidence
that he is an agent
provocateur) |
| | 12. H. Yaremych — Course III. |

From the Faculty of Physics were expelled:

- | | |
|---------------------|-------------------|
| 13. Oleksander Hudz | 14. Ihor Petryna. |
|---------------------|-------------------|

From the Faculty of Journalism Fediuk (15) was dismissed.

From the Faculty of History were expelled:

- | | |
|--|--|
| 16. Ivan Svarnyk — Course I
(after his expulsion his father
was dismissed from the post
of director of the Publishing
House "Kamenyar"). | 19. M. Dolynska — Course IV |
| 17. R. Kozovych — Course IV | 20. I. Khudyi — Course IV |
| 18. L. Filonov — Course IV | 21. Khozhan — Course IV |
| | 22. Hondysiak — Course IV |
| | 23. V. Morozov — Course IV
(Faculty of Philosophy). |

The following members of the teaching staff of the University were dismissed:

Professors

- | | |
|---------------|--|
| 1. Redko | 4. Ya. Kys (Professor of history, Ph.D.) |
| 2. Kovalyk | 5. I. Huzar, Ph.D. philosophy |
| 3. Petlychnyi | 6. Krushelnycky, Ph.D. history |

Assistant professors and lecturers

- | | |
|-------------------|---------------|
| 7. Kobylansky | 11. Roman |
| 8. Pachovsky | 12. Y. Khubiv |
| 9. Pushkar | 13. Khudash. |
| 10. H. Lastovecka | |

Assistants

- | | |
|-------------------|-------------------|
| 14. I. Danylevsky | 18. L. Popadiuk |
| 15. A. Bosnyk | 19. I. Solevsky |
| 16. Z. Bulyk | 20. Krushelnycka. |
| 17. P. Hileta | |

The number of the repressed members of the University is considerably larger but, unfortunately, particulars are not available to us.

Thus in December 1973 a further group of students was expelled from the Faculty of History for reading the Bible.

In 1974 the authorities of the University of Lviv, on the instructions of V. Malanchuk, decided to organize a "Shevchenko" evening which, however, was made accessible to active students with permits only. Agitators from the Party bureau instructed the student activists not to rise to their feet during the performance of "Zapovit" (Shevchenko's will) (the students did not, of course, comply with this brutal instruction).

The programme of the evening included Party and Komsomol Songs and only a few items relating to Shevchenko.

Stunder, lecturer at the Lviv Academy of Music, a well-known collector of Boyko folk-lore was dismissed from her post.

In January 1974 M. Melnyk, student of the Lviv Medical Institute, was expelled from the Institute for placing flowers on the graves of UHA shooters (soldiers of the Ukrainian Galician Army), in the Yaniv Cemetery. The KGB enjoined the professors to issue low marks to Melnyk which would make him fail in his examinations.

The purges at the University of Kyiv have not been ceased. Recently, the most capable student of Course V of the Faculty of Philology, Kruk, was expelled together with two students of the Faculty of Journalism, Ivan Hayduk — Course IV, and Raisa Sydorenko — Course V. All those voting against the expulsion of these students from the University have been excluded from the Komsomol and included in the "black" lists of the KGB.

Recently it became known that the universities of Western Ukraine have been instructed to admit 25 percent of students of local origin at most.

The Ukrainians living in Western Ukraine are subjected to especially cruel discrimination. Not one of the directors of the large factories is of local origin.

Notary's offices have been secretly instructed to abstain from legalizing documents, on any pretext whatsoever, for the purchase of houses by Ukrainians having returned from exile.

Former Ukrainian political prisoners have been outlawed completely. They are not permitted to register not only in the western regions of Ukraine altogether but often even in the whole of Western Ukraine.

In January 1973, for instance, I. Hrushevsky, Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR, toured the region of Lviv. When passing through Sokal, Brody, Kamyanka-Buzka he requested the local authorities to provide him personally with the lists of former political prisoners and prohibited categorically anyone of them being registered now in their places of origin.

There is one further typical example of the terror practised by the KGB. A resident of the village Dashava, the blacksmith Y. Hosiak, who was detained for three days in the region of Ivano-Frankivsk in 1973 was subsequently punished for having painted a gate blue and yellow. After this he has constantly been persecuted by local authorities.

Dobryk, First Secretary of Lviv Obkom, severely criticized the KGB during one of the Obkom meetings in December 1973 for supposedly insufficiently combating Ukrainian nationalists.

He personally checks the repertoire of artistic ensembles.

The television studio of Lviv is virtually paralyzed in its activity. Basically it relays the central transmissions.

Sunday concerts, ordered and transmitted by Lviv Radio have been abolished (the programmes are drawn up by the editor's office itself, or chauvinistic orders are carried out).

Petriv, head of the regional television and radio committee, has been dismissed.

Throughout the Ukraine, artistic ensembles are being purged.

Ukrainian historical songs and ballads ("duma") have been completely banned. Repertoires may contain songs of everyday life in which Russian party-eulogies predominate.

Ukrainian books have been outlawed. The libraries constantly receive orders to exclude Ukrainian books. Recently such a circular was received referring to the collection of poems of D. Pavlychko "Kryla" (Wings), O. Berdnyk's "Chasha Amrity" (Amrita's chalice), "Zoryanyi Korsar" (Star-corsaire), Yu. Kolisnychenko's and S. Plachynda's "Neopalyma Kupyna" (Unheatable bush), R. Ivanychuk's "Malvy" (Mallows), R. Fedoriv's "Turecky Mist" (Turkish bridge),

I. Bilyk's "Mech Areya" (The Sword of Arius), R. Andriyashchuk's "Poltava", P. Shelest's "Ukraino Nasha Radyanska" (You our Soviet Ukraine), all of Braychevsky's works, the quarterly "Poezia" (Poetry) — 1968 issues, — and many others. Nearly all Ukrainian artistic and scientific literary works published in the 1960's have been classified as "not recommended", meaning that they can be found in libraries but are not made accessible to readers.

The NAZI's burned books in the square while the Soviet Gestapo burns them in secret.

During the last two years Shevchenko meetings have generally been prohibited. Formally one or two meetings are held by those pharisees who hate Shevchenko and the Ukrainian people most of all and who constantly try to falsify Shevchenko. This is done for purely propagandistic purposes. SPU representatives collaborating with the KGB place a wreath at Shevchenko's monument by orders of the KGB, while KGB men simultaneously photograph all those who carry flowers and their hearts to Shevchenko.

As a result of this students will be expelled from their institutes and intellectuals dismissed from work. Should anyone even dare to read Shevchenko's poems he will be sent to the Gulag Archipelago or a psychiatric prison.

Living conditions are made torturous for political prisoners in concentration camps and prisons. Each year camp regime is becoming more strict and cruel.

The camps as such are transferred to remote regions with a more severe climate. Thus, for instance from Mordovia the camps are gradually transferred to the Ural. In summer 1972 concentration camp No. 3 in Barashevo, Mordovia, was closed down. Those prisoners who were about to conclude their term of imprisonment were transferred to other camps in Mordovia, and 500 prisoners, mostly Ukrainians, were transferred to Solikamsk district in the Urals.

Prisoners are exploited for hard physical labour beyond their strength, and suffer from permanent malnutrition.

Ukrainian prisoners are for instance employed in the glass grinding factory where safety engineering is often not complied with (for instance the ailing poet I. Kalynets).

The "sovereign" Ukr. SSR is not entitled to maintain prisoners on its territory.

During recent years the KGB has been reorganized in some respects. Especially, the number of persons employed by the KGB has been growing considerably (it has become known that in Lviv 2000 KGB state officials were employed in 1970, in Ternopil — 400 in 1969). The net of KGB informers has spread very rapidly. Quality is especially emphasized in the selection of the KGB staff. First and foremost, Russians definitely predominate in the KGB (in 1973 the Ukrainian KGB was "quietly" purged). Now attempts are being made to include qualified specialists, e.g. psychologists, engineers, philologists etc., into the KGB.

Finally, the wages of KGB officials have been raised and their authority enhanced, in order to intensify the terror.

4. *Destruction of Monuments of Ukrainian History and Culture*

Within the general framework of their Russification policy the occupants are very active in the destruction of ancient historical and cultural monuments and relics.

Everything is done to destroy the works of art created by the genius of the Ukrainian people in the course of centuries.

With the general intensification of the occupation's terror in recent years the tendency to destroy everything Ukrainian in the historical heritage has grown significantly.

The Association for the Preservation of Historical and Cultural Monuments has been instructed to focus mainly on the preservation of historico-revolutionary monuments and monuments to the "liberators". Special attention is given to the monuments to Lenin.

In 1973 over 100 Ukrainian cultural monuments were excluded from the budget of the Association. This applied mainly to churches. In many cases registered monuments have only been furnished with memorial tablets without anything else being done for their preservation. In the following some examples are cited.

In the village of Kosmach the church of Saint Paraskevia is falling apart (region of Ivano-Frankivsk). For years the inhabitants of Kosmach have requested that the church be restored. The church is a unique relic of wooden Hucul architecture of the 18th century (built in 1718 at the expense of Matviy Vatamanchuk — a resident of Kosmach; corresponding documents are preserved in Lviv (DMUM), recorded in D. Shcherbakivsky's documents about arts ("Ukrainian Arts", Kyiv/Prague, 1926) as a relic of the 18th century architecture and sculpture.

After many residents of Kosmach had written letters to various Soviet instances and V. Bobyak, an enthusiast of the church, had collected the signatures of 20 Ukrainian writers for his request to allot resources for the restoration of the church as an artistic and historical relic (there is a connection between O. Dovbush and the church as his assistants, the so-called "Opryshky", were blessed in the church) and had appealed to many institutions of the Republic, the Association for the Preservation of Monuments finally inspected the church.

V. Skvarchevska, a senior consultant of the Association, and the historians Kompan and Hrabovecky worked out a detailed description of the church and set a high artistic value on it. The Republican Association recommended to its regional section that they include the church into its budget and furnish it with a protection table. However, the KGB prohibited the table being attached and began to terrorize V. Bobyak in various ways. The KGB agent Dediuk,

director of the local school, who constantly terrorizes the teachers and residents of Kosmach boasted that he would burn the church or, should he not succeed, it would rot by itself. It cannot be allowed, he maintained, that a church where Bandera's adherents had their weapons blessed and took vows be restored.

In November 1971 workmen and material for the restoration of the church were sent by the restoration office of Lviv. Dediuk ordered KGB men from Kosiv to Kosmach to chase the restorers and prohibit them from returning to Kosmach (in this connection it should be recalled that in Kosmach, Sheshory and other Hucul villages a KGB-police regime prevails: whoever comes to these villages must immediately register at the village council).

The Republican Association has fallen silent and does not answer V. Babyak's letters. We have dwelt on the example of the church in Kosmach to enable the reader to visualize how our spiritual treasures are ruined, this example being typical.

Other historical monuments are also ruined.

Immediately before Pentecost 1972 all crosses were removed from the graves of UPA riflemen in the memorial section of the Yaniv Cemetery in Lviv.

The same was done in the cemeteries of Ivano-Frankivsk, Ternopil, Zolochiv, Horodok and other towns.

The occupiers have destroyed all cemeteries reminding the population of the national liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people.

Who can cite at least one example of such barbarity and banditry still being perpetrated in the world?

For years a unique collection of ancient Ukrainian paintings has been rotting in the Armenian Cathedral in Lviv.

In 1972 the Ukrainian I. Honchar Museum in Kyiv was closed down by order of the KGB. I. Honchar himself is constantly persecuted by the authorities.

The construction of the Kozack Museum in Khortytsia has been suspended.

In December 1972 the monument to B. Khmelnycky in Zboriv was removed and replaced by a monument to Lenin. The Khmelnycky sculpture was taken to an obscure destination.

In 1972 the bas-relief of I. Franko was removed from the building of the former gymnasium which I. Franko attended in Drohobych (at present one of the buildings of the Pedagogical Institute). Some years ago the memorial board dedicated to M. Shashkevych was removed from a church in Drohobych.

In recent years erecting monuments to Taras Shevchenko has been forbidden in Ukraine. The place where Taras Shevchenko was buried in the Cemetery of Leningrad, is not marked.

Meagre resources are allotted to Ukrainian museums and artificial obstacles are created to prevent them from being adequately furnished.

In the I. Franko Museum in Kryvorivna restoration was taken up

only after a pupil had fallen through the rotten floor during an excursion in 1971. Furthermore, the house of the well known progressive cultural worker, Rev. O. Volyansky, in Kryvorivna has not even been furnished with a memorial tablet. When visiting Kryvorivna such distinguished people as L. Ukrainka, M. Kociubynsky, H. Khotkevych, V. Hnatiuk and many others used to stay at this house. All of them used the extensive library of O. Volyansky.

It is impossible to make a decision on the construction of the building intended for the museum of Ukrainian art in Lviv. We could cite an infinite number of similar examples.

5. Destruction of Churches and Persecution of Christians

In Eastern Ukraine it is almost impossible to find a village church. Formerly, each village had its church. The dirty deed was done here in the sinister 30s.

The same is now taking place gradually in Western Ukraine.

Thus, for example the region of Lviv had about 1200 churches after the war, and only 528 in 1961. With each year their number decreases. This is done in quite cunning fashion. If the parson of a parish dies or is pensioned off, quite often nobody at all is sent to replace him or such an ignoramus or rascal is sent that the faithful cannot but refuse him.

Various administrative obstacles are placed in the way. For instance during the last two years not a single priest has been registered in the district of Stryi.

In spring 1972 the villagers of Volycya, in the district of Nesterivsk requested the Lviv eparchy to send them a priest. However, the Soviet officials declined this request. The kolhosp workers went on strike for a week. The cattle-breeders showed particular firmness in not bending to any threats. The KGB immediately began to ferret out the organizers of the strike. However, the villagers being well organized and courageous carried the day. This is the only unequal combat known to us in which the outcasts of Soviet society were victorious.

There is another example which happened in 1972 in Lviv: in Artem Street an ancient church was pulled down. The residents of Lviv threw themselves under the tank destroying the church and the militia was called in to disperse the faithful. The Lviv eparchy received a compensation — Judas' silver pieces.

In 1971 the church of the village Pidlisky was pulled down (district of Nesterivsk, on the Lviv—Kyiv highway). A tea-house was built instead.

The Preobrazhenya church in Zhytomyr is in danger of demolition. As is well known it is forbidden to build new churches.

The faithful are persecuted incessantly. During major Christian

feasts the persecution is particularly intensified and assumes the form of massive campaigns against the faithful.

At Easter, Christmas and other holy days people have to work, even if these holidays coincide with days of rest.

Students and pupils have to take part in Sunday meetings, compulsory excursions and so forth.

In 1973, immediately before Christmas, throughout all districts of the Lviv region the school directors were summoned and warned: if a single pupil were seen in or near a church (for this purpose special authorized persons are on duty around the church), the director of the corresponding school would immediately be dismissed.

During the last two years school teachers have regularly warned their pupils against going carolling, sowing or practicing any other traditional national-religious rites.

At Christmas and Easter district Party sections send Communist activists to churches to find out which of the Communist teachers, leading workers and intellectuals goes to church. These watch-dogs are of course given passes. The perimeters of the churches are also patrolled by the KGB. If they catch sight of any communist and it is later revealed that he went to church on his own initiative, nothing will save him: he will be deprived of his Party membership card and dismissed from work.

Bus drivers are warned at the risk of being dismissed against taking passengers with Easter-cakes intended for consecration.

On the avenues to churches militiamen are on duty to prevent parents with children and so forth from entering the church.

In the city of Kozova, in the region of Ternopil, a clergyman was fined 50 roubles in 1973 just for prolonging a church-service by one hour (the time of services held in the churches of villages and towns, except for large cities, is fixed by administrative authorities and, as a rule, the church-service should terminate by 9 o'clock in the morning). In nearly all towns ringing the bells is prohibited.

Perhaps, after we have enumerated these few examples, Filaret, the Exarch of Ukraine, will no longer dare to declare that he does not know about any cases of churches being seized and true believers being persecuted in the course of recent years.

On the roads between the villages Babukhiv, Verbylivtsi and Zalizhyya (district of Rohatyn) in the region of Ivano-Frankivsk all crosses were sawn down, some of them symbolizing the abolition of "Panshchyna" (compulsory service for feudal landlords), during the night of December 19, 1973.

Perhaps the Exarch will clarify where he sent Rev. Sava from the St. Volodymyr Cathedral in Kyiv when he started to deliver his sermons in Ukrainian? Or perhaps he will explain why in 1972 from the region of Lviv only 4 students were admitted to the ecclesiastical seminary for priests in Odessa? Why is the atmosphere of the semi-

nary chauvinistic? Why are services conducted in Russian in the churches of Ukraine, with the exception of the western regions though not completely, since Russian prevails in all the churches. Why is religious literature not available in the Ukrainian language? The Exarch won't answer any of these questions, but we will do so for him. An official Ukrainian Church does not exist in Ukraine since Moscow usurped the Ukrainian Orthodox Autocephalous Church of Eastern Ukraine in the 30's, and the Greek-Catholic Church of Western Ukraine in the 40's. The Russian Orthodox Church is among other things an instrument of Russification in Ukraine. Obedient scapegraces are appointed to the leading Church positions who are only concerned about their earthly goods and receive alms from devilish authorities for their pharisaical black deeds.

Ukrainian Catholics in Ukraine and throughout the empire are subjected to the most cruel persecution.

After the forced abolition of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the western territories of Ukraine after World War II the Ukrainian Catholics have engaged in an unequal fight for their rights.

All churches where parsons did not accept the union with the Church of Moscow were closed down and doomed to gradual dilapidation. In some cases the parishioners did not return the church keys to the authorities and gathered for prayer secretly, without a priest. However, during recent years repressions have been intensified, especially after V. Malanchuk admitted at one of the meetings of the Politburo of the UCP that the Catholic Church has not been completely liquidated in Western Ukraine and that the Party must focus its attention more to combating it, the Church having always been in the vanguard of Ukrainian nationalism.

Since the said meeting Ukrainian Catholic priests carrying out their clerical mission under extremely difficult conditions have been persecuted to a still greater extent. They are cruelly treated, thrown into prison and tortured.

Simultaneously the persecution of Catholics has been intensified and their sanctuaries have been desecrated.

In the following some examples are cited.

In 1972 "activists" began by force to throw the faithful out of the church in the village of Zabuzhia, district of Sokal, which resulted in a scuffle. Chemicals were spattered in the interior of the church, and property of the church was destroyed. The parishioners refused to return the keys of the church, whereupon the lock was electro-welded.

The church of the village of Mezhyrichia, in the district of Sokal, was several times filled with grain and fertilizer, and in 1972 the door of the church was blocked by an iron bar.

On holidays the faithful began to gather in the courtyard of the church, where they improvised an altar and prayed. They were

forcibly taken away from the church and beaten up. Prior to this the villagers refused to accept an Orthodox clergyman.

In summer 1972, in the village of Volsvyn, in the district of Sokal Bolshevik bandits broke into the church during one night, robbed the church property, tore the church banners and towels to pieces, demolished the candlesticks, icons, and so forth. Several days later Brodyr, a Jew, provisionary of utilizable refuse, was summoned to the office of the Sovkhoz and ordered to take care of the demolished church property. When he categorically refused to do so he was beaten up so badly that he had to be taken to hospital. Brodyr brought out a court case against the bandits, but the court proceedings were delayed and finally the case was closed.

In the village of Smilna, in the region of Stryi, the church was filled up with fertilizer in 1972. The faithful cleared the church and continued to gather there for prayer. Then the door of the church was electrowelded, and the villagers delegated an inhabitant of the village (a war invalid) to Kyiv and Moscow to request the authorities to be allowed to gather in church for prayer, but the authorities were deaf to their pleas.

In the village of Sutkivtsi (?), Rava Rus'ka district, the church burned down under mysterious circumstances in 1973. The villagers began to restore it, but the authorities categorically prohibited the church from being reconstructed.

In spring 1973, in the village of Slobidka near Stryi the villagers began to repair the enclosure of the church. Militiamen pulled down the enclosure and scuffles broke out.

In the city of Nestor (Zhovkva) almost none of the natives go to the Orthodox church. They hold prayers in private lodgings and are severely persecuted for this. KGB officials are capturing Catholic priests.

We have cited only a few examples of the crimes committed by the occupants against Catholics in the Lviv region. Such crimes are committed all over Western Ukraine, only God knows how many. We wonder just why the Vatican administration has forgotten the Ukrainian part of its flock, which is being torn to shreds by hungry wolves. Has it not sunk too deep into its conjunctural materialistic policy?

The Ukrainian Evangelical Christians are fighting in a truly heroic manner for their religious rights.

Together with many millions of the freedom-loving Ukrainian people Ukrainian Christians of all denominations are fighting for their national and religious rights.

*

In this report we have shown by numerous examples how Moscow "solves" the national question in the USSR, especially in Ukraine. In the light of demographical data we have revealed the essence of the national policy applied by Russian Bolshevism — the systematic

ethnocide of non-Russian peoples in the USSR. By citing a number of facts we have called to question the allegation of L. Brezhnev and other Russian rulers that the national problem has been solved and does not exist in the USSR. The nature of the cited criminal acts makes it easier to understand that the Soviet regime is a Fascist dictatorship (in the form of Social-Fascism).

We address our report to the Secretary General of the United Nations, Kurt Waldheim, requesting the United Nations

1. to examine the question of abolishing Soviet-Russian colonialism at the next session of the General Assembly of the United Nations;
2. To create a special United Nations Committee for the examination of all political trials in camera in the USSR and for the inspection of prisons, concentration camps and special psychiatric hospitals where political prisoners are detained;
3. To send United Nations observers to Ukraine when the general election for selecting the supreme ruling organ is prepared;
4. To entitle the World Congress of Free Ukrainians to represent the interests of the Ukrainian nation in the United Nations until such an election is held;
5. To circulate the present report among all members of the United Nations.

Such measures to be taken by the United Nations cannot be considered an interference in domestic affairs. Such a point of view is basically incorrect since an imperialistic state with a most reactionary political regime is under discussion, that is to say a power that oppresses dozens of peoples subjugated to intellectual and physical genocide, in which the danger of national cultures and entire peoples being eradicated altogether is imminent, and which thus commits a most shocking crime against humanity. Nowadays the United Nations has reconciled itself to the status quo of the utmost evil. The paradoxical fact is noted that where evil is most formidable it is silently approved by the United Nations. Such a position renders the United Nations a passive accomplice of the evil as practiced in the USSR and may have dreadful consequences for all mankind.

Maybe, some members of the United Nations will consider our requests utopian. We concede that we have no illusions that the Soviet regime is going to accept our requests and give up its colonialist and chauvinistic policy. But, the world would do us a great service in our sacred struggle for the ideals of freedom, if it passed judgement on Soviet colonialism, and the United Nations members would at the same time rid themselves of their moral responsibility for being silent on the evil doings.

The Ukrainian nation has been fighting for its liberation for centuries. Throughout its history it has not occupied any foreign territory and has not attempted to violate the freedom of any of its neighbours but, under conditions of cruel captivity, has succeeded in creating an original culture and, within its powers, has made a

contribution to the world's treasury of spiritual and material achievements.

There is no power in the world that could subdue our unyielding people!

Hundreds of dead or imprisoned conscious Ukrainian freedom fighters are now being replaced by thousands. This process cannot be stopped by any Fascist methods.

We are firmly convinced of our final victory, but at what cost — will largely depend on the world community whose support we are seeking.

It should be the concern of every nation, of every democratic structure and of every honest statesman to direct all efforts possible to fight Soviet neo-Fascism which nowadays constitutes the greatest danger to all mankind.

Protest Writings from Ukraine

AMONG THE SNOWS

By VALENTYN MOROZ

London, 1971, 65 pp. Price £1.00 (\$2.50)

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.

NEW PUBLICATION

U P A WARFARE IN UKRAINE

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- Hard cover. 412 pp. + 24 pp. of plates.
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News in brief:

Behind the Iron Curtain

H. PRYKHODKO CONDEMNES MOSCOW'S COLONIALIST IMPERIALISM

The foreign policy of the Soviet Union contradicts its internal policy in the following ways:

Externally the Soviet Union defends democratic rights and the freedom of citizens in all countries of the world, but internally the USSR persecutes the slightest deviation from the official line or from Communist ideology.

Externally the Soviet Union is a fervent supporter of the Declaration of Human Rights, but within the Soviet Union citizens remain disenfranchised to the extent that they cannot even secure those rights. Furthermore, the said declaration has never even been published in Ukrainian. (Transl. note, the government of the Ukrainian SSR is a signatory to the Declaration).

Externally the Soviet Union opposes colonialism, supports the right of every nation to self-determination, but within the USSR the smallest manifestation of any non-Russian national feeling and the slightest display of any aspiration towards secession from Russia in order to create independent states is suppressed.

Externally the Soviet Union supports the growth of national self-awareness, the awakening of nations to an independent political life and even encourages the creation of new member-states at the UN, but within the USSR every method available is employed to crush a national identity and to represent Russian national interests as the interests of all non-Russian nations.

Externally the Soviet Union propagates the necessity of stimulating its citizens' political activity, but the government of the USSR uses any possible means to discourage free thought and to narrow its citizens' range of interests exclusively to problems of industrial productivity.

Externally the Soviet Union favours action in all countries to incorporate workers into Trades' Unions and supports strikes aimed at raising workers' standards of living and improving their working conditions, but in the USSR itself workers have been deprived of these elementary rights and have been made to work by force.

Externally the Soviet Union supports the relaxation of tension between countries, the consolidation of peace, but within the Soviet Union a hatred of non-socialist countries is spread, while at the same time the Soviet Union constantly increases its military strength.

The activity of the Soviet government in practice contradicts the laws of the Soviet state.

De jure: the Constitution of the USSR declares that its press is free.

De facto: all newspapers, journals and publishing houses are under the absolute control of only one party, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

De jure: the Ukrainian SSR is a sovereign state (trans. note, the Ukrainian SSR is a member of the UN) which has equal rights with other republics.

De facto: the actual independence of the Ukrainian SSR has been eroded to mean virtually nothing. Not one government recognizes the Ukrainian SSR as a free state, and because of this, no government finds it necessary to establish diplomatic relations with the Ukrainian SSR.

One cannot acquiesce peacefully when Ukraine's international status degrades the national dignity of Ukrainians.

De jure: the Constitution of the USSR declares that the various republics are free to secede from the USSR without any hindrance.

De facto: all Ukrainians who express in one way or another a desire to see Ukraine's secession from the USSR are brutally punished by the government and sent into exile out of Ukraine.

De jure: the Constitution of the USSR declares that all nations and their cultures are equal.

De facto: Ukrainian culture is being eliminated and suppressed by Russian and Soviet culture, whereas beyond Ukraine, Ukrainians in the USSR are deprived of any rights to claim national or cultural autonomy. In Russia Ukrainians do not have a single newspaper, school or theatre, whereas Russians in Ukraine have all these in vast numbers.

De jure: all languages in the USSR are equal and not one of them is ever allowed to dominate others.

De facto: the government of the USSR conducts a constant process of russification of Ukrainians and suppresses the Ukrainian language, whereas at the same time the Russian language dominates all spheres of official political, governmental and economic life even to a greater extent than before the revolution.

The aggressive spirit of the Soviet Union's foreign policy has created a military tension throughout the world. This tension could easily result in a new world war in which my native country may perish. Ukraine has been annexed into the Russian militarist system against the wishes of her people.

Because the aims of Russian militarism are alien to the Ukrainian people, the question of Ukraine's secession from Russia and her wide-ranging pretensions has become for Ukrainians a question of self-preservation as well as a question of national survival.

During the last few years my personal fate has completely been intertwined with the fate of my nation, so that in protesting against the anti-Ukrainian policy of the government of the USSR, I renounce my Soviet citizenship and request to be named a Ukrainian nationalist.

Vladimir prison. November 1975.

VLADIMIR INMATE CALLS FOR FIGHT TO FREE UKRAINE

Vasyl Fedorenko, a Ukrainian political prisoner incarcerated in the Vladimir Prison, called on the Ukrainian people to wage a battle to free their country from Soviet Russian oppression.

Fedorenko has been in the Vladimir Prison since April 25, 1975. He was sentenced on March 21, 1975 for allegedly attempting to cross the Soviet-Czecho-Slovak border enroute to his sister in West Germany. Fedorenko was sentenced to 15 years incarceration, five of which will be strict regime imprisonment.

In his statement to the court, made on the day of his sentence, Fedorenko accused the Soviet Russian government of "damaging the Ukrainian youth by persistent Russification of the education system".

"We, Ukrainian people, should fight for our rights, for attaining an independent government, and for recognition of our national rights", said Fedorenko. "Only then will the Ukrainian nation gain freedom and independence".

Despite not being able to describe the beauty of Ukraine as did Taras Shevchenko, Fedorenko said that his love for Ukraine is far greater than that of the judges.

"I am more proud of my native Ukraine than a Russian or a Czech because its beauty is unequalled and its language is like a song", he said. "My country is also richer because it has never subjugated any people. On the other hand, it was subjugated".

Fedorenko, 46, was born in the Mensk region of the Chernivtsi oblast.

He was previously arrested twice.

During his first incarceration in the Vladimir Prison he reportedly staged a 282 day hunger strike in protest against his trial.

His six-year term in the Mordovian camps ended in 1966, but a year later he was again arrested and sentenced to five years.

On April 2, 1974 and May 12, 1974, Fedorenko wrote to the presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, renouncing his Soviet citizenship.

He received no reply to this statement nor to subsequent letters. After two months he decided to escape from the Soviet Union to West Germany, where his sister, Valentyna Horvath, lived.

Fedorenko was caught in the town of Chop by the Czecho-Slovak police the same day he crossed the border and was handed over to the KGB.

He was offered an unofficial compromise of one year in a psychiatric asylum and then freedom, but Fedorenko refused and began to denounce the Soviet Russian colonial system.

On April 26, 1975, he declared a hunger strike which lasted 98 days until December 10, 1975. He protested the Soviet Union's violations of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and demanded a change in his sentence and the right to emigrate from the Soviet Union.

Fedorenko admitted to the court his appeals to the Supreme Soviet about his citizenship, and questioned the legality of the court.

"What kind of 'national' government is this. I do not consider myself a citizen of the Soviet Union, and I consider this court a violation of the Soviet constitution, of international agreements and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights", he said.

Fedorenko said that circumstances and experience have convinced him that the Soviet system is bad and undemocratic.

"I began to understand the big differences between the upper class and workers", he said. "I realized that the upper class occasionally gave benefits, such as more pay, shorter work days, better apartment to the workers, but only to hide the oppression".

"Freedom and democracy can exist only in a system where the government tells its people the truth, both about its failures and successes", he said. "I pledge that I will remain faithful to my beliefs, and will serve them until my last breath".

LISOVY'S WIFE ASKS WEST FOR AID IN HUSBAND'S RELEASE

Vera Lisova, wife of the incarcerated Ukrainian political prisoner Vasyi Lisovy, called on Western humanitarian organizations to seek the release of her husband from concentration camps because there are no legal reasons for his arrest.

In letters sent to Amnesty International, the International Commission in Defence of Human Rights, Mrs. Lisovy said that she made numerous efforts to acquire an explanation for his arrest and conviction, but "all I received was the same stereotype answer: "He was justly punished for anti-Soviet activity".

Lisovy, 41, was arrested on July 6, 1972, after writing several letters to Soviet officials protesting the harrassment and conviction of leading Ukrainian intellectuals in January of that year.

Mrs. Lisovy said that both she and her husband were educated in Soviet schools, were members of the Communist Youth League, and hoped to live their lives according to Communist principles.

She stressed that her husband is still a firm believer in the principles of Marxism, but after the arrest of what she called "leading Ukrainian cultural activists", Lisovy was compelled by conscience to protest that action to Soviet authorities.

On July 4, 1972 he wrote a letter to the Central Committee of the CPSU, and two days later, she said, the KGB replied to the statements by searching their apartment and arresting her husband. She was told that he would be detained only for a couple of days, but as it turned out the secret police detained him for some 20 months and subsequently sentenced him to seven years incarceration and three years exile.

During the trial, to which she was only allowed access on the final day, witnesses from the Philosophical Department of the Soviet Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, where Lisovy worked, testified favourably on his behalf, but the negative statements by KGB-sent people helped convict him.

Because to his arrest, Mrs Lisovy was fired from her job, and she and her two children were forced to live with her parents.

In an attempt to frighten her, one witness told her that if her husband does not recant his activity he would be sentenced again.

The witness also warned her that if she did not cease writing about the case to her former pupil now living in the United States, she could be charged with slandering the Soviet Union.

THE "RELEASE" OF IVAN SOKULSKY

Ivan Sokulsky, who was arrested in 1971 for alleged complicity in the authorship of the so-called Letter of the Creative Youth of Dniepropetrovsk, has been released from Vladimir Prison.

Shortly before his release Sokulsky was transferred to the Serbsky Insti-

tute for psychiatric examination where it was decided that he was insane. However, he was allowed to go free with the threat that if he continued to take part in "anti-Soviet" activities he would be put in a psychiatric prison for a long period.

PERSECUTION OF FORMER PRISONERS CONTINUES

After serving their full sentences in prisons and concentration camps the following were recently released: Levko Lukyanenko (15 years), Ivan Kandyba (15 years), Nina Strokata-Karavanska (4 years) and Nadia Svitlychna (4 years). However, administrative repression is still being carried out against them in the

form of a prohibition against them living in the larger towns of Ukraine, particularly in Kyiv, and obtaining employment according to their profession, and continual police observation and so forth. As a result of this they have all found themselves without a permanent residence or material income.

PERSECUTION OF THE UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC CHURCH CONTINUES

During this year's Easter Celebrations the scolding of the faithful and the priests of the underground Ukrainian Catholic Church was increased to prevent the conducting of religious services on Easter Sunday. This new policy arose at the end of the 25th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in February 1976. Police cordons were set up on the roads to the villages in the Sambir and Horodetsky regions (Pidhaichyky, Khlopchytsi, Dubanevychi, Zadnistriany, Hradivka and others) which checked cars, buses and motorcycles, searching for priests whose photographs were in their possession.

In the village of Pidhaichyky-Sambir region, the KGB beat up a Ukrainian Catholic so badly that he lost his hearing.

The Orthodox Church is also being persecuted. For example, in the Lviv oblast near Mykolaiv the secretary of the party group, the headmaster of the school and the head of the kolhosp

called out an Orthodox priest late one evening, stabbed him in the back three times and hung him from a ladder by a bandage near his home, where the doors had been closed in advance. This is how the people who supposedly want to build a "paradise", (a devil's paradise) on earth, act. They forbid the confession of children and teaching them religion and so forth.

In the village of Stavchany — Pustomytsky region and in many other villages, before the blessing of the paska, the organised theft of holy articles in the churches took place, vestments and other embroidered materials were destroyed or damaged, and no one has tried to find the culprits...

The KGB ceaselessly intimidates and strives to force Ukrainian Catholic priests to become Judases, killing in various ways those who do not succumb.

UKRAINIAN PRIEST ON SEVEN MONTH HUNGER STRIKE

According to a number of reports reaching the West, Vasyly Romanyuk, a 53-year-old Ukrainian Orthodox priest, continues to be severely repressed by camp authorities in Mordovia where he is serving a 10-year sentence for "anti-Soviet agitation". Rev. Romanyuk has written a number of protests to the West, and last August he reportedly began a hunger strike when he was denied possession of a Bible in camp. Reports from the USSR state that the hunger strike is still on and that Rev. Romanyuk's health is rapidly deteriorating.

In July 1972, Rev. Romanyuk, who had until then been a parish priest in the village of Kosmach in the Ivano-Frankivsk region in Western Ukraine, received a heavy sentence for defending Valentyn Moroz, the famous Ukrainian dissident who more than a year ago went on a 144-day hunger strike to protest his brutal treatment at Vladimir prison. In a letter to the Soviet Ukrainian Su-

preme Court, Rev. Romanyuk defended Moroz's writings and castigated the court for the unbelievably harsh sentence that it had meted out to the dissident historian.

Apparently this was not the first time that Rev. Romanyuk had been persecuted by Soviet authorities. In a letter written last summer to the World Council of Churches, Rev. Romanyuk stated that in 1944 he was arrested by the authorities because the local communists had labelled him a "nationalist churchman". He was sentenced to 10-years in Siberia along with his father who died there from "hard work and lack of food". His teenage brother was killed by Stalin's secret police because he tried to escape arrest by running away.

Other developments concerning Rev. Romanyuk:

* In a letter last summer to Pope Paul VI Rev. Romanyuk asked the pontiff to intercede on behalf of imprisoned Ukrainian women in Mordo-

vian concentration camps and to ask the Soviet government that it allow everyone who so wishes to leave "this terrible country". Citing the names of poets Iryna Stasiv-Kalynets and Iryna Senyk, biologist Nina Strokata-Karavansky, artist Stefania Shabatura, and philologist Nadia Svitlychna and Oksana Popovych, Rev. Romanyuk stated that these women have been convicted for their views and for the past year have suffered from all kinds of punitive actions at the hands of the camp administration. At the same time Rev. Romaniuk rebuked Catholic and Protestant churchmen in the West who had accepted the Lenin Peace prize. "I would like to take the opportunity to suggest to them", he writes, "that if they trust the honorable intentions of the Soviet government, they should try to exercise some influence upon it so that it might stop smothering elementary human rights. If the Soviet government refuses, then it will be clear that it does not desire genuine peace, but is merely trying to deceive world opinion, because peace and cooperation are impossible without justice. And if this is the case, then those churchmen who receive the prize are obliged to relinquish it".

* Last summer in a letter to the World Council of Churches in Geneva, Rev. Romanyuk again asked for help for himself and for the unjustly imprisoned political prisoners in the USSR. Concerning the violations of elementary human rights in the Soviet Union, Rev. Romanyuk stated: "I wrote nearly 400 appeals and complaints concerning the abuse and lawlessness to which I was subjected by the Ivano-Frankivsk district court. From everywhere I got the stereo-

typed reply that I was sentenced justly. For nearly three years now I have been writing to various Soviet institutions so that I would be permitted to obtain a Bible from home, but this has been categorically denied. 'Religion is a bourgeois ideology', reply the camp officials. 'We shall not allow you to conduct religious propaganda here'. This is what freedom of conscience means in the USSR". Rev. Romanyuk ends his letter to the World Council of Churches with the words: "If there is nothing that you can do to ease our fate then help me at least to get a Bible. I shall continue my hunger strike until I receive a Bible. Please, dear brothers in Christ, help me in this matter".

* Last November three inmates in the Mordovian concentration camps sent a letter addressed to "All good people of all countries" in which they pleaded for action to help save the life of Rev. Romanyuk. The three cited the case of Valentyn Moroz whose life they claimed had been saved by defence actions carried out by Ukrainians in the free world during the summer of 1974. Similar actions, they said, were necessary on behalf of Rev. Romanyuk who was ill because of his prolonged hunger strike. "Only wide and persistent protests can alter his fate", said the three inmates. Another letter, dated October 3, 1975, was sent on behalf of Rev. Romanyuk by four Russian dissidents. The letter was sent to Michael Bourdeaux, a well known spokesman and expert on religious persecution in the USSR, and asked that the case of Rev. Romanyuk be publicized so as to save his life.

MYKOLA BODNAR RENOUNCES CITIZENSHIP

Another Ukrainian political prisoner has written a letter to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR in which he renounced his Soviet citizenship and declared a hunger strike until the end of his sentence.

In announcing his so-called "civil disobedience" as of February 24, 1976, Mykola Bodnar also said that he will not write letters, will not accept

packages, and will refuse visits with relatives.

Bodnar, who was arrested in 1971 and sentenced to seven years in prison, stated that he would "boycott the Soviet government and prison authorities by maintaining silence until the end of my term".

"However, I do not plan to renounce my Fatherland — Ukraine — where

I was born, and where I hope to live after I complete my sentence", wrote Bodnar.

The press service also received the copy of a letter, among whose signatures appears the name of Bodnar, detailing the repressions and tortures against political inmates and heir struggle to be recognized as such.

The Ukrainian signers of the letter include Hayduk, Raketsky, Zorian Popadiuk, Evhen Sverstiuk, Turyk and Bodnar.

Ukrainian political inmates Vasyl Stus and Vyacheslav Chornovil, and a Jewish prisoner were officially

On December 23rd 1975 in the village of Vysoke, Manastyrskij Rajon, Western Ukraine, a miracle took place.

That day at 11 o'clock at night Mykhailo Veresniak was walking home and on the way he met a bare-footed woman with a little boy. When reaching his house he was shocked by the extraordinary brightness in his house. The door in his house was wide open and he realised that he was looking at the Virgin Mary with Jesus. She took Mychajlo by the hand and led him inside the house. The Virgin Mary told Mychailo to chant the Hail Mary ten times on the threshold and later asked him what his wishes were. Mychailo replied that he wished good health for all his people. Virgin Mary left the room by going through the window with the bright light slowly disappearing with her. Mychaylo heard the voice of Mary asking, "What do you wish for?" He did not know how to reply, he just remembered her instructions of having to pray, to go to confession and Holy Communion, and to tell everybody

warned by the KGB that if they do not cease sending information to the West they will be punished.

Reports from Ukraine also confirm that writer Mykola Rudenko was confined in a Kyiv psychiatric clinic in February and March. He was later released after being diagnosed sane.

In Ternopil last Easter, graves of Ukrainian Sich Riflemen were desecrated. Crosses atop monuments were toppled, tombs were opened, and bones were scattered. In 1971 Sich Riflemen's graves in Lviv were also vandalized.

about who he saw and heard. He was told not to be afraid as nothing will happen to him.

Mychailo drew a picture of the Virgin Mary and it was hung up in church but after three days this painting disappeared.

Many people have made pilgrimages to Mychailo's house in order to pray and light candles in her honour. This house is also visited by hostile KGB members who are threatening to burn Mychailo; the note book in which he recorded the whole conversation he had with the Virgin Mary has been confiscated and his wife has been expelled from work. Mychailo is not afraid of all this and is spending his time by traveling and informing people of this miracle.

Pimen the head of the so-called Orthodox Church installed by Moscow and member of the KGB has not bothered to bring this matter up with Pope Paul VI.

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This side of the Curtain

HIGHLIGHTS OF UKRAINIAN ACTIONS IN MONTREAL

Young Ukrainian men and women while in Montreal, Que., during the XX-st Olympic Games, held in that city from July 17 through August 1, 1976, staged myriad actions at the various cities spotlighting the cause of separate Ukrainian participation in the Games. Using imaginative tactics, these young people managed to give Ukraine problems wide exposure in the media not only in Canada but in the United States and other countries around the world. Below we are publishing accounts of some of these actions as they were reported in the world-wide media.

The Soviet Olympic Committee officially protested to the International Olympic Committee about the various demonstrations staged by Ukrainians during the Montreal Games, reported the July 26th edition of The Toronto Sun. The Soviet protest was the result of the burning of a Soviet flag on Saturday, July 24th near the main stadium. "Five hundred Ukrainian Canadian demonstrators cheered as the red nylon flag went up in smoke Saturday night", wrote The Sun. "Montreal police officers, moving in to try to stamp out the flames, were too late". The Sun reported that the police were looking for a lone youth who twice climbed up the pole before managing to tear the flag from the mast, dipped it in gasoline, and set it afire. Vitaly Smirnov, a Soviet member of the IOC, said that he would ask IOC President Lord Killanin to request Montreal police to punish those persons who were involved. The flag burning was the culmination of a protest by some 500 Ukrainians who gathered at the Olympic stadium. A request by organizers of the international Ukrainian youth rally for a march past the stadium and village was turned down by the IOC. The 500 persons were joined by 4,000 other individuals who were listening or singing along to the music of Toronto SUM's brass band, under the baton of Vasyl Kardash "Suddenly", said Orest Pawliw, a reporter for CBC International's Ukrainian News Service, "a fellow appeared with a Soviet flag. Chanting began with such slogans as 'Long live Ukraine' and Soviets go home". Mr. Pawliw said that as the flag burned everybody cheered. Robert Kerechynsky of the UOC told The Sun: "We are not trying to embarrass the Canadian government — we just want to make people aware of the facts".

"Quick thinking by a group of Ukrainian youths managed to overturn an Olympic Committee ban on demonstrations at the competition sites. Montreal newspapers reported on Thursday, July 29, that young men and women, each wearing a bright orange T-shirt with a single letter of the Ukrainian alphabet, arrived singly or in pairs at the main stadium for a Canada-USSR soccer match. They passed through the turn-stiles lost in the crowds and the Ukrainian

letters on the shirts were easily confused for fraternity insignias. Once inside the stadium they took their seats all in one row, and when they rose to cheer the Soviet squad, the Ukrainian letters together spelled "Freedom for Ukraine". Robert Kerechynsky, of the UOC, said: "We aren't allowed to carry banners into Olympic events, but they could hardly object to someone wearing a T-shirt". The Soviet Olympic officials protested the presence of the youths and stadium security officers were sent to talk with the demonstrators. "But they were at a loss what to do. They asked us to leave, and we asked for a written statement that it was against the law to wear T-shirts. There was a long discussion, but the game ended and we left the stadium", said Mr. Kerechynsky.

Miss Senecal also mentioned in her article that the UOC was distributing copies of *The Ukrainian Weekly* at the main Olympic Press centre, and that Soviet journalists protested the action, terming it a "purely political provocation".

"During a Saturday afternoon, July 24, open-air concert at the Olympic Village, some Ukrainian Canadian youths entertained the relaxing athletes with folk dancing, while others distributed leaflets about repression in Ukraine. At the same time, wrote Richard Cleroux of *The Toronto Globe and Mail*, other Ukrainian youths were handing out pamphlets urging Ukrainians to compete separately from the Soviet Union in future Olympics. In the past 20 years, Ukrainian athletes have accounted for 168 of the Soviet Union's Olympic medals. The article, entitled "Ukrainian Dancing Used by Propagandists", was accompanied by a photo of the "Kalyna" group, posing before the athletes' dormitories.

On Sunday July 31 *The Toronto Globe and Mail* published a response to its article on Ukrainian dancing at the Olympic Village from S. M. Kushnir of the French Department at Queen's University. "Now, I will not comment here on the complexities of Ukrainian-Russian relations, Ukrainian culture (which, by the way, has little to do with dancing), politics and history, as these seem to me to be, in this case, beyond the mental capacities of your staff". Mr. Kushnir took aim at the newspapers' statement about the 168 medals won by Ukrainian athletes for the USSR at the Olympics. "Ukrainians in Canada are well aware of the Ukrainian participation in the Games and of the excellence of the Ukrainian athletes", he wrote. "Unfortunately, the Canadian press systematically refers to these Ukrainian athletes as Russians, rarely as Soviet, never as Ukrainians". He said that Ukrainians should have their own Olympic team, or at least be referred to as Ukrainians competing for the Soviet team.

The Friday, July 30th, edition of *The Toronto Sun* published two

letters to the editor from Ukrainian Canadians, who, while voicing their displeasure at the burning of the Soviet flag during the Olympic Games, said that the arrest of 18-year-old Lubomyr Szuch for waving a Ukrainian flag during a handball games was uncalled for. "Still, why did the Soviets complain when 14 freedom-loving Canadian Ukrainians showed up to watch the Canada-USSR soccer game? Why was Lubomyr Szuch arrested for waving a Ukrainian flag at a handball game", wrote Eugene Miner. H. A. Talpah wrote: "This 18-year-old Canadian, Lubomyr Szuch, deserves an official apology and not a 'court appearance'. If any of the Olympic guests are so sensitive that they are offended by our civil liberties, Canada should not ape the repressed civil liberties of their regimes, but offer the example of our working democracy". The Sun replied to the first query by writing: "Because selfdetermination for Ukraine is considered anti-Soviet", and "They are sensitive because they have no civil liberties", to the second letter.

During a handball match, two young men decided to take the "T-shirt protest" one step further, reported Montreal's dailies. The two, one of them Lubomyr Szuch, were arrested at the Centre Claude Robillard after they refused to stop waving a Ukrainian flag. Szuch apparently jumped onto the handball pitch and danced a "hopak" while holding the flag. According to police spokesmen, the young man was "agitating" the Soviet team. The Soviet officials invoked an IOS regulation that prohibits waving of flags during event unless it is IOC-approved. A similar feat was staged during the USSR-East Germany semi-final soccer match.

STUDENTS MEET FOR CONGRESS IN PHILADELPHIA

Ukrainian Students from around the free world held their 25th conference of the Central Union of Ukrainian Students (CeSUS) and fourth World Congress of Ukrainian Students, on August 12, at the University of Pennsylvania. Some 100 delegates and about twice as many observers were present. The participants represented the Federation of Ukrainian Student Organizations of America (SUSTA), Union of Ukrainian Canadian Students (SUSK), the Federation of Ukrainian Student Organizations of Europe (SUSTE), and World Federation of Ukrainian Student Organizations of Michnowsky (TUSM), and student groups from England, Germany, Australia and Argentina.

The opening sessions of the congress included the election of the presidium, and the various working committees.

Reports by outgoing CeSUS president Andrij Chornodolsky, other board members, and delegates from the Union's member-organizations rounded out the plenary sessions of the first three days.

Also included were panel discussions with papers presented by Dr. Zenon Kohut, Dr. Alexander Luznytsky, Dr. Dmytro Shtohryn, Ihor Mirchuk, Mykola Moroz, Andrij Fedynsky, and a spokesman for the Philadelphia Moroz Defence Committee.

A panel on Ukrainian student activity consisted of Mr. Chornodolsky, Yuriy Weretelnik, Zenovij Zwarych and Andrij Bandera.

Besides the business sessions, several informal get-together were held during the congress. Mr. V. Chyrovskyj was elected president.

FREE WORLD CONTINUES TO FIGHT FOR V. MOROZ

Valentyn Moroz was born on 15th April 1936 in the village of Kholoniv, in the Horoshivsky District. After graduating from the Faculty of History at Lviv University he became a lecturer in history at the Pedagogical Institute in Lutsk and then in Ivano-Frankivsk.

On 1st August 1965, he was arrested in Ivano-Frankivsk and transported to Lutsk for an investigation. The accusation against him of taking part in "anti-Soviet activities" aimed at undermining Soviet Authority, was based on the assumption that he had read and disseminated underground literature and literature from the West. His trial took place in January 1966 in Lutsk where he was sentenced to 5 years hard labour in a Mordovian concentration camp. Released on 1st September 1969 he remained unemployed until his second arrest.

In April 1970, the KGB searched Moroz's home and confiscated some books and handwritten manuscripts of essays entitled "Report from the Beria Reserve", "Moses and Datan", "The Chronicle of Resistance", and "Among the Snows", which criticised the Soviet System and attacked policies of Russification and in which Moroz defended Ukrainian National and Cultural Rights.

On 1st June 1970, Moroz was arrested for the second time in Ivano-Frankivsk. He was tried by the Ivano-Frankivsk regional court between 17-18th November 1970 and sentenced to 5 years imprisonment, 4 years hard labour and 5 years exile.

In July 1972 in Vladimir Prison, Moroz was attacked by criminal prisoners who shared the same cell and stabbed four times in the stomach. On 1st July 1974, Moroz began a hungerstrike demanding to be transferred from Vladimir Prison to a prison camp.

On 10th May 1976, Moroz was transferred from prison to the Serbsky Institute where a decision was to be made on his sanity and whether he should be sent to a special psychiatric centre, because he "spoke with God" (he had been observed praying) and because it was claimed

by prison officials that he inflicted the stomach wounds on himself in 1972. The decision was made between 17th-18th June and on 23rd June Western News Agencies reported that Moroz had been declared sane and transferred to Butyrky Prison in Moscow. It has also been reported that Moroz has been transferred to a Mordovian concentration camp.

From the very outset of the persecution of Moroz by the Soviet authorities, Ukrainian communities throughout the Western World have been mounting campaigns in his defence. Such international organisations as Amnesty International have also been involved in defending Moroz, and in November 1972, the Association of Dutch Historians sent a letter to V. Scherbytsky (First Secretary of the Communist Party of the Ukrainian SSR) demanding the release of Moroz.

In recent months pressure on the Soviet authorities to release Moroz and put an end to the cruelty inflicted on him has mounted, especially in view of the decision on his sanity. As before Ukrainian communities in the West have demonstrated their solidarity with Moroz and have received support not only from international organisations, but from scholars, artists, playwrights, and government circles.

GREAT BRITAIN

British actors, historians and writers have protested to the Soviet Authorities in defence of Valentyn Moroz. In government circles both the House of Lords and the House of Commons have made representations to the Kremlin on Moroz's behalf. 135 MP's have thus far signed a Commons' motion in defence of Moroz. 12 bishops recently signed a letter defending Moroz which appeared in the press.

UNITED STATES

78 members of the American Congress and Senate have appealed to the Kremlin to release Moroz. The American Pen Club has made similar intercessions on his behalf. The

Philadelphia Committee in defence of Moroz has been in contact with many US Senators, Edward Kennedy amongst them, in its defence work.

24th of August. The Congressional action in defence of Valentyn Moroz moved one step further when the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, headed by Sen. Sparkman of Alabama, sent S. Res. 67 to the floor where it now may be voted upon.

The resolution, one of many in both chambers of the U.S. Congress, called the President "to express the concern of the American government for the freedom and safety of Valentyn Moroz".

To be sure, it is not a binding resolution, but it does express the spirit of the Congress and, therefore, of the American people, a voice the President would be loath to ignore, considering his personal statements on the question of human rights, as well as the resolutions adopted by the Republican National Convention and incorporated into the party's platform.

Moreover, we know that on two previous occasions the White House did raise the case of Moroz with the Soviet authorities on the highest levels, attesting to the current Administration's concern over his fate. Certainly the "sense of the Congress" resolution would provide both added impetus and latitude to the Administration to act in the case of the incarcerated Ukrainian historian.

The Moroz resolution is the first to be reported out of committee in the U.S. Congress. Its fate in the Senate is now in the hands of Senators Mansfield of Montana and Scott of Pennsylvania, majority and minority leaders, respectively.

The immediate task before those who would like to see Valentyn Moroz free: to press Senators Mansfield and Scott to have a vote on the resolution; to seek support for the resolution of other Senators; and to request the House Committee on Foreign relations to emulate the action of its Senate counterpart and report one of the

Moroz resolutions out of committee. It is of paramount importance that we representatives in Congress of the urgency of the situation and ask them for immediate supportive action. In the absence of such, the resolution will expire by year's end. The time to act, therefore, is now.

CANADA

The Canadian Parliament passed a resolution for the release of Valentyn Moroz, on 3rd June 1976. Canadian scholars have written letters to the Soviet authorities in defence of Moroz. The Canadian Committee for the defence of Valentyn Moroz has appealed to Prime Minister Trudeau, Kurt Waldheim and the International Health Organisation to defend Moroz.

GERMANY

The German Section of Amnesty International together with German MP's of both the Christian Democrat and Social Democrat parties, Bishop Scharf of the German Evangelical Church and the Trades' Union of I. G. Metal have appealed to the Soviet authorities in defence of Moroz.

FRANCE

The "Comite pour la defense de V. Moroz" organised a protest meeting on the occasion of Moroz's transfer to the Serbsky Institute.

SWITZERLAND

The Swiss Evangelist Church sent a telegram to President Podgorny appealing for Moroz not to be put in a psychiatric hospital.

AUSTRALIA

Australian psychiatrists have threatened to boycott the International Congress of Psychiatrists in the USA if Soviet psychiatrists are present.

According to reports from the Ukrainian SSR, if groups in the West continue to defend Moroz and demand his release then it is extremely likely that he will be released and allowed to come to the West with his family.



The
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REVIEW



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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
Ukrainian Organization in the Free World.**

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The Ukrainian Patriarchate

FOR THE PATRIARCHAL RIGHTS OF THE UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

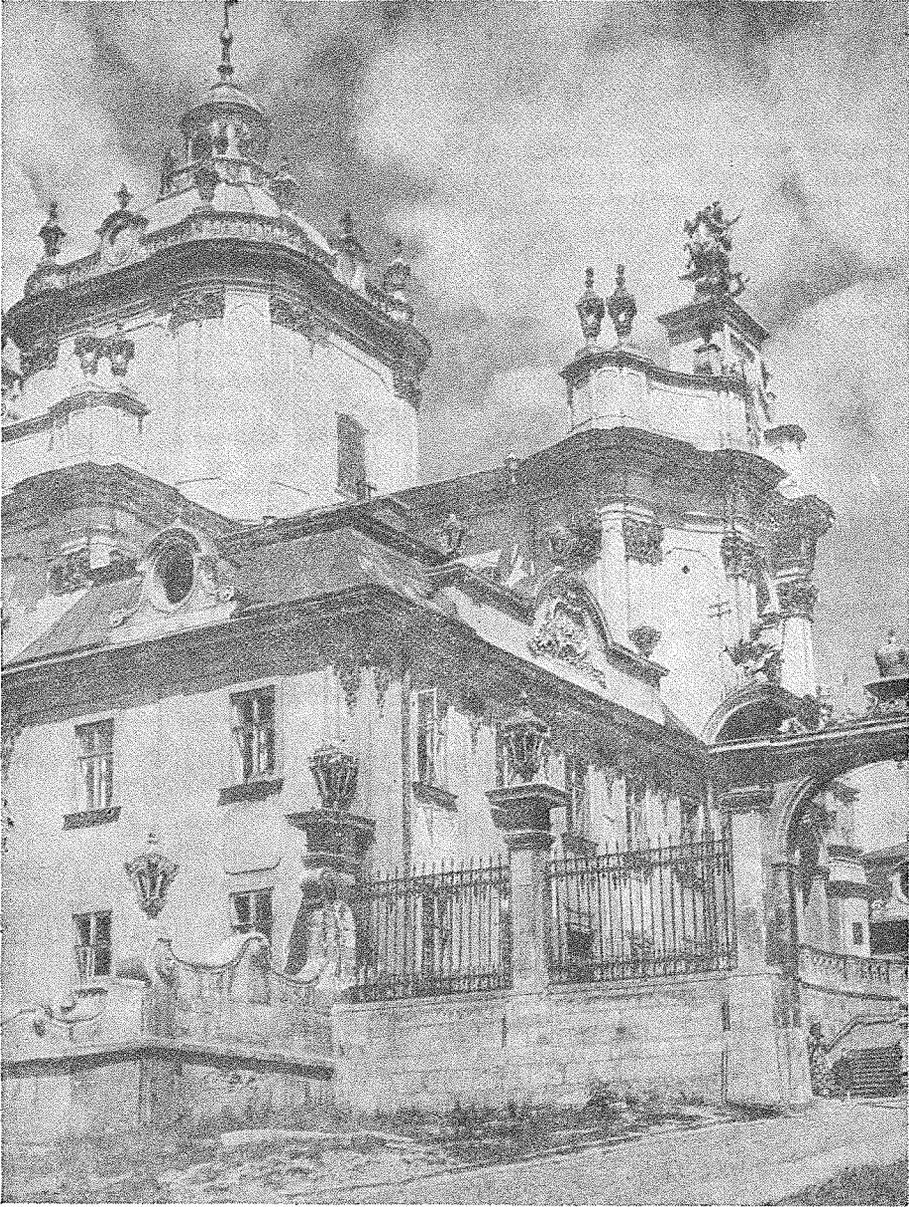
Kyivan Rus'-Ukraine was independent from the 9th to the 14th century and was a great European power. It was again independent during the Cossack era in the 17th century. In the 20th century, with the fall of the tsarist regime in the Russian Empire and the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the Ukrainians again proclaimed independence and established the Ukrainian National Republic. On January 22, 1919, in front of the Sobor of St. Sophia in Kyiv, the unification of the territories formerly under the occupation of Russia and Austro-Hungary in one Ukrainian Republic was proclaimed. As a consequence of international peace agreements at the conclusion of World War I, Ukrainian territories were allocated to four states: the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Poland, Rumania, and Czecho-Slovakia. In 1941, the Ukrainians capitalized on the Soviet-German clash and on June 30, 1941 proclaimed independence. But, this was soon terminated by Nazi Germany. Following the Yalta agreements after the World War II, most of the Ukrainian territories were incorporated into the Soviet Union as the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

The tragedy of Ukraine is rooted in its strategic geographical position, the wealth of its natural resources, and the fertility of its soil which has made it "the bread basket of Europe".

The Origin of Christianity in Rus'-Ukraine dates back to the 9th century. At that time the kingdom of Kyiv maintained a close political and commercial relationship with Byzantium. These contacts exerted a great impact on Kyivan Rus' and when its people accepted Christianity they became Byzantine Christians.

Queen Olha, wife of King Ihor, was the first member of the reigning family of Kyivan Rus' to embrace the Christian religion. In 988 her son, Volodymyr the Great (972-1015), officially introduced Christianity into his country. This was sixty-six years before the schism between Rome and Constantinople. The Metropolitan of Kyiv was its Primate and he functioned as a Major-Archbishop. The Church enjoyed administrative autonomy from both Constantinople and Rome.

The schism between Rome and Constantinople came in 1054. Striving for complete administrative independence from both Constantinople and Rome while preserving unity in dogmatic matters



St. George's Cathedral in Lviv

9. That the matrimonial law pertaining to priests shall be left untouched except as regards bigamists.

10. That our metropolitanates, bishoprics and other spiritual communities of our rite shall not be attached to any other rite save that belonging to people of Rus' or Greece, who should be of our Religion. And since our Canons demand that both metropolitans and bishops picked first of all by the clergy, should be worthy people, we ask His Sovereign Grace for the right to free elections, naturally, the kind that would not infringe upon the authority of His Sovereign Grace, to give it to whom he wishes, that is, that immediately after the death of the previous head, we shall choose four candidates (elect), and His Sovereign Grace will be permitted to choose whom-ever he wishes out of the four; this is necessary most of all so that people elected to such dignified posts should be worthy and learned, for His Sovereign Grace, not being of the same religion, cannot know who is worthy, for in the past there have been such ignoramuses that many could hardly read. And if His Sovereign Grace wishes out of his favour to endow some layman with this spiritual authority, then each one should within three months at the latest enter holy orders under threat of losing this authority if he fails to comply, as is written in the Constitution of the Grodensk Sejm and the Articles of King Sigmund August and the present confirmation of His Sovereign Grace there exist today certain people who for several years have possessed spiritual authority but have not entered holy orders defending themselves by some royal "dispensations". We request that this should not occur in the future.

11. That our bishops shall not be sent to Rome for the "sacra" (permission to ordain), but, if His Sovereign Grace gives dominion, that according to the ancient custom the Archbishop Metropolitan should have the duty and right to ordain. Whereas the Metropolitan should ask the Holy Father for the "sacra". Then, after the "sacra" has been brought from Rome, let the bishops (at least two) ordain him according to their directions. And if a bishop should take charge of a metropolitanate, then let him not send for the "sacra", for he has already been ordained a bishop; he can only submit a declaration of obedience to the Supreme Hierarch before the Archbishop of Hnieznensk, in effect not to the Archbishop, but to the Primate.

12. That our authority be greater and that we gain more honour and respect from our flock, we ask for a place in the Council of His Sovereign Grace for the Metropolitan and the Bishops, and this for many good reasons, for we bear the same authority and episcopal dignity as the Roman lords.

13. And if in time God wills it that the rest of the brethren of our nation and the Greek Religion also, attain that holy union, that we shall not be blamed for outstripping them to this union, for we had to do this for certain good reasons, for harmony in the Christian

20. We ask that on the tribunal of Roman Ecclesiastics we should also have two representatives to guard the rights of our churches.

21. We request that the archimandrites, father superiors, priests, archdeacons and deacons and other members of our clergy should be paid the same respect as the gentlemen of the Roman clergy, and allowed to enjoy the ancient freedoms, as ordained by King Wladislaw, and be free from church taxes (which have been unjustly levied from them until now), unless someone has his own subjects, in which case he should pay tax with others though not as an individual nor on Church property.

22. We ask that the Roman lords should not prohibit us from sounding the bells in our Church on Good Friday, in the towns and everywhere.

23. We request that we be permitted to visit the sick with the Holy Sacrament, in public and with candles and in vestments according to our custom.

24. We ask that as many processions according to our rite as necessary, be allowed to take place without hindrance, on holy-days.

25. We ask that our Ukrainian monasteries and churches should not be changed into Polish Roman-Catholic Churches. And if some Catholic wilfully damages churches, then he should repair them for his Ukrainian subjects, or rebuild them or renew old ones.

26. We ask that the Spiritual Church Brotherhoods, newly formed by the patriarchs and approved by His Sovereign Grace, for example in Lviv, Berestya, Vilno and elsewhere, in which we see great benefits for God's Church and the spreading of God's praise, if they wanted to be part of this union, that they should remain whole, subordinated to their own Metropolitan and bishops of the particular diocese, where they exist and to which each belongs.

27. We request that we should be allowed to establish schools and seminaries with both the Greek and Slavonic language in the towns where it is most fitting, and also that the printing houses should be free, naturally under the control and surveillance of the Metropolitan and the bishops and that no kind of heresy be spread and nothing printed without the permission of the bishops.

28. Since there is great overindulgence and disobedience on the part of our priests towards us both in the settlements of Your Sovereign Grace and of the senators and nobility, who (the priests) protected by officers and their masters, commit excesses and authorise divorces in marriages, and meanwhile the landowners and their officers protect these priests for advantages which come from divorces and do not allow bishops to punish them, pouring scorn on our visitators and beating them; in order to prevent this, we ask for the freedom to punish such wrongdoers and to retain order, and if one of them were excommunicated due to disobedience or for some excess, we

Ceremonies, without violating our consciences and Christ's flock given to our care, enter into this union with the Holy Roman Church, and that soon after, others who are still hesitant, seeing that nothing of ours has been touched, come and join us all the more speedily in this holy union.

Given on March 1st 1595 A.D., according to the old calendar.

Mykhail, Metropolitan of Kyiv and Halych, by his own hand.

Ipatyj, Bishop of Volodymyr and Berestya, by his own hand.

Kyrylo Terletskyj, by the grace of God, Bishop of Lutsk and Ostroh, by his own hand.

Leontiy Pelchytskyj by the grace of God Bishop of Pinsk and Turiv, by his own hand.

(8 sigilla, inter quae episcopi G. Balaban, Leopoliensis, et D. Zbirujski, Chelmensis)

(In pagina 7r datur etiam subscriptio J. Hohol:)

Iona, Archimandrite of Kobrynsk, at the Church of the Holy Saviour, by his own hand.

DECREE

Deliberationis et conclusionis Reverendissimorum Dominorum Archiepiscopi, et Episcoporum Ruthenorum, de recipienda et suscipienda Communione Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae, factum die secunda Mensis Decembris anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo nonagesimo quarto.

Et Deus emnipotens, largitor omnium bonorum auctorque, ad concordiam sit dux, et protector tam sancti negotii hujus, manu propria subscribimus. Salvis tamen et in integrum observatis caeremonis et ritibus cultus divini peragendi et sanctorum Sacramentorum, juxta consuetudinem Ecclesiae Orientalibus, correctis tantummodo iis articulis, qui ipsam unionem impedirent, ut more antiquo fierent omnia, sicut olim unione durante fuerunt.

Hofmann G., Ruthenica, in "Orientalia Christiana", vol III, 2, n. 12, p. 138-139.

Bishop Platon Kornylak

Apostolic Exarch in Munich for the Ukrainians in Germany.

Bishop Volodymyr Malanchuk

Apostolic Exarch in Paris for the Ukrainians in France.

Bishop Andrij Sapeliak

Apostolic Exarch in Buenos Aires for the Ukrainians in Argentina.

Bishop Augustine Hornyak

Apostolic Exarch in London for the Ukrainians in England.

Bishop Jeronim Chymij

Ukrainian Eparchy of New Westminster, Canada.

Bishop Myroslav Marusyn

Apostolic Visitor for the Ukrainians in Switzerland, Scandinavian and Benelux Countries.

**HIS BEATITUDE JOSYF SLIPYJ, CARDINAL PATRIARCH
FOR UKRAINIANS**

February 17, 1892. Born in the village of Zazdrist, in the western part of Ukraine.

September 30, 1917. Ordained to the priesthood.

November 25, 1939. Appointed Coadjutor Bishop of Lviv with the right of succession to the office of Metropolitan and Exarch for eastern territories of Ukraine.

December 22, 1939. Ordained bishop by Metropolitan Sheptytsky.

November 1, 1944. Succeeded Metropolitan Sheptytsky as Metropolitan.

April 10, 1945. Incarcerated by the Russian KGB, served an 18-year term in Russian labour camps.

February 10, 1963. Arrived in Rome after release by the Soviet government from internment upon the intercession of Pope John XXIII. Subsequently at the wishes of the Holy Father remained in Rome.

January 25, 1965. Created Cardinal of the Catholic Church.

June 14, 1968. Commenced his first world-wide tour of Ukrainian communities in the diaspora.



His Beatitude Patriarch Josyf I

in schools; and the abolition of Sundays by making them working days. But, the faithful of the Ukrainian Catholic Church paid the taxes, supported the priests, supplied Metropolitan Sheptytsky and the monasteries with food and other necessities of life. They packed the open churches every day of the week as well as on Sundays. The Communists dared to arrest only a small number of the most outspoken priests and this just before their retreat from Ukraine upon the disintegration of the Soviet-German alliance. Two priests — the Rev. Dr. Konrad and Rev. Dr. Ishchak were executed and Bishop Josyph Slipyj narrowly escaped death. As he wrote: "Terrible indeed, was the retreat of the Bolsheviks... a Bolshevik tank appeared before the Cathedral. The police forced us out of our homes and lined us up against the wall. The NKVD even tore off my cassock. We stood for two or three hours with machine guns, hand grenades, tanks and cannons behind us. We made an act of contrition and awaited death. From time to time they would check on us. Finally, an officer appeared and set us free".

In the summer of 1944, the Soviet-Russian troops reoccupied western Ukraine. This time they were more sure of themselves. They were allies of the western Democracies in the effort to crush Nazism. With the Allied military power backing them, the Soviet-Russians no longer feared an uprising of the people.

On November 1, 1944, Metropolitan Sheptytsky died. He was succeeded by Bishop Josyph Slipyj. The Communist press began a vicious campaign to blacken the name of his predecessor. This signalled the beginning of open persecution of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. In an attempt to avert this, Metropolitan Slipyj sent a delegation of several priests to Moscow to explore the possibility of coexistence. As a token of good will they brought with them a donation of one hundred thousand rubles for the relief of the wounded in the war. The enmity of the authorities toward Metropolitan Josyph and the entire Ukrainian Catholic Church was obvious. They demanded complete subservience to Communism and put forth the requirement to the Ukrainian Catholic hierarchy to sever affiliation with the Apostolic See and consent to incorporation into the Moscow Patriarchate. Such conditions were unacceptable to the Primate of the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

On April 11, 1945, Metropolitan Slipyj and four bishops — Nykyta Budka, Auxiliary Bishop of Lviv; Gregory Khomyshyn, Bishop of Stanislaviv and his Auxiliary Bishop, Ivan Latyshevsky; and Mykola Charnetsky, Apostolic Visitor of Volhynia — were arrested. In Berlin, Germany, Rt. Rev. Petro Verhun, the Apostolic Visitor for Ukrainian Catholics, was also arrested.

The arrest of the bishops was followed by a mass arrest of priests, a draft of seminarians into the service of the Red Army, and confiscation of church properties. On March 2, 1946, a so-called "Synod of the Ukrainian Catholic Church" was convened at Lviv. Not a

faithful of their Church. Death tells the story of their existence; at that time they are buried in the habits of their Order.

In this twentieth century when the world is speaking of peace, justice, and freedom, the Ukrainian Catholic Church is ruthlessly persecuted on its native territory. It has been forced to descend into catacombs as did the early Christians during Roman persecution. Five million faithful of this Church are awaiting the defence of their human rights from the Holy See and all people of good will.

THE UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC CHURCH IN DIASPORA

The Ukrainian Catholic Church in the diaspora has twenty-two bishops and two million faithful. Their Primate is Patriarch Josyf Cardinal Slipyj. This Church is one of great vitality. It was only in 1884 that the first Ukrainian Catholic priest left Ukraine to attend to the pastoral needs of Ukrainian immigrants. Arriving in the United States, Father Ivan Voliansky established the first Ukrainian Catholic parish in Shenandoah, Pa. It was not until August 1907 that the first Ukrainian bishop Soter Ortynsky, came to the United States. He died on March 24, 1916, and the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the United States was without a bishop until Bishop Constantine Bohachevsky arrived in 1924. Today, from this humble beginning the Ukrainians have a Metropolitan See which was established in 1958 in Philadelphia and three eparchies — Philadelphia, Stamford, and Chicago — with about 300,000 faithful, 206 secular and 41 religious priests, 165 parishes with resident pastors and 17 with non-resident pastors, 7 missions, 2 stations, 8 chapels with resident chaplains and 33 non-resident, 2 seminaries, 2 colleges, 4 high schools, 32 parochial schools, 177 nuns, 2 homes for children, 2 homes for the sick and aged.

Then there is also the Ruthenian Church which is actually a splinter Church from the same "Mother Church" in Ukraine and its first priests were sent to the United States by Metropolitan Sheptytsky. In May of 1924, Bishop Vasyl Takach was named exarch of Pittsburgh. That same year Bishop Bohachevsky was named to fill the seat left unoccupied in Philadelphia by the death of Bishop Ortynsky. Bishop Bohachevsky and Bishop Takach worked closely and harmoniously together. In 1969 the Pittsburgh diocese was given a separate archieparchy with its seat in Munhall, Pa. It now has three eparchies — Munhall, Pa., Passaic, N. J., and Parma, Ohio, with about 300,000 faithful. The hierarchs are: Archbishop Stephen J. Kocisko in Munhall and his Auxiliary Bishop, John M. Bilock; Bishop Emil Mihalik of the Eparchy of Parma; and Bishop Michael J. Dudick of the Eparchy of Passaic. It should be noted that this is the only Ruthenian Province anywhere in the world.

They are the victims of the postwar territorial exchange between the Soviet Union and Poland. The Latin rite Catholic Church in Poland has a measure of religious freedom but this is denied the Ukrainians both by the Communist government and the Latin rite hierarchy of that country. There are about 30 Ukrainian Catholic priests in Poland but not a single bishop. The Polish Church and civil authorities acquiesce in the Soviet line that legally the Ukrainian Catholic Church does not exist. To eradicate all traces of it, they have even changed the name of the centuries-old Order of Sisters of St. Basil the Great to the Sisters of the Holy Cross. In this age of ecumenism the seat of the Ukrainian bishop in Peremyshl remains vacant.

The Soviet invasion has dimmed the grandeur of the Sobor of St. Sophia in Kyiv and the Cathedral of St. George in Lviv. The first has been transformed into a museum and the second was incorporated into the Patriarchate of Moscow with which the Ukrainian Church never had any earlier affiliation. Today the Ukrainians look for spiritual strength and inspiration to "Ukrainian Rome" — to the centre of ecclesiastical and religious life erected by Patriarch Josyf Cardinal Slipyj. There stands the Church of St. Sophia and the Ukrainian Catholic University of St. Clement. There one finds the renovated Patriarchal Manor housing a museum, guest house, and the Church of SS. Sergius and Bacchus which is now the Ukrainian Catholic Parish in Rome. On the outskirts of Rome in Castelgandolfo — the Monastery of Studite monks is located.

In "Ukrainian Rome" there are also institutions predating those founded by Patriarch Josyf. They are the General Curias of both the Basilian Fathers and the Sisters of St. Basil the Great, the Curia of the Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate, the minor seminary conducted by the Salesian Fathers of Ukrainian rite, and St. Josaphat's Major Seminary. The seminarians from the heights of Gianicolo gaze with pride at the great accomplishments of the Ukrainian Confessor of Faith illustrating the principle of the Universal Church: **Unity in Diversity.**

The Making of the Ukrainian Patriarchate

The patriarchal system of administration is characteristic of Eastern Christian Churches. It is operative in a number of Eastern Catholic Churches. The Coptic Catholics have a patriarchate, so do the Maronites, the Syrians, the Armenians, the Melkites, and the Chaldeans. The Ukrainian Church, which is the **largest** of the Eastern Catholic Churches and embraces more faithful than all the other Eastern Catholic Churches taken together, did not, until 1969, have a patriarchate.

The basis of the administrative system in the Ukrainian Catholic Church is the Union of Brest of 1596 by which the Ukrainian Church

what then was the "Conference of Ukrainian Bishops" and began the reorganization of the "Conference" into "Synods" — the traditional elective and legislative body in Eastern Churches. The Ruthenian bishops also attended this conclave.

2) *October 10, 1963.* With the unanimous agreement of the Ukrainian episcopate, Metropolitan Josyf Slipyj at the second session of Vatican Council II raised the question of the necessity of establishing a Patriarchate for the Ukrainian Church.

3) *December 23, 1963.* Pope Paul reaffirmed that Metropolitan Slipyj had the status of a Major Archbishop and directed that this be publicly pronounced. In consequence the Sacred Congregation for Eastern Churches declared: "To the question whether Ukrainian Metropolitan of Lviv is to be regarded as major-archbishop, in accordance with the Apostolic Letters given June 2, 1957, which begin with the words 'Cleri Sanctitati', the Sacred Congregation for the Eastern Churches has decided that an affirmative reply should be given". This amounted to a reaffirmation of the ancient rights and privileges enjoyed by the Ukrainian Church when the Union of Brest was concluded. One of the articles of the Letter cited — "Cleri Sanctitati" — states that a major-archiepiscopate is equivalent to a patriarchate.

4) *November 21, 1964.* Pope Paul VI issued the *Decree on Catholic Eastern Churches* adopted by Vatican Council II. It recognized that the "patriarchal office in the Eastern Churches is a traditional form of government" and expressed the ardent desire for the erection of new patriarchates "where there is need". It stated that all rulings of the Council in reference to patriarchs are equally applicable to major-archbishops. This was especially important to Ukrainian Catholics because the Primate of their Church was the only major-archbishop in the Catholic world. The day the decree was issued the secretary of the Council announced that it would become binding after a period of two months but granted the right to shorten or extend this period upon sufficient reason.

5) *December 22, 1964.* Major-Archbishop Josyf Slipyj announced that in his Church this decree would go into effect as of April 7, 1965. He thus exercised his right as Primate of a Particular (*Pomisna*) Church to determine when the decree would become binding in the Church he administers.

6) *February 25, 1965.* During a special audience with the Ukrainian delegation attending the ceremonies during the installation of Major-Archbishop Josyf as Cardinal, Pope Paul VI said:

You, my Ukrainian sons, are scattered throughout the world, but We are well aware how staunchly you preserve your traditions, and the diligence with which you endeavour to keep your beautiful rite, your language, your culture. By this elevation of

**FIRST MEMORANDUM TO THE HOLY FATHER
REGARDING UKRAINIAN PATRIARCHATE**

To
The Most Holy Father
Pope Paul VI,
Citta del Vaticano,
Rome, Italy.

Your Holiness!

With great confidence and love we, the undersigned Ukrainian Catholic scholars and representatives of Scientific Societies and Institutes in the free world, submit this Memorandum with a request that there be a gracious and patient hearing for our petition which is of paramount importance to the Ukrainian Church and Nation.

1) By Divine Providence since time immemorial it has been the lot of the Ukrainians to dwell and function at the crossroads of the two worlds and two civilizations which constantly crossed and interacted on Ukrainian territories. At times the confrontations of the twain resulted in very difficult lives for our people, but faithfully did they obey the will of God and still do they continue in His path with great confidence in His wisdom and mercy.

After the Ukrainian Kyivan State had existed for five centuries, it was overpowered in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries by the invasion of Asiatic Mongols; almost three centuries had passed before it found its regeneration in the Kozak-Hetman State of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries after which it fell victim to Muscovite despotism from the north. Then again the Ukrainian State which was reborn in modern times was destroyed by a new form of barbaric, godless despotism. In our time the Ukrainians are being forced to face the possibility of the complete obliteration of their centuries-long Christian heritage and civilization.

2) The Church played the most important role in the history of all the national endeavours and struggles of the Ukrainians. It was she who led the Princely State to the peak of its might and glory. Not only did she fecundate our national culture but also did she defend our people throughout the centuries of trial and tribulation. It was the Word of God which had been brought to Ukraine by the Saints Cyril and Methodius which planted there the universal meaning of Christian doctrine and the filial respect toward the successors of Saint Peter in Rome.

3) In those ancient times the Kyivan Archbishops — Metropolitans were ordinarily awarded quasi patriarchal rights. Recent researches show that some of them were given the patriarchal seal

stantinople, as well as the so-called Holy Synod of St. Petersburg, wielded their authority along with the civil arm to forcibly and violently subjugate the Orthodox Metropolitans of Kyiv; following that the Patriarchate of Moscow made plans for the subjugation of all those Ukrainian Eparchies which were in communion with Rome.

7) After Czar Nicholas I had destroyed the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Volhynia and Polissia in 1839, Pope Gregory XVI saw the great danger with which the rest of that Church was beset and, in his desire to protect her, he of his own initiative produced a project for the establishing of the Ukrainian Patriarchate. However, as a result of the strong opposition on the part of Hungary, the Vienna Government jeopardized that project.

8) A half century later, Pope Leo XIII, whose plan it was to unite all the Slavs with the Apostolic See of Rome, instituted a new project for the establishing of the Ukrainian Patriarchate. The same political factors caused its failure.

9) His successor, Pope St. Pius X, foreseeing the fall of the Muscovite prison of nations, awarded the Servant of God, Metropolitan Andriy Sheptytsky, quasi-patriarchal rights in order to reinstate the former Kyivan Metropolia to its original status.

After the revolution of 1917, Metropolitan Andriy ushered in a good beginning by ordaining Bishop Leonid Fedorov thereby initiating the Catholic Church in Muscovy.

On the other hand, the statesmen of the newly-proclaimed Ukrainian Independent State, for example, Volodymyr Vynnychenko and Lonhin Cehelsky, and their compatriots, — intended to unite all Ukrainian Christians under their own Patriarch. The Orthodox members proposed the candidacy of the Metropolitan Andriy because they were convinced that he would be able to unite all Ukrainians with the Holy See of Rome. The fall of the Ukrainian State rendered their plan impossible.

10) After World War II, Patriarch Alexey of Moscow issued his intolerant Pastoral Letter which initiated the persecution and destruction "de iure" of the Catholic Church in Western Ukraine and in Carpatho-Ukraine in the years 1945, 1946 and 1947. By the grace of God that Church is still alive although she serves in modern catacombs.

11. By the ordinance of Divine Providence and by the solicitude of Pope Pius XII and Pope John XXIII the Ukrainian Catholic Church has flourished in diaspora. She has been strengthened by the great new wave of political emigration. She has two Metropolias: one in the USA and one in Canada. She has one Exarchate and Apostolic Visitature in South America. She has Exarchates in England, France, West Germany and Australia. She has an Apostolic Administration for Belgium-Holland.

Church in diaspora. How, then, can we create a surplus to work for religious regeneration in Ukraine proper if we do not take measures to overcome the shortages with which we are faced in diaspora?

In reality there are those who are even now demanding such action; for instance, Soviet publications clearly tell that the young people in Ukraine are recording various religious programmes which they hear on the radio beamed from the West. They are mimeographing those programmes and spreading them amongst the people. In this way, at least to some extent, the godless propaganda is being checked. Our contacts in this wise would demand solid planning, coordination, and financing, all of which could be organized by a unified patriarchal authority.

E. There is still no unified plan of religious education in the Ukrainian parochial schools or the other schools in diaspora. Still worse are the affairs which concern school text books for religious instruction, history of the Church, liturgics, dogmatics, etc. There are no courses in theology, philosophy, history and sociology at university. All of these have been destroyed in Ukraine proper. Without these subjects our people will be condemned to a slow spiritual death. Only the authority of the Patriarch could cope with problems of this nature.

F. The aforementioned facts show the acuteness of the necessity to found a Ukrainian Catholic University in the free world where scholars and scientists could gather; particularly those who have escaped Bolshevik tyranny and are seeking to educate a new generation of scholars who may then cultivate the Christian traditions and civilization among the Ukrainians. This can be planned, organized, and made to work by patriarchal authority only.

Whereas, we the undersigned, who by our own lives and our scientific and civic activities have given testimony to the faith and have showed our love for the Church and the Supreme Pontiffs of Rome, being in complete knowledge of the needs, necessities, and difficulties of the present times, plead with the Holy Father, the loving Father of all Christians, with the power of Keys of Saint Peter, to complete the centuries-long need of the Ukrainian Church and establish a Patriarchate for the faithful of the Ukrainian Catholic Rite which will strengthen the unity of the Ukrainian Church with the Holy See of Rome for the centuries to come.

With filial humility and love we kiss the Hands of the Most Holy Father and ask for Paternal Blessing.

September 15, 1963.

This Memorandum was signed by 38 people, representing various Ukrainian Scientific and Cultural Organisations. The photostat copy of this document is in the hands of the Central Committee for a Ukrainian Catholic Patriarchate.

EXTRACTS FROM DOCUMENTS
OF THE IV ARCHIEPISCOPAL SYNOD OF THE UKRAINIAN
CATHOLIC EPISCOPATE, OCTOBER, 1969
ADDRESS AT THE OPENING OF THE IV ARCHIEPISCOPAL SYNOD

Most Reverend Bishops!

Some of the last words spoken by Christ on Earth are to be found in his message to the Apostles: "All authority in heaven and earth has been given to me. Go therefore, make disciples of all the nations . . ." (Matthew 28, 18., Mark 16, 15). They refer to us also, the successors of the Apostles, sent to every nation though primarily to the Ukrainian people as their pastors and teachers. And as this message empowers us to carry out our entire Apostolic mission, then today first and foremost it finds its own great and weighty application, when we are gathered together at the Synod and are to give our words of instruction. Therefore, under the direct inspiration of these words of Christ we open in God's name the present blessed and long awaited IV Archiepiscopal Synod and moreover, after an interval of five years during which time many burning questions and difficulties in our Church have arisen, which demand immediate decisions and answers. Otherwise our Church will not only be unable to develop and prosper, but will even be under threat of extinction. It is common knowledge that we are in a very complicated and difficult situation. In Ukraine fresh persecution has broken out which is intended to destroy not only the centres but the very foundations of our Church. Till now, although bloodied and weakened, she has always emerged victorious. We trust in God that she will sustain even this brazen attack. Its brave and heroic stance until now is good insurance for the future! There are three eparchies in Poland and for 25 years now there has not been one bishop.

In Trans-Carpathia we lost our ancient episcopate, we barely drag out an existence in the exarchates, in America our Church is divided, while the Archbishops due to the great areas and the lack of priests, in spite of the best intentions and the most considerable efforts, cannot control the situation. In every continent we are suffering painful losses. Furthermore, our rite and language are threatened by a much stronger foreign environment. We hear loud appeals and calls for rescue and self-preservation, lest our great achievements be forever lost. The celebration of the Holy Liturgy, the preservation of feast-days and fasts make new claims on the situation. The youth and priestly vocations are a very important facet of our situation throughout the world, which poses the burning question: To be or not to be! All this only in the most general outline today stands clearly before our eyes, so that with an even greater effort we beseech the Holy Ghost to enlighten us and help us to raise our tearfilled eyes to Saint Sophia for wise counsel and

countries inhabited by its faithful, under the auspices of the Major Archbishop, in effect the Patriarch, as Head of the Particular Church.

(ii) The constitution and organisation of the Ukrainian Patriarchate are the same as those of other Eastern patriarchates, once the powers of the Metropolitan of Kyiv and Halych have been brought into accord with the Treaty of Brest.

(iii) The Synod resolves to send a letter to the Holy Father, signed by all the Bishops, beseeching that the Major Archbishop of the Ukrainian Church be raised to the status of Patriarch.

(iv) The Synod calls upon the Ukrainian Catholic University to publish separate works and studies on these matters.

II. The Ukrainian Catholic University of St. Clement the Pope.

(v) At the suggestion of Major Archbishop Josyf the Archiepiscopal Synod takes into its care, ownership and responsibility the Ukrainian Catholic University of St. Clement the Pope in Rome, on the via Boccea no. 478.

(vi) The Synod joyfully and openly received the news of the scholarly activities and great publishing work of the Ukrainian Catholic University, and in particular the readiness of the University to publish in addition a series of sermons and other theological manuals.

(vii) In order to give an opportunity to our spiritual fathers, monks and nuns and also the faithful to acquaint themselves with the conditions of life and apostolic work in the homeland and abroad, the Synod charges the Ukrainian Catholic University with the organisation of theological, pastoral, catechitic and other courses, according to the need, for the preparation of workers in the East and in the settlements abroad.

(viii) The Synod charges the Ukrainian Catholic University to create a Centre for postulate study, whose aim will be to collect material and prepare the beatific and canonizational processes of Ukrainian religious men.

THE SPEECH OF THE MAJOR ARCHBISHOP CONCLUDING THE FOURTH SYNOD

Most Reverend and Dear Bishops!

Today, in concluding our Synod we can call out from the depth of our souls: "Glory be to You, Father!" This event produced great and crucial works together with the programme so broadly outlined. According to our best powers and finest knowledge we tried to conduct it, reserving the last word for our general Church Synod.

Perhaps we have not witnessed such accord, such spiritual union,

the Deputy of Christ announced in public during His speech that this solemnity has become "a manifestation on Roman soil of the dual tradition of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, that is: both religious, through the erection of this church, and cultural, through the founding of a new Ukrainian Catholic University designed in a special way for the study of history and Ukraine". In another part of this memorable speech the Holy Father remarked that this Church of Saint Sophia in which He placed the relics of St. Clement the Pope which were brought in the 9th century to Rome by the Apostolic of the Slavs, St. Cyril, assumes by virtue of this an ecumenical significance, being a manifestation of those traditional spiritual ties which joined the Roman Church with the Eastern Churches.

By this declaration the Deputy of Christ not only expressed his recognition of the great projects of our Churches and their realisation; He also in a particularly exultant way called upon the Ukrainian Nation, our people of God, to continue on Roman soil their ecumenical and cultural aims and efforts. And this historic call of the Head of the Christian Church we must accept as our holy obligation if our Church is to continue and carry out its mission in the future — to be the bridge between the Christian East and the Christian West in the great effort to unite the Christian world and guarantee the Ukrainian people, with a state and freedom, its worthy place in the spreading of Christ's Gospel and the building of God's kingdom on earth. This new call in the context of the eternal existence of our Church opens a new page in the annals of our ecclesiastical and national striving, which we and our successors must fill creatively, in a Christian and Ukrainian spirit.

The other event of exceptional import which took place during those solemn days was the Synod, the first in our Church after the end of Vatican Council II. The value of this Synod lies first and foremost in the fact that it took place under the sign and in the spirit of the organic homogeneity of our Ukrainian Catholic Church in Ukraine and beyond its borders, as one of the Particular Churches of the entire Universal Church. This was the first time in the history of our Church that our Bishops from Ukraine and all the other countries inhabited by Ukrainians lending an ear to the voices of our clergy, monastic orders and faithful endeavoured to create and formulate a constitution for a patriarchal system in the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

In our letter we wish to conclude on this second event of those significant days in Rome, in order to clarify for you more accurately the true meaning of this our Synod, to give you a broader acquaintance with its decisions and resolutions and to deliberate on how we should receive these decisions and resolutions and bring about their realisation.

Eminence Major Archbishop, in the name of all the Ukrainian Bishops present at this Synod.

Thus, the very idea of a Ukrainian patriarchate is not new to us. What is new about it today, is the sincere and profound interest in it of all the strata of the Ukrainian community and the painful awareness of the immediate need for a patriarchal system for the preservation and further existence of our Church. For, devastated and destroyed in Ukraine, this Church desires spontaneously to concentrate all its vital power in order not only to save and strengthen itself in the Free World, but at the appointed time, when in the Motherland Ukraine justice wins the day and freedom of religious conviction comes into being, also to come to the aid of its faithful in the homeland.

The best way in which to achieve such concentration and gain the appropriate advantage of all vital strength, in the Eastern Churches, is by a patriarchal system as Vatican Council II clearly stresses in its decree about the Eastern Catholic Churches, where we read: "Since the patriarchal institution is among the Eastern Churches the traditional form of government, this Holy Vatican Council desires that where there is a need, new patriarchates should be erected. (About the Eastern Churches, 11).

Therefore, it is the fervent desire of all of us that our Church acquire this institution, not for some kind of human fame or merely for the sake of prestige, but simply for self-preservation and our continuing spiritual, ecclesiastical, religious and national growth.

Conscious of this our dire reality and in its feeling of responsibility for the pastoral leadership of our Church, the Synod has prepared and ratified a constitution for the patriarchal system in the Ukrainian Catholic Church and has committed it to the hands of His Holiness Pope Paul VI, with the request that the Patriarchate of Kyiv and Halych be established.

II. THE RESOLUTIONS OF THE SYNOD

In the spirit of this constitution and in accordance with the present urgent needs of our Church, the Synod has passed a long series of resolutions which will be announced officially in the administrative journal of the Major Archbishop "The Blahovisnyk".

We will draw attention only to certain more important activities of our Church, on which the Synod decided to concentrate all our Church and national strength. This includes:

- i. The taking over by the Synod of Bishops of the Ukrainian Catholic University in Rome. At the formal proposal of the Major Archbishop, the founder and guardian of this university, the Synod of Bishops under the leadership of the Major Archbishop gratefully assumed the right of ownership and patronage of the university with

tions. The decision of Vatican Council II as regards the responsible cooperation of the laity with the Church hierarchy, has already provoked a broad response from the widespread community of our Church. Therefore, the Synod confirms in gratitude that the number of lay apostles who are not only interested in the affairs of our Church but who devote to this end their valuable time, their professional capabilities and material means, is increasing continuously.

However, everyday experience shows that the real success of the apostolate of the faithful depends on their training, the level of their personal Christian way of life and their cooperation with the Church Hierarchy. For only true apostles, that is, people who are sincerely devoted to God with heart and soul, imbued with His Divine Justice, and animated by His Holy Grace and in complete cooperation with the Church Hierarchy, understand correctly all the needs of the Church and can therefore come successfully to its aid.

vii. The Synod also supports the idea of World Conferences of Ukrainian Catholic youth in order to give our youth from the various countries of the world an opportunity to come to know one-another better, to become better acquainted with the circumstances and the demands of our Church and the Ukrainian nation in various countries and jointly to draw up a plan for the whole of our Church and Nation.

viii. In the sphere of the discipline of the Particular Ukrainian Church the Synod strongly emphasised the need to preserve its homogeneity in every country of our settlement, resolving in this spirit the important question of the living language in the liturgical services, and the celebration of official feast-days during the week and during fasts.

ix. Following in the footsteps of the Servant of God, Andrey, who devoted his whole life to the realisation of this great idea of uniting Christianity and the directives of the Vatican Council II, the Synod makes a fervent appeal to all the faithful to work in the ecumenical field in the Christian spirit of love. The work for Christian unity has woven a golden thread through the whole history of Christianity in Ukraine. Our closest blood relations are our Orthodox brothers. We are united by the common tradition of native Christianity, a common rite, common customs both ecclesiastical and national, and a common Christian two thousand-year-old culture. The endeavour to form our Particular Church on the basis of a patriarchal system is common to us both. We are both involved, Catholics and Orthodox, in a slow fight for the preservation and growth of our Church both in Ukraine and in the countries inhabited by the Ukrainian faithful. And, what is more important, all the Ukrainian faithful, Catholics and Orthodox, bear the heavy Cross together, fearlessly worshipping Christ. Therefore, together with our Orthodox brothers we wish to continue our prayers, work and fight for the Christian spirit of the Ukrainian

of pain of those who suffer for the Christian Faith of our fathers. We have always been with them in our thoughts and in our prayers, especially during Holy Mass, and we continue to commit them to Divine mercy and protection.

However, we cannot leave it at that, we feel it our responsibility to appeal again to the consciences of the whole free world and demand in the name of respect for human dignity and human rights, so that the leaders of nations and all those people of goodwill should call upon the Soviet Government to put an end to this persecution of our Church and honour elementary human rights. At the same time we are in agreement with our Orthodox brothers in helping our persecuted faithful in Ukraine. In general, we are inexpressibly happy that our mutual rapprochement in recent times has taken such a gratifying turn and made a great step forward in the direction of a common path.

In sending You, Dear Brothers and Sisters, our Joint Pastoral Letter, we send You our most sincere greeting and beseech our Heavenly Saviour to favour You with His abundant grace and through the intercession of His Holy Mother and Queen of Ukraine, lead You, our Church and the whole Ukrainian nation to a better future. At the same time, we send all of You and to each one in person our Archbishopal blessing.

The Blessing of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God the Father and the communion of the Holy Ghost be with you all. Amen.

Submitted at Fogaccia near Rome at the Cathedral of Saint Sophia, on 4th October 1969 A.D.

With the Grace of God
and
The Blessing of the Holy See.

† JOSYF (SLIPYJ-KOBERNYTSKYJ-DYCHKOVSKYJ)

Major Archbishop and Cardinal.

† MAKSYM (HERMANIUK)

Archbishop and Metropolitan of
Ukrainians in Winnipeg, Canada.

† AMBROZIJ (SENYSHYN)

Archbishop and Metropolitan of
Ukrainians in Philadelphia, U.S.A.

† IVAN (BUCHKO)

Levkadian Archbishop and Apostolic
Visitor of Ukrainians in Western Europe.

† HAVRYIL (BUKATKO)

Archbishop in Bilhorod and Apostolic
Administrator in Kryzhevtsi, Yugoslavia.

UKRAINIANS FROM GREAT BRITAIN WRITE TO THE HOLY FATHER

His Holiness
The Holy Father,
Pope Paul VI,
ROME,
Italy.

Your Holiness,

We, 150 delegates from over 70 branches of our Association in the United Kingdom, representing 25,000 members and their families, assembled in London on July 17th and 18th at the 25th Jubilee Annual General Meeting of the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain, beg to express our most profound filial devotion and love to Your Holiness and at the same time take the liberty to petition Your Holiness with our most humble request concerning the creation of a Patriarchate for the Ukrainian Catholic Church. We most respectfully implore Your Holiness to raise the status of the Major Metropolitan See of the Ukrainian Catholic Church to that of a Patriarchate and to extend its jurisdiction to all Ukrainian Catholic settlements in the world. For it is only as a Patriarchate, invested with all the necessary juridical rights and guarding inviolably the sacred ancient heritage of our Rite, that the Ukrainian Catholic Church will be able, in our humble opinion, to accomplish with the greatest success the tremendous tasks facing us at present and in the future.

The Ukrainian Catholic Church is today the biggest Eastern Rite Church united with the Holy See, and it is fitting that its numerical importance in comparison with other Eastern Catholic Patriarchates be appropriately recognised. Ukraine is also one of the oldest Christian lands. For although officially Christianity became the State religion of the ancient Ukraine, the Kyivan Rus' State, in 988, during the rule of King Volodymyr the Great, Christian communities existed on the Ukrainian territory for many centuries before that notable event, especially in the ancient cities on the Black Sea coast founded by Greek colonists. Already at the Council of Nicea a representative of the Christian communities of that territory, Cadmus, was present, as is attested by Eusebius.

Since the very beginning the Kyivan Metropolitanate enjoyed considerable autonomy. It showed itself even after the fateful division between the East and West in 1054, when for several decades afterwards relations between Kyiv and the Holy See were much warmer than between the Patriarch of Constantinople and the Supreme Pontiff. On many occasions in the succeeding centuries efforts were made to bring about a union of the Ukrainian Church with Rome, but the successes were only temporary, until at last the Council of Brest in 1596 established the Union which has lasted until this day.

order to prepare for the future, new and zealous priests and laymen inspired with the true Christian spirit, eager to raise the religious level and to cultivate in the diaspora the Rite which is proper to us and to spread and to deepen all the spiritual values. All this would contribute to the preparation of the missionary effort so necessary in our native land.

Without a directing Centre appropriate to our Church and vested with the necessary authority by the Holy See and the corresponding jurisdiction which would unite all our Church dispersed at present in unfavourable conditions — our faithful are facing the great danger of mounting denationalisation as a result of the propagation of the spirit of indifference with regard to the Church proper to Ukrainians, with regard to the traditions and customs, which diminishes automatically the hope for an early renovation of the Ukrainian Church in our home country.

The paternal favour of Your Holiness manifested by the elevation of the Archbishop Major of Ukraine, the Metropolitan Confessor Josyf to the dignity of Cardinal, as well as the decision of the Ecumenical Council in this matter, encourages us to submit this request. At the same time we wish to express our most sincere hope that Cardinal Josyf Slipyj be appointed as Patriarch of the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

The awareness of the great fatherly love of Your Holiness towards all the children of the Church and all the nations of the Earth and the constant solicitude of Your Holiness concerning their eternal and earthly good, constitute for us a guarantee that our humble filial request presented in the spirit of complete trust, will, God willing, find a response in Your Holiness's heart.

Paying our deepest and sincere homage to Your Holiness and imploring the grace of Your Apostolic Blessing for our Association, ourselves, our families and the entire Ukrainian people, we humbly pray Your Holiness to kindly accept our most devoted assurance of our filial love, firm loyalty and obedience.

2nd October, 1970.

For and on behalf of the Presidium,

Jaroslav Deremenda
Chairman

Capt. (ret'd) J. K. Hwozdyk
Secretary

Council when for a short period of time the unity of the Churches was restored again, the participation of our Church, represented by the Kyivan Metropolitan Cardinal Isidore, was decisive. When this Union (due to Muscovite Church intrigue) failed to last in Ukraine, a new Union was realised at the Brest Synod now only of the Kyivan (Ukrainian) metropolitanate in 1596. As in all the previous attempts at a union of the Eastern Churches with the Roman Church, the decisions of the Union of Brest guaranteed to our Church all the ancient rights, eastern rites and traditions, and the metropolitans, archbishops of Kyiv retained their autonomy in the administration of their Particular Church. The Union of Brest remains valid today and the decisions of the Brest Synod continue to be obligatory for the Ukrainian Catholic Church. Moreover, they have been strengthened even more and complemented by the decisions of the Second Vatican Council on the Eastern Churches, which also envisage the need for the creation of new patriarchates.

The Ukrainian faithful have preserved in the past, and desire to do so in the future, the eastern character of their Church, because it is the heritage of their grandfathers and forefathers, their tradition which helped them to survive as a people in the most unpropitious historical circumstances. They wish to preserve not only the rite itself, but also the eastern structure of their Particular Church, which is an historic inheritance and which has been guaranteed to their forefathers by the decisions of the Union of Brest.

3. After the Brest Union a division occurred in our Church and it split into the Uniate and Orthodox Churches. From both parts attempts at reunification were made, and the Uniate metropolitan Vanniamyn Rutskyi and the Orthodox Petro Mohyla, with the knowledge of the Apostolic See, tried to restore the unity of the Church on the basis of the erection of one Kyivan Patriarchate, independent from the See of Constantinople. The idea of the completion of our Church with a Patriarchate was raised on several occasions, because it stemmed from the structure of the Eastern Churches. It is even more topical today after the Vatican Council II, which in its decisions on the Eastern Churches, stating the need of preserving in them their Eastern traditions, recognized the patriarchal structure as traditional in the East and resolved on the erection of new patriarchates wherever there is need for them. The Ukrainian Catholic Church faces such a need today, not merely because she is the biggest among all the Eastern Churches in the Universal Catholic Church, but above all because she is in danger, from which the preservation of her Eastern traditions and the patriarchal structure can save her.

4. The Ukrainian Catholic Church faces a mortal danger. An inhuman, godless Russian regime dominates the Ukrainian nation. Our Church in Ukraine is banned, persecuted, hounded into cata-

flourishing benefits of its union with the Apostolic See, she is now faced by the danger of decline.

5. In the midst of the extremely difficult and unfavourable conditions, despite the persecutions and criminal measures of the godless regime, one can still entertain hope in God that our Church will be preserved both for the Universal Church and for the Ukrainian people, if in this most threatening moment for her she is consolidated and recognised in the spirit of the decisions of the Vatican Ecumenical Council II about the structure of the Eastern Churches. The newly erected Patriarchate with its seat in the capital of the Catholic world will become a spiritual centre for our entire Church: in the catacombs and for the eparchies and exarchates scattered all over the world. For the faithful in the catacombs this would be a symbol of the uplifting of their Church and an expression of understanding for their suffering in the name of Christ, a recognition for their steadfastness in faith. This will give them strength to survive the most difficult misfortunes and will be fertile ground for a rich flourishing of the faith in the future, because no tyranny is everlasting. An act of protection by the Apostolic See over our Church in its most difficult period will open before it ecumenic prospects in the East envisaged even by Pope Urban VIII in the 17th century.

Equally for our eparchies and exarchates in the entire world, the Patriarchate erected in Rome would serve as a spiritual centre which to a considerable measure may replace for it the broken contacts with the Maternal Church in our native land, because it will give them the necessary support in this time of crisis. Their unification in one Patriarchate Church will contribute to the preservation of our own ancient Eastern traditions, will slow down national and ecclesiastical assimilations of the clergy, monastic orders and faithful in the various countries of their present settlement and will preserve them for the Ukrainian people and the Maternal Church in Ukraine. The hierarchy, clergy and monastic orders, as well as the faithful, who will not lose their spiritual contact with the Ukrainian people and their Maternal Church, will find a wide and grateful field of work for the strengthening of the faith in Ukraine when the present distressing times pass, for they will not last forever.

Archbishop Major, Cardinal Josyf, with his great authority both among the faithful in Ukraine and in the entire world, will himself contribute to the strengthening of our Particular Church. His recognition as a Patriarch will strengthen this authority even more. This would also contribute to the strengthening of his Particular Church. Having found itself on the brink of the abyss, but renewed in its eastern structure and consolidated by means of a Patriarchal system, it will rediscover the purpose of its existence even at the present unpropitious moment. On the other hand, while remaining the biggest among the Eastern Churches in the Universal Catholic

tions and to grant the erection of a Ukrainian Catholic Patriarchate, as well as to recognize Archbishop Major Josyf Cardinal Slipyj as the first Patriarch of the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

In the hope of Your Holiness' kind attention to our petition, we remain with profound assurances of our filial love and respect to Your Holiness and beg at the same time for Your Holiness' Apostolic blessing.

For and on behalf of the Committee,

M. Bilyj-Karpyneć
Chairman

I. Dmytriw
Secretary

UKRAINIAN PRIESTS FROM EASTERN CANADA WRITE TO THE POPE

October 7, 1975.

His Holiness, Pope Paul VI
Praise Be To Jesus Christ!

Your Holiness:

As spiritual leaders of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Eastern Canada, we feel a particular responsibility to voice our concern regarding the negative attitude of the Eastern Congregation towards our Church and especially towards His Beatitude Archbishop Major Josyf Slipyj, the question of the Ukrainian Patriarchate and the disregard of the terms of the Union of Brest-Litovsk in 1596 which guaranteed our Church autonomy and the preservation of all her rights and customs.

From the outset, as a result of her distance from Constantinople, our Ukrainian Church experienced a particular autonomy. Her synodal administration was capable of infusing inner life and force into the Church since it could act and react to the spirit of the times in a specific locality.

Tragically forced to flee their native land, our Ukrainian people carried in their hearts a burning love for their Church and as they settled in the diaspora they quickly founded local churches where they could worship God in their unique manner. Unfortunately, due to many political, social and religious circumstances, we presently see our Ukrainian Catholic Church emerging as an empty shell, divorced from a solid theology and synodal administration and stripped of a beautiful rite. We have become a stumbling block and an object of ridicule to our Orthodox brethren since we are neither rooted in the western tradition nor able to realize our true eastern identity. This

A LETTER TO THE POPE FROM UKRAINIANS IN CANADA

Toronto, April 17th, 1976.

*His Holiness
Pope Paul VI
Vatican.*

Your Holiness,

This current year marks the 380th anniversary of the Berestia Union (1596—1976), when His Holiness Pope Clement VIII re-established the Unity of the Ukrainian Church with the Holy See.

In his bull of February 23, 1596, "Decret Romanum Pontificem" and other documents, His Holiness Pope Clement VIII guaranteed, as the Head of the Universal Church, all rights and traditions of the Ukrainian Church, thus accepting in the name of the Holy See all pronouncements of the Berestia Synod as a firm basis for the Unity of the Ukrainian Church with the Universal Church of Rome.

Since the re-establishment of the Unity with Rome 380 years ago, the Ukrainian Catholic Church went through many difficult and trying experiences, mainly because of the existing foreign domination and oppression in Ukraine.

In the years 1875 and 1914 there were cruel attempts, made by the foreign oppressors, to abolish the Union of Berestia and to subordinate the Ukrainian Catholic Church (then known as Ruthenian Greek-Catholic or Uniat Church) to the Russian Orthodox Church.

The stunning blow was inflicted to the Ukrainian Catholic Church 30 years ago, when — after one year earlier all Ukrainian Catholic bishops, Metropolitan Josyf Slipyj and thousands of clergy and faithful were arrested and condemned — the remaining clergy were terrorized by the Russian communists into abrogating the Union of Berestia; they were forced to break ties with the Holy See and to submit to the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Moscow.

However, even though the Ukrainian Catholic Church did stop officially existing in Ukraine, it did not stop dwelling in the hearts of large numbers of faithful and clergy, who like the first Christians, persecuted and driven into catacombs met and still meet whenever and wherever it is possible to hear Mass celebrated by underground priests.

Then suddenly the subjugated Ukrainian Church in Ukraine and millions of Ukrainians in many countries all over the world were overjoyed by the great news, that, by Divine Providence, the only survivor of the Ukrainian Catholic hierarchy, the Martyr of the Ukrainian Catholic Church Metropolitan Josyf Slipyj, had been

**EXTRACT FROM PASTORAL LETTER OF PATRIARCH JOSYF I
TO UKRAINIANS IN GREAT BRITAIN**

The main cause of misunderstanding between you is the case of the Patriarchate, which in many ways is being misinterpreted. No one can be forced to believe in the Patriarchate, just as the desire and confirmation of our people of a Patriarchate is neither a sin nor a crime which is to be passionately fought against with revenge. No honourable religious Ukrainian could today be against the Patriarchate. The most idealistic elements of the Ukrainian nation have throughout history up till the present day seen that their salvation and unified strength lies in the Patriarchate. Since the times of Volodymyr the Great the Supreme Archbishop and Metropolitan has had patriarchal rights, has convened synods, has appointed bishops, and allegiance to the Byzantine patriarch was nominal. Esteemed voices of our Church have been raised up, and even prudent efforts made, in support of the very title of patriarch, for example by Metropolitan Josyf Velyamyn Rutkovskyj* and Petro Mohyla, when Ukraine was occupied by Poland and Austria, and even in America from 1892 onwards. The Patriarchate was proclaimed in the Constitution of the Ukrainian National Republic of 1920 as state law, and was recognized by both the orthodox and catholic Ukrainians and even by the Byzantine Patriarch himself. Our voice had been hushed due to wartime conditions even though it had always been alive in Ukraine and wherever Ukrainians had settled abroad and it was thus raised up at the Second Vatican Council. Our endeavours to make His Holiness Pope Paul VI recognize our Patriarchate did not meet with success for various reasons. But our Patriarchate exists! Neither the Council nor the Pope have ever created a Patriarchate but they recognized them instead, as happened with the Patriarchate of Antioch, the Patriarchate of Alexandria, the Patriarchate of Byzantium, and the Patriarchate of Jerusalem, which were all recognized by the Ecumenical Councils. The latin Patriarchates created in the East, with the exception of Jerusalem, did not survive. It is well-known how the patriarchates of Muscovy, Rumania, Serbia, Bulgaria and Macedonia came about. The national Church and State proclaimed them, and others, even the Pope, eventually recognized them. Such is the fate of our Patriarchate, and if, in a Ukrainian State, a person were not to recognize the Kyiv Patriarchate, he would be punished.

*) . . . licet metropolitae Russiae reipsa habeant privilegia patriarchalia ab antiquo et nunc utantur illis quod etiam confirmatum est ab Clemente VII et ab aliis summis pontificibus, ita, ut nihil illi aliud desit ad complementum iurisdictionis patriarchalis nisi solus titulus patriarchae . . .", wrote Met. Rutskyj in 1629.

cannot call upon one's governing status, hiding one's ambition and carierism under the cloak of catholic legality, but one must have love and a fatherly spirit, and should not forget that Judas was also one of the apostle-bishops.

The will of the faithful is binding and the Holy See has always reckoned with it. Naturally, changes and blunders are made by both sides during war. "Serbian beliefs and means of action may find a place in the Serbian State" but not in the Ukrainian nation. One cannot gorge oneself on Ukrainian blood and devour the living body of the Ukrainian nation and treat it cruelly and unfairly. Anybody can make sarcastic remarks and wisecracks! In all modesty, neither the bishops nor clergy, through their overall knowledge or pastoral experience have reached the level where they can teach His Beatitude (who even charitably accepted several of them into the Seminary), the Synod of Ukrainian catholic bishops, and the whole Ukrainian church. Some of these priests even not long ago wrote humble declarations praising the Patriarchate and promised to be faithful, and suddenly now, perhaps under pressure from above, they have changed their letters into vulgar outbursts. It is very unpleasant for us that, for the first time during our office, we must express ourselves so bluntly. Your strength thus lies in what St. Luke says: "It is by endurance that you will secure possession of your souls". (Luke 21, 19).

Notwithstanding everything, I wish you, your loved ones in Ukraine, your dear children, angelic and unsurpassed Christmas joy amongst your troubles and worries. Let the newborn Christ strengthen you in everything and send you blessings in the New Year with the victory of God's truth, for which you are striving and hoping, and which you shall achieve, because God's truth always conquers.

May God's blessings and the peace of Christ be upon you,

Christ is born!

Christmas, 1976

Josyf Slipyj

authorities of the Catholic Church in the Vatican not only do not cooperate with us in achieving these aims, but, on the contrary, hinder us. Why are Ukrainian Catholic Exarchs discouraged by the Authorities from placing themselves under the jurisdiction of Cardinal Josyf Slipyj who is after all our Major Archbishop and according to paragraph 10 of the Decree on Eastern Churches of II Vatican Ecumenical Council has patriarchal rights? This could be understood as the policy of "divide et empera" aimed at preventing the organisational unity of our Church in exile and it will have disastrous effects on the future of our Church if not abandoned. In reality the first fruit of this policy has already been culled — as is evident from the situation in Great Britain, which is as follows:

Bishop Augustine Hornyak and, under his strictures, most of the priests, have almost completely isolated themselves from their flock: they give the impression of a church within the Church. The faithful, on the other hand, cannot understand how it can be possible that after some thirty years of sacrifice, generosity and all-round support for their church, they are now subjected to insults from the pulpits, accused of destroying the Church and so on. Undoubtedly the most misguided of Bishop Hornyak's actions was to bring about the resignation and the departure from this country of two of our most hard-working, experienced and loved priests solely because their consciences did not allow them to obey the ban on mentioning Cardinal Slipyj in the Liturgy as Ukrainian Patriarch. This ban is still rigorously enforced by Bishop Hornyak, despite the fact that in other exarchates of the Ukrainian Catholic Church the priests are referring to him as Patriarch.

The Ukrainians recognise Confessor of Faith Cardinal Slipyj as Patriarch of the Ukrainian Catholic Church on the basis of privileges and rights guaranteed them by the Union with the Holy See and recognised by the Popes since 1596. The actions of Bishop Hornyak give rise to discontent and irritation among Ukrainian Catholics here and create conditions in which various acts of provocation may easily take place, yet Bishop Hornyak is maintaining his attitude of defiance of our Patriarch and of the faithful by not replying to letters: by persistently refusing to recognise the legitimate and rightful aspirations of the faithful to participate in safeguarding the future of our Church, by refusing to receive deputations and listen to representations they would like to make, and by such inflammatory acts of folly as calling the police into church unnecessarily.

And so today we look with envy at our compatriots, the Ukrainian Catholics in other countries of the free world, where Ukrainian bishops respect the will of the faithful and do not cause a division in the Church.

It would appear that after cooperating with him and supporting him for some fifteen years the faithful have lost all con-

Church in this country are the product of the activities of a group of political extremists. We sincerely hope that before accepting this assertion Your Grace will investigate it thoroughly. We assure Your Grace of our fullest cooperation in this matter.

We have the honour to remain Your Grace's
devoted and obedient servants,

For and on behalf of the Presidium of the General Council of the
Central Committee for a Ukrainian Catholic Patriarchate,

I. Dmytriw
General Secretary

**LETTER TO THE POPE PAUL FROM THE
CENTRAL COMMITTEE FOR A UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC
PATRIARCHATE (GREAT BRITAIN)**

22nd June, 1976.

His Holiness,
Pope Paul VI,
Vatican City,
Italy.

Your Holiness,

In addition to our memorandum of the 17th May, 1976., addressed to the Apostolic Delegate in Great Britain, His Grace Archbishop B. Heim, about the problems in our Church, we wish to submit to Your Holiness that the latest developments in the Ukrainian Catholic Church, particularly in Great Britain, have added to the deteriorating relations between the Bishop and the faithful, marking a further decline in the pastoral work. Conscious of our responsibility and loyalty to our Church and to the Holy See, we have to state that the situation has now reached a critical level and hope that the Highest Authority of the Church will hear our side of the story and act to prevent the disintegration of our Church.

At the beginning we would like to say that we have noted the contents of the letter of the Bishops' Conference of England and Wales to Cardinal Jean Villot, Vatican Secretary of State (Ukrainian troubles, "Tablet", 12th June, 1976, p. 581) in which, commenting that "The Ukrainian faithful have in the past been an example of loyalty to their Church and to the Universal Church", they add that they will "support any initiative of the Holy See to help the Ukrainian People and clergy to remain loyal to their Church and to the Holy See". We are grateful for their concern for our Church. As to the loyalty, and lest we should be misunderstood, we wish to assure You, Your Holiness, and to underline that our loyalty to our Church and to the Holy See has, in no way changed. It has been manifested

'*autoritate et nomine Sedis Apostolicae*' without reference to the Holy See). These ancient and legitimate privilege and rights of the Ukrainian Church within the Universal Church were confirmed for the Metropolitans of Lviv by the Pope Pius VII in 1807 (The Bull, '*In Universalis Ecclesiae*'). And again in 1964, when the head of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, Metropolitan Slipyj, was released from the Russian-Communist prison, the hierarchical grade of Archbishop Major, with all the ancient privileges and rights emanating from it, was confirmed to him by the Holy See.

Having regard to the facts stated above, and taking into account that our Patriarch, His Beatitude Josyf I, Cardinal Slipyj, preserved for us by God's will, is the present Head of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Ukraine (where it functions illegally) and in exile (where there are about 2 million Ukrainians and 22 Bishops), who, bound by the conditions of the Union of Brest, is subject only to the Holy Father, we, the Ukrainian faithful, are dismayed when the Sacred Congregation for the Oriental Churches, on political grounds, attempts to interfere with his governing and pastoral duties; to limit his authority and jurisdiction territorially by quoting obsolete Roman (Latin) Church canons, inapplicable to the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the present political situation. For how is our Church to exist when it is illegal in the Ukraine and is forbidden to function in Exile. We must look to the Holy Father and hope that God's law will be invoked to protect our Church in this hostile world.

The Ukrainian people can never accept politically suspect and unjust decisions aiming at weakening our Church.

Such factors as these are the main causes of our anxieties and concern; they give rise to misunderstanding and mistrust, forming somewhat relevant background to the appalling problems in the Ukrainian Catholic Exarchate in Great Britain.

The Ukrainian Community, 30,000 strong and largely Catholic, settled in Great Britain after the last war. Religious and working hard under the Apostolic Visitor, the late Archbishop Buchko, in a comparatively short time in most of the larger settlements had their own churches and with the arrival of Bishop Hornyak acquired their Cathedral in London. Relations between the faithful and the clergy were good, pastoral work was effective and, although, sometimes for lack of communication there were occasional misunderstandings and friction between the Bishop and the faithful, the Church continued to flourish and prosper until about July 1975, when the trend changed its course.

Bishop Augustine Hornyak, unsympathetic to the feelings of his faithful, misjudged their genuine fears when depressing news about the future of their Church were coming from Rome, refused to discuss them with the people, began to assert his authority by harsh methods and consequently lost the confidence of this faithful and is now almost completely isolated from his flock.

to conduct his governing and pastoral duties unhindered either as Patriarch or as Archbishop Major, and as we see no hope of finding any solution to the problems in our Exarchate with Bishop Hornyak, we beg Your Holiness to issue appropriate instructions in this matter.

We remain,
with filial love and devotion to Your Holiness
For and on behalf of the Presidium,

(*T. I. Kudlyk*)
Chairman

(*I. Dmytriw*)
General Secretary

P.S.

Two commemorative medals were issued in the spring of 1965, in Rome honouring Metropolitan Josyf Slipyj. Designed by papal medallist Professor Petrus Joannes Paulus and struck by Johnson and Johnson, Milan-Rome, the medallions were issued in gold, silver, and bronze. Measuring one and three quarter inches in diameter the obverse of one medal carries a profile image of His Beatitude wearing a cardinal's hat against the background of the Cathedrals of St. George in Lviv and St. Sophia in Kyiv, Ukraine. The second medal portrays the Metropolitan in full front view wearing a mitre against the same background. The face of both medals is ringed by the inscription: "In commemoration of the 25th consecration anniversary of Major-Archbishop Metropolitan Josyph 1939-64 and his nomination as Cardinal by Pope Paul VI February 22, 1965", in the Ukrainian language. The reverse side of both medals is identical. It bears His Beatitude's seal and the above mentioned inscription in Greek.

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Perhaps some foreign comments have this intention in mind. I am not prepared to surmise on this matter. Let the historians judge this in the future.

No, this clamour is unnecessary and the panic has broken out for no reason at all. One should read the Pastoral Letter very calmly and then analyse the situation in our Church. One should be aware of the fact that what is being questioned as regards the Pastoral Letter is the state of our souls, our particular way of thinking and our needs, which many foreigners do not understand. A superficial reader will probably find a heresy even in the Bible.

It will not be easy to convince those who have panicked. A strange atmosphere has arisen in which every initiative of his Beatitude Josyf Slipyj is met with fear, idle talk and all sorts of suspicion. Surely, it is not a healthy Christian atmosphere when one tries to find evil in everything. Once it was a principle of ancient Roman Law that one was innocent until proven guilty. This principle was changed in the Soviet Union where a person has to prove that he was innocent if, for instance, he was accused of being a spy. A similar situation has now arisen in the case of the Pastoral Letter "For Reconciliation in Christ". "Why such a pastoral letter? Why and what about the 'reconciliation'? What do these strange words mean?", etc., — ask some alarmed and ill-disposed or misinformed people, who tend to see in the person of his Beatitude only a trouble-maker, an opportunist and even a schismatic. It will certainly not be very easy to convince such people of anything.

The purpose of the Pastoral Letter is exclusively ecumenical, if one is to use this contemporary word. Its aim is expressed in the title of the letter: 'Reconciliation in Christ'. Nobody contradicts the fact that after the Second Vatican Ecumenical Council we, Christians, have become aware of the sad state of disunity in the Christian Church and of the need for reconciliation. The Second Vatican Ecumenical Council has given fresh directives and the work for unity has begun to progress and to produce more fruitful results. In a few years after the Ecumenical Council we have seen more attempts to bring about the unity amongst the Churches of the world. Prayers have intensified, inter-common prayers have begun, mutual recognition, discussions, friendship, dialogue, a greater closeness in theological matters. In some instances members of different Churches have conducted sermons in one another's Church. Charity work has been organized on a common basis, etc. One could hardly think of such progress fifty years ago. But what have we, Ukrainians, done in this ecumenical field after the Council? How are we carrying on the ideas and efforts of the great Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky to bring about unity amongst Ukrainian Christians? He was the pioneer of ecumenism even in Western Europe together with the famous Cardinal Mercier. We have forgotten about his work for unity. Really, it is very disappointing when we see how much other nations have

At this point I would like to turn to the question of nationalism with which some people tend to reproach us. When Westerners hear the word 'nationalism' they immediately associate this with 'nazism', 'fascism' and 'phalangism'. They immediately think of extreme imperialist encroachments of one nation upon another. They also think of dictatorship, lack of freedom, monopoly of power, etc. It is interesting to note that when one mentions the words of 'marxism' or 'communism', such as in Russia, which pulverize the minds of people and create harsh conditions, these connotations do not appear to produce any criticism even when the real dictatorship today exists only in such countries where communist ideology reigns supreme, especially in Russia.

On the other hand, when the word 'nationalism' is heard in former colonies, it is understood to imply the termination of colonial rule and the beginning of an independent national life without exploitation on the part of the more powerful nations, a greater awareness of their own identity and a wish to live at peace with the world. For us, Ukrainians, 'Nationalism' is nothing but patriotism in the most noble sense.⁵ Our nation seeks its freedom and sovereignty, for it is one of the remaining colonized nations in the world. An independent Ukrainian state would bring us many benefits — a free choice of government, a free way of life according to our traditions, and, also, religious freedom. Some even say that if we had an independent state then the patriarchy would be recognized in no time! Probably so! The existence of nationalism in our hearts is nothing more and nothing less

⁵) To emphasize this point, let us quote what Western historians and sociologists say about nationalism: "One might define nationalism as a state of mind, a sense of belonging to a larger group sharing a common language, history and aspirations. It includes a feeling of responsibility for the destiny of the nation and a willingness to help share its future" — Encyclopaedia International, 1966; "Nationalism is an ideology that claims that men belong to a specific nation-state to which they owe supreme loyalty" — The New Caxton Encyclopaedia, 1967; "Nationalism is a state of mind in which the supreme loyalty of the individual is felt to be due to the nation-state... Nationalism implies the identification of the state or nation with the people, or at least the desirability of determining the extent of the state according to ethnographic principle" — Encyclopaedia Britanica, 1973; "Nationalism is a political creed that underlines the cohesion of modern societies and legitimates their claims to authority. Nationalism centres the supreme loyalty of the overwhelming majority of the people upon the nation-state, either existing or desired" — Hans Kohn, International Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, 1972.

In the Ukrainian political vocabularies Ukrainian nationalism is described as a "spiritual and political movement which has been born from the inner nature of the Ukrainian nation during her sustained struggle for the fundamentals and purposes of her creative life", or as a "struggle of the heroic Ukrainian spirit for one, united, monolithic free and prosperous individual, family and national state life".

Ukrainian underground publicist, P. Poltava, wrote once that "every Ukrainian, who upholds the idea of a sovereign Ukrainian state, is willing to fight for it and endure the discomfort and misfortunes of such a fight, believes in democracy, individual freedoms and family life, is a nationalist whether he belongs to the Ukrainian Liberation Movement (is a member of it) or not".

knowing that they are sensitive⁷ about this word and do not define it in the same way as we do.

The third fear that was spread about the Pastoral Letter arose out of the words: "The biggest Churches amongst us are the Orthodox and Catholic and without any prejudice one could say there are no real dogmatic differences amongst them as theological studies show and as history illustrates". It is very strange that some "puritans" have become so attentive to these words, especially those who are fond, of quotations from documents of the last Vatican Ecumenical Council.

But let us return in the first instance to us, Ukrainians, to our Christianity and to our own theology without any admixture or doubt. Furthermore, His Beatitude specifically said that "We should all return to our Kyivan ancestral tradition", which was always in union with Rome. Today, apart from questioning the primacy of the Roman Patriarch (the Pope) as the head of the Christian world by the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, we shall not find any further real controversial issues at stake, or if we do, we should be able to solve them easily with good will on both sides. Our common Liturgy is our daily Creed-dogma. In it we can find everything which we have in common with our Orthodox brothers in faith, and all shadow of doubt about the Pope's primacy will be removed. The Pastoral Letter makes strong hints about this.

Today, perhaps, our only fear stems from Catholic theology which in every aspect is under the influence of Protestant theology. New difficulties have been created now by all kinds of subjective arguments, which the Eastern Orthodox Churches are not likely to accept (e. g. futile arguments in the West about Christ's Resurrection, which gives rise to new doubts, etc.). History may almost repeat itself in the sense that it is the East which may doubt the orthodoxy of the West, even though the fault is not of the Teaching Authority, but of the theologians who so often behave as if they were the teaching authority of the Church.

Pope Paul VI recently said to the Greek Orthodox "... the Catholic and Orthodox Churches are united in a strong union, so that there are only small differences before a proper union can be realized and we can celebrate the Holy Eucharist together". How identical are these words with those in the Pastoral Letter! Our Orthodox Church is in

⁷) The sensitivity of the "foreigners" towards nationalism has for a long time been influenced by Hitler's National Socialism and racism and by Mussolini's Fascism, which were the product of evil. Russian Communism is not different. In fact, it is even worse in many respects. On the other hand, Western nations are not less nationalistic in their beliefs, attitudes and aspirations than the Ukrainian nationalists. The only visible difference amongst us is that we are fighting for our national rights and they are defending theirs. The love of a Britisher towards his native land, history, tradition, culture is as deep and as evident as it is among the Ukrainians.

And when there is a lack of understanding towards us, this happens to be not because of lack of nationalist feelings among Westerners but because of lack of knowledge, for which Western historiography is partly responsible.

election of Metropolitan Nikodym to the World Council of Churches testifies to the fact that he has been recognized as an Orthodox ecumenist and shows that the Russian Orthodox Church is highly regarded for the efforts of its sons who spread the Orthodox truth in an attempt to unite all Christians" (J. M. P. TE. No. 4, p. 61).

The pioneer of ecumenism in the Slavonic East, as we have already stated, was the great Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky. His successor, His Beatitude Josyf attempts to continue his work amongst the Ukrainians. But the reaction to his Pastoral Letter has overallly been mistrust, a suspicion of nationalism and in the meantime on the horizon a "new ecumenist" arises in the person of Nikodym. History will surely witness the further path of this "ecumenism?".

May I add to these reflections of mine a further quotation from one of the letters of Metropolitan Andrey written in 1941 to Archbishop Ilarion on the occasion of his consecration: "I wish with all my heart that Your Grace will restore the faith of St. Volodymyr and of Metropolitan Mohyla, the faith of the Universal Church and the faith of the first seven Universal Councils in Kholmschyna and perhaps throughout all Ukraine". These words could only have been written to someone whom historical events had drawn apart. Why don't we want to see how close we are? The distance apart is barely an arms length! All we need to do is to extend this arm to one another in the name of Christ. Surely, this is what His Beatitude's Pastoral letter has done in the spirit of our age and according to our present needs. It would have been contrary to the ecumenical spirit not to do so.

Unfortunately, we have done so little and fear any such initiative. We still seem to live by the old notions of unification, which to put it mildly were rigid methods. Our separated brethren were compelled by circumstances (or sometimes by force as in the thirties in the frontier region of Poland) to accept union. Rome was the main promoter. Today there are new ways and means and only time will tell whether they will be successful. The Church which is not in union with us, is not considered today as schismatic. They received at the Vatican Council's evangelical name as 'sisters'. "Therefore, amongst the Eastern Christians endeavours have prevailed and continue to prevail in order to preserve these fraternal relations in the spirit of the Faith and in the spirit of a mutual love which should blossom amongst the Particular Churches as amongst sisters" (About Ecumenism, n. 14). When all the Particular Churches (and the Roman Church is one of them, despite its size and its historical expansion) will look upon each other as "sisters", then the path to unity will be much shorter.

In this new relationship with the Eastern Churches there is one big difficulty which stems from the situation of the so-called "Uniate" Churches in union with Rome. They create a tactical difficulty for

desire unity, have felt that there is a person to whom they can turn to for with a particular plea for unity in *our* Church and amongst *our* people. To whom should they have turned? Who should have helped them in their endeavours?

At this point we cannot omit the question of the Ukrainian Patriarchate. This question makes us think deeply about the unity of our Church. This idea of the Patriarchate has the potential to unite us, to raise our spirits and to strengthen us. This is not a new idea. Just after the final ratification of the Union our bishops and people recognized the fact that a divided nation can only be united by a Ukrainian Patriarchate. In such a way a Holy Union could be strengthened and spread in other Particular Churches. This, after all, was very clear to them. Unfortunately, this was not clear or in the interests of certain people in other quarters of the world and so nothing came of these attempts. Today's idea about the Sister-Churches confirms the thoughts prevalent amongst our people at the beginning of the 17th Century. Do we need almost 350 years of harsh experience in Eastern Europe to arrive at this concept of Particular Churches and Sister-Churches? A very tough lesson of history indeed has been learned!

Some people would treat with cynicism my supposition about as to what would happen if the Muscovite Patriarch came closer on the path of unity with Rome. As a matter of truth, this is not my own thought. We discussed this possibility with some of our superiors in 1951 at the Seminary of St. Josaphat in Rome. Already since then there have been steps in this direction. At the Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church a commission for Christian Unity was formed, led by the Metropolitan of Leningrad and the exarch of Western Europe Nikodym, whom we mentioned earlier. That commission had its fourth meeting with representatives of the Vatican in July of last year at Trent in Italy. Pope Paul said on that occasion to Patriarch Pimen: "We can see how relations between the Orthodox and the Catholics have progressed through contacts on both sides and especially this year which is a Holy Year, the year of peace between God and all people". The Pope in this statement speaks about the whole Orthodox Church, to which the Ukrainian Exarchate led by Metropolitan Philaret belongs, who in an interview with Western correspondents denied that there was any religious persecution in Soviet Ukraine: "In the Soviet Union, — he said, — there exists no religious persecution. Believers and non-believers in our country are equal and both work for the good of their fatherland, as the Soviet State is very understanding towards the needs of the Church". So the question of religious unity in Ukraine is in the hands of such people as Philaret in Moscow.

The Pastoral Letter of His Beatitude stresses the historical fact that we wish to conduct a dialogue with our Orthodox brothers and

*Abraham SHIFRIN**

EXTRAJUDICIAL PERSECUTION IN THE USSR

The bases of life and interrelations of people in the USSR differs greatly from that of people in the West.

It is known to everybody in the USSR that at every place of work (at every enterprise or factory) there is so-called "personnel department" and "special department" — two secret departments in charge of hiring, dismissal and observation of employees. This is, in fact, the KGB representation at the enterprises. The doors of those departments are marked by an inscription: "secret" and "do not come in without invitation".

The workers usually joke: "Even if it were written "welcome" I would not go...". Such attitude to those departments is stimulated by the fact that (there) the recruiting of KGB secret informers (secsots) and their meetings with KGB agents take place. The secsot's role is to lend his ear to his co-workers' conversations and to inform the KGB about everything which seems suspicious or anti-Soviet to the authorities. There are cases when the KGB directs a secsot to a certain person and asks him to verify questions in which the KGB are interested: contacts, addresses, names and so on.

Secsot recruiting is usually made by simple methods. Having a worker's psychological reference, prepared beforehand by personnel department, a KGB officer (usually in plain clothes) begins a long conversation with the person being recruited hinting that this person's progress at his place of work or his dismissal depends on him. And then a question follows: does this man want to strengthen Soviet power? Nobody dares to give a negative answer to such a question even if he does not want to have any affairs with the KGB. Getting a positive answer the KGB agent begins to explain that it is very important for the authorities to know beforehand about all the enemies' intentions and to be able to reveal their plans. The collocutor is obliged to agree again. After this the KGB agent directly hands him the copy of a "signed statement about undivulging", where it is written that the invited person "voluntarily consents to help the KGB in the cases of exposing all possible encroachments on the power and safety of the USSR".

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Now he understands that in this case it was not a provocateur who spoke to him but a truthful man. But it is already too late.

Many similar tragedies have happened in the history of relations between people in the USSR; very often they ended by suicide of "voluntary" secret informers caught up in KGB nets. Very often these people become quiet and extremely unamicable; this is their method to secure themselves against extra conversations, which they have to inform about.

It is simply beyond one's imagination in democratic free countries how the network of secret informers can encircle and penetrate into people's lives in the USSR.

It is necessary to note that a lot of secsots are working not because of fear, but to further their career, a wish to take vengeance upon their personal enemies by such an easy method, to stand well with the authorities — everything impells to betray and to inform. And the base is founded already at school: the famous Pavlik Morozov, who informed the KGB upon his father, is a Hero for children, who are constantly taught that the life and deeds of Pavlik is an example for them.

It is necessary to note also that the secsot is warned by the KGB, after he signs, that he will be punished according to the criminal code in cases of non-informing and hiding information which he has about anti-state activities. At present the KGB specially controls the youth in higher educational institutions, people interested in questions of national self-determination (Jews, Ukrainians, Armenians, Tatars, Germans, etc.), religious people and people who simply want to read the Bible in the library, people known for their dissident points of view and connections with foreigners.

The network of secsots aimed at these persons and (a special department) was founded within the KGB concerned with believers evading registration (in the Council of Ministries of the USSR and at every local council in cities and settlements) special departments or "authorized persons on Religious Affairs" exist as well as a Jewish department, and the NTS department (a Russian anticommunist organisation abroad). Co-workers of these KGB departments take special courses: they study Hebrew, the Bible, etc. The KGB is installing secsots into religious, national and dissident groups, and their aim is to reveal the leaders of groups or youth circles, to find books prohibited in the USSR, and literature circulated by "Sami-zdat".

KGB tactics concerning groups and dissidents is very flexible and change often; it especially depends on pressure inside and outside the country: public opinion of Western countries is usually taken into account. In order to characterize this situation the following conversation can be cited. This conversation took place in January 1976 between a group of Jews and one of the chiefs of the Moscow department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. The Jews, according

carried out according to the legislation, which gives permission to arrest for 24 hours any citizen suspected of a crime.

According to KGB orders the militia detains the man (in the case of dissidents) and puts him into a prison cell of the militia department, often telling him that he is suspected of stealing. Giving the detained some time to think things over, some hours later he is called by a KGB agent who begins to talk to him. Upon the demand to free him and to take back the false accusation, the KGB agent answers that he has all the possibilities to convert the false charge into real one, because they can find witnesses, and to send any man to prison.

During such a conversation all kinds of threats are used and repeatedly the detained is sent back to the prison cell in order to make him feel the conditions: plank beds, gratings, neighbours-criminals. Sometimes during the same conversation dissidents are threatened by prison mental hospital. .

e) **different methods.** The number of KGB intimidation methods is great and they including: refusal to all dissidents to go on a business trip abroad, refusal of a tourist visa, deprivation of personal pensions, rejection by higher educational institutions (of himself or his children), expulsion from trade unions the party, dismissal from his work (especially teachers); inclusion on the "black list" of those not to be hired; not being given registration by the militia in a certain town, and consequently deprivation of the possibility to live with the family; conscription into army ahead of time and being sent to special penal sub units.

In such a way the dissident is forced to recant his points of view and his activities.

KGB tactics are very flexible and the Soviet authorities understand the psychology of Western countries. This is seen from the fact that under pressure of world public opinion and demonstrations, the USSR makes some concessions to calm the West. In rare instances dissidents are allowed to leave the USSR for the free world. But almost as a rule, simultaneously while the Western press is writing about the "human action" of the Soviet authorities, somebody is arrested or exiled.

The activities of people who believe in God seem to be the most dangerous (for KGB); they are persecuted, usually mercilessly. This can be explained by the fact that religious people are principled up to the end and unbreakable; they do not compromise with the KGB. Religion in Russia has been persecuted since 1917, and persecution still continues. In party circles and in the KGB organs it is explained that a religious man cannot be a Communist, that is why he is unloyal to the existing authorities. (Unwillingly we recollect the movement of some Western clergymen who pronounced themselves to be supporters of Communism or even Communists...).

Besides the above mentioned measures of persecution Soviet authorities use special measures for religious people: their prayer

There is a popular saying in the USSR that the beggar's bowl and the prisoner's cell are two fates one can never be sure of avoiding. Every Russian citizen is aware that he may be arrested at any moment, and that it will be useless to protest his innocence if he is.

In deciding whether to make an arrest, the KGB weighs many factors. Above all, it takes into account the possible reaction to such a step in the West. A reputation in the free world, or even publication of one's name in the press there, can often be good protection.

Once the KGB decides to make an arrest, Soviet law requires it to first obtain the approval of the local prosecuting attorney's office. In practice a convenient method of circumventing this regulation exists. Every prosecutor's office has appointed to it a special "supervisory council" for KGB affairs who is in the reality a KGB agent.

All warrants for KGB arrests are brought to him to be signed and he alone in the prosecutor's office knows of their existence. After this formality has been complied with, the KGB is free to choose between two types of arrest, open and secret. As opposed to legal codes in the West, it must be pointed out, Soviet law does not grant the accused the right to a pre-trial hearing at which he may be remanded or indicted. After his arrest, he can be held for investigation for months without any possibility of appeal; only then is he brought before the court for trial and sentencing.

Open arrests are preferred by the KGB in cases where it wishes to frighten not only the prisoner but the public as well, and to impress upon the latter the "seriousness" of the crime and of the accusation involved. A typical arrest of this sort was that of the well-known dissident Vyacheslav Igrunov in Odessa in 1975. Igrunov's house was first surrounded by a swarm of KGB agents, militia with witnesses, and even a detachment of soldiers, whose sole purpose was to draw attention to the event. Had the ensuing search of his apartment turned up any incriminating evidence against him (as it did in the case of Zaturensky discussed below), a charge would have been formulated accordingly. When such evidence is not found, and if a case against the accused cannot be built, he is referred for psychiatric observation, whereby he is diagnosed on KGB orders as being mentally ill and in need of institutionalisation in a special psychiatric prison ("psykhushka") that is in reality no different from a jail. This is what happened to Igrunov. In some cases an open arrest may be made in the street by armed KGB agents jumping out of several cars at once. Such spectacles are staged solely to encourage public gossip, so that the apprehension of the notorious "spy" or "terrorist" is soon common knowledge.

Secret arrests, on the other hand, are made by the KGB when it itself is unsure of the nature of the accused's guilt. One of the advantages of such an arrest is that it gives the KGB the opportunity to observe the behaviour of people formerly in contact with the prisoner who still do not know that he is in custody. Some such

up to the moment of the provocation. Feldman was convicted of the criminal charge of hooliganism and sentenced to 3½ year in a prison camp.

The KGB employed a variation of this theme in the case of the Lithuanian dissident Eduard Burokos. Late one night 3 cubic metres of wood were deposited by Buroko's house in Alitus; the next morning he was arrested by the local militia and accused of having stolen them. The court declared itself "satisfied" with the "evidence" and sentenced Burokos to 5 years for larceny.

In August 1975 in Minsk another activist of the emigration campaign, Boris Zaturensky, was secretly arrested out of his home soon after having applied for a visa to leave for Israel. The arrest took place on the birthday of Zaturensky's father, who waited for his son after work and could not imagine what had happened to him. A few weeks passed before the KGB informed the parents that their son had been arrested on the charge of illegally possessing gold. In actual fact the gold found by the KGB consisted of three gold coins which Zaturensky, a numismatist and philatelist, had acquired four years previously. After 4 months of solitary confinement (while the investigation took place), Zaturensky was sentenced to 3 years in prison camp for "violation of currency regulation".

The Western reader must remember in reading all this that in the USSR the accused does not have the right to consult with a lawyer or to communicate with his family or friends: from the moment of his arrest he is held in total isolation, as a result of which he can only guess what is known about him in the outside world. His first encounter with a lawyer is generally right before his trial, and even then it is often impossible for him to be defended by a counsel of his own or his family's choice. Solitary confinement before trial is the rule; if cellmates are given him, they are sure to be informers for the KGB. Immediately after his arrest he is humiliatingly stripped naked, searched and examined in every orifice of his body, shaved of all facial and pubic hair, and deprived of all watches, belts, pencils, papers, shoelaces, and even buttons of his clothing. A psychologically broken and depressed prisoner is easier prey for his investigators.

The KGB also makes a point of demonstrating to the prisoner that it is absolutely sure of his guilt and that it is not in any hurry: for weeks, indeed, he may not be called for interrogation at all. Time passes monotonously. Mornings start at 6 o'clock, when the prisoner is wakened and allowed to bring his metal chamberpot to the lavatory. (The prisoner is brought to the lavatory two times a day, the second time is in the evening). Then the hours drag on without access to newspapers, books, or other sources of diversion, which are given only by special permission of the investigator. The prisoner broods about his family (his interrogators have already hinted to him about searches and questionings there too) and torments himself with conjectures about which of his friends may have been arrested too and

News from Ukraine

NEW ARRESTS, HARRASSMENTS AS RESISTANCE GROWS IN UKRAINE

A group of students was arrested in the Chortkiv area of Ukraine in January 8, 1973. Among others the KGB arrested Stepan Sapeliak, born in 1950, Volodymyr and Mykola Marmus. They were accused of allegedly forming an underground youth organisation, distributing leaflets denouncing the occupation of Ukraine by Moscow, flying the Ukrainian national flag at the city hall and KGB buildings on Ukrainian Independence Day January 22, and other anti-Soviet activities. After one year of intensive investigation by the court in Ternopil, the students were sentenced behind closed doors to long prison terms.

In May of 1975 unknown persons distributed leaflets on streets and in trolley cars in Lviv demanding the independence of Ukraine.

In Pukiv, district of Rohatyn, the Ukrainian blue and yellow flag was raised on the school building in 1975. Investigation by the militia and KGB proved fruitless.

In the last few years the resistance movement has been intensified by various acts of sabotage as well as by passive opposition under the slogan "work slow" which cause insolvent state plans and lagging agriculture. This is evident in all the republics in the Soviet Union. The KGB is powerless against such resistance. At the same time, assassinations of party officials have increased in retaliation for their cruel treatments of the people. In places where such acts took place, it is harshly forbidden to discuss them under threat of long imprisonment.

The day before the "proletarian" holiday in 1975, Ivan Drozd, born in 1951, a cement factory worker in the village of Ternopilla, district of Mykolayiv, tore down the Soviet flag from his house and handed it to the village administrator. Consequently he was arrested and sentenced for "hooliganism".

Mykola Shalay, a student born in 1949, in a protest against the russification of Ukraine, publicly destroyed his organisation Kom-somol card and resigned from the organisation. For this he was

REPRESSIONS CONTINUE AGAINST FEMALE POLITICAL PRISONERS

"Samvydav" publications in the USSR have been increasing the information concerning three well known Ukrainian female prisoners: Iryna Stasiv-Kalynets, Iryna Senyk, Stefania Shabatura, as well as one non-Ukrainian, Nadia Usoyeva, members of the Ukrainian freedom-fighter movement, who are now incarcerated in concentration camps.

A "Samvydav" document, entitled "Women Political Prisoners — First Half of 1976", outlines the conditions under which the women have to live and speaks for itself.

Shabatura, Stefania-Mykhaylina born 1937, a well known painter and specialist of tapestries. Before her arrest she lived in Lviv. She was arrested on January 12, 1972 and accused of anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda, sentenced to 5 years imprisonment and 2 years banishment from Ukraine. She is serving her sentence in the Mordovian concentration camp. She has been often viciously punished.

Frequently she has protested against the terror and proclaimed hunger strikes. Her health has deteriorated considerably. All her free moments are occupied by painting. She draws on scrap paper tapestry designs, which are used by other political prisoners to create artistic embroidery.

During frequent searches Shabatura's art works were confiscated. On March 2, 1976 the camp administrator Gen. Shoryn informed the female prisoners (I. Kalynets, N. Svitlychna and I. Senyk) that 150 paintings confiscated earlier from Shabatura have been destroyed.

On March 16, during Shabatura's solitary confinement she proclaimed a twelve day hunger strike against the cruel treatment she has been subjected to. On April 12, 1976 she was confined to the camp's prison for 6 months.

Stefania Shabatura wrote to the Prosecutor of the USSR outlining the reasons for her renouncement of Soviet citizenship, and wrote to the UN requesting their intervention (the letter to the UN was given to the camp administration and was never forwarded).

Stasiv-Kalynets, Iryna born 1940, a poet, before her arrest lived in Lviv. Arrested on January 12, 1972, accused of anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda. Sentenced to 6 years imprisonment, 3 years exile (her husband, the poet Ihor Kalynets, born in 1938, was sentenced under the same article to 6 years of hard labour and 3 years exile).

For the past four years Kalynets was trying to get an explanation from the camp administration why she is not allowed to visit her husband. Renouncing Soviet citizenship, Iryna Kalynets stressed the following reasons: harsh living conditions of the political prisoners, reprisals against her personally and her friends (S. Shabatura, I. Senyk and N. Usoyeva) threats, hypocrisy of the administration.

Rev. Romaniuk said, "I may die in the Soviet concentration camp, just as many more before me died, but let me at least have the citizenship of your country, which is the fortress of freedom and truth on earth", he pleaded.

Rev. Romaniuk told hierarchs of the Ukrainian Catholic, Orthodox and Baptist churches in the West that it was his duty to tell the clergy and faithful of the three denominations that "in the Soviet Union officials trample the basic provisions of the Helsinki Accord's Final Act, which are regarded as the basis of friendship and cooperation between nations".

Rev. Romaniuk wrote that letters are constantly confiscated from him, and for five years he has unsuccessfully sought to acquire a Bible.

"I beg for your mercy Most Reverend Archbishops, Bishops and brothers, do everything you can to alleviate the repressions against me", he wrote.

Rev. Romaniuk cited the inhuman working conditions which exist in the concentration camps in his letter to the National Council of Churches. He said that conditions in the glass-polishing workshops are unhealthy and many inmates suffer from inflamed intestines and livers. Food is inadequate and medical attention is rare, he added.

"Analyzing all repressions and considering that all inmates here were sentenced because of their convictions, I have arrived at the conclusion, though not for the first time that inhumanity, terror and tyranny have pervaded the life and style of the officials of this country to such an extent that any attempt to find humanity, compassion and sympathy is an exercise in futility". wrote Rev. Romaniuk.

He also requested that they sent their representative, lawyer or correspondent to meet with him. Rev. Romaniuk asked the National Council of Churches to help his wife and son to emigrate from the Soviet Union because he does not want "them to die in concentration camps or to become human 'guinea pigs' in a psychiatric asylum".

Rev. Remaniuk was sentenced in 1972 to general regime confinement in a concentration camp in the Mordovian ASSR, and five years exile.

Two years earlier he wrote letters to the Soviet Ukrainian Supreme Court questioning the incarceration of Moroz. When Soviet authorities searched his home in Kosmach, they confiscated many Ukrainian books.

IVAN HEL IS ENTERING SEVENTH MONTH WITHOUT FOOD

Ivan Hel, a Ukrainian political prisoner incarcerated in one of the Mordovian concentration camps, is entering his seventh month without food.

Hel, 39, apparently began his hunger strike last May in protest against the camp officials' refusal to designate him a political prisoner.

Books Review:

COMMON MISCONCEPTIONS OR SOVIET PROPAGANDA?

The Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. By Henry W. Morton, Professor of Political Science, Queens College, Macmillan Publishing Company, New York, N. Y., 1975, 157 pages.

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 meaning — 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 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 was the Soviet Union 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 the 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 sixty 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

century. It is true that in 1941 Hitler's victorious 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 inequality of income 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 roubles a month; scientists-academicians — 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. Furthermore, that the arbitrary official rate of exchange is 1 rouble equals \$1.11 whereas on the Soviet black market (a sort of free market in miniature) the rate is 5-6 roubles for \$1.00, indicating the real purchasing power of the Soviet rouble 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) (sovkhosy) have shown better performance and higher productivity due to 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, the best facilities and their capital provided fully by the state.

The chapter on *Education* (pp. 103-112) is handled quite well, except for total disregard of the damaging

effect of the Russian-oriented education system on the non-Russian nationalities (some 50 percent of the total population of 245 millions, which aims at 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 the 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, Byelorussia, Baltic countries etc.? Under 800 A.D. is the birth of Kyivan Russia. Correction: Russia in the form of Moscow 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 Ukrainian 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 in the U.S.S.R.?

And finally let us consider, the Epilogue. What a misleading statement (p. 145): "Overall, the present dictatorship is less repressive than it was in Stalin's time; the policy of

In English translation

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