

The
**UKRAINIAN
REVIEW**



I

1977

UKRAINIAN INFORMATION SERVICE

THE UKRAINIAN REVIEW

A Quarterly Magazine devoted to the study of Ukraine.

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

**For information please write to us or to any
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DECLARATION

and

MEMORANDUM No. 1

of the
**UKRAINIAN PUBLIC GROUP TO PROMOTE THE
 IMPLEMENTATION OF THE HELSINKI ACCORDS**

Kyiv, Ukrainian S.S.R.

Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 19.

... ..

We, Ukrainians, live in Europe, which in the first half of the twentieth century has been twice ravaged by war. These wars covered the Ukrainian land with blood as they did the lands of other European countries. And that is why we see the fact that Ukraine, a full member of the UN, was not represented by its own delegation at the Helsinki Conference on European Security and Cooperation as illegal.

We realize that according to the treaty of December 27, 1922, forming the Soviet Union, all international agreements, signed by the Government of the Soviet Union, also encompass Ukraine. It follows, therefore, that the Declaration of Human Rights as well as the Declaration of Principles, on which the signatory nations of the Helsinki Conference are to base their relations, are in effect valid also in Ukraine.

Experience has shown that the implementation of the Helsinki Accords (especially the humanitarian sections) cannot be guaranteed without the participation of the public of the signatory nations. For this reason, on November 9, 1976, we formed the Ukrainian Public Group To Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords. Since the humanitarian articles of the Final Act of the Conference on European Security and Cooperation are based wholly on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Ukrainian Public Group has set for itself the following objectives:

1. To acquaint the Ukrainian public with the Declaration of Human Rights; to strive to have this international legal document become the basis of relations between the individual and the nation;

2. Convinced that peace among nations cannot be guaranteed without free contacts between peoples and the free exchange of information and ideas, to actively promote the implementation of the Final Act of the Conference on European Security and Cooperation;
3. To strive to have Ukraine, a sovereign European nation and member of the UN, represented by its own delegation at all international conferences dealing with the implementation of the Helsinki Accords;
4. In order to promote the free flow of information and ideas, to strive for the accreditation in Ukraine of foreign press correspondents, for the formation of independent news agencies, and the like.

The Group sees as its prime objective the informing of the signatory nations and the world public about violations in Ukraine of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the humanitarian articles accepted by the Helsinki Conference. To this end, our Group:

- a. Accepts written complaints about violations of Human Rights and does everything within its power to bring them to the attention of the governments that signed the Helsinki Accords and the world community;
- b. Compiles this information on the state of legality in Ukraine and, in full accordance with Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, disseminates this information without regard for national boundaries;
- c. Studies instances of violations of Human Rights with respect to Ukrainians living in other republics in order to bring this information to light.

In its activity the Group is guided not by political but by humanitarian and legal considerations. We realize that the entrenched governmental bureaucracy, which continues to grow, can take countermeasures against our legitimate aspirations. But we also fully understand that the bureaucratic interpretation of Human Rights does not reflect the full meaning of international legal agreements, signed by the Government of the U.S.S.R. We accept these documents in their widest interpretation, without bureaucratic distortions or arbitrary limitations by officials or official agencies. We are fully convinced that only through this understanding of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Helsinki Accords can a real relaxation of international tensions be achieved. It is to this end that we dedicate the humanitarian and legal activities of our Group.

The Members of the Ukrainian Public Group To Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords:

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Nina STROKATA		— — — — —

Oleksiy TYKHYY

November 9, 1976

Donetska obl., Kostyantynivsky r-n., khutir Izhevka.

The signed copy is retained by the Group. 5. 12. 76 (signed)

UKRAINIAN PUBLIC GROUP TO PROMOTE THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE HELSINKI ACCORDS

MEMORANDUM No. 1

The Effects of the European Conference on the Development
of Legal Consciousness in Ukraine

1. The Formation of the Ukrainian Group.

The evolution of the movement for Human Rights in the Soviet Union led to the formation on May 12, 1976, of the Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords in the U.S.S.R. Yuriy F. Orlov, a corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences of the Armenian S.S.R., was elected leader of the Group. Orlov was summoned by the KGB and warned that his efforts to organize the Group were provocative and could be considered anti-Soviet. International support of the Group, however, forced the KGB to refrain from repressive measures against the Group's members, and within a few months, the Moscow Group accomplished much in promoting the implementation of the humanitarian articles of the Final Act of the

Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. Today, the Group's activities are winning support even among the Communist parties of the West.

Although the Government continues repressive measures against civil rights activists, these measures are clearly losing their effect. Government officials are forced to conclude that prisons and concentration camps not only do not strengthen their position, they weaken it. In fact, they weaken it more than would the unhindered activities of dissidents, if they were allowed.

But then, excessive optimism is as dangerous today as underestimating the democratic movement and its effect on the Government. One thing can be said with certainty: the struggle for Human Rights will not cease until these Rights become an accepted norm of society.

In these circumstances, the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords was formed on November 9, 1976. It includes the following members:

OLES BERDNYK — prisoner of the Beria concentration camps (1949-1956); science-fiction writer, prominent in Ukraine and abroad; author of close to 30 books, some translated into English, German, Portuguese and other languages; expelled from the Writers' Union of Ukraine in 1972 for deviating from Socialist Realism; currently earns his livelihood from physical labour.

PETRO HRYHORENKO — former major-general and department (Pyotr Grigorenko) head at the Military Academy; for his legal aid to the Crimean Tatars, who seek to return to their homelands, he was stripped of his rank and placed for over 5 years in a special psychiatric hospital; released, he renewed his active struggle for Human Rights; author of numerous scientific articles and books. He is the representative in Moscow for the Ukrainian Group.

IVAN KANDYBA — lawyer; one of the authors of the programme of the Ukrainian Workers' and Peasants' Union; although the Union was never formed, he was sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment, which he served in full; now lives under surveillance in Lviv Oblast; deprived of the right to work in his profession, he lives in extreme hardship.

LEVKO LUKIANENKO — lawyer; one of the authors of the programme for the Ukrainian Workers' and Peasants' Union; at first sentenced to be shot, but later he and his co-author, I. Kandyba, received 15 years imprisonment; served his sentence in full; lives under surveillance in Chernihiv, where he works as an electrician; known abroad for his numerous appeals in defence of Soviet political prisoners.

OKSANA MESHKO — prisoner of the Beria concentration camps (1947-1956); mother of Oleksander Serhiyenko, now a political prisoner in Vladimir Prison; active in the Human Rights movement in Ukraine; listeners of foreign radio broadcasts know her for her fervent appeals on behalf of her son in which she raises today's crucial problems.

MYKOLA MATUSEVYCH — historian; born 1946; denied the right to complete his education when dismissed from the university for his views; once jailed for 15 days for Christmas carolling; dismissed from work several times for supporting political prisoners; lives from odd jobs.

MYROSLAV MARYNOVYCH — electrical engineer; born 1949; does not work in his profession; for his independent thinking and friendship with dissidents, he was thrice dismissed from his job; presently editor for the Tekhnika publishing house.

MYKOLA RUDENKO — prominent Ukrainian poet and writer; author of over 20 books; was an army political instructor during the siege of Leningrad; was severely wounded and is now a disabled war veteran; expelled from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Writers' Union of Ukraine for his philosophical and economic works; until recently, worked as a watchman; member of Amnesty International and head of the Ukrainian Public Group.

NINA STROKATA — Microbiologist; wife of the well-known Ukrainian political prisoner, Svytoslav Karavansky; sentenced to 4 years imprisonment for defending her husband; presently lives under surveillance in Kaluga Oblast; forbidden to work in her profession.

OLEKSIY TYKHY — Teacher; from 1957 to 1964 he was in prisons and concentration camps for his political views; barred from his profession, he works as a fireman and labourer; interested in problems of education; in June 1976 his home was illegally searched; he was detained for 2 days and brutally mistreated.

Immediately after its formation, the Group was the victim of a vicious act. On the night of November 9, 1976, the home of the Group's leader, Mykola Rudenko, was devastated. Someone threw bricks through the windows. For several minutes the building shook from the hits. At first neighbours thought there was an earthquake. Following the attack, eight sharp brick fragments, ranging from one-half to one-fifth of a brick, were found amidst the broken glass in M. Rudenko's apartment. A member of the Group, Oksana Meshko, was injured by one of the fragments. The police, summoned to the scene, refused to file a report; but a week later, police officials confiscated the brick fragments, explaining that they would be

examined for possible fingerprints. Needless to say, the matter was dropped; they only wanted to dispose of the evidence.

If you take into account that M. Rudenko lives in the woods where privileged officials hunt boar and elk, it becomes clear that the attack was an obvious warning. Only the support of world opinion can protect the Group from merciless reprisals.

2. Common Violations of Human Rights.

From the first years of Stalinist dictatorship, Ukraine became the scene of genocide and ethnocide. To show that we are not merely exaggerating, let us review the definition of genocide. Here it is:

GENOCIDE — one of the most heinous crimes against humanity, consisting of the destruction of national, ethnic, racial or religious populations... especially, the deliberate creation of living conditions that lead to the total or partial physical destruction of any population group.¹

That is the definition of genocide in the Ukrainian Soviet Encyclopedia. The authors of the article, however, do not cite examples of genocide — examples for which they would not have to search very far.

In 1933, the Ukrainian nation, which for centuries had not known famine, lost over 6 million people, dead by starvation. This famine, which affected the entire nation, was artificially created by the Government. Wheat was confiscated to the last grain. Even ovens and tool sheds were destroyed in the search for grain. If we add the millions of "kulaks" who were deported with their families to Siberia, where they died, then we total more than 10 million Ukrainians who in the short span of some 3 years (1930-1933) were destroyed with premeditation. That was one-quarter of the Ukrainian population. Then there was 1937, when hundreds of thousands of Ukrainian prisoners were shot. Later, there would be the war with Germany, which would destroy 7 to 8 million more Ukrainian citizens. And after this, another war was to begin: the destruction of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, which took up arms against Hitler and would not put them down at Stalin's command. Along with the insurgents, innocent people were also killed. Hundreds of thousands of minors, women and the elderly went to concentration camps only because some insurgent drank a cup of milk or ate a crust of bread in their home. Some "insurgents" turned out to be Chekists in disguise. The prison term was uniform: 25 years. Later, more years would be added. Few of these martyrs returned to their homeland.

If one looks at the last half-century of our history, it becomes clear why our native language is not heard today on the streets of Ukrainian cities. Here is what the Ukrainian political prisoner M. Masyutko wrote from a concentration camp in 1967, that is, at a time when

1) Ukrainian Soviet Encyclopedia, Volume 3, page 186.

we were expecting that the barbed wire would be coming down forever:

If a traveller somehow were to evade all categorical prohibitions and succeed in entering a camp for political prisoners in Mordovia, of which there are 6, he would be astonished. Here, thousands of kilometres from Ukraine, he would hear at every step the Ukrainian language in all its present dialects. The traveller would naturally ask, "What is going on in Ukraine? Disturbances? Insurrections? How do you explain such a large percentage of Ukrainians among political prisoners, a percentage that reaches 60 and even 70 per cent?" If this traveller were to visit Ukraine soon after this, he would immediately see that there are no insurrections nor disturbances in Ukraine. But then a new question would arise: "Why is the Ukrainian language so rare in the cities of Ukraine, but so prevalent in the camps for political prisoners?"

Where can we find the source of these horrors that have befallen the Ukrainian people? In our opinion, the answer lies in the fact that over the course of 30 years of Stalinist dictatorship, Human Rights, which were proclaimed in the Declaration of the Rights of Workers and Exploited Masses and in the Declaration of Rights of the People of Russia, were ultimately reduced to nothing. As a result of the bureaucratic destruction of the principles contained in the Declaration of the Formation of the U.S.S.R., the national rights of Ukraine as a member of the Soviet Union ceased to be socially real.

In the 1960's Ukraine suffered another calamity. The most talented members of the young Ukrainian intelligentsia were thrown into prisons and concentration camps. These intellectuals had grown up under Soviet rule. They had been taught to believe Lenin's every word, and they believed. They ended up in concentration camps and special psychiatric hospitals because of this belief.

Here, the national question is paramount. For decades, the Ukrainian had it pounded into his head that for him there is no national question, that only the accursed enemies of Soviet rule could contemplate the separation of Ukraine from Russia. Even an inadvertent thought on this subject was so frightening that it had to be immediately forgotten. And God forbid that someone should mention it to a friend, or even one's brother. A worse crime has never existed during the entire 1000-year history of Ukraine.

Then, behold, a young person begins to learn Soviet law and unexpectedly discovers that such yearnings cannot be considered a crime at all; they are legal under the Soviet Constitution. Neither does the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian S.S.R. say that agitation for the separation of Ukraine from Russia is a criminal offence. The Code (Article 62) speaks of something else: "Agitation or propaganda conducted with the intent of undermining or weakening Soviet rule".

Such agitation is punishable by imprisonment of from 6 months to 7 years.

But the separation of a republic from the Soviet Union does not necessarily have to weaken Soviet rule. On the contrary, this rule could find greater support among the populace — the republic remains soviet (**soviet** — a council), but is completely independent. In this case, there is absolutely no agitation against Soviet rule. Or if there is, then it should be noted that such “agitation” is also present in the Treaty of December 27, 1922, by which the U.S.S.R. was formed:

The union is based on the principle of voluntariness and equality of the republics, which the right of each republic to freely leave the Union.²

We could cite dozens of quotes from Lenin, which show that it is precisely in this **voluntariness** that one should interpret the spiritual and political nature of the Soviet Union.

As a matter of law, it cannot be inferred that a young person who dreams of the separation of Ukraine from the U.S.S.R., yearns simultaneously to weaken Soviet rule. Let us, therefore, assert that even the restructuring of the economy on the basis of “capitalism which exists alongside communism” (NEP) was just another form of Soviet rule — a truly Leninist form for that matter.

In spite of this, Levko Lukyanenko was sentenced to be shot, his sentence later commuted to 15 years' imprisonment. Levko Lukyanenko certainly did not intend to eliminate Soviet rule in Ukraine; he simply wanted the Ukrainian people to realize their constitutional right. With this as their goal, the young lawyers L. Lukyanenko and I. Kandyba, who sincerely believed in the Soviet Law they had learned so conscientiously, prepared a relatively moderate draft of a Programme of the Ukrainian Workers' and Peasants' Union. That was all they did, nothing more. The Union itself, naturally, was never formed.

But then, when several persons sit around a table, discussing something seriously, that, according to the standards of the KGB, is an “organization”. Article 64 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian S.S.R., in this case permits the application of all articles of the section entitled “Especially Dangerous Crimes Against the State” — Articles 56-63. Treason is also listed here (Article 56) and it is punishable by death. That was the justification for the death sentence for one of the authors of the Programme.

Actually, there was no legal basis for sentencing L. Lukyanenko and I. Kandyba. There was none because they never agitated against Soviet rule, and only such agitation can be considered a crime. And it is totally incomprehensible how they could receive punishment that the Code prescribes for treason.

Here it should be noted that according to Article 19 of the Univer-

2) Lenin, V. I., *Collected Works*, Volume 45, page 360.

sal Declaration of Human Rights even anti-Soviet agitation (if non-violent) is not a crime but merely an expression of personal convictions. Can a nation be considered civilized if it ratifies international agreements that guarantee the highest of Human Rights and then passes internal laws that nullify these rights?

But then, the issue in Ukraine is not anti-Soviet agitation. None of the members of the young intelligentsia who were arrested in the 1960's and 1970's called for the destruction of Soviet rule; most did not even dream of the constitutionally allowed separation of Ukraine from Russia. The issue was widespread Russification, thinly disguised as "internationalism". The motivating force of this movement was I. Dzyuba, who later, after almost a year in KGB prisons, repudiated his own convictions. But they were not disavowed by V. Moroz, V. Chornovil, V. Stus, O. Serhiyenko, I. Svitlychny, Y. Sverstyuk, and many others. Prisons, dungeons, concentration camps, special psychiatric hospitals, strict KGB surveillance and a half-starving existence are the harsh rewards for their ardent belief in the sanctity of the spirit and the letter of the Soviet Constitution.

Power sits in judgement and not Law. And Power always interprets the laws to suit its needs. What is Soviet in nature is called anti-Soviet, including the Treaty on the Formation of the U.S.S.R. and the Soviet Constitution.

What gives even the illusory justification (since it is not Soviet Law) for such trials? We often hear that the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. should not be interpreted literally because of Article 126, which establishes that the leadership nucleus of our society is to be the Communist Party. The Party issues its decisions and positions and the very same Party, and not some document, explains how we are to interpret this or that problem. If, for instance, the Party decided to combat nationalism, then nationalism should, of course, be considered an anti-Soviet activity. Efforts to instill in one's compatriots a love for the Ukrainian language and national culture are then considered anti-Soviet and are punishable by 10-12 years of imprisonment.

The legal contradictions are convincingly exposed by Ukrainian political prisoner Hryhorii Prykhodko in his letter of November 17, 1975, to the Fourth Session of the Ninth Congress of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

Externally, the Soviet Union is the most enthusiastic supporter of the Declaration of Human Rights, while inside the U.S.S.R. citizens are still so disfranchised that they would not even dare demand those rights; furthermore, the Declaration has never even been printed in Ukrainian.

Externally, the Soviet Union speaks out against colonialism and for the right of national self-determination, while inside the U.S.S.R., it smothers every effort of non-Russian nations toward separation from Russia and independence... In fact, the actions

of the Soviet Government contradict the very laws of the U.S.S.R.

They are contradicted because these laws are always interpreted not as they are written but as the Party leadership demands. In fact, a law in the U.S.S.R. is a trap for the naive — it provokes but does not protect from arbitrary application.

Even if it is accepted, however, that the Party must comprise the leadership nucleus of society, it does not automatically follow that any other form of thinking other than the Party's is unconstitutional. The Constitution gives Soviet citizens freedom of speech, freedom of press, freedom to assemble and demonstrate. The leadership does not have the right to interpret these democratic articles of the Constitution for its own benefit; its role is limited to ensuring that these democratic freedoms are real and not just formal declarations. If it acts otherwise, then its activities are unconstitutional and not those of citizens who struggle to attain those democratic freedoms. The Constitution is above the will of the Government because, theoretically and historically, the Ward of Law is not the Party nor the Government, but the Individual.

The bureaucracy seeks to liquidate this 1000-year-old legal norm. That is why, in practice, the situation again arises about which the Ukrainian Soviet Encyclopedia writes, "He (the serf) was the victim and not the ward of law".³

3. The Savageness of the Sentences.

In 1972 massive arrests began in Ukraine. Arrested were scores of young people who sympathized with I. Dzyuba, whose book, **Internationalism or Russification?**, became popular in "samvydav".

A graduate student in philosophy, Vasyl Lisovy, never voiced his support for the "Generation of the 60's", as the young people began to be called. He was absorbed in his studies. But when Lisovy heard of the arrests of I. Dzyuba, I. Svitlychny, Y. Sverstyuk, V. Stus, O. Serhiyenko and others, his conscience would not let him remain silent any longer. Lisovy clearly saw that neither universal laws nor Soviet Law could justify these arrests. They were, in essence, illegal and unconstitutional, and, as such, anti-Soviet. Believing in the sanctity of the Soviet Constitution, the communist Vasyl Lisovy wrote to the Party and Government leadership, citing the illegality of the arrests. Toward the end of his letter he wrote that if these people are criminals, then he is also a criminal, because he shares their views. Socratic consistency then led him to the conclusion that he too should be arrested and tried along with them. Naturally, in writing these words, Lisovy did not actually believe he would be arrested.

But the soulless machine of the KGB immediately went to work. V. Lisovy's "request" was granted with extreme generosity. He was sentenced to 7 years' imprisonment and 3 years' exile.

³) *Ukrainian Soviet Encyclopedia*, Volume 2, page 447.

For what? No one other than government officials and judges had read his letter. The question arises: Are these people so uncertain of their Soviet convictions that they should decide immediately to protect themselves from Lisovy's "agitation"?

Another example. Svyatoslav Karavansky and Hryhoriy Prokopovych never concealed their nationalism; it forms the basis of their beliefs. It is known that V. I. Lenin insisted on differentiating between the nationalism of subjugated nations and the nationalism of subjugating nations. Lenin did not condemn nationalism of a subjugated nation, but justified it morally and politically, especially if it was not aggressive, but legally defensive in character. But S. Karavansky and H. Prokopovych and hundreds of other Ukrainian nationalists who peacefully demanded Ukrainian independence were sentenced after the war to 25 years imprisonment because of their convictions. Later, under Khrushchev, some were released for several years. But when the Khrushchev thaw ended, they were again thrown into concentration camps for the same thing — for their convictions.

A year to 18 months from now, S. Karavansky will complete his term of imprisonment, which now totals close to 30 years. We ask: Will the KGB lengthen his sentence by another 10-15 years? S. Karavansky does not conceal the fact that he has not renounced his nationalist convictions — they have only been strengthened and hardened. He is also well aware that under Soviet Law these convictions and their propagation are not crimes.

The scheme by which the KGB operates in taking the legally sanctioned nationalism of subjugated nations, a phenomenon Lenin found completely natural and politically justified, and transforming it into a "serious crime against the state", is well illustrated by the case of V. Marchenko. A philologist and linguist, he was simultaneously indicted for Ukrainian and Azerbaijani nationalism. This combination by itself is enough to understand that no real nationalism is involved here.

At the trial, the Azerbaijani nationalism was dropped (Article 63, Criminal Code, Azerbaijani S.S.R.), the charge of Ukrainian nationalism, retained.

The court (we quote the decision of the court) "determined that from the end of 1965 to 1973, Marchenko, V. V., residing in Kyiv, under the influence of nationalist convictions, which resulted from reading illegal anti-Soviet literature, listening to hostile broadcasts of Western radio stations and misinterpreting isolated issues of the nationalities policy of the Soviet State, with the intention of undermining and weakening Soviet rule . . ."

We quote no further, for it is abundantly clear that these simple, normal acts, the natural expressions of social existence, in no way fall under any of the articles of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian S.S.R., not to mention international conventions. But to force the Criminal Code to work for the KGB, the following formula is

arbitrarily invoked: "with the intention of undermining and weakening Soviet rule . . ." By applying this formula where it just will not fit, a talented linguist's love for the Ukrainian and Azerbaijanian languages was construed as a "serious crime against the state".

On the basis of these obviously demagogic charges, V. Marchenko was sentenced to 6 years imprisonment in a severe-regime corrective labour camp and 2 years in exile.

On September 19, 1974, Vasyl Fedorenko illegally crossed the border at the train station at Chop. The Czechoslovakian border guards arrested him and turned him over to Soviet authorities. In March of 1975, on the basis of Article 56 (treason, desertion to the enemy) and Article 52 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian S.S.R., the Uzhhorod Oblast court sentenced him to 15 years imprisonment, 5 years of which were to be served in the Vladimir Prison.

If we are to adhere to normal logic, then it follows from this inhuman sentence that the Czechoslovakian Socialist Republic is an enemy of the U.S.S.R. How else could V. Fedorenko have been charged with "desertion to the enemy"?

The point is that V. Fedorenko had earlier served a sentence for his nationalistic beliefs. That is why he was tried under Article 56 and not Article 75 (crossing the border without a valid passport or permit) which is punishable by 1 to 3 years imprisonment. They were not even ashamed to call Czechoslovakia an enemy state. But then, perhaps that is what the KGB thinks of Czechoslovakia.

In his final statement to the court, V. Fedorenko said:

Citizen judges: Is the independence of my thoughts so dangerous to your order? Can it be that my ideas, and only they, force you to try me on such an unbelievable charge as treason and to issue this brutal sentence?

Soon you will be celebrating the 30th anniversary of Victory. Then you feared neither cannon nor tanks — that was an army! Now you fear my convictions . . .

Only where the government does not fear its people and tells them the truth about its achievements as well as its failures can freedom and democracy exist . . . A nation whose government hides the truth from its people can be neither democratic nor free.

V. Fedorenko, in protest against this savage arbitrariness, announced an indefinite hunger strike. Existing on the brink of death, he has continued his protest for many months now.

We could cite dozens of examples where Ukrainian nationalism, real or imagined, leads to inhuman sentences. This clearly shows that it is not Soviet authority that conducts the trials (Soviet laws do not permit trials for nationalism protective of rights), but fanatical Great-Russian chauvinists. Power, not Law, rules.

4. After the Helsinki Conference.

When the European Conference was being prepared, a rumour began to circulate among the Ukrainian populace: there would soon be an amnesty. Children, now of school age, would be able to embrace their emaciated fathers, whom they had never seen as free men.

But these hopes were unfounded. The Helsinki Accords, just as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, ended up between the propaganda millstones, from where emerges the same old grist: bombastic proclamations that have nothing in common with reality.

We will say nothing about free contacts among people of various countries and continents. That is a luxury about which Ukrainians may not even dream. The main issue is that government agencies, which consider themselves Soviet, should adhere to their own laws.

Our Group could cite many examples of prison authorities forcing Ukrainian political prisoners and their families to speak only in Russian during a visit. No doubt this is explained by practical considerations: they want to monitor the conversation. But when you analyze it, this administrative measure takes on symbolic meaning: for the sake of the jailers' convenience, one is forced to renounce his greatest spiritual treasure — his native language.

Or, take for example, Article 6 of the Corrective Labour Code of the Ukrainian S.S.R., which states:

Persons sentenced to prison for the first time, who prior to their arrest lived or were sentenced within the Ukrainian S.S.R., are to serve their sentence, as a rule, within the Ukrainian S.S.R.

A perfectly natural question arises: How did those tens of thousands of Ukrainians end up in Mordovian camps, where, according to the testimony of M. Masyutko, they comprise close to 70 per cent of all prisoners? Has the situation changed totally, perhaps, since the Helsinki Conference? The Group has abundant evidence that no changes for the better have occurred in this matter.

Article 6 of the Corrective Labour Code of the Ukrainian S.S.R. recognizes exceptional cases, when, "for the sake of a more efficient rehabilitation" of Ukrainian prisoners it is permissible to send them to other republics. It is unclear what educational principles are involved here. One thing is known: in the past half century, more Ukrainians have died in Mordovia than Mordovians were born.

Our Group does not have at its disposal all of the information about Ukrainian political prisoners. We only have individual reports that we were able to gather. We list some of them:

Men's Zones in Mordovia Especially Severe Regime

(431120, Mordovian A.S.S.R., Zubovo-Polyansky rayon, Sosnovka,
ust. ZhKh 385/1-6)

NAME AND PATRONYMIC	Date of birth	Profession	Date of arrest	Length of camp term & exile	Date of expected release
HEL, Ivan Andriyovych	1936	student-historian	1972	10 & 5	12. 1. 87
MOROZ, Valentyn Yakovych	15. 4. 1936	historian	1970	9 & 5, of which 6 in prison	1. 6. 84
OSADCHY, Mykhaylo Hryhorovych	1936	writer	1972	7 & 3	12. 1. 82
KARAVANSKY, Svyatoslav Yosypovych	1920	poet-publicist	1965 (2nd time)	25 & 10	1978
SHUMUK, Danylo Lavrentiyovych	1914	writer	1972 (3rd time)	10 & 5	12. 1. 87
KURCHYK, Mykola Yakovych	1927	locksmith		28	1978
MURZHENKO, Oleksiy			1971	15	1986
REBRYK, Bohdan	1938		1970	7 & 3	1984
ROMANYUK, Vasyl Omelyanovych		priest	1972	10	1982
SHYNKARUK, Trokhym		poet	1970 (2nd time)	12	1982
YEVHRAFOV					

Strict regime

(Mordovian A.S.S.R., Tenhushivsky rayon, s. Barashevo,
ust. ZhKh 385/3-5)

CHORNOVIL, Vyacheslav Maksymovych	1937	journalist	1972	6 & 5	12. 1. 83
STUS, Vasyl Semenovych	1936	poet	1972	5 & 3	12. 1. 80

(Mordovian A.S.S.R., st. Potma, Lisne, ust. ZhKh 385/19)

ZHURAKIVSKY, Mykhaylo	1921		1953	25	1978
KRAVTSOV, Ihor Ivanovych		engineer	1927	5	1977
SEMENYUK, Roman	1927		1949	28	1977

Women's Zones in Mordovia
(431200, Mordovian A.S.S.R., Tenhushivsky rayon, s. Barashevo,
ust. ZhKh 385/3-4)

NAME AND PATRONYMIC	Date of birth	Profession	Date of arrest	Length of camp term & exile	Date of expected release
KALYNETS, Iryna Onufriyivna	1940	poet	1972	6 & 3	12. 1. 81
POPOVYCH, Oksana Zenonivna	1925		1973	8 & 5	1986
SENYK, Iryna Mykhaylivna	1926	nurse	1972	6 & 5	17. 11. 83
SHABATURA, Stefania Mykhaylivna	1938	artist-gobelin weaver	1972	5 & 3	12. 1. 80

Camp in the Perm Oblast
(618810, Perm Oblast, st. Vsesvyatska, VS 389/35)

KALYNETS, Ihor Myronovych	1940	poet	1972	6 & 3	1981
KOVALENKO, Ivan Yukhymovych	1914?	philologist	1972	5	12. 1. 77
MARCHENKO, Valery	1948?	philologist	June 1973	6 & 2	1981
PRONYUK, Yevhen Vasylyovych	193?	philosopher	1972	7 & 5	1984
SVITLYCHNY, Ivan Oleksiyovych	1929	philologist	1972	7 & 5	1984
SYMYCH, Myron	1917		1967	15 (2nd time)	1982
BESARAB, Dmytro			1953	25	1978
VERKHOLYAK, Dmytro			1955	25	1980
SHULYAK, Oleksa			1953	25	1978
PIDHORODETSKY, Vasyl			1954	28	1982
PRYSHLYAK, Yevhen			1952	25	1977
MAMCHUR, Stepan			1956	25	1981
KVETSKO, Dmytro			1967	15 & 5	1987
MOTRYUK, Mykola Mykolayovych	20. 2. 49			4	
SHOVKOVY, Ivan Vasylyovych	7. 7. 50	engineer		5	

NAME AND PATRONYMIC	Date of birth	Profession	Date of arrest	Length of camp term & exile	Date of expected release
DEMYDIV, Dmytro Illich	3. 11. 48			5	
MARMUS, Volodymyr V.	1949			6 & 5	
MARMUS, Mykola Vasylyovych	1947			5 & 3	

(Perm Oblast, Chusovsky r-n, s. Kuchyno, VS 389/37)

SVERSTYUK, Yevhen Oleksandrovych	1928	writer	1972	7 & 5	1984
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(Perm Oblast, Chusovsky r-n, VS 389/37)

BERNYCHUK, Anatoliy	1939		1970	12	1982
HRYNKIV, Dmytro Dmytrovych	11. 7. 48	poet	1973	7 & 5	1985
CHUPRIY, Roman Vasylyovych	1. 7. 48			4	
RIZNYKIV, Oleksa Serhiyovych	1938	poet	1971	5 1/2	1977
HYRCHAK, Hryhoriy Andriyevych	1930	artist	1952	25	1977
HUTSALO, Yuriy	1928			25	
STROTSYN, Pavlo	1928		1958	25	1983
SYNKIV, Volodymyr Yosafatovych	1954		1973	4 & 3	1980
KYSELYK, Vasyl	1927		1953	25	1978
HLYVA, Volodymyr			1949	28	1977
PALIYCHUK, Dmytro	1928			25	
KULAK, Onyfriy	1928			15	
YANKEVYCH, Stepan	1928			25	
FEDYUK, Vasyl	1925			15	

(618801, Perm Oblast, Chusovsky r-n, Polovynka, VS 389/37)

LISOVY, Vasyl Semenovych	1937	philosopher	1972	7 & 3	1982
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Vladimir Prison
(600020, Vladimir-20, ust. OD-I/st.-2)

NAME AND PATRONYMIC	Date of birth	Profession	Date of arrest	Length of camp term & exile	Date of expected release
ANTONYUK, Zinovi Pavlovych	1943	chemical engineer	12. 1. 72	7 & 3	1982
BONDAR, Mykola Vasylyovych	21. 11. 39	philosopher	7. 11. 71	7 & 3	1981
HAYDUK, Roman Vasylyovych				5 & 3	
ZDOROVY, Anatoliy Kuzmovych	1. 1. 38	Ph. D. in technical sciences	1973	7 & ?	
ROKYTSKY, Volodymyr Yulianovych	1930	publicist	12. 1. 72	5 & ?	
PRYKHODKO, Hryhoriy Andriyovych	1935	electronics engineer		5 & ?	
POPADYUK, Zoreslav Volodymyrovych		student at Lviv University			
SERHIYENKO, Oleksander Fedorovych	26. 7. 32	artist-restorer	13. 1. 72	7 & 3	1982
SAPELYAK, Stepan Yevstafiyovych	26. 2. 52	student		5 & 3	
TURYK, Andriy Markovych	14. 10. 27		1958	25	1983
BUDULAK-SHARYHYN, Mykola Oleksandrovych	22. 4. 26		20. 9. 68	10	1978
PEDAN, Leonid					
SHUKHEVYCH, Yuriy Romanovych	28. 3. 31	publicist	1973	10	1983
FEDORENKO, Vasyl Petrovych	30. 3. 28		16. 11. 75	15	1990

In Exile

NAME AND PATRONYMIC

ADDRESS

HORBAL, Mykola Andriyovych

Tomsk Oblast, Porabel, SU-16, vahon 16.

HANDZYUK, Volodymyr

636400, Tomsk Oblast, Chayinsky r-n, s. Pidhorne, Lermontova 34/4.

KAMPOV, Pavlo Fedorovych	636842, Tomsk Oblast, Pervomaysky r-n, s. Komsomolske, prov. Poshtovy 3, kv. 2.
KOTS, Mykola	Tomsk Oblast, s. Hehuldet, vul. Pushkina 48, kv. 2.
KRAVETS, Andriy	636500, Tomsk Oblast, Verkhnoketsky r-n, p/v Biliy Yar, selyshche Poludenovka.
PROKOPOVYCH, Hryhoriy Hryhorovych	Krasnoyarsky Kray, s. Kurahino, vul. Molodizhna 3-6.
HUBKA, Ivan Mykolayovych	663120, Krasnoyarsky Kray, Pyrovsk, vul. Koreneva 47.

The Group's goal is to continue to collect information about Ukrainian political prisoners. The information at hand, however, is quite sufficient to conclude that the "exception" mentioned in Article 6 of the Corrective Labour Code of the Ukrainian S.S.R. has become the norm. None of the abovementioned political prisoners is serving his judicial sentence in his homeland. For writing poems that were never made public, the talented poets Ihor Kalynets and his wife Iryna have been banished from Ukraine to the snows of Mordovia for nine years, to be subjected to KGB re-education "in the spirit of an honest attitude toward work" (Article 1, Corrective Labour Code of the Ukrainian S.S.R.). Where else but in the U.S.S.R. and China are poets thus "re-educated"?

On the other hand, Ukraine is well supplied with psychiatric hospitals.

By a decision of the Kyiv Oblast Court, Vasyl Ruban was placed in the Dnipropetrovsk special psychiatric hospital for a manuscript which had been confiscated from him, one with the expressive title "Ukraine — Communist and Independent". This topic has already been discussed in previous sections. For Ukrainian political prisoners, this manner of thinking is typical.

Anatoliy Lupynis was placed in a psychiatric hospital without any judicial proceedings. In 1971, he was taken for a "little treatment". They took him and "forgot" to release him. Lupynis was imprisoned from 1957 to 1967; he took part in a strike in the Mordovian Camp 385/7. For this he was placed in Vladimir Prison. He maintained an 8-month-long hunger strike, which left him an invalid. He was bound to a bed in a camp hospital for approximately two years until finally released in 1967. His family and friends assume that Lupynis is kept in a psychiatric hospital for reading poetry by the Taras Shevchenko monument on May 22, 1971.

Boris Kovhar was thrown into the Dnipropetrovsk special psychiatric hospital for refusing to work for the KGB. Our Group has at its disposal conclusive evidence to prove this.

Mykola Plakhotnyuk, a physician, was kept in the Dnipropetrovsk special psychiatric hospital from January 12, 1972, to August 1976, when he was transferred to a similar hospital in Kazan.

Below we list individual incidents of serious violations of Human Rights that have occurred in the last few months.

Mykhaylo Kovtunenکو, a Kyiv physician, was arrested in September 1976 for refusing to work for the KGB. As with Kovhar, the Group has considerable evidence to prove this. He was accused of bribery, as in the noted case of the physician M. Shtern of Vinnytsya.

Recent information indicates that M. Kovtunenکو was transferred without trial to a psychiatric hospital in Kyiv. Should world opinion remain silent, he too will be "forgotten", as were Kovhar and Lupynis.

On November 2, 1976, Yosyp Terelya was thrown into the psychiatric hospital in Vinnytsya. Terelya has spent 14 of the 33 years of his life in camps, prisons and special psychiatric hospitals for his religious and nationalistic convictions. Freed in April 1976, he was pronounced perfectly healthy and even subject to military service. In fact, he had become an invalid; during torture his spine had been injured. He worked as a cabinetmaker in a regional hospital. From there he was taken by ambulance to an insane asylum.

Y. Terelya is an aspiring poet. He was never given the opportunity to study, but the emotions he expresses in his poems could not be suppressed. For his uncompromising nationalistic and religious feelings, expressed in large part in his poetry, Terelya has sacrificed almost half of his life in camps, Vladimir Prison and special psychiatric hospitals. From the Vinnytsya psychiatric hospital Terelya writes:

Today, on the 10th, I received my first injection, though I did not request it. But when people want to do "good" for their neighbour, they sometimes permit themselves the impermissible (that is, the amoral, the unconscionable). The reaction has begun — how wonderful; I feel a great deal of acidity.

The room holds almost 40 various sick persons. I was placed among the violent, with a few fevered alcoholics tossed in, who scream every night as if wounded. Outdoor exercise is not permitted — fresh air is forbidden! The same goes for any contacts, even the orderlies are warned not to speak to me. "No exchanges". The food is horrendous, almost like the prison swill, and there are days when you wonder where you are.

The KGB, it appears, had planned to have me killed by someone else's hand. As far as I am concerned, Psychiatry and the Police are like siblings, serving the almost legendary KGB in order to show their better side, lest, heaven forbid, they get a "mark". With this in mind Police Captain Tymoshchuk summoned me and began to blackmail me, threatening me with jail

for "parasitism", for not working, although he knew very well that I had a job and that I have a job now.⁴

Among the gross violations of Human Rights, which have not abated since Helsinki, are the "camp trials" — a method borrowed from Beria's version of jurisprudence. The "trial" is held without witnesses, without counsel and often without a representative of the local authorities, who should supervise. A typical "troika" from Stalinist times. With the aid of such "troikas", the camp administration maintains its zone in fear and submission and transfers the more active prisoners, who demand the status of political prisoners, to the harsh treatment in Vladimir Prison. That is how they pacified Zone 36 by transferring Krasnyak, Vudka, Serhiyenko and others to prison. Of the 14 Ukrainian political prisoners in Vladimir, 12 were sent there by "camp courts", most of them for 3 years.

Finally, a summation is in order. It is far from encouraging. More than a year has gone by since Helsinki and the Accords have not brought the Ukrainian people any improvement. New prisons are being built and the ranks of the KGB continue to grow. Today, every establishment has its own KGB curator. Monitoring of telephone conversations, of private mail, microphones in ceilings, planned "hooligan" muggings of Human Rights activists — all of these have become a matter of daily life. And there is no one to complain to.

True, there are fewer politically motivated arrests than in 1972, but all those considered "unreliable" lose their professional positions. The ranks of guards, engine stokers and common labourers are filled by writers, lawyers and philologists. Psychiatric hospitals are still used as institutions for "re-educating" those who think differently. False accusations, such as bribe taking, are made in order to hide political motives. Refusal to cooperate with the KGB, that is, to be an informer, brings sadistic, vicious reprisals, while informers are rewarded with automatic promotions.

All aspects of life today are controlled by the KGB, from the employee's bed beneath the ceiling microphones (often unconcealed!), to the writer's study. For example, Mykola Rudenko summoned the KGB to remove microphones from his ceiling. Later, the KGB decided to place an informer by Rudenko, choosing Dr. Mykhaylo Kovtunenکو for this ignominious role. When Kovtunenکو refused, he was immediately arrested for "accepting bribes".

Another example: After an illegal search, former political prisoner Oleksiy Tykhy was arrested on suspicion of robbing a store. A guard then began to beat him. When Tykhy protested to KGB Lt. Col. Melnyk, V. S., the latter responded with brutal obscenities and shouted, "And who do you think you are?"

Actually, this detention was necessary for the KGB to confiscate

⁴ November 30, Y. Terelya was released from the psychiatric hospital (Ukrainian Public Group).

Tykhyy's manuscripts. In two days, he was released, but his manuscripts were not returned.

In the meantime, former political prisoners are returning unbroken, hardened, and determined to continue the struggle for Human Rights. It is enough to examine the membership of our Group to be convinced of that. This is a new, strange social phenomenon, for which the authorities are not prepared. It appears that prisons, camps, and psychiatric hospitals cannot serve as dams against a movement in defence of justice. On the contrary, they temper cadres of unyielding fighters for freedom. And the KGB can no longer make sure that political prisoners will never return.

If world opinion does not lessen its moral support, if the Western news media focus more attention to the struggle for Human Rights in the U.S.S.R., then the coming decade will bring great democratic changes in our country.

Since the collapse of feudalism, the individual has become an active element in the formulation of government policy; in other words, a Ward of the Law. This means that if there is a single individual that does not think as does the rest of society, the law must protect this individual's convictions. Otherwise the Aristotles, Copernicuses, Einsteins and Marxes would never see the light of day, for they would always be thrown into psychiatric hospitals and concentration camps.

There is but one civilization — this is clearly seen from space. The sun's rays know no earthly boundaries. Man is formed from the rays of the sun; he is a child of the sun. Who has the right to restrain his thought, which strives for infinity? For the sake of life on earth, for the sake of our grandchildren and their children, we say: enough! And our call is echoed in the Declaration of Human Rights and the Helsinki Accords, which were ratified also by the Soviet Government.

OLES BERDNYK

PETRO HRYHORENKO (Pyotr Grigorenko)

IVAN KANDYBA

LEVKO LUKYANENKO

OKSANA MESHKO

MYKOLA MATUSEVYCH

MYROSLAV MARYNOVYCH

MYKOLA RUDENKO (Group Leader)

NINA STROKATA

OLEKSIY TYKHYY

November-December 1976

*A signed copy is retained by the Group.
6. 12. 1976 (signed) Mykola Rudenko*

Nicholas L. Fr. CHIROVSKY

The Contribution of the Shevchenko Scientific Society to American Scholarship

I. INTRODUCTION

In order to give an approximately complete and coherent presentation of the contribution of the Shevchenko Scientific Society to the American learning on the occasion of the American bicentennial, it seems to be necessary to indulge briefly on the historical development of that scholarly institution.

Initially the Sh.S.S. was organized as a Shevchenko Society (Tovarystvo im. Shevchenka) in Lviv, the capital city of Western Ukraine, in 1873, then under Austro-Hungarian domination. In 1892, it was reorganized under the leadership of Mykhailo Hrushevsky, the most prominent Ukrainian historian, when it was given its present name and made a real institution of learning.

It should be pointed out that the Sh.S.S., from its very beginning, based all its scholarly work on private financial contributions. Only patriotic Ukrainians, at the beginning largely from the Dnipro Ukraine under Russian Tsarist rule, financially supported the Society. Also, from its very beginning, the Sh.S.S. encountered the resentment and hostile attitude of the St. Petersburg regime, which at about that time promulgated the notorious Ems edict, prohibiting public use of the Ukrainian language and the printing and marketing of books in Ukrainian. A little later, Valuyev, a tsarist minister declared authoritatively that "there existed no Ukrainian language in the past, there is not any at present, and there will not be any in future". At that time the Russian political machinery was obsessed, with the idea of completely annihilating the Ukrainian Independence Movement in cultural, social, and political respects. The Shevchenko Scientific Society, the leading motive of which was to prove scientifically the independent and separate existence of the Ukrainian nationality and of its national history, language, literature, arts and other forms of culture, naturally irked the Russian regime, the ultimate goals of which were completely different, considering that Ukraine and the Ukrainians were only a branch of the one and allcomprehensive Russian nation. For this very reason, the Sh.S.S. was established in Lviv, Western Ukraine, under Austrian-Hungarian

domination, where the government was more liberal and tolerant than the Russian one. Of course, in Western Ukraine, where many Polish people live also, the Society had also to face their politically motivated opposition, which, however, did not prevent the Society's scholarly activities.

After the First World War, Western Ukraine was incorporated into the Polish Republic as a result of the decision of the so-called Council of Ambassadors in 1923. The Shevchenko Scientific Society continued its learning activities, solely subsidized by private financial funds.

Meanwhile the Sh.S.S. acquired its own premises, established its own printing shop, bookbindery, organized a library, archives, a museum and a book-store and indulged in research and studies, mainly in the fields of Ukrainian history and culture while being joined by scholars and their scholarly activities in various other disciplines.

Originally, the Society consisted of three sections, the section of history and philosophy, that of philology and the section of mathematics and natural and medical sciences, which were charged with studies in the respective fields. The leading publication of the Society has been *Zapysky Naukovoho T-va im. Shevchenka (Memoirs of the Sh.S.S.)*.

The Second World War and the occupation of Western Ukraine by the Soviet Union, dominated by the spirit of extreme Russian nationalism and chauvinism, terminated the scholarly activities of the Sh.S.S. Its organizational structure and work were revived by Ukrainian scholars who escaped because of the expansion of the USSR to the West, in Munich, West Germany, in 1947. There the Society continued its work until the end of 1949, the "Great Exodus" of Ukrainians to other continents following the Soviet-Russian occupation and incorporation of their fatherland.¹

II. SHEVCHENKO SCIENTIFIC SOCIETY ON THE AMERICAN CONTINENT PRIOR TO 1950

The Shevchenko Scientific Society was well known in America prior to 1950, when a large number of Ukrainian immigrants came to this country due to the unfavourable development in their homeland resulting from the European outcome of the Second World War. Of course it was well known in scholarly circles.

Its *Zapysky (Memoirs)*, the Society's leading publication, over the years having amounted to many volumes, as well as its other publications, were acquired by leading libraries (Congressional Library, New York Library on 42-nd St., Columbia University Library, and many others) in this country and were made available to students of

¹) W. Lev, *A Century of Dedicated Work, A Brief History of the Shevchenko Scientific Society*, New York, 1973.

East European Affairs. Some members of the Sh.S.S. in the U.S.A. contributed already at that time to American scholarship, like Alexander Sushko, Vasyl Halychyn, Luka Myshuha, Vasyl Timoshenko, Clarence Manning and Alexander Granovsky, to mention only a few. Alexander Sushko, a historian, published works about Alexander the Great, Darius of Persia and others. Vasyl Halychyn published articles in various journals about the Ukrainian immigrants and the Ukrainian Americans. Luka Myshuha also acquainted the American public with the contributions of Ukrainian immigrants to American life. He also wrote and published about the tragic man-made famine in Ukraine 1932-1933, of which the Americans actually had a distorted picture because of Soviet Russian propaganda. Vasyl Timoshenko was a well known economist, recognized as an authority. His works on East-European agricultural problems were referred to by American students of Eastern Europe. Clarence Manning, of Columbia University, published extensive works on Ukrainian history and literature. Alexander Granovsky, professor at various universities (Minnesota, Wisconsin) published many works in his field of specialization and wrote articles on general topics and poetry. Oscar Halecki, an eminent American historian of Polish descent, was also a member of the Sh.S.S.; the world famous scientists Albert Einstein and Waxman also joined the Shevchenko Scientific Society, when its seat was still in Lviv, Western Ukraine.

The Soviet Russians stopped by force the scholarly activities of the Society in Ukraine, and due to the fact that in 1949-1950 the main body of Ukrainian intellectuals left Germany and went to various continents and countries searching for new homelands, the Shevchenko Scientific Society, re-established in Munich, Germany, had to be reorganized. The reorganization was accomplished in 1950. Already in 1948, N. Chubaty set up a branch of the Society in New York, N.Y. landmarking a new period of the Society in America, but its activities gained real momentum with the creation of four separate Shevchenko Scientific Societies, in the U.S. (New York), Canada (Toronto), Australia (Sydney) and Europe (Sarcelles, France). These four Societies formed a federation, the work of which has been guided by their general council, constituted by the representation of each separate unit.²

III. SHEVCHENKO SCIENTIFIC SOCIETY IN AMERICA

The Shevchenko Scientific Society in the US (*Naukove Tovarystvo im. Shevchenka v ZSA*) was established in 1950 to continue the tradition brought from Ukraine, and has its seat at 302-304 W. 13th St., New York, N.Y. 10014 in its own building, where the offices, conference rooms, library and archives are located.

The first president of the Sh.S.S. in the U.S., was a very prominent Ukrainian-American historian of the Ukrainian Church and Ukrai-

²) Ibid., pp. 37-47.

nian Jurisprudence, Nicholas Chubaty, who published extensively in Ukrainian, English and German, and who was, for many years, editor-in-chief of *The Ukrainian Quarterly*, published by the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America. He taught in several American colleges and made his mission in life the spreading of scholarly knowledge of Ukraine in the English speaking world. His main publications are *A History of Ukrainian Law, Western Ukraine and Rome in the Thirteenth Century*, and *History of Christianity in Rus'-Ukraine*. He also published hundreds of articles.³

The second president was Roman Smal-Stocky, professor of Marquette University, Milwaukee, and the Catholic University of America, Washington. He was a linguist, who published extensively in Ukrainian linguistics and exposed the Soviet language policy of liquidating the independent Ukrainian and Byeloruthenian tongues and spreading the Russian language as the only one to be used in the USSR. Among his leading publications are *The Nationality Problem of the Soviet Union and Russian Communist Imperialism*; *The Captive Nations: Nationalism of the Non-Russian Nations In The Soviet Union*; *Russian and Communist Imperialism in Action*; and *the Ukrainian Language in the Soviet Ukraine*, besides many other works, essays and articles.⁴

Mitvii Stakhiv, professor of the Free Ukrainian University in the fields of law and political science, was the third president of the Sh.S.S. in the U.S. His publications include among others, *Western Ukraine*; *Ukraine and the European Turmoil 1917-1919*; *Sociology, Ukraine and Russia*, and numerous essays and articles on the political, social and historical developments in East Europe, all attempting to present the Ukraine in a proper perspective, not distorted by the pro-Russian interpretation.⁵

Osyp Andrushkiv was elected fourth president of the Society. Andrushkiv was professor of mathematics at Seton Hall University, South Orange, N.J., and of the Ukrainian Free University. He published many articles in various professional mathematical journals, attended many international mathematical congresses (Stockholm, Rome, Vancouver), always stressing his Ukrainian descent and being proud of the Ukrainian contribution to international scholarship. His article on discrimination against Ukraine in the USSR in the domain of mathematical and pure sciences (the Ukrainian language being rarely admitted in scholarly circles and no journal being published in Ukrainian in these fields),⁶ was also interesting from the political point of view.

³) *Zapysky Naukovoho Tovarystva im Shevchenka*, Vol. 169, *Zbirnyk na Poshanu Z. Kuzeli*, Sarcelles-Chicago, 1962, p. 573-574.

⁴) *Ibid.*, p. 572.

⁵) M. Stachiv, N. Chirovsky and P. Stercho, *Ukraine and the European Turmoil 1917-1919*, New York, 1973, pp. 414-416.

⁶) Marquis, *Who is Who?*, 1976, p. 80.

The Shevchenko Scientific Society in the U.S. operates through five sections of learning: 1. The section of history and philosophy with its headquarters in Sarcelles, France; 2. the section of philology; 3. the section of mathematics and physics, 4. the section of chemistry, biology and medicine and 5. the section of Ukrainian history, all with their seats in New York City. There are branches of the Sh.S.S. in the U.S. in Chicago, Philadelphia and Cleveland. Some 350 scholars have joined the society: 100 full members, 17 corresponding members, 223 regular members and 19 supporting members.

Since 1950, the Sh.S.S. in the U.S. has published over 20 volumes of *Zapysky (Memoirs or Proceedings)*, 33 volumes in the field of Ukrainian studies, 7 volumes of archival materials, 14 volumes of separate proceedings of individual sections and commissions, 14 volumes of special scholarly works, 5 volumes of the library of Ukrainian literature, 40 volumes of "Papers" 20 bulletins, 2 short works about the Society and 7 other volumes.

While the sections represent the main organizational structure of the scholarly work in the framework of the Sh.S.S. in the U.S., there are also several special commissions and institutes which have inter-sectional membership and coverage, such as the Commission of Law and Social Sciences, the Commission of Arts, the Commission of Music, the Ukrainian Military-Historical Institute, the Commission of Linguistics, the Bibliographical Commission, the Commission of Regional Studies and Regional Publications and some others.

In 1973 the Society celebrated its centennial, and the Sh.S.S. in the U.S. celebrated its silver anniversary (25 years of existence) in 1975.⁷

While the organizational structure was considerably altered in the course of those 103 years of its existence, the main trends of the scholarly work and scholarly activities of the Sh.S.S., did not change at all. It has remained faithful over the many decades to its fundamental responsibility to present to the world the cause of Ukraine in a truthful and strictly scholarly manner.

IV. THE SOCIETY'S ACTIVITY AND THE CIRCUMSTANCES UNDER WHICH IT HAS BEEN CONDUCTED

Ukraine and its people lost their political independence long ago and could not regain it permanently for various reasons. The Russians had conquered Ukraine and subsequently took over her original name of "Rus", her early history, tradition and culture, and finally denied her right to consider herself a separate nation, declaring that Ukraine was a component part of one great Russia. Using political

⁷ *Congress of Ukrainian Scholars on the Centennial of Shevchenko Scientific Society*, New York — Paris — Sydney — Toronto, 1973.

pressure, tendentious scholarship and outright propaganda, the Russians attempted to turn the Ukrainians into a branch of the Russian people, supposedly composed of three parts: "Great" Russians, "Little" Russians and Byelorussians. As a result of this Russian approach, the identity of the Ukrainian people, their historical beginning, their national language and culture were denied; the tendency to consider East Europe as a political, ethnic, cultural and economic unit was imposed on the world opinion. Starting with Peter the First, the Tsarist government employed all possible and available measures to influence world opinion in the Russian way. The Ukrainians, as a politically subjugated nation were not able to employ equally powerful measures to defend themselves against the Russian political and "scholarly" insinuations. The Western world soon adopted the Russian point of view, because of the Russian political might and enormous Russian "scholarly" offensive. Polish politics and scholarship substantially assisted the Russians in that respect.

The Shevchenko Scientific Society assumed from its very beginning the responsibility to defend the historical Ukrainian truth in an objective and scholarly manner, and to give to the outside world scientific proof that the Ukrainians have always been a separate people and national entity; that Kyivan Rus' of the ninth to the fourteenth centuries represented the Ukrainian and not Muscovite-Russian historical beginnings; that the Ukrainian language has always been a separate national tongue and not simply a Russian dialect; that Ukrainian culture has always been part of Western civilization, while the Russian culture was oriental and opposed to the West; that Eastern Europe has never been an ethnical and cultural monolythic unit, but rather heterogeneous ethnically, culturally and socially, that Ukraine could very well exist and develop as an independent nation and that she does not need any protection and domination by Russia.

Ukrainian and Ukrainian-American scholars, having assumed the responsibility to prove all these issues scientifically, thought that in this way they would serve the cause of Ukraine, as well as America, presenting her with a correct and true picture of East European developments, not distorted by Russian imperialist tendencies in politics, culture, and scholarship. That particular responsibility has remained with the members of the Shevchenko Scientific Society over ten decades.

However, their scholarly task was not easy at all. There were many obstacles to overcome. First of all, the powerful Tsarist and then Soviet Russian political and scholarly offensive had for many decades influenced Western scholarship such that it finally accepted completely the Russian interpretation of East European developments and affairs, without asking further questions. Thus, Western scholars, due to their complete pro-Russian infatuation, largely considered them partial, tendentious, of poor scholarship, and nationalistically motivated, and that pro-Russian infatuation was subsequently

reinforced by pro-Soviet tendencies in the West, and, in particular, among the so-called liberal scholars in Western Europe and America. These scholars considered the Soviet Union a progressive country, deserving admiration and praise, and accepted at face value whatever came from there, including Soviet scholarship, though permeated by Marxism and Russian chauvinism. Since the Ukrainians opposed and exposed Russian Marxist prejudices which might compromise the Western illusion about the Soviet Russians, Soviet Communism and "progressivism", Western ultra-liberal scholars scorned the Ukrainian-American scholars on all accounts as unobjective "emigré" groups.

There is no doubt, that in America the so-called "vast-space" political concept, i.e. thinking in terms of large political complexes, such as the United States, the Soviet Union or the People's Republic of China, was still very popular. According to this concept the era of relatively small national states was over, and had been replaced by an era of large political federations and blocs. Therefore those who champion the cause of an independent Ukraine or her separate political existence are branded as "separatists" and treated with hostility. This also prejudiced Ukrainian-American scholars who exposed in their writings the Soviet Russian bias.

Several declaration made by Mr. Kissinger and his assistant, Sonnenfeldt, from the Department of State, in favour of the Soviet Union and scorning the captive and satellite nations, who for a long time attempted to oppose the Soviet Russian domination and their imminent annihilation, can be cited as examples of that faulty American "vast-space" political concept.⁸

The fear of a nuclear war was at the bottom of those rather immoral and irresponsible declarations and appeasement policies toward the USSR. Yet, Kissinger's and Sonnenfeldt's views, ready to deliver the East-European nations to the mercy of Soviet-Russian imperialism, are unfortunately shared by many scholars, in particular liberal ones. Consequently, they fervently oppose the findings of Ukrainian and Ukrainian-American scholars, who in fact suggest the disintegration of the USSR, and in the opinion of the former just contribute to the threat of a nuclear encounter. Hence the liberals use all means to discredit Ukrainian scholarship as "emigré" though there is no objective scholarship in such an approach at all.

In the following a few examples of such a tendentious attitude toward the cause of Ukraine by some Western scholars, who claim to be scientifically objective, are cited.

In the first half of the 1950's, Hughes of Harvard University wrote a work on the demography of the USSR pointing out that the Soviet Russian government has difficulties with the Ukrainians who, like the gypsies, do not like to stay in one place, but constantly move

⁸) Solzhenitsyn on Détente; "The West Gives Everything Away", US News and World Report, March 15, 1976, p. 23.

around the entire Soviet Union. In fact, the Soviet Russian government indulged in a mass deportation programme of Ukrainians to Siberia, Kazakhstan and the Far East to break the backbone of the Ukrainian resistance and national independence movement.

In 1968, Inkeles of Harvard University published a book on *Social Changes In Soviet Russia* praising the progress there toward growing social mindedness. In fact, he forgot to point out the inhuman conditions in Soviet concentration camps, prisons and psychiatric institutions, where political dissidents are detained. Those conditions have been described so strikingly in Solzhenitsyn's *Archipelago*'.

Whichever works of Ukrainian-American authors, members of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, run counter to the established pro-Russian interpretation, liberal scholars give them unfavourable reviews. George Shevelov of Columbia University wrote a significant book on Slavic linguistics in the sixties which was given bad reviews. Nicholas Chubaty published a comprehensive work on the history of Christianity in Rus'-Ukraine, Vol. I, which also received unfavourable reviews. Matvii Stachiv (with Chirovsky's and Stercho's co-authorship) published a two-volume work on Ukraine amidst the European turmoil. The reviews on this book were highly unfavourable. Lev Dobriansky published extensively on the Soviet Union and received negative reviews. Nicholas Chirovsky wrote on the History of Russia, pointing out that the historical beginnings of Muscovite-Russia should be sought in the North-Eastern corner of Europe, and not in Ukraine. He was given negative reviews.⁹

Yet, the ice of the pro-Russian interpretation of East-European affairs has been cracked by Ukrainian-American scholars to some extent in favour of an objective and true approach to the developments in that part of the world. This may be the most significant contribution of Ukrainian and American-Ukrainian scholars, largely organized in the framework of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, to American scholarship, as suggested by the very topic of this essay.

V. MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY AND THEIR WORKS

(The Section Of History And Philology, The Section Of Ukrainian History And The Section Of Philology)

It would be impossible to give proper credit to every member of the Sh.S.S. in the U.S. for his contribution to American scholarship, within the scope of this, rather brief, account. The account of the contributions should be therefore limited to an attempt to illustrate

⁹) Nicholas Chubaty, *Kievan Christianity Misinterpreted; Response to Reviewers*, New York-Munich, reprint from *The Ukrainian Historian*, Vol. IX, 1972, Nos. 3-4; Review of *Social Change in Soviet Russia*, by N. Chirovsky, *The Ukrainian Quarterly*, Autumn, 1971, pp. 307-309; Review of *Ukraine and the European Turmoil*, by A. Adams, in *Slavic Review*, Sept. 1975, Vol. 34, No. 3, pp. 623-624.

the multilateral interests of those scholars and their over-all weight in American scholarly circles only. Being mentioned or not mentioned in this paper should not be considered as any attempt to rank or to classify those members of the Society according to their individual merits or achievements at all.

Hundreds of Ukrainian scholars have been teaching in American universities and colleges in various areas, such as history, philology, sociology, social sciences, political sciences, economics, business, law, physics, chemistry, mathematics, biology, engineering and many other fields. Their contribution to the American educational process is unquestionable. They publish books and articles, sometimes in the most prestigious journals. It seems that it would be most expedient to analyze briefly their contributions along with the five sections, in the framework of which the scholarly activities of the members of the Sh.S.S. in the U.S. have been conducted

In the section of history and philosophy and in the most recent one, the section of Ukrainian history, certainly several names have become particularly notable: Nicholas Chubaty, Alexander Ohloblyn, Natalia Polonska-Vasylenko, Nicholas Andrusiak, Stephan Horak, Matvii Stakhiv, Lev Shankovsky, Hryhor Lyzhnytsky and Omelian Pritsak.

Nicholas Chubaty was mentioned before as the first president of the Shevchenko Scientific Society in the U.S. The Soviet sources called him the founder of the studies of the history of Ukrainian law and legal institutions. He was also an outstanding historian of the Ukrainian Churches. His works certainly enriched the knowledge about Ukraine in America.

Alexander Ohloblyn acquired fame already prior to World War II in the USSR as a profound student and researcher of the history of the Ukrainian economy. His next important contribution was in the field of history of the Ukrainian Cossack State. His work *Hetman Ivan Mazepa and His Era*, was published in New York, 1960. For two years he was a visiting professor at Harvard University. Ohloblyn straightened out many important details of Ukrainian history,

Nicholas Andrusiak, one of the leading Ukrainian-American historians, published extensively on the early history of East Europe (Ukraine), and in particular in the area of the history of Ukrainian Cossacks and the Cossack State (*History of Cossack, 1946*).

Natalia Polonska-Vasylenko contributed only indirectly to American scholarship. She lived and worked in Germany after the Second World War. Some works of hers on the history of early and Cossack Ukraine were translated into English while also some of her articles and essays were published in English. Her *History of Ukraine* (1972) is perhaps her most outstanding contribution.

Matvii Stakhiv was also referred to earlier as the third president of the Sh.S.S. in the U.S. As it was pointed out, he concentrated his research and publications on the recent history of Ukraine and Soviet Russian aggression in Ukraine; furthermore, he wrote about Ukrai-

nian-Jewish relations, a topic which has frequently been distorted by authors who are hostile to Ukraine.

Lev Okinshevich, of Byelorussian descent, occupied a distinguished place in the field of the history of legal and social institutions in Ukraine. He published, among others, a volume on the constitution of the Cossack State (1946) and *The Nobility of the Ukrainian Hetman State Of The Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (1948).

Lev Shankovsky for years studied and researched the Ukrainian struggle for political independence during the first and second World Wars, which was presented as a direct banditry by Soviet Russian and Polish-Communist authors. Some foreign writers tended to accept the Societ Russian interpretation.

Hryhor Luzhnytsky contributed to the history of the Ukrainian Church. His most important work in this field was *The Ukrainian Church Between the East and West* (1954). He also wrote in the field of the history of Ukrainian theatrical arts.

Stephan Horak of South Illinois University is probably the most notable Ukrainian-American historian of the younger generation. He placed some of his articles with prestigious American historical journals which were essentially pro-Russian in their historiosophical orientation. *Poland and Her National Minorities 1919-1939* (1961), and *The Historical Path of Russia To Bolshevism* (1956) are among his leading publications.¹⁰

Omelian Pritsak of Harvard University, originally an orientalist, in recent years centred his interests on Ukrainian history, chaired the Mykhailo Hrushevsky chair of Ukrainian studies at Harvard. Pritsak studied the *Song On Ihor's Regiment*, the ancient Ukrainian literary masterpiece and the impact of steppes upon early Ukrainian history.

Among other historians who limited their interests strictly to East Europe are Franko Korchmaryk, Nicholas Chirovsky and Peter Stercho.

Franko Korchmaryk researched the cultural influences of Ukraine on Muscovy-Russia. He authored several works, among them *The Spiritual Impact Of Kyiv Upon Muscovy In The Era of Hetman Ukraine* (1964) and *The Kyivan Academy* (1976). Chirovsky and Stercho shared their interests between history and economics of East Europe. Chirovsky introduced into American history writing the so-called Hrushevsky system of East-European history, locating the beginnings of Muscovite Russia in the Oka and Volga watershed region and not in the Kyivan-Ukrainian region and tracing the histories of three East-European nationalities, the Russians, Ukrainians and Byelorussians quite separately and independently of each other,

¹⁰ S. Horak, *Vklad NTSH v Ukrainsku Istoriohrafyiu*, a paper delivered at the Centennial Congress of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, New York, Nov. 1973. A great deal of data, given there by S. Horak, have been used in this paper.

and not as having originated from one common ethnic and political root; that presentation of the history of East-European nationalities has been contrary to the Russian-Tsarist and Russian-Soviet approaches which have been definitely politically motivated. Chirovsky's leading publications in that respect are *Old Ukraine* (1963) and *A History Of The Russian Empire* (1973). As an economic historian, he attempted to prove in his writings (*The Ukrainian Economy — 1965*) the colonial exploitation of Ukraine by Muscovy-Russia. Peter Stercho researched and published on Carpathian Ukraine, *Diplomacy of Double Morality* (1971), and articles.

Rev. Isydore Nahayevsky worked and published in the fields of Ukrainian history and the history of the Popes (*History of Ukraine*, 1974; *A History of the Roman Popes*, 1967). Also V. Lentyk was engaged in research on Ukrainian church history and published in 1966 the work entitled *The Eastern Catholic Church and Czar Nicholas I*. Volodymyr Trembitsky of Jersey City State College specialized in the Ukrainian diplomatic history and published several essays in this field. Volodymyr Stoyko contributed to *Ukrainian Revolution*, Harvard series, and *Nationalities Papers*, writing about Ukrainian national aspirations and the Russian provisional government. He specialized in modern Ukrainian history. Taras Hunohak edited two important volumes, i.e. *Russian Imperialism From Ivan The Great To The Revolution* (1974) and *Ukrainian Revolution*, Harvard Series, (1977), Russian imperialism and modern Ukraine being his chief interests.

A prolific writer in the field of Ukrainian history is Peter Mirchuk, a prominent newspaperman. Among his publications on historical and political-scientific themes are *The Ukrainian Insurgent Army* (1963), *An Outline Of The History Of The OUN* (1968), and *Koliivshchyna* (1973).

Theodor Matskiv spent his life in research on the Mazepa era in Ukraine and, in 1967, published *Prince Mazepa, Hetman of Ukraine In Contemporary English Publications*. Lubomir Vynar, a student of two outstanding historians, Ohloblyn and Polonska-Vasylenko, researched and published in the area of early Ukrainian painting and bibliography. He is also editor of the Ukrainian historical journal in America, *The Ukrainian Historian*, which has been published by the Ukrainian historical society for one decade.

Ihor Kamenetsky, who painstakingly studied Hitler's policies in Ukraine excelled in the field of political science, dismissing in his publications some faulty assumptions to that point in the West. His leading works included *Hitler's Occupation Of Ukraine, 1941-1944* (1956) and *German Lebensraum Policy In Eastern Europe During World War II* (1957).¹¹ Vasyl Markus and Ivan Lysiak-Rudnytsky

¹¹) Ibid., on political scientists.

became prominent by their works in the area of political science and history.

Furthermore, in the area of political science Vasyl Mudryj, Ivan Kedryn-Rudnytsky and Nicholas Shlemkevych should be mentioned as eyewitnesses of the political developments in Ukraine between the two World Wars, who wrote about them and analysed them, attempting to draw certain conclusions; Kedryn-Rudnytsky authored *Peace At Brest* (1928), *The Causes of Poland's Downfall* (1940) and numerous articles on these subjects. Paul Shtepa, Augustine Shtepan and Vincent Shandor complete the list. Among other works, Shtepa published *Muscovism* (1968), *A Ukrainian And A Muscovite* (1959). Shtepan published *From Carpatho-Ruthenia To Carpatho-Ukraine* (1954), and Shandor — *Carpathian Ukraine; A Federative State* (1968).

Mykhailo Sosnovsky became known among authors in the area of political science, especially by his work, *Dmytro Dontsov, A Political Portrait* (1974) and numerous articles on political themes in various Ukrainian-American and Ukrainian-Canadian papers. He was also one of the leading Ukrainian newspapermen, along with Antin Dragan, editor of the ethnic newspaper in the United States *Svoboda* (in Ukrainian), and also with Volodymyr Dushnyk, editor of *The Ukrainian Quarterly*, a journal on East European affairs (in English), and author of many interesting articles.

Pavlo Shandruk and Zenon Stefaniv contributed to the military history of Ukraine by their numerous articles and essays. Shandruk published a book about military affairs in Ukraine during the Second World War: *Arms of Valour* (1959).

The history of the Ukrainian churches, along with Chubaty, Luzhnytsky and Lentsyk, has been further elaborated by such scholars as Rev. Inney Nazarko, Bohdan Botsiurvkiv and Rev. Meletii Voynar. Rev. Meletii Voynar of the Catholic University of America worked in the areas of canon law (of Eastern Churches, in particular) and the history of monastic life in Ukraine. Rev. V. Pekar published *A Survey of the History of the Transcarpathian Church* (1967), while Rev. Mykhailo Wavryk published works on the monastic life in Ukraine, such as *In the Basilian Monasteries* (1958).

The science of jurisprudence and the history of Ukrainian law were developed on the American soil by Yaroslav Padokh, who researched Ukrainian criminal law; Yurii Fedynsky of Indiana University worked on Ukrainian and Soviet constitutional law; Alexander Sokolyshyn, who divided his interest between jurisprudence and bibliographic studies; and Ivan Novosivsky studied Rumanian Law and the Ukrainian legal institutions in the region of Bukovyna. Also, Vincent Shandor should be mentioned in this connection.

Mykhailo Kushnir, a philosopher, author, artist and publicist, acquired fame by his books and articles dealing with philosophical issues, such as *The Greatness of Arts and the Cultural Rebirth* (1968),

The Meaning Of The Object (1929) and *The Problem Of The Serenity In Modern Arts* (1951). He published numerous articles in Ukrainian, Polish, German and French as well.

The Ukrainian-American economists largely contributed to the studies of East-European economic problems and the Tsarist and Soviet-Russian regime. Various aspects of the colonial exploitation of Ukraine, Siberia, the Far East and other non-Russian lands in the USSR were analysed and evaluated, and the prospects of economic and commercial relations between East and West were critically elaborated. Some of those economists have been members of the Sh.S.S. in the U.S. and some have joined the Ukrainian Free Academy of Arts and Sciences, along with other scholars, mentioned above.

There are many Ukrainian-American economists, who either were or are members of the Society and have substantially contributed to the research on economic developments in the USSR and comparative economic studies, and only some of them can be mentioned, in the framework of this rather sketchy presentation, which will *not* do justice to them. Among these economists are Borys Martos, Constantine Kononenko, Illa Vytanovych, Nicholas Velechkivsky, Lev Dobriansky, Volodymyr Bandera, Vsevolod Holubnychy, Nicholas Bohatiuk, Peter Stercho, Zenon Melnyk, Myron Melnyk, Nicholas Chirovsky, Bohdan Vynar and Ivan Koropetsky.

Borys Bartos, the senior among the Ukrainian economists, professor of various institutions of higher learning, pioneer of the cooperative movement in Ukraine, is the author of several works, like *The Theory of the Cooperative Movement* (1924), *The Money of the Ukrainian State* (1972).

Constantine Kononenko could have probably been outstanding among them. He published among other works in 1958 *Ukraine and Russia, A History of Economic Relations between Ukraine and Russia (1654-1917)*, thoroughly covering the Tsarist colonial exploitation of Ukraine on all accounts. Illa Vytanovych mainly researched the cooperative movement in Ukraine and in 1961 published *A History Of The Ukrainian Cooperative Movement* and many other less comprehensive works. Nicholas Velechkivsky researched collective farming in Ukraine and Russian exploitation measures. He was also, for a few years, editor of a journal in the US., *The Ukrainian Economist*. These three economists belonged to the older generation.

Lev Dobriansky of Georgetown may head the list of the middle-aged and young Ukrainian-American economists. Dobriansky published an important work on Thorstein Veblen and his economic thinking, entitled *Veblenism* in 1957. He elaborated the issues of comparative systems and studied the prospects of economic relations between East and West. Then Dobriansky took an interest in political science, and along these lines he published *The Vulnerable Russians* (1967), *The Soviet Myth and the USA*, and many other works.

Volodymyr Bandera of Temple University, among other works,

published *Foreign Capital As An Instrument Of National Policy* (1968) and coauthored *The Soviet Economy In Regional Perspective* (1973), Eastern European economic developments being his main area of interest. Vsevolod Holubnychy may be considered perhaps, for one of the best informed Ukrainian-American economists about Soviet economic developments. He published considerably in this field, including the area of comparative economic systems. Nicholas Bohatiuk of Le Moyne College is interested in approximately the same field; he has published articles in various journals, exposing the Soviet Russian economic and financial exploitation of Ukraine. Peter Stercho and Nicholas Chirovsky were mentioned before in connection with their contribution to historical studies as well.

Zenon Melnyk of Cincinnati University has become an authority in the area of Soviet Russian financial policies. He published extensively; for instance *Soviet Capital Formation, Ukraine 1928/29 — 1932* (1965), and coauthored *The Soviet Economy In Regional Perspective* (1973). Myron Melnyk published in French and English with a heavy statistical undertone, like *Long Fluctuations In Real Series Of American Economy* (1968), and contributed to *The Proceedings Of Business and Economic Statistics* (1965-1974).¹³

Bohdan Vynar greatly contributed to research on the problem of the colonial exploitation of Ukraine by the Russians along the Ohloblyn, Kononenko and Volobuyev traditions. He authored *Economic Colonialism in Ukraine* (1958), *Ukrainian Manufacturing* (1964) and many other works. He also contributed to and published in the Ukrainian-American bibliographic science. Ivan Koropetsky of Temple University worked in the area of Soviet Russian economic developments, and along these lines, he published *Location Problems in Soviet Industry Before World War II: The Case of Ukraine* (1971) and contributed articles to journals, like *Soviet Studies* and *Economic Development and Cultural Change*.

In the area of bibliography and library science the following members of the Shevchenko Scientific Society secured for themselves notable places in America: Peter Goy, Dmytro Shtohryn, Alexander Sokolyshyn, Roman Weres, Andrew Turchyn, Wasyl Luciw. They worked on various phases of the bibliography in English on Ukraine. Peter Goy published several titles along that line. Dmytro Shtohryn was editor-in-chief of *Ukrainians In North America*. Roman Weres contributed many articles on bibliographic and historical-cultural topics. Wasyl Luciw published also in other areas such works as *Het-*

¹²) M. Boretsky, "Pro Simposium Ukrainskoi Nauky u Washingtoni", Svoboda, July 16, 1976, p. 2, named a few Ukrainian-American economic analysts working for the American government, while evaluating other economists rather negatively. The author of this paper rather disagrees with Boretsky's evaluation. Those Government analysts are T. Sosnovyi, N. Terletsy, M. Boretsky and a few others.

¹³) A great deal of data is given in *Ukrainians in North America*, Champaign, 1975; see, under respective names, D. Shtohryn, ed.

man Ivan Mazepa (1954), *A Word Of An Educator* (1971) and co-authored *Aphasius Honcharenko*.

Artistic painters, sculptors and musicians have also been organized in their respective commissions of the Shevchenko Scientific Society in the United States, like Peter Andrusiv, Mykhailo Moroz, Sviatoslav Hordynsky, Mykhailo Osinchuk, Damian Horniatkevych, Mykhailo Chereshniovsky and many others. They contributed by their artistic work, in which they attempted to combine Ukrainian motives and traditions with modern artistic trends, to the culture in America, and by their writings popularized the Ukrainian culture in the U.S.¹⁴ Alex Povstenko acquired fame in the area of architecture. He authored over ten books and among others, *A History Of Ukrainian Arts* (1948) and *The Cathedral Of St. Sophia in Kiev* (1954).

In the field of musical arts Antin Rudnytsky, Vasyl Wytwycky, Ihor Sonevytsky, Zenon Lesko, Nicholas Fomenko and others may be mentioned. They not only wrote music but also published in the area of history of music and musicological studies.

In this connection Ivan Mirchuk, one of the most outstanding presidents of the Ukrainian Free University in Munich, Germany, must be mentioned as one who wrote a great deal about the history of Ukrainian civilization. Although he did not work in America, his books, *Ukraine and Its People* (1949) and *A History Of The Ukrainian Civilization* (1957), published also in English, contributed substantially to Ukraine in the United States.

Ukrainian-American scholars in America, have defended the cause of the Ukrainian language and culture and their identity and independent development against the Soviet-Russian onslaught, which aimed to present them as mere reflections of the Muscovite-Russian language and civilization in the areas of Ukrainian linguistics, literature and history of literature. Prominent representatives in these fields have been Yurii Shevelov, Dmytro Chizhevsky, Kost Kysilevsky, Bohdan Romanenchuk, Yaroslav Rudnytsky, Bohdan Kravciv, Vasyl Lev, Panteleimon Kovaliv, Natalia Pazuniak, Vyacheslav Davydenko, Luka Luciv, Vasyl Steciuk, Volodymyr Zhyla, Yar Slavutych, Sophia Karpinska, Vasyl Yashchun, Maria Ovcharenko, Irene Pelensky, Nicholas Vacyk, Roman Kukhar and many others.

Yurii Shevelov of Columbia University published many works, such as *An Outline Of The Contemporary Literary Ukrainian Language* (1951), *The Historical Phonology Of Common Slavic* (1964) and contributed to many professional journals. Although he is a member of the European Sh. Scientific Society, his impact has been felt in America by virtue of his working at Columbia University in New York.¹⁵

¹⁴) P. Andrusiv, Ukrainian Artists — painters in America, paper *Symposium of Ukrainian Scholarship*, Washington, June 26, 1976.

¹⁵) *Ukrainians in North America*, p. 229.

Dmytro Chizhevsky worked at Harvard (now with Heidelberg University). He is an unquestionable authority in the area of Ukrainian and Russian literature. His works include *A History Of Ukrainian Literature* (1956) and *History of Russian Literature* (1960).

Kost Kysilevsky published *A Descriptive Grammar Of The Ukrainian Language* (1948), *Lesia Ukrainka* (1952), coauthored several books and wrote many articles on philological and literary topics. Bohdan Romanenchuk of Niagara University is an authority in Ukrainian literature and also in the field of Ukrainian bibliography. Apart from other works he published *Ukrainian Literature, The Old Period* (1946) and *The Bibliography Of The Ukrainian Literature In Exile, 1945-1970* (1974). Bohdan Kravciv, poet, critic and scholar, published nine volumes of poetry, many articles in professional journals and edited many works in the field of literature, being an outstanding expert in the Ukrainian language.

Panteleimon Kovaliv published over thirty monographic works in the area of Ukrainian philology, such as *Foundations Of The Formation Of The Ukrainian Language* (1958), *The Lexical Fund of The Literary Language Of The Kyivan Era Of The X-XIV Century*, (1962-1966). Vasyl Lev published *An Outline Of The Old Slavonic Language* (1956) and *A Century Of Dedicated Work* (1973) (a short history of the Sh.S.S.), and many other books and articles in professional journals. Luka Luciv, a literary critic and author of many books, among others *Vasyl Stefanyk* (1972) and *Olha Kobylanska* (1963), also published many articles on literary topics. Natalia Pazuniak wrote various articles which were published in numerous periodicals; Vasyl Steciuk excelled as an educator and published in the field of classical philology and literature. Roman Kuchar of Kansas State College became renowned as a poet and author of literary works. Eugene Fedorenko of Rutgers University published on Mykhailo Kociubynsky, the Ukrainian literary impressionist; Jacob Hudsky of Syracuse University contributed to literary and scholarly journals.

Maria Ovcharenko of Eastern Illinois University authoured important works on Ukrainian language, literature and Ukrainian dialects, such as *The Sian Region Dialects* (1938) *Hohol and Osmachka* (1969), and contributed articles to professional journals. Irene Pelensky published many articles on literary and educational themes. Maria Kobrynsky researched the history of Ukrainian law and published on historical topics. Lydia Burachynsky authoured articles and essays on literary topics and outstanding Ukrainian women. Anna Vlasenko-Bojcun published *Ulas Samchuk as a Chronicler* (1965) and contributed articles to various journals on literary and educational themes, Volodymyr Zhyla published in the fields of literature and literary critics.

VI. MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY AND THEIR WORKS

(*The Section of Mathematics and Physics, The Section of Chemistry, Biology and Medicine*).

According to the original purpose of the Shevchenko Scientific Society to defend the Ukrainian cause in a scholarly manner against the onslaught of the imperialist-biased Tsarist and Soviet Russian learning, the three sections of the Society mentioned in the preceding chapter were of prime importance in its framework, while the present two sections had only to prove the overall scholarly interests of the Shevchenko Scientific Society and support the scholarly standing of the former ones.

Notable names of scientists, organized in the Shevchenko Scientific Society may be quoted here with reference to their considerable scientific achievements, such as Volodymyr Bohun-Chudyniv, Stefan Tymoshenko, Stefan Kulyk, Volodymyr Petryshyn, Joseph Andrushkiv among the mathematicians; Alex Bilaniuk, Yurii Machuk, Ihor Kunash, Mykhailo Yarymovych, among the physicists and scientists in related fields; Alexander Arkhimovych, Nicholas Zajcev, Roman Maksymovych, Gregory Haharyn, Mikhael Dymicky, Ivan Oleksyshyn, Nicholas Oleksyshyn, Nicholas Ostapiuk, Mikhael Stefaniv, Alexander Bilyk in chemistry, biology, genetics and related areas, Volodymyr Kybiovych, Ivan Tesla, Nicholas Kulytsky, Eugene Yharsky and Peter Oryshkevych in geography and natural sciences; Roman Osinchuk, Bohdan Hordynsky, Oleh Kononenko in the medical sciences. The list is far from being complete.

Stefan Tymoshenko acquired fame by his work in the area of elasticity, while Volodymyr Bohun-Chudyniv — in theoretical mathematics. Volodymyr Petryshyn of the younger generation authoured over 60 articles in prestigious American, British, German, Italian and Ukrainian mathematical journals. Being a professor of Rutgers University, he has acquired world-wide fame. Joseph Andrushkiv, member of many international mathematical associations, contributed to various professional journals in Ukrainian, English, Polish, and German.

Among younger mathematicians Roman Andrushkiv and Roman Voronka should also be mentioned.

Alex Bilaniuk, also belonging to the younger generation, is by now a well-known physicist, and has authoured over thirty important articles in the American, British, German, French, Russian, Spanish and Polish professional journals. Mykhailo Yarymovych is a scientific adviser to the federal agencies on energy problems.

Alexander Arkhimovych specialized in the area of sugar beets already in the USSR and published several works, such as *The Biology of The Sugar Beets* (1932) and *The Selection And The Seeds Of Sugar Beets* (1954). Nicholas Zajcev published on chemistry of fats. Among other works, he authoured *The Technology Of Facts* (1926)

and contributed many articles to professional journals. Roman Maksymovych of Vilanova University authoured *Analysis of Leaf Development* (1973) and coauthoured *Laboratory Manual For General Biology* (1967). Ivan Oleksyshyn of Boston University, professor of geology, published *The Spread and Stratigraphy of The Miocenes in The North-Podilla and South-West Volhyn* in 1952 and *The Terebolva Land*, in 1969.

Volodymyr Kubiovych is presently, no doubt, the most outstanding Ukrainian geographer, who lives in Europe. Yet, through his works *A Geography of Ukraine* (1943) and many articles on the demography of Ukraine, he contributed to the American knowledge of East Europe. He has also been editor-in-chief of the *Encyclopaedia of Ukraine*, in English. Ivan Tesla published *Geography of Ukraine* (1957) and *Statistical Compendium of Ukrainians in Canada*. He presently lives in Canada. Mikhael Dankevych published an important work on geopolitics, entitled *Siberia In Global Power Politics* (1970). Both Zharsky and Oryshkevych published in the field of geography. Nicholas Kulytsky and Roman Drazhniovsky published maps and atlases of Ukraine. Roman Kobrynsky authoured articles on Ukrainian forestry.

There have been several noted medical doctors among the members of the Sh.S.S. Roman Osinchuk authoured articles and essays in professional journals on medical and hygienic topics, as well as *The Materials On The History Of Ukrainian Medicine* (1974-1975). Bohdan Hordynsky and Oleh Kononenko contributed to American, Polish and Ukrainian medical journals.¹⁶

VII. CONCLUSION

This is a survey in fact only of the contribution of members of the Shevchenko Scientific Society in the U.S. to American scholarship, and supposed to give a general outline. Famous journalists, such as Antin Drahan, editor of the leading Ukrainian-speaking newspaper *Svoboda*, Volodymyr Dushnyk, editor of *The Ukrainian Quarterly*, and Vasyl Verhan, editor of *Narodna Vola*, also published articles on political and literary topics. Women have also been well represented among the Ukrainian-American scholars in the ranks of the Sh.S.S. in the U.S.

Two important collective works of the Society must be underscored in conclusion with that survey. First, the publication of the *Encyclopaedia Of Ukraine*, mentioned above, under the general editorship of Volodymyr Kubiovych. A very large number of the members of the Society have worked on the project and contributed articles to provide reliable and scholarly founded general information to the

¹⁶ Ibid., under respective names; also, *Congress of Ukrainian Scholars; Who is Who?*

international circles of readers about Ukraine, the Ukrainians, their history and civilization.

Secondly, the Section of the History of Ukraine of the Sh.S.S. in the U.S. undertook a rather grand project of translating into English and publishing a 10-volume *History of Ukraine*, by Mykhailo Hrushevsky, the most outstanding Ukrainian historian.

The Soviet-Russian bias has been so prevalent in the West, that as it was pointed out above, any new work on Ukraine, running counter to the established Russian, supposedly "scholarly" bias, was always met with hostility. Hence, it was decided to translate into English the work of Hrushevsky, whose scholarship cannot easily be dismissed, since, at present it has been recognized as part of the classic scholarship. The Soviets have been reprinting and republishing their classics in history over and over again, such as Solovev's and Kluchevsky's histories of Russia, though the ideology of these works has not always been acceptable to them from the point of view of Marxism-Leninism, and though these works were somewhat outdated.

The publication of Hrushevsky's *History* can easily be justified on the same grounds. Furthermore, there are no thorough historical source materials available in the West to even attempt to write an up-dated history of Ukraine, while for that purpose the Soviets will definitely not make their libraries and archives available to the Ukrainian-American scholars, to whom they generally refer as "Bourgeois-Nationalists and Hirelings of Wall Street".

It has been generally assumed that each generation was re-writing the history, because of the discovery of new sources and because each generation saw past developments in different perspectives. We are the witnesses of American history. The previous generations did not know anything about the contribution of the Blacks to the growth of America, while contemporary history writing attempts to do justice to the American Blacks in this respect. Yet, modern liberal American historians do not see any need to re-write the history of Russia (Tsarist and Soviet). The Ukrainian-American scholars have long recognized the need, and publishing Hrushevsky's *History Of Ukraine-Rus'* should be a step in that direction.¹⁷

¹⁷) On the English translation of Hrushevsky's *History*: P. Fedenko, "Vidpovalne Zavdannia", *Svoboda*, Aug. 7, 1975, p. 2; M. Stachiv, "Yak Moskovska Istoriografija Stavytisia do Naukovoï Skhemy Istorii Ukrainy", *America*, March 9-10, 1976, p. 2.

ABN CONFERENCE IN GREAT BRITAIN

The annual Conference of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) was held in Manchester, Great Britain, from 15th to 17th October, 1976.

297 delegates took part in the conference representing: Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Byelorussia, Ukraine, Slovakia, Rumania, Bulgaria, Croatia, ABN branches from Great Britain, Belgium, Germany, Italy, Spain, USA; 70 branches of organized Ukrainian centres in Great Britain; representatives of Polish, Czech and Hungarian organizations; farther of the American Council for World Freedom, Secretary General Lee Edwards and Board Member Professor David Rowe; a representative of the Council on American Affairs, Professor R. Pearson (Chairman), and Chairman of North American WACL region; Mr. Donald Martin and Dowager, Lady Jane Birdwood, representatives of the European Freedom Council and the British League for European Freedom; Mrs. C. Hicks, secretary of the British League for European Freedom.

The Conference worked through closed and open sessions at which organizational reports were read and speeches delivered.

The Youth session was the most active and attracted the biggest audience. The main speaker at the session was Mrs. Slava Stetsko from ABN Central Committee. The young speakers were: from Ukraine, Mr. Askold Krushelnyckyj; ABN-Belgium, Mr. Zenon Kowal; British youth representative from the British League of Rights, Mrs. C. Hicks; Dr. Kershaw from the British Young Conservatives in Manchester, Conservative Parliamentary candidates from Bolton, Mr. Totlow and Mr Terletsky from Wales.

The Conference passed the ABN Political Statement on liberation policy and Resolutions dealing with acute problems of liberation, Church and religion. It condemned the Sonnenfeldt doctrine, sent telegrams to US President Ford, presidential candidate Govenor Jimmy Carter, requesting them to clarify their position with respect to the liberation struggle of the nations subjugated by Moscow.

The main speakers at the reception were: Right Hon. Mr. William Whitlock, M.P., (Labour Party); Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko, President of the Central Committee of ABN and Chairman of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN); Prof. David Rowe; Mr. Lee Edwards, Professor Roger Pearson.

About 300 people were present at all sessions. More than 1,000 people participated in the Rally on 17th October, and about 300 performers took part on the concert.

The Fathers — representatives of British Catholic, Ukrainian Catholic, Lithuanian Catholic, Ukrainian Orthodox Churches took part in the sessions, and Holy Mass for the subjugated nations was celebrated on Sunday, 17th October.

The Conference participants took part in the Memorial Service for the Ukrainian hero Stepan Bandera who was killed on Moscow's order on the 16th October, 1959.

Yaroslav STETSKO

National Liberation Revolution Unavoidable

We are living in a revolutionary epoch on the world political map — western colonial empires are disappearing and new states have arisen, nations are liberating themselves, liberation nationalism, the counterpart of imperialism and colonialism, is triumphant in the world. “More than half of the world's population is marching under the banner of nationalism”, state writers in our homelands.

Is it possible that this victorious march of liberation nationalism will halt at the Russian prison of nations — the USSR, in which barbaric Russia is oppressing nations with their ancient cultures and great state traditions, while peoples without historical background and state traditions like the Uganda of Amin are becoming independent?!

The old colonial empires are coming to an end, yet Russian imperialism is practising genocide and oppressing huge portion of Europe — the cradle of world culture and civilization. This is an absurd controversy in Russian imperialist policy — to give active support for dissolution of remnants of Western Empires and simultaneously practice genocidal communism and imperialism in ‘Euro-Asia’.

By genocide and systematic terror inside the Empire and by expansion into always new continents, seas and oceans, Moscow is trying to maintain a continental prison of nations. It is known from history that the unrestricted law of expansion is leading the aggressor to fall.

The more Russia grabs territories and seas the sooner its fall approaches.

The controversies are growing and the enemies of the empire are mobilizing themselves in the whole world. By its number the Russian imperialist nation is unable to control what she has grabbed, neither is she able to restrain her aggressions.

The Communist system corresponding to the Russian mentality is unnatural for Ukraine and other subjugated nations. Furthermore, Russia is unable to feed her masses even with the bread from Ukraine — the granary of Europe, because Ukraine and other subjugated nations are fighting against Russian occupation and for the dissolution of the Russian Empire, for the destruction of the Communist system.

America is saving the Russian Empire. The reason for this is that the present American government stands for world division between two superpowers. This idea is incorporated in the declarations of Helsinki, which state that the present frontiers of the Russian Empire should not be altered. The aim of the present State Department and those bodies which stand with it, including international capitalism and communism, which embodies the imperialistic ideas of Moscow, is to create a world government — which means anti-national and supra-national government, but this is an idea foregone. The world progresses from empire to national states. Even the United Nations, which has quadrupled its membership since its beginning, denies the existence of such a political trend. This is a new concept of the world system, with a new state-political, socio-economic, anti-communist, anti-capitalist, cultural, ideological, idealistic, moral system and values in the world.

Moscow is living on a volcano, its ideas are bankrupt, communism is dead amongst the captive and subjugated nations. The younger generation believes in nationalism, in national patriotism, has deep rooted religious convictions, believes in heroic conceptions of life and state traditionalism of its own nation, in the cult of its own past, in its values and in its own creativity.

It rejects dialectical and historical materialism, and vigorously opposes the Russian endeavours to impose their way of life on our nations. The policy of detente, cooperation and help to tyrants is already bankrupt in their eyes. From the opposite side Russia is now being confronted by China. Like Nazi Germany, Russia already has to face a two-frontier war. Our reliance is neither on Washington nor Peking, but we rely on our own force and on those in the subjugated nations. We are in favour of a conflict between China and Russia, because it weakens Russia. The more enemies Russia has — the better. But the guarantee of our victory lies in ourselves. No one will give us freedom, if we ourselves do not regain it. Power has to be won — it is never given. All liberators bring freedom for themselves and slavery to those who allegedly have been liberated. Present Washington with its policies which strive to make the captive nations become "the organic part of Russia" and to persuade them to voluntarily include themselves under Russian domination, are not champions of freedom. The present day America is not the America of Washington or Lincoln, great statesmen and champions of freedom and truth, with their just laws. The statement by ex-President Ford,

that the satellites of Moscow, occupied by her, are independent states, gives a free hand for Moscow to create in Europe and outside such new "independent", satellites, with an enforced upon them Russian army as it is in Eastern Germany, Hungary, Poland or Czecho-Slovakia. This statement by ex-President Ford encourages intensified russification, ethno-linguistic genocide of nations subjugated in the USSR, i.e. Ukraine, Georgia, Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia, Byelorussia, Turkestan, Armenia and others. By such a statement, Ford revealed not only his complete lack of interest in the subjugated nations in the USSR, and in the satellite countries, but by this he also emphasised his trust in Russian hypocritical lies about "independent" soviet republics" in the USSR, not just merely considered as colonies.

Refuting the statement of Ford, and by condemning the ideas of Sonnenfeldt and the policies of Kissinger about the Russian Empire, we demand that the President and the Government of the USA carry out the agreements by the USA in the UN in 1960 and 1972 on world decolonialisation and deimperialisation, including the dissolution of the Russian Empire.

We demand from the US government not to violate its own laws, which were passed unanimously by the US Congress in 1959 on Captive Nations, in support of their liberation struggle for national independence, and for the downfall of the Russian Communist Empire. Citizens of the US, who are descendants of countries subjugated by Russia, will only cast their votes in favour of those candidates for governmental and congressional positions, who respect the rights of the subjugated nations for their national independence, and who will lead a policy for the liberation of captive nations through the downfall of the Russian Empire, and for the annihilation of the communist totalitarian tyrannical system in accordance with the American law on Captive Nations of 1959 and of the UN declaration on de-imperialisation and decolonialisation of the world.

The time has come, when the world can no longer be divided and ruled by two, three or more technological or atomic superpowers. The only alternative which will save the world from destruction by the bolshevik forces — are embodied in the CAPTIVE NATIONS, who represent the most noble and aspiring ideas of spiritual, ideological and political power. The subjugated nations, the liberation nationalism of nations, under whose banner we shall achieve our victory and the victory of the world, embody all the virtues and values of life, religion, justice, truth, freedom, national independence.

The prerequisite for the realisation of individual rights is the realisation of national rights. Without national independence there is no possibility for the realisation of human rights of the individual in the subjugated nations. The first right of the individual within the subjugated nation is to gain the independence of his nation as a prerequisite for all other rights. From the beginning of mankind there

was no empire in which the rights and freedom of the individual of the subjugated nation could be realised. Every empire is based on terror, military occupation, on liquidation of fighters for the independence of subjugated nations. The subjugated nations are not fighting for such things as "liberalisation", "democratisation", or for the "humanity" of the Russian Empire, but for its total liquidation.

We appeal to the Vatican and the World Council of Churches to stop the policy of cooperation and capitulation before the Russian tyrants and militant atheists. We stand for the ecumenism with the catacombe churches, but we are against unity with the Russian so-called Church of Patriarch Pimen, a high-ranking official of the Kremlin clique. We demand that the Vatican respects the rights of Particular Churches, which are guaranteed by treaties with the Vatican, and also by the Second Ecumenical Vatican Council, especially in this epoch of liberation nationalism, which is defeating unnatural and anti-national internationalism.

The strength of the Church — is not in adaptability or in opportunism, but in heroic martyrdom for the truth, for justice and for freedom against falsehood and violence. He who stands against his nation (fatherland) stands against his Creator — because nations are the ideas of God himself.

We express our full support and solidarity for the struggle of the Ukrainian people for a Ukrainian Patriarchate, and for the recognition of Cardinal Josef Slipyj, as Patriarch, who is a martyr and Confessor of the Faith, not only for the Ukrainian Church and Nation, but is the champion for the idea of heroism and martyrdom of Christianity over Russian militant atheism for all nations subjugated under communism by Moscow.

We honour the martyrdom of the catacombe Churches in Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia and Czecho-Slovakia, and all persecuted Churches of Turkestan, Bulgaria, Rumania, Eastern Germany, Croatia and others.

We demand from the free world to break off all political relations with bolshevism and Moscow, and to support the revolutionary liberation fight of the subjugated nations for their independence. The nations of the West are obliged to continue the insistent action of pressure on the Russians to withdraw all occupational forces from the subjugated nations, to liquidate all concentration and forced labour camps, to release all political and religious prisoners such as Yurko Shukhevych, S. Karavanskyj, I. Senyk, V. Moroz and others

It is the duty of the Western world to denounce and condemn national oppression, russification, economic exploitation, social injustice, russian imperialism, neo-communism, neo-marxism as new forms of old Russian colonialism. There cannot be any common front with the so-called russian dissidents, who try to preserve the Russian Empire in new forms with the help of the West as with Lenin and his clique during the First World War.

*Dr. Dimiter WALTSCHEFF,
former Secretary of State (Bulgaria)*

DISASTROUS WESTERN POLICIES VIS-A-VIS THE EAST

**read at the Conference of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations,
Manchester, Gt. Britain 14-17 October, 1976.**

The present Conference is held at time when the world is stricken with a creeping global crisis approaching its culminating point. However, many a responsible western politician is strangely enough not yet aware of this fact. Acute domestic and foreign political conflicts along with outrageous acts of terror nowadays committed by individuals throughout all countries and continents as reported daily by the mass media only constitute the tip of an iceberg, that calls itself "World Communism". Abusing hypocritical slogans such as peace, progress or even democracy, social and national liberation, Moscow nowadays conducts a general offensive especially within the western democracies where, as the standard-bearer of World Communism, it tries cunningly to win power from within by way of the proved formula of peoples' front governments. If necessary, however, the Kremlin rulers do not even shrink back from overtly supporting warlike activities. They deem justified such support for alleged "liberation wars" which on account of the Communist doctrine and their "revolutionary conscience" they feel bound to offer.

Recently, an authoritative Russian political scientist, Prof. Mykhail Voslensky of the Moscow Academy of Sciences, and collaborator of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR as member of its Department of External Relations frankly and unambiguously admitted this. He had been invited by the University of Hamburg to give guest lectures on "problems of peaceful coexistence" to German students. Before the "International Circle" of the Chamber of Industry and Commerce in Essen this semi-official spokesman of Party and Government in the Soviet Union explicitly avowed that for Moscow peaceful coexistence is "a special form of international class struggle" which it will never give up and that coexistence is but a longrange strategy applied by Socialism in order to conquer the entire world even without war. Ideological struggle against the Capitalist system must be maintained and has to be conducted even more rigorously. Moreover, Voslensky took the liberty to explain that in the course of peaceful coexistence Moscow would retain its right to wage so-called "just wars" under which

“national liberation wars” and also “socialist liberation struggles” have to be understood. These revealing statements made publicly by this prominent interpreter of Soviet politics are self-explanatory and should finally open the eyes of the remaining illusionists still left, as to the true aims and methods of Moscow’s policies in the near future. By now nobody should be any longer deceived about the fact that in spite of détente and security conferences promising peace, the democratic western world has become the target of a violent offensive conducted on a global scale by so-called World Communism under Moscow’s rudder.

The so-called Security Conference of Helsinki does by no means prevent the Kremlin from using this psychological, political and, if necessary, even military type of warfare, but rather encourages it to go ahead. In spite of coexistence and détente accepted by the West the Communists have explicitly insisted on their privilege to carry on the ideological struggle even more intensely and obstinately while in the aftermath of Helsinki the leading western powers had to content themselves with the fact that they are debarred from any intercession on behalf of the peoples within the Soviet Russian sphere of power, especially with respect to liberty and justice for these peoples, which would categorically be refused as an inadmissible interference.

Thus the overall picture of the development of world politics has fundamentally changed. Formerly the world communist doctrine still referred to a “capitalist encirclement” that had to be broken up in order to achieve world domination. By now the situation has already deteriorated so far that the free democratic world is encircled and exposed to Bolshevik world aggression on both its internal and external fronts and unless this political development changes for the better in the near future, communist world domination will only be a matter of time. It is not yet 5 minutes to twelve o’clock, but it is certainly already a quarter to twelve!

Thus Moscow has secured for itself a better starting position and has condemned the free democratic world to passiveness forcing it into a defensive position characterized in that it continues making political, economic and even strategic unconditional concessions to the East. The switch of this disastrous policy was thrown by the American President, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, more than 30 years ago in Yalta when he carefully complied with all of Stalin’s requests without asking for any returns, thus hoping to render “Uncle Joe” lenient towards the countries and peoples surrendered to him and to simultaneously oblige him and make him behave correctly vis-à-vis the Western Allies. The future historians will note with astonishment that in spite of what happened in the past three decades — the Hungarian Liberation Revolution in 1956, the Spring of Prague in 1968 and the numerous uprisings in Poznań, East Berlin, Vorkuta etc. bloody Bolshevik massacres and terror in the Communist-ruled

countries of Europe, Indochina and elsewhere — the policies of the West have so far remained indulgent and have even been sealed by the Helsinki Conference.

During this entire period influential western politicians have been pursuing vague illusions and they carry on doing so. When the wicked Stalin was replaced by the “good-natured” Nikita Khrushchev, the policy of peaceful coexistence inspired by him was adhered to, which resulted in the setting up of the death wall of Berlin where innumerable Germans had to die just because they wanted to go from Germany to Germany. Then Brezhnev initiated the era of détente and close cooperation with the East, and the West offered inestimable economic, financial and technological aid to the Soviet Russian colonial empire which indirectly contributed to the development of its military potential. This perfidious policy practiced by Brezhnev culminated in the Final Act of Helsinki.

Today the free western world seems to have already accepted the fact that Moscow’s fifth columns are free to act in the name of democratic principles in the form of officially accepted Communist parties and agencies and that the way is even smoothed for their qualifying for elections, while at the same time within Moscow’s sphere of influence any opposition is nipped in the bud and any phenomena opposing the regime are persecuted even more intensely and punished by imprisonment and death. It ought to be clear for anybody still having political common sense that under such unequal conditions a “noble contest of ideas”, referred to by the present President of the Federal Republic of Germany cannot exist, and that sooner or later the dispute must result in the victory of the ruthless Bolshevik aggression over the intimidated and passive western democracies. The so-called ideological contest which Moscow has expressly claimed as its right turns out to be a sort of wrestling arena where one wrestler is allowed to beat up his partner with an iron-clad fist, who in turn may only defend himself with velvet gloves while strictly keeping to the rules of this sport’s discipline.

The unilateral privilege presumed by Moscow in the Helsinki Agreements is pushed so far, that the official press of the Party and the Government considers any attempt made by the western states to prevent the infiltration of Communist agents into their governments by a corresponding legislation of “vocational prohibition” or violation of human rights, irrespective of the prohibition of interference as agreed upon at Helsinki. On the other hand, whenever the inhuman prison penalties imposed in the Communist-ruled countries and the barbarous mass assassinations of hundreds of thousands there, for instance recently in Indochina, are publicly discussed in the West, Moscow protests against the violation of the spirit of Helsinki and indignantly reproaches the political circles and mass media of the free world with Cold War, Antisovietism and Neofascism. The Communist agencies in the West have succeeded in alluring vast groups

of western societies by means of perfidious slogans, such as so-called Antifascism, such that in many a democratic country of the Free World it is considered outdated and taboo to be anti-communist, let alone abject to communist atrocities. Such submissive tolerance is apparently owed to the notorious détente, and not in the least to the “excellent” Final Act of Helsinki. However, if democracy continues along this suicidal path, feeling bound also in the future to nourish its deadly enemies in its own breast in the form of Communist agencies, it will certainly become dubious in the eyes of its own people, and all the more its claim to superiority over Communism must be called into question, let alone its standing up to the test in the death struggle against World Communism à la Moscow.

* * *

It is the object of this Conference to rouse the western public before it is too late and to appeal to the leading circles of the West to review their policies applied so far towards the East. Although no attention has been paid to our warnings over more than 3 decades and they have died away like voices in the desert the situation has by now changed in several respects. While until now the political emigrants from the countries ruled by Soviet Russia believed that they could regard the free West as their natural ally and even hoped it would help them to achieve the liberation sought by them — we by no means intended to advocate war or even nuclear war — by now the fate of the whole Free World and its self-preservation are already at stake. In view of this situation we consider ourselves bound — as experienced victims of the brutal Communist despotism — to warn the free West once more of the danger of **its own ruin** and to draw its attention to the impending disaster in the form of Bolshevik world aggression. Contrary to some optimistic prognoses based on illusions as to the supposed peaceableness of the Soviet Union and some sort of Communist versatility turning to democratization, liberalization or even humanization, in our opinion the present situation is more critical than ever. This is all the more so as Lenin’s prophecy about the “useful idiots” in the “capitalist West” who themselves will provide the rope from which they will be hung for the Red World Revolution, seems to be coming true precisely in our time.

Under the present circumstances we must content ourselves with appealing to the western world to at least refrain from anything that might render the situation of our captive nations more difficult and jeopardize the self-preservation of the entire Free World, if it cannot or does not want to support our liberation struggle. Unfortunately, such a position was not adopted by the western world at Helsinki.

* * *

The problems of the present world crisis and a possible solution thereof show two specific aspects of fundamental importance which have still not clearly been recognized in the West or which are treated passively.

Firstly, it should be understood that Communist rule — also within the so-called Soviet Union itself — is not only a tyrannical system of government trampling down the elementary human rights, but primarily **Russian foreign rule** over peoples that have never been, nor wanted to be, Russians. Today Bolshevik colonial rule in Europe, Asia and Africa rather constitutes an unholy alliance between traditional Russian imperialism and the so-called World Communism as defined in Moscow, which in a sort of symbiosis profit mutually and help each other.

Even a cursory glance back into the history of the Tsarist Empire shows that Great Russian policies supported by a mystical messianism oriented towards ever new conquests either made use of Panslavism or of the Orthodox Church for extending their rule over new foreign countries. At the end of the first World War as a result of the victorious so-called October Revolution Marxism and Communism came in turn with their slogans promising happiness to mankind which were subsequently used by Russian imperialism as a fig-leaf in order to again subjugate all non-Russian people of the Tsarist Empire in the course of the post-revolutionary disorders. Thus the so-called Soviet Union, including 120 million people of foreign non-Russian nationalities, came into being serving as a bulwark for world conquest. In the aftermath of the Second World War by virtue of Yalta and Potsdam a series of additional sovereign European civilized nations were incorporated — again under the banner of the Communist doctrine of salvation, thus extending the Russian colonial empire further, over half of Europe.

When in 1956 the Hungarian Revolution was crushed by Russian tanks, and in 1968 the Spring of Prague ended all of a sudden with the so-called fraternal armies of the Warsaw Pact entering the CSSR, neither Socialism nor Communism was at stake since neither Imre Nagy nor Alexander Dubcek was anticommunist or much less a fascist. The only thing that was at stake was Russian domination and command over the peoples of Hungary and Czecho-Slovakia, degraded to satellites by Moscow. Similarly, the liberation revolts in Posen and East Berlin were crushed in a bloody manner. Brezhnev's notorious doctrine of the "limited sovereignty" of all so-called socialist peoples, implying that Moscow's satellite countries are de facto only Russian colonies whose status does not differ at all from that of the individual Republics or Autonomous Regions within the Soviet Union itself was the dot on the i. The Constitution of the People's Republic of Bulgaria of 1971 for instance, in an eloquent manner, proves such camouflaged colonialization, the absolute unity with the Soviet Union being anchored in its Preamble already. The

text of the Constitution refers to the permanent membership of Bulgaria in the Warsaw Pact, the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and also to a cultural community by coordination of its cultural policy with Russia. As far as is known, the Constitutions of other Communist states of the Eastern Bloc have been amended in an analogous manner, above all that of the so-called GDR.

Thus there ought to be no doubt that there exists a Russian colonial empire in Europe today that has already spread partly to Asia and will certainly reach Africa tomorrow, camouflaged under the label of a so-called Proletarian World Revolution whose global expansion is not accepted with indifference even in Communist Peking. In view of this situation it seems paradoxical that today Moscow — although being the representative of the most brutal colonial enslavement of civilized nations — is allowed, unopposed, to pose as a fighter against colonialism and neocolonialism, and to play the role of friend and protector of dependent peoples in other continents and parade as the standard-bearer of peace, liberty and democracy.

The existing identity between Russian imperialism and World Communism made in Moscow which manifests itself so convincingly is not only derived from the theory of cognition and intended to enrich the history of our age, but is rather a perception of far-reaching pragmatic-political importance well-suited to affect the realities of the present age and suggest a path leading to the solution of the actual world crisis. For it follows from this perception that the carrying component in the open and latent resistance of the enslaved people in the Russian colonial empire cannot only be cut down to their claim to elementary human rights and civic liberties and must not only be understood as “criticism of a system”, but primarily as an opposition to **Russian foreign rule** and as an elementary striving for god-given national sovereignty and independence. As a result it is imperative that the Free World and its responsible leaders not just recognize the national idea to be a striking weapon against Russian colonial rule, but that they use this weapon whenever necessary. The West can no longer remain inactive and indifferent when the Marxist rulers in Moscow, refusing the national idea at home in view of their doctrine, exterminate it as a “bourgeois-national” deviation maintaining that they strive for a cosmopolitan world, but simultaneously outside the Soviet Union commend themselves as allies to African tribes in their liberation wars and set up as protectors well-disposed towards these peoples in order to add them to the carriage of Russian colonial rule tomorrow. In view of such speculations with the national idea on the part of the Soviet Union it seems paradoxical that the national states of the occident which, owing to the variety of their national cultures have shown mankind the path leading to progress, have now become insecure in view of the slogans of a hypocritical antifascism dictated from Moscow and suddenly throw overboard the national idea and lightly renounce

the strongest weapon they have for encountering impending Russian colonial rule over the whole world.

The second aspect which is just as important for judging the western policies vis-à-vis the East pertains to the **ethical position of the Free World** towards Communism as such and all its attributes in theory and practice, for instance class struggle, dictatorship of the proletariat, elevation of pure violence to an absolute principle of the state as a means for gaining and retaining state power, proletarian internationalism and many others comprising everything to be forced on the nations in the name of the hallowed World Revolutions as was recently attempted in Portugal in an exemplary manner.

It is high time that the Free democratic World reached a clear judgement in this respect and no longer relativized specific terms to let them pass in case of doubt as signs of a pretended progress. It is high time that Communism should be recognized unambiguously as **absolute world evil** with respect to doctrine and practice and should be ostracized as being basically incompatible with civilization and progress. It should above all no longer be tolerated that in educational institutions and schools of the Free democratic World pernicious Communist heresies are preached to unsettle the entire young generation. If political peace and cultural progress are to find their way out of the present crisis they must go back to the teaching of Kant and his categorical imperative according to which there is an unbridgeable discrepancy between good and evil, which imposes on each man in his proper senses the obligation to strive for the good and avoid the evil, if he is to be considered a homo sapiens. The continued onslaught of World Communism accompanied by anarchist outrages and nihilist crimes throughout the world serving as spear and shield for Bolshevik expansion will not cease as long as the team of Communism ("the world benefactor") and Russian imperialism is not recognized by all western democracies as a perfidious "demonism of the present century" which must of course be opposed by the entire civilized mankind, just as formerly the motto "Carthago delenda est" (Carthago must be destroyed) was imperative for ancient Rome.

However, any criticism of the actual practised policy of détente and coexistence would be unfounded, unless simultaneously an alternative in the form of a constructive programme could be offered instead that might bring about a change of the current disastrous trend in world politics without implying the danger of a new world war or even a nuclear world catastrophe.

It is indispensable now that the Free World — or rather its responsible democratic governments — develops and undertakes a firm worldwide **counter-offensive** on the psychological, ethical and political-diplomatic level against the unbridled Communist aggression covering Russian imperialism and preparing Soviet Russian colonial rule, and simultaneously pillories the beastly crimes committed by

the Communist tyrants as known so far. A bright spot in this direction was the recent speech delivered at the United Nations by U.S. Ambassador Moynihan pointing out in an assured tone the truth before this international forum, namely that precisely those UN members noising their protest against colonialism and the violation of human rights do not care at all about respecting the corresponding principles at home (he meant, ofcourse, the Soviet Union and its whole list of fellowtravellers in the UN).

Hardly had he spoken these courageous words he was forced to leave his post in the UN, most probably because his speech could have been considered too outspoken and irritative for the Kremlin dictators.

The frank American Defence Minister, Schlesinger, and the Chief of the American Secret Service, because of their uncompromising anti-Communist attitude, fell victims to the same spirit of aiming to please Moscow, which seems to have dominated official American policy for many years.

The Washington trend towards the Kremlin shows now, as previously, a consolidatory attitude, as if the "gentlemen's agreement" between Roosevelt and Stalin, who, as it is known, dreamt of the division of the world into two spheres of influence, was still valid today.

The primary goal of a western counter-offensive against Bolshevik aggression should be to clearly reveal without any hesitation that the Communism preaching of peace in reality stirs up wars on all continents — camouflaged by hypocritical slogans referring to class struggle or national liberation; that this same Communism evoking freedom in reality introduces merciless enslavement and legalized mass murder to the nations; that, while pretending to fight against aggression, Communism in reality — under the cover of so-called proletarian internationalism — helps new aggressions to come to a head; that acting as an opponent of imperialism and colonialism Communism in reality encourages Russian colonial rule over the whole world; and that while advocating social justice and progress, Communism in fact promises but a throwback to the darkest barbarity and exploitation of people by state capitalism. It is certainly possible by means of a broadly planned action of instruction using all mass media available to put mankind off following this suicidal path by morally breaking the credibility of Communism for ever, and thus also the backbone of Bolshevik aggression. Thus it could be proved to the whole world that Communism as a phenomenon of world history is simply incompatible with the culture of our century and with the spiritual values of civilized mankind. In our time the elevated fists of infatuated crowds of peoples gingered up by false prophets already symbolize a return to dark prehistoric ages of a primitive human race when the first law was the supreme law. If all these facts are brought

to the attention of all people and nations of the world of today, a potent willpower must of course come into being in a universal scope and, in a deeply founded solidarity with the enslaved nations' striving for freedom, put irresistible pressure on the Communist tyranny as an instrument of Russian imperialism and finally also bring its collapse.

However, the prerequisite for carrying out such a resolute world-wide offensive is that NATO and the Free World **recover their military superiority** over the Warsaw Pact and its accomplices since never was the maxim "si vis pacem para bellum" (if you want peace prepare for war) so relevant for the West as it is now. In the future we must not content ourselves with the maintenance of balance of power as a basis for the so-called coexistence but must rather seek to attain and maintain an overwhelming strategic superiority over the aggressive Eastern Bloc as a security for lasting peace and a peaceful political defeat of aggression.

With respect to the domestic affairs of a democratic state where the rule of law prevails we must not content ourselves with restraining Communist infiltration into the key positions of our state and societies but must set ourselves to the task of eradicating the Communist infection in the body of democracy by virtue of law, this infection acting as a ferment of foreign colonial rule and about to extinguish all freedom in the world of today in broad daylight.

Therefore, **VIDEANT CONSULES** before it is too late.

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News from Ukraine

Y. HRYTSYAK — PLEA TO EMIGRATE

From: Yevhen Stepanovych Hrytsyak,
village Ustya
rayon Snyatyn
oblast Ivano Frankivs'k
Ukrainian SSR, Soviet Union

To:

Comrade Mykola Viktorovych Pidhorny,
Chairman of the Presidium of the
Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

S T A T E M E N T

Please grant me and my family permission to emigrate from the USSR. I explain my statement with the following motives:

In 1949 I was sentenced to 25 years in prison. In 1956 I was released by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. In 1959 the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR ordered my arrest. In 1964 the Supreme Court of the USSR had me released.

Yet my release was only from prison, but not from persecution and harassment. Below is a description of my life in the Soviet Union after having been twice released from prison.

In August 1958, in the newspaper "Prykarpats'ka Pravda" (Sub-Carpathian Truth), organ of the Communist Party in the Ivano Frankivs'k rayon of Ukraine and the oblast Council of Worker Deputies, there appeared an article which discussed the progress of the construction of a cultural centre in the village of Stetseva. Since in the article this project was under my direction it spoke of my accomplishments. And what accomplishments! In the article, I was an engineer and an artist for whom construction projects are no novelty. Supposedly, I had already completed several construction projects in the village of Rakhny for which I have been receiving an uninterrupted flow of letters of thanks from the workers . . .

I was ashamed to read such fictional praise. For what sort of engineer am I? I have never studied at an institute and at that time I hadn't even attained a secondary education. However, the newspaper maintained that I was indeed an engineer. And what did I build in the village of Rakhny? Absolutely nothing. There I worked as a chimney sweep and painter. I did no construction work, except maybe when I painted a roof. Yet, if one was to believe the paper, all I did there was build . . .

I do not know what impelled the editors of such a responsible newspaper to print such an unreliable article. I also do not know why, immediately after publication of the article, I was informed that my internal visa was being revoked because I was unemployed.

I was forced to leave my home. I found work and registered in the city of Karaganda, where on January 28, 1959 I was arrested in accordance with the decision of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. In its decision, the Presidium revoked the ruling of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of August 28, 1956, on the basis of the unusually serious nature of my original crime. Therefore, the original sentence of December 12, 1945 was again in force — 25 years of imprisonment . . .

Throughout those long years of imprisonment I demanded, in vain, to be informed what exactly constituted my crime to be designated as unusually serious. Instead of an explanation I received one answer, "convicted correctly". It wasn't until October 4, 1964, when I was released from prison on the ruling of the Military College of the Supreme Court of the USSR, that the true nature of my case was made clear. The court record of the Military College specifically states, (I am quoting the words of the public prosecutor from memory), "Following his (myself) release in 1956, he was arrested and charged with being unemployed, would not cease anti-soviet activity and created in the Vinnytsya oblast the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists . . . After a thorough review it was determined that following his release in 1956, he was employed with a very good work record, was not engaged in anti-soviet activity and did not create any organization. There was no evidence of him even verbally attacking Soviet rule. All that could be determined was that he was disgruntled with being denied the right to live at home".

To comment on this is perhaps superfluous. It is all in the past. But what came after this?

On May 30, 1976, in the newspaper "Prykarpats'ka Pravda", there appeared an article written by I. Kolodyazhnyy entitled "But the Bundle is Rotten", in which the author maliciously attacks me and my friend, from the time of my imprisonment, Abraham Shifrin. In this article I am no longer an engineer or artist as before, but now I am described as a Kulak's son, military deserter and bourgeois nationalist. The article points out that, "He was allowed the opportunity to atone for his transgression through work and allowed to continue his education. In fact it was there, in the correctional labour colony, that he completed his secondary education. And what was his response? He would systematically infringe upon the established regime, spreading malicious slander against Soviet order".

It is apparent that Kolodyazhnyy is well acquainted with my case, but for some reason he cannot seem to grasp, as he himself writes, where is Rome, the Crimea or the Pope's pear. For this reason it is

nessesary to place everything in a proper perspective, therefore I will attempt to introduce several co-ordinates.

Upon my release I received the following characterization of myself, which reads in part, "... until 1956 he systematically violated established regulations for which he incurred additional punishment on several occasions.

Beginning in 1956, Hrytsyak adopted a more positive approach. He maintained an honest attitude toward various jobs to which he was assigned".

Yet another document was my certificate of secondary education, which I received in 1961.

When comparing these documents with Kolodyazhny's article, the following inconsistencies appear: in 1961 I completed my secondary education, but already in 1956 I was repaying the regime for my secondary education with systematic violations of established rules and with malicious slander against Soviet order. I was repaying them, as they say, in advance! But, I never violated the established order, only protested against it; I never slandered only protested. As an illustration I will quote from a letter of protest I sent to the Central Committee of the CPSU on November 1, 1961:

"Begining in June 1953 a whole series of repressive actions have befallen me as a result of my participation in a strike organized by prisoners in the city of Noryl'sk. Even to this day this event is improperly classified by organs of State Security as anti-Soviet activity. For these reasons I decided to write to the Central Committee of the CPSU protesting KGB activities of this kind.

I will briefly describe the true character of and reasons for the events of 1953 in Noryl'sk.

The unfounded and unjustified mass arrests during Stalin's rule, the unlawful and inhuman investigative methods employed by the regime have all been exposed by the Plenums and Congresses of the CPSU and need not be proven gain. It is worth mentioning, only in so far as these offences appear to be the first links in the endless chain of violations of Socialist legality and morality.

The subsequent links in the arbitrary chain of enforcement were the military tribunals and the so-called special meetings of the MGB of the USSR which "tried" people secretly, in camera or even in abstentia.

Neither the people, nor the national organs such as the Council of Workers Deputies know anything of those convicted on political grounds. Even the immediate family is not told the reasons for arrest or the fate of the convicted. They are notified that their property is being confiscated and that their husband, son or brother is an enemy of the people, that they must renounce him or be dismissed from employment and deported to Siberia.

Thus, humiliated by the outrage against human dignity, deprived of freedom, property, family, acquaintances and seized with emotions

of depression and doom the convict is deported to remote regions of the USSR. He is condemned to the so called ITL, where, with a new force, a monstrous machine of repression is launched against the human personality. The prisoner's eternal and uninterrupted environment is one of rigorous isolation from society, debasement of human dignity, insults, beatings, hunger, cold, excessive forced-labour and executions. It is important to point out that these blatant violations of socialist legality and of norms of the human community not only were not prosecuted, but frequently even encouraged. Attempts at protests against these conditions were construed by the authorities as anti-Soviet activity and provoked new repressions. Such levels of lawlessness were experienced by prisoners in all special regime camps which spread over the huge territory of the USSR, from Mordovia to Kamchatka.

One of these camps was Gorny, administered by the MVD of the USSR, in the city of Noryl'sk on the Taymir penninsula, deep within the polar circle.

The conditions in this camp were as unbearable and hopeless as in all others of this category. The only conviction which bolstered the spirit of the prisoner was belief in the triumph of truth and justice, without which the very existence of Soviet rule would be unthinkable. The arbitrary regime implemented during the cult of personality, whose power was best experienced by the prisoners, was only a temporary distortion of the socialist system and could not continue indefinitely. It was a general consensus that Stalin was culpable for this state of affairs. In fact many citizens were convicted on the basis of their utterances against Stalin, wishing him the quickest demise.

In March of 1953 Stalin died, but the conditions of the prisoners by no means improved; on the contrary, they became worse. I shall cite several examples:

In the spring of 1953 a centralized internal punitive prison was set up at prison camp Darny and prisoners from all sections of the prison, who were to be disciplined, began to be transferred there. On May 23, 1953 a group of prisoners from the first section were to be transferred to the internal punitive prison. Among those being punished was a religious believer who refused to be separated from his cell mate, also a believer, who was refused permission to accompany his friend to the internal prison. He began to implore Senior Lieutenant Shirgaev not to separate them. The Senior Lieutenant, reconsidering, ordered the prisoner to the truck to join the prisoners being sent to the internal prison. The prisoner, pleased, started for the truck when suddenly he was killed by the Senior Lieutenant. His friend who was already on the truck jumped down to his mortally wounded friend and was also killed by Shirgaev.

On the following day another group of 13 prisoners was transferred from the fourth section to the internal prison for punishment. The

group was forced to cross the tundra on foot. The snow was melting and large ponds of standing water dotted the tundra. Having turned off the road, the convoy of prisoners was directed straight for the water. The prisoners stopped at the water's edge and implored the guards to allow them to cross over dry land. The guards, maintaining tradition, barking vulgarities and threats, ordered the prisoners into the water. The prisoners refused, and in order to avoid a pretext for the guards to use their weapons, sat in the snow, refusing to budge until an officer arrived. The officer heard out the complaint, took a rifle from a guard and with one shot to the head, killed a prisoner sitting in front. He was prisoner Sufronyuk.

On the same day news was received from the third section that, in the presence of General Semenov, 15 men were wounded and 6 killed.

These arbitrary actions caused considerable turmoil among the prisoners in camp Gurny. No one knew when, where or against whom the next shot would be directed. It was not long before on May 25, 1953, in the fifth section, a guard opened up with a machine gun on a group of prisoners standing at the entrance to their barracks, killing one and wounding six . . . ”

These were the conditions, I dare say, which caused the rebellion in Noryl'sk. My modest role in the uprising is characterized by Kolodyazhny as “infringement of the established regime”. This is the loose way in which Kolodyazhny interprets the facts of my case. And when there are no facts, he insinuates!

For example, my friendship with Abraham Shifrin exasperates Kolodyazhny. He characterizes our friendship thus: “Popular wisdom has it that a man is known by the company he keeps! A question arises; if Shifrin, a Zionist and a spy maintains contact with Hrytskyak, what does that then make Hrytskyak? We see no need for further comment”.

This fabrication is so outrageous and irresponsible that I see no need for refutation. I will never become accustomed to such accusations. In 1959, I was secretly and groundlessly accused of creating the OUN in Vinnytsya, which paved the way for my arrest. It is now evident, that I am again being accused without grounds, this time of being a spy. The tactics have changed, but the handwriting remains the same. It is not difficult to guess why this is being done.

It is more difficult to surmise why Kolodyazhny is so annoyed with my relationship with Shifrin. Why should it displease him if one prisoner is friendly towards another prisoner; that a Ukrainian is friendly with a Jew? He would prefer that we fight one another as dogs. But his expectations are futile, for this is not the case and never will be!

Reading Kolodyazhny's article from beginning to end, one could conclude that the incentive for writing the article was provided by my securing an exit visa to Israel, which I received in 1973. But why

then did he wait till 1976 to write the article? And does he understand what makes him so indignant?

I submitted my application for emigration to Israel, exercising my right, guaranteed by the Universal Declaration on Human Rights of the United Nations. All democratic governments are signatories including the government of the Soviet Union. I did not, therefore, violate state law. If there was any violation, then it was by those organs of government which ultimately denied me the right to emigrate.

I am not allowed to exercise yet another right, as stated in a resolution adopted by the 15th UNESCO Conference — the right of free contact with the city of Aurovil. This matter is best explained in my letter to the leaders of the Soviet Union and India.

To: The Secretary General of the	Madam Indira Gandhi
Central Committee of the CPSU	Prime Minister of India
Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev	

At the 15th UNESCO Conference, held in Paris from October to November 1968, the government of India sponsored a resolution, which was unanimously adopted, calling on all signatory states to assist the development of Aurovil City.

A. A. Fomin, chief Soviet delegate, declared: "The Soviet delegation fully supports the draft resolution sponsored by India".

The resolution specifically provides that in Aurovil "people from various countries will live and work together in the field of culture, education" etc. . . . and "that the signatory states attach great importance to the dissemination of true information and to the free exchange of ideas and knowledge, and reaffirm their resolve to develop and strengthen the means for contact between their peoples".

Seven years have passed, and as yet the free exchange of ideas and knowledge have not been secured. For example, the first brief account that we were able to secure concerning this project was from the periodical "India", 1972, no. 2. I then wrote to Aurovil requesting detailed information concerning the construction of this unique city. Secretary Navadrhata, in his kind response, wrote "we are sending you an issue of the Aurovil newspaper and other literature which will give you some idea of our latest achievements".

I did not receive the promised information and wrote to Secretary Navadrhata of this fact. I did not receive a reply and our correspondence stopped. It appears that frequent correspondence from USSR to Aurovil is impossible. Obviously, the unanimously adopted resolution on assistance to Aurovil continues only in principle and does not represent established guidelines for governmental behaviour.

Therefore, I am appealing to the leaders of our two friendly countries, requesting them to take note of the UNESCO resolution

and to instruct their governments to further develop and publish the agreement concerning easy and unhindered contact between citizens of the USSR and Aurovil.

It is my understanding that "easy and unhindered contacts" are:

- 1) Unlimited correspondence (letters, printed matter, parcels, money).
- 2) Unrestricted travel for citizens of the USSR to Aurovil and back.
- 3) Emigration of interested citizens of the USSR to Aurovil.

Please do not consider this letter as a reproach or criticism. It is a reminder of the forgotten UNESCO resolution and an expression of the hope that the governments of both states, through the spirit of good will, are resolved to work out a concrete agreement for the development of and assistance to the most peaceful city in the world — Aurovil.

January 3, 1976

Yevhen Hrytsyak

As yet, I have not received a reply to this appeal. But my position, as attested by my experiences, is such:

- 1) If I am employed and do not maintain contact with any groups, as was the case in 1958-59, I will be accused of being unemployed and of creating the OUN group — and thus await arrest.
- 2) If I contact my friends, I will be accused of spying — and thus await arrest.

What, then, is my way out of this predicament? Only one, the way out of the USSR. Having signed the Universal Declaration on Human Rights, the government of the Soviet Union recognized my right to emigrate. I am appealing to you with but one request; secure for me this right and allow me to emigrate.

July 5, 1976

Yevhen Hrytsyak

L'Est Européen

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VLADIMIR PRISON INMATES ASK DR. WALDHEIM TO REVIEW DISCRIMINATION OF UKRAINE

A group of Ukrainian inmates in the Vladimir Prison, identifying themselves as nationalists, wrote a letter to Dr. Kurt Waldheim, Secretary General of the United Nations, requesting the international organisation to investigate the violations of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights by the Soviet Union.

"We, Ukrainian nationalists, imprisoned in the Vladimir Prison for our participation in the Ukrainian national liberation movement, are appealing to you to request the United Nations to review the violations of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, specifically the repressions against Ukrainians who want to emigrate from the USSR", said the letter.

Claiming that there are no precisely defined laws on emigration in the Soviet Union, the unidentified group of prisoners said that Jews and Germans are allowed to leave the USSR because of Western pressure.

Russian dissidents are also allowed to emigrate, they said, because they do not denounce the system but only defend human rights.

The Ukrainian prisoners explained that the Soviet government has reconciled itself with not being considered a democratic government because of the dissidents' testimonies in the West. They added, however, that if Ukrainians were allowed to emigrate, the imperialistic nature of the USSR would be revealed, and that is an undesirable label in the second half of the 20th century.

"The goal of Ukrainian nationalists is not to democratize or in any other way improve the Russian form of political life. We are only interested in it as a preface which would help develop our struggle", wrote the inmates. "Our goal is the secession of Ukraine from the creation of a Ukrainian state".

The Ukrainian nationalists' criticisms of the USSR, they wrote, reveals that imperialism is the true nature of the Soviet government. In order to distract attention from these allegations, the Kremlin centres its "discussions on the analysis of the social, or even political, status of people in the Soviet Union, but never on an analysis of international relations".

"In order to hide before the West the imperial character of the Soviet Union, Moscow does not allow Ukrainian (or nationalists of other nations in the Soviet Union) who had any relation to the national liberation struggle during World War II or later including now, to emigrate from the USSR", they charged. "Moreover, they are severely punished".

The Vladimir inmates said that among those who were arrested for trying to emigrate from the Soviet Union were **Yuriy Shukhevych, Yuriy Dziuba, Vasyl Petrovych Fedorenko, Anatolij Berniy-chuk, Vitaliy Kalnychenko** and **Yevhen Hrytsak**.

They said that the concentration camps in the Soviet Union, as well as the Vladimir Prison, are packed with Ukrainians who want to leave the USSR.

“We ask you, and through you all people for whom the ideals of national and human rights are dear, to demand that the Soviet government cease its discrimination against Ukrainians with regards to emigration, and release from prison Yuriy Shukhevych, Anatolij Berniy-chuk, Yuriy Dziuba, Vasyl Fedorenko, Vitaliy Kalnychenko, Yevhen Hrytsak and allow them, and all others who so desire, the right to emigrate from the USSR”.

IN DEFENCE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS

Three young philosophers — Vasyl Lisovy, Yevhen Pronyuk, and Mykola Bondar — dared to criticise the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and to demand respect for human and national rights. They knew from what had happened to others that they were risking their careers, their well-being, even their lives and the happiness of their loved ones. Yet, they refused to remain silent, for to be silent is to collaborate. Like thousands of Ukrainians, they have become prisoners of conscience — inmates of prisons, labour camps, and psychiatric hospitals, whose sole “crime” was to protest against the violation of religious, national, and individual rights by Russia.

The citizens of democratic countries, can do a lot to help the victims of Russian repression in Ukraine. Soviet leaders are not sensitive to world opinion, but they are not immune to it. Under its pressure they have permitted thousands of their victims to emigrate, have freed some dissenters, and have improved the treatment of some prisoners. You can help Lisovy, Pronyuk, and Bondar by informing the public about their tragic fate, by protesting to Soviet officials on their behalf, by requesting intervention from western governments in their interest, by expressing moral support in personal letters to these men.

The world is indivisible, and the struggle for freedom is also indivisible. Without your help the movement for national and human rights in the USSR cannot succeed, and without its victory your own freedom can never be secure. And not only is your freedom dependent on the struggle for national and human rights, but your survival as well. For this reason you cannot ignore what has happened to Lisovy, Pronyuk, and Bondar.

(Ed.)

THE CASE OF VASYL LISOVY

BORN: 1937. Married to Vira Hrytsenko, philologist. They have two children.

PROFESSIONAL WORK: Lisovy held the degree of Candidate of Philosophical Sciences (similar to Ph.D.) and worked as a research associate at the Institute of Philosophy, Academy of Sciences of the Uk.S.S.R. He was also a lecturer at the Shevchenko University of Kyiv.

PUBLICATIONS (partial list):

"Zvychayna mova ta yiyi vykorystannya z tochky zoru lohiky" (Ordinary Language and its Use from the Viewpoint of Logic), *Filosofiya ta sotsiologia*. Ed., V. O. Nosenko. Kyiv: Institute of Philosophy, Ac. of Sc. Ukr.S.S.R. 1969, pp. 233-42.

"Pro sposoby analizu tekstiv povsyakdennoi movy" (On the methods of Analyzing Texts of Ordinary Language), *Filosofska dumka*, No. 3 (1970), pp. 50-59. "Krytyka stsiyenytskykh kontsepsiy nauko-vo-tekhnichnoho prohresu" (A Critique of Scientific Concepts of Scientific-Technological Progress), *Filosofska dumka*, No. 3 (1971), pp. 63-71.

Introduction to Logic of Kononovych-Horbatsky, *Filosofska dumka*, No. 3 (1972), pp. 81-82.

ARREST: With Yevhen Pronyuk, Lisovy composed a letter of protest against the wave of arrests in Ukraine in early 1972 and against the Russian cultural and economic policies in Ukraine. The letter was sent to the CC CPSU* and the KGB. A few days later Pronyuk was searched and about 70 photocopies of the letter were found on him ready for mailing to various prominent Soviet citizens. When Pronyuk was arrested, Lisovy acknowledged his part in composing the letter. He was dismissed from work and arrested in early July, 1972 (*A Chronicle of Current Events*, Nos. 27, 30).

Lisovy's wife was dismissed from work and left without the means to support herself and her children (*The Ukrainian Herald*, Nos. 7-8).

TRIAL: In Nov. 1973 Lisovy was tried with his friend Pronyuk and his student, Ivan Semanyuk, who had protested against the arrest. He was charged with preparing and disseminating anti-Soviet materials with the intention of undermining the state, and with helping in the preparation of two issues of the *Ukrainian Herald*. Lisovy pleaded not guilty, but was sentenced under Art. 62 of the Criminal Code of Ukr.S.S.R. ("Anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda") to 7 years in a strict-regime camp and 3 years exile from Ukraine (*A Chronicle . . .*, No. 30).

IMPRISONMENT: Lisovy was sent to Camp No. 3 in Mordovia, where he has been harassed by the administration and severely punished for minor infractions of the regulations. On Nov. 15, 1974

* Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

he was thrown into an isolation cell for 15 days and lost his visiting rights for refusing to work and to wear an identity tag (A Chronicle..., No. 35). In July 1975 Vasyl Stus was stabbed by a criminal and Lisovy wrote a letter to R. A. Rudenko, the Procurator-General of the U.S.S.R., describing the incident. For this letter he was punished with 3 months in solitary confinement on a diet of under 1900 cal. per day. In December, 1975, he was brought to Kyiv and pressure was exerted to get a statement of retraction and repentance from him. His wife was allowed to see him in January. Lisovy did not budge from his former position and by the end of the month was returned to the camp. Although his health has improved somewhat since January and he has been permitted a visit from his wife and children, he is very weak and exhausted. Most recently, Mykola Rudenko, head of the Ukrainian Group to Promote the Implementation of the Provisions of the Helsinki Act, formed in Ukraine, reported that in November 1976 Lisovy was twice put into a punitive cell.

Lisovy's wife is barely supporting herself and her children by working in a kindergarten. The children are not getting the necessary care and are frequently ill. The son, who is four, has not been as deeply affected by the events of the last few years, but his older sister, Myroslava, who is eleven, has been so shaken that she has a nervous disorder. Former friends and acquaintance avoid the family. The KGB keeps a very close watch on Vira Lisovy, and, she believes, has installed listening devices in her home.

THE CASE OF MYKOLA BONDAR

BORN: 1939.

PROFESSIONAL WORK: In 1968 Bondar began to lecture in philosophy at Uzhhorod University in southwestern Ukraine. In 1969 he was dismissed from work for commenting about the immoderate celebrations marking the Lenin centenary and for criticizing the Communist Party at a departmental meeting. He supported himself by doing odd jobs. At one time he worked in a boiler house in Cherkassy (**A Chronicle of Current Events**, No. 23, and **Sobranie dokumentov Samizdata**, vol. 22, 1102).

ARREST: He was arrested on November 7, 1970, on Khreshchatyk Boulevard in Kyiv, where during an official demonstration he mingled with the marchers and unfurled a banner with the words "Shame upon the present leaders of the CPSU" (**A Chronicle . . .**, No. 23, **Sobranie . . .**, 22).

TRIAL: He was charged with spreading slanderous lies about the Soviet political and social systems among his university colleagues, in letters to Redko (the chairman of the philosophy department at Uzhhorod University), to leaders of the CP and the state, and to a friend. All these documents, including the letters to Brezhnev, Kosygin, and Podgorny, were attached to the case. On May 12, 1971, Bondar was sentenced by Judge Matsko of the Kyiv Regional Court to 7 years in a strict-regime prison camp for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" (Art. 62 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code). Bondar pleaded not guilty.

IMPRISONMENT: Bondar has been a persistent fighter for recognition of the status of political prisoner by the state and for better prison conditions. September 10-12, 1971, he participated with seven other prisoners in Camp

No. 17, Mordovia, in a hunger strike to protest the mistreatment of prisoners' relatives, illegal denial of visits, packages, etc. (*A Chronicle* . . . , No. 22). From November 10 to December 10, 1971, he refused food in protest against his conviction (*A Chronicle* . . . , No. 23). In December 1971, on the eve of Human Rights Day, Bondar, with seven other prisoners, signed an open letter to the deputies of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet and the Human Rights Commission of the UN, describing the lawlessness to which they and their families are subjected and demanding an investigation by a special UN committee and recognition of the status of political prisoners by the U.S.S.R. (*A Chronicle* . . . , No. 23).

In 1973 Bondar was transferred from Mordovia to Camp No. 35 in the Perm Region, R.S.F.S.R. and then to Camp No. 36. From there with six other prisoners he wrote a letter addressed to the governments of all countries, to the UN, and to all honest men, describing the life of political prisoners (*Suchasnist*, No. 718, 1975). In August 1975 he was transferred to Vladimir Prison, but his protest did not cease. In February 1975 he demanded the status of political prisoner and was punished with 10 days in solitary confinement. In June with several other prisoners he refused to work and demanded recognition as a political prisoner. From October 1975 to January 1976 he has kept on a low diet of about 1300 cal. per day. In a letter to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. Bondar declared civil disobedience, beginning on February 24, 1976.

M. Bondar: *"I have no intention of abandoning my Fatherland — Ukraine"*

DECLARATION OF CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

To the Presidium of the
Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.
from prisoner Mykola Vasylyevych Bondar

I was sentenced by the Kyiv Regional Court on May, 12, 1971, under Art. 62, sec. 1 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian S.S.R. to 7 years in a strict regime camp. Since then I have frequently written to various state and social institutions and organisations, demanding that my case be reviewed objectively. The interpretation of the motives of my civil protest that appears in my accusation is an intentional and conscious distortion. I have met with a heartless indifference to my fate, and this forced me to declare several prolonged hunger strikes in protest. But not a single person wished to manifest at least that minimum of civil virtue that is a part of human dignity.

If the state finds it necessary to condemn me for purely political reasons and feels the urgent need to keep me in strict isolation, then it is obliged to recognise me officially as a political prisoner and to provide the required prison conditions for me.

For this reason I turned to the MVD of the U.S.S.R. in January 1975 and demanded the status of a political prisoner. Unfortunately, the state saw no need to demonstrate any objectivity, even out of respect for itself. Moreover, having deprived me of the right to defend my human dignity, the state began to repress me in a deliberate and systematic manner. It continually subjected me to the torture of

solitary confinement in reprisal for a single declaration of non-conformity to the penal regime that was destroying me. This declaration was my response to the state's refusal to recognise me as a political prisoner. Then, by depriving me of food and medicine, the state tried to force me into renouncing my just demands.

Although the administration of Camp VS/389/36 realised that this torture was senseless and did not believe that I could possibly renounce my demands, it was motivated also by the idea — "Let this be a warning to others".

As for myself, I sent out a large number of petitions about the repressions I was suffering. The numerous letters that I sent to the deputies of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. were redirected to you. To the subsequent series of petitions that I addressed to you, you preferred to reply at first with a mere supposition (which, by the way, was irrelevant to the main point of my grievances).

The Chusovsky People's Court, which on August 4, 1975, ordered that I be transferred to a prison, was too "ashamed" to call things by their name, to give the real reasons why I refused to conform to the penal code, and preferred to conceal them under the standard phrase: "For refusing to work and for infringing the ITU code".

Since I can find no other means to defend my human dignity, I declare as of February 24, 1976, civil disobedience, as a protest against the state's violence and stubborn refusal to recognize me as a human being. My civil disobedience will consist of the following:

1. refusing any correspondence until the end of my term;
2. refusing any visits;
3. refusing any packages that are permitted by the code;
4. renouncing my Soviet citizenship;
5. boycotting the Soviet state;
6. boycotting the prison administration;
7. preserving absolute silence;
8. declaring a hunger strike.

In entering into a mutual contract with the state to acquire the civil rights and liberties that were offered to me, and whose genuineness I did not doubt at the time, I trustingly gave the state the right to control my views, to form them according to its outlook. I subordinated my will and personality to the state. I sincerely hoped that I would fulfil my obligations, and at the same time had faith in the good will of the other side. It never occurred to me that the state could claim the right to deceive me, to speculate... (illegible — ed.)... Rejecting the agreed-upon obligations, the state swiftly hurled at me the full force of its coercive institutions. Although by this act the state had already broken our contract, I tried during the long years of imprisonment to maintain some juridical relations with the state (by means of grievances and declarations). I naively hoped that fair relations might be re-established.

Now I realize that it is necessary to legally dissolve our contract.

I no longer wish to identify myself as a citizen of the U.S.S.R. Hence as of February 24, 1976, I renounce my Soviet citizenship.

But I have no intention of abandoning my Fatherland — Ukraine where I was born and where I intend to live when my term is up.

After serving my term I do not intend to get a citizen's passport or exercise the rights and liberties that exist in the U.S.S.R. — because they are powerless to guarantee my personal freedom. Hence I demand to be recognized as a person without any citizenship and to be granted the corresponding status (according to point 4 of my declaration of civil disobedience).

In connection with this I voluntarily renounce the right, granted me by the state, to defend myself by means of grievances and petitions to state and social institutions and organizations — which deliberately ignore me — and I surrender myself completely to the arbitrary will of the state.

And if tomorrow the state should want to take life itself from me, I shall not resist or grumble. I shall not lift a finger to defend myself (according to point 5 of my declaration).

As of February 24, 1976, I do not recognize the prison regulations as binding upon me and I reserve the right to govern my conduct in every concrete situation according to my own will and the dictates of my conscience (in accordance with point 6 of my declaration).

From February 24, 1976 to November 7, 1977, I declare absolute silence. While I am imprisoned, I shall not utter one word (in accordance with point 7 of my declaration).

On the day I begin my civil disobedience I declare a one-day hunger strike (in accordance with point 8 of my declaration) .

Mykola Bondar

(Translated from *Arkhiv Samizdata*, No. 2559)

Amnesty International, the human rights organization, included Mykola Vasylevych Bondar in it "Prisoners of the Month Campaign" for December 1976.

Please send personal letters of encouragement to:

U.S.S.R.
Mordovskaya A.S.S.R.
p. ya. Zh.Kh. 385/19
Lisovy, Vasyl

U.S.S.R.
Vladimirskaya Obl.
gor. Vladimir 600020
uchr. OD-1, ST-2
Pronyuk, Yevhen

U.S.S.R.
Vladimirskaja Obl.
gor. Vladimir 600020
uchr. OD-1, ST-2
Bondar, Mykola

TO AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL, FROM VIRA LISOVY

This letter has been circulating in the Soviet Union by means of **Samvydav**, and has recently reached the West. Letters of similar content were addressed by Vira Lisovy to the International Committee for the Defence of Human Rights, to G. Marchais, the Secretary General of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party, and to V. Kashtan, the Secretary General of the Canadian Communist Party.

I do not know whether it is despair or a glimmer of hope that has prompted me to turn to you. If this is a common weakness of women, then, is it such a great sin to surrender to it when two small children ask daily why their father is not with them? I too have demanded an answer to this question from officials, but no one has been able to convince me that my husband has been imprisoned according to legal norms. And no one probably intended to convince me, for I received the same stereotyped answer from all sides: "He is punished justly for anti-Soviet activity".

In January 1972 a national calamity befell Ukraine: many Ukrainian intellectuals were arrested in various cities of the republic. A large majority of those who were arrested are widely known in our society because of their cultural and civic work.

My husband and I regarded the arrests of 1972 as grossly unjust and groundless from the juridical and ideological points of view. Both of us were born in a socialistic country. We were raised in working class families and in Soviet schools. We were active members of Komsomol and dreamed of dedicating our loves to high social ideals. The terrible repressions of the Stalin period seemed to us to belong to a distant past — distant although not forgotten. Hence the events of 1972 greatly alarmed us. My husband, Vasyl Semenovych Lisovy, born in 1937, was a member of the CPSU [Communist Party of the Soviet Union]. He held the degree of Candidate of Philosophical Sciences, and was a researcher at the Institute of Philosophy of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian S.S.R. and a lecturer at the T. Shevchenko State University. He described his feelings in an "Open Letter to the Members of the CC CPSU [the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union]. Appealing to the interests of socialism and to the constitutional and legal norms of our society, he directed the attention of the CC to the illegal and socially groundless nature of the KGB's actions and requested that the CC intervene in the events in Ukraine. Because of his devotion to socialist and democratic ideals, because of his civil and party conscience, Lisovy could not remain silent. The statutes of the party not merely give him the right but make it his duty to react when socialist legal norms are violated. Vasyl Lisovy fulfilled his duty. On July 4, 1972, he sent a letter to the highest council of the party. Two days later, on July 6, "the reply arrived" in the form of several KGB

agents who presented Lisovy with a search warrant from the Procurator of Ukraine. After the search they took my husband away, and promised for the sake of appearances to release him in one or two days — I was to give birth in a few days. For twenty months they instructed him in the rights and duties of a Soviet citizen, emphasizing he had meddled in affairs that were no concern of his and that he would be better to occupy himself with his family. Then they sent him to be “re-educated”, sentencing him to seven years in a strict-regime camp and three years of exile. Soon four years will have passed since my children saw their father. When we visit him (once a year), he gazes at them with bitterness because he cannot participate in their upbringing. I still cannot believe that his cruel sentence is real, and because of this I have written appeals to various authorities in my country — to the CC CPSU, care of L. Brezhnev, and to the 25th Party Congress.

“Anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda” . . . But who can quote one sentence from Vasyl Lisovy’s mouth or pen which rejected socialism or the Soviet order?! Is his “open letter” judged to be anti-Soviet because he considers the economic prosperity and the spiritual vitality of the nation to be dependent on the democratization of every facet of life in our country?!

The trial is called “open” in the official documents. Yes, it was “open”, because over ten people with special passes were induced to attend it. Even I could get in only at the end of the trial. In order to keep me out of the courtroom “legally”, I was classified as a witness and summoned last among the witnesses to testify . . . that I am the wife of V. S. Lisovy.

There were hardly any witnesses at Lisovy’s trial. But even the few selected colleagues of my husband from the Institute of Philosophy gave him a positive character reference, stressing his talents, broad erudition, and high moral qualities. His lawyer, V. V. Didenko, who is experienced in such cases, found no legal basis for imposing on Lisovy the maximum penalty under Art. 62, part 1, of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. S.S.R. The court took none of the extenuating circumstances into account: the poor state of Lisovy’s health, his two small children, his father’s death at the front in the 1941-45 war, his mother’s (who raised five children singlehandedly) condition as an invalid of the first and second category, the high quality of his scholarly work, his spotless record as an active party member who carried out important assignments up to the level of the CC CPU [Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine].

Out of the three and a half years that Vasyl Lisovy has served in a strict-regime camp (his last address was Mordovskaya S.S.R., Zubove-Polyansky R-n, poselok Lesnoy, Zh-kh 385/19), he has spent two and a half years under prison conditions (in punishment cells and isolation cells) “for misbehaviour”, as the camp officials call it, i.e., most likely

for participating in political activities at camp — hunger-strikes, written and oral protests against the cruel camp regime — and for recognition of the status of political prisoner. My husband was punished for failing to fulfill the production quota, although there were objective reasons for this — a defective sewing machine which, for all his complaints, was never repaired.

One can judge the “educative” conditions and the actions of the camp authorities from the following incident. At the end of July 1975 a criminal assaulted Vasyly Stus and almost plunged a knife into his back. As a result of a violent blow Stus began to bleed profusely. It is true that Stus was saved from death and that at the insistence of his wife he was operated on in a special Leningrad hospital. Lisovy, who probably knew the direct cause of this incident, wrote a protest letter to the Procurator-General of the U.S.S.R., R. A. Rudenko. For this he was thrown into camp prison for six months, while totally different grounds were officially announced.

The criminal got off with two weeks in prison. Moreover, Lisovy had returned from a five-month imprisonment only one month before this incident. He returned so exhausted that he could walk only by leaning against a wall. (I saw him in this condition during a visit. He was completely exhausted and so emaciated that I could hardly recognize him).

I had no legal relation to the actions of my husband, but I was dismissed from work “according to my own wish”, and for two and a half years I and my ill children have been forced to live with my parents. Nor am I free of psychological pressures and intimidations. Thus, one of the investigators, who did not give me his name, told me that if my husband does not repent and does not publicly renounce his “anti-Soviet” position, then his term of imprisonment can be prolonged, and after he is released he will not be permitted to resume his scholarly work. In fact, on April 5, 1974, the All-Union Commission of Certification (VAK) deprived Lisovy of his candidate’s degree. The same investigator informed me that I too was engaged in libel and anti-Soviet activity because I am passing information to foreigners. This accusation was based on a letter I had mailed to my former student who now lives in the U.S.A. In this letter I described the trip I made with my children to visit my husband.

Respected friends! Help me to release from imprisonment a man who is innocent, a scholar-philosopher of great creative potential, a highly intelligent and selfless person. Help return their father to my children!

March, 1976

Vira Lisovy
Ukr. S.S.R.
m. Kyiv 140
vul. Bratislavskya 4, kv. 192.

NINETEEN UKRAINIAN POLITICAL PRISONERS RENOUNCE U.S.S.R. CITIZENSHIP

Thirty three Ukrainians wish to leave for Canada or the U.S.A.

In 1976, according to documents which came to the West, twenty-six Soviet political prisoners refused Soviet citizenship. Among them were nineteen Ukrainians.

Understandably, this list does not exhaust the number of the willing, wishing to emigrate from Ukraine, or the prisoners of conscience.

Ukrainians made up and still make up a substantial number of the contingent of prisoners of conscience, unproportionately higher compared to other inhabitants of the U.S.S.R. In the worst concentration camp, the Mordovska camp No. 1, in the special regime, out of twenty inmates, all political prisoners, thirteen of them are Ukrainian. In the women's camp, Ukrainian women make up 20% of the inmates. The circumstances in which the Ukrainian prisoners of conscience find themselves during their term of internment can be compared with the conditions in the 1930's. They find themselves under the constant control of the K.G.B. and the State authorities. At every step of their daily life they are subjected to great obstacles and harassment. Because of this the discriminations widen and effect not only wives and children but also distant relatives and their friends. Therefore no one has the courage to visit them, or to help them settle their business affairs. They are terrorised at their place of work, their mail is checked and conversations listened to. A parcel from abroad or a money order from Moscow can be an adequate reason for a summons from the K.G.B. where through "discussion" a heart attack can be brought on. This happened during the summer of 1976 to Ivan Hel's brother-in-law. However, if a "discussion" does not help it is not unusual to have a brick fly through the window, (this happened with Raisa Moroz, and Serhienko's mother who is at present in the Vladimir Prison).

Ukrainian political prisoners who have been freed, and those who have not, understand that if they do not change their sympathies and do not heed the wishes of the regime, their families are doomed to a life sentence of being under close scrutiny. Also, in a short time they will find themselves behind barbed wire for many years.

Many of today's Ukrainian political prisoners are serving their second or third sentence. Svyatoslav Karavansky, after three convictions, received 30 years imprisonment. Mykola Kurchyk 33 years, Trofym Shynkaruk 35 years, Vasyl Romaniuk — a priest — 20 years, Ivan Hel 16 years plus five years exile, Danylo Shumuk 25 years, Valentyn Moroz 13 years plus five years exile, and so on For this reason they decided to try and leave the U.S.S.R.

Many of their countrymen live in the United States and Canada, also these are the places where most of those who wish to leave

Ukraine have distant relatives. We include a list of the families related to the political prisoners who contacted the 'Group' and stated their wish to leave the boundaries of the Soviet Union. We ask you to help them find their families and friends, and to ask them to send invitations; also to help them get permission from the Soviet Union to leave.

Keeping in mind the tragic conditions of the Ukrainian political prisoners, we again ask you to help them in their search for friends and relatives in Canada and U.S.A., and pass on their plea for help.

Those who signed the document were: Ludmilla Alekseyeva,
Alexander Ginsburg,
Malva Landa,
Yurij Orlov.

Amongst 26 people are 19 Ukrainians. Here we give you the list:

List of Political Prisoners who refused Soviet Citizenship.

Ural Camp No. 35.

Political Prisoners of Various Nationalities.

1. Azelbaymus T. I.,
2. Shahverdian Bahrat,
3. Hrabans Ivar,
4. Zorhrabian Razmyk,
5. Kyrylo Harald,
6. Valdman Johanne,
7. Ogurzov Ihor.

Ukrainians

1. Pidhoretskyj Vasyl,
2. Basarab Dmytro,
3. Hlusman Semen,
4. Marchenko Valeriy,
5. Kalynets Ihor,
6. Horbal Mykola,
7. Demydiv Dmytro,
8. Motriuk Mykola,
9. Shovkovyj Vasyl,
10. Proniuk Evhen,
11. Soroka Stepan,
12. Verhorlyak Dmytro,
13. Mamchur Stepan
14. Sawchyn Oleksij.

Ural Camp No. 36.

15. Vernyk Iwan.

Mordovian Camp No. 1.

16. Shumuk Danylo,
17. Moroz Valentyn
18. Shynkaruk Trofym.

Mordovian Camp No. 3.

19. Chornovil Vyacheslav.

List of Ukrainian Families, who would like to leave for Canada or U.S.A.

1. Hel Ivan A. (born 1937) with his wife Maria (born 1936) and daughter Oksana (born 1964), Lviv.
2. Svitlychna Nadia O. (born 1936) with her son Yarema (born 1970) Kyiv.
3. Chornovil Vyacheslav M. (born 1938), Vilhovets, Cherkaska region.

4. Hurnyj Roman A. (born 1956), Kutkir, Lviv region.
5. Kandyba Ivan O. (born 1930), Pustomyty, Lviv region.
6. Horyn Bohdan M. (born 1936), with his wife Oksana (born 1924) Kyiv.
7. Svitlychny Ivan O. (born 1929), with his wife Leonida (born 1925) Kyiv.
8. Rev. Romaniuk Vasyl (born 1925) with his wife Maria (born 1924) Kyiv, and son Taras (born 1959), Kosiv, Ivano-Frankivsk region.
9. Shabatura Stefania M. (born 1938), with her mother Anna. Lviv.
10. Kalynets Ihor M. (born 1939) with his wife Irene (born 1940) and daughter Zvenyslava (born 1963).
11. Karavansky Svyatoslav Y. (born 1920), with his wife Nina-Strokata (born 1926).
12. Serhienko Olexander T. (born 1933) with his mother Oksana Meshko (born 1905). Kyiv.
13. Shumuk Danylo L. (born 1914), Mordovia.
14. Moroz Valentyn Y. (born 1936) with his wife Raisa and their son Valentyn. Ivano-Frankivsk.
15. Barladyanu Vasyl V. (born 1942) with his wife Valentina (born 1948) and their daughter Valerie (born 1971). Odessa.
16. Tymchuk Leonid M. (born 1935). Odessa.
17. Smohytel Vadim (born 1939). Kyiv.
18. Myheyev Dmytro F. (born 1941). Kyiv.

TEACHER ARRESTED

Last year a teacher in Kyiv, Vasyl Pysmenny, was arrested for alleged improper conduct before his students. He was sentenced to eight years confinement.

In 1972, Pysmenny was arrested for the first time for publicly defending the use of the Ukrainian language.

In the Donbas region, Oleksa Tykhiy was warned by the KGB about concealing "contraband" literature. On the 15th of this year his quarters were searched by the secret police and several handwritten manuscripts about the history of the Ukrainian language were discovered.

Tykhiy is an ex-prisoner who was sentenced in 1958 to five year incarceration for treason.

The KGB initiated a crackdown against Ukrainian Baptists in Ivano-Frankivske, among whom is a man named Lesiv

Samvydav publications are also circulating the names of 19 Baptist prisoners incarcerated in the Vynnytsia and Zhytomyr region concentration camps.

AN OPEN LETTER TO BREZHNEV

Honoured Leonid Illich!

I am mother of political prisoner Olexander Serhienko of the Vladimir prison. What the Vladimir prison is — in this day, the entire world has come to know. In times of peace, when there are no prisoner-of-war camps, nothing more brutal, nothing more inhuman, exists on the face of the earth.

You and I, Leonid Illich, are people of one generation. I am not much older than you, and therefore, by right of a mother's soul which has suffered much and for which bureaucratic understanding has disappeared, I will express that which my conscience demands.

My son is extremely ill. He has a chronic form of tuberculosis which in prison has become acute. I visited him on June 20, 1976. All that remains of him is skin and bones. He even lacks the strength to move his lips. I could barely hear what he attempted to say to me. He is unable to take a few steps without holding on to the wall. And yet, this person who is dying has been pronounced healthy. He was declared healthy only because in my letters to you I demanded his release: his further detention in prison being equivalent to a death sentence. For this reason, I, a mother, am taking the liberty of appealing to you, the prime citizen of our Union, with a plea for aid; for with my poor judgement I have inadvertently condemned my son to death. What could be more frightening than this? To seek defence — and to bring death instead . . . Where this occurs, there remains no hope of hearing a good word.

It has taken a lot of effort for me to approach you once again with a letter. The mocking words of Colonel Zavialikin, commander of the Vladimir prison, still ring in my ears: "As a mother, you should be satisfied that we have cured your son of tuberculosis. Today, he is entirely well".

Everywhere they say: "Well, completely well". What is this? — vengeance for my letters in his defence? They have taken him off the dispensary list, depriving him even of the few pills he used to receive when classified critically ill. They have left him to die without medical attention. O great Hipocrates! These very people, when receiving their medical diplomas vowed in your name to devote their lives to the spirit of love of their neighbours, to the spirit of fraternal sympathy.

Who has transformed their hearts into soulless rocks?

I do not regard this tragic decision as an answer to my pleas for aid. I understand that you yourself did not even read my letters. Instead of you, Colonel Zavialikin replied to me. And the prison walls, which today are my son's only support, answered me. At least

they (the walls) do not decline to help when he falls against them and no one else wishes to hold him up.

They tell me: "Your son — is a criminal. What kind of mercy are you seeking for him?" But they have said this all along.

Leonid Illich! You were an active participant of the XX and XXII (Party) Congress. God, how much indignation there was because of Stalin's abuse of power! How much sympathy was expressed for the victims of unjust repressions! It was even decided to erect a monument in Moscow, so that our descendants would not forget Stalin's inhuman cruelty. Where is this monument? . .

My son has committed exactly as many crimes as I had committed, when I was thrown into a Beria camp for ten years. The delegates of the XX and XXII Congresses bowed before me, begging me, in the name of the Communist Party, not to mention this evil. The middle-aged colonel, who handed me the documents granting me full and unconditional rehabilitation, appeared sad. His words sounded bitter and stiffly ceremonious: "The Fatherland grants you forgiveness".

What was this? Why was this? So that some ten years later, the prison guards could lead my critically ill son down the same thorny path? A son who grew up without his mother — for she was torn from him by the criminal will of armed officials, officials who are unaccustomed to report to anyone for their actions. And my son's sentence is the same as was mine — ten years . . .

He is not guilty of anything before the state — just as I was not. Surely it is not a crime, for a youth still uncorrupted by life, to believe in the decisions of the Party Congress which condemn Stalinism? Is it a criminal act, when the Constitution is understood literally, and not figuratively, as it is generally interpreted by some government agencies? As if that which is written does not concern you— it was signed only so that 'the icon would appear beautiful'.

But the Constitution exists not in order to replace our icons, but in order to live according to it. And to believe its every word. Otherwise, it transforms itself into a trap for trusting youths. Is this moral?

Soon, Leonid Illich, we shall leave this world — our sons and grandchildren will remain. Along with us will go the generation which was taught by Stalin to read one thing, and to understand another. Our sons cannot understand how it is possible to declare discussions about the separation of Ukraine from the Soviet Union as a criminal act when this separation has been declared the sacred right of the Ukrainian nation in the Fundamental Law of the Land? This is not even agitation — what agitation? — simply a table conversation of yesterday's students about this provocative subject which means ten, or even fifteen years of imprisonment.

The Helsinki agreement was signed on the basis of the following principle: read one thing, but understand another. We are accustomed to this (Stalin destroyed tens of millions in order to give us this

terrible education!), but the world still lives according to the ancient proverb: "What has been written with a pen, cannot be cut out even with an axe". Even if this axe grows bright with blood . . .

Why do I write this letter? For this reason, Leonid Illich. You are not childless — therefore, not without paternal emotions. It is probably clear to you what feelings I have towards the persons who are killing my critically ill son. The fact that I am attempting to speak about this civilly, itself is sufficient proof of my respect for the Soviet government. What do these people expect — surely not that I will once again find enough strength to say: "It's all right, I forgive you"? And this time will come — it will come very shortly! Once again they will approach me on their knees with apologies. No, this time I will not forgive them. Even in the next world, I will not forgive. Otherwise, I will lose the right to call myself a mother.

Leonid Illich! Even if one considered my son to be actually guilty, even then he would have to be released for trial. I repeat: even if he was guilty. Why? Because there is a folk saying "What one owes — one should pay". For the state has recognised and confirmed with documentation: it has deprived me of ten years of my life as a result of its own wrong doings.

Ten years can be compensated by nothing else, but a corresponding ten years. Therefore, I demand the immediate release of my son — his term was served out for him long ago by me, his mother — Oksana Yakovlivna Meshko, a prisoner of the Beria concentration camps. At the time when I was given a document of complete rehabilitation, the state had nothing by which it could recompense the ill done to me. Today it has: count my term in prison and concentration camps against that of my son, Olexander Fedorovich Serhienko, political prisoner in the Vladimir prison. And although he actually does not require this, because he is not guilty of anything, I nevertheless tearfully beg of you: Count my term! Or my son will die. And then I, his mother, will not be able to die in peace. For I will have killed him with my previous appeal to you, Leonid Illich! I believed, and still believe . . . Perhaps this very faith is our fault? Ours — that is, mine and yours, Leonid Illich, because you and I are people of one generation. We formed this society, based upon our own fantasy. And what have our fantasies changed into? . . .

Nevertheless, I do not doubt that the resolutions of the XXII Congress sooner or later will be fulfilled — that in Moscow, at last, a grandiose monument will be erected in honour of the victims of state lawlessness. Surely, Leonid Illich, you are not indifferent as to what words shall be carved into the granite of this monument.

Oksana Meshko

September 29, 1976

IMPERATIVE THAT WE FIGHT

(Interview with V. Bukovsky's mother)

Below we print these moving words, spoken by one who has suffered so much.

"I'd like to speak to you as a mother, and tell you something about the people I have met in Moscow. I know one mother who suffers terribly because her son is in prison. She is the mother of Oles' Serhienko — her name is Oksana Yakivna Meshko. For no reason, she was imprisoned for ten years during the Stalin regime. When she was arrested her son was 14 years old, and when she was released he was 24 years of age. Now he, in turn, has been imprisoned for no other reason than for being a Ukrainian. He has done nothing, has committed no crime. They found a manuscript, — there was a man called Dzyuba, during a search they found a manuscript — you probably know of his trial! Later Dzyuba acted very badly, he not only repented but betrayed many friends at his interrogation. They freed him, but during the enquiry into his case they found a manuscript with an introduction. In the introduction were ordinary editorial notes written in Oles' Serhienko hand writing. That is all! Really! There was nothing else! Therefore it was a completely unsupported case. Oles Serhienko committed no crime, there was no evidence, but they gave him a draconic punishment.

We have to fight for his release, because he is extremely ill. The last section of 'release through illness' applies to no-one. When his mother began to plead for his release, to give back his freedom because of his illness, they (KGB) could not think of anything better to do but to take away his 'identification of invalidity' — he had an 'identification of invalidity' because of his illness; they said that he had recovered, that his tuberculosis had been cured, and they forced him to work. The 'identification of invalidity' was his only protection, and even that was taken from him.

His mother is suffering badly, she is 75 years of age, and is also a very ill person. Constantly, she goes round the government, pleads, writes letters and now, she has joined a 'Ukrainian Group' which promotes the implementation of the provisions of the Helsinki Agreement. After she had joined, she was staying at Raisa Moroz's lodgings, and they injured her with a stone which was thrown through the window. They also hurt Raisa with the stone. The KGB would never admit that this was their doing, but no-one else would dream of involving themselves in such a situation. I feel very sorry for this woman, and I promised her that, as one of these mothers I would help her in any way I could. Therefore I ask you, as Ukrainians, to start a campaign for the defence of Oles' Serhienko, because he will die there — he is very ill! Also to mobilise all Ukrainians to fight for him. Possibly Amnesty International will take up his defence. While I was still in Moscow I spoke on the telephone with

Amnesty International; I asked them about it, but as far as I know, Serhienko still has no help from any group like Amnesty International to take up his case. I beg you to do as this poor mother asks, she may not live till the release of her son, and maybe her son will not live till his release.

Oles's mother's address is: MESHKO. O. Y.
Kyiv 86, Verbolozna St. 16
Ukrainian S.S.R.

Ukrainians like V. Moroz, who is suffering badly, all have their hope in you.

QUESTION. Do you think there is a possibility of political prisoners leaving for the West, like Solzhenitsyn and even your son?

ANSWER. I think we should aim for this in every way. We must turn to the Heads of State who signed the Helsinki Agreement, because they will torture those people, literally torture them. I. Kandyba was freed after 15 years imprisonment. He cannot earn himself enough for a piece of bread. He has no professional qualifications, because the educated Ukrainian workers — political prisoners, they are the intelligentsia, are not able to do manual work. This is the intelligentsia which has been used to writing, working with their minds. It is very difficult for them to accustom themselves to the conditions of deportation; the concentration-camps are tortuous.

They still victimize Kandyba, even though he is a free man. He is constantly threatened by a new sentence. This is why it is imperative we fight — it is necessary! Yes I believe that if we take all opportunities to fight and appeal to governments so they in turn can appeal to the Soviet government. This will help — this is my belief. Let my son tell you about everything else”.

ANOTHER PSYCHIATRIC PRISONER

The Dnipropetrovske psychiatric asylum has been known for holding many Ukrainian political prisoners, and among its current inmates is Petro Trotsiuk-Kozliuk, a former UPA soldier.

Following World War II, Kozliuk was sentenced to 25 years in prison. After serving about half of his term he escaped.

He lived in freedom six years. During that time he married and had a child.

In 1962, he was recognized by a neighbour and disclosed to the police.

He was ordered to complete his sentence, and in 1971 he was charged according to article 102 of the Criminal Code which deals with so-called “OUN terrorist activities”.

The next year he was declared insane by the Serbsky Institute and committed to the Dnipropetrovske facility.

News in Brief

ZINOVIIY KRASIVSKIY TRANSFERRED TO LVIV PSYCHIATRIC ASYLUM

Zinoviyy Krasivskiy, a former member of the Ukrainian National Front, a clandestine organisation which operated in Ukraine in the fifties and early sixties, was transferred from the Smolensk psychiatric asylum to the Lviv facility this past spring.

There are renewed arrests of Ukrainian intellectuals in Kyiv and Ivano-Frankivske.

Krasivskiy, 46, was born in the Lviv region. In 1947, while he and his father were being resettled to Siberia, young Krasivskiy escape. He was apprehended and sentence to five years incarceration.

Arrested Agan

In 1967 he was again arrested for alleged participation in the Ukrainian National Front, and that year he was sentenced to five years in prison, seven years in concentration camps, and five years exile for treason.

He was charged by the court of being a co-founder of the organisation, of publishing the underground magazine "Batktivshchyna i Volia" (Fatherland and Freedom), and for distributing over 7,000 nationalistic brochures.

Krasivskiy was originally confined in the Vladimir Prison. In 1972 he was taken to Moscow's Serbsky Institute of Forensic Psychiatry, where he was declared insane.

He was subsequently moved to the Smolensk institute, and in 1975 he contracted a cardiac ailment.

PLAKHOTNIUK MOVED TO KAZAN

Mykola Plakhotniuk, Ukrainian political prisoner, was recently transferred from the Dnipropetrovsk Institute of Forensic Psychiatry to a similar "psykhushka" in Kazan.

Plakhotniuk, a 40-year-old doctor, was arrested in 1972 during the wave of arrests in Ukraine. At the Serbsky Institute in Moscow he was diagnosed as a schizophrenic with delusions of persecution.

He was accused and sentenced for passing a photocopy of the "Ukrainian Herald" across the border and disseminating samvydav materials.

According to Leonid Plyushch, Plakhotniuk has been at the Dnipropetrovsk Institute since 1972 where drugs were forcibly administered and his health deteriorated noticeably.

OKSANA POPOVYCH EXTREMELY ILL

We have received alarming news about the fate of two recognised and long-term political prisoners. Oksana Popovych and Vyacheslav Chornovil. Oksana Popovych's health has badly deteriorated. Even with the aid of crutches, she is unable to walk. In December 1976, her sight deteriorated so much that she is no longer able to read, and can hardly see. Through continual malnutrition and the well-below average food at the concentration camp, she contracted septicaemia, a general deterioration of the body, haemorrhaging and teeth falling out. This disease (which Taras Shevchenko once suffered from while in prison) is caused by a deficiency of vitamins and salt in the diet.

Oksana Popovych is from the family of the famous Ukrainian author Les' Martovych. She was born in 1928, and spent ten years in prison (1944-1954) for taking part in the Ukrainian freedom movement. At the time of her arrest, in November 1974, she was an invalid and could only walk with the aid of crutches. At her trial, which took place in February 1975, they accused her of spreading Ukrainian leaflets and for collecting aid to help Ukrainian political prisoners. They condemned her to eight years imprisonment and five years exile, this was the most brutal sentence passed on a woman in the U.S.S.R. since the Stalin regime.

Presently, Oksana Popovych is in women's camp No. 3. in Mordovia.

In December 1976, Vyacheslav Chornovil was in hospital. There is no concrete data about his present situation, but it is known that last year he was in Mordovian concentration camp No. 3. and after refusing citizenship, he expressed a desire to leave for Canada or the United States of America.

STROKATA, AFFLICTED WITH CANCER, MAY BE IN DANGER OF DEATH

Nina Strokata-Karavanska, a Ukrainian microbiologist and former political prisoner, is said to be suffering from breast cancer and her life is in danger because she is unable to receive proper medical attention.

After she was released from incarceration last year, Strokata was exiled to Tarus, a small town south of Moscow. She was not allowed to return to Ukraine or travel outside of the town.

With the help of friends, Strokata attempted to undergo a medical examination at Moscow's Oncological Institute, but the authorities did not allow her to leave Tarus.

Medical facilities at Tarus are inadequate to treat tumours, and Strokata's close friends fear that if she is not

treated soon, the cancer may spread and eventually kill her.

While Strokata was incarcerated she did receive some medical attention, but it was suspended once she was released.

Among the many organisations to stand up in defence of the Ukrainian female prisoner is the American Society of Microbiologists. Strokata is the organisation's sole member in Ukraine, and one of five in the Soviet Union.

They bar her from any employment, they have threatened her with eviction from her apartment, they refuse to deliver mail from abroad, including publications of the American Society of Microbiologists to which she as a member is entitled.

MOROZ RETURNED TO MORDOVIA

Valentyn Moroz at the conclusion of his term in the Vladimir Prison, was transferred on May 10, 1976, to the Serbsky Institute of Forensic Psychiatry for closer observation.

Moroz was being accused of insanity because of an alleged persecution complex and religious fanaticism.

World wide protests spearheaded by his wife, Raisa, who telephoned an appeal for help to The Washington Star, subsequently led to his transfer. Medical examiners determined that Moroz was sane and informed his wife of the decision on June 21st.

Following Mrs. Moroz's telephone call to the American daily, we learned that her telephone was disconnected.

Moroz spent nearly two months in the Serbsky Institute before being moved to Moscow's Butyrka prison.

He is presently confined in the Mordovian camp no. 1 near Barashevo with other Ukrainian political prisoners. Moroz will spend three years there, to be followed by five years of exile.

During the first half of July Moroz was visited by his wife and son, also named Valentyn. This was the first three-day visit between Moroz and his family the Soviet Russian authorities allowed since his incarceration.

In connection with Moroz's confinement in the Serbsky Institute and the numerous appeals on his behalf by Canadian scholars, the Soviet Russian embassy in Ottawa released a new statement which attempts to discredit Moroz and his wife.

MYKHAYLO DIAK, FORMER UKRAINIAN POLITICAL PRISONER, DIES

Mykhaylo Diak, a former Ukrainian political prisoner and member of the underground Ukrainian National Front, died several months after being released from incarceration, according to Anatoly Radygin, a one time political prisoner in the Soviet Union now living in the United States.

Diak, 41, was arrested in 1967 for his participation in the Ukrainian National Front and for signing petitions to the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

He was sentenced behind closed doors to five years imprisonment in the Vladimir Prison, seven years confinement in the Perm concentration camp, and five years exile.

Due to the severe illness he contracted and the lack of medical attention, his sentence was commuted.

Civilian doctors were unable to halt the spread of the disease, and he died soon after he returned to his native Ukraine.

SVITLYCHNA FIGHTING FOR PERMISSION TO LIVE IN KYIV

Nadia Svitlychna, who has been unable to re-settle in Kyiv since her release from prison in May 1976, is continuing her fight to return to the city of her original domicile.

In a letter to Soviet officials, dated September 27, 1976, Svitlychna wrote that if she does not get permission to move to Kyiv, she and her seven-year-old son, Yarema, will apply for emigration.

"If I am denied permission, my seven-year-old son and I are left with no other recourse except emigration, but this, as you know, does not depend on only my wishes", she wrote.

Denial Means Exile

Svitlychna accused the Soviet officials of breaking the law by their refusal. She said that her sentence called for only four years incarceration, and not allowing her to live in Kyiv constitutes exile.

"By forcing me to live elsewhere, you are in essence sentencing me to exile, something which was not stipulated in my sentence", wrote Svitlychna.

She lived in Kyiv for 23 years prior to her arrest. Soviet officials have allowed her to settle in the village of Polovykino in the Voroshylohrad oblast, the site of her birth.

"Returning there after all these years would cause for me many problems", she protested.

Svitlychna, a philologist, was arrested and sentenced in 1972 when Yarema was two-years-old. He was sent to a state foundling home without permission of the mother.

Yarema's father Danylo Shumuk, is serving a ten-year sentence for anti-Soviet writings, and his uncle, Ivan Svitlychny, is also imprisoned on similar charges.

Officials told Svitlychna that she does not have the right to reside in the capital of Ukraine.

Two Defend Svitlychna

Nina Strokata-Karavanska and V. Mashkova, have written a letter to the Paris-based International Council of Women, asking for intercession on behalf of Svitlychna.

"We ask you, the representative women's organization, through your channels, to help attain for Nadia Svitlychna the right to reside in Kyiv, to hold a job and to assume her responsibilities as a mother. We also ask that you give Svitlychna material support", wrote V. Mashkova and Strokata.

Last year, Strokata wrote to UNICEF about the same matter. She asked the UNICEF officials not to allow Svitlychna and her son to become victims of their indifference.

"Today, it is incumbent upon us to defend them against those who deny them the right to reside in the place where they lived up to the arrest", she pleaded.

STATE CONTROL INCREASES IN UKRAINE

State control over the lives of the citizens in Ukraine has increased to such an extent that the KGB has been expelling "undesirables" from the ranks of the Ukrainian Communist Party and the Communist Youth League (Komsomol),

Noted Ukrainian political prisoner, Ivan Hel, staged at least a three-month hunger strike in protest against the conditions in the Soviet penal camps.

Since the beginning of 1975, Ukrainian officers have been relieved of their commands in the Red Army. Senior officers were retired, while junior grade officers were reassigned. They were substituted by Russian personnel.

Ukrainians have had an increasingly hard time getting assignments in the Red Army.

INTERNAL PASSPORTS

In line with the issuance of internal passports in 1975, certain KGB officers have been eliminating Ukrainians for important positions by randomly labelling them as "qualified" or "unqualified".

The "unqualified" people are relieved of their duties and closely guarded in their private lives. The service said that in case of a war these "undesirables" would be herded into concentration camps.

LANGUAGE DISCRIMINATION

Ukrainians who possess Ukrainian-language diplomas are having a hard time finding employment in their fields. For the most part they are offered positions in Kazakhstan, the Far East or in Russia.

A NEW WAVE OF ARRESTS IN UKRAINE

Reuters have released information that a new wave of arrests of the so-called 'Kyiv Group' and, in all probability, of all other Ukrainian fighters for the freedom of national and human rights, in concurrence with the Helsinki Agreement, has started in Ukraine. For the present, we have knowledge of only two of the arrested — Mykola Rudenko, author and Head of the 'Kyiv Group', and Alexander Tychyj, a teacher from the Donets.

Rudenko's wife announced a hunger strike in protest against the unsubstantiated grounds for her husband's arrest, and the barbarous conduct of the KGB agents against her. The KGB searched the apartments of Nina Strokata-Karavanska and Oksana Meshko, the mother of Oles Serhienko. One fears that with such brutal victimisation, anyone could be made out to be a member of the aforementioned 'Kyiv Group'.

Also, in Moscow, the arrests of known Russian dissidents occurred. Those arrested were Alexander Ginsburg, author, and Yuriy Orlov

a professor of physics and the Head of the 'Moscow Group' in concurrence with the Helsinki Agreement. They were blamed for crimes such as fraud, the theft of icons and having contact with Western pro-fascist emigrants. Over two hundred Soviet critics of the regime signed a letter of protest in defence of Ginsburg.

The revolution is spreading throughout Eastern Europe, from Poland, through Czecho-Slovakia, Yugoslavia, Hungary, and right through to Rumania. Nevertheless, the communist chiefs in the USSR and satellite states are preparing a counter-attack, aimed at the Helsinki-like conference in Belgrade. They are endeavouring to present all movements for national and human rights in the satellite states and the USSR as a violation of the Helsinki Conference, giving as their reasons that these movements are directed from outside, and that the principles of non-intervention in internal matters are being ignored.

Pavlo Goma, a Rumanian author, whose works are only printed abroad, took a stand in defence of the Czecho-Slovakian Charter 77, which was signed, amongst others, by A. Dubcek. Here we present his interesting views, from a letter which was sent to the French press. "The Rumanian occupation of Rumania is more painful and effective than if occupied by the enemy. We all bear the same yoke. The trampling of these basic rights, and the actual contempt of human life. Misery is everywhere, lies, economic chaos, demagogy, uncertainty, terror".

A USA delegate has brought up the subject of Yuriy Orlov at the United Nations Commission of Human Rights.

New arrests were reported also in Ivano-Frankivske. Among the arrested was a man named Lesiv.

The "samvydav publication are also circulating the names of Ukrainian Baptists who are serving their sentences in concentration camps in the Vynnytsia region: Mykola Kaban, Anton Pohanych, Pavlo Basarab, Yuriy Boraka, Vasyl Sonovchan, T.

Shomon, Anatol Vakulych, Vlacheslav Pasternatsky, Tymofiy Kondratiuk, Adam Zarevny, Petro Bohomaz, Mykola Adamchuk, Mykola Havryluk, Mykola Oseichuk, Denys Vetrych, Ivan Moldovan and Onufriy Kohutanych. Petro Zalivsky, and Dmytro Chodakivsky are incarcerated in a Zhytomyr region concentration camp.

NEWSCLIP FROM UKRAINE

The famous Ss. Peter and Paul Church in the Lychakiv area of Lviv was recently closed and boarded up, according to reports from Ukraine. No reasons were given by the authorities for the church closing. Recent visitors to Lviv say that the Ruska street, one of Lviv's richest historical landmarks, is dilapidated and gradually turning into a slum-like area.

QUESTIONS SOVIET LEGALITY

Vasyl Malozhensky — after being arrested and sentenced twice, apparently for alleged crimes committed by him prior to 1949, — asked the Soviet Ukrainian Attorney General and the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR for a review of his case, which he claimed is illegal under Soviet law.

According to Soviet law, Article III, paragraph 42 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR, if a person is convicted for past crimes, all sentences connected with that time period must be deducted from the present sentence.

Crossed Border

Malozhensky was born in the Lviv oblast. Prior to World War II, he was drafted into the Polish Army and in 1939 he was captured by the invading German armies.

He escaped from the POW camp and returned to Ukraine. The Germans sent him to work in Germany where he joined the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists.

He admits to performing certain

acts for which he was charged during his arrest in 1967.

On New Year's Day, 1949, Malozhensky crossed the Polish-Soviet border and was arrested. He was sentenced to 18 months in prison for not having proper identification and border crossing permits.

Some two decades later he was arrested again for alleged crimes he committed prior to 1949. In January 1968, a Lviv oblast court sentenced him to 15 years in prison without deducting the time he already served.

Letters Unanswered

His letters to Soviet Ukrainian officials were unanswered.

On December 8, 1975, he wrote to an Attorney Shveisky, asking whether there are any amendments to Article III paragraph 42 which would void what he believe was true, and if not what administrative organ might review his case in accordance with Soviet law.

That letter was unanswered, as well as its follow-up of April 20, 1976.

In English translation

REVOLUTIONARY VOICES

UKRAINIAN POLITICAL PRISONERS CONDEMN RUSSIAN COLONIALISM

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

Order from: ABN, 8 München 8, Zeppelinstr. 67;
or UIS, 200 Liverpool Rd., London, N1 1LF.

Illustrations, 270 p. Price: soft cover \$6.00, hard cover \$7.00.

AN APPEAL FOR VASYL FEDORENKO

On January 17, 1977, we were informed by dissidents in Moscow that Ukrainian political prisoner Vasyl Petrovych Fedorenko, who has been on a hunger strike since December 10, 1975, was driven by the cruel treatment of the Vladimir Prison administrators to make an attempt to end his life by self-immolation.

Prison guards 'saved' his life by dousing him with scalding hot water.

Vasyl Fedorenko was born in 1922 in Ukraine and worked as a locksmith. He was first arrested in 1959 on charges of "anti-Soviet propaganda". While serving his first sentence in Vladimir Prison he undertook a 282-day hunger strike in protest against his illegal incarceration. He was arrested again in 1972.

In 1974 he sent a statement to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in which he renounced his Soviet citizenship and appealed for permission to emigrate. Fedorenko's sister, Valentyna Horvath (married name), lives in West Germany.

On September 16, 1974, Fedorenko crossed the Soviet border but was returned to the USSR by Czecho-Slovak authorities. There he was initially offered the following compromise: a year and a half of detention in a psychiatric prison hospital if he admitted that his views were pathological.

In September 1975, Fedorenko was sentenced to fifteen years imprisonment for "anti-Soviet propaganda" and "treason". During his trial he declared his opposition to the Soviet colonial policies and spoke about the right of Ukraine to be an independent state.

On April 26, 1975, he announced a hunger strike against his illegal conviction. The hunger strike lasted ninety-eight days. On December 10, 1975, the day of a general hunger strike by inmates of Vladimir Prison, he began a hunger strike of unspecified duration as a sign of protest against the violation of the Declaration of Human Rights in the USSR and against the anti-Ukrainian policies of the Soviet government.

On February 1, 1976, all political prisoners in the Vladimir Prison conducted a hunger strike in solidarity with Fedorenko. There soon followed a series of punishments and tortures: solitary confinements, discontinuation of forced feeding, forcible binding, the prohibition of moustaches (a matter of tradition for the Ukrainians), which were forcibly shaved off.

Fedorenko's unprecedented hunger strike continues into its second year, as do the tortures and punishments inflicted upon him.

We attribute the worsening of the regime, the terror in the prisons and labour camps of the USSR, to the onesidedness of detente, to the unprincipled stance of Western governments, who enter into detente on terms set by Brezhnev and Andropov, who need Western economic

help but not the Western freedoms of information or conscience — elementary human rights which have long existed in bourgeois democratic countries.

We appeal to you — people of conscience, democrats, civic organisations, churches, trade-unions — save our comrades, save Vasyl Fedorenko.

Struggle for the realisation of Amnesty International's call to "Free prisoners of conscience in all countries".

Paris, January 20, 1977

Vladimir Bukovsky
Leonid Plyushch

UKRAINIAN DISSIDENTS From Mr. Vladimir Bukovsky and others

Sir, January 12-15 marks the fifth anniversary of the KGB clamp-down in Ukraine, which subsequently developed into a pogrom of the national movements in this and other non-Russian republics of the USSR. For nationalities in the USSR the idea of human rights is inseparable from that of national rights.

Western experts maintain that the Ukrainian patriotic movement sustained in 1972 the heaviest single KGB assault since 1953 of any dissenting group in the Soviet Union. Purges affected every sector of Ukrainian life and well over a hundred persons — mostly young writers, artists and scholars — were arrested and sentenced to inhumanly severe terms of imprisonment and exile. Many of these — Chornovil, Svitlychny, Sverstiuk, Plakhotnyuk, Krasivsky, Shabatura, Gluzman — are well known to the West.

In the West the importance of the national movements in the USSR which are an integral and vital factor in the struggle for basic civil and political liberties in the USSR, seldom receive the amount of attention that they deserve. The fact that Russification has been elevated to the level of state policy indicates the Soviet authorities' lack of sensitivity and tact in dealing with this serious problem.

Considering that many of those currently imprisoned in the USSR were persecuted for defending their national cultures and languages, the least that can be done in the West is to ensure that the difference between Russia proper and the Soviet Union is understood, and that the two terms are not used interchangeably.

Yours sincerely,

V. BUKOVSKY, DAVID MARKHAM, MARINA VOIKHANSKAYA,
HANK WOLZAK, BOHDAN NAHAYLO.

(The Times, London, January 14th 77).

PLEA FOR UKRAINIAN PRISONER

(Open letter to Alexander Yakovlev, Soviet Ambassador, Ottawa regarding the release of Ukrainian historian Valentyn Moroz).

The unlawful and inhuman imprisonment of Ukrainian historian Valentyn Moroz in the Mordovian labour camps of the U.S.S.R. since 1965; his imprisonment in the dreaded Vladimir prison since June of 1970 and now his recent, illegal committment to the notorious Serbsky Psychiatric Institute is for Valentyn a living death and on the conscience of all mankind.

All these years of imprisonment and torture, harassment and suffering stem from no "crimes", but from Valentyn's lawful defence of human rights for his writing of four political essays which truthfully told of the Soviet government's violation of the constitution of the U.S.S.R.

Justice cries out that his persecution end and that Valentyn Moroz be released into the care and love of his wife Raisa; his family and his friends. Yes! The whole free world cries out . . .

RELEASE OUR VALENTYN!

They branded him a traitor but the words they spoke were lies.
And Valentyn Moroz is a martyr in God's eyes.

They made him out a criminal and hid him fast away
Behind the bars of V'Ladimer . . . for fear he'd have his say!

But not the pain of labour camps nor hell of V'Ladimer
Can hide the truth forever, regardless of the fear.
For the silence that was forced on him behind those prison doors
Reverberates across the land and shores around the world!

For the truth that he has spoken brings honour to his name.
And the world will speak with reverence of the "Martyr of
Ukraine . . ."

But Oh! My aching heart cries out and rips into its core
To know the bars of Serbsky . . . could hide him evermore!

O rise all men who honour truth!
Rise up and take a stand.
And cry aloud for justice
To save this valiant man.

Down the well — springs of God's justice.
Through the eternities of Time . . .
My Soul cries out in anguish . . .
Release our Valentyn!

JULIA ECKERT MacLEAN,
35 BRODIE ST.,
SUDBURY.
CANADA

From Ukrainian Life Abroad**P R O C L A M A T I O N****"UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY" JANUARY 22, 1977**

- WHEREAS, the fall of the Russian Czardom signalled bursting enthusiasm throughout the whole of Ukraine and despite the systematic attempts of the Russian government to suppress Ukrainian ideals and aspirations, their dream of freedom had survived; and
- WHEREAS, since its formation in March, 1917, the Ukrainian Central Rada, through a series of important acts, led Ukraine through a turbulent period, establishing first an autonomous state and then proclaimed a full-fledged independent and sovereign state of the Ukrainian people; and
- WHEREAS, the Ukrainians enjoyed their long awaited freedom for only a short period of time as the invading Russian troops forced the government into exile and established the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic in 1923 which immediately surrendered Ukrainian independence in favour of the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR); and
- WHEREAS, the Ukrainian people in the free world have since commemorated January 22nd as Ukrainian Independence Day and used this opportunity to keep the flame of hope burning in the hearts of the enslaved Ukrainians who long for their denied but God given rights of national, individual, cultural and religious freedom; and
- WHEREAS, the Ukrainian Community of Southeastern Michigan will commemorate the anniversary of the proclamation of Ukrainian independence on January 22, 1918, with a concert type programme at Fitzgerald Auditorium at 3:30 p.m. on January 22, 1977;
- NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that I, Donald F. Fracassi, Mayor of the City of Southfield, County of Oakland, State of Michigan, do hereby proclaim the 22nd day of January, 1977, as: **UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY**, in the City of Southfield, Michigan; and
- BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the citizens of Southfield be aware of the importance of these historic events and that they pay tribute to the Ukrainian people in their courageous struggle for freedom; and
- BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that an official copy of this Proclamation be presented to the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, Inc., as a tribute and memento of this important occasion.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have set my hand
and caused the Official Seal of the City
of Southfield to be affixed hereto on this
6th day of January, 1977.

Donald F. Fracassi, Mayor

CONGRESSMAN EILBERG URGES BREZHNEV TO RELEASE V. MOROZ

Congressman Joshua Eilberg, of Philadelphia, chairman of the Subcommittee on Immigration, forwarded a letter to the General Secretary of Communist Party of USSR, Leonid Brezhnev, urging him to release Valentyn Moroz from imprisonment and permit him and his family to emigrate to the U.S.

The letter reads as follows:

We American citizens are concerned about the young Ukrainian historian, Valentyn Moroz, who for the second time is imprisoned.

We Americans honour and respect freedom for all people and principles of freedom for all people, also Ukraine, which has behind it over 1,000 year of culture. We cannot understand that Valentyn Moroz and hundreds of other Ukrainians imprisoned just because they referred to the Soviet constitution to express their ideas on

the traditional culture and Russification of their country.

I, Congressman Joshua Eilberg, Chairman of the Subcommittee on Immigration, have a wide acquaintance among Ukrainians in the United States and many friends among them whose tireless efforts are made on behalf of Valentyn Moroz, whose ordeal is troubling even myself.

With this I call upon you, Mr. General Secretary, to personally intervene on behalf of this human being, who only recently broke his fast in protest and was written up by every American newspaper.

I personally wish to ask you, Mr. Brezhnev, to call upon the KGB to release Valentyn Moroz and to permit him and his family to emigrate to the U.S. Only then will I be convinced of the true meaning of the Helsinki agreement.

I shall be grateful for your intervention and reply to my letter.

Dr. WASYL PLIUSHCH, MEDICAL SCHOLAR, DIES

Dr. Wasyl Pliushch, one of the most prominent Ukrainian medical scholars, died on November 16, 1976, at the age of 74.

Born in Warsaw, Poland, in 1902, Dr. Pliushch, after completing his medical studies, worked at the Institute of Tuberculosis in Kyiv from 1931 till 1943, heading the faculty during the last two years. He was also a professor of medicine at the Kyiv Medical Institute.

A specialist in respiratory diseases, Dr. Pliushch authored over 100 scientific articles and was particularly well known for his work in early detection of throat, lung and heart ailments.

An expert on the history of medicine in Ukraine, Dr. Pliushch wrote

several scholarly works, including "Health Care in Ukraine", "Survey of the History of Ukrainian Medical Education and Science", and others. He contributed several articles to "Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopaedia" in the fields of medicine and health care.

Residing in West Germany since the end of World War II, Dr. Pliushch was active in Ukrainian community life there and was a member of the executive board of the General Representation of Ukrainian Emigration in Germany.

His remain were flown to the U.S. and were interred at the Ukrainian Orthodox Cemetery in South Bound Brook, N.J.

UKRAINIANS UNVEIL SHEVCHENKO MONUMENT IN PARAGUAY

Paraguayan President, Argentinian Officials, Others Attend Unveiling

Some 700 Ukrainian families raised the necessary funds to erect a statue in honour of Taras Shevchenko the poet-laureate of Ukraine in the Gen. Alfredo Stroessner Square, named in honour of the country's president.

Their dreams were realized on Friday, November 19, when Gen. Strossner and R. Pylynsky, chairman of the T. Shevchenko Monument Committee, together unveiled the monument in the presence of some 1,500 people.

The Shevchenko Monument raises the total number of statues of the Ukrainian poet located in South America.

The unveiling ceremonies were the culmination of a week-long series of Ukrainian events in Paraguay which began with the official proclamation of "Ukrainian Week" by Mayor Jose Caballero.

The Shevchenko bust is the work of Leonard Rodriguez, professor of art at the University of Buenos Aires. It measures 75 centimetres high and sits atop a metre-and-a-half pedestal.

The Gen. Stroessner Square was decorated with Paraguayan and Ukrainian flags, and the Army Band played both national anthems at the start of the ceremonies.

Also in attendance were the governor of the Argentinian province of Misiones. Capt. Rene G. Bufeller of the Paraguayan navy. Dr. Ramon Rebezon, leader of the "Colorado" party, and Mr. Caballero.

Mr. Caballero called Shevchenko a "torch of freedom", which was brought to this country "to fill his countrymen with optimism and pride in the proper path in life, to which he dedicated himself".

Also speaking at the unveiling was Mr. Rebezon.

Greeting the assemblage on behalf of Paraguayan Ukrainians was Serhiy Pylyk.

The unveiling and other events connected with "Ukrainian Week" were sponsored by the "Prosvita"

Society in Encarnacion and the Ukrainian Central Representation of Argentina.

Many from Free World Attend

Among the many Ukrainians from the free world to attend the ceremonies were Archbishop Metropolitan Mstyslav Skrypnyk, head of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, and Dr. Bohdan Stebelsky, member of the Secretariat of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians, representative of the Ukrainian World Liberation Front.

Metropolitan Mstyslav, assisted by Bishop Vladimiro of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Brazil, Bishop Efraim B. Kryviy of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Brazil, and other clergy blessed the monument.

At the close of the ceremonies, Gen. Stroessner shook hands with all the SUMA and Plast youths who formed the honour guard.

Ukrainians from Argentina, Brazil, Canada, the United States and Europe were present at the programme.

A banquet was held after the unveiling in the "Prosvita" Hall with some 1,000 people attending.

Wasył Kosiuk, head of the Ukrainian Central Representation of Argentina, was master of ceremonies of the banquet, which included statements by representatives of the WCFU, the World Federation of Ukrainian Women's Organization, Ukrainian Canadian Committee, the Ukrainian National Front, and public officials.

On Monday, November 15, in the presence of the City Council, Mr. Caballero officially proclaimed "Ukrainian Week". Representing the Ukrainian community was Mykhaylo Khudyk, head of "Prosvita".

Throughout the week, a Ukrainian art exhibition was held in the Regional Hall and two concerts were held in line with the unveiling.

Reviews:

J. B. RUDNYC'KYJ

Ukrainian Shakespeareana

A NEW STUDY OF SHAKESPEARE'S SONNETS *in Ukrainian translation*

Professor C. Bida, a Shakespearean scholar and President of the Ukrainian Shakespeare Society established in 1957 in Heidelberg, Germany, has published a new work in the field of Ukrainian Shakespeareana, this time not his own but a doctoral dissertation which he supervised at the University of Ottawa in 1974: *Shakespeare's Sonnets in Ukrainian Translation*.

The authoress of this work, Mrs. Orysia Prokopiw has comprehensively analysed the texts of Shakespeare's sonnets as rendered by the following Ukrainian translators: Ivan Franko (1882, 1884, 1907, a.o.), Pavlo Hrabovskyy (1900), Maksym Slavynsky and later Vasyl Onufriyenko, Yar Slavutych, Oleh Zuyevsky, Ihor Kostetsky, T. Savych, Ostap Tarnavsky, Svyatoslav Hordynsky, Svyatoslav Karavansky and the complete anthology by D. Palamarchuk: **Vil'yam Shekspir**: Kyiv: Dnipro, 1966.

Among the most valuable aspects of O. Prokopiw's work is her comparative method of examining the translations vis-à-vis the Shakespearean originals, the analysis of content and form in the individual authors and the subtle perception and assessment of the positive and negative rendering of Shakespeare's ideas by the Ukrainian translators. It is also the first attempt in Ukrainian Shakespeareana to evaluate the evolution of the authors who assumed the difficult tasks of conveying the world of ideas, feelings and experiences of that great English poet and dramatist.

The study itself, written in English, is composed of a historical examination of Ukrainian translations, a discussion of general sonnetic "structure", an analysis of "rhetorical figures" and their "characterization"

(with special reference to sonnets 18, 130, 60, 46, 29 and 11), conclusions, bibliography, transliterations and an index of names. As already noted, the authoress places special emphasis in her study upon comparative stylistic analysis and this has given her the best results.

In the field of Shakespearean scholarship this work appears to be sufficiently well founded and scholarly sound and in several aspects has significance not only for the specific problems of English-Ukrainian translations of Shakespearean sonnets, but provides material for general theoretical problems such as that advanced by the present reviewer at the XII International Congress of the International Federation for Modern Languages and Literatures (Fédération Internationale des Langues et Littératures Modernes) held at the University of Cambridge in 1972. It refers to the problem as to what extent can a translation be treated as a "bilingual creativity", and what relationship exists between the deep and surface structures of the same or two different literary creators. This work by O. Prokopiw, therefore, provides valuable and unique material for further research in this and other general theoretical problematic areas.

It is gratifying to note that this new

publication is one of the volumes from the "University of Ottawa Ukrainian Studies" series edited by Prof. R. Bida and sponsored by the Iwachniuk Studies and Research Fund at the University of Ottawa together with Gateway Publishers Ltd. of Edmonton.

The Ottawa centre of Ukrainian Studies has not only merited a long tradition of studies and publishing activity, e.g. ("Kobzar" 1840-1961,

"Poésie du Québec Contemporain" in Ukrainian translation, 1968), but initiated in 1976 the publication of a series of scholarly works in Ukrainian Studies under the auspices of the University of Ottawa Press. Mrs. O. Prokopiw's work is one of the initial volumes of this series, the others now being in print or in various stages of preparation for publication.

A. A. ZWARUN

APOLOGIA PRO VITA NOSTRA

I have just seen "Eye On... Ukrainians in America". I watched the two-part documentary, uninterrupted and without commercials, at the WCAU studios. It was something of value.

Stiles and Akuginow, the creators of this documentary, have put together a beautiful, though sometimes melancholy, story. Mattacks and Kulish saw to it that technically the filming would be on par with the script. It was a story about one hundred years of human history — about a people whose mentality and physical presence are separated by 6,000 miles. It was a story about every Ukrainian immigrant or descendant of Ukrainian immigrants, past and present. But it was not about Ukrainian immigrants, future. This was the powerful meaning of the programme — what will come next?

The two-part series, aptly subtitled "A Struggle for Identity", first presented how we came here and what we expected. The second part dealt with the trends and institutions which are the framework of our struggle for survival. In documentary form, in simple matter-of-fact language, this series showed the complexity, the depth, and the meaning of so many facets of our immigrant culture.

It bluntly stated that Ukraine is dominated by Russia — no words like "allegedly", "may be under the influence", or similar Kissingerisms that are such common traits of American

journalists or the State Department. It did not try to explain away our connection with Nazi Germany, a link that is anathema in the United States. Rather, the narrator simply stated that after prolonged Russian occupation, Germany was originally looked upon as a liberator, but that disillusionment quickly followed. It also stated so poignantly, after showing two photos of Shevchenko monuments in Ukraine and then focusing on the monument in Washington, that "here at last, Taras lives in freedom".

The complexity of the subject matter was tied together with the constant thread of our emigré yevshan zillya, the music of Kytasty's Bandurist Capella. Their songs, especially *Moi Yaseny*, provided transition between disjointed subject matter so that unity was preserved.

Part I — The Legacy, begins with footage of national dances at Shamokin, but quickly shifts to people doing the hustle at Soyuzivka. Rudnytsky of La Salle College interrupts these scenes by stating that he is sick and tired of Ukrainian culture being presented as dancing, embroidery, and Easter eggs. How refreshing it was to hear this. For many years we have accepted that this sugar coating of Ukrainian culture was all we had to

offer our young and the non-Ukrainian. The programme showed that we are more than just the artistic confectionery of Eastern Europe. We have depth, we have meaning, we have tradition.

To someone who was brought up on such staples as Sunday academies, fossilized institutions, and the norms and mores of a class society, the programme was like a cool wind after a humid heat wave. To someone who was taught that the highest achievement of a Ukrainian DP was to scream as loudly, as often, and as obnoxiously as possible that we are not Russians, this documentary was pure elixir.

I am sure that "Ukrainians in America" does not teach us the lesson of self-respect, pride, and just plain, simple love of one's traditions. This was taught by Shevchenko better than it will ever be. But it was one of the few times that this lesson had been said or shown so vividly. We may know this lesson subconsciously, but our self-imposed isolationism, provincialism, and negativism rarely allow this primordial, sometimes almost pathological soul of Ukrainianism to burst forth in joy and creativity.

"Ukrainians in America" does not follow a chronological sequence from coal miner in 1874 to Committee for the Defence of Moroz in 1977. It is a series of juxtapositioned cause-and-effect excerpts which quickly, but very clearly, explain why we are here and what we are doing. The coal miners in America were poor peasants who looked for escape from economic conditions in Ukraine. The DP's came to America simply because there was no other alternative for survival in Ukraine. We now demonstrate in America because our youth is realizing that Ukrainians are dying in Ukraine and they have the same feelings about Ukraine as we do here. The theme through the last 100 years is

evident: We in the United States are effects of definite causes in Ukraine.

Peasant — coal miner, anti-Russian — refugee, russification — demonstration. These Ukrainian causes — American effects are not only obvious, but they are also heartening. We still turn to Ukraine for spiritual nurturing. Ulyana Mazurkevych confronts Americans with Moroz's plight not because she is tired of the preceding generation's ineffectiveness, but because something that Moroz said or wrote caused her to feel the same thing that Moroz has felt. There is still a bond that transcends 40 years and 6,000 miles. And it appears stronger than the bond of 10 years and 25 miles.

Yet in spite of this umbilical cord to our roots, "Ukrainians in America" has a deep, unsettling undercurrent running continuously through it. It is almost a dreadful anxiety — how long can it survive? This question is not treated in depth, although there are allusions to it. Yet it is constantly there. One can sense the panic in the people that appear, talk, or play on the screen. All our institutions from birth to death are really motivated by this anxiety — when will it end?

Rudnytsky says soon, due to affluence, and historically he is correct. But one realizes that history does not have to follow a Spenglerian cycle, even though the number of exceptions is so frightfully small. And it even seems that these exceptions serve only as bait to lure an unsuspecting people into sterility, decay, and finally extinction. The programme does not answer these questions because no answers exist. Like Tantalus, Ukrainians in America may be destined to try to drink the water of survival even though fate already knows that this is impossible.

But is not the act of trying a form of survival?



The
**UKRAINIAN
REVIEW**



II

1977

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THE UKRAINIAN REVIEW

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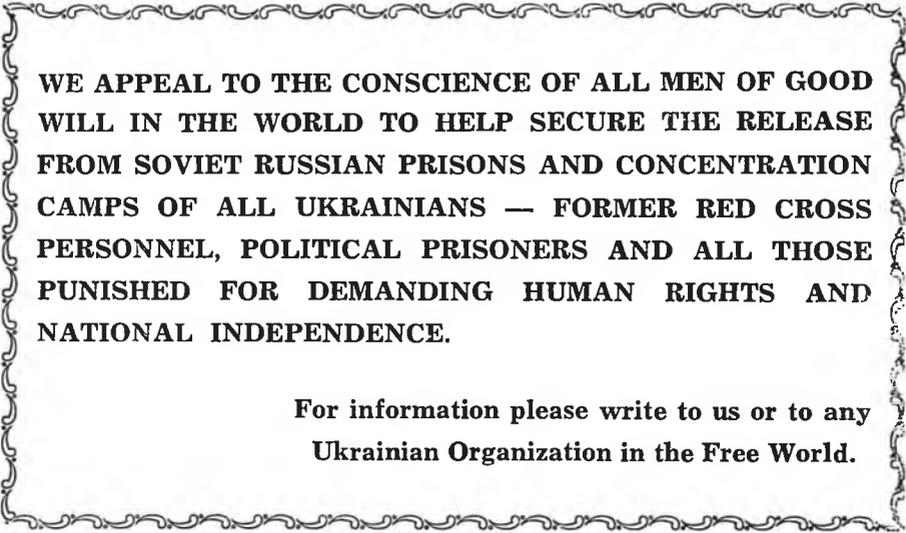
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WE APPEAL TO THE CONSCIENCE OF ALL MEN OF GOOD WILL IN THE WORLD TO HELP SECURE THE RELEASE FROM SOVIET RUSSIAN PRISONS AND CONCENTRATION CAMPS OF ALL UKRAINIANS — FORMER RED CROSS PERSONNEL, POLITICAL PRISONERS AND ALL THOSE PUNISHED FOR DEMANDING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

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E. ORLOWSKYJ

ATTACK IN DEFENCE

(Actual Questions of the Ukrainian Revolutionary Strategy)

Distinguishing features of the contemporary revolutionary-political strategy of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), and of the broad liberation forces in Ukraine (the latter have their mainstay in the political philosophy, world outlook, political and moral potential of the revolutionary OUN), are: *defensive* in political — military aspects and *offensive* in political — ideological and world outlook aspects.

Return to Traditions — a Step Forward in Revolutionary Struggle

It is important to note that the contemporary struggle for Ukrainian liberation, like every other creative revolution, is a giant step forward. It brings itself to evidence by a massive return to traditions, to the glorious past, to original historical values, to the Ukrainian essentiality and quality of the past millennium. Is this phenomenon not in conformity, for example, to such well known contemporary slogans as return to “pure evangelism”, or “return to nature” calls?! If we desire to mobilize thousands upon thousands, even millions, for the struggle against Russian imperialism — we must recall our traditions, our past, our eternal and sacred Kyiv, our Kosmach,¹ our ancient Rus'-Ukraine, the continuity of our pre-Christian and Christian values. We must continue to point out the great difficulties our ancestors had to overcome while withstanding vicious assaults upon our sovereign nation, our national boundaries, yet — there was no force upon this earth able to destroy our eternal Kyiv.

Self-realization by the contemporary generation of young Ukrainians about the persistent conception of *eternal* Ukraine is, perhaps, the most revolutionary of all its accomplishments. The so called “historicity” is a revolutionary phenomenon. The *Sobor*² and *Kosmach* conceptions, which can be viewed as “a step back into yesterday” — are in reality a giant step *into tomorrow*. Ukrainian people are not conceiving new and unattainable ideas and aims for which they never fought in the past. They are conceiving *all that* already *was* accomplished in the past. What remains to be done is to turn the glorious past into a new reality.

¹) Kosmach — ancient town with a thousand year old culture and famous for folk arts.

²) Sobor — Cathedral.

Defence of Ukraine is Supporting Imprisoned Ukrainian Nationalists

The next step of the Ukrainian revolutionary strategy is the defence of and support for the imprisoned Ukrainian nationalists. Why? Because *every* Ukrainian *ever* imprisoned by Russian imperialists, no matter what his or her political and religious convictions happened to be at the time, *was and continues to be* accused of *bourgeois nationalism*. Defensive slogans mobilize not only revolutionary elements but spread upon the less conscious and lagging populace as well, they secure backgrounds for those who throw themselves into frontal attacks on the foreground. The enemy strikes into the very core of the nation, into the very nature of a human being. Self-realization of mortal dangers facing Ukrainian people mobilizes even those who otherwise would not follow in our steps, yet, hearing desperate cries to save the very life and existence of their national identity, their intellectuals, cultural leaders, their tortured national heroes and martyrs — many shall follow OUN, follow the Bandera movement. After all, we are the victims of brutal aggression, we are being enslaved, the assault fell upon us, we were thrown into chains . . . so, logically — we are defending ourselves, we are trying to regain what was robbed from us, for *we* are the victims of a terrible wrong bestowed upon us. *We are against this terrible injustice! Such* desperate cries should move even the most indifferent and lagging Ukrainians, should make them resist. It was *your* land that was taken away from you by the Russians, *you* are the ones chained to endless and unrewarding factory toils, *your* passports were taken away, *you* are reduced to live as second-rate citizens in your own country, *you* must endure and praise the dull and degrading *socialist realism* in *your* arts and literature, *you and only you* are *always* on “the short end of the stick” . . . There is such a thing as the other side of the coin: all these things were brought about by a lawless intruder, the *intruder* has taken your possessions away from you and keeps on taking even the fruits of your labour. He should give it all back but he won't so *you must* take it away from him by force!

Well formulated plans of defensive strategy for the enslaved people of the entire nation contain in themselves *offensive* elements for every just cause, struggle, or war defensive actions influence even those who do not necessarily share common platforms or ideals! Such actions mobilize and make people incline toward those who first threw their call for defence of a nation. The greatest military strategists leaned often upon defensive slogans. Napoleon, for instance, was defending “the achievements of the French revolution”, Russians constantly shout about the need to protect and defend the achievements of “the Great October Revolution”. In addition, Russians always did in the past and always shall in the future use “defence” as a tactical weapon for borders enhancing any given stage of their conquests, for, so to say, they are “imperiled” in “their contemporary borders, no

matter what such "borders" might be at any given time, until they conquer the whole world... Hannibal marched against Rome in "defence" of his beloved Carthage... Lenin's heirs, while invading other countries, never forget to pronounce that they are marching to "defend" the "socialist achievements" (read: Soviet Russian sphere of interests and domination) against "capitalist aggressors". Even the preparations for "the Great October revolution" were made under the slogans of "defending the capital from the Germans" who "were just about to grab it". Israel named the six day war in 1967 "preventive war", that is it was meant as a *defensive* war against the aggression Egypt was preparing at the time against Israel . . .

National-liberation wars and revolutions always have a much broader diapason than *social* revolutions, which (the latter) usually involve only a certain part of the people. Mao would never have been victorious in China were it not for the Japanese invasion. His "peasant revolts" and "peasant Republics" had no perspectives for victory throughout China. But, during the Japanese invasion, Mao pronounced total guerilla warfare in *national defence* and recognized Chiang Kai-shek as the leader of entire China. By doing so he misled the broad masses and portrayed himself before the Chinese as a "humble patriot" who faced the national danger by marching against the invader in an united front under the leadership of his worst protagonist. This manœuvre enabled Mao to infiltrate the army of Chiang Kai-shek which in turn led to his later victory over the Chiang Kai-shek forces.

United Front Against the Enemy is the Main Front, Defence of the Enslaved Nation — the Main Task

When the revolutionary OUN, by the hand of its member Lemyk, punished the Russian consul Mailov in Western Ukraine, the deed focused attention on the people who defend the nation and punish perpetrated crimes. The slogan: "Defend all political inmates"! — should be taken up by all Ukrainians, the broad Ukrainian masses shall curse those who refuse. Severe repressions maintained by the enemy over the people for the deed of punishment committed against a representative of the occupation forces by a revolutionary hand do not turn the co-nationals against those who punish the enemy. The people turn their hatred toward those who bestow injustice upon the innocent. They turn against the enemy! The so called "pacification" of Western Ukraine by Polish invaders did not turn the people away from the OUN. The people turned *en masse* against the occupiers and against the few opportunists who along with the enemy were condemning the Organization. Repression is wrong and against a wrong rises every honest human being, even a coward. Only a traitor could condone national injustice.

He, who punishes the enemy — forms the alternative of *self-government*, a surrogate of an independent State with its own laws, a state that exists on a high moral and ideological level, a state that lawfully is a part of the spiritual and ethical experiences of its co-nationals — stated the author of this essay in his final summary during the political trial in Lviv, 1936.

Two Conceptions of War, One by the Enslaved, Another — by the Enslaving People. The Role of the Political-revolutionary Organization

There is a basic difference between the definition of war by Karl von Clausewitz, who in his classic book *On War* stated, among other things, that “war is an act of coercion to force the enemy to exercise the will of the adversary” — and our own conception of revolutionary liberation war. National revolution strives to expel and/or destroy the enemy from and/or on its own territory and in its place instal a national government within the inherent borders of an independent state. A revolutionary war is a war that involves all co-nationals in an united effort to destroy the occupier and gain national independence. There can be no compromise, as anticipated by von Clausewitz in his classic formula.

Frederick the Great and Bismarck — conducted their wars according to the classic formula. Otto von Bismarck (“The Iron Chancellor”) refused to march on Vienna. His aims were not to destroy the political status of empires or superpowers of his times but to gain limited concessions within the framework of that status. A revolutionary war of the enslaved nation changes the status in the very roots for it destroys and/or expels the occupier who is in power over the land belonging to the subjugated nation. Such a war, that is — a national revolution in Ukraine — could not be suppressed by total bombardment, or atomic weapons. It is not possible to distinguish the insurgents from the rest of the 50-million strong population and to destroy the entire population sounds absurd, considering that the enemy must maintain its own troops on the occupied territory. In addition — some 9 million Russian fifth-columnists are living today among the local Ukrainian population. Of course, not *all* of the 9 million Russians living at present in Ukraine will support the regime should there be a massive uprisal and there are various reasons why (some are personal, some opportunist, still others are remorse, or fear). Inherent rights on one side and modern technology on the other made the classic war formula developed by von Clausewitz rather dated. Just how dated — can be seen from the example of Vietnam, where massive modern technology collapsed under the applied strategy, determination and pressure of the insurgents.

In that context, a modern war strategy calls for a strong political organization to manage all phases of the insurgent warfare. Such organization must take the responsibility for planning, command, and mobilization of the masses. Algerians won their independence from France by combining two main elements: strategy planned and applied by a strong political organization and guerilla warfare. The same is true as far as, for instance, Israel is concerned. On the other hand, the Spanish popular uprising in 1808-1813 against Napoleon was only partially successful due to guerilla warfare but failed to win total victory because there was no political organization to define and coordinate its final aims. Without a political organization any guerilla warfare can expect to obtain only very limited objectives. To obtain total victory there must be an organized body responsible not only for military coordination, legislation and law and order during the hostilities but also for an able takeover of all phases of life from the hands of the defeated enemy once the hostilities are over. Insurgents must be guided by their own statehood principles, their own national law and order, as developed and coordinated by the revolutionary organization. In Ukraine such a body is the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN).

Russians often brag about gaining power with the "revolution of the proletariat". This is an obvious falsehood. Neither Lenin, nor Trotsky were ever involved in any guerilla actions, any insurgent warfare. The mortal blow received by Tsarist Russia was delivered by the regular military units, composed mostly of Ukrainians with awakening national aspirations. Trotsky was leading his "bolshevik" army units by conventional methods dating back to the aristocrat-absolutist era, he conquered foreign lands for neo-Russian imperialism by von Clausewitz's formula. Ukraine, Georgia, Turkestan — were conquered that way. The same Lev Davidovich Trotsky, along with Tsarist aristocrat general Mikhail N. Tukhachevsky, led their abortive invasion of Poland in 1920 by the same formula.

There is no single country in the whole world where "Communists" (as such) would come to power by using Communist slogans alone. Mao Tse-tung, Ho Chi-minh, Castro — all started their quests for power as *agrarian reformers* and not as *programmed Communists*. They all won by promising land to the peasants and rights for private property using *Nationalist* and not *Communist* slogans, the idea of national independence, anti-colonialism, anti-imperialism, and so forth. Mao for instance grasped the value of the *Nationalist* aspirations of the Chinese people and used this knowledge to his own means and ends by adapting at first misleading psychological-ethical positions of Chinese patriots. This enabled him to demoralize and decay the army of Chiang Kai-shek who was concentrating all his strategies against the external enemy and neglecting internal reforms in the spirit of Sun Yat-sen. It was Mao who shrewdly lifted Sun Yat-sen's agrarian

reform slogans (in direct conflict to the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin) on his march to victory. And Sun Yat-sen was the banner of Chiang Kai-shek, his doctrine (nationalism, democracy, and economic well being) — Chiang Kai-shek doctrines.

Coup d'état of Lenin's "Junta"

The Bolsheviks seized power by a *coup d'état* in Latin-American, or African, junta-like style. They continued their conquests (after the anarchic episodes) with Tsarist conventional methods, used former Tsarist troops and Tsarist generals (Shaposhnikov, Brusilov, Tukhachevsky) and not "peoples'" guerilla movements. Marxist "theories" had little to perform here! The so-called "Communist way of life" (in fact *state capitalism* with unlimited *junta* power) was bestowed upon free nations by force. No "workers' class" or "peasants' class" desired in any way to bring the "Communist way of life" upon themselves. It was brought about in the typical way of a power-hungry junta bound for conquests. "Desires" of the "disadvantaged classes" had practically nothing to do with it. The same methods were used by the Bolsheviks after the end of the Second World War with "junta power" reduced to the unlimited power of one despot, Joseph Stalin. By classic, conventional methods the conquest of Poland, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, and other countries — took place, just like in the times of the Tsarist despots. The *ethnic* Russian population, on their own *ethnic* territory, with its ethos of "flock" mentality and collectivist-atavistic social ideals and institutions, made up *the only* breathing grounds where "Bolshevism" could flourish voluntarily. It is a paradox to realize today that during the so-called "October revolution" *two contrarevolutionary armies* (one led by Lenin and Trotsky and the other by *white* Russian generals) fought each other and crushed between them every true revolutionary initiative, every aspiration for liberty and national independence. Having the upper hand in deceiving ideological slogans, a good propaganda apparatus controlled by a well-blended strong organization — Lenin and Trotsky's contrarevolutionaries won. They won in the name of a *never* existing (or ever meant to function!) "dictatorship of the proletariat", "common front of workers, peasants and working intelligentsia", and with fictitious slogans of national independence installed a new imperial Russian order.

The Bolshevik *coup d'état*, Bolshevik contrarevolution — should serve as a historical lesson for all times to come.

Neither Lenin's, nor Mao's strategy can be adopted as Ukrainian liberation strategy. You cannot start with lies and deceptions to fight for a *just* cause.

The Vision and the Struggle

The main aspiration of the Ukrainian people is their national independence, Ukrainians in every walk of life gravitate towards that goal. A clear *vision* of what the future independent Ukrainian statehood would be like should be maintained. The vision would help to mobilize broad masses to resistance and total struggle. The foundations for such a vision are there. They are made out of our sound traditions, our just socio-political order of the old Kyivan State, our pre-Christian and Christian heritage, our creativity, our folklore, arts, literature, and sound value system. Counterpoised against the Russian ideals and way of life — all this shows an abyss of immense proportions between the two. Can you make a bird and a fish live in the same environment? No! A bird must have *air* and a fish must have *water* in order to survive. Neither can adapt to the environment of the other. Therefore, the Ukrainian efforts are not directed towards adaptation of the hostile environment installed upon them by Russian force (that is: “join the system”, so to say) in order to try to ameliorate this enforced system. *Ukrainian efforts are directed at the rejection and destruction of the foreign governmental, social, and cultural environment — otherwise Ukraine will perish, disappear as a people altogether.* The time to go into an offensive by every thought and deed is now, it is time for all fallen from exhaustion to get up and run. Let’s lift up high the vision of our own independent, sovereign national State!

Ukrainian resistance has its very roots in its heritage, in its own once powerful and sovereign Kyivan State, in the epoch of the Hetmanate and of the *Zaporozhian* Cossacks. Ukrainians have no room for “Marxism”, for “dialectical materialism”, nor was there ever any need in Ukraine for the “tramontane Communism” of Mykola Khvylovyi,³ any reason to be “blessed” with a return to “true Leninism” — all these are anti-Ukrainian doctrines and systems. The same goes for fictive “Liberalism”, “socialism”, “Trotskyism”, or any other non-Ukrainian “ism” (above all the incongruous “proletarian internationalism” — these are all arsenic to the Ukrainian soul). No continuation, nor revival of the “Paris commune”, “Nestor Makhno movement”, “fascism of Mussolini, national socialism, of Hitler”, anarchism, social-radicalism — all these are foreign, non-Ukrainian, hostile to our spirituality.

Our path is clear. Only our knightly heritage from the Kyivan State to Cossack *Stich*, from pre-Christian to Christian culture, heroism and justice — form a vision, form a spiritual State for the contemporary generation of Ukrainians in their occupied homeland. To continue developing the ideals of the great Taras Shevchenko, Lesya Ukrainka, Wasyl Stefanyk, to sharpen arms on the works of Dontsov,

³ Khvylovyi — Ukrainian writer, disenchanted with Communism who committed suicide.

Lypa, Mikhnovsky, to strengthen ideological positions on the works of Stepan Bandera, Y. Stetsko, Myron Orlyk — is the path for every Ukrainian revolutionary.

The new generation of Ukrainians does fill the prolonged and difficult path to liberation with new contents, fills the framework of tomorrow's independence with a vision of a spiritual State based on historical quality.

Insurgency

One could ask us, what is our strategy to obtain our liberation? In previous deliberations we have rejected Chinese, Vietnamese, Cuban, and Algerian strategies. We maintain that only simultaneous uprisal and a combination of insurgent and conventional war against *Russia* can free Ukraine and gain independence. Let us consider the realities and facts concerning Ukraine, her geopolitical situation, her status of an agrarian-industrial developed nation, her non-alignment with the countries of the so called "third world". Let us consider Ukraine as a country that shares her borders with the country directly responsible for her occupation and enslavement. There are no border checks between Russia and the neighbouring "Republics" within the framework of the U.S.S.R., a fact of immense importance as far as guerilla warfare is concerned. Successful strategy can not imitate blindly other strategies without taking into consideration all of the circumstances involved.

The fact of enslavement of other Captive Nations by Russia, nations that share their ethnic borders with Russia or among themselves — shall be decisive for overall Ukrainian strategy. Synchronized uprisals in other Captive Nations, forcing the enemy to rush their troops to many different fronts, a takeover of technological centres, sabotage of enemy communications and at the same time strikes against the major cities while building up the bases of operation in rural areas — are the first phase of action, all efforts should be devoted for its thorough preparation. Insurgent raids and operations should also include the largest cities and industrial centres, where it is easier to operate in small groups. Takeover of missile and atomic secret centres and freeing of political prisoners in jails and concentration camps will assure the success of the first phase of action. There are indications that coordination of the revolutionary forces is taking place among various enslaved nations in the Soviet Union. There are indications that the revolutionaries do have their people strategically placed in Russian war centres. The weakest spot of the Russian empire today, is that they have depended upon different hostile national elements within their own armed forces. There are probably many "V. Bilenkos" in Soviet secret installations waiting for the right moment to strike a vital blow against the hated empire.

These are our chances. Therefore our revolutionary strategy must concentrate on thorough analysis of all the real components, conditions, alliances — every little detail that could be vital in deciding victory, or defeat. Most important is to determine strategy and action in the following sectors:

The Soviet Armed Forces, The Communist Party, The *Komsomol* (Communist Youth Organization), The Administrative apparatus, The Collective Farm system.

The Communist Party, the Soviet armed forces, as well as all other sectors mentioned above, must be regarded as hostile. Yet, the people who compose these sectors are not only Russians but members of our and other enslaved nations. United — they form a *majority* (according to recent statistics) versus the Russians. Each of the non-Russian nations forms a *majority* on their own ethnic territory, it is nonsense to call any national population living on its own territory — a minority. A separate sector, included in all of the aforementioned sectors, forms the block of the non-Party members, who, as a rule, are the most courageous of all the other subjugated nationals, since refusal to join the Communist Party and try to make a living in the Soviet Union must be regarded as an act of courage. The Collective Farm is an anti-Ukrainian creation, yet the members of the collective farms in the Soviet Ukraine are our brothers and sisters. The enslaved nations are our natural allies. “Diaspora” is a two-edged sword.

Our plan of action is the systematic and evergrowing intensity of *defence* that must pass in time into politically-militant *offence*. Our slogan for today is: *The Defence of Ukraine!* The purpose of this slogan is to mobilize around it every living Ukrainian at home and abroad. *Let's join an active, united front to defend Ukraine from Russification and national and cultural genocide!*

The “Dissenters”

We have witnessed already the historical lesson brought about by one, who “removed” the wrongdoers and preserved the “empire”. It was *Lenin!* And that is enough! The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) cannot and shall not reduce itself to a “dissident” status. Lenin was responsible for saving the empire even when he did bring about the downfall of the Tsarist system. He “removed” (!?) the “wrong-doing” *people* and left the evil *system* untouched. Today “neo-imperialists” are again trying to save “mother-Russia” from the mess she has got herself into at home and abroad. They are focusing the world’s attention on the suffering “good” Russians. The Western media and press respond enthusiastically, forgetting historical lessons, that point out the fact that there is nothing *good* to be expected from the “change of guard” in the old Kremlin. Therefore,

the Russian dissidents — unless they clearly state *that they recognize the inalienable right of all enslaved nations in the Soviet Union to have their independence and their own sovereign States* — cannot be regarded as revolutionaries and *their goals* must be clearly and decisively separated from *our goals*. We cannot and shall not march together with *neo-imperialists* in the same ways as we cannot and shall not adapt strategies of Mao, Ho, or Castro for our revolution!

In Summary: The Struggle for National Independence

Deliberating about national liberation we must always take as a starting point the following: national-liberation revolution is open. The very conception of such a struggle calls for openly stating all aims and desires.

In a word divided between the *enslaving* and the *enslaved* nations all the “classes”, “groups”, “cliques”, or “parties” are not the bearers of imperialism, the *enslaving nations* are! Ukraine, through the last 300 years of its history was enslaved by the Russians and not by *Russian parties, cliques or other power groups*. One thing is to speculate with notions, engage in discussions for strategical or tactical reasons and the other is to realise without any shadow of the doubt *who* the enemy is! People must hold a clear position. All the diagnoses and all the prognoses we have stated or written about before proved themselves in the long run to be true. We hear desperate calls from home: “there is nothing but hate for the Russians”! That is the best definition of who the enemy is!

We have maintained elsewhere in this essay that the contemporary phase of struggle is the *defence* of Ukraine. No defence is possible without it turning into an offensive eventually.

The reign of terror in Ukraine has intensified, also because of the external political situation, that is, because of the impending USA-Soviet agreements and *detente* politics in general. But intensified terror does not mean the end of the liberation struggle. Tactics change but the struggle itself only gains strength in response to terror. There are cracks in the Russian empire that are beyond repair. The ultimate stage of liberation, the *offensive* phase of the Ukrainian revolution is not so far away as one might think. Ukrainans, in spite of all the terror, are beginning to see the light at the end of the tunnel.

Anatole W. BEDRIY, Ph.D.

REVIEW OF UKRAINE'S NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLE, 1975-1977

The growth of the Ukrainian national liberation struggle during the 1970's was temporarily delayed by the massive Soviet-Russian counter-offensive in 1972, typical of the worst Stalinist times. In that year at least 1500 leading Ukrainian national activists were arrested and sentenced to long-term captivity in concentration camps, prisons and psychiatric institutions. Several thousands of home searches were conducted by the KGB. A dozen well-known intellectuals and national leaders in various walks of life were tortured so severely that they were completely brainwashed and were brought to a mental breakdown.

However, since 1975 the shock from the wave of genocidal mania of the Russian-Communist colonialists has passed, followed by an even tougher nationalist resolve of thousands of Ukrainians to continue the anti-colonial liberation efforts. On the side of the national freedom-fighters is the important factor of youthfulness, while the Russian imperialist elite is composed of old people who stubbornly cling to their outdated despotic and tyrannical Stalinist methods of rule. They are unable to even introduce any progressive or libertarian reforms, not to mention giving independence to the enslaved nations, because they are afraid of the freedom-loving nationalist liberation forces, which surely will exploit any opportunity of advancing their own struggle. Therefore, the present Brezhnev-Kosygin regime is typified by immobility and stagnation. Terror, military power and unbounded oppression of the non-Russian peoples by the dominant Russian population are the rule of the day. No ideological, cultural, economic or any other bonds are keeping the many tens of millions of Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Turkestanians, Latvians, Byelorussians, Estonians, Armenians and other peoples within the Soviet Union, only naked force. However changes must come, because the enslaved nations will not acquiesce to their unnatural condition.

Prominent Ukrainian and other non-Russian intellectuals and even a few Russians (like the well-known Andrey Amalryk or Vladimir Bukovsky) recently expressed the belief that the present-day situation in the Soviet Union is in many respects similar to the situation in the Russian empire 60 years ago on the eve of the collapse of the tsarist regime and the succeeding disintegration of the empire itself.

National freedom-fighters anticipate the great new opportunity of the repetition of history after the demise of the present Moscow leadership, which hopefully will come soon.

There are two strong indications of the growing strength of the national liberation movement in Ukraine, the first — the continuously increasing flow of underground literature and, second, the continuous arrests and persecution of increasing numbers of people who become active in the movement. Every month brings news of fresh trials, deportations, the firing of people from their work, the bullying of people into silence and submission, long-term sentences, appearance of whole groups of political prisoners in the concentration camps, further acts of russification and attempts to destroy Ukrainian cultural monuments to which there is strong resistance. But the uninterrupted line of persecuted Ukrainians indicates the undiminished strength of patriotic fervour, the widespread fearlessness among the masses to engage in such activities, for which they can lose their jobs, be exposed to persecution and discrimination, arrest, exile to hostile Russia, or perhaps to be thrown into KGB dungeons and sentenced to sub-arctic concentration camps. During the last two years scores of patriots and Christian believers were assassinated. Hundreds are dying annually in the unbearable concentration camps and in banishment.

The freedom-struggle in all the enslaved nations of the Soviet Union is of great assistance to the Ukrainian national liberation struggle, especially that of Lithuania, Georgia, Armenia, Latvia, Estonia, Turkestan, Byelorussia and others. Every such movement is in touch with each other through thousands of ways. News about each is often connected with the news about others: thus the KGB is presently in no position to prevent the spread of such information to the free world. In addition the Jewish people in the Soviet Union desiring to emigrate quite often bring with them to the outside world much information and testimony about Ukraine and its liberation struggle. Within the Russian elite there appeared recently a few individuals who are dissatisfied with the performance of the present rulers in Moscow. Their dissatisfaction transformed them into dissidents. Moscow is willing to let these people go into exile in the belief that they will cause less trouble abroad than at home.

Thus two groups of people opposed to the regime in the Soviet Union have emerged: one is composed of non-Russian liberation movements attempting not to change the totalitarian regime into a democratic one, but primarily to throw off the Russian imperial yoke. The ideology of the national movements was well described by the Ukrainian freedom-fighter Mykhailo Masiutko in his essay "The Class And the National Struggle in the Present Stage of Development". Masiutko wrote: "Humanity should combat domestic exploitation of one class by another, — there should not be any parasitism among people. However, the main struggle of an enslaved people should be

directed against the tenfold more dangerous external exploitation of one people by another”.

On the other hand, Russian dissidents with the exception of one or two persons are interested primarily in the change of the regime in the Soviet Union, ignoring the more important matter of liquidation of the Soviet-Russian empire. There is a very significant document, entitled “The Appeal of the Ukrainian Political Prisoners-Nationalists to the Secretary-General of the United Nations”, signed by 13 inmates of the main imperial prison at Vladimir near Moscow. This document reached Western Europe last Fall. It states:

“These people (Russian dissidents — A. B.) are exposing in the West the anti-democratic character of the Soviet social and political system. Moscow is accustomed to such criticism... it does not endanger the existence of the empire itself (called the USSR since 1922). Moscow is reconciled to the fact that the Soviet Union is ‘not quite’ a democratic state. One can still live with such a world image. What one cannot live with in the second half of the 20th century is a face of an empire. Therefore, Moscow is doing everything in her power to mask the imperialistic nature of her nationality policy and to hide the widespread dissatisfaction with Moscow’s occupation of Ukraine, the Baltic states, the Caucasus a.o.”. Then this group of Ukrainian political prisoners-nationalists explains: “Our goal is the secession of Ukraine from the USSR and the establishment of a Ukrainian state. This goal contradicts the aggressive spirit of the Russian imperialists, and its achievement means the collapse of the Russian empire... The criticism of the Moscow regime by the nationalists means exposition of the nature of the Soviet Union as the Russian empire. Such criticism endangers the existence of the empire itself, and therefore the Communists — the vanguard of Russian imperialism — make every possible effort to turn the criticism of the USSR in the West in the direction of the analysis of the social and even political situation of the citizen in the USSR but in no way in the direction of analyzing its international relations”.

The national liberation efforts in Ukraine in the years 1975-1977 were directed towards the following activities:

1. Writing and distribution of materials, in which Russian colonialism, russification, the destruction of Ukrainian culture, the genocide of Ukrainian people is exposed, condemned and attacked; (the amount of such literature is tremendous, if we keep in mind that each copy is written or typed individually and many articles have scores of pages each; it is reported that during the raids by the KGB on homes of freedom-fighters in the months of January-March 1972 — 300 pieces of such liberational materials were confiscated) it takes great effort and courage to spread illegal and underground literature: hundreds of people are engaged in copying such materials and then trying secretly to distribute them; for such acts long-term prison terms are handed out by the occupation authorities if caught;

2. Transmittance to the free nations of information about the Russian oppression and exploitation of Ukraine and about the efforts of the national forces to resist the enemy;

3. Defence and preservation of the Ukrainian culture, national values, cadres and monuments, as well as the population as a whole from losing national identity, national consciousness and national honour;

4. Active struggle against the russification of the Ukrainian people, against the atheistic campaign of the communists and the government, against the chauvinistic Russian Orthodox Church, against the destruction of Ukrainian historical and religious buildings and monuments, against the forced transfer of hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians annually to Russia, where these people are exposed to the most ruthless pressure of denationalization and assimilation.

5. Increased cooperation with the national movements of other enslaved peoples against the common enemy, such as common liberation manifestations of the political prisoners, establishment of coordinating groups, liberation committees for specific purposes, e.g., revealing Russia's violations of the Helsinki Agreement, support of Amnesty International, appeals to the United Nations, etc.

6. At least a dozen large-scale hunger strikes by Ukrainian political prisoners or together with prisoners of other nations held in concentration camps and prisons, in which hundreds of inmates took part, protesting inhuman conditions, demanding their human rights, appealing for national freedom to their oppressed countrymen and with the aim of turning the free world's attention to the plight of these nations.

7. Scores of Ukrainian political prisoners renounced their Soviet citizenship as a protest against the colonial policies of the Moscow government; they asked to be exiled beyond the Soviet Union's borders;

8. Spiritual-religious faith and practice is noticeably increasing in Ukraine; interestingly enough, a growing number of young people are drawn to Christianity; many activities are conducted in the same way as during the times of the first Christians: they must hide in modern "catacombs"; if they participate in church affairs, they do this with the knowledge of being continuously in danger of persecution and discrimination;

9. The listening to foreign broadcasts from Western Europe is rapidly expanding, especially of the Vatican radio, Radio Free Europe, the CBC, the BBC, etc.

10. A campaign is being conducted to bring to light the gross violations by the government of the USSR of the Helsinki Agreement of 1975 in the area of national and human rights of the Ukrainian people;

11. New patriotic and nationalistic literature appears all the time, such as poetry, journalistic articles, novels, scholarly works — all

illegally, of course, in which the colonial nature of the Soviet regime is exposed, the Ukrainian SSR is shown as a formalistic fiction of a Ukrainian state and an actual province of the Russian empire, historical epochs are extolled when Ukraine was a powerful state in the 10th-12th centuries and in the 17th century, Ukrainian cultural values are defended, russification and colonial exploitation are condemned, ruthless discrimination on national grounds by the Russian racists is revealed, etc.

12. An upheaval is occurring to cultivate the Ukrainian language, which is at the mercy of Russian genocidal attempts to liquidate it; Ukrainian patriots propagating the teaching and learning, the use in all public places of the Ukrainian language, but all such endeavours are disapproved of by the Russians, and therefore, many persistent Ukrainian language cultivators are persecuted and jailed;

13. Many propagandistic and educational campaigns are conducted to manifest people's demands for national independence; the most frequent are: the raising of the prohibited blue and yellow national flag on public buildings; drawing or engraving of the trident, the Ukrainian national emblem, on walls, sidewalks, fences and monuments; the dissemination of leaflets and posting of various appeals urging the people to resist colonial oppression and strengthen their liberation struggle;

14. Political prisoners, civic groups and prominent individuals constantly engage in campaigns of writing letters, appeals, petitions to the occupation authorities, the United Nations, various international humanitarian and professional organizations and the governments of the free nations, in which they explain the terrible colonial slavery existing in Ukraine and ask to assist Ukraine in gaining national and human rights;

15. On occasions of national holidays now prohibited by the Russian colonialists, as for example, the independence day, the day of the national political prisoners, Christmas and Easter, the anniversary of the greatest national spiritual leader — Taras Shevchenko etc. — spontaneous or organized rallies, meetings, and demonstrations are held, which often turn into manifestations of demands for national rights to establish an independent Ukrainian state.

The liberation movement in Ukraine maintains close contact with Ukrainians abroad, especially with the emigrants in the Western World, who continue to be active in the area of liberation efforts, in particular in spreading the truth about Russian colonialism and Ukraine's anti-colonial struggle throughout the world. They cooperate with the liberation movements of other nations enslaved by Russia, attempting to draw the attention of the free nations to the national freedom-fighters. In that last attempt they are particularly active through the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations.

MEMORANDUM

OF THE ORGANIZATION OF UKRAINIAN NATIONALISTS (OUN) TO THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE WESTERN WORLD IN CONNECTION WITH THE FORTHCOMING CONFERENCE OF BELGRADE

1

On August 1, 1975, the western powers acknowledged in Article III of the Final Act of Helsinki the inviolability of the boundaries of the Russian colonial empire, i.e. the status quo of enslavement and national oppression. They further acknowledged in Article IV the territorial integrity of the empire, but simultaneously in Article VIII the right of the peoples to self-determination and their full freedom to choose their internal and external political status as they like, and in Article VII they proclaimed that human rights, fundamental liberties and the rights of the national minorities must be respected.

The recognition of the status quo — i.e. the totalitarian Russian empire — on one hand, and of the right to national freedom and independence, i.e. the dissolution of the empire and the implementation of the fundamental human rights and liberties in this empire — on the other, is contradictory in itself: there never existed an empire in which the subjugated peoples were able to implement human rights irrespective of national rights, i.e. without restoring or attaining their national independence beforehand. The fact that nations such as Ukraine or Georgia with thousand-year-old national traditions and cultures are colonies of Russia and excluded from international relations is the shame of our century. The western powers should exert all pressure possible in attempting to have the rights laid down in Article VII and VIII implemented, and or use sharpness and severity in bringing to the fore this burning question, just as the requirements and obligations in connection with the “Cooperation in humanitarian and other fields” have been worked out in detail in Basket Three. If the western powers have recognized the integrity and inviolability of the boundaries of the Russian Communist empire they are also obliged to insist by exerting all pressure possible on the implementation of the rights acknowledged in Articles VII and VIII and in Basket Three of the Act in order to get out of the contradictory situation. However, we do not know how it would be possible to recognize the empire and totalitarianism, on one hand, and simultaneously implement the national and human rights of the peoples enslaved in the empire and under the totalitarian regime, on the other.

Thus we cannot but consider the Final Act of Helsinki an actual capitulation of the western governments. We should like to recall in this connection that pursuant to Article 17 of the USSR Constitution and Article 14 of the Constitution of the Ukrainian SSR, Ukraine is formally entitled to freely secede from the USSR at any time. This, however, is an outrageous lie and deception. Sixteen years ago Ukrainian lawyers (Lev Lukianenko, Ivan Kandyba and others) were sentenced to death or to 15 years of severe imprisonment just for merely discussing these formal rights of Ukraine.

2

The western powers should seek to apply the "Declaration concerning Decolonization, i.e. the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples" adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on December 14, 1960, and the "Programme of Action for the Full Implementation of the Declaration" confirmed by the General Assembly in 1970 to the Russian colonial empire in the first place by taking all steps possible for dissolving the Russian empire — the USSR — and contributing to the restoration of the national independent democratic states of all subjugated peoples. We propose to employ the definition given in "Decolonization OP/522 August 1974 — 20 M", the "Definition of Aggression OPI/550 July 1975 — 20 M" and the definition of Imperialism for the Russian colonial empire. Further, the "Special Committee of the 24 for Decolonization" should concentrate its activity on Ukraine as well as other nations enslaved by Russia in order to grant them independence.

The UN General Assembly, on December 19, 1960, adopted by an overwhelming majority of votes a "Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples" in which it solemnly proclaimed the "necessity of bringing to a speedy and unconditional end colonialism in all its forms and manifestations". In connection with the Resolution adopted by the Fourth Committee 31/146 of the UN General Assembly on September 20, 1976 with respect to South Africa (Namibia) we suggest that the Committee should consider its primary task the application of the Resolution to the peoples subjugated in the Russian colonial empire.

The corresponding resolution should read:

"Reaffirm the inalienable right of the peoples subjugated in the USSR to self-determination, freedom and national independence as laid down by the Charter of the United Nations and as recognized in Resolutions 1514 (XV) and 2145 (XXI), and the legitimacy of their struggle by all means at their disposal against the illegal occupation of their territory by Russia.

Support the armed struggle of the nations subjugated in the USSR to achieve self-determination, freedom and national independence.

Appeal to all Member States of the United Nations to grant all necessary support and assistance to Ukraine and other nations colonized by Russia in the USSR in their struggle to achieve independence and national unity”.

If on December 20, 1976 the UN General Assembly with 107 votes not only recognized the right of an African people (Namibia) to independence, but also in terms of international law declared its political and moral support for the “armed liberation struggle” of the Ukrainian people, a nation of 53 million and with a 1,000 year-old tradition of statehood and civilization which having been fighting for its independence for centuries, is claiming the same right.

3

Therefore, we urge the Western powers, in view of the UN Charter signed by them, in view of the above-mentioned Declarations regarding decolonization and in the light of Articles VII and VIII and Basket Three of the Helsinki Act, to take legal, political, economic and — if necessary — also other steps (as the USSR is doing with its tanks and Cuban soldiers in Africa) in order to enforce the decolonization, that is to say the dissolution of the Russian empire.

We urge the Western powers to use all means possible in exerting pressure on Moscow to bring about the abolition of concentration camps and psychiatric prisons for political and religious prisoners, the release of political and religious prisoners, the cessation of Russification, of national, political, social and religious oppression, an end to collectivization and state controlled economy, and above all, the withdrawal of Russian occupational forces and of the Communist terror apparatus from Ukraine and other enslaved countries and thus enable them to restore their national independence and democratic order.

We request that the same legal status that the PLO (Palestinian Liberation Organisation) enjoys in the United Nations be also acknowledged to the liberation organization of the Ukrainian nation i.e. the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), also called the Bandera Movement.

We emphasize that in the present era of disintegration of empires and the formation of new national states throughout the world (this process is evidenced by the United Nations itself whose membership has increased almost five fold since the foundation of the Organization) the last colonial empire left — the USSR — cannot and must not be maintained.

4

We also refer to the Public Law No. 26-90 adopted by the US Congress with respect to the Captive Nations on July 19, 1959 in which the US Congress has obliged itself to encourage the liberation of Ukraine and all nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and Communism and to identify itself with the restoration of their national independence, respectively.

We expect that all decisions, resolutions and declarations of the UN General Assembly and other international bodies concerned with colonialism and imperialism are primarily applied to the Russian empire.

5

We emphasize that never in the history of mankind has a colonial people been in a position to implement its human rights before attaining its national independence. From this fact we conclude that the liquidation of the Russian empire and of the Communist system is an inevitable prerequisite for the implementation of the human rights and fundamental liberties, especially as human rights and the national idea are completely contradictory to the Communist system, its ideology and colonial empire.

The fact that the United Nations deal with problems of non-existent Western empires appears very strange in the light of the genocide as practiced in the most cruel colonial empire in the world — the Russian empire named USSR.

As a conclusion we should like to point out the following:

It would be erroneous to maintain that the Final Act adopted at Helsinki has brought forth liberation movements in Ukraine and other subjugated countries. On the contrary, this agreement with the Russian colonial rulers has contributed to an intensified oppression of the Ukrainian and other nations which is undoubtedly due to the recognition of the status quo of enslavement and colonialism in Europe. It is the undestructible yearning of the nations and the individuals for freedom and national independence that is innate in and at the root of the national liberation movement. All situations, occasions and events are taken advantage of in order to manifest this desire for freedom and independence to the world public, reference being also made to the untruthful Constitutions of the USSR and the Ukrainian SSR as well as to all relevant UN documentation.

May 1977

10TH WACL CONFERENCE & 23RD APACL CONFERENCES

APRIL 18-22, 1977, TAIPEI, REPUBLIC OF CHINA

J O I N T C O M M U N I Q U E O F THE 10TH WACL & 23RD APACL CONFERENCES

Taipei, Republic of China, April 22, 1977

The 10th Conference of the World Anti-Communist League (WACL) and the 23rd Conference of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League (APACL) jointly took place in Taipei, Republic of China on April 18-22, 1977, with the participation of 350 delegates and observers from 76 national member units, 15 international organizational member units and numerous other units in all parts of the world. Peoples thus represented include subjugated nations behind the Iron Curtain.

Through careful examination of the WACL Movement in the past decade and the history of APACL since its foundation in 1954, the participants are ever more strongly aware that, in the face of the unchanged Communist drive for world conquest and human enslavement, the WACL Movement should be further enhanced and expanded. The Taipei undertaking has been a powerful demonstration of the unity of freedom forces for the hewing of a brighter future for mankind.

The World Anti-Communist League, established first on the foundation of APACL, has long grown as a strong current of our time surging ahead to safeguard man's freedom and deal blows at Communist aggressors. As clearly indicated by the themes of the two Conferences — "Freedom Forces Unite Against Communist Tyranny" and "Save Asia Through Anti-Communist Unity" — WACL and APACL will strive on for human freedom and national independence.

Conference participants are deeply indebted to President Yen Chia-kan of the Republic of China, Vice-President Mario Augusto Sandoval of the Republic of Guatemala, and H. E. Too Chin Paik, Chairman of the Yusinjeonguhoe (Association for Revitalizing Reforms) of the Republic of Korea's National Assembly, for their personal presence to deliver inspiring addresses. Sincere gratitudes are also due President Stroessner of Paraguay, President Pinochet of Chile, Crown Prince and Regent Fahad of Saudi Arabia and many other political and civic leaders throughout the world for their

messages of felicitation and encouragement. Appreciation similarly goes to the outgoing Chairman General Honkon Lee for his address "Freedom and Security Not by Words but by Deeds" and to Conference Chairman Dr. Ku Cheng-kang for his address entitled "Develop a New Stage for Final Victory of Freedom".

Through five days of extensive discussion, the conferees' consensus of opinion is that:

First, the fight between forces of freedom and Communist forces is a historical one to decide man's destiny. **Campaigns for human rights and national independence are inseparable from Anti-Communist struggle**, and only through a total victory over Communism can the world status of "half free and half slave" come to an end and can humanity forever be assured of freedom and dignity.

Second, the ideology, political system and way of life under Communism **are totally incompatible with man's aspirations and national independence** and must never be permitted to spread or persist. Only through enhancement of outstanding cultural traditions and through the termination of Communist tyranny can man live and grow under reasonable conditions.

Third, much of the world turmoil has resulted from the Communist use of misleadingly phrased lies about "peaceful coexistence", "future of the Third World", etc. and sinister united front manoeuvres to achieve their goals through "parliamentary struggle" and "coalition government". Only by casting aside all groundless hopes and by resisting Communist enticement and infiltration **can we assure national independence and security for the building of a free, prosperous and peaceful world.**

After careful analysis of the world situation today, the conference participants are ever more firmly convinced that, although the Communists are still rampant and vociferous because of the encouragement they have received from the policy of detente, a thorough exposure of Red tactics has aroused freedom-loving peoples and ushered in a new stage of anti-Communism characterised by these features:

— Communist created crises in Asia, Red expansionist moves in Latin America and Moscow-Cuba instigated military interventions in Africa have prompted the free nations of these regions to strengthen their unity, national resilience and fight for survival.

— The Soviet Russian manipulation of the European Security Conference for Western recognition of the result of aggression as a **fait accompli** and for weakening NATO strength has prompted the free Europeans to strengthen their strategic position for regional security.

— The continuous Russian and Chinese Communist treatment of the U.S.A. as their archenemy despite the Red bloc rift and America's

concessive moves have made justice-respecting Americans raise their voices for measures enhance free world confidence in Washington.

— **The rise of intellectuals in the Soviet Union, the effort of the subjugated nations in the USSR and satellites to free themselves of Moscow's control** and the intensified power struggle on the Chinese mainland after Mao's death have made the Free World believe that the rule of Communist slavery will inevitably fall. **An amalgamation of freedom forces on both sides of the Iron Curtain is thus being accelerated.**

Participants to the WACL and APACL Conferences firmly believe that the governments and peoples of free nations will strive hard to come closer to an early unity.

The following resolutions have therefore been adopted as new guidelines of stepped-up League efforts:

— Pooling of resources and strengthening of anti-Communist forces for the destruction of Communist tyranny and for the achievement of freedom for all, as provided for in the WACL Charter.

— Support of President Carter's move for human rights as an encouragement to the subjugated peoples now under Communist rule. Special attention should be paid to the continued Chinese Communist crimes against humanity.

— Constant vigilance is needed against Communist and other attempts to disrupt free world unity through malicious distortion of the human rights issue.

— Strongly condemn the Communist regimes of China, the Soviet Union, North Korean, Vietnam, Cuba and others for their intensified warlike posture and adventurist designs. In this context, we would like to remind the world of the August 1976 axe-murders of two American military officers at the Panmunjon truce village. The world should also know what the Communists are up to, because they are trying to win over the United States for a "normalization of relations" as a result of the Nixon-Chou-En-lai "Shanghai Communiqué" which in fact contradicts international law. We also urge the U.S. not to "normalize" relations with Communist Cuba.

— The world should further be made fully aware of the Communist designs to use the United Nations as a base to agitate against the Free World. While condemning Cuba's Castro regime supported by Moscow, we sternly demand that Cuban troops be withdrawn from Angola and Zaire. The presence of Cuban and Russian troops in Africa is aggravating rather than mitigating African problems.

— Extend support to the free nations for their respective efforts to maintain their national integrity and mutual defence. The Yushin System (Revitalized Reform) of the Republic of Korea should be emulated by the other free nations, none of which today is free from Communist threat and provocation.

— Appreciate the anti-Communist measures taken by various countries such as Saudi Arabia and Egypt, by Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia and other free nations. Australia, New Zealand and other Pacific countries should be made aware of Communist danger and infiltration. At the same time stress should be put upon cooperation among free nations in the military, economic and cultural fields.

— Urge all the Free World's mass communications media to be on the alert to the Communist united front propaganda conspiracy and safeguard human rights and free world unity, security and peace.

— Immediate and substantial support should be given to the heroic national liberation movements struggling for national independence of the subjugated peoples in the Soviet Union and satellites, such as those of Ukraine, Lithuania, Georgia, Byelorussia, Turkestan, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Bulgaria, Hungary, Czechia, Slovakia, Poland, Estonia, Latvia, Rumania, North Caucasus and Croatia, as well as to the peoples of Angola, Cuba, Vietnam, Khmer and Laos; further, support should be given to the unification efforts in freedom of Germany, Korea and others. We wholeheartedly support the efforts of the people of the Republic of China to recover the mainland from Communist tyranny.

The Conference of WACL and APACL solemnly proclaim that the two Leagues have absolute faith in the **final victory** of anti-Communist forces which will result in **human dignity, individual freedom and national independence**.

After concluding the successful deliberations in Taipei, we have decided that the 11th WACL Conference will be held in Washington, D.C., United States in May 1978 and the 24th APACL Conference in Bangkok, Thailand, also in 1978.

And finally, the participants express their sincere gratitude to the people and Government of the Republic of China for their unparalleled support which they extended to the two Conferences and praise the highly satisfactory preparations and efficient arrangements made by the WACL/APACL China Chapter for the successful deliberations of the Conferences. Deep admiration and respect are expressed to the Chinese people for their warm hospitality and for their firm belief in the final victory of the Free World over Communism.

RESOLUTION ON NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

Proposed by the ABN Delegation

Adopted by the 10th WACL Conference, Taipei, April, 18-22, 1977

The 10th WACL Conference appeals to the U.S. President and the governments of free countries to exert pressure on the governments of the USSR and other Communist-dominated countries to obtain:

The release of all national, political and religious prisoners in 1977, which is Political Prisoners Year;

The abolishment of concentration camps and psychiatric prisoners;

The end of persecutions for national, political, social and religious convictions or for free cultural creativity and liberation activities for the realisation of national independence and human rights;

The end of Russification, denationalisation and assimilation of the subjugated peoples through the destruction of national cultures and traditions, religions and churches, through forced intermingling of peoples, deportation, assigning the youth of the captive nations for work in Siberian or Kazakh areas or in Russia with the aim of enforcing the creation of an unnatural phenomenon i.e. the so-called Soviet people, that would be identical in perspective with the Russian people;

The end of the national, political, social and economic oppression of the captive nations;

The abolishment of the exploitation of workers, peasants and of the working intelligentsia, also of the collective agricultural system and the imposed economic state capitalism;

The withdrawal of the Russian occupation forces, together with Communist terror apparatus, from the countries subjugated within the USSR and from the Satellite complex, in order to enable the respective peoples to restore their national independent, democratic states;

The WACL Conference appeals to the governments of the Free World states to apply the UN Resolution on World Decolonisation — the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples from 14. 12. 1960 not only to the areas of the no longer existing, British, French, Belgian and other Western Empires, but primarily to the USSR, the last existing Empire which must be disintegrated into independent, national, democratic states of the subjugated peoples.

The 10th WACL Conference appeals to the US Government — in its policy towards the Russian Empire and Communism — to abide

by the US Congress Public Law 86-90 from 19th July 1959, on the restoration of Captive Nations' national independence;

The WACL Conference further appeals to these governments to apply the Resolution (concerning 'support for the national liberation struggle of a captive nation against colonial rule which any nation may conduct by all the means available including primarily armed struggle') adopted by 107 votes at the UN on December 20th, 1976 to the subjugated nations in the USSR and behind the Iron Curtain in general, to the same extent as this Resolution is applicable to Namibia.

The 10th WACL Conference considers that analogically to the PLO the national liberation organisations of the nations subjugated by Bolshevism should be granted the same legal status in the United Nations.

RESOLUTION ON INDEPENDENCE OF UKRAINE

Proposed by Ukrainian Delegation

Adopted by the 10th WACL Conference, Taipei, April, 18-22, 1977

Since Ukraine, with its 53 millions strong population of unbounded revolutionary potential, with its tremendous economic wealth and natural resources, with its industrious people and investive, intellectual elite, and its geo-political location, is a decisive element in the anti-Bolshevik struggle and in the construction of a new just international order;

Since Ukraine, — even after the loss of its national independence in 1920-1921, and after having lost 20 million of its population in consequence of geno-, ethno-, culture-cide under Bolshevism, of war communism, in consequence of an artificial famine organised by Moscow in 1932-1933, purges during the Yezhov period (1937), the mass extermination of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and the revolutionary underground — Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and their supporters from the entire nation in 1942-1953, — has not ceased the struggle for national independence and human rights, ("always struggling towards freedom" — Voltaire).

Since Ukraine, — as the Phoenix from the ashes, is constantly reborn, as is witnessed by: —

- (a) the uprisings of Ukrainian and others political prisoners in Russian concentration camps in 1953-59;
- (b) the rebirth of the new intellectual elite in the 1960's and 1970's in the spirit of patriotism, liberationism, christianity and Ukrainian historical traditional democracy;
- (c) the strengthening of liberation activities by the revolutionary national underground (information supplied by our own channels and by research of political, historical, economic, ethnographic and other professional journals, literary magazines and various other sources);

- (d) the endeavours, by diverse methods and forms of the young Ukrainian generation, to achieve national independence and have human rights realised.

Therefore the Xth WACL Conference resolves: —

to support the revolutionary liberation struggle of Ukraine for its national independence and human rights;

to demand that Ukraine, as a founder member of the United Nations, be represented in the UN not by the Moscow — imposed colonial government — Uk.SSR, but by representatives of the national liberation organisation (OUN — Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists), who should be accredited at least the same status as the PLO;

to condemn Russian chauvinism, imperialism, colonialism, geno-, ethno-, and culture-cide, Russification, and the deportation of Ukrainians outside Ukraine;

to condemn national, political, socio-economic exploitation of the Ukrainian nation and its territory;

to condemn the trampling of national and human rights by Russian communists and neo-colonialists, the violation of agreements and international legal acts, such as, the United Nations Charter; Resolution on decolonisation — Granting of Independence to Colonial Peoples and Countries from 14. 12. 1960, and even the violation of 'Basket Three' and Articles VII and VIII on national and human rights of the Final Helsinki Acts and at the same time, of their own constitutions of the USSR Article 17 and Ukrainian SSR Article 14, which give every republic in the USSR the right to freely secede from the USSR and in practice, they sentence to 15 years of penal imprisonment, or death, for attempting only theoretically to analyse these articles of constitution as is the case of lawyers L. Lukianenko, I. Kandyba and others;

to condemn the persecution of Ukrainian Churches, the destruction of Ukrainian cultural treasures, the murder of Ukrainian priests Father Lutskyj and Father Luchkiv, and the artist Alla Horska and especially members of the underground Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) by the KGB;

to demand the release of all Ukrainian political and religious prisoners, who constitute 60-70% of all political prisoners, beginning with Yuriy Shukhevych, Valentyn Moroz, Sviatoslav Karavansky, Yevhen Sverstiuk, Iryna Senyk, Iryna Kalynets, Z. Antoniuk, I. Svitlychny, Father Romaniuk, M. Rudenko, O. Tykhy and all the members of OUN and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, many of whom have been in prisons and concentration camps for over 30 years, because they were fighting for the disintegration of the Russian Empire and the restoration of a Ukrainian independent national state and thus the realisation of human rights;

to demand the release of poet Zinoviy Krasivsky and others from psychiatric asylums;
to demand the withdrawal of Russian occupational armies and the Russian apparatus of terror from Ukraine, so that the Ukrainian people can restore their own national, independent, democratic state.

**RESOLUTION ON DECOLONISATION AND DETENTE IN
 CONNECTION WITH THE BELGRADE CONFERENCE**

Submitted by the European Freedom Council

Adopted by the 10th WACL Conference, Taipei, April, 18-22, 1977

WHEREAS; all the signatory nations to the U.N. Declaration of 14th December 1960 calling for the granting and restoration of full independence for ALL peoples living under colonial rule, systematically ignore Soviet Russia's non-observance and continuing blatant violation of the Declaration, and lay no binding obligation whatsoever upon the Kremlin leaders to implement the terms of the Declaration by restoring independence to Ukraine, Georgia, Byelorussia, Turkestan, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Northern Caucasus, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, East Germany, Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania, Slovakia, Czechia, Albania, Croatia, and others.

WHEREAS; the total failure of Soviet Russia to observe and honour all Constitutional Treaties, Declarations and other legally binding commitments to restore independence to the abovementioned, formerly free nation states.

WHEREAS; the free Western Governments at Helsinki and Geneva by taking no account whatever of Soviet Russia's refusal to recognise that decolonisation of the aforementioned forcibly colonised nations constitutes a prerequisite of detente; and by failing publicly to condemn their non-compliance with U.N. rulings, have helped to perpetuate Russian colonialist rule in the U.S.S.R., as a direct result of which Russian imperialist expansion on the African continent and elsewhere has considerably increased.

POINTS OUT; the contradiction inherent in upholding Human Rights without at the same time recognising the absolute necessity for first insisting upon individual freedom and national independence.

The 75 nations assembled in Taipei for the 1977 WACL Conference DEMAND that at the forthcoming Conference in Belgrade.

1. Discussions on the progress of detente be prefaced by a call to the Russian Government to declare its firm intention immediately to start the process of decolonisation of the U.S.S.R.
2. That, as Russian interference in other nations' internal affairs has increased since the Helsinki Agreement (e.g. Portugal, Spain, etc.), the Western nations should now consider whether further discussions with Soviet Russia on detente can produce any positive results.

From within the U.S.S.R.

Abraham SHIFRIN*

POLITICAL TRIALS IN THE USSR

The judicial system in the USSR may seem logical in ensuring just sentences to a person living under the conditions of democratic law in the free world, to one who is used to strict observance of the law.

Everything looks perfectly decent at first glance: a person under suspicion goes through the investigation procedure and cannot be arrested unless there is an attorney's written approval of the measure; a person under investigation can read the material of the case before the trial; he has a right to invite a lawyer for his defence.

However, there is absolutely no content in the external form: the arrest can be arbitrary; the investigation is a mere formality; the fact that the accused can see the completed record of the case does not give him any information for defence; and the lawyer has a chance to see the record and the defendant (if the latter is under arrest) just before the trial, rather than during the investigation.

Well, finally the day of the trial comes. The accused who does no longer believe in the justice of the KGB investigators and who not infrequently gave false evidence during the investigation because of the provocations and blackmail on the part of the investigators had been looking forward to this day, in the hope that justice would triumph. He is often aware of the fact that the Soviet judicial system provides for a presumption of innocence: nobody can be called criminal unless the court proves and confirms the charges against him by its sentence.

It is appropriate here to recall the case of a naïve person who, after being beaten up during the KGB investigation, cried out: "I haven't been convicted yet, I'm still under trial, the charges against me haven't been proved yet before the court!" The answer was like this: "Can you see the crowd over there on the square? Well, those people are under investigation. You, now that you are in the hands of the KGB, you are already convicted".

Let us review the trial procedure step by step in order to understand this statement of the KGB: it is necessary to understand how the facts come to be distorted to fit the unjust sentence which is usually known to the court before its sitting and which is dictated by the Party and KGB's organs.

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The reader of this issue in the free world would naturally expect that the court is independent of both legislative and executive organs. This is written into article 112 of the USSR Constitution. In fact, however, the supervision is in the hands of the Party administration which is responsible for political (or equally important for the authorities) cases. This by no means constitutes a secret. There is a special "department for supervision over the court organs" in the Central Committee of the CPSU. At its special meetings this department discusses special trials being prepared; it gives orders for the trials to be conducted behind closed doors and in fact issues sentences which are afterwards signed by the obedient court. The judge is always a CPSU member, he could not otherwise be a judge. The members of the jury, the so-called people's assessors, are nominated from the list for the district and are mere pawns, silent witnesses; sometimes they are KGB men, in which case they help the judge actively by introducing fanaticism and prejudice in the atmosphere of the trial. There is an article in the Soviet Law, which reads that the Soviet court "must be guided by Socialist interpretation of the law". This means that the court assumes responsibility before the law to a much lesser extent than before the Party. This predetermines the sentence in the case of a person who believes in God or who wants to leave the Soviet Union or who simply read books published in the free world but forbidden in the USSR: all this is at variance with the "Socialist interpretation of the law . . ."

Let us now consider the articles of the law which deal with the court procedure. We will start with the publicity and openness of the trial as defined in article 111 of the USSR Constitution.

According to the law, only court procedures connected with a disclosure of state secret or intimate particulars from the life of the accused can be held behind closed doors. In reality, however, all trials of Soviet dissidents are closed, although they do not fit this article. Sometimes these procedures are held as show-trials with public participation. Is this a contradiction to what we have just said? By no means! The trial in this case takes place in a factory club, and the audience consists of KGB men and carefully selected civil guards. The open "show-trials" of P. Yakir or Maramzin are characteristic examples. These persons, who will have already been broken down during the investigation, gave all the evidence suitable for the court. It can be easily proved that it is impossible to get to such an "open" and "demonstration" trial, unless one has the permission of the KGB. Dozens of cases are known when even close relatives or world known fighters for human rights, such as Academician A. Sakharov, a Nobel Prize Winner, could not get to the court. Academician A. Sakharov was even beaten up once when he tried to be present at such an "open" trial.

The entry to these closed or "open" trials is strictly forbidden for foreign press correspondents or representatives of western jurisdic-

tion. It is not permitted to make records of these trials. If somebody does make an attempt to keep a record, the latter is taken away by the KGB men. Everything possible is done to keep particulars of the trial secret from the Soviet people and from the world at large.

This also seems to contradict our statement that the outward appearance of justice is being kept in the court. We will explain this now. Both the accused and the witnesses at the trial usually state that their evidence was not given of their free will, that they were threatened, that physical measures were taken against them (punishment cells or starvation), that they were blackmailed and lied to. Many trials can be cited as examples. In particular, the trial of Superfin, a friend of Solzhenitsyn's who retracted his own evidence given during the investigation and explained at the trial how he was forced to give false evidence. They tell in the court how the KGB lied to them, tempted them with promises of a happy life, threatened them and finally managed to obtain false evidence.

This is when the judge comes into the picture. He is the one who must study the case and find the truth. Instead of a thorough interrogation of the accused and of the witnesses, the judge puts pressure on them, insisting that they confirm their evidence given during the investigation. The judge tries to convince the accused that if the latter retracts his evidence given during the investigation or refuses to accept the charges, this will only aggravate the situation. At the same time the judge threatens the witnesses with criminal investigation against them "for false evidence", even though the witness explains how the KGB forced him to give such evidence.

All feeble attempts of the lawyer to prevent such intimidation in the courtroom are cut short both by the judge and by the state prosecutor, attorney for special cases. Following this, the judge usually rejects all appeals from the accused since "the circumstances of the case are clear" and "because the court trusts the evidence given during the investigation and does not take into consideration the changed evidence given in the courtroom".

This is how the right of the accused to his own defence, provided for in articles 19 and 20 of the USSR Criminal Code, is violated; there is not a single case in the USSR when an unjust sentence was appealed against or cancelled by higher court instances. It should be remembered, first of all that not any lawyer may be admitted to political trials in the USSR: the KGB alone decides whether or not a particular lawyer can be entrusted with a secret trial. Naturally, only confidential lawyers, well known to the KGB, are allowed to participate in such trials. There are many cases when relatives of the accused ask to nominate a certain lawyer for defence; however, the chairman of the board (undoubtedly instructed by the KGB) turns down this appeal and decides for himself (also instructed by the KGB) who is going to "defend" the accused.

As a result the "defence" in political trials usually reduces to

meaningless phrases, formal questions, sometimes petitions to include some documents or reference about the accused into the case. .

If the lawyer "takes a risk" and suggests that witnesses for the defence be interrogated, the court will turn this down and the lawyer may be charged with "disloyal" behaviour before the court. As a consequence, such a counsel for defence makes a speech at the end of the trial, in which he lists some facts in favour of the defendant (it often follows from these facts that the defendant is completely innocent); in conclusion, however, he suddenly appeals to the court to "mitigate the sentence". Thus he does not reject but rather acknowledges the defendant's guilt and helps the state prosecutor and the judge to pass the unjust sentence.

This is why the accused often refuse to have counsels for defence at political trials. They do not like the idea of having the state prosecutor in duplicate. The role of the lawyer at political trials in the USSR is so meagre and miserable, that this may only puzzle any lawyer in the free world; however, this is the fact known to everybody in the USSR.

The court often resorts to other measures, inadmissible from the point of view of justice. If it becomes known that the witness retracted his initial false evidence during the investigation, this witness is not invited to the court; instead, his initial false evidence, suitable for the prosecution, is read out. The judge frequently interrupts the lawyer and the accused, if he does not like their line of conduct and if this line interferes with the accusatory aspirations of the trial. The concluding remarks of the accused are interrupted immediately if he starts exposing the KGB's or the court's inadmissible or unjust methods. If the lawyer or the accused try to interrogate witnesses for prosecution, thus showing that their evidence is false, the judge interferes and frees the false witness from the necessity to answer the question which might expose the witness as a liar. The judge accepts from the prosecutor the documents which characterize the accused unfavourably; however, he does not agree to add to the case the documents favourable for the accused or which testify to his innocence.

The prosecutor, as he asks questions during the trial, does his best to impose on the witnesses the answers necessary for the accusation; he interrupts the witnesses, the lawyer, and the accused and calls on the court to stop the accused from answering the lawyer's or the witness's question if the latter is at variance with the line of the prosecution.

All the above methods of handling political trials in the USSR ensure unjust sentences for deeds which are not punishable anywhere else: participation in peaceful demonstrations, publication of a book or article outside the USSR, publication without censorship of a literary, poetical or philosophical magazine, organization of a seminar on a

national culture, written appeals for exit permits, or other such crimes.

The indictment is passed and is, as a rule approved by the higher court. The accused almost always (especially if he pleads not guilty or does not repent) gets the most severe punishment, which is frequently aggravated by the recommendation of a particularly strict, special, or even prison regime. This makes the punishment extremely cruel under the conditions in the USSR.

Just a few words should be added about political dissidents in the USSR, who are sentenced to indefinite custody in special mental hospital-prisons.

If the KGB organs are thinking of a particularly harsh punishment for a political dissident who was not broken by the investigation and who may be expected to behave with dignity at the trial, then a judicial-psychiatric examination is resorted to. The world known psychiatrist Lunts or Snezhnevsky, as well as many other KGB men in white coats, are always ready to label a person's convictions as "delirium" or "obsession" and sign a "medical" verdict of his insanity.

This verdict enables the KGB not to open the trial! The case with the conclusion of the "psychiatric examination" is passed over to the court which, in the absence of the accused — who is 'insane'! — pronounces judgment on his compulsory treatment in a special mental hospital-prison. This hell, which turns normal people to insane by forcible administration of drastic medicinal preparations was described in many documents by people who had gone through it (V. Fainberg, V. Bukovsky, and many other victims of the KGB in the USSR).

INVESTIGATION IN THE USSR

Arrest, if it happens, is certainly a terrible event for anyone and anywhere. However, in the USSR arrest is just a prelude to future humiliation and torture. Only after arrest does the KGB activate all its power.

In every normal democratic country a prosecuted person, who has not been accused yet at a court, enjoys all his rights as a free citizen. In the USSR a man loses all his rights immediately after his arrest. He is held incommunicado, he cannot meet a lawyer, he sees only KGB officials who interrogate him.

In Western democratic countries an arrested person must be brought to a court where they discuss whether there is enough evidence for his arrest to be confirmed. In the USSR the KGB alone decides all the problems of arrest. A prisoner cannot get a solicitor's advice, neither can he send a message to his family or even inform his family of his being detained.

A prisoner is frustrated and depressed by this complete solitude and by his ignorance in legal matters. This is exactly what the KGB

needs for starting an investigation in order to make the prisoner accuse himself and his friends.

Right after his arrest a prisoner is "trained" for the subsequent investigation by the administration of a special investigation jail. This administration is usually especially rude and scornful to prisoners and tries to humiliate them by all means. The prisoner's things and body are frequently searched. The prisoner is not allowed to go to the bathroom whenever he wants. Every morning he must take away his chamber-pot (called "parasha"). He suffers from the lack of elementary toilet articles, from his cell-mates — thieves and assassins, from a peephole in the door of his cell through which warders always watch him. A prisoner feels like a needless thing which occasionally gets into the hands of a brutal master. In such despair a prisoner already eagerly awaits the first interrogation. He hopes to find an understanding investigator who may make the reasons of the arrest clear to him. However he hopes in vain. The KGB never tries to find out whether a prisoner is guilty or not. As a popular KGB saying goes: "We only need a man — to bring charges against him is not a problem". Every process of investigation has its plan — a task, which is worked out before the arrest takes place: e.g. "to prove that there are anti-soviet sentiments in certain institute" or "to prove that a certain person conducted anti-soviet agitation" or "to suppress the spreading of forbidden books" and so on. That is why an investigator needs only certain information in order to fulfil a plan like this. A disillusioned prisoner can only see that the investigator is not interested in finding the facts of his guilt — which may not exist at all.

In order to make a prisoner give useful information and accuse himself, the KGB uses many ways and methods. However they start with the trivial persuasion that "the KGB always knows everything" and that "the prisoner can save himself only if he sincerely confirms his guilt".

The prisoner does not know the reasons of his arrest, so he starts telling facts which could probably cause it. He tells about some political discussion in a party with close friends, about a forbidden book which was given to him in order to be handed to another person and so on.

Interrogation is usually held by a couple of investigators who ask different questions at the same time in order to mislead a prisoner. These investigators listen to their prisoner attentively and take notes. The prisoner must sign their records — and can never retract his statements later.

Sometimes the investigators ask their prisoner to write his testimony personally. It happens when the prisoner is too talkative. Then the prisoner's own handwriting is shown to his friends. They have no permission to read the testimony, but they often believe that the person betrayed himself if he wrote something.

Talkative prisoners usually help the KGB unwittingly. Investigators choose some useful facts and, especially, names which they did not know before. Then they call the involved person to the KGB to show him the prisoner's testimony. They never show the whole thing, but only a line or two (usually without any special meaning) about the person they called. Sometimes this person believes the KGB and considers the prisoner a traitor. He begins to accuse him. That is exactly what the KGB expect. Next day they can say to the prisoner: "You try to conceal the active role of your friend, but, look here, that is what he told us about you". That usually has a more striking effect and the prisoner may then give additional and more detailed information. This makes him fall deeper into the net of the KGB.

However some dissidents refuse to speak with their investigators and to involve their friends. In such cases the KGB just writes a false testimony, as if it was taken from one of the prisoner's friends. The investigators show this testimony to the prisoner and persuade him that his friend is a traitor. It may irritate the prisoner, he may accuse his friend and then his friend may accuse him in revenge.

The KGB has some more effective methods for obstinate prisoners. Investigators may call the prisoner's mother or his wife and ask them to persuade him that he gives all the necessary information if he wants to save his life for the family. The KGB may also threaten a dissident with punishing his family if he keeps concealing information.

The KGB investigators are usually good psychologists. They know exactly which is the best ways to suppress an individual. If one is a coward, they frighten him with a threat of beating. Sometimes they make the prisoner listen to terrible sounds of beating that come from another room (it can be even fake, not real beating).

If the prisoner is a devoted father, the KGB investigators threaten him with arrest and torture of his son. (A case like this happened with prisoner S. His investigator told him that his son was kept standing for many hours in a punitive cell and would not be allowed to sit down until his father would become more flexible. S. knew, that his son especially suffered from standing on his feet since he had poliomyelitis).

If the prisoner is an active and impatient personality, the investigators keep him in a cell for months without interrogations. Sometimes they visit him and say: "We are not in a hurry, we always have enough time. We have already taken a certain decision in your case. If you admit your guilt, we'll send you to a better camp, if not — you will regret it".

The most cruel methods of suppression are used for the most steadfast prisoners. These methods could be: forced insomnia, a special punitive cell, beatings. Sometimes KGB agents make dissidents cell-mates with thieves and assassins deliberately chosen to fight with the

dissident. Recently, cases like these were disclosed in Georgian prisons and in some camps.

In order to cause insomnia KGB investigators interrogate their prisoners over nights. During the day sleeping is forbidden in jails. The prisoner has no possibility to rest: if he falls asleep, they throw him into a special punitive cell. This is usually a very cold underground room made of reinforced concrete. There is no place to lie down there. Food is extremely poor, even compared to regular gaol meals.

Such investigation methods are accompanied by constant persuading by investigators: "There is only one way out of here, and it leads to the camps. Don't be obstinate, don't torment yourself in vain. Give us all the necessary information and we will send you to a camp, where you may find friends and where your life will be easier than here".

The words, frequently repeated, all those false and real confessions of close friends, plus the constant pressure of the humiliating everyday life in gaol, plus complete solitude, or, yet, thieves and killers as cellmates, and other suppressing methods usually make a prisoner quite indifferent to his own future. Now he is ready to accuse himself. This way he prepares victory and success for his investigators. He hopes that doing harm only to himself he does not involve his family and his friends. That is his tragic mistake. His confession is often used to convince his family and friends that he betrayed everybody. No one explains to them that the prisoner took all the "crime" upon himself alone. "Look here, — show the investigators the prisoner's testimony — he told us everything. Now it's your turn. If you don't do the same, we'll find out everything by ourselves, and you will be sorry about it"

This way the KGB creates a horrible chain of hatred among former friends, which leads to human tragedies and belated regrets.

For those who have never gone through the KGB investigation themselves it can be a real surprise to learn what a sophisticated system and apparatus of suppression it has. The KGB knows practically everything about persons more or less interesting for them. The particular interest of the KGB is concentrated on the intelligentsia. In a special card-index of the KGB it is marked what an interesting person likes: money, women, cards, wine, etc., whether he is talkative, obstinate or flexible, whether he is a devoted father and husband, whether he likes his work or not, what kind of cigarettes he smokes and so on and so forth.

In a certain moment this card-index starts playing the main role. For example — there appear leaflets in a town. Who could possibly produce them? In the card-index the KGB checks who has an inclination to such actions, checks patterns of typewriters (there is a special card-index for this too). Now when they have defined a certain circle of suspected people, they send a spy to this circle.

If there are some anonymous anti-Soviet letters in a town, a card-

index of patterns of handwriting helps to discover the author. It sounds like nonsense to free people, still it is quite true. In the USSR the main job of numerous KGB officers is collecting patterns of handwriting among those who are suspected of having an inclination to anti-Soviet actions. Such a card-index makes it possible to find an author of anti-Soviet letters even if he lives in a distant provincial town and goes to another distant provincial town in order to send his letter to Moscow.

In general, private correspondence as well as private telephone calls are always under KGB control. There is a special censorship group from the KGB in every Soviet town. They deal with correspondence in a certain area. They first inspect all the letters in one post-office, then come to another and so on until they come back to the first post-office in 6-8 months. During this circle they find out some persons who happened to write something on political subjects. Patterns of handwriting of such persons appear in the KGB card-index and their names are registered for KGB everyday control. Almost the same is true of telephone calls. Persons who speak on political subject are chosen, and their telephones are connected with KGB tape-recorders. Special sophisticated machinery (bought in the USA and in Europe) is hidden in the rooms of some dissidents in order to bug their conversations. (With the help of this machinery a Baptist leader G. Vin was arrested). One of our witnesses Mr. K. told us that in 1972 he worked in Moscow on a computer which had been bought in the USA. The KGB used it for bugging and taping some telephone calls. Many thousands of private telephones were connected with this computer as well as foreign guests' and foreign embassies' telephones. An interesting detail: all public telephones in Moscow are also connected to this computer. This is designed against Soviet citizens who may want to enter a foreign embassy in Moscow (legal entrance there is forbidden for them). The computer registers the embassy's number automatically and if the first few sentences sound suspicious, the computer sounds the alarm. Such suspicious sentences may be: "May I see you, please", or "May I come to your office", and so on.

Having got an alarm signal from the computer, the KGB agents, with the help of American or European-made walky-talkies, send instructions to an officer on duty in a certain area to catch a man who is speaking from the telephone-box with the registered number.

The KGB investigators show deep knowledge of their prisoners right after arrest. A dissident who had no idea whatsoever about all the card-index, spies and inspection of correspondence is utterly surprised: where could the KGB have obtained all this information about him? Sometimes the investigators just lie that prisoner's friends gave this information about him — we have already seen above how much hatred of friends who suspect one another helps the KGB to accuse both of them.

After one of those under investigation has admitted partly his guilt (as having written a letter, a book, an article) he may be brought to the investigation room to meet his more obstinate friends. This is another sophisticated trick of investigators. They prepare a written testimony of the person who has admitted his guilt and this person has to sign it. Then a stubborn person is ordered in. Any talk is forbidden between the two. The investigator reads the prepared testimony and asks the person who signed it whether he can confirm the record was correct. He is allowed to say only "Yes". Immediately after this he is taken away. The investigator says to the obstinate prisoner: "Now you must admit your guilt too". Shaken with all he has just seen and heard, this prisoner may now give even more detailed information than his friend, who admitted his guilt only partly.

Thus, the main method of the KGB is to misinform the person under investigation in order to make him admit his guilt. It must be specially mentioned, that this guilt, if it exists at all, usually looks strange to the Free World. It can be a student magazine, a poem or prose with lack of communist ideology, private political talk, desire to emigrate illegally (legal emigration is practically impossible for the overwhelming majority of Soviet citizens). The people of the West may not understand why the KGB uses so many sophisticated methods, and wastes so much energy for such insignificant actions. We won't discuss this question, but we must note, that the whole Soviet system is based on terror and fear which is supposed to dwell in every person in the country. It is in order to keep this fear alive that the KGB condemns to death for a crime which was never committed (i.e. (the First Leningrad trial in December 1970, when Kuznetsov and Dymshits were condemned to death and ten other men to 10-12 years in concentration camps for their desire and plans for illegal emigration.)

A few last touches to our picture. The investigation period in the USSR must not be longer than two months. However, practically this law never works. An investigator must ask a procurator supervising the KGB to allow him to continue his investigation. Since this procurator is always a KGB agent, this is easily done. A person under investigation may stay in jail now for up to half a year. During this period of time he will become tired, quite indifferent, he will conclude that he has been sentenced without a trial and his resistance is now senseless. At the end of such a long investigation he finally agrees to compromise, to yield to investigators. That is why the KGB is interested in dragging on the investigating period.

A prisoner has a right to read the materials prepared for the jury to his trial. Now for the first time he personally reads what his friends did indeed say. Now he sees the truth, but it is now too late to change anything.

In fact, he can deny his testimony at the trial, but this gives him

nothing, but moral relief. The jury in the USSR never changes a decision made by the KGB.

There is one more way out for a prisoner after investigation. This is a special psychoprison. It happens when the KGB does not want a trial because a prisoner did not yield to them. The KGB sends such a prisoner to psychiatrists and they diagnose him as a sick person. Their main agreement for such a diagnosis is "a normal person cannot have anti-Soviet thoughts". Such a prisoner usually gets sentenced to compulsory psychiatric treatment. He is sent to a special jail for an indefinite term. He is frequently put into a strait jacket, bound to his bed and given special injections in order to suppress his psychics and to make him apathetic. This is really an awful destiny: any other prisoner's voice can reach the Free World, but not the voice of "lunatics". They are held incommunicado, stunned by injections, they cannot even complain to any organization, because everything they write is regarded as the ravings of a madman.

TRANSPORTATION OF PRISONERS TO PLACES OF CONFINEMENT

We, former prisoners of Soviet concentration camps of 1976, are often amused to hear a somewhat unexpected question during lectures in the so far free western world: "What is prisoners' transportation?" It is most reassuring to realize that there still are people who are not familiar with this sinister notion "etáp", so well known in the Soviet Union, the country of Socialism, which is now building Communism.

Etáp means transportation of prisoners after the trial to places of confinement (camps or prisons) or from one camp (prison) to another. This is an undertaking which has been put on a professional level in the USSR.

Following conviction, a person becomes an "unperson": he is now a number, a Z/K — prisoner. When he is taken for transportation, he must give the escort information which characterizes him as a draught animal: year of birth, article from the Criminal Code according to which he was convicted, and the term to which he was convicted. (In the camp the prisoner gets a number which he is obliged to sew on his clothes and wear constantly).

The prisoner is transferred from an investigation to a transportation cell. This latter is usually crowded with people who lie on communal plank-beds and languish, sometimes for months, waiting for transportation to a camp or prison. The particular regime for the prisoner is stipulated in the sentence. Camps with general regime are for common criminals only, whereas political prisoners are sentenced to strict regime, particularly strict regime, special regime, or closed prison. The convict knows which regime was assigned to him,

however, he does not know where his fate is taking him: to a desert in Kazakhstan, where prisoners work in uranium pits or dig canals; to Siberia to work on a timber cutting site or to construct pipelines; to beyond the Polar Circle, where they mine nickel, molybdenum, chromium, and diamonds, or pan gold. Western papers once wrote about a millionaire who had a file of towns from all over the world. He used to take out a card at random and travelled to the town mentioned there, "by will of chance". This seemed more exciting to him than travel of his own free will. The prisoner does not take out cards; the GULAG (presently GUITLK — the Main Administration of Reformatory Labour Camps and Colonies) does this for him, and he never knows where he is being taken, where the terminal destination is; the escort has instructions not to disclose this to the prisoner. Thus, as you can see such a "trip" is much more "amusing" than the hobby of the millionaire.

When a prisoner is called for transportation, this frequently involves trouble: some convicts do not have the clothes suitable for rainy weather. If one is arrested in summer, he does not have warm clothes in winter, when the temperature outside is sometimes 30° to 40°C below zero. The solution is very simple: he is given things from the prison storehouse, things which are either no good any more or used to belong to people who died in prison. These are usually shabby and dirty wadded short coats. With such coats on the "former" citizens, present the Z/K immediately assumes a perfect semblance of veteran camp prisoners.

The next procedure during the transportation is distribution of dry food rations. They consist of 400 grams of bread and salt herring each. Some people get more food than others. Hence guesses that those who get rations for 7 or 8 days are on their way to Siberia, whereas those with food for 2 or 3 days will go to nearby camps. This is the reasoning of novices: the rations are specially distributed in such a way as to mislead the prisoners. The one who goes to a nearby camp gets a ration for 8 to 10 days, because the operation section considers him to be "prone to escape" and wants to deceive him. It is thought that he will look around for the first few days and contemplate how to escape. However, his way will be over soon and he will be taken off the transport. Those who get rations sufficient for short periods of time will get additional food later and travel for weeks to their destinations in Vladivostok, Kamchatka, or Kolyma.

When they are taken out of prison, the convicts are pushed into a "voronok" (Black Maria). This is a closed truck with a grated cell designed to accommodate 10 to 12 persons, but actually housing up to 40 persons; sacks and suitcases are put on the prisoners' heads. Prisoners labelled as "especially dangerous" or those unwilling to get into the crowded truck are pushed in handcuffs into punishment cells: metal boxes where a person sits bent with his knees to his chin

gasping for air, because air is supplied to the box through a tiny opening, through which the escort can watch the prisoner.

A thirty to forty minutes ride along the streets with broken roads inside the city often leads the prisoners to fainting fits or to nausea. Very frequently exhaust gas penetrates into the truck through the bottom, and when such a mobile "gas-chamber" is unloaded the prisoners are sometimes dragged out unconscious; they come round only in the fresh air, for the dosage of exhaust gases they inhaled is not deadly.

All these sufferings are only an interlude to the real part of the transportation: a prisoners' car or the hold of a prison ship.

Do not be surprised. Yes, the GULAG (GUITLK) has whole fleets of the "voronki", prisoners' cars, barges and ships equipped with prison holds. There are even aircraft for the transportation of prisoners to Yakutsk and Mirnyi. The only way there is by air. The "voronki" are usually camouflaged by inscription such as "bread", "meat", "icecream", because food products are delivered in identical trucks inside cities, and the prison cars do not differ from other vehicles. The train carriages for prisoners hardly differ from mail vans externally. A carriage has a narrow passage where the escort walks to and fro; on one side there are compartment cages where prisoners are packed together on the plank-beds. The "ground floor" on the side seats and between them is usually occupied by 10 persons and their belongings; the first floor is occupied by communal plank-beds where 7 or 8 persons and their belongings are squeezed in; two more prisoners lie on the narrow baggage berths. The "norm" of 20 persons is usually for a "sleeping car", which is normally designed for 12 persons. The cage is so overcrowded, that the bodies of the prisoners are literally interwoven and compressed together; one can hardly stir a limb. This sometimes continues for several days. The loading of the cages is preceded by humiliating personal searches and inspection of prisoners' belongings. It is deliberately conducted in a hurry, with insults, and the prisoners, still not fully dressed, are pushed into the cages while still bewildered.

If we add that the food — dry bread and salted herring — cause thirst and that water is distributed twice a day, a mug per prisoner, it is easy to realize that this "ride" is an ordeal which is too much even for a healthy person. The people being transported are exhausted by months of investigations, lack of sleep, punishment cells, and starvation. It should also be mentioned that a most unbearable torture in the prisoners' car is an impossibility to use the toilet. Only twice a day are the prisoners taken to the lavatory, which is extremely dirty; frequently there is no water there and, of course, no toilet paper (even free Soviet citizens do not get enough of it; they wait in lines if it appears on sale). This is why veteran prisoners prefer to starve and drink very little.

The prison holds of the barges (transportation along rivers Ob',

Lena, and Yenisei) and of the ships bound for Kolyma, Kamchatka, and Sakhalin are even more crowded than the cells of prisoners' vans, and the conditions are as inhuman. There is yet another method of transportation: in cattle vans. These are equipped with communal plank-beds, so that the prisoners sit doubled up on the plank-beds and below them. One thing is better here: there is an opening in the floor — a lavatory, so that there is no need to ask the escort for a "favour": to go to the toilet.

The aircrafts for prisoners are common transport planes in which prisoners are transported handcuffed and chained for fear of hijacking.

The way of a male prisoner is difficult and awful. That of a woman who is being transported to a prison camp is even much worse: filth, rudeness of the escort, humiliation of her dignity, overstrain, and fear of overcrowded cells. All this is much harder on women.

Both soldiers from the escort and the criminals try to use these women as mistresses. The escort takes advantage of taking a woman to the lavatory, one by one, and there he remains alone with the woman who is unable to show resistance: he can even shoot her for an "attack on the escort". The criminals try to bribe the escort so that the latter would take a woman prisoner from the cell at night. The escort often agrees to such a deal, after he receives a stolen suit or a pair of boots.

There are cases of robbery in the cells: criminals who see decent clothes on a novice, or shoes, or a suitcase with things rob a helpless man with the escort's permission, the escort takes the things and pays the criminals with vodka. All these incidents are very common during transportation. They have repeatedly been described in books by former prisoners, and we only want to give a general picture of the transportation as briefly as possible.

The prisoner's way from the investigation prison to the camp is almost never straight: it goes through several deportation camps or prisons.

There is a whole network of deportation prisons in the USSR: central, junction (Kuibyshev, Volgograd, Yaroslavl' Moscow, Smolensk, Minsk, Petropavlovsk, Pavlodar, Tselinograd, Tashkent, Krasnoyarsk, Novosibirsk, Omsk, Irkutsk, Chita, etc.). Besides, every regional and even district town has a prison, in which part of the cells are intended for transported prisoners. The prisoner is often bewildered by the escort's words: "Out with stuff!" and gets surrounded by new guards, dogs, and the "voronki" or usual trucks in which prisoners sit on the bottom with their legs interwoven (to rule out escape).

The prisoners undergo a search before they are put into a carriage (or a hold). The new guards search the group of prisoners again; this is often done in the cold, the prisoners being undressed to their underclothes. The escort takes the prisoners to a prison or to an "open" deportation camp: this is a camp with barracks where prisoners await

continuation of their transportation. The deportation prisons are usually dirty and overcrowded. However, there is a law: all newcomers are subjected to sanitary procedures. These include compulsory cutting of the hair close to the skin with a mechanical shaver. The pubic hair is also cut off. Hair is forbidden in the camps because of lice; besides, in the case of escape it is always easy to spot a person without hair. After their hair is cut, the prisoners are taken to a bath house, and their belongings are heat-treated in the louse-extermination chamber. The bath house is very seldom heated, and the prisoners run out from it after spilling a tub of cold water over themselves. This is unavoidable, because the guards are watching. Besides, when a prisoner enters the bath house, his naked body is smeared with some disgusting smelling liquid soap, which must somehow be washed off. These transportation procedures during transportation are horrible and dangerous, because cold means death for the exhausted organism of a prisoner.

The overcrowded deportation prisons and all tortures of the transportation make the prisoner want to get to the camp as soon as possible. He thinks that there he will at least have a place of his own. This is why he does not take advantage of some "privileges" he is entitled to during the transportation: one can send letters from deportation points; one does not have to work there, whereas work in the camp finishes the prisoner off. People from all over the country go through deportation prisons, and it is possible to learn about the life in the Soviet Union much more during 10 or 15 days than during years of free life. An attentive person can learn a lot if he talks to other prisoners, for example, on his way from Moscow via Saratov, Kuibyshev, Chelyabinsk, Novosibirsk, and Chita. Even if he only reads inscriptions on the distribution cell of the distribution prisons, he can learn much.

Each deportation prison has a very large cell where a newly arrived group of prisoners awaits sorting out. Prisoners usually leave inscriptions on the walls or even on the ceiling, addressed to relatives or friend who follow them. One can find descriptions of various events there: Treacheries, information on the death sentences received by friends, on parting with parents and children, tragedies, and human sufferings spilled over the edge of life.

However, the prisoner is soon on the transportation route again (after a search). He is handed over to the escort on a prisoners' car, where he is subjected to another search and is squeezed into an overcrowded cell. This is followed by more deportation prisons. A person is sent like baggage from prison to prison and has to answer the same questions: "Your article?", "Your term?".

The prisoner goes through many deportation prisons during his time in the camps. He is transferred from camp to camp without any obvious reason; he may be sent to a closed prison if he violates the prison's orders; he may be sent for re-examination or as a witness for

some case in the camp; or else the KGB may want him for a "talk". All these transportations are a hard ordeal for the prisoner.

The quiet and obscure, sinister and dull network of deportation prisons encompasses all Soviet towns. Everybody is used to it; people do not notice or try not to notice the "voronki" or the prisoners' vans coupled to every passenger train. Nobody takes notice of the trucks passing through cities, with only the heads of the sitting prisoners seen and the guards with automatic guns standing above them; nobody sees the camps scattered in all towns and districts in the country, even though the prisoners build apartment houses, factories, electric power stations, dig canals, construct pipelines, and even work at military plants. People do not notice, until they themselves are being transported.

But, finally, the transportation is over. Here is the camp mentioned in the prisoner's file. The gates open and the guard orders, following a search: "The first, go!" This means that the first five prisoners from the formation must enter the camp; from now on the count is by fives: "The first, go!" "The second, go!" The prisoners will hear these words for years now. As a prison camp saying goes, the gates to the camp open widely to let one in; out of the camp one goes through a small door.

FORCED LABOUR IN SOVIET OIL FIELDS

In 1975 our Centre carried out a special research among former Soviet citizens on the participation of prisoners in oil extraction and processing, as well as in the construction of pipelines and petroleum refineries.

Let us listen to the witnesses and let the facts speak for themselves. Start with the testimony of a Witness, A. He spent ten years in the camps of the USSR and four years in exile. He happened to work at various enterprises in the Omsk and Irkutsk districts, in the Ust-Kamenogorsk and Semipalatinsk district of Kazakhstan, in Pot'ma of the Mordovskaya ASSR. Later on he travelled much all over the USSR and had a chance to see Siberia, Middle Asia, the Caspian Sea, the Caucasus, and the Transcarpathian region. Together with thousands of other political prisoners, with his own hands he built the oil processing plant in the city of Omsk. About 100,000 slaves-prisoners worked on that construction site, as well as on the construction of the trans-Siberian oil pipeline stretching for thousands of kilometres.

Mr. A. also had the unfortunate opportunity to participate in building the oil-processing plant at Angarsk, where about 10,000 prisoners worked every day on the construction of the plant proper and the oil reservoirs. This was manual labour, with the help of shovels and wheelbarrows at temperatures below 40° or even 50°C. It was

impossible to keep an account at that time; however, hundreds of prisoners who died from overwork and starvation were driven out of the camp daily. The fact that prisoners were constantly moved from camp to camp helped witness A. to see with his own eyes hundreds of camps with countless slaves in them.

Travelling in Kazakhstan after his release he saw camps whose prisoners worked on oil extraction near Lake Issyk-Kul (Rybachie settlement). The entire camp network there participated in the building of a pipeline through the mountain ridges. Meanwhile the oil was being transported in tank-trucks. Once A. happened to walk along the road where prisoners were building the pipeline.

He also saw the miserable holes at Lenkaran swamp near the Caspian Sea, where free civilians refuse to live: everybody is scared away by the remoteness from all centres or residential areas and by malaria. Oil extraction in this district is conducted exclusively by forced labour.

Below is the testimony of another former political prisoner, I. Almagor. He says that during his imprisonment in special labour camps of the Komi ASSR in the town of Ukhta he worked, together with three thousand other prisoners, on oil wells. The work was so harmful for human health that nobody could survive there for more than half a year. After that Mr. Almagor, along with thousands of other prisoners, worked on the construction of a pipeline from Ukhta to Chibju, where an oil-processing plant was built by the hands of prisoners and where oil was processed into gasoline, all kinds of petrol, special soot, etc. All these products were exported abroad, according to the prisoners who saw the dispatch papers.

We can also refer to the testimony of M. K., an engineer, who worked for some time in the Guriev district on the Caspian Sea. Here is what he says: "The Guriev district is a huge island of the Gulag Archipelago". He describes camps near the town of Guriev and on the Mangyshlak Peninsula, where "all hard labour was done by prisoners"; prisoners build and afterwards work on oil extraction and in the oil industry, build and repair pipelines and highways, work in oil processing. The Caspian Sea is known to be a major oil-extracting centre in the USSR.

It is, however, not the most important centre. If you look at a map of the USSR where the oil-producing areas are marked, you will notice the Krasnodarsky Territory near the Caspian Sea, where oil is extracted at about 30-35 sites and where, according to witness D. Bitzel, who spent eight years in labour camps there, there are about 30 camps with at least thirty thousand slaves-prisoners. These camps are situated in the Khadizhi, Maikop, Kurgan, Slavyansk, and other areas.

Oil is extracted in other southern areas of the country, such as Dagestan, Salskiye steppes, and Prikumie. Here too forced labour is

used. We can name more places like that: Goit-Kort, Karabulak, Solonchakovoye, Sukhumskoye, and many many others.

Let us now go a little to the north. Here is the Volga with its oil — and gas-bearing areas at Emba, Ishimbai, Tuimaz, Dzhar-Kak, Kauraul-Bazar, and others, where prisoners' labour is being used in all spheres of the petroleum industry.

Oil and gas are being extracted in the east of the country and in the northeast of Kazakhstan. There are labour camps near Ust-Kamenogorsk.

And finally, there is Siberia. Here one could name hundreds of places where prisoners extract oil, where they have built or are presently building oil and gas pipelines. These areas include the Yenisei River, the Turukhansky Territory, Tyumen. Oil is being produced in the Shaimsky, Krasnopolyansky, Surguzhsky, Nizhnevartovsky, Aleksandrovsky, Kaimysovsky, Sredne-Vasyuchansky, and Mezhovsky areas. It is also being extracted in Yakutia where winter temperatures reach 60°C below zero and where winter continues from September till June. The pipelines from all these areas bring oil and gas to Novosibirsk, Omsk, Kuibyshev, Ufa, Orsk, Saratov, and farther west, because the "free world" needs oil!

The list however, is not over yet; there are oil-producing areas in the Tunguska Basin, whose names are sometimes very descriptive, for example, Diavol'skoye which in Russia means "Devil's place". There are oil-producing areas on the Lane and Vilyui rivers, near Barabinsk, in Mongolia, in the Norilsk region. All these are islands of the Gulag Archipelago, where innumerable desperate prisoners are working.

Somebody may argue that free civilians are also employed in the oil industry in the USSR. This is true for old populated areas of the country, but in the North and East prisoners' labour is mainly used.

In English translation

REVOLUTIONARY VOICES

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CONDEMN RUSSIAN COLONIALISM**

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Boris PENSON

Translated by Marta SAWCZUK (Abridged Text)

Daily Life in the Mordovian Camps

I would write a letter to each one of you with pleasure, but you know that this is impossible. The circumstances are such that I can only write a few words to all of you.

You have been home already for some time, free and totally involved in another life; most probably you have forgotten many things. Your time flies, but a little part of you is still here with us. Your felt-boots and pea-jacket, which we are still wearing, your belongings, all remind us of you. It appears to me that you left us only yesterday and that those who are here a short time only, those that have not met you, have been with us a long, long time. Bohuslavsky left this zone on February 7, 1973; now it is Anatoly's turn and then Boris's. I greeted you all when you arrived and naturally I must see you all off. I will remain all alone with the Soviet authorities. It is a sad fate, but a sign that hangs in the zone cheers me up to some extent:

Soviet authority never revenges itself upon the criminal; it corrects him, showing him the victorious meaning of work, the content of socialist life, the high goal of socialism which grows for the creation of a new world.

Victor's seeing-off was confused. (We could not stir up any trouble due to his sudden premature transport to Piter). He must have told you about this and about all the things that were going on here during his stay. I will begin my letter from where he left off and will continue the chronicle of our daily life.

August 1973 was not good for us. The sending of a letter to the Moscow Initiative Group for the Defence of Human Rights in the USSR was a failure. This letter was signed by a large number of prisoners and, of course, the KGB had information about this. Just before his release, Ivar Zhokovskis was thoroughly searched and the letter was found in the sole of his shoe. Ivar was sent to the SHIZO (punishment isolation block) and we only got a glimpse of him through the fence.

Of course, afterwards, he had much unpleasantness and to this day we do not understand the circumstances that surround the failure of the letter. In August we discovered the role played by F. Klymenko and now we found out about another person, of whom I will speak later. We came across Klymenko's denunciation to the KGB, in which he gave facts and opinions about some of us. We wanted to talk to him at the first opportunity, but somehow he was able to get away. Surprisingly, he was pardoned on September 12. A dog's happiness

for a dog: he was pardoned six months before the expiration of his term. After the fiasco with the delivery of the letter repressions began. Lyubarsky was sent to the hospital (the investigation went on without him), was moved back to the zone a week later and on August 18 was put in the PKT (cell-type premises) for six months. Pashilis, Charikov and Budulak-Charigin went the same way as Lyubarsky. The last two were sent to the Vladimir Prison for three years.

On September 8 Aleksandr Romanov returned from Vladimir. He was removed from this zone on August 30, 1971 and you probably remember that as a protest against his removal we staged a hunger strike (August 28 to September 3) in which 15 prisoners took part. Sania came back thin, but in good spirits; he brought back news from the Vladimir Prison, some of his poetry and a gift: a song written by the Ukrainian poet Sokulsky. Probably some of you remember that Sokulsky was imprisoned in 1969 for four years for writing an appeal on behalf of the youth of Dnipropetrovsk and for three poems which were considered to be anti-Soviet. From the camp Sokulsky was sent to serve out the rest of his term in the Vladimir Prison.

During October we all lived with the threat of war and were a bundle of nerves. There was no news since all the bulletins from the Arab agencies were transmitted with a Soviet interpretation. We could not get any exact information about anything, letters from Israel were not being forwarded. Although we demanded that they be given out Stetsenko would laugh: "What do you need letters for? Maybe Israel no longer exists!" Knowledge of the peculiarities of the Soviet press and radio did not help much. We read and listened to all that was available but we learned about the true situation only after a long time. Then a big weight fell off our shoulders.

Nov. 3rd. The administration decided to have a joke at our expense, but the time for this was not appropriate. The November celebrations were drawing near and it was well known that at that time the administration has a habit of sending the "hopeless cases to an isolator. In the morning came an announcement: "Three of you are scheduled for transport. Report with all your belongings". A complete search was conducted . . . ; my few cans of food and my sugar were taken away. Having finished the search, there was a general announcement: "There will be no transport. go back to your area, but we have decided to keep all the food products". This joke is now 56 years old but we fell for it like children.

Dec. 4. On the anniversary of Galanskov's martyrdom we put out letters of protest. The procurator of camp ZhKh 385/19 Ganichev answered thus: "Announce to A. I. Romanov that Galanskov's death has nothing to do with the illegal acts of the administrations of the labour camps. Romanov's protest is without foundation. Dec. 27, 1974".

Dec. 10, on the anniversary of the Declaration of Human Rights,

and in connection with violations of this document by the Soviet Union, protests were also staged; about 10 people took part in the hunger strike. The three of us only signed petitions, — since we were planning to begin a hunger strike on the 24th, in connection with the trials against Jews.

Answers to our protests came from different branches of the government, but the formula was standard: "The Soviet people enjoy democracy and freedom. There is no basis for your protests".

At the end of 1973 A. A. Petrov arrived in the zone from the Vladimir Prison. You probably heard about him. He is a poet and prose writer, who spent three years in Vladimir for publishing his novel "*Meetings during Arrests*" in the West. In the spring of 1974, which he spent in the village Lisov in Mordovia, he wrote two poems that he dedicated to Goldfeld and Azernikov.

As a result of new persecutions in Ukraine in the last few months the ranks of the prisoners have been increased by many Ukrainians. Among those who arrived here were Zorian Popadiuk, a young student of philology from Lviv University (born in 1953); he was sentenced to seven years of labour camps and 5 years of exile for actively fighting against Russification in Ukraine.

April 18, 1974, Popadiuk was placed for six months in the PKT, (cell-type premises) "on the basis of accumulated reports" for violating camp discipline. Popadiuk's associate received five years and is now in another camp. Not too long ago I became acquainted with a young teacher of literature V. Ovsienko (born in 1949 who was sentenced to a term of four years. His associates were: E. Proniuk (born in 1936, and working in the philosophical Institute at the Univ. of Kyiv), sentenced to 7 years of labour camps and 5 years of exile, now in the Perm labour camp; V. Lisovy (born in 1937 and a PhD candidate in philosophy), sentenced to 7 years of labour camps and 3 years of exile, now in Mordovia, zone 3. The youngest of the Ukrainian political prisoners here is Lubomyr Starosolsky, born in 1955; he was arrested just before his final examinations, right in school.

July 12, 1974, as a sign of protest against arrests and sentences, the Ukrainian prisoners sent out letters of protest and began a hunger strike. Boris and Anatol also wrote statements; I did not, since I did not want to jeopardize a scheduled visit from my family. In their statements to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, each one of them pointed out that "on January 12, 1974 two years have passed since the arrests of many Ukrainian cultural activists, subsequently sentenced to long terms of incarceration, although the only crime committed by them was their desire to preserve their cultural and national life. To me, a Jew who strongly desires to go to his historical motherland, Israel, and who has been sentenced for this "crime", the national desires of the nationally-conscious Ukrainians are close; I also understand their hopes and the misery of their families. On the

anniversary of their arrest I hereby lodge my protest and demand that they be freed".

Not too long ago several prisoners from a camp of strict regime were sent to our zone. I will mention three of them.

Serhiy Oleksandrovich Babych, born in 1939, a Ukrainian who until his arrest worked as a carpenter. He protested against the Russification in Ukraine, against hard times and low pay. For this he was arrested in 1960, and on April 13 sentenced by a court in Zhytomyr to three years of labour camps (strict regime). He was sent to Mordovia. In 1962, supposedly for a breach of camp regulations, he was sent to the Vladimir Prison, where he served out the remainder of his sentence. He was freed on April 13, 1963 and on September 27 of the same year he was again arrested; he was accused of disseminating leaflets criticising the than current Soviet leadership (Khrushchev). A new trial took place on February 19, 1964 in Rivne and he was sentenced to ten years of labour camps (strict regime). On April 17, 1964 Serhiy arrived in the special zone; the difficult conditions in the camps and the long sentence imposed upon this young man practically guaranteed that he would become an invalid and that his life would be ruined. Babych decided to take a courageous step: attempt an escape. On September 14, three months after his arrival in the zone, he escaped successfully. However, he was captured within two days, having been denounced by a woman, who gave him shelter for the night. He was again sent to the isolation cell, and awaited a new trial for his escape. While there, he again attempted to escape, digging a trench under the floor. However this was discovered and Babych was removed to the SHIZO where for the first five days he was not fed and kept naked in temperatures below zero degrees. In October 1964 there was a trial and he received an additional three years for attempting to escape. After the trial, awaiting transport to the Vladimir Prison, Babych decided to try to escape once more. He thought that if he did not succeed it would be better to die trying than to die a painful and slow death. On the way to Vladimir prison he was able to obtain from other prisoners clothing (for he would not be able to get far in labour camp clothes) and at the railroad station in Vladimir he made his attempt. He threw himself through the cordon of guards and began to run; the guards began firing a little too late. However, the major in charge of the prisoners, ran after him and wounded him in the leg with a pistol shot. The wounded Babych was brought to the Vladimir Prison. The doctor insisted that he be sent to the hospital, but instead he was placed in a cell. Before his wound even began to heal he was forced to abide by the prison regime; the bed was fastened to the wall during the day and he was forced to stand for sixteen hour stretches. He was thrown into the SHIZO for the least infraction of the rules. Another trial took place on February 19, 1965. For his second escape attempt Babych received another three years. He remained in the Vladimir Prison until 1968

and then was again transferred to a special zone, to a camp of strict regime; there he remained until January 4, 1974, when he was transferred here, to zone 19.

Ludwig Simutis a Lithuanian was born in 1935 and took part in the guerrilla battles against the Bolsheviks. As a youngster he served as a messenger boy in the underground Lithuanian army and later took part in actual fighting; however, due to a serious illness (tuberculosis of the spine) he was unable to continue. In 1955, while he was in the hospital, Simutis was arrested, and regardless of his illness underwent a trial. He was sentenced to death by a firing squad, but a few months later the sentence was changed to 25 years of deprivation of freedom (imprisonment); in spite of the condition of his health he was sent to the labour camps. In 1958 the camp medical commission decided that Simutis's illness was incurable and proposed that the camp administration release him. However, his release was never implemented and to this day he is still in a labour camp. He arrived in zone 19 together with Babych, on January 14, 1974. He still has 6 years of his sentence to serve and although is an invalid, the camp administration forces him to work.

Piatras Pavlaitis, a Lithuanian, was born in 1904. He is a participant in anti-Soviet guerilla warfare and a person of extremely interesting background. He finished his philosophical studies in Italy, then worked in Germany and Portugal; in 1938 he returned to Lithuania where he taught Latin, and in 1940, with the coming of the Russians, he emigrated to Germany. In 1941 he again returned to Lithuania and participated in the anti-German guerrilla movement, edited an illegal newspaper *For Freedom* and wrote articles protesting crimes committed by the German occupiers in Lithuania. For this he was arrested by the Gestapo in 1942, but escaped while being transported to a concentration camp. In 1944, when the Soviets came to power in Lithuania, Pavlaitis remained in the underground and edited a clandestine newspaper **The Bell of Freedom**. In 1947 he was arrested by the KGB who did not pay much attention to the civil rights of those they arrested. During the first interrogation, the head of the interrogation section Col. Zakhrov, brought out his basic argument — the rubber truncheon. During the nine months of investigation Pavlaitis was constantly beaten, and then sentenced to 25 years of deprivation of freedom. In 1956, during the period of "rehabilitation" his sentence was reduced to 15 years, and in 1957 he was freed. He returned to Lithuania and after less than a year, in 1958, he was again arrested, charged with "national propaganda and organizational activities" (article 58/10 and/11 of the 1926 Criminal Code) and sentenced to 25 years of prison. He was sent to Mordovia to camp No. 11 (strict regime). In 1961 the administration suddenly transferred him for 6 months to a special regime camp, for "harmful contacts with youth". But Pavlaitis was not released after six months; he was held in a cement sack for 12 years and just now

has been transferred to zone 19 (strict regime). In 1963 a major Sviatkin of the BVD proposed that Pavlaitis write an article to a Lithuanian newspaper "An Answer to Slanderers from the West" and thus lighten his sentence. Pavlaitis refused and Sviatkin told him: "You will die here. Believe me, you will never be free". Now Pavlaitis is 70 years old, and still has nine years of his sentence to serve. Sviatkin's threats will probably prove to be true.

On February 18 (Kronid) Lybarsky was released from the drill. But a month later (March 18) there occurred another incident, whose description will close my mini-chronicle. On that day the prisoners wrote a complaint against Belechov and demanded from him an explanation of several unclear and unpleasant facts connected with him". The interrogation was almost similar to those conducted in Liteyna and Lubyanka. After three hours Belechov confessed that he systematically wrote reports about the prisoners, but added that "they were only of a general nature, and contained no specifics". He claimed that he did this for some powerful organization, but refused to name it. It is not hard to guess to what organization he was referring to.

Our life still goes on the same way. We are still fed the same groats and the same rotten herrings. The regime has become stricter and now they are planning to begin some drill training. We work as before. I make the rounds of all the boiler-rooms, work in the loading of cases and now, together with Anatoly, am eating the dust on the clean-up detail. There was a time when there was talk about a transport north, but now that has been postponed until the autumn. The administration took an interest in us — after all it is a good wet-nurse.

Usov, the chief of the colony, "was demoted in rank" and transferred to administer some colony in Ryazan. The cause was his drunken argument with the son of higher functionary. But the matter did not end there; he wanted to put the boy under arrest (not knowing whose son he was). Since he was in charge he did this; however, he was told that his duty was to know the families of functionaries. He was also reminded of all his assorted "sins" — drunkenness, boorishness (one encounter with Azernikov would suffice), his operations with furniture, his wanderings through the villages and many other things. He, as is usually the case in such matters, almost lost his party card.

Now we have a new chief for the colony — Pikulin.

Not long ago I read in Izvestia a short article "What time is it, cuckoo?" It was a description of the watch factory at Serdobsrk, for which we make cases. The watches are exported abroad, especially to Great Britain. I wonder if the people there know that the product is made by political prisoners in the USSR? I wonder if the people who love and buy souvenirs know that a great, part of Soviet

products are made by prisoners? By buying those products they also give their stamp of approval to the system.

Very disturbing news has reached us from the zone of special regime camps. The situation of the prisoners confined to this area is very difficult. The conditions under which they live and work are not human. It is a fact that if the situation in the camps is not improved many of the prisoners will die or become permanent invalids, since they are sentenced to long terms. They are held in small dark cells, about 15 square metres, eight to a cell, the bunks having two stories. They are purposely placed together with criminals, who make their life even more unbearable. The dampness in the cells is so great that sometimes several mattresses rot during the course of a year. The work is hard and very dangerous — polishing of lead glass. The place of work is small, filthy and with low ceilings. There is no ventilation. The air is constantly filled with abrasive and silicate dust. The glass is polished on round-like, abrasive circles, with hot water being used all the time; the steam condenses on the ceiling and then flows as water down the walls. The entire area is filled with dampness. No special clothing and no special rations for doing arduous work are given out. The prisoners demanded milk; although the medical commission classified the work as hazardous, milk was not given out, the reason being that "milk might prove to be even more hazardous".

Physical and spiritual degradation is the result of the exhausting work that the prisoners have to perform eight hours daily over a long period of time, of the inadequate food rations given out in cells without air and shared with criminals, of confinement without any reading material.

One must give one's due to Yedyk, who even under such conditions was able to write and then edit his diary. He was not deterred even when the administration managed to place near him his own personal stoolie.

After Yedy's diary was published in the West, he, Alik and Yuri were taken to KGB headquarters in Saransk. They were threatened with a new trial. We found out about an amusing detail of Yedyk's and Yura's "adventure" after a large transfer of a special regime zone. They were both placed in cell no. 10 and they noticed that apparently here, among the prisoners, there was no stoolie. They could hardly believe it. Having looked over their cell they noticed on the floor and the walls fresh cement patches. They patiently began to poke at them, until they dug out a listening apparatus, whose wire ran through the hallway, to the office across the cell.

Not long ago it became known that Osipov, the head of the administration ZhKh 385 "Dubrovlag" was promoted; it must be assumed that his activities were highly rated, since now he is the vice minister of the Mordovian BVD. If you wish, you may send him your congratulations.

Finally I will describe to you several conversations that we had with visiting "functionaries". In my opinion, you will find them interesting.

Not long ago a conversation took place between Rimas Chekialis (a Lithuanian student of the Vilens musical school, born in 1955, arrested April 26, 1973 and sentenced at a closed trial for violation of Article 70, section 1, to three years of labour camps of strict regime) and a functionary of the Vilensky KGB, Trakimas. The KGB was disturbed by the fact that the students at the musical school did not condemn Chekialis but shared his views. This fact came to light at an all-school meeting called by the authorities soon after Chekialis's arrest. Trakimas, during his talk, proposed that Rimas appear before the students of the school and condemn his own actions and views. For this Chekialis was promised a lighter sentence and even maybe freedom. Naturally Rimas refused and even said "I only want one thing — freedom for Lithuania. Can one condemn this and recant such a wish?"

The next conversation took place between the head of the Yavas KGB, colonel Drotenko and K. Lyubarsky, in the first aid building of the "Dubrolag", where the latter was confined because of his deteriorating health conditions after six months in the PKT. The interesting part of the conversation was the attempt by the KGB to try to compromise Lyubarsky because of his stay in the infirmary. "Not long ago I was in camp no. 19", said Drotenko. "There all your friends are saying that the KGB is fattening up Lyubarsky. For what purpose?" The rest of the conversation was conducted in a rougher vein: "Not only you yourself constantly disobey all the camp rules; but also you tell others to do the same. There is not a single event in camp no. 19 that is not linked to your name. We are now taking care of you in the infirmary, and for this you should repay us with appropriate behaviour. How are you planning to act in the future?"

"I will do what my conscience tells me" answered Kronid. "In this case, your sentence will be prolonged", said Drotenko. "Accomodate your conscience to this fact, Kronid . . . I was mistaken in my choice of words", Drotenko immediately said. "I meant: adjust your behaviour to this". "Well, it's an interesting warning . . ."

"I'll tell you what, Lyubarsky", finished Drotenko,, "now I understand you perfectly. I will not let you out of my sight for a second. We will not permit you to occupy yourself with activities against the state. Take that as a very serious warning".

Soon afterwards Azernikov was called to headquarters. There were four people there: Stetsenko, the new chief of the Yavas KGB, Drotenko and two civilians, also, according to them, employees of the KGB. Boris thought that one of them might be the chief of the Mordovian KGB. The conversation was concentrated on two points: The civilian KGB were interested in finding out why Jews were still trying to emigrate from the Soviet Union and what were Azer-

nikov's thoughts in this matter; they also warned him against making any local appearances; if Boris does not abide by the warning, after his release his exit visa for Israel will be held up for a long time and he will have to pay a sum of 12,000 roubles for his education.

Based on the theme and time of the conversation one can make the following assumption about its purpose: it was to prevent any unpleasant demonstrations before Nixon's visit. The following conversation took place between Boris and a functionary of the political division of the administration, Nikityn. I will give it almost verbatim:

"Azernikov, why did you not come to the meeting of the collective when you were called?"

"I don't consider this possible. Your collective consists of four military criminals, sentenced to 25 years, former fascists, who undoubtedly, took part in the extermination of Jews. It is even possible that they are the ones who killed my family. The activities of this collective are guided by a communist whose aim is to re-educate me: Think about this: four fascist killers headed by a communist who want to re-educate me — a Jew. Not too long ago, in the same manner in a fascist camp they were re-educating my father".

"Azernikov, we know very well who did what during the war years. Now these people are on the right path and naturally they want to help us re-educate those who are not yet on this road — those like you. Take into account that if you do not change your behaviour we will punish you".

Citizen Nikityn does not speak in vain. Zorian Popadiuk once spent 15 days in the Kartser only for calling somebody who was "re-educated" a policeman; and this only after this re-educated man wrote (a false report) to the authorities about Zorian.

At the end of my letter I want to tell you several words about our correspondence. The situation with the mail is very bad here. The local mail somehow sometimes gets here but mail from abroad disappears without a trace. The worst thing is that this issue has not yet even been raised by anybody. It must be raised not only because we enjoy receiving letters with news of our family and friends but also because this question must be normalized; there must be some international laws that demand that the post offices must be responsible for the delivery of letters. The Moscow censorship centre "loses" a great many of the letters but does not inform either us or our correspondents. The central post-office in Moscow must be made answerable for each undelivered letter. If our mail was delivered through some social agency, which would register all the letters before they went on to Moscow and then would demand a report on their delivery, the censors would have a much harder time in dealing with an organisation than an individual.

I embark you and await your letters.

Boris Solomonovich Penson, co-author of the letter-sketch *Days in the Mordovian Camps*, was born January 2, 1946 in Tashkent (Uzbek SSR). His parents moved to Riga (Latvia) where Boris's mother had been born. In 1947, during the Stalinist purge, Boris's father was arrested for the first time; he was arrested again in 1957, during the time of Khrushchev's economic reforms.

In 1961 Boris Penson began to study art with the famous artist S. Gelberg. In 1964, on the basis of a false denunciation, he was arrested and sentenced to five years of labour camps. Thanks to the intensive efforts of Boris's father who had been released from the concentration camps, Boris's case was reviewed (on the basis that the original denunciation was false), and after having served three and a half years he was released.

The hard experiences that Boris underwent in the concentration camps left a mark on Boris's artistic creativity; from that time his art depicted the forced labour camps of the USSR, encircled by barbed wire and watch towers, the guards dressed in red uniforms, who represented serfdom and lack of freedom in the Russo-Soviet empire.

From 1969 Boris Penson became an active participant in the Jewish national movement within the USSR. The goal of this movement was to fight discrimination and demand the right of Jews to emigrate to Israel. All the attempts of his family to emigrate to their homeland ended without success.

In June 1970, on a trip to Leningrad with some of his friends, Boris Penson was again arrested and in December of that year sentenced to ten years of camps (strict regime) for supposedly attempting to escape abroad. At present Boris is confined to the Mordovian camps.

THE MORDOVIAN HELL

Here in the West we have received some news from the Mordovian homicidal camps that in 1975, in four prison camps 135 prisoners died. During an eight month period in 1975 a hundred deaths were noted — 34 of these suicidal, 17 of which were women. 12 prisoners died in isolation cells.

They bury the dead in the camp cemetery, but do not mark all the graves. They do not pass on the possessions of the deceased to their families. If any of the children die (children, of up to two years remain with their mothers — from birth they are familiar with the punitive system), they are buried without the mother knowing where.

In Mordovia, there are people who swear they do not know why they have been imprisoned. Many of the prisoners are there because of their great love for their father-land defending their country against all foreigners whether in word or deed, sometimes with the use of a weapon — for the independence of their country. In the main these are the Baltic, Caucasian and Ukrainian political prisoners.

Appeals to World Conscience

SOVIET REPUBLICS ARE RUSSIAN COLONIES

Ukrainian Labourer Describes Russification of Ukrainian People in Letter to AFL-CIO President

In a letter to AFL-CIO President George Meany, a Ukrainian labourer wrote that the 15 republics comprising the Soviet Union are in fact "colonies of Russia".

Bohdan Rebryk, a veteran, blue-collar worker, and presently a political prisoner, told Mr. Meany that Russification is rampant throughout Ukraine.

"Soviet propaganda trumpets around the world that every republic in the USSR is an independent and sovereign country. In fact, every Soviet republic is a colony of Russia", wrote Rebryk.

Rebryk said he wanted to apprise the American labourer of the "inhumane conditions in which workers of my country live, and of the rights they can take advantage of".

"Once again I underline that this personal tragedy is not isolated, but is visible on a mass scale throughout the USSR", wrote Rebryk. "This is a tragedy of all, but first of all, my Ukrainian people. I can substantiate this with my oath as a Christian, or if necessary, with my life".

Rebryk, 39, was born in Ivano-Frankivsk. His mother was executed by the Nazis in 1942 for aiding Jewish families, and his father was sent to Siberia in 1949 on fabricated charges. He was rehabilitated in 1956 and died the following year.

After completing a seven-grade school in Ivano-Frankivsk he went to a trade school in Magnitogorsk. There he worked as a carpenter, and, according to him, was considered a good worker.

Rebryk wrote he earned between 60-70 rubles per month.

In 1957 he was drafted, and assigned to an air force weapons-radar school.

He was injured in the line of duty in 1962 and lost 70 percent of his sight. He was subsequently discharged from the army.

Rebryk returned to Ukraine, and, seeing the rampant Russification, began to realize that his nation "is on the verge of genocide".

He told Mr. Meany that since his first days back in Ukraine, he noticed the persistent use of the Russian language in administration agencies and stores.

"At first. I interpreted this, as I was taught in school and in the army, as a sign of the internationalism of the Russian language", wrote Rebryk. "But I quickly discovered that the problem was more complex".

He soon found out that everywhere the Ukrainian language was degraded, and people who used it were threatened and persecuted.

"Today the Soviet government attempts to prove before the entire world, that people like me do not exist — and occasionally the press merely refers to us as 'traitors', 'bandits' or 'dissidents'," he wrote.

Ukrainians were forced to search for employment in Siberia, Kazakhstan, and polar regions of the Soviet Union, said Rebryk.

Russians, who came to settle in Ukraine, said Rebryk, were referred to as "elder brothers" and "liberators".

He said that the Russification that he witnessed began to be contradictory not only to his ideals, but they were also in violation of the Soviet constitution.

"Considering myself a son of the Ukrainian nation. I could not reconcile myself with the fact that my nation is on the verge of genocide", said Rebryk.

He began to speak out in defence of the Ukrainian nation, and was subsequently sentenced to three years in a concentration camp.

Following his release, Rebryk could not find suitable employment.

"Only after 10 months of a beggar's life, was I able to find a job in a furniture factory", he wrote, only to be arrested again in May 1974.

Among the alleged offences he was accused of, Rebryk cited the following for Mr. Meany:

* Possession of a 17th century treaty between Ukraine and Moscow which placed Ukraine under the jurisdiction of Russia. Rebryk said the KGB labelled this as anti-Soviet;

* Taping a Ukrainian folk song from the time of Khmelnytsky;

* Presenting a friend with a copy of Ukrainian poetry of O. Oles, published in Kyiv in 1970;

* Expressing his opinion that Ukraine is being Russified;

* Listening to "Voice of America" and "Radio Liberty".

The courts said that Rebryk committed these alleged crimes with the intent of subverting the Soviet government and declared him to be a criminal-recidivist. He was sentenced to seven years incarceration and three years exile.

"I, a worker and a Ukrainian, became a victim of the continuing injustice of the Soviet Union, and under the circumstances of a totalitarian regime, I do not have the right to a defence", Rebryk told Mr. Meany. "This is not a case of a personal tragedy, but a tragedy of the entire Ukrainian nation".

An Open Letter

- a) to the Soviet Government and
- b) **an appeal** to the Christian Community

- cc: 1) N. V. Podgorny, Chairman of the Praesidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR
 2) A. Kosygin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers
 3) L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union
 4) The Council of Relatives of Imprisoned Christians

“The Lord will hear you when you are in distress! The name of Jacob’s God shall protect you. He shall help you from the sanctuary, from Sion He shall grant you protection” (Ps. 20, V. 2-3)

from citizen Evdokia Stepanivna Deinega, residing at the village of Ivanivka, district of Chernihiv, region of Chernihiv, Ukraine.

A P P E A L

My husband, Nikolai Yakovlevich Deinega, of Ukrainian nationality, usually came home at 9 to 10 o’clock p.m. from the City of Chernihiv where he worked until 8 o’clock in the evening, then spent 30 minutes relieving the guard and finally had to buy bread for his family.

On September 9, 1976 he did not come back. On September 10, at 6 o’clock in the morning, his son-in-law, on his way to work noticed a man on a bench near the bus stop of the village of Kolichevka, who was in a horrible state. Upon approaching the man our son-in-law recognized his father-in-law; his face was covered with a handkerchief soaked in blood. His face had been beaten, there was a hole on his forehead that might have resulted from a violent blunt hit; his (leather) boots had been taken off, and there were two loaves of bread under his head. He was alive, but he could not answer any questions. Our son-in-law called up the incident control that had already been informed about the incident. The helpers arrived promptly and arranged to take him to the hospital. “He is alive; his heart is working well and he is already beginning to move” — they told my son-in-law. He wanted to accompany his father-in-law to the hospital but was told that they would not yet take him there. Then he went to fetch me, but when we arrived the car where they had put my husband had already gone. He had been taken to the hospital, but we were not allowed to see him. We were told that he was unable to speak since he was unconscious.

At eight o’clock in the evening we were told that he was dead. He was taken to the anatomical department where the certificate of death was filled out stating the following:

“Citizen Deinega Nikolai Yakovlevich died on September 10, 1976 at the age of 53, as notified under No. 38 on September 14,

1976 at the death recording office. The death was caused by a blood effusion under the brain cortex, trauma of the head with a frontal fracture of the skull. The place of death: suburban village of Kolichevka, district of Chernihiv, region of Chernihiv, Ukr. SSR. Record office: village council of the village of Ivanivka, district of Chernihiv, region of Chernihiv. Drawn up on: September 14, 1976.

Director of the Filling Department

I-B No. 363205

We took him home, undressed him in preparation for the funeral. We discovered that his chest had been bruised, his left arm was broken and that his face was covered with marks from hard knocks, especially the bridge of his nose, and we found a cavity in his forehead due to the fracture of the skull.

This shows that the investigation committee and the anatomical department deliberately concealed the fact that a crime was committed by assassins, since they failed to mention these injuries.

Although we have already buried our husband and father on September 14, 1976 we request an inspection to be carried out by state experts who would be authorized to open the grave and examine the body of the dead man. Objective experts could easily ascertain the true cause of death and find the assassins in order to preclude further inhuman crimes of this kind.

In this connection we would like to cite some data from our petition submitted in 1975 to the Government that might be of help in finding the criminals:

In February 1972 we moved from the district of Nezhinskiy to the district of Chernihiv in order to be in closer proximity to our children working in Chernihiv. Four of our children joined us. In the village of Ivanivka, Kolkhoz "Avantgarde" we met with a good reception. We were registered and got employment. Our children went to school. We bought a provisional house with a surface area of 4 x 3.5m². First things went well, but when the Party leader found out that we were Christians he summoned us together with the chairman of the kolkhoz and began to threaten us, calling us enemies of the people, garbage spoiling the village etc.

The Party leader ordered us to leave the village the following day; later on, however, he gave us time until May. My husband lost his job immediately and three months later I was also left without employment. The Party leader told us that we would not get any employment in the neighbouring village either; thus we were forced to look for jobs in the city of Chernihiv, 20 kilometres from our village.

Since the provisional house with a surface area of 1.5 m² per person was very small and humid, we bought an old house to be demolished and reconstructed it, next to the provisional house. However, on June 4, 1974, while we were working and our young children

were alone at home, the Party leader Populyach came with militiamen, district architects and other people to pull down by means of a heavy tractor the newly built house.

We turned to the Supreme Soviet and to Brezhnev personally several times. I went to the CC of the CP of the Soviet Union, was received by Shcherbokov, we wrote to "Izvestija" and everywhere we got the same answer: "Everything will be explained to you by the appropriate authority".

The Party leader made the following statement: "Even if Kosygin himself should permit you to live here I will throw you out with my own hands".

Meanwhile we had submitted three petitions to the kolkhoz, but got no answer. The only thing we got from comrade Skachok, the chairman of the kolkhoz, was: "Give up this religious blunder — and we will do everything for you".

Believers are purposely treated as criminals in our country. Our family is forced to live in un-hygienic conditions and we have no means left to buy a new house. We have resigned ourselves to the fact. However, in 1975 once more unknown people under the leadership of Populyach pulled down the relics of the demolished house, while we were absent. On July 26 we were served a debit note amounting to 16 roubles and 94 kopeks for "the services rendered" with the warning that if we failed to pay we would be prosecuted.

The Public Prosecutor of the district, comrade Skripka, also warned us that we would be prosecuted and advised us to leave. When we asked him where we should go he answered: "Wherever you like".

Finally, my husband renounced his Soviet citizenship and applied for permission to leave the country. But they continued to disturb us. Even for singing psalms in front of our house we were charged a 50 rouble fine. My husband was threatened several times that he would be assassinated. He talked a great deal about faith and the gospel and therefore our house was pulled down and he had to die.

I am a widow now with two young children. I hereby request the authorities to examine the injuries on the body of my husband, to find the assassins and to grant a pension to my children. Further, I request an order prohibiting anyone from interfering with the construction of our house.

Dear friends and fellow Christians, please pray for me and my children. Our Lord shall give us strength to put up with our sufferings.

Do not be afraid of those who kill our bodies but cannot kill our souls — this is God's consolation. My husband Nikolai Yakovlevich died as a martyr for his faith in Jesus Christ.

September 25, 1976

Deinega's mourning wife

10 POLITICAL PRISONERS BEGIN 100-DAY HUNGER STRIKE

Vyacheslav Chornovil Joins the Protest

Ten Soviet political prisoners of various nationalities began a 100-day hunger strike late in April to draw the attention of the participants of the Belgrade review conference to the plight of human, national and religious rights activists behind the Iron Curtain, reported the locally-based Committee in Defence of Soviet Political Prisoners.

The names of all the protesters have not yet been indentified, but the Committee reported that Vyacheslav Chornovil, a Ukrainian journalist, is among them.

Besides wanting to underline human rights violations in the Soviet Union, the strikers also want to stress their attempts to be officially declared political prsoners.

Among those protesters whose identity is known are Paruyir Ayrikian and Markosian Razmik, Armenians; Michail Kheyfyts, a Jew, and Vladimir Ssyrov, a Russian.

Chornovil 39, is one of the leading Ukrainian national and human rights activists. He was first arrested in 1966 for refusing to testify during the trial of Mykhaylo and Bohdan Horyn and Mykhaylo Osadchy.

A year later he was arrested again and sentenced to three years in prison.

Chornovil was arrested for the third time during the infamous KGB crack-down in Ukraine in 1972. He was sentenced to seven years incarceration and five years exile.

He is currently confined in the Mordovian concentration camp No. 19.

Ayrikian is serving a seven year strict regime sentence in the Mordovian camp no. 19; Razmik is serving seven years for allegedly belonging to the National United Party of Armenia; Kheyfyts is serving a four-year sentence in Mordovian camp no. 17, to be followed by two years exile; and Ssyrov was sentenced to 10 years imprisonment.

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CHILEANS READY TO EXCHANGE POLITICAL PRISONERS NINE ON LIST ARE UKRAINIANS

The Sakharov Human Rights Committee in Copenhagen, Denmark announced that the government of Chile is prepared to release 13 more jailed Chilean Communists in exchange for the same number of Soviet political prisoners, according to an April 22nd Reuters dispatch.

The list received includes nine Ukrainian incarcerated intellectuals.

The Sakharov Committee said that it had acquired the offer from the Chilean government.

The Sakharov Committee said that the 13 political prisoners listed were mostly seriously ill.

The list includes: Ukrainians — Oksana Popovych, Iryna Senyk, Valentyn Moroz, Yuriy Shukhevych, Iryna Stasiv-Kalynets, Vyacheslav Chornovil, Georgi Vins and Semen Gluzman, Svyatoslav Karavansky; and Russians — Sergei Kovalev, Igor Ogurtsov, Vladimir Osipov; and Edward Kuznetsov, the sole Jew.

Popovych, Senyk and Kalynets are confined in the women's zones of the Mordovian ZhKh 385/3-4 concentration camp near Barashevo; Moroz and Karavansky are incarcerated in the men's zone of Mordovian camps, while Chornovil is held in strict regime in its ZhKh 385/3-5 camp; and Shukhevych is imprisoned in the Vladimir Prison.

Last December, the committee, and the Chilean government were successful in the first such historic prisoner exchange. The Soviet Union then released Vladimir Bukovsky in exchange for Chilean Communist leader Luis Corvalan.

NEW PUBLICATION

ANNEXATION OR REUNIFICATION

by Mykhaylo I. Braichevskiy.

- Critical Notes on the Treaty of Pereyaslav, 1654, between Ukraine and Russia.
- Published by Ukrainisches Institut für Bildungspolitik, Munich, 1974.
- Hard cover. 139 pp.
- Price: £3.00 (\$8.00).

Available from:

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200 Liverpool Rd., London, N1 1LF.

THE FUNERAL OF A FRIEND (a social commentary)

Recently, we received a letter which is very widespread in the *samvydav* circles of the Soviet Union. The letter, "THE FUNERAL OF A FRIEND" is a critical literary appraisal by Ihor Kalynets, a Ukrainian poet imprisoned in the Perm camps, of a poem by Roman Kudlyk "Lenin's School", published in the Lviv journal *Zhovten'*. Kudlyk was born in 1941 in the town of Yaroslav (now in Poland). He is presently a member of the Association of Writers of Ukraine and the author of a number of works of poetry. After the repressions of Ukrainian activists in 1972, Kudlyk fell silent. His silence was broken by the publication in June 1976 of his above mentioned poem in *Zhovten'*. Ihor Kalynets sees this as the spiritual death of Kudlyk and so he now counts Kudlyk in the list of the dead along with other contemporary, so-called writers of Soviet Ukraine.

**"Everything changes, is reborn, breaks away,
Everything reappears in the world in new, very novel forms"**

(*"The Funeral of a Friend"* P. Tychyna)

In the spring of this year, at the offices of the Lviv KGB, through the critic M. Ilnytskyj who was supposed to aid me in improving my opinion of creative life in Ukraine, I passed on my salutations to the poet Roman Kudlyk. Paradoxically, the creative silence which he has maintained over the past years showed that he was still alive. Upon seeing the June issue of *Zhovten'* I realized that my message, should it be passed on, would not reach the poet.

I will not attempt to analyze the depths of this poetic contemplation "Lenin's School", with which (. . ? . .) selection begins. However, I shall note that I have been studying at one of the classes of this school for the past four years (this is nothing compared to some who are taking part in the 25 year course). The school (I would like to add) was founded on the day of September, 1918, with Lenin's decree on the Red Terror and as we see (it is a pity that Kudlyk will no longer see this) it has been operating ever since. The cost in millions of lives for my people to take the school's examinations in survival and certification used to be (. . ? . .) well known to my departed friend.

It is possible, that some will say that I have buried my friend before his time, but the lyrics of this selection are (. . ? . .). Really! When I read *Zhovten'* I cannot but help think of a cemetery plot . . . And right there beside my friend lies a graphomaniac from Ternopil — Wolodymyr Vykhrishch. Let his so-called poetry lie heavily on the conscience of the chief grave-digger R. Fedorov and his aide R. Lubkivskyj; they would be valuable, perhaps, as examples of anti-

poeticism had Ukraine not become overrun by this disease. I am certain that these "poets" were separated from the masses thanks to such beautiful prefaces as the one to the so-called poem "Foreign Poets": "Foreign, so-called "free" radio-stations often carry the voices of so-called 'Ukrainian poets'. Here we have one of their 'vicious' refrains: 'Skimpy talents, Sold for pennies, Foreign poets, Forsaken by man!' (. . . ? . . .). Thus, the Ukrainian Soviet graphomaniacs treated their still-living friends, for example the living, until recently R. Kudlyk, the still alive M. Osadchy, I. Svitlychnyj, Iryna Stasiv, Y. Sverstyuk, Riznlykov, . . . Kudlyk and Vykhyrshch are now in excellent company! But as for me, I prefer to lie closer to O. Zerov, "in the cemetery of lost illusions" (V. Symonenko).

A little further on the lane of J. Halan, died Taras Myhal, but his spirit has not died. Presently, it is awaiting the death of Cardinal J. Slipyj, reminding the Cardinal of his advanced age. At the end of a drunken folly, which the journal called a pamphlet, the author makes fun (.) of Josyf Slipyj's period of imprisonment during the 1940's and 1950's. The prize-winning author (Myhal) is especially distressed because Slipyj says, "that in Siberia I gathered many drawers full of bugs, butterflies, etc.". The spirit of Myhal is in an uproar: "How then are we to interpret the 'martyrdom' of the Metropolitan (Cardinal Slipyj is also Metropolitan of Kyiv and Lviv — Ed.)? Prisons and butterflies?" Taras Myhal also spent time in the Soviet concentration camps of the 1940's and belongs to those few lucky ones who survived (but only to die upon gaining freedom) and this is a biological achievement in itself. But the Metropolitan not only survived but survived unbroken, proud, and he could not be forced to kiss the slippers of the Kremlin's Pope. This is a double achievement! In the severe surroundings of the camps and exile he creates a two-volume history of the Ukrainian Church and does extensive etymological research . . . Yes, achievements truly worthy of praise! These should not be achievements mocked by citizen Myhal — "Oh how your soul has become bedevilled" (Tychyna).

Oh, yes there are still burial mounds in the village of Khodovych in the Stryj region — a 'folk' song characterized as a "Song of the Great Patriotic War" — "The old mother" . . . a shameful version of two still-thriving songs (they are still sung in camp VS-389/35). The first two stanzas of this particular version are taken from the song by the same name but they are assassinated by the changing of the word 'Muscovite' to the word 'German'. Whereas, the third stanza is stolen, still alive, from the body of an OUN-ite song about Yuriy (shoud be Volodymyr — Ed.) Lopatynskyj (a member of the Central Leadership of the OUN), which was written in 1940. However, the move even here could not be made without the use of the scalpel. In order to maintain exactness, I cannot allow myself to recite from memory these two very long songs — but their texts have long ago been published in collections of Ukrainian Insurgent Army songs,

published by the OUN in the 1940's. But returning to the dead body of the song in ZHOVTEN', I can say, "Ashes of the dead — no living soul will sing to you that way".

The only living one among the dead may be Yakiv Holovitskyj, who left this world in the last century — his work "Travels Through the Lands of Galician and Hungarian Rus'" could become not only an example of romanticism, as is suggested by the editors, but also an example of realism which is avoided by our deceased friends. But the very name Yakiv Holovatskyj, "a person, who betrayed the basic tenets of the 'Rus' trio' and fell in his later years into the renegade camp", — could become a warning for my contemporaries: you who are still alive, do not forget the lessons of history! I will avoid mentioning the rest of the rows of graves and I will return to the one who was once my friend. In the journal's chronicle we find: "Near the monument to Illich, during the meeting, the following authors read their own commemorative works to the Great Leader of Our Party; they were, R. Bratun, M. Romanenchenko, R. Lyubkivskyj, A. Vulychova, M. Petrenko, R. Kudlyk, V. Romanyuk and I. Hushchak".

Can the living be mentioned among the dead? "Let the dead bury their own!"

Urals, June 30, 1976

Ihor Kalynets

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Igor SHANKOVSKY, Ph.D.,
 Assistant Professor of Russian
 language and literature,
 Southern Illinois University.

Two Fairy-Tales for Adults

An extract from the book by the above Author

SYMONENKO — A STUDY IN SEMANTICS

The word *kazka* in Ukrainian defies literal translation into English. It contains genre singularity of its own and comes closest to what we understand under the term *fairy-tale*, although it could as well be a story or a poem directed at children. A similar, but not identical, genre definiteness applies in Ukrainian to the term *baika* (fable); and Stepan Rudans'kyi¹ (1834-1873) originates still another genre variant, something between *kazka* and *baika*, which he named *spivomovka* (singing talk). Both *kazka* and *baika* can be rendered in verse, or in prose. *Spivomovka* — only in verse. *Baika*, like a fable in English, is miniature in form, appears usually in verse and concentrates on some sort of a detail with a moral message, using, as a rule, allegory. By recreating peculiarities of human life, focusing on behavioural patterns with help of images, it uses animals, insects, and even inanimate items as substitutes for people. In such a way *baika* communicates a certain verity, its purpose is to moralize and to be didactic. *Kazka*, on the other hand, is regularly larger in size and, unlike a fairy-tale in English (only one category: fantastic), is divided by Ukrainian literary criticism into two categories: *mode of life* fairy-tale and *fantastic* fairy-tale. Mode of life fairy-tale must be in some relation to reality and by means of personification, or, like in *baika*, by means of allegory — re-create more than one problem, focus on more than one selected detail. Fantastic fairy-tales, like in English, occupy plots beyond the realms of reality, there fight seven-headed dragons, fly fire-throwing serpents and magic carpets, live one-eyed giants, etc.

Both Symonenko's tales are written in verse and must be regarded as *mode of life* fairy-tales. They were printed in fairly large editions in Soviet Ukraine². They became available abroad only towards the end of 1966, re-printed in the second posthumous volume³

¹) Dictionary III., pp. 114-129.

²) Dictionary V., p. 432. The edition of both fairy-tales is listed as 158,000 copies each.

³) Vasyl Symonenko, *Poezii* (Kyiv: v-vo "Molod" — 1966), pp. 161-176. From now on this source will be quoted as: *Poezii*, with the appropriate page number.

To understand *why* both of Symonenko's fairy-tales are directed at the adult I would like to point out guidelines toward a definition of *kazka*, as provided by the Soviet Ukrainian literary printed media. Taking the only dictionary of literary terminology in print, first published in 1961 and later released in a revised and extended edition, the definition of *kazka* contains one sentence that is meant to serve as an unmistakable guideline of what the fairy-tale in Soviet times should be:

... In fairy-tales of the Soviet times — heroism of the people during the days of the Great October, the Great Patriotic War, leading role of the Communist party, activities of the great Lenin, famous field commanders, heroes of the labour — are shown...⁴

Now it is all clear. If a fairy-tale is to be written following the above guideline it can hardly be meant for child consumption. I have searched through quite a few volumes dedicated to literary criticism (published in Soviet Ukraine) and found no other definition for "fairy-tales of Soviet times". Since the first edition of the above quoted dictionary was published in 1961 (that means that Symonenko must have been familiar with it), and since no other definition of "fairy-tales in Soviet times" could be found⁵ — the guideline available *must* be regarded as mandatory for Soviet Ukrainian writers.

Going through a bookcase filled with books written for children and published in Soviet Ukraine — out of 78 illustrated publications only 12 did not contain the name "Lenin" (or his portrait) at least once and a great number of these booklets had *Lenin* as one of the heroes in the plot (P. I. Makrushenko, *Myn'ka*; V. Yu. Bandurak *Dyadya Vanya*; V. V. Kanivets' *Khlopchyk i zhar-ptytsya*; F. B. Petrov, *Tsikava ekskursiya*; Z. I. Voskresens'ka, *Sertse materi*; Yu. A. Kosach, *Fil'my pro naidorozhche*; M. A. Pryhara, *Ruchai*, to mention only a few), and only 3 out of 78 had no relation whatsoever to the guideline for "fairy-tales of Soviet times". I am consciously mentioning here all these details, they relate to the subject matter of this essay, for I suspect that *Lenin* happens to be one of the heroes in Symonenko's fairy-tale *The Journey to the Land in the Reverse*. I would also like to mention, that out of all the scholarly publications printed in the Soviet Union after de-Stalinization, regardless of the subject matter, I have yet to encounter one where the name *Lenin* was not mentioned, quoted, or praised (the same is true for the name *Stalin* during 1930s, 1940s and early 1950s). Sure enough, Symonenko had to be aware of that.

⁴ V. M. Lesyn and O. S. Pulynets', *Slovnyk literaturoznavchyykh terminiv*, Second edition (Kyiv: v-vo "Radians'ka shkola" — 1965), p. 159.

⁵ In the Russian equivalent publication there is no separate mention for "fairy-tales of Soviet times", only "contemporary Russian fairy-tales" is defined. See: A. Kvyatkovsky, *Poeticheski slovar'* (Moscow: "Sovietskaja entsiklopediya" — 1966), pp. 270-271.

There could also be little doubt that Symonenko was quite aware of the purpose for which fairy-tales are written in Soviet Ukraine, and namely, that they are *not* having the desired impact upon the child. What is produced for children there, with very few exceptions, is received with a forbearing smile. More so, therefore, he was aware of the great potentiality, the influence, and the impact a fairy-tale could have, when directed at the adult. It is no secret that by means of *Aesopian* language it is possible to cross the most rigidly guarded frontiers, between *mode of life* and *fantasy*. Symonenko enjoyed great popularity, his followers have testified to that in essays, book reviews, collective obituaries, erecting a monument to his memory. Before and after his death millions have read poems, short stories, newspaper articles, therefore, why not fairy-tales? The name Vasyl Symonenko alone, as can be seen from the quoted passages about him, written over a literary work of any genre, meant that this work would be read. The same is true for literary works of any popular writer. Such writers know that people will read their works. Symonenko was aware of his responsibility to the reader too, even in his fairy-tales. We are able to notice how close reality and fantasy really are, on the basis of the analysis of Symonenko's diary and short stories. Reality, hand-in-hand with fantasy, predominate in his fairy-tales as well, regardless if we apply literal or allegorical interpretations of the texts. The result is the same in one sense: the plots of both fairy-tales show events which point out broad injustices directed at the Ukrainian people by *foreign* rulers. There were no *tsars* of Ukrainian origin throughout the history of Ukraine, therefore, the *tsars* of both fairy-tales *must* be regarded as personages of some other nationality in the *literal* and in the *allegorical* interpretations. The question remains open, if it is possible by the use of *allegorical* interpretation to compare the negative *tsars* of the fairy-tales to those in power now, and this was perhaps the way Symonenko meant to interpret the plots.

TSAR LACHRYMAL AND THE TITILLATOR

a fairy-tale

Tsar's family

Where the valleys meet the mountains,
 Where the blow-wind dances, veers, —
 There — a beauty-land is blooming
 With a strange name Shedontears.
 In this land, upon a time,
 Sat on throne tsar Lachrymal.
 Well, his head was like a barrel,
 Watermelon-like — his eyes.
 Tsar was father to three daughters

And three sons, who always cried.
 Eldest daughter's name was Languor
 And the middle one's Way-way,
 The third daughter was Tearhangon —
 Overcrying all, they say.
 And the tsar's three sons were down
 By the name of Snivellers known.
 That's the family, my pal,
 Of the tsar, of Lachrymal.
 Day-by-day they would be sitting,
 Crying on and heavy-breathing,
 Moaning, screaming were all dears,
 By the buckets shedding tears . . .⁶

Literal interpretation: The Tsar — a ruler of imperial Russia, so the scene takes place in the pre-revolutionary times. He has a fairly large family: three daughters three sons. He is portrayed with *hyperbolic* expressions “head like a barrel”, “eyes like watermelons” (hyperbole is used in politics to express admiration or hate). The behavioural patterns of his children's activities are also shown by a hyperbole “by the buckets shedding tears”. All sons are simply named “Snivellers”, yet the daughters are named in the traditional manner of Russian literature (the name of a person often points out the character of its owner). The middle daughter's name is given in Ukrainian as “Vai-vai”, that could indicate German or Yiddish origin from the word *Weh* (pain). This way all of the daughters are kept in orderly progression: “Languor”, “Pain”, “Tearhangon” — as if to indicate that languor is often followed by pain, resulting in hanging tears.

Allegorical interpretation: under “tsar” and his “family” — Soviet government could be understood. It must be remembered that at the time the fairy-tales was written Khrushchev was in power, several members of his immediate family holding responsible high offices. The same was true for Stalin and some members of his family. It could, therefore, be quite rational to suppose that one of these periods is the topic of the fairy-tale. More probable, however, seems the hypothesis that it is the personality cult of Stalinist period, for “upon one time in this land”, not “now”, the events were taking place. If all this seems too far fetched at this time — let us remain with the literal interpretation, that the events are taking place in imperial Russia under a genuine tsar. What is the governmental system of the fairy-tale land we can determine from what follows:

. . . Lachrymal gave orders madly:
 “Day-by-day, without a miss,
 All the little kids cry sadly,
 For to laugh, to be in bliss

⁶) *Poezii*, p. 161.

In my tsardom — no-no is!
 Who should smile by a chance
 I will swallow down at once!"
 As it happens, from the start,
 Lachrymal had vicious guard:
 There in service were young lads
 Bullies — tearforeversheds.
 Who would laugh — they took in grips
 And beat up with scourging whips,
 So in tsardom, it appears,
 Was enough of cries and tears.
 Tsar just loved when children cried,
 For to drink their tears he liked.
 That's how tsar was, Lachrymal,
 In the Shedontears, my pal . . .⁷

Literal interpretation: there can be no doubt that "Shedontears" is a land with a *totalitarian* system. In the tsarist times "bullies" serving in the guard were not sparing with their "scourging whips" to those, who dared to think, or act against unjust laws. Can a law "forbidding to laugh" be regarded as good? By all means — yes, but only under a totalitarian system.

Allegorical interpretation: this passage could be compared to the contemporary situation in Soviet Union as well.

Then follows the appearance of the first "positive hero":

Uncle Titillator

Well, in this amazing tsardom,
 With contempt for law of grief,
 Undergoing trying, wandering,
 Uncle Titillator lived.
 Every evening he'd be coming —
 Should it rain, or should it snow —
 To all kids with hungry stomachs
 He would laughter bring somehow.
 Warmth, sincerity implanted,
 In one eye — a shining speck.
 And there was a grayish mantlet
 On the Titillator's back.
 His moustache — so titillating
 and so fluffy, it appears,
 His fair hair was encompassing,
 Softly falling over ears.
 On whom tickles he unleashed —
 He'd laugh, even without wish.
 Well, wherever he would pop

⁷) *Poezii*, pp. 161-162.

Up — the crying there would stop
 And immediately them all
 Good, long laughter would befall.
 Didn't like the Titillator
 Lachrymal and Snvellers-sons,
 Kept issuing proclamations,
 Banning tickling, on and on.
 And for uncle Titillator,
 Armed with scourges in their claws,
 Searching huts in eager hatred
 Hunted keepers of bad laws.
 Uncle Titillator, though,
 Did not fear their eager prowls.
 Throughout all the land, and back then —
 He brought laughter on his trips
 In his decorated handbag,
 In his tender finger-tips...⁸

Literal interpretation: the new hero, "uncle Titillator" — must be regarded as a "positive hero"; though he lives "in contempt of law" — this law, according to Symonenko's narrator, is a "bad" law, enforced by "keepers" that carry "scourges in their claws". Uncle Titillator is gifted with warmth and sincerity" and "carries throughout all the land" *laughter*, creating a conflict, because "laughter" is forbidden.

Allegorical interpretation: because uncle Titillator is wearing a "grayish mantlet" and "decorated handbag" — it can be speculated that he is an Ukrainian. "Sira svyta" (gray mantlet), "siroma" (unfortunate creatures), "siryak" (homespun peasant's coat) — were used quite often as *epithets* describing Ukrainian people in poverty, or destitution, throughout Ukrainian literature. For instance, in the works of Taras Shevchenko: "I tvoya hromada u sir'yakakh" (And your community is wearing homespun peasants' coats too), *Haidamaky*; "Ta i zaplakav siromakha, na kyi pokhylyvsya" (Started to cry, the poor creature, leaning upon his cane), *Haidamaky*; "Naikrashchyi parubok Mykyta stoit' na lavi v sirii svyti" (The best lad Mykyta stands on the bench in a gray mantlet), "Tytarivna". Symonenko's expression in the fairy-tale is "sira nakydka" (a gray cape), which is a sort of a modern "gray mantlet", and that phrase also permits to place uncle Titillator within contemporary times. A "decorated handbag", carried on a strap over a shoulder is also typical Ukrainian gear, especially in mountain regions.

Symonenko wrote one poem entitled "Kurds'komu bratovi" (To my Brother Kurd) in which he boldly condemns chauvinism. This poem begins with a citation from Shevchenko's poem "Kavkaz" (The Caucasus), as if to indicate that Shevchenko's poem is very much

⁸) *Poezii*, pp. 162-163.

topical in contemporary times. It is interesting to note that one of the passages in "Kavkaz" resembles the country "Shedontears" of the fairy-tale:

... Not just a few trained people fell.
 And *tears*? and blood? Enough to drown
 All Emperors, and drown them well,
 With all descendants — all to drown
 In *tears* of widows . . . And young girls,
 Who quietly at night shed *tears*?
 And those hot *tears* shed by the mothers,
 And fathers', aged bloody *tears*?
 Not rivers — ocean flows of them,
 A fiery ocean! . . .⁹

In a country with a *totalitarian* system, he, who dares to live "in contempt of law", sooner or later gets arrested. This is exactly what happens to the Titillator:

Arrest of the Titillator

Lachrymal got mad and fierce —
 Tsar of country Shedontears.
 From his throne he hollered: "Hey, you,
 Lazy tearforeversheds!
 He, who'll catch the Titillator,
 Shall be husband to my brat!
 He, who'll put him under key —
 Will select one out of three!
 Titillator's carrying on
 Soon could tumble down the throne:
 And what shall we all be drinking,
 When the children stop their crying?"
 The bold tearforeversheds
 Moved at once, as that was said,
 To catch up wth Titillator
 And convict the troublemaker.
 For a long while they were seeking,
 Through all eyelets duly peeking,
 Dug up every courtyard too,
 And combed every forest through —
 Only wasting time around:
 Titillator was not found.
 Why, on all such close encounters,
 People hid him from the hunters.
 Then, at midnight, Titillator,
 When just dreams to people cater,

⁹) Taras Shevchenko, *Kobzar* (Buenos Aires: v-vo "Poltava" — 1950), pp. 185-186.

Would the pauper's houses choose
All poor children to amuse.

Lachrymal did at the time
Have a stubborn stuck-up,
An insidious snake, in prime,
One, captain Macaco.
Son-in-law to Tsar so much
Wished to be this milter
That no sleep he ever touched
Through entire winter.
Always snooped, to all eavesdropped,
Finally — the case unwrapped.
Titillator in the morn,
Having brought kids laughter,
Between maple branches, worn,
Went a deep sleep after.
Cunning captain, like a snake,
Sneaked up to him, presto,
Titillator by the neck
Caught with noosed lasso,
Tied his hands behind the back,
Bound his feet, and horny
Back to Cryingrad with smack
He commenced the journey . . .¹⁰

Literal interpretation: Titillator must be caught and placed “under key” for his activities “soon could tumble down the throne”. The people, however, love the laughter inducing Titillator and keep on hiding him from “the hunters”. It looks as if Titillator just couldn't be caught. Then, to help the Tsar, comes the “insidious snake” captain Macaco (ape species) Tsar had promised to wed any of his three daughters to the one who would capture Titillator and Macaco is eager to get such a bargain. He “snoops” and “eavesdrops” and, finally, as the exhausted Titillator hides in the forest (“between maple branches”) and falls asleep — Macaco catches him with a lasso, ties him up, and takes his prisoner to Cryingrad.

Allegorical interpretation: one of the first things we notice here is the way Symonenko had named tsar Lachrymal's capital city: *Cryingrad*. Tsar Peter the Great's capital city St. Petersburg was re-named before the revolution to *Petrograd* and later, after the revolution, re-named again to *Leningrad*. The city of Tsaritsin (Tsar's City) was re-named Stalingrad after the revolution and still later, after Khrushchev had exposed the despot, re-named *Volgograd*. Symonenko deliberately selected the name for Lachrymal's capital city with a typically Russian suffix, he did this in a fairy-tale written in the

¹⁰) *Poezii*, pp. 163-165.

Ukrainian, a language in which the same suffix would be *horod*, not *grad*. One can also be bewildered *why* one of Macaco's qualities is "insidious". He does not seem to be "insidious" to the Tsar, his treachery could only be directed toward the people who were hiding Titillator, and only, if he was one of their kind. It is obvious that one can be insidious only to somebody who trusts him. Mutual trust is granted among people who have something in common. It can be, therefore, presumed that the thing in common between Macaco and the people who were hiding Titillator is their nationality. Macaco became a traitor to gain favours of the Tsar and the hand of one of his three daughters. The whole episode could also easily be imagined to take place in contemporary times. In the aforementioned poem "Kavkaz" Taras Shevchenko also describes an arrest:

... So they had you taken, my only friend, Jakob,
 Not for the Ukraine now you were made to shed
 Your good and not black blood, for her evil headsmen
 Your good blood was spilled. And to drink you had
 From Muscovite goblet the Muscovite poison.
 Oh, my friend, my precious, good and unforgotten!
 With your living soul — do fly o'er Ukraine;
 Fly with fearless Cossacks over banks of rivers,
 Robbed out graves observing in the open plains,
 Cry thy tiny teardrops together with Cossacks,
 Me out of captivity, in the steppes await...¹¹

In the meantime there are preparations for the wedding in the Palace:

Wedding in the Palace

They threw Titillator, alas,
 Behind narrow grating
 And decided in the Palace:
 — Time, to play the mating... —
 Hey, there came the tsarist kin
 And all courtly nobles
 To betrothed to be keen,
 Children's tears to gobble.
 Groom is leading to be wed
 Dried up lady Languor
 And one can not look at them
 Without rising anger.
 Tho Macaco was a bloke
 And she — much worse rated
 One plump poet had for both
 An ode dedicated.
 So much praise it did contain

¹¹) Taras Shevchenko, *op cit.*, p. 187.

And unsightly flatter
 That the frogs in total shame
 Dived into the water!
 Only Tsar walked round and glowed,
 Kissing with the son-in-law,
 And bragged on: "Well, that is that,
 Titillator is but dead!
 There is no one to bestow
 Loud and honest laughter now.
 So, go on, and jump in joy!
 From your joy — go on and cry!
 Everywhere, it now appears,
 We'll raise Tsardom of the Tears!"
 Lachrymal, thus, bragged on here —
 Tsar of country Shedontear . . .¹²

Literal interpretation: Titillator is jailed and in the Palace the promised wedding is taking place. In spite of the fact that Macaco was a "bloke" and the bride "rated much worse" — one "plump" poet had written and dedicated a poem to them. This is just another detail that indicates where the plot is taking place. *Ode-writing* in honour of the Tsar and of his court of nobles (or Tsarina), occupies one of the important periods in the Russian literature of the XVIII century. At least this detail points out Symonenko's consistency with the plot in this direction.

Allegorical interpretation: this detail can also be regarded as taking place in contemporary times. Writing odes in honour of Lenin, and, during Stalin's period — in his honour, was and still is widely practiced in Soviet Union. Application of *oxymoron* (a figure of speech where words that are usually contradictory are combined in one expression, e.g., "from your joy — go on and cry"), is, perhaps, related to the second fairy-tale, where *oxymoron* is repeatedly used in place of metaphors. This is done in the best probability to point out identical *mode of life* situation in both fairy-tales; life under the imperial domain. Tsar Lachrymal, toward the end of the above passage, states clearly: "*Everywhere*, it now appears, we'll raise Tsardom of the Tears". In the Ukrainian text Symonenko has *vikovichne* (eternal) "Tsardom of the Tears" (not shown in the translation). Is this phrase so far removed from the prophecies about the triumph of Communist ideas in the entire world? The analogy here is obvious, since there is no other ideology that would brag about conquering the entire world.

It appears, however, that Lachrymal's joy is premature:

Release of Titillator

While the wedding went on hooting

¹²) *Poezii*, pp. 165-166.

Titillator's drunken guards
 Having drunk some potioned rootdrink
 Fell asleep in grass, apart.
 To the jail, as night had fallen,
 Workers, poor folks, in deep mist,
 Were on Titillator calling,
 Him, forever, to release.
 All obstructions were abated,
 Iron bars were bent like twine:
 — Hey, you merry Titillator,
 Your own brothers have arrived!
 Come with us, our merry brother,
 Join in our friendly clan,
 Then — to Lachrymal, together,
 To play wedding we'll attend . . .¹³

Literal interpretation: this passage seems to underline that the events are taking place in pre-revolutionary times. Symonenko has "workers" and "poor folks" come to liberate Titillator. They ask him to join their "friendly clan" and go to attend the "wedding" at Lachrymal's palace. This, in turn, can be meant to show a *class* revolution (the working class attacks the Winter Palace).

Allegorical interpretation: class revolution could have been a device to camouflage, applied deliberately by Symonenko to allow the fairy-tale to be published. There can be serious doubt if this fairy-tale could ever be published *without* such camouflage. It is interesting to note that there is no mention whatsoever about Titillator's *class status* up to this point in the fairy-tale. There is, however, much hinting about his *nationality*, a fact that was already interpreted earlier. The most important information, therefore, is: Titillator's *brothers* came to liberate him, and that could mean — Ukrainians.

Here is what happens when freed Titillator and his liberators attend the wedding:

The Wedding Continues

In the Palace — all are jumping,
 Bitterly from joy keep crying
 Tears — flow like a stream, ahoy,
 That is their kind of a joy.
 Suddenly Tsar fell on throne:
 — Help, the Titillator's on! —
 Everybody "ouch!" and "wow!"
 Fear in eyes and on their brows.
 And the merry Titillator
 Jumped the throne to Tsar and later
 Said to him: — Now and not after

¹³) *Poezii*, p. 166.

You'll, for once, be full of laughter !.. —
 When he started Tsar to tickle —
 Lachrymal began to giggle,
 From hard laughter he was trembling,
 Stumbling, raving, double-bending,
 To rub eyes — his fists applied,
 Then he burst, and, simply, died.
 What a joke for now and after,
 Lachrymal had died from laughter!
 Courtly nobles — turned to stone,
 How to laugh — they didn't know.
 And the Tsar's three growing pawns,
 The three braves, his Snivellers-sons.
 Kept on such loud laughter, hence —
 Down fell off their very pants.
 So, all three, without their slacks
 Took to foreign lands their backs.
 The three princesses — defected
 In four different directions.
 Bloody tearforeversheds —
 Turned out leeches in stream-beds.
 And Macaco, killer-waif,
 Ate himself from fear alive.
 That's how merry Titillator
 Heathen throne annihilated.
 He lives on, for children tending
 To bring laughter on his trips,
 In his decorated handbag,
 In his tender finger-tips . . .¹⁴

Literal interpretation: starting again with oxymoron (“crying bitterly from joy”) Symonenko places Titillator into a grotesque and quick ending of the plot: Lachrymal dies laughing, his sons lose their pants and run away to “foreign lands”, all “three” daughters run in “four” different directions, “tearforeversheds — turn out leeches” and Macaco — “ate himself from fear”. The “throne” is “annihilated”, that means that an upheaval took place.

Allegorical interpretation: must conclude that it is impossible for *three* princesses to run in *four* different directions. There is also doubt as to what kind of a “throne” was “annihilated” by Titillator, since he destroyed a “heathen throne” and the tsarist throne in Imperial Russia adhered to Orthodox Christianity. Again, we can understand that the continuation of the “wedding” takes place after the revolution. The contemporary aspect of the fairy-tale is especially underlined by Symonenko by its ending, where he invites the reader to “find this land” *now* (you just can't find something that *was* and is no more):

14) *Poezii*, pp. 166-168.

If you wish to find this land,
 This itinerary tend:
 First, you'll go a long time straight,
 Take a right, as it gets late,
 Then, again, among oak trees,
 To the left you turn, like this.
 After that go slowly, heed —
 Where your feet will surely lead:
 If you don't fall from exhaust,
 Then — this land will be your host.¹⁵

This is the ending and it is also grotesque, as grotesque it would be that this fairy-tale should not carry a message for the adult.

The next fairy-tale is also about a strange land, very similar for its totalitarian system to the country Shedontear. This fairy-tale contains numerous applications of *oxymoron* as well, which permits literal and allegorical interpretation of the text. The plot consists of strange adventures of four little boys in a country called Upside-down, into which they are brought *by their own wish* by some kind of a "small bearded man with cunning eyes":

JOURNEY TO THE COUNTRY UPSIDE-DOWN

Lesyk, Tolya, two Volodyas
 Were depending on a log, thus,
 Lesyk grumbled on: "My buddies,
 It is hard to live for me —
 Mother to obey, and father,
 And to wash up day-by-day.
 Hard to live and to obey!"
 Tolya also sits and suffers,
 Pours out sorrows over there:
 "Sister Tonya is a duffer,
 Must amuse her, it's not fair . . ."
 And Volodya squeaks out: "Father,
 Forces me to water flowers . . ."
 So, all four are further groaning:
 "How we suffer!
 How it's bitter!"
 Suddenly "bang", out of nowhere —
 Little bearded man appeared
 With his cunning eyes before them
 At the four he sternly peered.
 And as sternly he was saying,
 This chimerical small man:
 "All your troubles I've been hearing,

¹⁵) *Poezii*, p. 168.

O'er the mountains, o'er the valleys,
 Over here my beard was dragging —
 Speeding over to your team
 All your troubles to redeem.
 Not too far away at hand
 Is a very funny land —
 Where there is no day, nor night,
 All are doing what they like . . .”¹⁶

Literal interpretation: four children complain about their little troubles. All of a sudden there appears “out of nowhere” a “little bearded man” afore them and proposes a visit to a “very funny land” that lies near at hand, where “all are doing what they like”. There is “no day, nor night” in this land indicating that it is a fantastic, utopian land.

Allegorical interpretation: the “little bearded man” came to make his proposition for the children to visit an *utopian* land from far away, he said to the four that he dragged his beard “o'er the valleys” to “redeem” them from their “troubles”. It can be immediately suspected that the “little bearded man” must have had a special reason to go through so much troubles just to satisfy the children’s caprice. Such a “promised land”, as he had offered to the children, *could never exist* and, therefore, must be considered as utopian. People in Soviet Ukraine, who are quite sensitive to hidden messages in literary works, could not fail to draw conclusions after comparing the fairy-tale land to what their own “promised land” turned out to be.

Children, however, meet his proposition with enthusiasm:

. . . Now, all four together, started:
 “Help us, help us, oh, please do!
 How could we for there depart? — and:
 — Tell us, tell us all anew!”
 “I will help you very gladly, —
 Says the owner of the beard, —
 Shut your eyes a moment, steadily,
 And I'll fly you, like fast birds”.
 Just as soon as they have done so —
 All were lifted by a wind blow,
 Whirled, tumbled in the mist,
 Roared and rumbled and like this —
 O'er the steppes
 And o'er the forests,
 Way — under the sky did twist.
 As they opened up their eyes,
 Hollered happy:
 “Tru-lu-lu!

¹⁶) Poezii, pp. 169-170.

Now I can do, what I want to,
 What I want to — I shall do!
 As it happens, we are now
 In the country Upside-down! . . .”¹⁷

Literal interpretation: the “small bearded man” is in possession of magic powers. He tells the children to shut their eyes and after they obey — flies them over to the “promised land”, a country called Upside-down.

Allegorical interpretation: there are two lines in the above portion of the fairy-tale that allow comparison between the country Upside-down and Soviet Ukraine. First of all, the children were flying “over the steppes”. This can be regarded as a hint, but only a hint, since there are “steppes” in other parts of the world. However, the last line strongly underlines this hint. In Ukrainian this line is given as: “*U krainu Navpaky*” (Into country Upside-down). But, the combination *U + krainu Navpaky* = *Ukrainu Navpaky* (Ukraine Upside-down). This is only a surmise, yet, if such an observation it at all possible, then it is, obviously, exposed to all of the readers. Therefore, it can be maintained, that the combination *U + krainu* is not accidental. At least such a supposition can be supported by the entire fairy-tale, as further analysis shall clearly indicate. It is remarkable, however, that the title of the fairy-tale (containing this phrase) is given in Ukrainian as: “*Podorozh v krainu Navpaky*”, though such “zh-v-kr” (given above in italic type) combination of consonants is against the laws of language tonality. This too, perhaps, was done by Symonenko deliberately, so that the strong message this combination can imply was less noticeable to the censors.

What follows is a repeated use of *oxymoron* that culminates into a grotesque image to show that the country in question is truly “upside-down”:

. . . Well, for kids, this magic land —
 Is a paradise at hand:
 Only ink in rivers flowing,
 No one heard about a soap-cake!
 All — in mud, up to their ears,
 Bawling, shouting loud and clear,
 See by ear and hear by eye,
 Jump, feet upwards, all the time.
 Chimney-sweeps paint houses white,
 Land-surveyors — sky divide,
 Scythemen — heavy trees cut down,
 Carry logs by tongues around.

And now, culmination into grotesque:

Taking nose-bags, little tarts —
 Go to heaven to pick stars.

17) *Poezii*, p. 170.

By a handful they would pick,
 Even to their pockets stick,
 Then — back home from heaven — flick! —
 One on barn floor, one on haystack.
 Lesyk, Tolya, two Volodyas —
 Like young calves in crops around, thus,
 The whole day long bucking, playing,
 Laughing loudly, rolling, swaying,
 With some boys they met before
 Played, by throwing dumpling, war,
 Then, in bushes, they commenced
 Dancing on their very hands.
 Hollered happy:
 “Tru-lu-lu!
 What I want to — I shall do!”
 Finally, tired, but unwrapt,
 Hanging on a plum tree — slept.
 After napping — picked in bliss
 Watermelons from oak trees
 And from bushes on the valleys
 They ate chocolate, without malice . . .¹⁸

Literal interpretation: the boys never had it so good, they are all happy, for they can “do what they want”. The first day in the country Upside-down was well spent. Then, after a nap (while “hanging on a plum tree”), they breakfast on “watermelons from oak trees and chocolate from bushes” and are ready for some new adventures.

Allegorical interpretation: if we are, conditionally, to accept the contention that *U + krainu Upside-down* is not an accidental phrase, then we can immediately notice that there was a similar situation in the Soviet Ukraine during the NEP (New Economic Politics), introduced by Lenin to prevent an economic disaster in the 1920s. Let's compare: “only ink in rivers flowing” to massive literary and journalistic production in Ukrainian that was flowering during the period. As “no one heard about a *soap-cake*” we can compare that to non-existing “censorship”, or even milder — “non-existing self-discipline”. All are “bawling, shouting loud and clear” reminds us of the well-known *literary discussion* started by Mykola Khvyly'ovyi, that took place in the second half of the 1920s. It can truly be maintained that, indeed, the NEP period in Soviet Ukraine turned the country “upside-down”. Economic initiative was returning to the individual, an utopian Communist Mykola Skrypnyk¹⁹ (1872-1933)

¹⁸ *Poezii*, pp. 170-171.

¹⁹ One of the very best sources published on Mykola Skrypnyk and his period is: Ivan Koshelivets', *Mykola Skrypnyk* (Munich: v-vo “Suchasnist” — 1972).

was enforcing *Ukrainization* on the Russified urban population and institutions . . . True enough, there were some repressions during that period too. However, Symonenko does not fail to mention that in the fairy-tale, for: “one on barn floor (hard) and one on haystack (soft)” they were “falling” after “picking stars in heaven”, After the revolution many “went for” and later “wore” on their caps or in the lapels “red stars”. Therefore, we can accept that Symonenko meant by “what I want to — I shall do” as the NEP period in Soviet Ukraine.

The NEP period had a tragic ending. The same thing happens in the fairy-tale:

. . . By a millhouse, on their part,
 Once they met with funny guard —
 Yes, these soldiers in blue slacks
 Were all riding on pig’s backs.
 “And who are you, tell me, will-ya? —
 Asked the highest ranking villain. —
 These are traitors, not just kids!
 Grab them, tie them, no one pleads!”
 Soldiers rapidly advanced,
 Carried orders out at once
 And then chased the humble blushers
 To the palace of No-washers.
 In a doghouse, for their lot
 Waited Tsar, Great Dowashnot —
 He was elder among peers,
 Didn’t wash one hundred years.
 As he saw the little kids,
 Howled, screamed, out of his wits:
 “What are they, for devil’s might,
 Their right hands are on the right,
 Why, with eyes they look and see,
 What should that, my servants, mean?
 They should all be washed in ink,
 For they still with soap do stink.
 Later, so they’d understand,
 Twisted out should be their hands,
 Then, to cut away their ears,
 Teach them with their eyes to hear.
 Only then can we allow
 Them to live in Upside-down.
 And for now take these impure
 To the dungeon to immure”.
 That’s how, leaning on a cudgel,
 Dowashnot barked, mad like hell,
 And the kids, at that, all four

Servants threw to dungeon's floor . . .²⁰

Literal interpretation: now, all of a sudden, it is, revealed that the country Upside-down is ruled with a *totalitarian* system, just like the country Shedontears was in the previous fairy-tale. The boys are thrown into a dungeon not for some committed crime but because they are "traitors, not just kids; by that the "highest ranking villain" means that they are unlike other "nowashers". After they are brought "tied up" to the palace on for interrogation — the "Tsar Great Dowashnot" happens to agree with the decision of the "highest ranking villain": the kids must go through some kind of a "socialist reconstruction", or to put it better, have to learn how to "hear with their eyes" if they are to be allowed to live in the country Upside-down. They must conform, and in the meantime — are jailed.

Allegorical interpretation: here, like in the previous fairy-tale, Symonenko makes a "Tsar" responsible for the regime. The "vicious guard as keepers of bad laws" of the previous fairy-tale are now represented by a "funny guard, soldiers in blue slacks". This is a rather strong hint, since "blue slacks" were worn by the NKVD (Stalin's secret police) forces as a part of their official uniforms. In the fairy-tale these "soldiers in blue slacks" are inseparable from "pigs" (informers?!) and constantly "ride their backs" (use their services?!). This is how they get to catch and arrest the non-conformist children, "riding on pigs". To follow up the interpretation of the period: after more and more power was accumulated in the hands of one man, Joseph Vissarionovich Dzughashvili (better known as Stalin), the NEP policies were more and more suppressed and driven to a tragic ending. Stalin started his climb to power by first eliminating the left-wing opposition in the Communist party with the help of the right-wingers on the all-Union level. Then, he eliminated the right-wingers too to establish a firm one-man rule of total terror. In the process of doing all that he centralized everything, from economy to literature, in Moscow. He introduced forced collectivization of rural areas during which many millions of people perished (the smallest estimate of those who perished in Ukraine alone is given as 4,000,000), and started what is labelled as "socialist reconstruction" of the entire population in the Soviet Union. Massive terror and Ukraine's share in the suffering during the "personality cult" is now history. They lasted, on and off, during Stalin's entire stay in power, that is, until his death.

The fairy-tale continues:

. . . In the dungeon, where sound dies,
Rustled only sleepy mice,
In the distance between walls —
Cockroaches took their crawls

²⁰) *Poezii*, pp. 171-172.

And in darkened corners sat
 Spiders, weaving dreary nets.
 All four children over here
 To their toes were struck by fear,
 So all four, at such avail,
 Started crying in the jail.
 Somehow, from their salty tears
 Dungeon weakened at its seams:
 First the walls began to thaw,
 Then — the sugar-door fell down.
 Kiddies, happy by the way,
 With a joyful cry "Hurrah!"
 All took powder out of callous
 And much dreaded Tsarist palace . . .²¹

Literal interpretation: the dungeon is infested with mice, cockroaches, and spiders. The children start to cry in fear and from their "salty tears" the walls "thaw" and the doors made out of sugar fall down, in a rather grotesque outcome. The children, thus freed, run out of the "dreaded Tsarist palace".

Allegorical interpretation: I do, continuously, point out the possibility of comparing the events in both fairy-tales with the development of historical events in the Soviet Union. The continuity with which Symonenko makes such comparison possible is remarkable. Even this period in the dungeon, enforced by the "Tsar out of doghouse", is marked by "fear", "crying", and "salty tears" that bring about a *thaw*. The "personality cult" period enforced by Stalin was also followed by a "thaw". We can also permit an argument that the "little bearded man with cunning eyes" had *lied* to the children when he promised to bring them to a land where "all are doing what they like". It is exactly for "doing what they wanted to do" that they were jailed. Is it so far fetched to maintain that the "little bearded man with cunning eyes" symbolises one Vladimir Illich Ulyanow (better known as Lenin), who did his share of "promising" while preaching the Communist ideology to millions of naive Lesyks, Tolyas, and Volodyas? And didn't it all become "Upside-down" in reality? At least Lenin, as I have already underlined, is a hero of quite a few fairy-tales published in Soviet Ukraine.

After fleeing from the palace the children continue to run:

. . . And the soldiers in blue slacks
 Chased the children on pigs' backs
 Scolding them and loudly shouting,
 And with ripe tomatoes shooting.
 Would have had the children trapped
 If the piggies didn't stop
 To turn over to the shallows

²¹) *Poezii*, pp. 172-173.

Watermelons down to swallow.
 Soldiers urged them on to hasten,
 Piggies wouldn't even listen —
 They were only scrunching, grunting,
 Watermelons eating, eating.
 After getting fed — they've gone
 To a mudhole, all like one.
 So the soldiers in small huddles
 Just ran after them to puddles
 And were begging:
 "Lovely piggies,
 Time to go to work indeed is!"
 Pigs let all these words pass by,
 Didn't even blink an eye
 And prolonged their mudhole plays
 For two seconds and two days.
 In the meantime our children
 Ran as if they all were frenzied
 Through a field and haying crop
 First in forest did they stop.
 In the forest on a glade
 Rubicundish flowers played
 Ancient ball game and in fact
 Danced Ukrainian *hopak*.
 When they saw the little ones
 Gathered round them all at once
 And applauding with their leaves
 Jumped around and then said this:
 "Come to us!
 To our circle —
 And we'll truly dance, like miracle!" . . .²²

Literal interpretation: the children are being chased by the "soldiers in blue slacks". "The pigs", however, decide to "turn over to sallows to feast on "watermelons" so the soldiers can not catch up with the children and they escape to a "forest". Like in the previous fairy-tale (for "uncle Titillator") the forest proves to be a reliable warrant for children's freedom. There "rubicundish flowers play" and dance *hopak* (a strictly Ukrainian dance and therefore underlined in the translation). After seeing the children the flowers ask them to join their "circle" to dance together "like miracle".

Allegorical interpretation: though the "thaw" has arrived and the "sugar-door fell down" the "soldiers in blue slacks" have not been discharged and continue to chase the children. But the "thaw" brings along some relaxation of the regime and possibilities to "feast". The "helpers" of the "soldiers in blue slacks" are not in a hurry anymore

²²⁾ Poezii, pp. 173-174.

to catch the escaping children. The children escape to a forest and find themselves among “their own Ukrainians”, the flowers a *Ukrainian* national dance.. This can be interpreted in a way that the “security police” had some difficulties to force their “informers” to render services after the “thaw”. It is sad that Symonenko, who died late in 1963, could not foresee the fortunes that would befall his contemporaries, he did not live to see downfall of Khrushchev in 1964 and the violence that was gradually resumed against the writers and poets of the sixties and other young Ukrainian intellectuals until by the mid 1970s they were ruthlessly and totally crushed. Before his death he was seeing those (and he was one of them) who *dared* to raise their heads and speak without fear (and some overcoming fear) of the “soldiers in blue slacks” and their “helpers”.

What Symonenko could not foresee — he, often, could feel. The kids are in danger again:

... Flowers call the kids to play
 While they stand and just complain:
 “There are soldiers in blue slacks
 Reaching for us on pigs’ backs.
 These perfidious crow-bands
 Want to hurt and twist our hands.
 Aw! Aw! Aw! Where are our mothers,
 What will happen here without them?”
 Flowers turned from terror blue:
 “Pigs will trample on us too!”
 At this point jumped to fore
 Old man, bushman Red Hawthorn:
 “Do not scream and don’t despair,
 I shall now the glade surround,
 Break pigs’ habit to stump fair
 Flowers down!”
 The Sweet Briar and the Hawthorn
 Noiselessly joined with wild Blackthorn
 Had the glade at once surrounded,
 Ruffled up their horny points,
 Fiercely pierced and deeply wounded,
 Tearing pig’s backsides and joints.
 And on soldiers they were shredding
 Precious clothing and their flesh,
 Down — were many wounded falling
 And thick blood like rivers flushed.
 Heaven knows, the soldiers tried,
 Full of thorns and bleeding dry.
 But they didn’t have their way,
 Barely living — ran away.
 Dowashnot got really mad,

Their, assault had failed like that.
 So he did, forever cursed,
 Sentries round the glade disperse
 To catch impudents. He tried
 To get them all, dead or alive!
 So he said:
 "Get children now,
 Throw them into ink to drown!"
 And the soldiers in blue slacks
 Everywhere sped on pigs' backs
 Seeing to it that no way
 Was for kids to get away . . .²³

Literal interpretation: the soldiers forced the "pigs" to go on with the chase, to engage "Hawthorn, Sweet Briar and Blackthorn" in a battle, after they surrounded the glade and offered protection to the flowers and the children. After Dowashnot fails to get a decisive victory and his soldiers "fell wounded" or run away he orders to get the children at any cost, "dead or alive", and to drown them in ink. Around the glade he places sentries so that the children are besieged.

Allegorical interpretation: the question arises, why did Symonenko have "Hawthorn, Sweet Briar, and Blackthorn" written with capital letters, as if they were proper names, or aliases of some kind? The Ukrainian word *kushch* (bush) used by Symonenko was also used by the Ukrainian underground to describe a clandestine para-military unit. "Hawthorn" is called by Symonenko *kushchevyk* (bushman, leader of the bush). Defending the flowers and the children they engage "soldiers in blue slacks and the pigs" in a battle, "many wounded fell down and blood flushed like rivers". Here, again, we have an analogy with reality. Many documents and materials, published in Soviet Ukraine and abroad, testify to that. The armed struggle of the Ukrainian underground continued after the second World War was over until the early 1950s. During and after this struggle there were open and closed trials, executions, long stretches in the forced labour camps taking place in Soviet Ukraine that lasted until the late 1950s. Then came the "thaw" many prisoners were released, some dead were rehabilitated. It so happened, that this short period of "thaw" made a serious crack in the system of terror itself. Proven methods of intimidation began to *fail*, Ukrainian nationals easily silenced by Stalinist terror before, now started to shake off *fear*. They began to say and write such things which they didn't even dare to think about before they began to speak out for their rights guaranteed under the constitution, they often even voluntarily stood up during the trials and demanded justice. So, if the "children" together with the "flowers" (that dance *hopak*) and with "Hawthorn, Sweet Briar, and Blackthorn" allegorically represent the contem-

²³) *Poezii*, pp. 174-175.

porary *Ukrainian environment* which cannot be totally destroyed — then a strict order follows, to isolate this environment from the outside world and to “drown it in ink”. “Drown them in ink . . .” Could there really be educated people, anywhere in the world, that would know nothing about hundreds of thousands of devastating articles, directed against the Ukrainian intellectuals and Ukrainian culture, that appeared in the official Soviet press during the entire history of Soviet Ukraine? It is possible that there are for: “reality escapes us”, as Carlyle used to say back in the XIX century.

The fairy-tale ends offering the following solution:

. . . Well, the children, the poor children,
 Had to pine away, to wither,
 Started getting rather tired,
 All to go back home aspired.
 And all four again were groaning:
 “How we suffer!
 How it’s bitter!”
 Suddenly “bang”, out of nowhere —
 Little bearded man appeared
 With his cunning eyes before them
 At the four, again, he peered.
 “Who would now return home gladly, —
 Said the owner of the beard, —
 Shut your eyes a moment, steadily,
 I’ll return him, like a bird . . .
 Just as soon as all had done so —
 They were lifted by a wind blow,
 Whirled, tumbled in the mist,
 Roared and rumbled, and like this —
 O’er the steppes,
 And o’er the forests,
 Way — under the sky did twist!
 As they opened up their eyes,
 Gasp — their homes are standing by,
 All are met, and warm embracings
 On them grandmoms, mothers try . . .²⁴

Literal interpretation: At the beginning of the fairy-tale, after closing their eyes, the children were “flown” to the “country Upside-down”. Now, after they opened their eyes again — they found themselves back home. The “little bearded man with cunning eyes” led the children through a *didactic dream!* Though he had *lied* while enticing them to a land “where they can do as they please” (they were jailed instead) — “the end justifies the means” (Lenin used to say).

Allegorical interpretation: persecuted Ukrainian intellectuals in

²⁴⁾ *Poezii*, pp. 175-176.

Soviet Ukraine often quoted to support their struggle for basic constitutional rights, in their protest against enforced Russification, and against the neglect of Soviet laws by those who are in power. It was Lenin, who said:

... Under the circumstances it is only natural that the freedom "to leave the Union" will remain an useless piece of paper with no power to protect nationals other than Russians from the onslaught of that truly Russian person, the great-Russian chauvinist, in reality a scoundrel and a raper, which a typical Russian bureaucrat happens to be. No doubt, the miserable percentage of Soviet and Sovietized workers will be drowned in the sea of Russian rabble like a fly in the milk.

They say in defence of this problem that the People's Commissariates were established and have a direct relation to national psychology and national education. But the question remains, if such Peoples Commissariates can function fully independently and did we truly apply means to protect other nationals from that, really Russian, ravisher? I don't think we did, though we could have and should have done so...²⁵

It is true that Lenin's *sincerity* in dealing with "nationalities problems" is often questioned by Ukrainian intellectuals abroad (Kravtsiv, Lavrinenko, Koshelivets'), and that there is plenty of serious documentation to support such a claim. Nevertheless, Symonenko and his contemporaries turned, over and again, to the "little bearded man with cunning eyes" for assistance to climb out of the precipice into which he himself had driven them with a promise that proved to be a lie. At least the periodicity of the events encountered by the children in the fairy-tale consistently recalls the events that occurred in Soviet Ukraine. Symonenko ends his fairy-tale with optimism, at least in the children's dream the "little bearded man with cunning eyes" helps them to break loose out of their "union" with the totalitarian "country Upside-down".

... And the travelers holler: "No,
By a miracle one could not —
Even with a nice baked donut! —
Lure us back, for ages now,
To the country Upside-down!"²⁶

The very last line of the fairy-tale is again represented by that meaningful combination: *U + krainu Navpakyy*. Under the circumstances the literal translation is: "Even ages could not lure Ukraine upside-down again".

²⁵) V. I. Lenin, "Do pytannya natsional'nosti abo pro avtonomizatsiyu", *Materiyaly do vyvchennya ukrains'koi literatury*, Vol. V., Book I. Kyiv: v-vo "Radyans'ka shkola" — 1963, p. 31.

²⁶) *Poezii*, p. 176.

Illations

Both literal and allegorical, interpretations of these two fairy-tales definitely point out that the plots involve two countries with *totalitarian* systems. Both systems are shown to be by Symonenko's narrator as *negative*, even if the rules of the mandatory "socialist-realism" methods were to be applied. The narrator sides with "uncle Titillator" in the first fairy-tale and with the "children" in the second. All are temporarily *jailed*, in one case for neglecting "bad laws" and in the other for "non-conformism". In both fairy-tales the regime is represented by the "Tsar".

It is relatively of little importance which one of the provided interpretations represents Symonenko's message in both fairy-tales. It is, however, of great importance that both plots can be consistently compared to the reality and *mode of life* in Soviet Ukraine, where it was destined for Symonenko and his adherents to live and for some to perish in the forced labour camps. Important as well is the fact, that just as the author of this study could arrive at certain thoughts and conclusions with *allegorical* interpretations, so *could* other readers and researchers. Symonenko ridiculed and condemned the *totalitarian system* as such.

Symonenko, a writer with a university education, could not have been ignorant of Lenin's writings on the nationalities problem. After all, he was not the only one to reach similar conclusions about the *status quo* of Soviet Ukraine within the Soviet Union. One can find similar thoughts, for instance, reading Borys Oliinyk, who was the author of the foreword²⁷ to Symonenko's posthumous book. Here is what Oliinyk wrote, showing by the title alone that his lines are dedicated to the adults:

NOT FOR CHILDREN

It's better to die, while standing up,
Than down on your knees to live on? —
Said one history teacher to
Children.

Listen good to your teacher, children,
Listen to mother, and father,
And God help you only from school readers
To know about it.

Yeah . . . "It's better to die standing up . . ."
Stated strongly, carries a manly tag.
. . . And yet, what if they had broken up
Legs.

²⁷⁾ *Poezii*, pp. 5-10.

They have raised themselves up
 on their knees —
Ravens fell down like a *crepe*.
... Oh, a red guelder-rose
 grew in the field,
And the blue sky above it . . .

It's not for you, children,
I simply think, children,
That one can on his knees
Die better
 than go on living
 standing.

. . . Children.
Read history.²⁸

Let this poem be an epilogue to Symonenko's fairy-tales, both, in their literal and in their allegorical interpretations.

²⁸) Bohdan Kravtsiv (comp.), *Shistdesyat poetiv shistdesyatykh rokiv. Antolohiya novoi ukrains'koi poezii* (New York: Prolog — 1967), p. 47.

Ukrainian Poetry in Translation:

Taras SHEVCHENKO

HAYDAMAKY

from the EPILOGUE

Translator Orysia PROKOPIW

It was long ago, when a little child,
 An orphan in burlap, I once roamed
 Without a cloak, without bread, through that Ukraine
 Where Zaliznyak, Honta, with the sanctified danced.
 It was long ago, when along those paths
 Where went the Haydamaky, with little feet
 Walked I and wept, and searched for folk
 Who would teach me Good. I have recalled this now,
 Recalled this, and have grown sad that ill has passed.
 Childhood ill! If you would return, —
 I would trade this fate, which I have now.
 I recall that fate, those boundless paths,
 And my father and old grandfather I recall . . .
 One still lives, the other is dead.
 It was, on Sundays, having closed the mineon,
 Having had a glass with the neighbour . . .
 Father would ask my grandfather to tell the story
 About Koliyivshchyna, how it once was,
 How Zaliznyak, Honta, had punished the Poles . . .
 His centurial eyes, like stars glowed,
 As word after word laughed and flowed:
 How the Poles perished, how Smila burned . . .
 The neighbours, from horror, from sorrow, would fall silent,
 And many a time, then, I was forced
 To weep for the churchwarden. And no one had noticed
 That the little child, behind the chimney, weeps . . .
 I thank you, my grandfather, for having concealed
 In your centurial head that kozak glory —
 I have passed it on to our grandchildren now ! . . .

Yevhen PLUZHNYK

* * *

A man, while reaping rye along the forest,
 Against a yellow skull had chipped his scythe . . .
 Who, and for what, upon this place was slaughtered,
 Who, and for whom, here, had laid down his life,
 It does not matter . . .

On this field of battle
 Here lies such heavy and abundant rye,
 That for manure one sacrificed his being —
 A trifle . . .

The reaper stooped to see the precious object,
 Upon the silver scythe that chipped the skull,
 And then, while spurning with his foot that object,
 "May you be damned!" he cried.

* * *

I am like everyone. Trousers of cloth . . .
 My heart is a Nagant, too . . .
 Life I have seen to its deepest depths
 With a hundred wounds!

Not any word there remains to be said!
 For silence I hungrily crave.
 In time there will grow a colossal crop
 In the calm of unfailing days!

Thus, there's no need for the hackneyed phrase!
 Pain is perpetually pain!
 In silence will rise a modern Taras
 Somewhere midst the bloody plains!

* * *

Judge me with your cruel judgment,
 Contemporary! Unbiased descendants
 Will forgive me my mistakes, and hesitations,
 Belated sorrow, and untimely joy —
 To them will speak my calm sincerity.

Translator Orysia PROKOPIW

OBITUARY:**PROF. DMYTRO CHYZHEVSKY, LITERARY EXPERTS, DIES**

HEIDELBERG, W. Germany — Dr. Dmytro Chyzhevsky, professor of literature and linguistics at Ukrainian, German and American universities and internationally recognized authority on Ukrainian literature, died on April 18th. He was 83 years old.

Born in 1894 in Oleksandria, Ukraine, Dr. Chyzhevsky acquired his secondary education in his native city, then went on to study natural sciences at Petersburg University and subsequently philology, history and literature at the University of Kyiv.

Arrested during the Bolshevik takeover, Dr. Chyzhevsky escaped from a concentration camp in 1921 and made his way to Germany where he completed his higher education. He taught first at the Higher Ukrainian Pedagogical Institute in Prague and later at the Ukrainian Free University. Since 1929 till the end of World War II, he taught at Halle University in Germany, and after the war till 1950, at Marburg University.

In 1950 he began teaching at Harvard University and continued his lecturing till 1957 when he returned to West Germany and assumed the post of professor and director of the Slavic Institute in Heidelberg.

One of the world's leading Slavists, Prof. Chyzhevsky's bibliography consists of more than 800 works in the Ukrainian, German and English languages.

He authored the monumental *A History of Ukrainian Literature*, which in 1975 was published in English under the editorship of Prof. George S. N. Luckyj of the University of Toronto. The 681-page book updated and enlarged, was brought out by Libraries Unlimited in Littleton, Colorado.

Prof. Chyzhevsky was a member of numerous scholarly societies and academies, including the Shevchenko Scientific Society and the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S.

Despite failing health, the Ukrainian scholar continued to work until his last days. His monograph on Mykola Hohol and his own memoirs remain incomplete.

He is survived by his wife, Lydia, and daughter, Tanya, both in the United States.

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III

1977

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Symbol of Ukraine's Sovereignty

The Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) has become not only an un-paralleled symbol of the heroism of a nation and the standard-bearer of an un-broken and un-defeatable fight for freedom and justice, but above all the up-holder of the idea of rule by the Ukrainian nation on Ukrainian territory. The idea of the government by the Ukrainian nation of her own lands is that most important concept which the UPA and the organisation responsible for initiating the formation of the UPA, the revolutionary OUN (Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists) awoke and rooted deeply into the consciousness of a nation which for hundreds of years had existed in a state of enslavement, had always passionately craved freedom but sometimes had lost sight of the slogan: There is no freedom without rule by a nation of her own lands. The UPA represents above everything else just this concept, the rule of its own territories by the Ukrainian nation.

October 1977 will see the passing of thirty-five years since the formation of the UPA. The OUN-UPA opened up a new era in Ukrainian statehood. The rule of Ukrainian lands by a Ukrainian nation lasted during that period from 1941 to 1950. The decisive thing is not that the Ukrainian government did not embrace all or a large section of the Ukrainian territories, but rather the overriding point is that it existed on Ukrainian land and was recognised and supported by the Ukrainian people. This was the last period of Ukrainian statehood and we have to relate to it. Without this being recognised there can be no general picture of a Ukrainian state formation. And those who refute the statehood of the time of the Ukrainian State Government from 1941 (OUN) UPA-UHVR* 1941-1950) the process of the development of the nation's fight for statehood after the 1920s halted. However, on the contrary, this process did not stop after 1918-20 but continues to this day. The new period of Ukraine's statehood was initiated by the Act of June the Thirtieth, 1941, which the Revolutionary OUN and UPA ratified by the blood of its best members, shed in a war on two fronts waged against two of the most powerful military forces in the world at that time: Nazi Germany and Bolshevik Russia.

* Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council.

UDP** OUN-UPA-UHVR are those revolutionary-national forces which created the newest period of Ukrainian statehood. The UHVR under the guidance of the leader of the General Secretariat R. Luzovsky-Shukhevych-Chuprynka continued in the clear traditions of the UDP, the head of which had dis-regarded the German Ultimatum to step down and had refused to annul the Act proclaiming the renewal of Ukrainian Statehood. Some of the members of the UDP were murdered by the Gestapo and others were consigned to concentration camps where they endured the Nazi terror without being broken, and the symbol of the nation's fight in modern times, Stepan Bandera, unbroken by the Nazis, died at the hands of Moscow on the orders of Khrushchev and Shelepin. The General Secretariat of the UHVR under the leadership of Gen. Roman Shukhevych, commander-in-Chief of the UPA and head of the leadership of OUN, carried on the functions of the UDP, whose members had been arrested by the Germans, who had declared war against Ukraine. 1418 days were required to defeat the most powerful military force of that time, Germany, in Eastern Europe. However, the Russians did not have the strength to defeat the UPA for over ten years. Even the tri-partite pact signed in 1947 between her, Poland and Czecho-Slovakia, did not serve to help her. In the end the all-national up-rising was physically broken but morally it is un-defeatable. The fight adopted new forms and is continuing now. The uprisings in 1953-59 in the concentration camps were the continuation of the great traditions of the UPA. The activists of the sixties and seventies in Ukraine are the spiritual children of the heroism of the UPA.

The blood that was shed was not spilt in vain.

The UPA reminds us of the most salient fact concerning uprisings or the renewal of nationhood . . . Arms decide all. Nobody will give us our freedom and independence, no-one will allow the rule of the Ukrainian nation on Ukrainian territories without an armed struggle. Of this the UPA reminds us. No plebiscites, evolutions, democratisation or liberalisation of the regime will give the government of Ukrainian lands to the Ukrainian nation, only an armed struggle. That is why the concept of the UPA is synonymous with the concept of Ukrainian statehood. The credo of the UPA is the credo of Ukrainian rule, it is the credo of heroism in life, it is the credo of the greatness of the Ukrainian nation, the un-defeatability of her spirit and her wish for her own free independent life.

Even to-day Moscow still trembles before the legend of UPA. Why else these tens of 'novels', defamatory calumnies, and various other types of publication directed against the UPA-OUN? No-one is interested in the weak and un-important, they are ignored. To-day Moscow fears more the shadows of Bandera and Chuprynka than all

** Ukrainian State Government.

the American nuclear bombs, against which she has a counter-weapon. However against the ideas of UPA, and against the ideas of Bandera, there exist no ideological 'antidotes'.

To-day the ideas, politics and military strategy of the UPA are pointers for the Free World. The epoch of the thermo-nuclear, hydrogen and the more refined neutron weapons forces military strategy closer to the partisan mode of fighting. The huge concentrations of military materials and armies of NATO are but a nice-looking target for destruction by the tactical atomic weapons in Moscow's hands. As Moscow can reply to the neutron bomb with nuclear tactical weapons then the necessary outcome must be this: To re-deploy the huge concentrations of men and technology into small, protected (sheltered) 'techno-commands' and to accept the 'techno-partisan' form of waging war. The partisan-type organisation of war is being considered as an alternative to atomic war, and one to which the West will be forced to resort to as the technology of war develops. But one more essential point which the West has not realised is the 'techno-commands', that is to say the 'techno-partisans' of the Western forces in their conflict with the Russian aggressors will decide nothing until the revolutionary partisan armies of all the nations contained in the Russian Empire have had their say. The key to defeating Bolshevism lies in the hands of the UPA and the insurgent armies of the other nations subjugated by the Russians. All the other approaches are merely palliatives or else lead to the destruction of mankind by nuclear weapons.

As history has shown in the past the future of the world is never decided by great technological discoveries or by soulless technocrats without a heart, but by the partisan armies of the subjugated nations, dedicated to the idea of a nation by the heroism of life, and all the higher ideals by which a nation and people breathe.

Therefore the lesson we learn is to propagate the concept of armed force, to militarise our youth, to make them accustomed to an ascetic and stern life and one in which they are not afraid to take risks. We must teach our people to value above all ideals and a sense of the heroism of life, and not life just for the sake of living. Let us bring up our nation to live as a great one and by great ideals, not to be caught up in the transient but to look up to the eternal. Let us not propagate the cult of hedonism and capitalism but that of **nationalism** and the **heroism of mankind**. Do not let us allow our nation to be misled by lies and mis-conceptions. We must categorically reject the concept of the Ukr. SSR, a Russian colony, some kind of fictional Ukrainian state which has even had its right on paper to maintain its own army taken away from it by Moscow. The Ukrainian SSR may be much more aptly described as a Russian colony, a Nazi Reichskommissariat, or a Czarist General Governship. In the epoch of decolonisation when international organisations ratify resolutions

concerning the dis-memberment of colonial empires, our task is to demonstrate that the USSR is a colonial empire, that all the so-called republics embraced by it are colonies in the centre of cultures and civilisations, Europe, and not to try to obtain the rights embodied in the so-called constitution of the Ukr. SSR when the Ukr. SSR itself is even within the terms of the constitution merely a colony of Russia. We resolutely demand the de-colonisation of the USSR, that is, its dis-mantlement into independent national states.

The OUN-UPA-UHVR fought on two fronts for an independent Ukrainian state, against Germany and Russia, against the Ukr. SSR a colony of Russia and for this idea The Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Armed Forces, General Roman Shukhevych Chuprynka, died in battle with Russian forces. How many examples are there in history of the leader of an army dying, on the field of battle? General Roman Shukhevych, commander of the UPA forces, belongs to that rare category in the events of world history.

In commemorating the Thirty-Fifth Anniversary of the formation of the UPA, let us also remember with a sense of respect those Ukrainians — soldiers who served in the Czarist formations and sixty years ago initiated the national, anti-Russian, March revolution and by this act started the armed struggle for Ukraine at that time. Let us not at the time of this anniversary relate it to any 'Universal'* of 1917, because the 'Universal' proclamation in November of that year spoke of a federation between Ukraine and Russia, whereas the Ukrainian soldiers who, had started the revolution and were sacrificing their noble lives for their fatherland were fighting for an independent, sovereign Ukraine.

We remember the Ukrainian soldiers of the March revolution with a deep sense of gratitude, for they started the national-liberation revolution, the anti-Russian liberation war which culminated in the never to be forgotten acts of 22nd of January in the years 1918 and 1919 which re-newed an independent, sovereign Ukrainian state in the form of the Ukrainian National Republic. The cossack-like Ukrainian armed formations of those days were the fore-runners of the UPA. The conferences of the military were a pointer towards the armed struggle; this truth was not understood by the many leaders of the day apart from a small exception, M. Mikhnovsky, S. Petliura, D. Dontsov and some others.

March 1917 and October 1942 are dates which remind us that only arms will decide our future. Therefore let us propagate continually the spirit of an armed struggle amongst our people, amongst our youth, so that they may become competent in the skills of war, so that they are not deceived by pacifism, an egoistic approach to life, or by

* A Proclamation. The term 'universal' is a historical one dating from the Cossack period and possibly before, denoting a national edict of the highest importance.

pseudo-humanism, because only the hardened and the stern will survive in these terrible times, those who do not know the meaning of compromise, but place the nation and the idea of her rule, on the highest plane. Our highest aim is **an Independent, sovereign Ukrainian State**. Without eliminating the Russians from Ukrainian territories by force of arms there is not and never will be any justice in our lands, because we do not have the means of rule in our own hands.

LONG LIVE THE UKRAINIAN INSURGENT ARMY — the victorious bearer of the concept of the armed struggle of the Ukrainian nation for her own rule! Long live the revolutionary OUN — the co-fighter of the UPA in her heroic fight for an independent, sovereign, Ukrainian State, for the dismantlement of the Russian empire and for the destruction of Bolshevism.

Let the memories of General Roman Shukhevych, the Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian armed forces, and of Stepan Bandera, a great son of the Ukrainian nation be forever fresh and alive in our minds.

CORRECTION

In *The Ukrainian Review* — No. II/1977, it is printed on page 20, § 3, line 2 that:

... not only recognised the right of an African people (Namibia) to independence, but also in terms of international law declared its political and moral support for the "armed liberation struggle" **of the Ukrainian people**, a nation of 53 million and with a 1,000 year-old tradition of statehood and civilisation which having been fighting for its independence for centuries, is claiming the same right."

but it should read:

"its political and moral support for the "armed liberation struggle" **of this people — Ukraine**, a nation of 53 million and with a 1,000 year-old tradition of statehood and civilisation with having been fighting for its independence for centuries, is claiming the same right."

A. VUDKA

A Nation Without Roots

In an interview printed in *The Liberation Path** (book 4, 1977), Vladimir Bukovsky stated among other things that: "If this were a foreign occupation, for example German or Chinese, then a simultaneous uprising of Ukrainians, Latvians, Russians and of other nationalities would be understandable. But the occupying regime in our country is in the hands of people of the same nation — of only communists". (pp. 505-506).

Seemingly then, it appears that the Bolsheviks destroyed the Russian colonial empire and from 1917 onwards there was no more *national* oppression.

But let us not hurry to draw conclusions. Let us first see what existed before 1917. We see that there were in the ruling elite of the czarist empire not only natural-born Russians, but also true "internationalists": von Plehve and Witte, Bahrstien and Kaufmann, Rozumovskyj and Barklyj de Tolli. It appears then, that prior to 1917 the empire was not Russian. So what was it? Probably czarist — because it was ruled by czarists.

By logic the above demands that the following conclusions be drawn:

That in 1812 Moscow was seized not by the French, but by the Bonapartists; that the Turkish Empire was not Turkish at all, but Janissary; that the Roman Empire was not Roman — simply imperial.

Being guided by such logic, this is the sort of absurdity we are led to. It seems that the enslavement of one nation by another does not exist in the natural course of things, but that there only exists enslavement by certain socio-ideological groups. But Bukovsky says nothing of this. Quite the opposite — he acknowledges that a German or Chinese occupation would be foreign. Why? Because the Germans or Chinese would not be ruling from Moscow, but *over* Moscow. And this is the great difference . . . and it would not be at all relevant that the Germans were not Germans but Nazis, that the Chinese were not Chinese, but *just as the Russians — communist*. Then the policy of utilising "national cadres" would deceive no-one, regardless of how many faithful janissaries the Chinese could find amongst the enslaved Russians.

* A Ukrainian monthly bulletin published in London.

It has become part of human nature that such people can always be found who are prepared to do almost anything even for a scrap of meat, even revile their own mothers — and for the sake of privilege. Empires always use the services of such lackies, who best know the most vulnerable spots of their nations, who can best deceive and who create illusions for the enslaved — necessary for the occupants.

Even amongst the Jews, doomed to imminent physical liquidation in the Third Reich, the enemy attempted to find lackies who would aid in the “deed”, for the privilege of being eliminated last . . .

But can it be believed that because of the “Jewish Councils” the regime of the Third Reich was as much Jewish as German? Or that the Russians were the rulers of the Golden Horde because a Russian prince helped crush the Tveri uprising?

It is absurd to even contemplate such logic. I would not do this if I did not know Bukovsky personally (as well as from much written evidence) as a person of high intelligence, of courage and honesty, and as one of the best of his nation.

And even if such a person were incapable of approaching his nation in the same manner as the German or Chinese nations, then this is not an individual defect, but a manifestation of a *national disease*.

*

In the Russian concentration camps there are prisoners who openly demand national independence for Ukraine, Latvia, Armenia and so on. But among them there is not one Russian who would serve a sentence for demanding the separation of Russia from the rest of the USSR. Among themselves they only talk of whether they can allow other nations to be separate, and at the same time stubbornly refuse to recognise themselves as an imperialistic nation — to see the truth.

Without a clear diagnosis it is impossible to cure a disease. And so in the Soviet Union — the imperial bacillus constantly produces a dangerous poison in the guise of an huge number of people torn from their roots, who only feel content in chaos.

The empire produces such human material which seeks a rootless existence, and for this is needed an immense, mixed nation. It is a closed circle.

But it has its beginning. The Russian State arose as a consequence of the breaking away of her Ugro-Finn population from its roots, from which resulted the main influencing factor of the national existence of the Russian nation.

All the wild extremes of Russian life, unconditional leap from one extreme to the other, eternal wavering, are explained by this rootlessness. All forces snatch up and hurl this nation as they wish, since it has nothing to grasp onto — it has no roots.

All nations experience foreign influence, but they assimilate it calmly and organically, because even every new stone stands on its own strong foundation. But if there is no foundation, an abnormal dangerous architecture develops, which could collapse at any second upon the heads of its inhabitants.

The wild arbitrary rule of the Turko-Byzantine Ivan Hrozyj, or the "Europeanism" of Peter I were brought about in the absence of national traditions. We see the same in the spiritual life of the Russians, attempts to play out the role of a substitute for true ethnical roots. On the other hand even as Ivan Bunin showed, no other literature has managed to latch onto so many "isms" as the Russian. And both regardless of contradictions, are manifestations of one disease.

The difficulties of self-realisation of a nation torn from its roots, turn it, not inwardly on itself, but outwardly to others. It wants to hook itself onto foreign roots, or to take foreign roots for itself so as not to feel so deprived. "Let everyone be as I" — is the dictate of instinct. The already mentioned tendencies clearly show themselves in the behaviour of the Russians towards Ukrainians.

The invader not only wants to control the geographical territory but also the historical legacy of Ukraine, to control not only her expanses, but her time, in which he attempts to hide from himself.

Does this not reveal the secret of Russian rootlessness — over which Dostoyevsky pondered? Was this not the national disease of rootlessness that devastated the lives of Onyegin and Pechorin? Since what did they lack but roots?

The tragedy of Russian rootlessness is not an exception. It attracts the most attention due to the huge size of that country and due to the horrific pressure that she exerts on surrounding nations.

One can also put forward the examples of several young South American nations where revolutions, mutinies, explosions, terror and counter-terror are almost everyday phenomena. (How can one fail not to mention the Russian nihilists at this point?)

Something similar goes on in a nation where there has been or is foreign occupation, because this state of affairs without fail to a greater or lesser degree destroys national roots. This is particularly well illustrated by the case of the Jews who were driven completely from their lands and given up to the anger or charity of the many nations amongst which they dispersed themselves. The Jews have lived such a scattered existence for eighteen centuries but have survived due to their strong roots. But finally — the vast expanses and time have done their work. The people mentioned their past less and less — in a language forgotten and incomprehensible, and this past seemed akin to a fable, and foreign things seemed more and more attractive. Ruinous outside forces speeded up this process.

To *simply be a Jew* was now regarded as something derogatory, in-

decent, reactionary; a lack of roots was compensated for by all sorts of "progressivisms". "Isms" as substitutes for roots started to take such a strong hold on the Jews, that it was only thirty years after the rebuilding of their independent nation at parliamentary elections that the truly national forces mastered the senseless "ists".

But a large part of the Jewish ethnical power had been lost to the nation because she had already managed to graft herself onto foreign roots. The degree of Jewish participation in foreign life is in proportion to their "de-Jewishisation".

The return of the Jews to their roots is an exceptional example. Many enslaved nations will have to follow a similar path though.

The Russian nation is another matter. It is not for them to return to their own roots, because their Ugro-Finn foundation is lost to them.

Russia needs to take new roots. To prepare the foundation she needs to unconditionally reject the inheritance of empire. Russia within her ethnical boundaries is an indispensable precondition of a true national rebirth, because only then will the Russian nation be able to concentrate, not on occupation, but on self-realisation.

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Mazepa — Prince of the “Holy Roman Empire”

Two hundred and seventy years ago, on September 1, 1707, Hetman Ivan Mazepa was granted the title of Prince of the “Holy Roman Empire” by Emperor Joseph I.

At the mention of the name Mazepa, most English-speaking people think of Byron's mythical hero bound on a horse in the wilderness, rather than of an historical person. The historical Mazepa is quite different from the one depicted in literature.

Mazepa was Hetman¹ or Chief Executive of the autonomous Ukrainian Military Republic, known also as the *Hetmanstate* (1649-1764), first under a Polish, and from 1654 under a Russian protectorate. At that time the protectorate was a very common condition even for such countries as Holland under Spain, Prussia under Poland, Livonia and Estonia under Sweden, the Balkan countries under Turkey. Although the Ukrainian Military Republic or the Hetmanate was a protectorate, nevertheless, as the German historian Hans Schumann observed in his dissertation, the Hetmanstate had its own territory, people, specific democratic system of government, and military forces, namely the Cossacks,² so that the creator of this Ukrainian Cossack Republic, Bohdan Chmelnyc'kyj (Khmelnyc'kyj), was *de facto* an independent ruler.³ The Hetmanstate lasted until 1764, when Cath-

1) *Hetman* literally translated means “Headman”, the official title of chief-executive of the autonomous Ukrainian Military Republic, approximately equivalent to the title of “Doge” of the Republic of Venice or “Hospodar” of Moldavia.

2) The word “Cossack” is of Turkish origin, and meant a guard, a free soldier, a messenger, or a freebooter. In the fifteenth century in Eastern Europe, the Cossacks developed themselves into a sort of military auxiliary force for special services. There were Cossacks in Lithuania, Poland, Russia, and in Ukraine. The Cossacks as a social class in Ukraine is to be interpreted as a result of specific conditions of the Ukrainian people of the 15th and 16th centuries in their struggle for freedom and survival in the fight with the Tartars and Turks, who very frequently attacked the Ukrainian land. I. I. Sresnevskij, *Materialy slovaria drevne-russkago yazyka*, (*Materials for Dictionary of the Old-Russian Language*), (St. Petersburg: 1893), Vol. I, p. 1174; G. Stökl, *Die Entstehung des Kosakentums*, (*The Origin of the Cossacks*), (Munich: 1953), and others.

3) 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 Osteuropas*, (1936), pp. 499-548.

rine II forced the last Hetman, Kyrylo Rozumovsky (1750-1764), to abdicate. There was a clear distinction between Ukraine and Russia at that time as can be seen on the contemporary maps by G. de Beauplan, P. Gordon, J. B. Homann, and others.⁴

Ivan Mazepa — Koledynsky was born of a noble Ukrainian family at his ancestral seat at Mazepyntsi, near Bila Tserkva. The date of his birth is not certain and still a matter of dispute, but March 20, 1639 can be accepted.⁵

After having completed his education at the "Mohylanska Academia" (College) in Kyiv and at the Jesuit College in Warsaw, Mazepa was appointed as a page at the court of the Polish King Jan Casimir. The King sent Mazepa to France, Italy, and Holland to complete his military studies and, upon his return, sent him on several diplomatic missions from 1659 to 1663 to the Ukrainian Hetmans. In 1663 Mazepa left the royal court for his home in Ukraine.

The most popular story of Mazepa's reason for leaving the royal court is told by the Polish nobleman Jan Chryzostom Pasek in his memoirs⁶ and by Voltaire in his History of Charles XII.⁷ Both authors wrote that Mazepa had a love affair with Madame Falbowski, the young wife of an aged nobleman Falbowski, one of Mazepa's neighbours in Volhynia. Falbowski caught his wife with Mazepa and decided to punish him in an unusual way. He ordered Mazepa to undress himself, and then he put the naked Mazepa, bound hand and foot, backward on a bare-back horse and fired a pistol to startle the horse. Falbowski expected that the ride through the thick forest on a furiously galloping horse would eventually result in the death of Mazepa. Fortunately for Mazepa, his horse brought him to his own estate, but in such a state of mutilation that his servants could not recognize him at first. There they freed and cared for him. The

⁴ G. de Beauplan, *Description d'Ukraine, qui sont plusieurs provinces du Royaume de Pologne*, (Rouen: 1650). Also 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); P. Gordon, *Geography Anatomized*... (London: 1693); J. B. Homann, *Neuer Atlas über die gantze Welt*, (Nuremberg: 1714).

⁵ O. Ohloblyn, *Hetman Ivan Mazepa ta joho doba, (Hetman Ivan Mazepa and His Era), Zapysky Naukovoho Tovarystva im. Shevchenka*, (further quoted as "ZNTS"), (New York-Paris-Toronto: 1960), Vol. 170, p. 21.

⁶ J. Ch. Pasek, *Pamietniki, (Memoirs)*, (Cracow: 1929), p. 312-318.

⁷ Voltaire, *Histoire de Charles XII*, (Rouen: 1731); I used the English translation by John J. Stockdale, *The History of Charles XII, King of Sweden*, (London: 1807), pp. 258-262.

Ukrainian historian N. Kostomarov mentioned several variations of this episode in his monograph about Mazepa.⁸

Such stories were not unusual at that time. For example, the French diplomat, Foy de la Neuville (1649-1706), mentioned in his memoirs a similar story about a Scottish officer in the Polish service, who had a love affair with the wife of a Lithuanian Colonel.⁹

The reason why Pasek wrote in this fashion is this: Both, Mazepa and Pasek served at the court of Jan Casimir. In 1661 Pasek was involved in an army plot against the King. Mazepa revealed this to the King. Pasek was tried, sentenced, and his estates were confiscated. Though Pasek was later pardoned and reinstated, he could not forget what Mazepa had done to him, and apparently took advantage of the story in order to revenge himself for Mazepa's revelation to the King. Pasek called Mazepa a liar, thief, and adulterer, and mentioned his love affairs indiscriminately. Pasek's story cannot be considered truthful because, as Kostomarov in his monograph remarked "... Pasek was a staunch personal enemy of Mazepa",¹⁰ and Alexander Brückner, a prominent historian of Polish literature, pointed out that Pasek was "an incredible liar".¹¹

How Voltaire obtained the information of the story could be explained as follows: Pasek's memoirs, completed about 1688, were quite popular in Poland at that time, and they survived either orally or in several manuscripts. They were partially published in the Polish magazine *Astrea* in Warsaw, in July 1821. The first complete edition of Pasek's memoirs was published in 1836, almost a hundred years later than Voltaire's *Histoire de Charles XII*, (1731). Voltaire obtained this information from the exiled Polish King, Stanislaw Leszczyński, whose daughter, Maria, married the French King, Louis XV. Leszczyński lived in Paris, and Voltaire, who was not sure of the veracity of the story, asked the exiled Polish King to confirm the story in a written statement. Leszczyński did this more than once.¹²

There is no evidence to support Pasek's story, but there is, however, another non-legendary version of one of Mazepa's love affairs. According to Kyivan archivist I. Kamanin, who found records of the year 1663 in the Central Archives in Kyiv that a Polish nobleman,

⁸) N. Kostomarov, *Mazepa i Mazepintsy*, (*Mazepa and His Followers*), *Polnoje Sobranje Sochinenij*, (St. Petersburg: 1905), Vol. VI, pp. 387-9.

⁹) Foy de la Neuville, *Relation curieuse et nouvelle de Moscovie...*, (The Hague: 1699). I used the English translation: *An Account of Muscovy As It Was In The Year 1689*, (London: 1699), p. 4.

¹⁰) Kostomarov, *op. cit.*, p. 389.

¹¹) A. Brückner, *Literatura polska*, (*Polish Literature*), (Paris: 1947), p. 101.

¹²) T. Besterman, *Voltaire's Correspondence*, (1958), Vol. XXXVI, pp. 225-235; cf. L. Holubnychy, "Mazepa in Byron's Poem and in History", *The Ukrainian Quarterly*, Vol. XV, No. 4, (1959), p. 334.

Zagorowski, asked for a divorce from his wife, Helen, because he had intercepted many presents and letters to his wife from his neighbour Mazepa. In one of the letters Mazepa asked the wife to make a trip with her husband from their estate to the next village Revushki. On the road, Mazepa intended to ambush and kill Zagorowski. Mazepa's plan, however, did not work out. The outcome of the story is not known.¹³

Pasek's story seems to have little veracity, because if Mazepa had really been punished by Falbowski, as Pasek described, how could the Polish King have promoted Mazepa to a higher rank in 1665 after such a scandal? It is certain that Mazepa did not leave the Polish court because of this love story. In addition, after Mazepa's alliance with the Swedish King not one of his biographies mentioned the Falbowski affair. All of these biographies omitted any reference to this fact and they certainly would have mentioned any fact of Mazepa's life which would put him in a bad light.

In 1669 Mazepa joined the services of Hetman Peter Doroshenko, whose ambition was to liberate Ukraine from both Russia and Poland. Mazepa became Doroshenko's close associate and was often sent on diplomatic missions. In 1674 on a mission to the Crimea, he was captured by Ivan Sirko, the leader ("Koshovyj") of the Zaporozhian Cossacks, who had their own territory and administration. Sirko sent Mazepa to Ivan Samijlovych, Hetman on the left bank of the Dnieper River under Russian protectorate, who was Doroshenko's political opponent. Mazepa was in a dangerous situation, but Samijlovych having recognized his education and diplomatic skill, soon promoted Mazepa from private instructor of his children to the highest military rank and the position of Inspector-General ("Assaul") in 1682.

In 1684 the Emperor Leopold I organized the "Holy Anti-Turkish Alliance", to which belonged Austria, Venice, the Papal States, Poland, and Russia. This war against Turkey had international character. During this war the Cossack Forces under the command of Hetman Samijlovych participated together with the Russian Army. During the first unsuccessful campaign against Crimea (1687), the Commander-in-Chief of the Russian Army, Prince Vassilij Golitsyn, in order to save his reputation at the court, persuaded the Cossacks to depose Samijlovych and elect Mazepa as new Hetman on August 4, 1687.

In connection with his election as the new Hetman during the war

13) I. Kamanin, "Mazepa i jeho prekrasnaja Yelena", (Mazepa and his beautiful Helen), Kievskaja starina, Vol. XI, (1886', p. 522-535.

against the Porte, some English, French, and German newspapers reported about Mazepa.¹⁴

Mazepa, having had such rich experiences, realized that any attempt to rid Ukraine of Russia would fail and cause disaster to his country. He decided to be loyal to Moscow, and through his personal charm won the favour of the new Czar, Peter I. Mazepa's policy was to strengthen Ukraine internally, to improve education and socio-economic conditions, to create strong leadership, and to make Ukraine so strong that Moscow could not easily weaken her autonomous status. Taking advantage of this period of peace, Mazepa initiated valuable steps in the field of culture and education, and encouraged the building of schools and churches.¹⁵

It is true that Mazepa's prerogatives were limited by so-called "Kolomak Terms",¹⁶ he still exercised the full power of his civil and military authority and was regarded as the Chief-Executive by the contemporary foreign diplomats in Moscow.

For example, Jean de Baluse (1648-1718), the French envoy in Moscow, visited Mazepa in 1704 at his residence in Baturyn, and made the following remark about him: "... from Muscovy I went to Ukraine, the country of the Cossacks, where for a few days I was the guest of Prince Mazepa, who is the supreme authority in this country".¹⁷ Another French diplomat, Foy de la Neuville, who met Mazepa in person, remarked about him: "... this Prince is not comely in his person, but a very knowing Man, and speaks Latin in perfection. He is Cossack born".¹⁸

The English envoy in Moscow, Charles Lord Whitworth (1675-1725), remarked in his report of September 28, 1708 that Mazepa in

¹⁴ The official paper, *The London Gazette* of October 3-6, 1687, using information from Hamburg of September 1687 reported that Golitsyn "put Mareppa (Mazepa) in charge of the Cossack forces, who had an excellent reputation for bravery and honesty". The London magazine, *Modern History, or a Monthly Account of all Considerable Occurances*..., No. 3, December 1687, wrote about Mazepa as "a Soldier of Fortune". Several German newspapers such as *Leipziger Post-und Ordinar-Zeitung*, No. 39, 1687, *Berliner Sonntag-Postillon*, No. 38, 1687, *Berliner Dienstag Fama*, No. 37, *Berliner Dienstag-Mercurius*, No. 38, 1687, and *Gazette de France* of December 6, 1687, reported about Mazepa's election.

¹⁵ Kostomarov, *op. cit.*, p. 426; V. Sichnyskyj, "Ivan Mazepa — Patron of Culture and Arts in the Ukraine", *Ukrainian Quarterly*, Vol. XV, No. 3, (1959), pp. 271-280; M. Andrusiak, "Hetman Ivan Mazepa jak kulturnyj dijach" (Hetman Ivan Mazepa as Promotor of Culture), *Pratsi Ukrainskoho Naukovoho Instytutu*, (further quoted as "PUNI", (Warsaw: 1939), Vol. XLVII, pp. 69-87.

¹⁶ Kostomarov, *op. cit.*, pp. 391-2.

¹⁷ Baluse's letter was discovered by Ukrainian historian, Elias Borshchak in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* under "Fonds Baluse", Vol. CCCLI, and was published in a Ukrainian translation as an appendix to his essay "Mazepa — Liudyna i istorychnyj diach" (Mazepa as a man and as a statesman), *ZNTS*, Vol. CLII, (1933), pp. 28-30.

¹⁸ Foy de la Neuville, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

Ukraine "governed so long with little less authority than a sovereign Prince".¹⁹

Mazepa's contemporary, the brilliant English journalist, Daniel Defoe (1661-1731), wrote in his book about Czar Peter I. that "... Mazeppa²⁰ was not a King in Title, he was Equal to a King in Power, and every way Equal if not Superior to King Augustus in the divided Circumstances in which his Power stood, even at the best of it".²¹ Indeed, Mazepa was aware of his position and considered himself a little less than the Polish King".²²

In fact, the Russian government communicated with the Hetman-state through the Russian Foreign Office ("Posolskij Prikas").²³

Mazepa, with his good education, rich experiences, and personal charm, won not only the favour of the new Czar Peter I, but was also highly respected. Otto Pleyer, the Austrian envoy in Moscow (1792-1718), in his report of February 8, 1702, remarked that "... Mazeppa is very much respected and honoured by the Czar".^{23a}

Undoubtedly, Mazepa was an unusual man who is not only famous in Ukraine and in Western Europe, but also became a controversial figure in world history. The crux of the controversy centres as much on the question of Mazepa's character (selfishness, desire for power, revenge, Machiavellianism, etc.) as on the question of whether or not he, as the Hetman should have remained faithful to the Czar and see Ukraine invaded and plundered by the Swedes, as the Czar had refused to defend it,²⁴ or to accept the Swedish protection, and whether or not he invited the Swedish King to enter Ukraine and then failed to give the help he had promised. The subject of this controversy became the source of numerous research and discussion.

19) *Public Record Office, State Pers Foreign*, Vol. 91-5.

20) It is widely accepted that Mazepa's name is spelled with a double "pp", which does not correspond to historical fact, as may be seen from Mazepa's available letters bearing his own signature, written with only one "p". For example, there are three letters of Mazepa to the *voyevode* of Kalish, Zygmunt Galecki, which were captured by the Swedes in 1704, and are preserved in *Svenska Riksbiblioteket* under *Sosacia I*. The Swedish historian, Alfred Jensen, published them first in *Svenska Autografsaellkapetts Tidskrift*, 1881, and then in "Try lysty Mazepy" (Mazepa's three letters), *ZNTS*, Vol. XCII, (1909), p. 241.

21) D. Defoe, *An Impartial History of the Life and Actions of Peter Alexowitz ... Czar of Muscovy*, (London: 1729), p. 208.

22) Kostomarov, *op. cit.*, p. 422.

23) M. M. Bogoslovskij, *Petr I, (Materialy dla biografi)*, (Moscow: 1948), Vol. IV, pp. 320, 332.

23a) *Haus, Hof, u. Staatsarchiv*, (thereafter "HHS"), *Russica I* — 20.

24) Kostomarov, *op. cit.*, p. 567; The Czar expressed his refusal in these words: "... I can give you neither ten thousand nor even ten men. Defend yourself as you can".

The personality of Mazepa himself became the source of inspiration for several painters, composers, writers, and poets. Byron, for instance, became interested in Mazepa's romantic love affair, which he allegedly told to Charles XII during their flight after the battle of Poltava, July 7, 1709, (Mazepa's love affair had been described earlier by Voltaire in his well-known *Histoire de Charles XII*, 1731). Pushkin in his poem *Poltava* (1828) described not only the battle itself, but also devoted his attention to Mazepa, emphasizing the negative aspects of his character.

As to the controversial question whether Mazepa had invited Charles XII to enter Ukraine and failed to give the help expected by the Swedish King, Mazepa is blamed by some historians even today. In fact, the Swedish King had no intention of entering Ukraine, nor had Mazepa invited him to do so.

Mazepa according to a secret alliance with the Swedish King completed either in the city of Smorgony between February 11 and March 18, 1708, or in the city of Radaszkowice between March 27 and June 17, 1708,^{24a} was supposed to deliver the fortresses in Severia, supply the Swedish Army with food, and join Charles XII on his "march directly to Moscow".²⁵ Mazepa did not expect the Swedes to enter Ukraine, and when he learned that the Swedish King entered it, he angrily remarked to his chancellor, Philip Orlyk: "... it is the devil, who sends him here. He is going to ruin all my plans and bring in his wake the Russian troops. Now our Ukraine will be devastated and lost".²⁶

Mazepa's alliance with the Swedish King could have been successful if Charles XII marched into Russia on the Smolensk-Moscow route, along the border between Ukraine and Russia, as he had originally planned. If Charles XII had proceeded on this route, Mazepa, having been cut off from the Russians by the Swedes, could have continued to act more or less as an observer and could have made the final decision accordingly in the moment of victory. Charles XII was not able to march directly toward Moscow, for the Czar destroyed everything in his retreat,²⁷ and therefore, in September of 1708, the Swedish King suddenly turned south into Ukraine.

Mazepa's participation during the Great Northern War on the side

^{24a)} B. Krupnycky, "The Swedish-Ukrainian Treaties and Alliance, 1708-1709, *The Ukrainian Quarterly*, Vol. XII, No. 1, (1956), pp. 47-57.

²⁵⁾ G. Adlerfelt, *Histoire Militaire de Charles XII*, (Amsterdam: 1740), I used English translation, (London: 1741), Vol. III, pp. 193-4.

²⁶⁾ Kostomarov, *op. cit.*, p. 615.

²⁷⁾ Adlerfelt, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 43-4.

of August II aroused public opinion not only in Germany,²⁸ but also in England and even across the Atlantic Ocean in America.²⁹ Finally, Mazepa's alliance with the Swedish King Charles XII, and the defeat at Poltava again provided rich material for the press. Surprisingly enough there is a great deal of information about Mazepa and Ukraine in the contemporary English sources.³⁰

Mazepa was granted the title of Prince of the Holy Roman Empire in 1707. There is evidence that the Czar authorized his envoy to the Vienna Court, a German diplomat in the Russian service, Baron Heinrich von Huyszen, to request the Emperor Josef I to grant Mazepa the title. Peter von Haven (1715-1757), a Dutch scholar to whom Huyszen left his memoirs and notes (before his sudden death in 1742 on the boat returning from St. Petersburg to Germany), reported in his work about Russia that Huyszen obtained from Josef I the title of Prince for A. Menshikov, the title of Earl for G. I. Golovkin, Peter's Chancellor, and the title of Prince for Mazepa. The Emperor indeed granted Mazepa the title of "Prince of the Holy Roman Empire". The grant, effective September 1, 1707, is recorded on the last page of Mazepa's previously unpublished letter, undated but presumably written in 1707. The text of Mazepa's letter, however, was published for the first time in the appendix to my article "Mazepas Fuerstentitel im Lichte seines Briefes an Kaiser Josef I".³¹ Mazepa's letter is located in the *Reichsadelsakten* of the Austrian State Archives in Vienna. It should be added that Mazepa's title of Prince is also recorded in an official register under "M", Vol. XII, in the *Reichsadelsaktenamt* in Vienna.

According to Huyszen, there was not enough money to pay for

²⁸) Many German newspapers reported about Mazepa's military operations; just to mention only a few: the Hamburg weekly, *Historische Remarques*, No. 31, of July 20, 1704, and the Leipzig magazine, *The Europaeische Fama . . .*, of 1704, 1708, 1712, Vol. XXV, published Mazepa's biography and the latter also published his picture on the first page in the second edition. For details see my book: *Mazepa im Lichte der zeitgenoessischen deutschen Quellen*, "ZNTS", (Munich: 1963), Vol. CLXXIV.

²⁹) In America, a weekly, *The Boston News-Letter*, No. 41, of January 22-29, 1705, copying the London semi-weekly, *The Post-Man*, of August 22, 1704, verbatim reported that "... the Cossacks Commanded by the famous Mazepa, consisting of 19,000 (40,000) choice men, with a Train of Artillery of 36 Pieces of Cannon, have join'd King Augustus near Jaworow . . ." (For details see my article "Reports on Mazepa in Colonial America", *The New Review*, Vol. VI. No. 1, (1966), pp. 14-21.

³⁰) For details see my book: *Prince Mazepa: Hetman of Ukraine, in Contemporary English Publications, 1687-1709*, publ. by the Ukrainian Research and Information Institute, (Chicago. 1967).

³¹) *Archiv fuer Kulturgeschichte*, Vol. XLIV, No. 3 (1962), pp. 350-356.

Mazepa's diploma,³² although Mazepa gave Menshikov 3,000 ducats for this purpose.³³ There is clear evidence that according to Huyssen's letter of June 8, 1707, to the Austrian Chancellor and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Count Schoenborn, Menshikov was immediately going to pay the necessary fees, as soon as the title of the Imperial Prince was granted to Mazepa.³⁴

Huyssen's explanation noted by van Haven that Mazepa's diploma was not delivered to him because of lack of money cannot be true.

Another possible explanation, given by S. Tomashivsky, and after him by B. Krupnycky and O. Ohloblyn,³⁵ is likewise improbable. These historians believe that the Czar actually requested the Vienna Court not to send the diploma. The fact that more than a year elapsed (September 1, 1707, to October 26, 1708) in which the diploma could have been delivered to Mazepa, indicates his lack of interest in it. It is true that later after Mazepa went over to the Swedes (October 26, 1708), the Czar, through his envoy in Vienna, Baron J. Chr. von Urbich, did request that the Emperor withhold the diploma.³⁶ However, after October, 1708, it is doubtful that Mazepa himself cared about an empty title, which was in effect anyway.

Even before October 1708, Mazepa did not care about this title because, as Tomashivsky pointed out, the Hetman suspected that this title was merely a part of Menshikov's intrigue, which was "promoveatur ut amoveatur".³⁷

Mazepa's suspicion concerning this title and the Menshikov intrigue was correct. There were rumours earlier that the Czar intended to entrust the office of Hetman to his favourite, A. Menshikov. These rumours were confirmed by a letter to Mazepa from his friend, the Countess Anna Dolska. In her letter, Dolska warned Mazepa that

³² P. van Haven, *Nye og forbedrede Efterraetninger om det russiske Rige* (New Improved Accounts About the Russian Empire), (Copenhagen: 1747), 2 Vols.; I used the German translation: *Unterschiedene Abschnitte aus neuen verbesserten Nachrichten von dem Russischen Reich*, Published by Anton Fr. Buesching in his *Magazin fuer die neue Historie und Geographie*, (Halle: 1776), Vol. X. p. 319.

³³ M. Vozniak, "Benderska komisija so smerti Mazepy" (The Commission of Bender after the death of Mazepa), *PUNI*, Vol. XLVI, pp. 127, 131.

³⁴ "... Sa de Alte de Menzikow m's escrit il y a quelque temps, vouloir m'envoyer l'argent pour cet affet, aussitost qu'il verroit par la main de Votre Excellence, que Sa. Maj. Imp. ne refuseroit point cette grace au dit Prince Mazepa..." *HHS, Russica I* — 20. The full text of Huyssen's letter was published in my book *Mazepa im Lichte*..., p. 101.

³⁵ S. Tomashivsky, "Mazepa i avstrijska polityka", "ZNTS", Vol. XCII, p. 245; B. Krupnycky, *Hetman Mazepa und seine Zeit 1687-1709* (*Hetman Mazepa and His Era 1687-1709*). (Leipzig, 1942), p. 159; O. Ohloblyn, *op. cit.*, p. 301.

³⁶ *HHS, Russica I* — 20, cf., S. Tomashiivsky, *op. cit.*, p. 245.

³⁷ S. Tomashivsky, *op. cit.*, p. 245.

Menshikov was digging a grave for him, and planned to become Hetman himself after he got rid of Mazeпа.³⁸

After his secretary, Philip Oryk, finished reading this letter, Mazeпа said: "... I know well what they want to do with me and all of you. They want to satisfy me with the title of a Count of the Holy Roman Empire. They want the officer corps annihilated, our cities turned over to their administration, and their own governors appointed. If our people should oppose them, they would send them beyond the Volga, and Ukraine will be settled by their people", (Russians).³⁹

Curiously, Mazeпа's diploma is no longer in the *Reichsadelsakten* of the Austrian State Archives, although the German historian, M. Gritzner, reported seeing it there before 1887.⁴⁰ The fate of the diploma since then is unknown.

After the battle of Poltava (July 7, 1709), both Charles XII and Mazeпа fled to Bender under Turkish protection. After arriving at Bender, the aging Hetman (70 years old) became very ill and on September 2, 1709 died in Varytsia, a suburb of Bender.⁴¹ On March 18, 1710 his body was transferred and buried at St. George's Cathedral in Galatz.⁴²

³⁸ N. Kostomarov, *op. cit.*, p. 550; see also O. Pricak, "Ivan Mazeпа i knyаhynia Anna Dolska" (Ivan Mazeпа and the Countess Anna Dolska), *PUNI*, Vol. XLVII, pp. 102-117.

³⁹ N. Kostomarov, *op. cit.*, p. 550.

⁴⁰ F. Stebmacher, *Grosses und allgemeines Wappenbuch, bearbeitet von M. Gritzner (Great and Universal Coat of Arms, prepared by M. Gritzner)*, (Nuremberg, 1887), Vol. I, p. 161; cf., J. Hókarzewski-Karaszewicz, "Pochodzenia i herb Hetmana Mazeпы" (Descent and Coat of Arms of Hetman Mazeпа), *PUNI*, Vol. XLVI, pp. 62-63.

⁴¹ Kostomarov, *op. cit.*, p. 711.

⁴² Vozniak, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

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**BYELORUSSIAN AND UKRAINIAN PEASANTS IN POLAND
1919-1939 A CASE STUDY IN PEASANTRY UNDER
FOREIGN RULE***

The topic to be discussed here presupposes certain factors related to its scope, underlying purpose, and methodology used. These three factors seem to be of essential importance in the case of the Byelorussian peasantry, since during this period there is a scarcity of sources and literature, and since there is some problem in deciding whether the issues, as well as the peasantry themselves, always were of central or sometimes peripheral importance. In contrast, however, the case of Ukrainian peasants presents no such difficulty; Ukrainian as well as other authors and experts have probed the subject before.

Despite the clearly defined period, one should be aware of the fact that events prior to 1918 helped shape significantly the behaviour and development which manifested themselves between 1919 and 1939. For centuries, Byelorussian and Ukrainian peasants lived under foreign rulers, including Polish, Russian and Austrian. The Ukrainians, however, have experienced brief periods of statehood traceable to the medieval Rus' State (shared by both nationalities), the Cossack Ukraine of the seventeenth and first half of the eighteenth centuries (which, at least, indirectly affected Ukrainian peasants residing in Volhynia and Galicia), and again for a short time during the turbulent years of 1918-1919.

Furthermore, Galician peasants experienced the more benevolent Hapsburg domination in contrast to the Ukrainian peasants of Volhynia and all Byelorussian peasants who for 126 years (after the second partition of Poland) had been exposed to Russian autocracy, which was equally as oppressive politically as economically. As a result of this prolonged statelessness, these two peoples lost their nobility, and, later on, the emerging middle class, which became either polonized or russified. This factor should not be overlooked since the peasants class was left only with the clergy not always willing or capable to defend its interest.

With all the disadvantages on their side, Byelorussian and Ukrainian peasants entered the twentieth century to be soon divided

*) Paper delivered at the University of Nebraska Conference on East European Peasantry, November 18-20, 1976.

between two different countries — USSR and Poland — with two different socio-economic and political systems. Neither of these two truly represented their wishes and even less promoted their vitally important interests at that historical stage, 1919-1939.

As for the Poles, their desire to polonize the ethnographic territories of Byelorussians and Ukrainians did not commence in 1919, but with the annexation of the Kingdom of Galicia by King Casimir the Great (1333-1370), and after the Union of Lublin (1596) in other provinces. Even the partitions of Poland would not prevent polonization particularly in Galicia where the Polish dominated *Sejm* influenced Vienna. The outbreak of World War I found these three nationalities in a state of mutual suspicion, growing political hostility in addition to class animosity — poverty stricken Byelorussian and Ukrainian peasantry in overpopulated villages versus Polish landed nobility and polonized cities. Such nationalistic confrontations resulted in the Ukrainian-Polish war of 1918-19, and most notably, in an economic struggle for survival between the land hungry peasantry and the huge estates (*folwarki*) which also exploited the poor and landless villagers.

All these factors, rooted in the past, were inherited by Poland, a state which comprised by 1921 some thirty-eight per cent non-Poles, including five million Ukrainians (4,895,992), over two million Byelorussians (2,137,500) and only 18,811,500 Poles.¹

Having regained their national independence, the Poles immediately set in motion a policy aimed at the recovery of all losses suffered during the period of partitions. Overzealous in their behaviour and action, they preferred to promote Polish interests at any price and at the expense of other peoples, causing adverse reaction on the part of those affected. Polishness was promulgated as desirable, effectively stigmatizing the non-Poles in all spheres of social, economic, political and educational life.

From among a variety of conflicting areas, the economy and in particularly the agrarian question became of paramount importance because, except for the area that fell under German partition, this new state was in its socio-economic structure basically rural and agriculturally backward. Rural poverty as well as illiteracy were equally shared by the Polish, Byelorussian and Ukrainian peasantry. Out of a total of 3,196,400 ha. (1931) of agricultural land, rural holdings (farm units) of two to five ha. accounted for 1,136,200 ha. (38.7 per cent). Thus one-third of all peasants should be considered extremely poor, whereas farm units of five to twenty ha., sufficient for a fairly profitable existence, comprised only 118,200 ha. of the agricultural land.² (1 ha. = 2.47 acre). One of the main objectives of this investigation is to take a closer look at the distribution of huge land estates which were parcelled by agrarian reforms and to see if poverty and land hunger were shared equally by all peasants regardless of their nationality.

Other objectives, indirectly related to the economic question, such as politics, education and cultural aspects affecting primarily peasantry will not be discussed, except on a few relevant occasions. For a better understanding, comparative and analytical methods are applied, although this case study will of necessity remain selective. A sufficient number of deductive examples, statistical data and events have been gathered to make a meaningful presentation of inductive results and general conclusions.

Agrarian question

There is no need, at this point, to introduce the Marxian doctrine of economic determinism, known also as historical dialectic, in order to propose the validity of economics as one of the forces contributing to social action; a fact known and acknowledged outside of Marxist monism. Therefore, the economic issue, and, in particular, its agrarian branch, is discussed here in multi-causal connotations on account of its interrelationship with factors shaping the thinking and action of any social group, including peasantry. One should also be aware of the fact that the peasantry's primary allegiance rests with the land which is the mainstay of its existence.

According to the *Rocznik statystyki* of 1931, (see attached table) peasants made up almost eighty per cent of the total Ukrainian population and eighty-two per cent of the Byelorussian, of which ninety per cent of Ukrainian peasants in (East) Galicia and seventy-five per cent in Volhynia were small farmers (up to 8 ha.).

The sociological structure of Byelorussians was similar, since the quantity of soil in their ethnic territory was less productive than in the area south of the Pripet River. In view of the small number of intelligentsia, including clergy (two to five per cent for Byelorussians and Ukrainians respectively) during the early 1920s, the Polish government was faced with the crucial question of considering these peasants as a social class or as non-Polish nationalities with all the ensuing consequences. The Polish Republic chose the second alternative and adhered to that decision from its inception to the very end in September 1939.

Discriminated against in the economic sphere, the ethnic peasants soon realized where the dividing line had to be drawn and became receptive to nationalistic and ideological (socialist) ventures promoted by a small yet aggressive intelligentsia and the leaders from their own rank and file. This period also illustrates how Poland helped create her own maleficent minorities within her borders while at the same time being dangerously encircled from neighbours in the West and East.

The policy of antagonizing Byelorussian and Ukrainian peasants had been initiated already in July 1919 when the *Sejm* passed two agrarian reform laws immediately following the occupation of the

West Ukrainian and West Byelorussian territories. These laws ignored the fact that villages in Galicia and other eastern provinces were already overpopulated, and the land estates, owned mainly by the Polish nobility, became the focal points of conflict involving socio-economic and national-political dimensions. These first legislative acts pertaining to the agrarian reforms gave the state power not only over public land but also extended its right to purchase privately owned land and to determine the maximum size of the individual's holding. In the case of Eastern Poland, where large land estates were owned by the Polish landlords, the maximum size was increased to 400 ha., whereas in other parts of Poland the limit was set at 180 ha., affecting mainly estates owned by German nationals. The acquired land became state property to be parcelled out and sold only to Polish citizens with the following priority: (1) invalids of the Polish army; (2) rural workers formerly employed by estates; (3) other rural workers and small farmers.

In spite of the fact that the international recognition of Polish sovereignty over her Eastern provinces came only on March 15, 1923 by the Council of Ambassadors and the provisions of the Treaty Concerning the Recognition of the Independence of Poland and the Protection of Minorities of June 28, 1919, Warsaw began practicing national discrimination through these legislative acts and their implementation as soon as Polish troops occupied eastern territories.

Since neither Ukrainians nor Byelorussians were at that time drafted into the Polish army and since almost 300,000 Byelorussians were still in Russia as a result of their forced evacuation by the Russian army during World War I, they were, for all practical purposes, almost completely excluded from the groups eligible to purchase land.

This first agrarian reform provided that the newly established farms (holdings) should be limited to forty-five ha., *i.e.*, five times larger than the average farm of the native peasantry of both nationalities. Since the new land owners were mainly local Poles or those brought from other parts of Poland as "military colonists", the aim of the reform became clear to the local population — to increase the Polish element in eastern voivodships (*województwa*), and either to force the Byelorussian and Ukrainian poor and landless peasants to seek employment in Western Poland, to spur mass emigration to Canada, the United States, South America, or to find employment in West European industrialized countries.

Such a policy of strengthening the Polish element in number and economic power had been modelled on Germany's policy in the Poznań and Pomeranian provinces prior to 1914.³ In both cases, it produced almost identical results, namely the will to resist the policy of colonisation with all available means, as we shall see in the second part of this presentation.

Additional steps of securing the land for Polish settlers were taken

by creating *Ziemiński Sąd Narodowy* (National Land Court) and *Główny Ziemiński Urząd* (Supreme Land Administration), whose main objectives were to prevent local peasants from buying land from Polish peasants, to recruit colonists and assist their re-settlement into Western Byelorussia and Western Ukraine. The Polish government provided financial assistance of seventy million Marks (Polish) and special low railroad fares. The local administrations (county *starosta*) were also empowered to force Ukrainian and Byelorussian peasants into employment on the farms of Polish colonists.⁴

The following data is indicative of the effect of the first agrarian reform, even though limited only to Eastern Galicia and the first six months of 1920. In thirty counties (*powiatach*) 145 land estates were parcelled. On 69,000 ha. of land the government settled 11,937 Polish families or 59,685 Poles.⁵ Thus a trend had been established and future development was fairly predictable: continued polonization of non-Polish territories incurring rising enmity and defensive action by the native population.

More comprehensive though less disastrous in its consequences was the second major agrarian reform of December 28, 1925, which remained in force until 1939.⁶ For general insight into the effect and implementation of the land reform the statistical tables, taken from the *Concise Statistical Year Book*, 1938 (pp. 65-66), are here reproduced. (see pages 27 and 28)

The fact that the Polish government did not disclose the national identities affecting agrarian statistical data prevents the researcher from operating with exact number in regards to land distribution and related issues. However, this shortcoming can be partly dealt with by applying empirical analysis against the ethnographic composition of certain voivodships. For instance, the statistically supplied number of newly formed farms and holdings in the Wolyn (Volhynia) and Tarnopol voivodships is well above the average — 84,000 and 85,600 respectively. On the other hand, we know that native Poles in these two voivodships made up ten and thirty-three per cent respectively.⁷ Also, soil quality there was superior to other areas. Furthermore, it was Warsaw's policy to create a so-called "Polish belt", 30 km. wide, along the Polish-Soviet border for security reasons. On the other hand, the figure of 32,600 new farms in Polesie, where Poles made up less than ten per cent of the population was the result of the region's swamps and forests, unusable for agriculture, and amounting to seventy per cent of the available land. Poland was too poor a country to afford expensive melioration. But even this relatively low number in a poverty-stricken voivodship is unproportionally high and the settlement of additional Polish colonists at the expense of the local population could produce only one result — hostility toward Poland as occupant of non-Polish territories. The social explosion among Byelorussian peasants in 1928 was ignited in Warsaw. So the radicalization of the *Hramada* organization can be traced to the

TABLE 1. LAND REFORM

A. Parcellation, regulation and melioration of land

Years Voivodships	Parcellation		Regulation					Land melioration: ^b regulation of rivers and canals; drainage by ditches	
	newly-formed farms and holdings, in thous.	area-parcelled out in thous. ha	consolidation ^a		liquidation of easements			in thous. km	on area, in thous. ha
			patch-work holdings consolidated in thous.	area consolidated, in thous. ha	holdings, in thous.	area exchanged for easements, in thous. ha	compensation paid for easements, in thous. zlotys		
Poland	1919	2,1	11,8	2,5 ^c	19,2 ^c	0,1	0,3	—	—
	1920	11,5	54,3	1,5	11,1	0,2	0,3	—	—
	1921	29,7	180,4	2,3	18,5	1,4	4,8	—	—
	1922	41,2	254,2	3,5	32,2	1,6	5,2	—	—
	1923	43,5	201,7	5,2	39,2	2,1	5,5	—	—
	1924	30,0	118,3	7,6	61,6	3,8	9,9	1,4	—
	1925	28,6	128,3	8,6	75,5	7,3	16,8	2,6	—
	1926	59,4	209,8	16,7	131,7	17,1	50,8	—	—
	1927	67,0	245,1	29,6	237,0	27,0	85,8	3,0	0,0
	1928	72,8	227,6	42,3	317,9	39,4	100,6	837,3	0,5
	1929	55,9	164,5	56,5	416,5	34,0	94,4	762,3	1,2
	1930	49,4	130,8	72,1	517,7	33,6	76,0	770,7	1,2
	1931	36,4	105,3	76,8	565,5	32,7	45,8	487,8	1,3
	1932	30,8	74,1	58,6	389,9	25,4	38,4	215,3	2,7
	1933	28,7	83,5	61,8	392,3	12,1	16,9	352,0	1,9
	1934	18,7	56,5	59,9	352,7	9,1	10,6	95,9	2,1
	1935	24,5	79,8	83,3	473,4	10,0	10,5	110,4	2,2
	1936	28,5	96,5	86,2	471,6	9,4	11,6	43,3	2,3
	1937	37,7	113,1	93,7	470,2	6,6	4,7	114,2	—
	1919—1937	696,4	2535,6	763,7	4993,7	272,9	588,9	3 796,2	15,4
Central									
Warszawa . . .		219,6	827,9	385,3	2430,1	116,4	322,1	3 654,9	7,3
Łódź . . .		41,5	193,7	49,7	369,9	16,4	44,2	1 317,0	1,3
Kielce . . .		29,0	94,9	29,6	157,7	19,5	55,3	250,6	1,2
Łublin . . .		55,2	149,7	61,8	283,8	24,1	53,0	541,2	1,0
Białystok . . .		58,9	229,1	99,7	538,9	31,6	130,8	743,1	2,5
Eastern									
Wilno . . .		200,0	977,8	364,1	2429,8	156,5	266,8	141,3	7,5
Nowogródek . . .		41,0	251,5	67,2	564,5	24,4	29,4	—	1,8
Polesie . . .		42,0	165,7	56,0	618,1	43,6	47,4	98,8	2,0
Wołyń . . .		32,6	213,3	64,8	566,6	44,4	112,2	28,3	1,3
Western									
Poznań . . .		84,4	327,3	136,1	740,6	44,1	77,8	14,2	2,4
Pomorze . . .		66,3	347,3	0,5	3,2	—	—	—	0,4
Śląsk . . .		36,8	192,6	0,5	3,2	—	—	—	0,1
Southern									
Kraków . . .		15,6	129,7	—	—	—	—	—	0,3
Łwów . . .		13,9	24,8	—	—	—	—	—	0,0
Stanisławów . . .		210,5	382,6	18,8	70,6	—	—	—	0,2
Tarnopol . . .		30,8	42,7	11,0	40,3	—	—	—	0,1
		59,6	112,9	5,4	20,3	—	—	—	0,1
		34,5	55,6	1,6	4,7	—	—	—	0,0
		85,6	171,4	0,8	5,3	—	—	—	0,0

^a The data for the consolidation of farm-holdings are for the period 1918—1937.

^b Land improvement works effected in connexion with the re-construction of land tenure. Data given together only up to 1936 inclusive. ^c In 1918 and 1919.

TABLE 2 LAND REFORM (conclusion)

Description				1919—1937				
	1935	1936	1937	Poland	Voivodships			
					cen- tral	east- ern	west- ern	south- ern
Institutions and persons effecting parcellation								
Area parcelled out, in thous. <i>ha</i>								
Total	79,8	96,5	113,1	2 535,6	827,9	977,8	347,3	382,6
By voivodship offices	21,9	20,3	25,2	756,8	232,8	297,0	224,1	2,9
.. the State Land Bank	15,1	13,6	8,4	95,6	29,7	30,2	34,2	1,5
.. private institutions and persons	42,8	62,6	79,5	1 683,2	565,4	650,6	89,0	378,2
Holdings newly created by parcellation								
Number, in thousands								
Total	24,5	28,5	37,7	696,4	219,6	200,0	66,3	210,5
Independent farms	4,8	5,9	7,7	145,6	56,2	47,0	16,4	26,0
Additional lots	16,1	18,1	26,0	476,4	124,9	146,5	30,0	175,0
Model farms and special holdings	0,2	0,2	0,2	3,6	1,6	0,5	0,7	0,8
Workingmen's, artisans', office-workers', summer and building smallholdings	3,4	4,3	3,8	70,8	36,9	6,0	19,2	8,7
Area, in thous. <i>ha</i>								
Total	79,8	96,5	113,1	2 535,6	827,9	977,8	347,3	382,6
Independent farms	41,8	50,5	60,3	1 366,9	467,8	575,7	198,8	124,6
Additional lots	28,4	33,8	42,3	958,5	285,6	367,0	81,6	224,3
Model farms and special holdings	4,0	5,3	4,4	86,3	25,6	14,4	29,9	16,4
Workingmen's, artisans', office-workers', summer and building smallholdings	3,1	3,8	3,5	55,0	26,9	4,6	17,9	5,6
Area allocated for the needs of State and self-government institutions, and for general purposes	2,5	3,1	2,6	68,9	22,0	16,1	19,1	11,7
Purchasers of land, in thous.^a								
Total	24,5	.	.	629,9	196,5	185,4	54,9	193,1
Agriculturists:								
owners of full-sized farms	4,8	.	.	37,7	15,3	9,7	3,7	9,0
owners of dwarf-holdings	14,4	.	.	407,1	100,2	129,8	22,7	154,4
landless farm-labourers	2,0	.	.	124,1	48,4	39,6	12,3	23,6
Non-agriculturists								
	3,3	.	.	61,0	32,6	6,3	16,2	5,9

^a 1919—1935.

Source: Data of the Ministry of Agriculture and Land Reform.

shortsightedness of the Warsaw government whose own people only a few years before had suffered all the consequences of statelessness. Poland had learned from its former oppressors, first of all, how to act as a "master nation", but ignored the lesson of how "subject nationalities" had reacted historically in similar situations.

It can be argued that the agrarian reforms of 1919, 1920, and 1925 made it almost impossible for Byelorussian and Ukrainian peasants to acquire parcelled land. In the Ukrainian ethnographic territories alone 560,000 ha. went to Polish peasants and "military colonists" within a three-year-period (1925-28),⁸ while at the same time, the native rural population contained twenty-seven per cent landless, seventy per cent marginal and only three per cent market oriented households (of 15 ha. and more).⁹

According to data furnished by Illia Vytanovych, up to 1938, the Polish government succeeded in parcelling out 800,000 ha. land in Ukrainian territories. During almost twenty years of Polish rule 300,000 Poles were resettled in West Ukrainian rural areas and 100,000 in towns.¹⁰

In the absence of data for Byelorussian territories, it is impossible to estimate the influx of the Polish element into that area. Nevertheless, analysis of Polish statistics from various vantages suggests that some 250,000 Poles settled in West Byelorussia between 1920 and 1929. This number can be obtained from examining Polish statistical data on parcellization in the Nowogródek, Wilno, Białystok, and Polesie voivodships.¹¹ In conclusion, one might suggest that the policy of agrarian reform resulted in enormous gains for the Polish nationals in Byelorussian and Ukrainian lands. However, this was not the case when all other aspects are analysed and considered. Wisdom and scepticism as to the final result had already been expressed in 1929 by Z. Ludkiewicz, who wrote in *The Slavonic Review*: "To sum up, the actual problems of land reform in Poland have little in common with some current ideas on the subject. When we approach the realities, the extreme complexity of issues stands revealed. A series of measures must be carried through in Poland, but more than that is needed for the success of the reform. This will never be achieved unless new territories are found to which a part of the agricultural population may be transferred".¹²

The irony of Lukiewicz's conclusion reveals itself in the fact that the Polish government, while bringing Poles into overpopulated villages of eastern voivodships, encouraged autochtons to leave Poland for oversea countries in addition to the almost forceful expulsion of Germans (200,000 during the 1920s) and Jewish emigration to Palestine. Despite various legal obstacles and quotas in addition to the lack of enthusiasm for leaving their native lands, 368,000 persons left Poland from eight eastern voivodships during the years 1927-1937.¹³

Even if one assumes that only 300,000 out of the total were

Byelorussians and Ukrainians (68⁰/₀), this loss added a further blow to the pre-war *status quo* resulting in accelerated polonization of non-Polish provinces.

*

Reaction: Self-defence and Violence

The Polish agrarian, economic, cultural and political policy toward two other Slav nationalities¹⁴ was bound to produce a reaction affecting all aspects and forms of confrontation, including violence, which can also be seen as a small scale civil war which lasted throughout the period of the second Polish *Rzeczpospolita* and was waged on various levels with both legal and illegal means. Its intensity varied and was not always identical in the Byelorussian and Ukrainian case. For one, while Byelorussian peasants only slowly developed their national identity, the Ukrainian peasantry-at-large was already affected by nationalistic ideas through such militant organisations as the Ukrainian Military Organisation (UVO) and then the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). The same held true for educational as well as economic activities and measures serving their political and economic cause. Yet, the fact remains that in 1918-19 the majority of peasants of both nationalities accepted Polish rule without resistance. However, there is also the fact that by 1939 these same peasants greeted the collapse of the Polish state with relief, if not with satisfaction, without knowing what the future held for them. Such a turnaround in their attitude can be explained only as the failure of Poland's domestic policy. Instead of striving for compromise and upholding the promise of equal treatment and constitutional guaranties, Warsaw responded to the outbursts of dissatisfaction with terror, bloody pacification, concentration camps, and destruction of educational and economic institutions created and maintained by the minorities.

Without straying too far from the theme, the mentioning of the activities of *Hramada* (Byelorussian Workers and Peasants Community) and its fate should sufficiently illustrate the political as well as socio-economic status of the Byelorussian peasantry. *Hramada* came into existence in the early 1920s out of desperation. It was largely an organisation with a populist programme to further economic and political aspirations. While it is true that a small number of Communists infiltrated this institution, the great majority of its members rejected communism and remained loyal to the populist-national programme, which was also not in accord with the Polish occupational policy. In 1928, members of the *Hramada* were accused of communist conspiracy. Fifty-six of those accused, chiefly from the intelligentsia and members of the *Sejm*, were tried. Court hearings lasted three months. In spite of this long and intensive investigation, the authorities failed to substantiate the accusations. Nevertheless,

thirty-nine persons were sentenced to a total of 161 years imprisonment. Some of the accused freely admitted their desire for an independent Byelorussia denying any association with the USSR or Byelorussian SSR. At the same time Polish police and army units launched punitive actions into the countryside. "The Byelorussian people are suffering unbelievable terror from the Poles . . . Corporal punishment is administered to Byelorussian peasants, individually and en masse . . . Sometimes all the inhabitants of a village are flogged. The police and landlords beat up Byelorussian peasants wherever they happen to lay hands upon them, in the field, in the woods, in their homes, at the police station, even in church . . . At the beginning of this year representative Tarashkevych visited Polesie Province; he could not find a single village where there was one man who had escaped merciless Polish beating . . ." ¹⁵

Polish apologists denied the harsh treatment of the whole of the population. W. Studnicki wrote: "There was never a Polish-Byelorussian war, except for some Byelorussian representatives in the *Sejm* who had become strangers to the masses of people because of their proposals and remained in the forefront of political life by favouring parcellization of estates without compensation to the owners. They were elected to the *Sejm* by a bloc of national minorities financed by Jews". ¹⁶

Studnicki, instead of blaming the Jews and a few representatives and denying the facts, should have informed his readers that Poles owned thirty-seven per cent of the farmland in Western Byelorussia though representing only 5.9 per cent (260,000) of the rural population in this area as of 1931. ¹⁷

Ukrainians, the largest minority, provided another example for the blunder and failure of the policy of "blood and iron". Although the Ukrainian-Polish confrontation within Versailles Poland has had ample treatment in literature on both sides, it still represents an open wound to be redressed by both — antagonists and apologists with opposing aims. Of course, there is no denying of the historical fact that the Ukrainian peasantry, though not enthusiastic about Polish domination, nonetheless behaved passively at first and seemed even willing to accept Polish rule for the sake of stability, peace and escape from Bolshevism. However, Warsaw's agrarian mismanagement and discriminatory implication of policies soon made peasants suspicious and more receptive to nationalistic as well as socialist ideologies. According to Polish author M. Felinski, "it began with sporadic acts of sabotage committed against the property of well-known Poles, such as generals, former voivodes, former ministers and so on. In a short time its (UVO) action was extended against all Polish proprietors without exception". ¹⁸ Felinski produced statistical data on sabotage in "Eastern Malo-polska" for a period of five months in 1930, citing 191 cases, and the number of weapons confiscated at

more than 2,000.¹⁹ Without indicating such intent, Felinski provides a justification for Polish pacification which began in September 1930 affecting Lviv, Stanislaviv, and Ternopil voivodships.²⁰

This "pacification" resulted not only in the beating of several thousand peasants, priests, and students, but also in the destruction of co-operatives, schools, "*Prosvitas*" (Houses of Enlightenment), and even crops and private property. Mass terror was created when police and army units moved into villages and small towns and began actions resembling civil war. The atrocities, regardless of their number and severity, failed to achieve expected results. On the contrary, they made Ukrainian peasants more nationalistic than before. From now on villagers would offer hiding places for O.U.N. members and supply nationalists with new members, especially youthful ones who, having witnessed the passivity of their parents, decided to join the nationalistic revolutionary movement. The O.U.N., not the Ukrainian democratic parties and not the pro-Soviet *Sel-Rob Soiuz* (Ukrainian Peasant-Worker Socialist Union) became the recognized leader willing and capable of confronting Polish terror. The weary peasants realized that not "prayer and kneebending" but self defence and organisation were needed to deal with an enemy who devoted all his resources to their destruction. The pendulum swung back striking those who had first pushed it in motion.

Forms of Retaliation

Pacification brought on three types of unforeseen retaliation: (1) the strengthening of nationalistic conscience among peasants; (2) passive resistance and consumer boycott of products under state monopoly, such as liquor and tobacco; (3) renewed interest and extension of economic organisations such as co-operatives, agricultural banks, direct export of goods by the producer and determination to keep the land in Ukrainian hands at any price, including obtaining new land either from parcelling or acquisition from those Polish "military colonists" who for various reasons decided to sell their allotments. While utilizing all three means simultaneously, Ukrainian peasants offered an example of how an oppressed agrarian society can successfully withstand foreign rule in the modern age. For instance, village taverns were for centuries the plague of peasantry, contributing to their misery while filling the pockets of the landlords who owned them and the state treasury through a monopolized liquor industry. The boycott, first initiated by O.U.N. and *Prosvitas*, quickly spread throughout the land with great success;²¹ peasants as well as other social groups responded in great mass thereby withholding large sums of revenue from the state which used this money to implement a policy of polonization. However, more precise statistical data are available on organizational forms of self-defence and self-

reliance, which, in a way, confirm the successes of the boycott on the one hand, and the creative abilities of Ukrainians on the other.

The Ukrainian co-operative movement began in 1873 and lasted, with short interruptions, until 1944.²² It grew and existed for the need of the peasantry first of all, since this class represented eighty per cent of the total of the Ukrainian population. West Ukrainians, having lost the war with the Poles, rebuilt their economic base as early as 1920 in the form of co-operatives which encompassed all branches of a national economy. On January 4, 1921, there came into existence *Kraiovyi Komitet Orhanizatsii Kooperatyv* (Land Committee of Co-operative Societies — KKOK), an umbrella organisation directing the activities of, and representing its composing member-organizations — *Prosvita*, *Sil'skyi Hospodar* (Village Farmer), *Tsentrosoiuz* (Central Council), *Kraiovyi-Soiuz Hospodars'ko-Torhovelnykh Spilok* (Land Council of the Economic-Commercial Societies), *Kraiovyi Soiuz dlia Khovy i Zbutu Khudoby* (Land Council for Raising Livestock), *Kraiovyi Molochars'kyi Soiuz* (Land Council of Dairies).

For more effective coordination of activities of those various co-operatives, regional councils were set up. This tightly coordinated organisational system reached into all areas of Ukrainian spheres of interest and acted like a state within the state of Poland though unsanctioned by it.

Felinski admits that "the Ukrainian co-operatives have made excellent progress, illustrated by the formation of 388 new branches as a yearly average during the past four years (1925-29)".²³ By 1928 the total membership of the KKOK rose to 268,435 with the main concentration in the voivodship Lviv, Stanislaviv, and Ternopil. By January 1, 1929, there were 11,235 co-op branches, members of the Polish Advisory Council, in the whole of Poland, a ratio of 3.6 to each 10,000 citizens. At the same time 2,266 Ukrainian co-op branches, or 7.6 co-operatives for 10,000 people existed in the three above mentioned voivodships.²⁴ In other words, Ukrainians outnumbered Poles in the number of co-ops by a ratio of 3 to 1.

By 1929 *Sil'skyi Hospodar*, which provided financial assistance, had grown to 85 branches, 1,150 agencies and 30,000 members. In 1930, the voivodship Volyn alone had 24 branches with 781 subscribers. Among the most important Ukrainian banking institutions were the *Zemskyi Bank* (The Agrarian Mortgage Bank) and "Dnistro" at Lviv. These two banks financed agricultural production and the co-operatives, especially assisting their initial organisation. Annual volume of savings and loan associations reached 28,510,000 zloty in 1939, and loans approved for this same year by Ukrainian banks accounted for 13,399,477 zloty.²⁵

Supported by a large and enthusiastic membership, administrated through an electoral system emanating a sense of trust, the Ukrainian co-op movement experienced a rapid growth in the late 1920s. How-

ever, a trying period (1930-35) followed as the depression spread worldwide. The agrarian-based Ukrainian and Byelorussian societies were critically affected by the ensuing economic crisis marked by a rise in industrial production and a declining demand for agricultural products. The Polish national economy, being similarly affected by the depression, was neither willing nor capable of rendering vital assistance. At that time, Poland's primary concern centred on port facilities in Gdynia and the development of the so-called Central Industrial Region (C.O.P.). This had to be achieved at the expense of peasantry and new taxes imposed on them. Increasing poverty, unemployment and stagnation led the peasants to such drastic measures as splitting matches in two and making potatoes a three-times-a-day meal.

In 1931 prices for livestock fell by 60 per cent and grain by 48 per cent, and continued their decline for the next two years.²⁶ The fact that in 1930 Ukrainian financial institutions had two million zloty frozen in loans best reflects the prevailing situation. Almost every village family felt its impact, for the export of agricultural products, mainly to Germany and Austria, came practically to a standstill. Yet, determination, coupled with nationalistic aspirations, expressed in economic solidarity, resulted not only in stabilisation but also in modest improvement in several economic sectors as reflected in the following tables.

TABLE A

Development of Ukrainian co-ops, 1931-38.²⁷

Type of Co-op	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938
Co-op for whole-sale & purch.	2,501	2,395	2,356	2,033	2,065	2,116	2,256	2,360
Dairies co-op	99	109	120	123	128	138	141	143
Credit co-op	362	405	490	539	570	592	656	668
Town retail stores	135	123	122	123	122	121	130	127
All others	64	64	69	86	92	94	111	121
Reg. & Count. co-op	35	34	33	33	32	32	32	32
Vocat. councils	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Total	3,200	3,134	3,294	2,941	3,013	3,097	3,330	3,450

TABLE B
Volume of all commercial transaction of co-ops.²⁸

Years	No. of co-op part in survey	Their Reserve Balance Foreign				Balance in mill. zl.	Transactions	
		Shares	Funds	Surplus.	Cap.		No. of sum in participants	(mill. zl.)
		in thousand of zloty						
1931	2,977	6732.8	10821.0	839.0	30726.7			
1932	2,954	6786.4	10734.6	638.2	26679.6	49	2638	119
1933	3,029	7115.2	10957.2	639.2	23549.0	44	2569	98
1934	2,925	6976.4	11544.5	589.8	24015.7	42	2560	82
1935	2,889	7179.0	11329.1	669.0	2575.5	43	2369	81.6
1936	3,051	7868.2	11964.4	958.3	?	45.8	2394	89.8
1937	3,218					51.7	2437	115
		22,937.128	1246.0	?		58.3	2567	159.7

By the end of 1938, accounts in savings and loan co-ops reached 12,302,000 zloty. This monetary growth was accomplished by increased sales of such items as butter, cheese, and ewe's cheese, so that *Maslosoiuz* showed a profit of 10,873,832 zloty.

At this point, it should be observed that in 1936 peasants made up 89.1 per cent of the total of the membership of all co-ops in existence, and by 1939, 15,000 persons found full employment within the co-operative system.²⁹

In summarizing the activities and role of the Ukrainian co-op movement in Poland, selected data for the middle of the 1930s best illustrate the general situation. There were 22,071 co-operatives in Poland (Polish and others). Out of this number, 5,250 were in Ukrainian hands.³⁰ Dividing the total number of all co-ops per capita gives a surprising result, namely Ukrainians outnumbered other nationalities by a ratio of two to one. The estimated membership in Ukrainian co-ops of all types was over one million, representing roughly four million people (one per family of four).³¹ *Tsentrosoiuz* was also highly successful in organising and expanding export to West European countries. For instance, in 1936 alone, Ukrainian co-ops exported to Great Britain 12,717 cartons of eggs, to Austria — 855, to Spain — 210, to Italy — 110, Switzerland — 1,180, Germany — 1,982, Czechoslovakia — 4,182, France — 296, filling 261.5 freight cars. In the same year, *Tsentrosoiuz* exported 21,534 tons of grain with a value of 3,835,423 zloty. The export of other products, including meat, was equally impressive despite numerous Polish legal obstacles.³²

In conclusion, one can suggest that Ukrainian peasants, assisted by a small intelligentsia, proved themselves capable of overcoming not only various Polish restrictions but also of organising successfully their economic activities under the most unfavourable conditions. As a matter of fact, Ukrainians were more successful in all their economic undertakings than Poles who had and utilized all advan-

tages of the "master nation". Given political independence five million Ukrainians living in inter-war Poland would have created a more effective state than the Poles were able to. It is exactly this self-evident conclusion which proves correct the historian who questions the wisdom and justification of the existence of mini multi-national Poland, created as a result of manipulations by politicians responsible for the Versailles settlement and all subsequent acts affecting the Poles and Ukrainians.

Suprisingly, Byelorussians were the only large national minority in Poland which did not develop its own co-operative system.³³ Lacking tradition, leadership and favourable circumstances, they joined Polish co-ops, although their number and input are undeterminable in absence of supportable documentation. Byelorussians did not recover from the Polish pogroms of the late 1920s, not only in the area of economic activities, but also in education and in the political life. In this particular case, the Polish administration must share responsibility for the Byelorussian inability to progress economically, for the Poles exploited their status as a "master nation" at the expense of a weak nationality. Polish foreign rule contributed to Byelorussian backwardness while promoting here a typical policy of semi-colonial exploitation — taxing the local population and at the same time keeping investments in that area to a minimum.

*

Concluding Comments

Joseph Rothschild's observation on Polish policy toward Ukrainian and Byelorussian minorities reveals the extent of failure and dismay overlooked by many: "In the mid-1930s, as Stalin moved to destroy Ukrainian national culture and imposed the hated *kolchozi* on the Ukrainian peasantry in the Soviet Union, and as Warsaw achieved diplomatic *détentes* with both Berlin and Moscow, the Ukrainian nationalist movement in Poland was for the time being deprived of the patronage of any major state. This would appear to have been a likely moment to reconcile the isolated Ukrainians to the Polish state. The Poles, however, failed to seize it. Instead of viewing the situation as an opportunity to bid for their Ukrainians' — and, analogously, their Byelorussians' — allegiance, they myopically interpreted it as a licence to ignore and repudiate their minorities' aspirations".³⁴

This short survey, stressing only a selected number of economic aspects, verifies explicitly Rothschild's criticism. Warsaw's blunder, or perhaps inability to free itself from all historical complexes and aspirations, led this newly restored country not to internal peace and prosperity, but clearly and unmistakably to internal chaos and disorder, for the thirty-eight per cent non-Polish citizens were under no illusion as to their dark future. Only the destruction of Poland by German forces in 1939 prevented a festering internal discontent from

approaching a state of civil war. This development reflected itself in the treatment of Poles after the collapse of Poland. The bloodshed during the years of World War II and afterwards in actions with the Ukrainian Partisan Army (UPA) must be traced to the inter-war period in which Warsaw was in command of the events. In retrospect, one may conclude that Versailles Poland hardly justified its existence, for her policies from her conception to the very end reflected the past but not the future and the age itself. The "subject nationalities", and even their peasants, understood well the nature of the situation which the Polish politicians sadly failed to grasp and, therefore, were never seriously concerned with a solution. Warsaw, like the court of Louis XIV of France, fatalistically accepted the axiom — "after me the deluge". The deluge, indeed, came soon, with results much too costly for all the peoples involved.

FOOTNOTES

1) For analysis of statistical data see, Stanislaus Mornik, *Polens Kampf gegen seine nichtpolnischen Volksgruppen*. Berlin and Leipzig: Walter deGruyer & Co., 1931. Pp. 11-20.

2) *Concise Statistical Year-Book of Poland*. Warsaw: Chief Bureau of Statistics, 1938. P. 63.

3) See, John J. Kulczycki, "Social Change in the Polish National Movement in Prussia before World War I." *Nationalities Papers*, vol. 4, no. 1 (Spring 1976). Pp. 17-54.

4) *Pols'ka kolonizatsiia Skhidnoi Halychyny*. Vienna, 1921. P. 10.

5) *Ibid.*, p. 11.

6) Werner Markert, ed., *Osteuropa Handbuch. Polen*. Koeln, Graz: Boehlau Verlag, 1959. Pp. 74-82; Mornik, *op. cit.*, pp. 94-108; Z. Ludkiewicz, "Land Reform in Poland". *The Slavonic Review*, vol. 8 (1929) 315-330; *Rocznik Statystyki Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej*. Warsaw: Główny Urząd Statystyczny, 1926-1938; *Concise Statistical Year-Book of Poland*. *op. cit.*

7) Mornik, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

8) *Nation und Staat*, August 1928, p. 866.

9) Emil Revyuk, comp. & ed., *Polish Atrocities in Ukraine*. New York: United Ukrainian Organizations of the U.S., 1931. P. 443.

10) Illia Vytanovych, *Istoriia ukrains'koho kooperatyvnoho rukhu*. New York: Ukrainian Economic Advisory Association, 1964. P. 320.

11) During the years of the most intensive resettlement (1919-29), 611,953 ha. had been parcelled into holdings of an average size of 25 ha. resulting in an increase of the Polish element by about 250,000. This conservative number increased steadily during the next decade and could possibly have reached one million for 1939 if all segments of the Polish settlers and other groups were taken into consideration.

- 12) *The Slavonic Review* (London), vol. 8 (1929) 315-330.
- 13) *Concise Statistical Year-Book*, op cit., p. 57.
- 14) For a more extensive discussion of Poland's treatment of her national minorities see, Mornik, *op. cit.*; Stephan M. Horak, *Poland and Her National Minorities, 1919-39: A Case Study*. New York, 1961; Ivan S. Lubacko. *Byelorussia Under Soviet Rule, 1917-1957*. Lexington, Ky., 1972 (Especially Chapter 9, "West Belorussia under Poland"); Stanislaw Skrzypek, *The Problem of Eastern Galicia*. London, 1948; W. K. von Korostowetz, *Polnische Auferstehung*. Transl. by Rudolf Paul. Berlin, 1929; Alexander J. Groth, "The Legacy of Three Crises: Parliament and Ethnic Issues in Prewar Poland". *Slavic Review*, vol. 27, no. 4 (December 1968) 564-580. Each one of the above mentioned titles includes an extensive bibliography covering all facets of the state of nationalities in Poland.
- 15) "Protest of the Byelorussian Representatives to the Sejm from May 19, June 6, April 18, 1924". *Stenograficzne sprawozdania sejmowe, 1924-26*. Warsaw, 1926. Also, Nicholas P. Vakar, *Byelorussia: The Making of a Nation*. Harvard University Press, 1956, p. 123 ff.
- 16) Wladyslaw Studnicki, *Das oestliche Polen*. Transl. by W. Harpe. Goettin-gen, 1953, p. 142.
- 17) M. Volacic, "The Curzon Line and Territorial Changes in Eastern Europe". *Byelorussian Review*, no. 2 (1956) p. 13.
- 18) M. Felinski, *The Ukrainians in Poland*. London, 1931, p. 161.
- 19) *Ibid.*, p. 169.
- 20) Documents, including pictures and witness reports are available in, *Polish Atrocities in Ukraine and Na vichnu han'bu Polshchi, tverdnyi varvarstva v Evropi*. Praha, 1931.
- 21) There are no statistics available on this aspect of peasant reaction, however, my personal recollection, as well as many of those now living in the U.S.A., affirms that this action was very popular and effective. Until data is scientifically collected and analyzed, the exact impact will remain undetermined, yet not discounted.
- 22) The most comprehensive study is Vytanovych's, *Istoriia ukrains'koho kooperatyvnoho rukhu*, op. cit.
- 23) Felinski, *op. cit.*, p. 121
- 24) *Ibid.*, p. 123.
- 25) Vytanovych, *op cit.*, pp. 332-33.
- 26) *Ibid.*, p. 362.
- 27) *Ibid.*, p. 369.
- 28) *Ibid.*
- 29) *Ibid.*, p. 372.
- 30) *Ibid.*, p. 372. See also, *Concise Statistical Year-Book*, op cit., p. 109. The above data do not include 14 Polish-Ukrainian coops, which, if divided by national composition, will increase the Ukrainian standing in all categories.
- 31) Vytanovych, *op. cit.*, p. 390.
- 32) *Ibid.*
- 33) *Rocznik Statystyki*, 1930, p. 76, and *Concise Statistical Year-Book*, 1938, make no mention of the existence of Belorus'ian coops.
- 34) Joseph Rothschild, *East Central Europe between the Two World Wars*. Seattle and London, 1974, p. 43.

Poetry from Behind the Barbed Wire

Iryna SENYK

SHAMEFUL DEEDS

Faces square
 And scarfs of red,
 While horses' hooves,
 Trample our hearts . . .
 Their hooves, their hooves,
 Trample our hearts . . .
 They say our truth is
 Buried at Taishet,
 They say our truth's in
 Mordovia, Norilsk,
 While every day fare here —
 Violence, crime.
 The executioners of Shevchenko,
 Kurbas and Kosyaqi,
 Their faces marked with stigmas
 Of these, their shameful deeds.

IMMOVABLE WALL

Evening Kyiv growing calm,
 Kyiv Sophia's silent,
 Only Oranta beckons forth,
 The couriers form depths of centuries gone by.

 You are the bramblebush burning unconsumed,
 The people always lived by you,
 You are my Wall, immovable,
 You are my wonder amidst wonders.

 To you I go each day, a pilgrim,
 And stand transfixed in awe of you,
 Deep in my heart it's you I carry,
 And all my thoughts I give to you.

Taishet, Mordovia, Norilsk — sites of Soviet Russian concentration camps.

O bramblebush burning unconsumed,
What artist had created you?
You are my Wall, immovable,
You are my wonder amidst wonders.

FATE

To walk the edge of a precipice
'tis not an easy task
when bright stars
shine above your head
and the precipice beckons
into its depths

may everything in my surroundings
fade away fade away
for down into the depths
as stars often do
plummet I must

what of it I fall
my road
was never one of
hesitation

O Chestnuts
burn candles
over me
O Lviv
don't weep
over my
star-crossed fate.

Sophia — St. Sophia Cathedral in Kyiv, built in 1037.

Otanta — Mosaic of the Virgin Mary in Prayer in the St. Sophia Cathedral.

Immovable wall — section containing the Oranta mosaic and the only part of the St. Sophia Cathedral left undamaged throughout the centuries.

Iryna STASIV-KALYNETS

THE BALLAD OF THE GUELDER-ROSE TWIG

Once a boy brought home a guelder-rose twig.
And he whittled a flute, so that, as in the fable,
he could hear the words of the poor little orphan.
And an unknown melody flowed,
without words, without tears,
yet sad as the song of a seagull in the grip of misfortune.
Surely it's not for naught a legend has it
that a girl's heart
has flowed into the clusters of red.
And through the swamps, the labyrinthine ways,
through the jungles of human derision,
he set out to seek
the guelder-rose,
the one, the only in the world.
And 'neath that guelder-rose,
beneath that one and only —
girls and maidens,
like a flood of dreams.
And garlanded, each one,
be it with the cluster of red,
or with a leaf.
And each one knows the eternal fable
about the edge of loneliness and the flute's lament.

Stefaniya SHABATURA

TO COME AND DIE ON ONE'S OWN LAND

There will yet be enough of lifetime left,
 enough of this absintian life,
 to wander through it,
 leaving this wasteland behind

as crosses
 are left upon graves . . .

A bad day,
 a worst day you can't imagine
 than this, this one impaled upon

the slimy wires . . .

When evening's blood
 is splattered

upon the sky's horizon, your name
 I repeat in prayer.

Whispers fade
 as stars fade in the evening mist.

There will yet be enough of lifetime left,

for happiness:
 to come and die on one's own land.

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Documents from Ukraine

KYIV GROUP APPEALS TO WORLD CONSCIENCE ON EVE OF BELGRADE CONFERENCE

After a seven-month hiatus, interspersed by arrests of four of its leading members, the Ukrainian Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords, based in Kyiv, transmitted to the West a batch of appeals and documents which call on the Western signatories of the Helsinki Accords to speak out in defence of human, national and individual rights in Ukraine.

The Kyiv group was formed last November, which led to the immediate establishment of the Washington committee.

The Kyiv group sent a declaration and Memorandum No. 1 to the West, which were subsequently published in the original Ukrainian and in English translation (see "The Ukrainian Review" — spring 1977), and disseminated widely.

Upon announcement of the establishment of the group in Kyiv, in the wake of the formation of similar groups in Moscow and Vilnius, Lithuania, the Soviet Secret Police (KGB) harassed its members and ultimately arrested its head Mykola Rudenko and members Oleksa Tykhy, Myroslav Marynovych and Mykola Matussevych.

These arrests, coupled with the previous incarceration of hundreds of Ukrainians, as well as other human rights activists in the USSR, generated an outpouring of protest in the West.

The most recently received documents include Memoranda Nos. 4 to 9 (Nos. 2 and 3 have yet to make their way to the West), appeals of Nadia Svitlychna, Oksana Meshko and Raisa Rudenko, Mykola Rudenko's wife, an autobiography of Osyp Terelia, a longtime political prisoner, an appeal of Oles Berdnyk to M. Shcherbytsky, first secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine, a declaration of the Initiative Council of Alternative Evolution, which includes O. Berdnyk and Petro Kharchenko, a graduate student of biology from Kyiv, appeals of the Kyiv group to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and to the U.S. Congress, and an appeal of M. Rudenko to the International College of Jurists, written prior to his arrest.

Other documents are those received from the Lithuanian group, the Armenian organization for independence, and other materials on repressions in Ukraine and elsewhere in the USSR. The accompanying letters request that the materials be passed on to the governments of the Helsinki Accords signatories.

"It seems as if the KGB wanted to finish us before the Belgrade conference", said the letter.

"Our group is experiencing hard times, but we believe in victory. It is of utmost importance to demonstrate our solidarity in conjunction with the arrests. Involve all Ukrainians in the world in this action, so that a tornado of protests bursts forth in defence of Rudenko and Tykhy".

UKRAINIAN GROUP TO PROMOTE THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE HELSINKI ACCORDS

MEMORANDUM No. 4

On New Repressions in Ukraine Against Members of the Helsinki Group

On February 5, 1977, the officials of the KGB and the Public Prosecutors' offices of Kyiv, Donetsk, and Moscow regions again conducted searches in the apartments of the members of the Ukrainian Group. In the apartment of the leader of the Group Mykola Rudenko, his literary archives, 90 percent of which had been purloined during the previous search, this time were stolen in their entirety. In addition, Rudenko's wife Rayisa, his son Yuriy, and a member of the Group, the writer O. (Oles) Berdnyk, were subjected to personal searches (without the presentation of a warrant). Those performing the search conducted themselves roughly; obviously, they were employees of the KGB. After the search the leader of this "action", the deputy public prosecutor of Donetsk Region, Noskov, took Rudenko away without answering his wife's questions as to the grounds on which he was being held. For three days the Kyiv public prosecutor's office did not answer Rayisa Rudenko's questions about the fate, of her husband; finally, on the fourth day she was informed that he was in investigation solitary confinement cell No. 1 in Donetsk Region.

Not a search, but a real pogrom was conducted in the apartment of O. Meshko, a member of the Group. Investigating officer Pankov of the Kyiv public prosecutor's office, with a warrant issued at the request of the Moscow public prosecutor's office, broke a window like a burglar and climbed into the apartment. He took everything that was either handwritten or typed (as he put it, "all the trash").

After Oksana Meshko refused to submit to a personal search, demanding a warrant for that, the investigating officer twisted her arms and, with the help of two women, searched her roughly.

Searches were also conducted in the apartment of M. (Myroslav) Marynovych and M. (Mykola) Matusevych, both members of the Group, as well as in the apartments of their parents and relatives in Kyiv, Vasylo, and Drohobych. Those performing the

searches conducted themselves roughly, not even granting the essentials to small children — a walk, rest, food.

All these searches and the violence were conducted supposedly in connection with the “case of O. (Oleksiy) Tykhy”, a member of the Group living in the Donbas. The essence of the “case” on the basis of which O. Tykhy was arrested has not been disclosed.

One thing is clear: the arrest of the leader of the Group, M. Rudenko, and a member, O. Tykhy, as well as the searches in the apartments of the other members, are but the beginnings of a whirlwind of repression, which the KGB is preparing to direct against the Groups in the U.S.S.R.

(Note: On February 8 of this year, the physician M. Kovtunenکو, who had refused to act as the KGB’s informer on M. Rudenko, was sentenced to one and a half year’s imprisonment. The regional court punished him for (taking) “bribes” — three and half rubles, a can of coffee, etc. It is obvious that this case had been fabricated).

A lot depends on world public opinion: will this ominous wave subside, will the repressive officials return those arrested to their homes, will they allow the legal monitoring of the implementation of the Helsinki Accords? Or will the spirit of Helsinki — the Spirit of Cooperation and Friendship, of Trust among peoples — be laid to rest beneath the crags of ruthless despotism and lawlessness?

Members of the Ukrainian Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords:

L. Lukyanenko
O. Berdnyk
P. Hryhorenko
O. Meshko

M. Marynovych
M. Matuselych
N. Strokata
I. Kandyba

February 9, 1977

The signed copy is kept in the Group’s archives
(signed) O. Berdnyk

MEMORANDUM No. 5

UKRAINE OF THE SUMMER OF 1977

Introduction

The historic will of a people inevitably manifests itself in one or another form, revelation or action. As a mountain stream searches out crevices in order to carve out a channel for itself, so does the dynamic essence of a people find spokesmen for itself — spokesmen who are sons of its spirit — in order to give to other fraternal peoples a sign of its will.

The Ukrainian Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords is one such sign.

The bureaucratic structure of the Soviet Union reacted to the appearance of the Group to Promote with great pain and hostility. During the three months it has been in existence security official's (KGB) conducted several brutal, harsh and savage searches in each of its members' apartments, confiscating almost all of the Group's literary, epistolary and philosophical archives, its documents, a number of books which had no relationship to the case, etc. Finally, on February 5, 1977, the head of the Group, the poet Mykola Rudenko, and a Group member, teacher Oleksiy Tykhy, were arrested, with no charges whatsoever being filed against them.

What is it that the initiators of the above-mentioned lawlessness and arbitrariness are so terrified of? What terrifying things do they see in people who openly state their convictions, while inviting the ruling circles of their own country and other states to a creative, evolutionary dialogue?

The courage and openness with which the Group has come forward prove that its members are not enemies of the Soviet (Council), nor to the revolutionary ideals of a New World, nor to the humane ideals of Socialism and Communism.

What need was there for the searches and arrests, when all of the Group's documents were released to the world for the purpose of making them public?

We are not building an underground — this proves that we do not intend to overthrow the Soviet system.

We are not afraid of discussion — this proves that we are sure of our convictions.

We are ready to have our ideas either approved or rejected in an all-national referendum — and this proves that we would joyfully accept the will of the nation.

Is the bureaucratic structure — which has at its disposal an apparatus of repression, censorship, obedient servants and the fear sown in the Stalin era and undispelled to this day — ready for these things?

We are few, but we contend that with us is the will of Evolution. That is why again and again, patiently, in friendship and with hope, we appeal to the ruling circles of the land: Cease the repressions against honest people who think differently than do dogmatics and the orthodox! Such people are the hope of the future! Such people can be counted on in threatening times: they will not betray. Why should they be feared, those who speak the truth while risking their lives, health and personal happiness? On the contrary, they should be invited to take part in constructive discussions and action.

A normal governmental structure should be interested in our opposition, for forces that criticize are a sign and certification of the existence of shortcomings and, therefore, of the opportunity to better the situation.

On the other hand, "universal approbation" at "elections", conventions, and meetings is not joy, but misfortune and a terrifying sign, for it all attests that the spirit of the people is dying.

A nation's monolithic quality is manifested not through bureaucratic resolutions and approbations, but through the freedom and unfettered nature of the spiritual and intellectual life of the people.

Such freedom should be aspired to rather than have its coming obstructed with arrests and repressions.

We declare, sincerely and courageously, that we have no fear of a new wave of persecution, for **Truth is on our side.**

All people die, but some die as nobodies, cowards and traitors, and some as true sons of their Mother, their Nation. We prefer to die the way the glorious knights of the Zaporozhian Sich died, the way Taras (Shevchenko), Lesya (Ukrainka) and the Stone-hewer (Ivan Franko) died, having carried out Ukraine's will, as it had made itself known within their hearts.

And now the voice of Mother Ukraine thunders in our hearts. In doing her bidding we offer to (other) Fraternal Peoples our credo, our hopes, our confidence that Light will conquer Darkness, that the era of enmity, fragmentation, and hostility will come to an end and the Sun of Freedom will rise over the Earth.

Listen to the World of Ukraine of the year 1977.

1. Statehood

All of the historical cataclysms that Ukrainian people have lived through during the past few centuries were born of the idea of **Statehood**. The Will of a Nation aspires to nonsubordination, to sovereignty, to the building of its **own independent life**; at the same time, neighbouring imperialistic predators did everything in their power not to allow such sovereignty, but to preserve the NATION CHOSEN AS VICTIM in the form of a raw material — as a source of food, of spiritual force, of energy of everything else.

This is what happened to Ukraine. Though possessed of an enormous reservoir of love of freedom, wisdom, creativity, of rare riches of the earth and the spirit, in a critical moment she was unable to hold on to her STATEHOOD and became a colony of a cruel, merciless empire, whose will was diametrically opposed to the will of Ukraine.

Russia violated all the fraternal treaties and trampled underfoot the Words spoken at (the Treaty of) Pereyaslav. A people whose love of freedom Europe had enthused over became serfs, slaves, bondservants to alien ravagers. Hryhoriy Petrovsky, speaking in the Duma, provided an excellent characterization of autocracy's criminal activity in Ukraine — degradation of cultural and spiritual life, merciless exploitation of natural resources, unceasing genocide.

This is why the Ukrainian people so joyously supported the Revolution and the proclamation of the Ukrainian Republic.

The more outstanding ideas of the Ukrainian revolutionaries, as well as Lenin's ideas on the nationality question, however, were never put into practice. In the following years the chauvinistic spirit of autocracy could not be defeated and "the spirit of Catherine and Peter" found its still more terrible embodiment in Stalin's malignant activity.

Millions hounded and tortured to death, millions dead of starvation — all of this has been known to everyone for a long time. Sometimes it even seems strange why Ukraine still exists on geographical maps, why a Ukrainian word can still be heard now and then. And the strangest of all is that Ukraine is a member of the United Nations and therefore is considered a SOVEREIGN STATE.

We will not be playing blindman's buff: this statehood of ours is nothing but a paper mirage. And the time has come to dot all the "i's", to end the incessant and insidious game with our sovereignty, as well as with the sovereignty of all the other Union republics.

The will of history is such that every nation (even the smallest) stepped onto the field of history as the one-for-all-time Son of His Mother within the One Brotherhood of Mankind.

We deeply respect the culture, the spirituality, the ideals of the Russian people. But why should Moscow be making the decisions for us at international forums (for example, the Helsinki or Belgrade forums) as to these or other problems, obligations, etc.? Why should Ukraine's cultural, creative, scientific, agricultural, and international problems be defined and planned in the capital of the neighbouring (even if allied) state?

We are not naive simpletons. We understand that at work here is that very same spirit of imperialism and chauvinism, about which our Bard (Taras Shevchenko) wrote with such clarity and anger:

It was he, (Peter) the First, who crucified
Our Ukraine,
And (Catherine) the Second finished off
The widow-orphan . . .
Executioners, executioners and cannibals . . .

You can't say it better than that! And present-day revolutionaries, communists, romantics and builders of the New World of Love and Brotherhood should carefully read through the manuscripts of the past, so as not to wander among the abstractions of excogitated schemes but instead to gird themselves in the impregnable armour of the testaments of the Spirit of the People.

We are not ones to be caught in a netting of criminal fabrications, unless the tyrants of the bureaucratic citadel simply crush us without resorting to any kind of "legality".

Simply, sincerely and with convictions we announce several thoroughly thought-out positions on the subject of STATEHOOD (that of neighbouring peoples as well as of our own):

— Not the Individual for the State, but the State for the Individual.

That is why any and all social transformations should receive the Nation's approbation through a popular referendum. All those "voices of the people" that have been organized in the press will be discarded onto the rubbish heap of history.

— We are not raising the issue of Ukraine's "separation". We don't have anyone to separate from. The planet is one. Mankind is one. Fraternal peoples are our neighbours. From whom should we separate? On the contrary, we raise the issue of ANNEXATION, the ANNEXATION of UKRAINE, RUSSIA, GEORGIA, LATVIA and other fraternal nations to the One Spirit of Mankind.

— We are for an Association whose name is the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and which will in time be transformed into a Brotherhood of Free Peoples of the Earth. But EVERY NATION should be a FREE AGENT within this association and independent in its creative spirit. Only under this condition will vanish those deformations that distort relations among peoples and sow discord and suspicion. In short, a people should be masters of their land, their tradition, their creative inheritance, their future aspirations, their will to build a better life for all, for everyone.

— Therefore, the most radical demand of the spirit of the Ukrainian Nation, for itself and for fraternal peoples, is FULL SOVEREIGNTY OF CREATIVE MANIFESTATION in all areas of spiritual and economic life. Nothing on earth can prevent the embodiment of the idea into visible forms of historical reality, for this is the will of EVOLUTION.

Exactly how the social transformations, the strengthening of the sovereignty of this nation or another will be manifested is difficult to foresee and **it should not be planned**. A nation — a sleeping giant — has in its heart many surprises for its enemies and skeptics.

But one thing is clear: no great action of historical importance will ever be realized without a free, thinking and fearless individual. That is why special attention is due the Individual, his spirit and HIS RIGHTS.

2. Man. His Rights

A chimeric situation: we have a Constitution that is not altogether bad, our country signed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Helsinki Accords, and in all these documents are endless repetitions about Human Rights, about all that Man **can do** and **has a right to** and this and that, etc. But when it comes to reality, then all these rights and opportunities turn not only into mirages but into cruel blows. By demanding that which is declared in OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS, a human being dooms himself to endless tortures. Himself and his closest . . .

A terrifying paradox, one which needs to be explained.

Without a doubt, the gist of the matter is that RIGHTS are declared by the bureaucratic structure, in a manner of speaking, they are posted on a wall, rather than FLOW OUT OF MAN'S SENSE OF LEGALITY ITSELF.

We shall cite a very simple example.

FREEDOM OF SPEECH, FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION, FREEDOM OF EMIGRATION AND IMMIGRATION, and so on . . .

In declaring these RIGHTS, the government structure didn't tell Man anything new, but blasphemously only interprets for him that which belonged to every thinking being down through the centuries, and not only to Man, but to every living thing. And whereas early man asked only himself, the "God within him", whether to act one way or another, now he must ask for PERMISSION FOR FREEDOM OF SPEECH OR ACTION from some bookworm, from some bureaucratic soul. And bureaucrats, it's clear, will always find a plethora of paragraphs and pseudolegal loopholes in order to forbid Man to realize his will.

Our example — the present situation.

If you wish to leave, you're an enemy of the State. But the state is formed by my voluntary agreement with others; it follows, then, that I can create a state and also dissolve it. And if others wish to retain it, this does not give them the right to keep me a prisoner of their will, for they themselves turn into jailers and slaves.

If you think differently, you're an enemy of the State.

Does the State have SOME OBLIGATORY THOUGHT, which should guide all thinking?

An idea is lightning! How can it be brought into line with a law? Whoever says that he thinks AS THE STATE DEMANDS, does not think at all, for to repeat blindly someone else's thoughts — even though they be brilliant — is TO BECOME A PARROT, A GRAMOPHONE RECORD.

The essence of all these ideas is that we must, without fail, return man to his status as the WARD OF LAW, which is attested to in Article 6 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and act according to the **will of the Ward**, and not according to a paragraph of a statute created to obscure the RIGHTS, rather than to fulfill THEM.

Therefore, all declarations in constitutions, international legal documents, and the like, concerning Human Rights, should not be viewed as the RIGHT OF A BUREAUCRAT TO ALLOW me this or that, but as the Right of Man to turn the sword of Law on the bureaucrats when one or another of them does not allow the LEGAL ASSERTION OF THE WILL OF THE WARD. (We, of course, are not speaking here of those impingements by the ward upon others, upon their RIGHTS, that are clearly criminal).

Concretely, we demand:

— Freedom to leave one's homeland and to return,

- Freedom to disseminate one's ideas and to get acquainted with the ideas of others,
 - Freedom to form creative, artistic, philosophical and scientific associations and to dissolve them,
 - Freedom to take part in the formulation of the consciousness of the people and in the affairs of state,
 - Freedom to work toward the unification of the Spirit of Man, based on Brotherhood, Love and Reason.
-

Man is a wondrous Flower of Evolution. His mission — to unite a world fragmented since creation into a Magic Wreath of Beauty and Harmony. The realization of this idea stands in the way of the spirit of militarism, of present-day imperialism, of chauvinism. In these manacing times, when the ecological, demographic, energetic and economic balance of the Planet has been catastrophically disturbed, we cannot do without the amicable, selfless, sincere action of all peoples and individuals.

Governmental structures which do not understand or which do not want to understand the horror of the situation, or which, though understanding, criminally ignore it — such structures are enemies of Evolution, and, as such, of all of Mankind.

Therefore, the violation of the RIGHT OF NATIONS to self-determination, to a sovereign spiritual life, as well as the violations of the Human Right to sovereign self-expression, are VIOLATIONS OF COSMIC LAW. A governmental structure which is guilty of such violations is an enemy of all of Mankind and falls under the merciless verdict of history — to be erased from the Stone Tablets of the Future and (covered with) eternal shame and damnation.

We are puzzled by the calm and indifference with which government leaders of certain countries react to repressions in countries which signed the Helsinki Accords. It is clear that mockery of Human Rights is something not out of the ordinary for all states, but such indifference should not have a place in the 20th century, for we are on the threshold of the Cosmic Birth. Even one cruel, vandalic act against any single Individual could be decisive on God's Cosmic Judgement Day!

Can it be that anyone would find it pleasant to become renowned as a present-day inquisitor and tyrant? Would it not be more pleasant and more humane to open the prison doors, eliminate censorship, disperse the informers and provocateurs, dispel the fear that has enveloped the soul of the people and prevents them from spreading their shoulders to full width and rushing forward toward evolutionary renewal?!

UKRAINE OF THE YEAR 1977 PROPOSES:

— That all political prisoners be freed, all corresponding articles in the criminal codes of the (Soviet) Union and the Republics eliminated.

— That all borders of the country be opened to allow people to leave and to enter.

— That channels be opened for the free flow of information — scientific artistic, literary, personal and any other kind that does not infringe upon Human Rights.

— That censorship, as an institution that is a relic of feudalism, be eliminated for all time, with the right to withhold all military and pornographic publications from book and other markets transferred to publishers.

— That capital punishment be eliminated, as a manifestation of the criminality of governmental structures. The state CANNOT GIVE BIRTH TO LIFE, IT DOES NOT HAVE THE RIGHT TO TAKE IT AWAY.

— That the very idea of killing be condemned at the level of the United Nations, thus branding all states and persons that desire to further their designs through killing (wars) as enemies of Mankind who have no right to enter into a Common Future.

— That all armies (except internal peace forces) be eliminated within the next few years and an All-Planetary Brotherhood of Peoples be created, based on the United Nations.

— That economic, ecological, demographic and cosmological problems be resolved through common effort.

It is time to awaken from the bureaucratic somnolence, to realize that the problems of one human being are the problems of all of Mankind, and in all our actions to start from this BASE, COMMON TO ALL.

UKRAINE OF THE YEAR 1977 is filled with the most sincere aspirations, desires and wishes and sends to the brotherly peoples at the Belgrade Forum its Greeting and Love!

UKRAINIAN GROUP TO PROMOTE THE IMPLEMENTATION OR THE HELSINKI ACCORDS

Oles BERDNYK
Petro HRYHORENKO
Oksana MESHKO
Levko LUKYANENKO

Ivan KANDYBA
Nina STROKATA
Mykola MATUSEVYCH
Myroslav MARYNOVYCH

February 15, 1977

MEMORANDUM No. 6**Concerning the So-Called "Internal Affairs" of a State**

In response to the arrests of the leaders and members of the Ukrainian and Moscow Groups, the sea of World Conscience stirred. Today it is no longer possible to oppress with impunity the champions of Law in any country, for on the horizon of History Nuremberg looms to this day, menacingly warning all tyrants.

Having usurped the constitutional prerogatives, the bureaucratic structure of the U.S.S.R. attempts to save its unlawful privileged position by labelling all international protests against arbitrariness as "interference into the internal affairs" of the Soviet state.

If one were to accept this juridical thesis as the basis for international activity, then this would grant present-day tyrants of the East and West the right to suppress with no hindrance freedom of thought and action, thus bringing to a stop Mankind's progression toward a World of Justice.

The lawful entity (ward of Law) in the internal life of a state is Man. The lawful entity (ward of Law) in international relations is the State. This is well known. But if a State, in its internal life, tramples on the interests and rights of its citizens, such a country, in terms of legality, is bankrupt, and cannot be trusted in the least, for in its laws it declares one thing, but in practice does something totally different.

Masquerading behind the fiction of "internal affairs of the state", the repressive organs of our country imprison creative and thinking individuals, fighters for Law and independently minded cultural activists, plunder literary and scientific archives, destroy the works of writers who are not to their liking, completely control correspondence, deprive "disobedient" individuals of their jobs, install electronic surveillance devices in apartments and offices, persecute these and other people with the help of provocateurs, agents and informers, fabricate "criminal cases" against freethinkers, do not give the persecuted an opportunity to emigrate to another country, etc. This entire bouquet of lawlessness, this total disregard for the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Helsinki Accords, is hidden behind the formula of non-interference into "internal affairs" . . .

Of course, for the old Stalinists, who (because the task of censuring the personality cult was not brought to conclusion) still abound in the judicial-investigative organs and in the KGB and who are accustomed to working in the dark of night and in total secrecy from the Soviet and world public, aspirations to act in the spirit of the Helsinki Accords and to make public facts about violations of Human Rights constitute interference into their internal affairs. However, pre-trial

investigation, solitary confinement cells, prisons, concentration camps — these are not the internal affair of the KGB or the MVD, they are the affair of all Soviet peoples, the affair of all of Mankind. If the Soviet peoples are not indifferent to the fate of Chilean patriots and if mass rallies of workers in the U.S.S.R. in their support are not interference into the internal affairs of Chile, then, by the same token, mass rallies of citizens of Western countries in support of Soviet and, particularly, Ukrainian fighters for the realization of the Helsinki Agreements do not constitute interference into the internal affairs of the U.S.S.R.

Indeed, international solidarity in defence of Justice is the most beautiful symbol of our era! It is the harbinger of a New World of Love and of a Single Spirit of Mankind, which is being born in the social upheavals of the 20th century!

Nations of the World, nations of the Belgrade Forum! We appeal to you — demand an answer from the usurpers of the Law, wherever they may appear! Arbitrariness and lawlessness cannot be permitted to rage on Earth just before the dawning of a World of Unity! The struggle for Human Rights is not the internal affair of this or that state, it is **THE INTERNAL AFFAIR OF A UNITED MANKIND!**

Freedom to the courageous Fighters for Law!

**UKRAINIAN GROUP TO PROMOTE THE IMPLEMENTATION
OF THE HELSINKI ACCORDS**

February 21, 1977
Kyiv, Ukraine

Oles BERDNYK	Myroslav MARYNOVYCH
Petro HRYHORENKO	Ivan KANDYBA
Oksana MESHKO	Levko LUKYANENKO
Mykola MATUSEVYCH	Nina STROKATA

The signed original is in the Archives of the Group.

MEMORANDUM No. 7

The Ukrainian Group to Promote: The First Four Months

On March 9, 1977, the Ukrainian Group to Promote marked the first four months of its existence. In our Declaration and Memorandum No. 1 we announced the basic principles of our activity and defined our mission as a **MOVEMENT IN DEFENCE OF LAW**, directed at correcting bureaucratic and other distortions and abuses, which are unavoidable in a society with an immature democracy or a dictatorship.

Human Rights encompasses the widest spectrum of thought, feel-

ings and actions. Therefore, we indicated that in giving priority to the humanitarian aspects of the Helsinki Accords, the Group would also note violations of rights in the social, economic and national spheres of the life of the Ukrainian people.

In our Declaration we stated that it is an absolute necessity that Ukraine participate in all conferences of European countries as a sovereign nation, a member of the United Nations. There can be no reasonable alternative to this. (Incidentally, it must be noted other European Republics of the U.S.S.R. find themselves in a similar position: Byelorussia, Moldavia, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, and, most of all, the largest of the Republics, the Russian Federation. They too have never been represented at European conferences by separate delegations. In addition to this, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Moldavia and Russia, as well as the Asian Republics of the Union — Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaidzhan, Turkmenistan, Kazakhstan, Kirghizia and Tadzhikistan — are not even members of the UN. Actually, it is a startling fact that one of the largest nations in the world, the Russian nation, is not a member of the UN, along with the other above-mentioned nations. Although we point this out only in passing, it is a bitter fact, which supports the conclusion that the problem of RIGHTS AND MUTUAL RELATIONS OF THE REPUBLICS OF THE U.S.S.R. is totally unresolved).

We also declared it our aim to struggle to increase consciousness of law among broad masses of the Ukrainian people, in the hope that by the joint efforts of fighters for Law and world opinion we would succeed in overcoming the opposition of the bureaucratic structure and the various repressive organs in the area of violations of the law.

In Memorandum No. 1 we outlined the wide-scale violations of law in our Republic, which have continued to the present day despite the exposure of the crimes of the Stalin and Beria "eras". We tried to bring to the attention of the world community the fact that the sharpest edge of the repressions and terror that the punitive organs can bring to bear has been turned against the people who defend spiritual sovereignty in the various spheres of national and creative life. This constitutes a scandalous violation of the Constitutions of the U.S.S.R. and the Ukr. S.S.R., the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Helsinki Accords and other international pacts ratified by the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

We presented a list of several score prisoners of conscience (in actuality there are thousands of them!) — honest, selfless, courageous workers in the fields of culture, science, religion, who languish in prisons and (labour) camps on the territory of neighbouring Republics, something unheard-of in the practice of international law.

But before we could publish our documents, the public prosecutor's office of the city of Moscow, in cooperation with the Ukrainian KGB, pounced on us: during the night of December 23-24, 1976, they

conducted searches in the apartments of Group members M. Rudenko (Kyiv), O. Berdnyk (Kyiv), L. Lukyanenko (Chernihiv), O. Tykhy (Donbas) and I. Kandyba (Lviv). During these searches all of the Group's documents were confiscated, as were literary archives and correspondence. At the same time, pornographic material and weapons were planted in the apartments, which compelled us to predict in a written protest to the public prosecutor of the U.S.S.R. that some kind of provocation was being planned against the members of the Group; this became substantiated later.

In our letter, addressed to the world community — to PEN International, to Western communist parties, etc. — we voiced our concern that the fierce attack on the Ukrainian Group to Promote — dead-of-night searches, threats, surveillance — even when taken separately from other facts, is proof of the complete disregard by the bureaucratic structure of the U.S.S.R. of those commitments which our country accepted in signing the Helsinki Accords. This indisputable fact strengthened our resolve to continue our activity.

In Memorandum No. 2 we again pointed out the necessity of Ukraine's participation in the Belgrade Conference in 1977 as a sovereign European state.

In Memorandum No. 3 we illustrated the violations of the freedom of conscience in our Republic, using as an example the tragic fate of the Christian and Catholic, Y. Terelya, who has spent half his life in (labour) camps and psychiatric hospitals, and now wanders from place to place in search of somewhere to stay and a job, always under the never-sleeping eye of the KGB.

Hundreds of letters and complaints from all corners of Ukraine began to pour in to the members of the Group as soon as people heard about its formation. This fact in itself is evidence of how **widespread** the violations of the law are in Ukraine. We were preparing a detailed report on this, to be sent to the Government of the Ukr. S.S.R. and to the signatories of the Helsinki Accords. But the KGB again decided on a sudden attack: on February 5, 1977, the head of the Group, Mykola Rudenko, was arrested, as was Group member Oleksiy Tykhy, in whose "case" the search warrants were issued. In this instance the officials of the KGB and the public prosecutor's office of Donetsk Region (the search warrant was signed by the public prosecutor of Donetsk Region, Noskov, and approved by the Deputy public prosecutor of the Republic, Samayev) confiscated M. Rudenko's entire literary archives, taking away even his scientific works on economics and cosmogony.

On that same day searches were conducted at the apartments of Group members Oksana Meshko and Nina Strokata, as well as of M. Marynovych, M. Matusyevych, and the homes of their parents and relatives. (See attached supplement).

For three weeks the KGB did not allow M. Rudenko's wife to bring him essential articles or any food to solitary confinement interroga-

tion cell No. 1 in Donetsk. (In addition, for the first four days she was told absolutely nothing about her husband's fate).

Neither the wives nor the friends have yet been informed of the ACTUAL CHARGES BROUGHT AGAINST M. RUDENKO AND O. TYKHY, despite the fact that all members of the Group and dozens of their friends have been called for questioning to the Donetsk Administration of the KGB and by the Ukrainian KGB in Kyiv.

Through all these interrogations there runs the implication that the arrested men have been called to account not for the creation of the Group to Promote, but for SOMETHING SECRET, MYSTERIOUS, SOMETHING THE OTHERS KNOW NOTHING ABOUT.

We categorically state that the interrogating officials do not have and cannot possibly have any materials that discredit those arrested, aside from the Group's documents, which are totally legal and which have been submitted for publication. Furthermore, we call the attention of the Public Prosecutor of the Ukr. S.S.R. and of lawyers of all countries to the gross violations of procedural Law in the prosecution of this "case" (specifically, Article 116 of the Code of Criminal Procedures of the Ukr. S.S.R.), which requires that the investigation be conducted in the place where the accused and the majority of the witnesses live. Conducting the investigation in Donetsk is a legal absurdity and (an act of) investigative cowardice, an attempt to remove from the capital of the Republic to outlying districts the juridical reprisal against a poet and thinker.

Recently a new wave of repressions has rolled over Ukraine. In Odessa art critic V. Barladyanu has been arrested, and searches have been conducted in the apartments of his wife, of the Siry family and two other families that several times appealed to the Group to Promote with complaints about flagrant violations of the law with respect to them. Thus, not only the activity of the Group, but even contact with it is considered a crime!

In a lightning blow, the wife of political prisoner V. Lisovy, Vira, and Nadia Svitlychna were sacked from their jobs, and thus deprived of all means of subsistence, merely because of their acquaintance with members of the Group. N. Svitlychna has also been threatened with arrest because she has not yet registered at a place of residence after being released from a (labour) camp (this, although she has been repeatedly denied her legal right to do so).

In its Memorandums Nos. 4, 5 and 6, in letters to the countries that will participate in the Belgrade Forum-77, to PEN International, to the leadership of the U.S.S.R., etc., the Group to Promote has called the attention of the world community to the complete lack of any guarantees in defence of Law in Ukraine, which proves that the bureaucratic structure of the U.S.S.R. and the officials of internal security have usurped the constitutional prerogatives of the Soviet of Deputies of Workers, and because of this, the Fundamental Law of the State (the Constitution), and all the more so the international

agreements on Human Rights are not being implemented.

What will happen now? Will the movement in defence of Law be destroyed with the tacit approval of the signatories of the Helsinki Accords, accompanied only by the sorrowful shaking of heads? Or will the Belgrade Conference-77 call on those that violate laws and rights to answer?

We do not consider that world public opinion should painfully react to EACH violation of rights in our country — every nation has its own troubles, similar to ours. Such a reaction would be senseless and even dangerous to the movement in defence of Law, for it would make this movement dependent on unknown forces and influences, and would tear it from its own roots, from the evolutionary development of the consciousness of Law in one's own nation. Guarantees of the Law must be established HERE, by demanding the unswerving implementation of the laws of the Ukr. S.S.R. and the U.S.S.R.

This is why we are firmly committed to the continuation of our uneven struggle to the end, in the sincere belief that the national will, sooner or later, will confirm the Rule of Law in all spheres of thought, creative pursuit and action.

UKRAINIAN GROUP TO PROMOTE THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE HELSINKI ACCORDS

Oles BERDNYK
Petro HRYHORENKO
Oksana MESHKO
Levko LUKYANENKO

Myroslav MARYNOVYCH
Mykola MATUSEVYCH
Nina STROKATA

March 15, 1977

SUPPLEMENT TO MEMORANDUM No. 7

As we have already reported, on February 5, 1977, officials of the KGB, in addition to arresting M. Rudenko and O. Tykhy, conducted searches in the homes of many members of the Group to Promote and their relatives.

In the apartment of M. Rudenko (Kyiv) the literary and scientific archives were completely destroyed. The KGB confiscated a volume of poetry, consisting of some 50,000 verses, the manuscripts of a science fiction novel, philosophical works on economics, cosmogony, etc. M. Rudenko's wife, son Yuriy, and writer O. Berdnyk, a member of the Group, were subjected to personal searches. O. Berdnyk's literary archives were also almost completely confiscated.

In the apartment of Group member O. Meshko the KGB conducted

not so much a search but vandalism. Investigator Pankov (of the Kyiv public prosecutor's office entered the premises like a burglar — he broke in through a window. All books and things were turned upside down, letters and manuscripts were confiscated wholesale with no regard for their contents. "All the trash", as Pankov expressed himself. A personal search of O. Meshko was conducted forcibly: the investigator held her arms fast while two women searched her.

A search was conducted at the apartment of Group member Nina Strokata, who lives in exile in Tarusa (the R.S.F.S.R.).

In Drohobych, a search was conducted in the apartment of M. Marynovych's mother, L. I. Marynovych. The warrant was issued separately in the names of Marynovych and Matussevych, who lives elsewhere and was only visiting. The action was conducted during the night. When Matussevych and Marynovych protested against a personal search, they were taken to the headquarters of the militia, where the search was made. A record of the proceedings, however, was denied them. Of course, agents of the organs were there.

A search was conducted in the apartment of Matussevych's sister Tamila (Kyiv), who had been arrested in Vasylkiv and brought to Kyiv. Letters, documents, the book **The Sword of Arey**, a camera and a photo-enlarger were confiscated. The home of Matussevych's mother, Anastasiya Fedorivna (in Vasylkiv), was searched. She was arrested at the school where she teaches. At the time of the search her 8-year-old grandson was not allowed to go for a walk. On that same day a search was conducted at the home of Marynovych's wife Raisa Serhyivna Serhiychuk (village of Kalynivka, Vasylkiv district). During the search she was not allowed to feed her 9-year-old daughter, and the daughter was not allowed to go for a walk.

A search was conducted at the apartment of Matussevych's wife, Olha Dmytrivna, in "connection with the case of O. Tykhy". She and a guest, Y. Badzyo, were personally searched.

The dacha (country home) of the Matussevych family was searched (village of Shevchenko, Vasylkiv district) in the presence of Matussevych's father, Ivan Petrovych, who had been brought there from his apartment in Vasylkiv.

A search was conducted in the home of Matussevych's wife's parents, Heyko and Sushan (Kyiv). The mother, Anna Ivanivna Sushan, fainted, and as a result, the search was conducted without the presentation of a warrant and without a record of the proceedings.

During the searches, hundreds of objects were confiscated — books, manuscripts, notebooks, letters, etc. In all cases there were flagrant violations of procedural law.

UKRAINIAN GROUP TO PROMOTE THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE HELSINKI ACCORDS

March 10, 1977

MEMORANDUM No. 8

On the Persecution of V. Lisova, Wife of a Political Prisoner

The name of V. (Vasyl) Lisovy — philosopher, courageous champion of Law — is known to the world. He is suffering in the (labour) camps of Perm Region for having selflessly defended his countrymen sentenced for their beliefs.

Here we would like to draw the attention of the participating countries of the Helsinki Conference to the miserable and helpless situation of the wife of this political prisoner, Vira Lisova, and her two children. For many years she was unemployed and led a beggar's existence. Finally, she received temporary work. But still she had no peace: collaborators of the KGB regularly broke into her apartment, terrorizing her psychologically, threatening and frightening her children.

After her letters to the French Communist Party and other organizations in defence of her husband, the officials of the KGB became rabid. On March 4 of this year she was ordered by phone to come to the Ukrainian KGB in Kyiv for a conversation. She refused. That same day a messenger brought to her a notice summoning her to appear on March 5 as a witness, not, however, before an examining magistrate, but directly to the Ukrainian KGB. She refused, in view of the fact that the summons, from a legal standpoint, was groundless.

On March 9, while she was at work, a plenipotentiary of the Ukrainian KGB, who refused to give his name, called her into the office of the deputy director of the Institute for the Organization of Labour and Modernization of Industry. He ordered the administration officials to leave and proceeded with a psychological beating.

Here are some gems of his verbal eruption: "You are a dishonourable woman! You take part in nationalist activities, just like your husband! You pass information abroad". (This was a reference to a letter to G. Marché). "You were at the send-off for Amalrik. You kept contact with Rudenko. You reproduced copies of your husband's 'Open Letter'. You receive packages and help from nationalist sources. If you have the conscience of a Soviet person, give them up!"

V. Lisova answered that if the packages were from hostile sources, the KGB could prohibit their delivery. The collaborator of the Ukrainian KGB replied that they have no such power, but that she herself was obliged to do so.

"You bitterly hate the KGB and the Soviet government. You live in a hostile environment. We fight for you. We will be reporting to the public prosecutor. We can imprison you, but we feel sorry for you".

V. Lisova walked out of the office in a terrible state. After taking medication, she visited the public prosecutor of the Republic who oversees the KGB, where she wrote a statement about all this. The public prosecutor promised to pass on her statement to the KGB for

“review”. At home V. Lisova fell seriously ill. Emergency aid personnel diagnosed a pre-heart failure state. Rest and treatment were prescribed.

The following day — more calls from the KGB and promises to continue the “conversation” after her recovery. The personnel office of the Institute informed her that she was sacked and that same day brought to her home her job registration book.

Thus, V. Lisova — mother of two children, a sick and unprotected woman — finds herself without work, without any means of subsistence, and under the Damoclean sword of the KGB. The tyrannical power-mad top dog and complete lawlessness exult triumphant. When V. Lisova promised to put in a complaint with V. Fedorchuk, chairman of the Ukrainian KGB, she received the cynical reply: “Be sure to write also to Andropov!”

We will stop right here! These facts are sufficient to illustrate the revelry of lawlessness in Ukraine.

UKRAINIAN GROUP TO PROMOTE THE IMPLEMENTATION
OF THE HELSINKI ACCORDS

March 11, 1977

O. Berdnyk
O. Meshko
L. Lukyanenko

I. Kandyba
N. Strokata
P. Hryhorenko

MEMORANDUM No. 9

To the Public Prosecutor of Ukraine:

**On the Gross Violations of Law in the Investigative “Case”
of M. Rudenko**

The Public Prosecutor’s Office of Ukraine sanctioned the arrest of the poet M. Rudenko, the leader of the Group to Promote (Helsinki) in Ukraine. According to Article 116 of the UPK (Code of Criminal Procedures) of the Ukr. S.S.R., an investigation must be conducted where the suspect or the majority of the witnesses reside, or where the crime took place. Taking into account all the points specified in the UPK, the investigation should be conducted in Kyiv.

Why has procedural Law been violated? Of what concern is the formation of the Ukrainian Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords to the Donetsk KGB Administration and to its

senior investigator, Nahovitsyn, who is in charge of the investigation and who summons scores of people to Donetsk from Kyiv, Chernihiv, Lviv and so on?

It seems that we see here juridical abuse on the part of the officials of repression, which are preparing a reprisal against the poet in secrecy from the public of Ukraine. Inasmuch as the subject of discussion is the movement in defence of the law in the Republic, our Group demands adherence to all procedural norms and an open trial. We feel that the Ukrainian KGB in Donetsk HAS NO RIGHT to summon witnesses in a case involving the Group, since the nucleus of the Group is in Kyiv. We ask you to point out this gross violation of the law to the security officials.

March 18, 1977

(signed) Oles Berdnyk
Member of the Ukrainian Group
To Promote the Implementation of the
Helsinki Accords

TO: THE PRESIDIUM OF THE SUPREME SOVIET OF THE
U.S.S.R., MOSCOW, THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED
STATES OF AMERICA, WASHINGTON

An Open Letter

Honoured Legislators of the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A.!

In signing the Helsinki Accords, the two most powerful countries on Earth gave their Solemn Word that they would cooperate in the cause of safeguarding peace, security and Human Rights. People with an honoured sense of legality in different parts of the world received the Accords as a kindred cause and began to form groups to promote the implementation of these agreements. Such a group appeared also in Ukraine, a group which in its declaration pointed to instances of violations of the Law in our Republic. But even before the declaration had a chance to be heard in the world, blows rained upon the Group — numerous searches, persecution, threats, and, on February 5, 1977, the arrests of the head of the Group, the poet Mykola Rudenko, and a Group member, teacher Oleksiy Tykhy.

They were arrested with no warrant being issued, with no indication of the substance of the crime. For weeks now they have held Mykola Rudenko in a Donetsk dungeon, without informing his family and friends about the reasons for his arrest and forbidding his wife to send him even the most essential things.

An ominous precedent! All the standards of Law violated completely! The officials of repression have returned to the practices of Beria's time, the practices that were damned by the people. What Helsinki Accords is it possible to speak of when a prominent poet and thinker and the author of the **Economic Monologues**, in which he reveals for mankind a new understanding of the interdependence of Man and the Cosmos, when such a selfless human being has been brutally tossed into a dangeon, as in the darkest periods of the Inquisition?!

In this can be clearly traced the purposeful actions of the anti-evolutionary forces, which strive to destroy the efforts of the governments of the U.S.S.R., the U.S.A. and the other signatories of the Helsinki Accords, aimed at safeguarding peace and securing Human Rights. It is imperative that the criminal acts of persecution against fighters for Law be resolutely investigated.

Putting forth my demand for such an investigation, in accordance with the laws of friendship and brotherhood that have been practiced in Ukraine since ancient times, I DECLARE A HUNGER STRIKE as a sign of protest against the arrest of Mykola Rudenko and other fighters for Law.

The hunger strike will last until either Mykola Rudenko is released, or competent officials announce in the press what he was arrested for and what they plan to do with him.

I will begin the hunger strike in March 1977. I ask the Helsinki Guarantees Committee in Washington to support me. I ask other fighters for Law and all honest people in the World to join with me at least symbolically by demanding the release of Mykola Rudenko and other fighters for Law.

Kyiv.

March 1, 1977

(signed) OLES BERDNYK
Member, Ukrainian Group
To Promote the Implementation
of the Helsinki Accords

TO THE FIRST SECRETARY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF
THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF UKRAINE, V. V. SHCHERBYTSKY

Copy: The Congress of the United States

An Open Letter

Volodymyr Vasylyovych!

For a few years now you have been informed about the situation I have found myself in since being expelled from the Writers' Union: a beggar's existence, a total ban on the publication of my works, constant persecution by security officials, searches, electronic

surveillance, provocations, confiscation of my literary archives, the impossibility of creative self-expression. And finally, in line with Order No. 31, dated August 13, 1976, and issued by the Main Administration for the Safeguarding of State Secrets in Print (of the Council of Ministers), all my books (even for children) were destroyed, removed from libraries and taken off the book market.

In its most recent search, in December 1976, the KGB confiscated almost all of my literary archives — unfinished short stories, philosophical works, a writer's diary, etc.

Does world public opinion need more evidence than that, that to the bureaucratic system of our country the Helsinki Accords are empty words? When a fiction writer, a dreamer, a futurologist, an author of several dozen books about the future, about a New World of Love and Unity, is crushed and debased before the public?!

In spite of my numerous personal appeals to you for help in unraveling my life's knot, I have received neither help nor a reply! There is no hope for renewing my creative work as a writer, and without this I cannot contemplate further living! I have but one solution — to emigrate with my family to the U.S.A. or Canada, from where I have received invitations. There I could continue my work in the field of futurology.

The alternative to emigration: DEATH. I cannot breath in this atmosphere of lawlessness and vicious persecution. In all sincerity, I would rather not live in a foreign land, but to "patriotically" await arrest or other forms of repression, while living in poverty with a small child at the homes of others, under the unflinching eye of the KGB — this my soul does not accept!

This drives me to a radical step: on March 21, 1977, I will begin a hunger strike until DEATH, unless I receive your radical reply. This is not a threat, Volodymyr Vasylyovych! It is simply an escape from the labyrinth of lawlessness into which I was thrust by the apologists of arbitrariness.

I hold you personally responsible for whether or not I shall receive an answer this time. Do not heed the bureaucratic whisperings that I am blackmailing the Central Committee. I have forty days, as do you, after which every day may bring THAT GUEST who passes no one by. In my situation I greet him, for DEATH at this time is more merciful than men!

May fate keep you from the straits on which I and my colleagues in misfortune have befallen.

Sincerely,

(signed) Oles BERDNYK
Member, Ukrainian Group
To Promote the Implementation
of the Helsinki Accords.

March 12, 1977

“THE ENVY OF DANTE”

The following is the full text of a letter written by Yosyp Terelya, a Ukrainian political prisoner who served 14 years in prison and was again incarcerated last June. The letter was addressed to Yuri Andropov, chief of the KGB and member of the Council of Ministers of the USSR.

An Open Letter to the Chief of the KGB,
Council of Ministers of the USSR,
Yu. V. Andropov,
From Citizen of Ukraine Yosyp Terelya.

“Do not bind yourselves in a strange yoke with unbelievers; for what has righteousness to do with wickedness, or light with darkness?”

(The Second Epistle of Apostle Paul to the Corinthians, 6:14).

Yuriy Volodymyrovych,

You may note the above quotation from the evangelist Apostle Paul and agree that you and I really have little in common — you are a despot, one of those behind whose backs lawlessness creates “its own” law. “Be my friend, or else I’ll kill you”.

By conviction I am a human being. By religious belief — a Christian; to be more precise, a Ukrainian Catholic, a Uniate. Yes, the very same Uniate who has no officially recognised Church, the Uniate who under the threat of imprisonment is forbidden to take part in prayers and functions of worship, go to Confession, baptise his children, repent and celebrate Church holidays lest he be labeled from above a “militant Catholic”.

The Ukrainian Catholic Church is in the catacombs. You, if anyone, know this well. Strange, is it not, that the age of Diocletian is long gone, we’re in the twentieth century, and Ukrainian Catholics are in the catacombs. (Many other Christian communities in the USSR also find themselves underground). But, actually, I wish to speak here about myself personally, and about you. You are well acquainted with my geneology from my camp protests and statements, but I feel that I should refresh your memory as to who I am. I am one of the thousands of Christians who has felt your despotic fist on his own skin.

My family comes from Boykivshchyna. I was born in 1943, during the Hungarian occupation of Carpathian Ukraine. During my short life span, I have lived through three occupations. I grew up in a family of Communists. My father organised the first collective farm in Voliechyna in 1949, and in that same year was wounded by — as is officially said — a “Banderite bullet”. My mother was graduated from the Higher Party School of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine. As you can see, I could not have been born a “bourgeois nationalist”. From childhood I was taught to love and honour my native village, my home; in time this would be turned into a “crime” against the foundations of Soviet society. I grew up blind and dumb, as did also others. For one, I enjoyed going to church with my grandmother; in time this child’s curiosity would also become a “crime”. I first felt another’s hatred — from a foreigner, a grown man — when I was in the ninth grade, with two months remaining in the school year. It happened that I was called a “filthy Hutsul”, to which I replied in an original manner — by spitting in his face. To spit in another’s face is forbidden; one should stand silent and not even wipe his own. Thrice they expelled me from school and every time for “hooliganism” — hooliganism, for which there is no forgiveness in the USSR, not even for children. From the ninth grade until today, I am hounded by the chauvinistic slogan: “He would not step onto the road of rehabilitation”.

By 1961, after having completed construction school, I was already on the “register”, paying semi-weekly visits to the Office of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Ukrainian SSR, 15 Korolenko St., Room 7. In 1962 I was sentenced under Article 223, Section 2, to four years in a corrective labour camp. On January 4, 1963, I fled from Uzhhorod Prison No. 12 8-72; I was caught. Another trial, another sentence — five years in a severe-regime corrective labour camp — and as Colonel Bilyj of the regional KGB warned me, “One more time and you won’t weasel out of it . . .” I fled again in 1965, this time from camp No. 128-59 in Pishchanka. I escaped, lived seven months in freedom, under assumed names. In 1966 KGB officials told my mother that if Yosyp gives up and repents, all will be forgiven, for aside from escaping, he did not commit any crime. On February 28, 1966, I appeared to repent at the regional office of the KGB in Luhanske (Voroshylovgrad). You know very well how repentance is received. First of all you report on all who interest the KGB, then the repentance and repudiation of “the past”. It is necessary to renounce everything. “Take off that crucifix. What kind of repentance is this? . . .”

On March 1, 1966, I was arrested and transferred to Vinnytsia Prison, whose warden then was Colonel Kashyryn. The prison greeted me “joyously”: on the second day after my arrival I was given fifteen

days in the penal block, so that — according to the chief of operations section — I would become "acclimated". On May 2, a trial — seven years severe-regime corrective labour camp. In July they transferred me to Camp No. 128-39, in the village of Ladyshyno. During this time the KGB was feverishly searching for "a candidate for a statement of repentance..." Repressions began with my first moments in the camp. As soon as I set foot inside the prison gate — "Take Terelya aside and search him well. Take off all the regalia". That is how I became acquainted with First Lieutenant Yarmosh, who was to be my future tormentor. They began to strip me. Seeing a locket with a picture of the Virgin Mary, they ripped it off. And for having dared to conduct this "overt propaganda" — fifteen days of SHIZO (penal solitary cell). After release from the SHIZO — more repressions. Prisoners were forbidden to talk with me, walk with me, "associate" with me. Every morning the officer would announce in front of the prisoners' ranks that I was a bandit, that I was there for rehabilitation and that they would beat the "Banderite spirit" out of me. One August day before dinner — by this time I had already spent one month and fifteen days in the SHIZO — the guards herded all believing Christians into the dining room. No one suspected anything. The head regime officer, First Lieutenant Yaromosh, and the deputy political instructor of the camp, Captain Tarchevsky, were present at this affair. Yaromosh ordered all vegetarians to step onto the stage, where there was a "table for parasites". Ten prisoners stepped forward. "Set Terelya in a chair in front of them all". The order was carried out with precision. The remaining nine were tied hand and foot to their chairs with telephone wire, after which the guards began "feeding" the religious Evangelical prisoners. They began pouring (illegible) into the prisoners' mouths, while the supervisors were "splitting their sides" with laughter. When everyone was "fed" it was commanded that Terelya try some meat broth by himself, for the guards were tired, but before eating he must say a prayer, for all Christians pray. A tight circle was formed — around me; the believers were herded into the circle so that they could all see how one should eat broth by himself. I recited a prayer aloud: "Lord God, help us sinners endure the work of the evil one". They knocked me off my feet and began to beat me. And so I ended up in the camp jail for "correction". That same day, they sent for "correction" the believer of Christ's Church, Jehovah's Witness Vozny and the Orthodox A. Boyko. (For writing a book, "One Human Being to Another" and for forming a camp organisation Boyko was sentenced in 1969 to be executed by firing squad).

The camp jail was where the torture began. We were made to pick up and stack granite slabs that were "scattered" about; we were given three twigs to clean the cells of water sloshed on the floor; we were forced to stand for days on one spot. After a month we were told that the camp commission could not release us because we had

not stepped onto the path of rehabilitation. At ten o'clock each morning the camp commandant, Major Platonov, First Lieutenant Yaromash, Captain Tarchevsky and the chief of the guards Captain Volosenko, along with a formation of guards would come to the camp jail to see if their "victims" would beg for forgiveness and "confess" their crimes. After two months my weight dropped to 49 kilogrammes. Our daily menu was uniform:

"IO-B"

1. 400 grams of bread (special bread)
2. 200 grams of meatless broth
3. 15 grams of salt
4. 63 grams of rotten fish (rotten salt sprats)

'I PRAYED TO GOD'

November brought snow and frost. The snow mixed with rain and the chilly winds penetrated through our summer uniforms; for inserting towels underneath our shorts and thus violating the "uniform dress code", we were severely beaten.

On November 3rd (a day I shall never forget) I was taken into the corridor before the others and told to undress. I undressed. Encircled by Yaromash and the guards I thought they would beat me; however no one did. Volosenko asked whether it was true that Christians are baptised in water. I wasn't sure what I should answer... Finally I gathered enough courage, and said yes. They told me to go outside. I started to dress, but they took away my clothes and chased me into the street. The cell locks clanked, and the other prisoners were filed outside. When I came into the courtyard, they doused me with water, placed into my hands a small icon of the Jerusalem Mother of God which they had confiscated from me, along with a Bible back at the Vinnytsia Prison, and told me to stand in front of the prisoners who refused to step onto the road of correction. They said that I would be saved by the Almighty Jesus Christ. Some believers began to cry and pray out loud; right then and there they were beaten for "sympathising" with a Banderite. I prayed to God that I would endure and not fall. Then they herded everyone under a roof and began to pour out portions of swill; in the cold the cooked concoction cooled immediately. I was left behind at the "place of work" to "think things over" — I did not know then that this would be my place of work for two months, minus four days. On December 30th I was transferred to Vinnytsia Prison, and from there to a prison in Odessa.

On a few occasions during December they took me into the courtyard, where in front of the "zek" (prisoner) formation they enumerated my "crimes" and warned the prisoners that if any one were caught near the penal block yards with bread in his hands, he would take Terelya's or Boyko's place.

In 1967 the Kirovohrad Regional Court sentenced me to eight years in a severe-regime correction labour camp for "tenditious interpretation of the history of Ukraine and slanderous fabrications about the policies of the Government and the Party". My poems, notes and even my thoughts, all this became evidence of — criminal activities aimed at creating "a so-called independent Ukraine".

Interesting? Could it be that no one realises that by this Soviet law and rights guaranteed by the Constitution were being violated? They knew and still they violated — this is Stalinism in a new form. I find it difficult to write about and describe all the details of the cruelties I suffered at the hands of the officers and men of the Ministry of Internal Affairs (BVD) of the Ukrainian SSR. Even the officials of the investigative branch of the Kirovohrad KGB were shocked. All of the above-mentioned criminals in MVD uniforms were called as "witnesses" in my case, and no matter how bitter it was for the court to admit this, it did make note in the sentence that the camp administration "treated Terelya, Y. M., with cruelty". And that was all. With cruelty. At that time I did not know that "cruel" treatment could also be official, that is sanctioned by law. In Kirovohrad I was neither beaten nor chased out into the frost and doused with water. But, instead, the regional procurator Dyatlov, in the presence of the head of the investigative branch of the KGB, Snyesarenko, and an investigator, First Lieutenant Medvedyev, read me "The regulations Concerning Physical Persuasion Methods", explaining that they apply when there is some evidence of criminal activity on the part of the accused which is dangerous to the state system, and when the accused refuses to testify. I do not have to explain to you this well-known procedure, and you know very well why I was selected for this "humour". For two years I was tortured by the KGB; this time they did it officially, demanding that I admit to being a member of the OUN (Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists), knowing very well that I was never nor could I have been a member of an organisation that was destroyed by the valiant KGB when I was but three years old. To prove that they were not kidding, they placed me in a penal cell for fifteen days. The temperature of the cell was changed every hour — one hour hot, one hour cold. Here I got hypertonia and haemorrhoids. Even before my trial they told my mother that Yosyp would get ten years. When she asked then why go through with the trial, when everything is already known in advance, they answered that if I should confess, then possibly, I would be released, but for this I would have to be influenced. The trial lasted four days — my mother was present for three — a trial behind closed doors. I and my fellow

accused — Yuriy Zapashny, the son of a famous entertainer, and Alim Khabirovych Seyfutdinov, the son of the district party secretary of Baykanur, denounced the pre-trial investigation proceedings as false and deceiving formality. They dragged us into the court room by force, handcuffed, beaten up, barefoot.

Tell me, where else could one find such enthusiasm in the performance of duties; we had, after all, refused to take part in the trial, a right that is guaranteed by your laws.

My mother witnessed all this cruel mockery throughout the entire 'trial'. When they let her speak so that she could influence me, she said: "I would rather see you crucified on a slab than alive in their hands". The court reached its verdict:

"Terelya, Y. M., as a juvenile was drawn into criminal company. Aside from escaping, he did not commit any crimes. Taking into account his youth, and so forth, he cannot be considered an especially dangerous repeat offender; therefore this court sentences him to eight years in a severe-regime corrective labour camp. The term will begin on August 10, 1967".

One year and five months was lost without hope of recovery. They told me later that the court got its dates mixed up, but this "mistake" never did get corrected.

'THIS IS NOT UKRAINE'

And that is how I got into "Dubrovlag" in the Mordovian ASSR, into the "fiefdom" of the old Beria hand and Stalinist, General Hromov, who had eluded the punishing hand of the law. March 10, 1968, I entered Camp No. 3 85/II in Yavas Station, where the camp commandant was Major Spirin.

Three days after my arrival I was put into the SHIZO — ten days. At that time I was having problems with my stomach and liver. Major Biskaykin, stopping by the SHIZO, told me that I would croak there. In the spring, they took me, Yaroslav Lesiv and Volodymyr Kulchytsky to a local prison near women's camp No. 385/2, where we were met by KGB Captain Petro Rusyn and Major Krut. When I entered the office, Major Krut began "screaming" at Captain Rusyn for wasting time on "this bandit, the scum who should have been shot a long time ago; the government is only wasting bread on him". Rusyn asked that Krut leave and let the two of us be alone. The Major left. The captain approached me and said that Krut is an old Stalinist and scoundrel, that I should ignore him, etc. He continued that if I decided to co-operate with the KGB they would free me in a year, give me a woman and good food. He said that I should think it over and give "a bit of thread" (disclose any contacts), for my case is not closed, and it would be better for me to tell all, so that things don't get worse later.

When I answered that there was no "bit of thread", Rusyn began threatening me that this is not Ukraine, that they would soon "dehorn" me. And if I ever do get released, all my work will go for medicine". Here, you'll turn blue and green, you'll croak and there won't even be the trace of a grave". He said, "Before you finish your term, we'll Russify Ukraine". To which I replied that I had not planned on living in a Russified Ukraine, I would live in Russia and Ukrainianise it. This comment cost me five months in the camp jail. In the camp jail I was struck by paralysis; in December my legs refused me. The same month they transferred me to the prison hospital, where Captain Yeremeyeva was in charge of the medical section. While making the rounds Yeremeyeva began beating her chest and shouting at me that she is, first of all a Chekist and only then a physician, that I am "filthy Banderite scum" and that she would soon have me on my feet. In three days I began to haemorrhage profusely — from the nose and mouth, and in a week, from the right ear. These were the results of all I had to endure since March 1966, the day I voluntarily placed myself in the hands of the KGB.

They had no choice but to take me to the main hospital in Barashevo Station, No. 385/3, where I was placed in a separate room. In two weeks the crisis had passed. Just before New Year's Day 1969, Doctor (Volodymyr) Horbovy, who was suffering from a heart ailment, was brought to this hospital; as a compatriot, he came to visit me in the ward (I could not walk about — the paralysis was progressing), and someone informed on us. Captain Rusyn arrived and ordered that I be removed from the hospital. If I wished to continue being treated, I would have to divulge the subject of my conversation with Doctor Horbovy. I refused to speak with Rusyn. Within one hour I was placed on a stretcher and carried to the train station, where I was put on a handcar and returned to camp. During this time, my mother was writing complaints and petitions, demanding that I receive treatment and that she be allowed to visit and correspond with me. Between March 1, 1966 and May 12, 1969, I did not receive nor did I have a chance to write a single letter. Major Spirin's official answer to my mother was:

"Your son Terelya, Y. M., is presently in good health and will write to you soon". — Commandant of ZhKh 385/II, Major Spirin.

In the summer of 1969, I was transferred to Camp ZhKh 385/9, where on September 25, A. Radygin, Roman Semeniuk, Stepan Batikian and I were sentenced to three years of prison regime for allegedly planning to escape. Within a month we were in Vladimir Prison ST-2. First they placed us on a reduced food allotment. After two months on this reduced allotment, my ailments began to worsen.

The head of the prison hospital, Lieutenant Colonel Yelena Butova, had me placed in hospital ward No. 2, cell 21. The cell was aired before my arrival to the extent that the walls were covered with frost. I was forced to take off everything "warm", and they took away my quilted jacket because it was "out of place" in a hospital. After one week, First Lieutenant N. Obrubov, a representative of the KGB, ordered my transfer from my cell into the common ward because I had not stepped onto the road of rehabilitation. I wrote a protest, addressed to you, with a copy for Secretary of the CC CPSU, L. Brezhnev.

In that protest, I dared to compare the regime and diet in German concentration camps, with your Soviet ones, as well as with the diet a guard-dog gets, up to the age of one year:

1. 500 grams of white bread
2. 2 eggs.
3. 180 grams of sugar
4. 500 grams of milk
5. 20 grams of salt
6. 380 grams of cereal
7. 3 kilograms of meat.

Taken from the magazine "Nauka i zhyzn", 1969.

For this protest, I was turned over for examination by a commission at the regional psychiatric hospital in Vladimir. The commission found me sane but physically emaciated. They again placed me in a hospital cell and began to feed me. A Borys Vladimirovych (he did not mention his last name) of the KGB told me that I "disgrace" them and that they would feed me until I burst... "Someone" began spreading a rumour in the prison that I was a "KGB agent", that I was a "Carpathian yid" who had wormed himself into Ukrainian affairs. Soon the lavatory walls were marked: "Terelya is a Yid", "Terelya is a KGB agent". In a new protest I mentioned the baiting — they began to terrorise me openly, threatening that they would put me on trial; finally, Major Zolotov said that they would mix me in with the garbage. On January 5, 1972 criminal cases No. 33 and No. 34 were opened against me and Zynoviy Krasivsky, with Captain Plyshkov and the head of the investigative branch of the regional KGB, Major Yeseyev, as the investigators, and First Lieutenant I. A. Sydoruk of the Ukrainian SSR KGB as the translator. Krasivsky was charged with writing a collection of poems — "The Weeping of Slaves", and a poem "Satan's Triumph". I — with distributing my own collection — "Bitterness".

And thus, after S. Karavansky's trial in the prison, they began to put the Ukrainian language on trial once again.

In the latter part of July, Captain Plyeshkov said that I would croak in Kazan after a life as a bedridden cripple. My fate was cast

as was the fate of Z. Krasivsky and Yu. Belov. The Serbsky Institute in Moscow judged me to be mentally ill.

"For my name, all will despise you.

And whoever endures to the end, he will be saved".

(Gospel according to Mark, 13: 13).

On December 8th, 1972, I arrived at the special psychiatric hospital Institution ZhKh Ya 100/5, in Sychovka.

Atop the exit gate a large sign was posted with these words written in blood-red letters: "To freedom with a clear conscience". This, in a special concentration camp for the mentally ill. Five rows of barbed wire, two fences with watchtowers, dogs, exterior guards with automatic weapons. Eleven large, two-story barracks for the "zeks" or, as they also call them, "psychos". Psychos are separated into the politicals and the criminals — the criminals are those who are on the road to correction, while the politicals are those who still have to be "corrected", or simply killed. A criminal, a double murderer (he killed a woman nine months pregnant) was released from Sychovka after one year while "the slanderer" V. Zhuk stayed for five years.

It is night. A blizzard. They are taking us to the automobiles ("ravens") packing us in to exhaustion. We've seen this all before, but somehow, here, at this night station, it all seems dark and heavy, void of anything human. One senses the impudence of the soldiers and guards — we are totally without rights. No one is accountable for us, for our lives. In a dirty, bunker-like building (in this building condemned Polish officers awaited their destruction in 1941), we are stripped, and guards take us in threes to the "reception" and this is in the middle of the night. There are five persons inside the room, among them a woman in a white smock (Tsaryova, the wife of the sadist Tsaryov) — how out of place they all seem — the rest in military uniforms. Our "cases" are spread before them. I enter and stop by the door.

"And what have we here? A second time under Article 70 ("anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda"), two escapes — say you're thankful that you're still alive. You should remember that this is a camp for especially dangerous offenders. Subordination to authorities is required without a word".

I remain silent.

"A Yid?" the first lieutenant asks. I remain silent. "What? You refuse to talk to us? You dirty scum. You want to go to Israel?" I answer that I am a Ukrainian from the Carpathian Mountains. "A Carpathian Yid, then; a self-respecting khakhol (a derogatory Russian term for Ukrainian) would not undermine the state". I was assigned to the Tenth Section, under First Lieutenant Yuzek Kazemirovych. But. He calls me into his office at eleven o'clock the following morning. The "orderlies" (criminal offenders) take me to

his office. There are two men in the office. We get acquainted — Ihor Noyevych Kushakovsky, the chief physician and Yuzek Kazy-mirovych. They ask what ails me and what is my complaint. I answer that I am having problems with my liver and stomach. They interrupt and ask whether I agree with the diagnosis. Yes, I answer, I agree. But they grew flushed and screamed that they will decide what is what, they will treat me with “kulazin”, (from “kulak”, a first) they’ll beat my brains out. Get out . . .

In two weeks my mother and my sister Natalka arrived for a visit. They lead them and warn them: converse only in Russian, nothing about the case, nothing about the hospital: otherwise — “kulazin”.

When I was brought to Sychovka, I weighed 52 kilograms (my height is 173 cm). We talk, jumping around from this to that; we talk in our native language. The visit is stopped. My mother demands a translator. There is none. He left, for he also services Smolensk Prison (the Smolensk Prison at this time only had one Ukrainian prisoner — Krasivsky). My mother says that she’ll wait for the translator. I receive my parcel which is thoroughly searched — even pieces of candy are cut in half — and leave. The following morning I find a Finnish knife in the parcel. I reported this to the administration. In fifteen minutes, some ten persons — guards and “orderlies” — burst into the section, jump on me, beat me and tie me to the bed, all the time demanding to know whom I planned to kill. I remained tied to my bed for a full two months, receiving a nightly “kulazin treatment” from the guards and “orderlies”, who beat me with their boots and keys. I was “released” by KGB Major Shestinsky. As he put it, he was tied to me as a patron, and it was solely up to me when I would become “rehabilitated” and would be able to go home.

In Sychovka there are close to 300 politicals; there are 24 in the Tenth Section, with the remaining 70 being criminals.

1. Kryuchkov, an Evangelical Christian from Kaluga, a Russian sentenced in 1941 to be shot, sentence commuted to 25 years, taken to Sychovka in 1956 for “treatment”.

2. Elim Makhayev, a Chechen, born in 1942, an orthodox Moslem, leader of the United Party for Freedom of Caucasia, sentenced by a court in Grozny in 1969.

3. Bohdanas, a Lithuanian, Catholic, a citizen of Germany; from 1945 to 1948 held in a preventive custody camp near Volohda; transferred in 1948 to the Norilsk camps; was in a special camp for foreigners (8,000 prisoners). People of various nationalities — scientists, engineers, officers of various armies — were pressured to become Soviet citizens and work for the state. The “recalcitrant” were shot; only 300 prisoners remained in 1951. Bohdanas was transferred to a central hospital, from there in 1953 to a psychiatric hospital in Kazan, where he was held until his transfer in 1962 to Sychovka.

4. Vitaliy Zhuk, a Russian thrown into a special psychiatric hospital for "fabrications and slander directed against the organs of the Government".

5. Leonid Kotov, a Russian, a practising Orthodox, first sentenced in 1939. Sentenced a second time in 1945 to be shot, the sentence later commuted to 10 years, which he served until 1955 in the camps of Gorky and Mordovia. In 1956 he was seized again by the KGB and sentenced to 10 years. Of the 40 years of prisons and camps, Kotov served 20 years in special psychiatric hospitals. In 1975 he was murdered in Sychovka. May we always remember him, the son of Christ.

6. David Yakovych Boss, a Scot, Catholic, for wanting to return to his homeland, he was sentenced in 1945 under Article 58. He was released in 1953 and exiled to the Tadzhik SSR, where in 1956 he was again seized by the KGB, again for wanting to return to his homeland; pronounced mentally ill and placed in a prison in Kazan and in 1962 transferred to Sychovka. Released in October of 1975 and sent into internal exile.

7. Mykhailo Klishch, a Ukrainian Uniate (Catholic) born in 1941, sentenced under Article 62 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code ("anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda"); transferred in 1973 from Vladimir Prison to Sychovka for his drawings and poems; in 1974 he was tortured for drawing the portrait of Taras Shevchenko (Ukrainian poet) — tied and "treated" as one who had not stepped on to the road of rehabilitation.

8. Dmitriy Yurlov, a Russian from Kirov, sentenced in 1972 under Article 190, transferred to Sychovka for a riot in camp.

9. Yevhen Kudryavtsev, a Russian from Smolensk, sentenced under Article 190 and for making and stealing weapons; spent seven years in special psychiatric hospitals in Chernyakhov and Smolensk.

10. Anatoliy Volodin, a Russian sentenced under Article 190 in 1971; transferred from Vladimir Prison for "slandorous fabrications", hanged by the guards in his cell in 1975.

11. Ivan F. Lom-Lopot, a Ukrainian, first sentenced in 1942 under Article 58, paragraph 10; that same year he was pronounced mentally ill. Without a sentence and without any documents he was sent to the Tayshet camps, where after 8 years a camp court sentenced him to 25 years. In 1969 he was transferred to Vladimir Prison for collection of poems, and in 1970 he was brought to Sychovka. A poet, he writes in Russian.

12. Mykhailo Kukovaka, a Byelorussian, brought to trial by the Vladimir Region KGB under Article 190; a Marxist.

13. Bondarenko, a Ukrainian, a practicing Orthodox, former secretary of the Regional Committee in Dnipropetrovsk; repressed in the late 1930's, sentenced in 1949 by a camp court to 25 years for Evangelist propaganda. In 1951 he was transferred to Sukhovo-Bezodny Camp in Gorky Region, and from there to a special psychiatric

hospital in Kazan Prison. In 1961 he was transferred to Sychovka, where he was tortured to death by the administration of Section Three, as witnessed by D. Ya. Boss. May we always remember him, the son and servant of Christ.

What is Sychovka? It is what would have been the envy of Dante for characters and descriptions of scenes from hell . . .

The orderlies would beat and otherwise mistreat the "psychos" for any reason at all, especially the Jews. From 1972 on, secret persecution, mistreatment and beatings of Jews were sanctioned by camp and prison administrations. If we, Ukrainian nationalists were until recently considered as "spies", we now became "Yids", for "Yids" want only the "destruction" of the country(?). Parcels sent to the "psychos" were confiscated. For laughs, they would force the sick to eat live frogs. They raped the sick and thus satisfied their own sexual needs — and all for laughs . . . In 1965, the brigade leader of the orderlies of Section Three killed Surganov, a patient, with a hammer because he had asked for permission to go to the lavatory . . . And what happened? The murderer was transferred to another camp. In the spring and the beginning of summer 1973, under orders from Yelena Leontyevna, the head of Section 9, Smirnov, a patient was tortured for two months: "orderlies" beat him every night until he died. It must be noted that 40 per cent of the guards are Ukrainians, but if you speak their native language, not one would be able to serve as a translator. A few guards were Jews, and they would be especially brutal towards their co-religionists, lest the authorities say that they sympathised with the "Israelites"; in the sadist Tsaryov's Section 7, a Georgian Jew who had been pronounced mentally ill for seeking to emigrate to Israel was tortured to death.

The head of Section 4, Lev Zelyenev, one of the three sadists in the camp, drove Dakers, a patient to a stage that in a fit of despair and self-preservation, he grabbed an axe and hacked two orderlies; this was used by the administration to initiate a reign of terror in the entire "hospital". On July 21, in the forbidden zone they shot to death a young "zek", Litvinov, (an escape attempt took place that day, in which Litvinov had taken part); he lived another four hours (all this happened before my eyes), but the head of the Operations Section, First Lieutenant Tilka, would not permit an operation because he had not yet collected information about the escape. Tell me, in what other country do they shoot the mentally ill? Nowhere. But this is the norm in the USSR. The third escapee, Kabanov, by the way, was also shot and wounded; returned to the camp, he was horribly beaten — that is what you represent.

The political prisoner Yuriy Belov, who was involved with me in Z. Krasivsky's case No. 33, was systematically tortured, given constant treatment and threatened with the "bed for life". Under the threat of punishment, Belov was forbidden any contact with me, or with political prisoner V. Titov. Political prisoner Volodin, a

Russian artist, was hanged with the knowledge of the Operations Section and the head of his section, Tsaryov, and rumours were spread throughout the camp that he had committed suicide.

Tsaryov constantly terrorised the Ukrainian political prisoner, artist Mykhailo Klishch. Between 1963 and 1973, a total of 475 Sychovka inmates were killed or tortured to death — that is the number that died in Sychovka (for verification you can check the registration book for those coming to the "supply warehouse"; where in a column in line with all their names you'll see one word: "died"). What can I say? Only this: it is terrifying and disgusting to be a citizen of a country where a man is merely a footstool for the attainment of the goals of domination, autocracy and hegemony.

On April 7, 1976, I was released and — oh, paradox. On April 26, issuing me my internal passport, they proclaim me eligible for military duty — a repeat of the case of the well-known political prisoner Bukovsky. They would not let me live at home. My wife Olena Terelya, was thrown out of work a month before my release; they cancelled her residency permit as "unlawful". Tell me, could a residency permit in the Soviet Union be illegal? When some of my relatives who live abroad raise their voices, "It cannot be. Can the Russians be that stupid?". My uncle Ivan Fales, who was forced to emigrate from Bratislava to the US after the "Prague Spring", advises them to come here, to look around and experience first hand the "Soviet system". You laugh and say that this is the most radical propaganda. But whoever felt — if only once — Moscow's boot at his throat will never forget it. And all this concerns you. Everything that I have been made to suffer was from the hands of the KGB, that is, from your hands also. And how loathsome it is to be approached by people (intimidated by the KGB) and hear from them that the KGB is interested in knowing what kind of attitude Yosyp has towards the KGB. What kind of attitude can one have towards murderers? What kind of attitude can one have after 14 years of prisons, camps and special psychiatric hospitals? What?

Why, only in Sychovka I, "mentally ill", was assigned three KGB agents as my patrons — can you understand that? — patrons Major Shestinsky, Captain Stankevych and First Lieutenant Sezonov. So who is sick? I or the KGB? They demanded from me a confession and repudiation of all my beliefs, a "psycho", according to the Soviet diagnosis. Can a mentally ill person shake the foundations of the Soviet state? How unsure of itself must this state be when it considers all who have their own ideas either "mentally ill" or enemies of the state. In Sychovka, I was punished for paper and pencil — they broke fingers, they tied me up as one who was agitated — to write was forbidden. Have things changed now that I am enjoying so-called freedom? No. Even now I am not permitted to write, to study, to be published; I am seriously ill and have no money for treatment; I am denied this opportunity by the KGB and the militia. Meanwhile my

stomach and liver ailments and the radiculitis keep getting worse.

And so, today, I, one of the victims of the KGB say: "Come to your senses". Even though I be a voice crying in the desert, I know that all things must have an end. You may say that all this happened in the camps, but is it any different now in "freedom"? During the first five months of this gratuitous "freedom", I have thrice changed my residence (currently I really have no residence; because of the persecution by the militia and the KGB, I run around Ukraine as a harried deer). Everywhere they tell me, "Get out of our region". Interesting? Why "our"? Where can I go? Just recently I was told: "It's easier to kill you than to jail you; but understand, keep hanging around with the Yids and we'll kill you..." The opportunity was there, but they didn't kill, they only beat me. Who? Why, you did — the young men of your company. You have made me physically unfit for life, and still you try to finish me off. What are you then? I have the right to say killers. You can only stay silent and repent, if you still have a conscience...

In August 1976 I wrote a request, addressed to the Vinnytsia Eparchy, about the possibility of being consecrated a priest. On September 16, 1976 I received an official reply, signed by the secretary of the Eparchy, Rishka, that this was out of the question. On September 20, however, I received a telegram, signed by Bishop Agafangel himself, stating that I should come to his office on September 21. Here is the text of the telegram:

Sept. 20 1250

Telegram

Vinnytsia 50/29 16 20 1125
Komsomol, Kazatynsk (District)
Vinnytsia (Region)

Terelya, Yosyp Mykhailovych — It is imperative that you come to Vinnytsia on Tuesday, September 21 — Bishop Agafangel.

My wife and I left for Vinnytsia on September 21st. I arrived at the Eparchy office at ten in the morning and was met by Bishop Agafangel. We greeted each other and the Bishop told me that the Eparchy had reconsidered its "no" and decided to consecrate me a priest, after which I would be sent for a period of study to Leningrad. For this, however, I would have to go to the Head of the Church Council of the Vinnytsia Regional Executive Committee, Sobko, and talk with him. That is what had been decided by the regional authorities and if Sobko and those who stand behind him say "fine", there should not be any further delay in my case.

In Sobko's office there were some men present, who did not give their names, but, as Sobko said, I could speak in their presence. After a lengthy discussion, all problems concerning my consecration were resolved and official consent given. From there, I went to the Bishop

and informed him of the conversation. The Bishop, His Excellency Agafangel told me that I should officially become a psalmreader at the Church of St. Heorhiy and undergo practical training with Father Nykolay as a clergyman in the village of Kozemyn, which I accepted. And that in a month I would be summoned to Vinnytsia, where I would be consecrated and at the same time I would, for a certain period, gain knowledge that is an absolute must from the Bishop Himself. We said farewell and I went outside. As I walked out through the gate of the Eparchy office, a young person, about 30 years old, walked up to me and asked if I was Terelya, to which I replied yes. He then informed me that I should stop at Sobko's for about ten minutes, because it turned out some issues remained to be resolved. We got into a black passenger automobile and rode off; along the way, three other persons got in. I grew anxious. It was getting dark, and I was still being driven somewhere. Everyone was silent. After a while, the one with the fat mug asked where my family came from. I answered. They began to ask me why I had gone to the Bishop, when I was released and so on. Then they said that it would be better if I left the region and went home. I answered that I had been hounded out of there. Then they started threatening, that I shouldn't go to Church with my wife; "Don't make a Jesus Christ of yourself, all that is nothing but Yid fabrications". They began to threaten me, that if I don't stop the 'propaganda' of hallucinations among the intelligentsia and honest workers, we'll kill you, you scum". I replied that I would go to Church as I had before, that God's will is in everything and they should do whatever they wanted. It was night-time when we drove into some cemetery. They took me out of the car. All around us — graves, crosses, silence . . .

Someone hit me in the side and I collapsed. Blows rained down. I came to from the cold; something was cutting into my hand, someone was wheezing and cursing. My mouth was gagged with some cloth (a scarf). Having tied me, they said that I should think over everything that was said. Meanwhile, they would go to wet their throats . . .

From the night of September 21st to the night of the 23rd I was tied to the cross in a thicket of the cemetery's bushes and trees. On the 23rd, my tormentors came and untied me. They led me to the car; they started to beat me so that I wouldn't look around. The driver and two of those who had been there on the 21st were the only ones in the car. I was warned to keep all this to myself, for if I were to tell anyone, I would be put into a psychiatric hospital, where a "marathon" would be held. What that was, I didn't ask. They warned me once again to get out of the Vinnytsia Region.

A week later, I went to see Sobko in Vinnytsia (the Bishop was not in; who could know that the KGB would so abjectly use a Christian Bishop for its black purposes?)

At Sobko's, I told about everything. He asked if I had told anyone else — I said no. Then Sobko asked whether I had been treated in

psychiatric hospitals, to which I replied that everything was clear and got ready to leave. To this Sobko answered that I shouldn't get excited, that his name wouldn't figure in anywhere that I should wait while he calls the KGB office and we would talk everything over, that I was a "smart" boy, and what was the reason for getting excited. I refused to talk to a KGB representative, after which Sobko said that at 11 o'clock Tuesday a representative of the regional KGB office would come to see me and that everything will be as it should be. No one came; instead, on November 2nd, I was arrested at work by Police Captain Tymoshchuk, literally stolen out and taken to the regional psychiatric hospital in Vinnytsia on the basis of a denunciation by that same Tymoshchuk.

I was placed in the First Section, where Ivan Vasylyovych Slichny was in charge. They put me in with the aggressives. Interesting? Do you know what it is like to drink water from a "little spring" or a "streamlet"? What are those? It's the toilet bowl, and though the patient senses that something is not quite right, his thirst forces him to take a drink. Think about this. This was not a prison, but the system speaks for itself.

On November 23-24, I appeared before a commission; they pronounced me sane and warned that I could be held responsible for my actions in court. And again, for whichever time: Go home.

The repressions started again after my arrival in Komsomolske. Thus on December 15th, Captain Tymoshchuk summoned me and the head of the hospital, Rozbitsky to the village council, where Tymoshchuk stated that Rozbitsky was my "chief", whose word was the truth, and that I should report everything to him, and if on a Saturday or Sunday I go off somewhere by myself, I should say beforehand where I am going, so that he could forewarn the police, so that they wouldn't search for me... Interesting? Where and in which laws, which provisions is it determined that a citizen — even if in a country where no rights exist — should have to report to an agent what he is to do and where he is going?

That same December 15, representatives of the district KGB office began to "collect materials" on Terelya: a KGB man dictated what he needed and three doctors — people whom I don't know at all and with whom I've never conversed — "testified". The fourth one to testify was my "chief" Rozbitsky. What was all this for? In the words of a KGB man, "We must warn Yosyp..." Warn about what? Prison? Camp? A killing? All of this was tried out once more, and nothing forced me to forget that I am a human being.

At the same time, repressions rained down on my family. A month ago, my mother, Margareta Terelya, was dismissed from the staff of a member of the district committee and dismissed from the leadership of the union at a factory. That's what the face of your kind of reality looks like.

Will Tymoschuk and those who stand behind him be punished? I

think not. Before my release, I had been warned that nothing about Sychovka should come from my pen, that in freedom nobody would reproach me for having been there. And, as you see, I "kept" my word, and for this they wanted to quietly get rid of a witness and their victim. After everything that I was subjected to in the camps and prisons and that which awaits me in the future, I say "NO". It is a crime to be a citizen of the USSR. It means that I am as one with you, with that association which calls itself the KGB. I am forced to leave my native land only because it has been plundered by alien exploiters. There is no place for me here, because I am not the way that the KGB would like to see me. But I believe that we will return to Ukraine, a Ukraine that is free and hospitable to all who wish her well-being and prosperity.

December 21, 1976
(signed) Yosyp Terelya

Instead of an address: As a result of repressions, and because they are getting ready to arrest me, I have quit my job and left my family, forced to wander and hide with relatives and acquaintances. I am very ill, without the opportunity to receive treatment and all this is because of the KGB and the police.

The end.

THE GUN AND THE FAITH

**Religion and Church in Ukraine
under the Communist Russian Rule**

A Brief Survey by
W. Mykula, B.A. (Lond.), B.Litt. (Oxon)

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News from Ukraine

FATHER V. ROMANIUK WRITES TO ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

In a recent letter to Dr. Coggan, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Father V. Romaniuk, who was imprisoned in 1972 for his defence of Volodymyr Moroz, calls upon Dr. Coggan to aid in telling the world that there is no religious freedom in the USSR. In a letter addressed to the Anglican primate, Father Romaniuk says that he has been unable to serve God according to his conscience because in the Soviet Russian Empire people must live as is the will of those in power.

Religious organizations are set up not to help evangelize, but are established to reduce the activity of believers. The government is continually stepping up its atheistic campaigning and popularizing secular holidays and celebrations in opposition to Christian ones. Through a campaign of disinformation, the Soviet Russians are said to be hiding the truth about their persecution of the Ukrainian people. Father Romaniuk ends his appeal by saying "He who is blind to human rights and freedom of conscience cannot create peace, because the destruction of justice leads to enmity and anarchy not peace.

3RD ANNIVERSARY OF "POLITICAL PRISONERS DAY"

Sixteen human rights activists commemorated the third anniversary of "Political Prisoners Day" by signing a joint statement demanding that the Soviet Russian government proclaim a general amnesty for all prisoners of conscience.

"We appeal to the Soviet government to proclaim a general amnesty for all political prisoners, and at the same time we assert that justice will be served only when full rehabilitation and freedom is granted to all prisoners of conscience", wrote the 16 human rights defenders.

The appeal was written on October 30, 1976, a day designated in 1974 as "Political Prisoners Day" by inmates in Soviet penal facilities.

"We, who live in Freedom, had nothing to do with proclaiming such an observance", they wrote. "It was proclaimed by those who are suffering in Soviet concentration camps and the dreaded Vladimir Prison".

The appeal was signed by Nina Strokata-Karavanska, Taiana Khodorovych, Malva Landa, Oleksander Lavut, Tatiana Velikanova, Alexander Ginzburg, Liudmyla Alekseyeva, Yuri Orlov, Viktor Neki-pelov, Andrej Sakharov, Yelena Bonner, Yefrym Yanqelevych, Petro

Hryhorenko, Zynayida Hryhorenko, Valentyn Turchyn and Halyna Sadoba-Liubarska.

They wrote that prisoners of conscience have been waging a three-year battle to be officially designated as political prisoners.

“For the third year in a row, political prisoners have joined hands to declare to the world: ‘We are continuing the battle’, they quoted Kronid Liubarsky as writing last year from the Vladimir Prison.

The 16 human rights advocates wrote that political prisoners are honest and decent individuals who committed no crimes but were arrested for expressing their views either on paper or by word of mouth.

“Political prisoners in the country of Soviets are prisoners of conscience and words”, they wrote.

Below are nine descriptions of so-called offences for which people are arrested in the Soviet Union, included in the appeal:

“Political prisoners in the Soviet Union are honest people, who were arrested for their convictions, expressed by them on paper or in exchanges of information.

“Political prisoners in the Soviet Union are brave people, who were arrested for waging a battle with words of truth and goodwill against injustice and lies, against evil and hypocrisy.

“Political prisoners in the Soviet Union are humble and talented people sentenced for defending their national culture.

“Political prisoners in the Soviet Union are people who attempted to escape from a country, which has attained a higher form of socialism and was on its way to communism. The government charged them with ‘treason’.

“Political prisoners in the Soviet Union, are citizens of the different national republics, who tried, through legal means, to acquire the right of self-determination for their nation.

“Political prisoners in the Soviet Union are members of national liberation movements, or their sympathizers, who now find themselves in bondage.

“Political prisoners in the Soviet Union are sensitive and gallant people who seek for others the same rights they themselves desire.

“Political prisoners in the Soviet Union committed no crimes against generally accepted legal norms. Their sentence is grossly unjust. Their incarceration in concentration camps and prisons is a crime against humanity”.

The appeal concluded with a statement of gratitude from the 16 human rights activists that the plight of political prisoners in the Soviet Union has become a question of “concern and attention” in the West.

M.P. DENOUNCES RUSSIAN HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS

Speaking in the House of Commons about the Belgrade Conference, which reconvenes on the 4th October, 1977., Mr. William C. Whitlock, M.P., denounced the Soviet-Russian handling of national and human rights in the USSR; — Speaking in the debate on the Helsinki Final Act (Belgrade Meeting) in the House of Commons on Wednesday, 12th May 1977, Mr. William Whitlock, M.P. said:

“The Helsinki Conference covered a wide variety of matters and it is obvious that we shall cover the same wide variety in our debate, but I wish to concentrate on the issue of human rights.

At the opening of the Helsinki Conference in July 1975 my right honourable Friend and Member for Huyton (Sir H. Wilson), who was then Prime Minister, said that the real test of the conference would be not in the undertakings signed there but in fulfilling them. The conference represented no more than a beginning, he said, and he pointed out that detente meant little if it were not reflected in the daily lives of the people whose leaders were gathered at Helsinki. My right honourable Friend said in the House:

“The actual undertakings must be the subject of continuous monitoring and, finally, the test of Belgrade.”

(Official Report, 5th August, 1975. Vol. 897, c. 234)

We are now approaching that test, and the continuous monitoring which the Foreign Office has undertaken must have provided information about the progress or lack of progress towards the recognition of human rights in the countries concerned. The lack of progress that has been observed by the Foreign Office must be raised in Belgrade.

It would be wrong to expect any massive improvements in the granting of human rights since the signing of the Final Act in those countries where, for so long, they have not been observed. We must not be too impatient, and must not be seen to peer too sharply or critically into the internal affairs of other nations. We must, in our relations with other countries, concentrate on those areas on which we agree, and not on the areas on which we disagree, so that we may eventually widen the areas of agreement. But to do that constantly and continually is a counsel of perfection, when there seems little evidence that some nations are making any progress whatsoever towards the observance of human rights.

I doubt whether the Foreign Secretary has seen any favourable changes in the Russians' attitude towards human rights within their own territories since the Helsinki Conference. Certainly I have not been able to observe any such changes.

In our foreign affairs debate on 10th November 1975 I spoke about the political prisoners in the USSR, most of whom are Ukrainians. There are thousands of these people, and they have committed no crime against the State or society, yet they have been tried, quite unconstitutionally, thrown into prison and made to endure many hardships that do not apply even to criminals. They are not murderers, swindlers, hooligans or thieves, yet they have been transported, often vast distances from their homes and forced to do work for which many of them are not physically equipped. They have been subjected to physical and mental suffering, divested of every aspect of human dignity and denied elementary rights in every way. They are people whose only crime is that they believe that their religion, language and culture must not be stamped out. They have been committed to the terrible conditions that I have described despite the fact that their rights are guaranteed by the constitution of the USSR, by the constitutions of its individual State, by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and, more recently, by the Helsinki Agreement.

The Russian constitution grants many freedoms, and the Russian leaders cheerfully sign scraps of paper while pointing smugly to their own constitution which seems to enshrine the freedoms written on those pieces of paper. It is not, however, the law of the Russian constitution that has sat in judgment upon these thousands of prisoners of conscience, but the internal law of the USSR, which nullifies the rights set out in the constitution. Let any man dare to believe in the sanctity of the constitution, let him lay claim to the rights that it supposedly guarantees to him, let him act as the Helsinki Agreement says that he may, and he will find himself unconstitutionally denied those freedoms by his rulers.

As the right honourable Member for Chipping Barnet (Mr. Maulding) said, these things have been going on in Russia for so long under the Communist and Tsarist regimes that one would have thought that the Russians would have learned certain lessons. Apparently they have learned nothing. The resistance of so many brave men and women in the various States of the USSR is a proud indication of the fact that one cannot wipe out the desire for freedom in a nation, even by the most savage oppression over many long dark years. One cannot remove from the minds of men and women the longing and the need for a national cultural heritage no matter how ruthlessly every manifestation of that feeling is stamped out.

Ought we not at least to be reminding the Russians of their errors and telling them that we expect them to make some progress towards the observance of those human rights which, on paper, they recognise?

The House and the whole British people condemn the terrible crimes being committed in Uganda. It may not be as spectacularly monstrous slowly but surely to destroy a human being by shutting him up in a psychiatric institution merely because his convictions happen to be at variance with the leaders of the Communist Party in Russia, but surely it is just as heinous and savagely inhuman as that which is taking place in Uganda. I believe it is, I believe that we cannot fail to tell the Russians how we and the British people feel about these things. We look to them to ensure that there is progress in the treatment of their own people."

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“Pastors of Ukrainian Flock” Meet Pope Paul

A Speech made by His Beatitude Joseph Cardinal Slipyj, Patriarch of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, at the Audience of Pope Paul with Ukrainian Bishops — 13. 12. 1976.

(Reprint from *L'Osservatore Romano*)

Your Holiness,

To You as the successor of the holy apostle Peter, Head of the one, holy and apostolic Church, come we, Pastors of the Ukrainian flock.

The Vatican Council calls on us to preserve the traditions and precious heritage of the Eastern Church, and where owing to circumstances they have forgotten or lost these great Christian traditions (of a theological, canonical, social, ceremonial and liturgical nature) and It calls on us to renew them. Ukrainian Christianity is an ancient Christianity, and in the near future the Church, whose Pastors we are, will call on us to celebrate the millenium of the official baptism of its land and nation.

It is worth mentioning that the origins of our Christianity reach as far back as the times of the holy apostle Andrew, whence the works of the Roman bishops — the blessed martyrs Pope Clement and Pope Martin were widely read. Especially we would like to emphasise that Pope Clement was widely read and his relics were discovered and preserved in the territory of our Church and our Slavonic scholars, saints Cyril and Methodius — who carried these relics to the Vatican Altar. At the elections of the Kyiv Metropolitans, the relics of this holy Pope were used to bless the newly appointed Chief-Metropolitan of our Church, thus manifesting the unity of the Kyiv Metropolitan with the Vatican, even after the official split between the Roman and Greek Churches.

We are the Pastors of this Church, which as “the Metropolis of Kyiv and all Rus’” is recognised right up to the present date in the historical documents and acts of the Roman Apostolic Capital as the “Rus’” Church, which has by name alone always testified that this Metropolis is a Particular* Church. This Particular Church was also guaranteed by the acts of the Florentine Council, which was signed by our predecessor Isydor — the Metropolitan of Kyiv and all Rus’. The Roman Bishop honoured this Metropolitan as worthy of a cardinal for his loyalty and struggle to bring unity to the Christian Church. The rights of our Church as a Particular Church in the Ecumenical Church, were also guaranteed by the Union of Brest. We are the owners of the heritage of these great Pastors of our Church

under the leadership of our own Metropolitans — such as Isydor, Ruts'kyj.

Documents and ancient history aside, we would like to emphasise the following, which grieves us most yet simultaneously is the strength of the Church: our Church is a Church of martyrs and confessors. When the persecution of Christians began in modern history and superseded the persecution of the first era by its brutality, our Church sacrificed thousands and hundreds of thousands of martyrs and confessors for their faith in Christ and Peter's Capital. This was the reason for my speech at the second Ecumenical Vatican Council in October 1963 — to elevate this Metropolis to the level of a Patriarchy.

We have gathered here in Rome primarily to celebrate the feast of St. Clement — Martyr and Pope, whose relics Your Holiness brought to the Cathedral of St. Sophia in September 1969. Your Holiness, You not only brought us the relics of your predecessor — You consecrated St. Sophia, You blessed the university of St. Clements. No one can deny us, undermine nor destroy this great symbol of unity with the Vatican, of unity with the Ecumenical Church and loyalty to the capital of apostle Peter. This loyalty and unity are blessed with the blood and death of the children of our Church.

We, the Pastors of our Church, have gathered in Rome to pay respect to the Confessor of our Church, on the sixtieth anniversary of his pastoral services to the Church. Some among those who live in the free countries where our faithful have settled because of sickness or other obstacles have justified themselves. While others who live, work and suffer carrying their cross — unite with us in prayer alone. We have proof that in the present wave of Christian persecution and with the onset of modern atheism and communist regimes, the whole of the Ukrainian nation at all social levels (even those, who have not yet found their way to the Ecumenical Christian Church) sympathise with us and see us and also the Roman Vatican City, as a moral strength and support in harsh times, which remind one of the scenes from the Apocalypses of St. John.

Owing to circumstances our faithful are scattered in countries across all continents and our anxiety is that of caring for the souls of our faithful. The concern here is not in the letters of the law but often in people's souls. These souls and their salvation are entrusted to our pastoral care. We must emphasise that recently, because of loss of respect to everything the II Vatican Council appealed to, there is that in the Kyiv-Galician Metropolis our Church has been sent-doubts about justice and love, the guardian of which has been and dutifully is — Christ's Church. And that which grieves us the most is that in the Kyiv-Galician Metropolis our Church has been sentenced to death, while in the various countries in the West, where the faithful have been saved from bondage, in order to treasure their

faith — our faith is undermined and our traditions and heritage doomed to a slow decline.

We, the Pastors, want to fulfill our pastoral duties. We do not want to turn a deaf ear to millions of our faithful throughout all countries under communist regimes — to the voices from prisons, exile and death camps in all corners of Eastern Europe and Asia as far as the Pole. Your Holiness is aware of these voices and has received letters from priests in the isolated work camps, letters asking for the Holy Bible; and has heard the voice of Valentyn Moroz, dying from exhaustion, who in his works defends our Church — known today throughout the world. We, the Pastors of that same Church and blood brothers to these martyrs cannot remain silent. In these difficult times, we want to save our Church, save people's souls, defend our flock from disguised wolves. We want to be good pastors of our flock, and not slaves. An example for us, are our predecessors — the saints and martyrs, among whom in more recent times is God's servant Metropolitan Andrew and the whole of our Hierarchy.

Your Holiness, we ask only one favour: allow us to make use of the lawful rights guaranteed by Your predecessors, allow us to serve in accordance with the laws of the Eastern Church and our Synods, let us pray in such a way that our conscience commands. We want only one thing and assure You of this; we want to be good Pastors, whose service lies in the fact that one is willing to sacrifice one's soul for the sake of one's flock.

Finally, Your Holiness, I would like to say one last word on behalf of our brothers and sisters under the communist regime in Ukraine, who for thirty years have heroically suffered for Christ, this Holy Church and for their loyalty to the Vatican. For thirty years they have been waiting for a paternal word of hope from Your Holiness, and encouraging words of endurance in their faith and an assurance from the successor of St. Peter about the spiritual support of the whole Christian Church and its Deputy, because Your Holiness with his love and sympathetic heart embraces all the faithful of the Christian Church.

Our warm wish would be that your Holiness as the Father of all the faithful of Christ's Church, would this year have a special word for all the Ukrainian faithful, who for thirty years have suffered a cruel persecution for Christ and this Church. Who also if not Your Holy Father can do this? Our suffering Brothers and Sisters are awaiting that paternal word and will be grateful for such a Christmas present. We are convinced that Your Holiness will not refuse them this spiritual help and all the Ukrainians in the free world express their deep gratitude to Your Holiness.

*** Note:** The Ukrainian Church is referred to as a 'Particular' Church which in effect means it has certain autonomous rights but still recognises the Pope as its spiritual head.

THE 10th W.A.C.L. CONFERENCE RESOLUTIONS

Adopted by the Conference, Taipei, April, 1977

ON THE DANGERS OF AID TO COMMUNIST COUNTRIES

WHEREAS; the European Freedom Council believes that trading in materials capable of military potential with countries with Communist controlled economies, is detrimental to the Free World.

WHEREAS; it is inconsistent and immoral to apply sanctions against South Africa and Rhodesia, who pose no threat and not to apply them against the Russian, Chinese and other Communist countries, who do pose a threat.

WHEREAS; in recent years foreign trade between Free industrial countries and Communist dictatorships created debts for the latter, amounting to DM 100,000 million (£ 25,000 million). This raises the question as to whether the Communist dictatorships, through the continuation of the present volume of trade, will be able to pay the interest and repay the debts.

WHEREAS; the importation of technical expertise and equipment is vitally important for these countries. Some Western experts are warning against extending further credits to Communist countries. Competition among Western nations to supply the goods and to solve their unemployment problems, result in the Communist dictatorships obtaining vital strategic material on highly favourable terms. The free enterprise system of trading in Western countries, is being exploited by the politically coordinated planning of the East European dictatorships and by certain Western interests.

The European Freedom Council requests the World Anti-Communist League to put forward the following minimum demands: —

- 1) That the World Bank limits finance for exports to Communist countries to vital foodstuffs at world market prices.
- 2) That credits and Bank guarantees for industrial goods, which could be used in the manufacture of weapons, should be terminated.
- 3) That exports and necessary credits should not exceed repayment quotas as per item 1. above.
- 4) That failure to adopt the above demands will lead to the strengthening of Communism.

ON POLICY OF DETENTE

Whereas, detente is conducted as a unilateral move of the Western Powers, which has brought about the weakening of the national revolutionary liberation processes within the nations enslaved in the

USSR and the satellite countries. As a consequence, the interference by Moscow in the internal affairs of each one of the Western countries has been intensified. Any interest that the West might have had in the liberation struggle of the subjugated nations in the Russian Colonial Empire has been totally minimized, although the liberation of these nations is not an internal affair of the empire.

Whereas, Moscow is continuing its "ideological struggle" inside the West, which is directed against the West itself, also in Africa, Asia, America, under the disguise of the so-called national liberation armed wars (Angola), in the form of the so-called civil wars (Vietnam, Cambodia) or class struggle (e.g. in Italy, Portugal, France) or instigating disturbance (e.g. in the Near East);

Whereas, Moscow has not altered her goal of taking possession of the still free part of Europe after having choked up NATO and forcing the United States out of Europe, she now desires to extend her rule over the Near East and to continue its envisaged usurpations and conquests;

Whereas, the detente policy will eventually ruin the West, should the front created by the captive nations become demobilised, for the captive nations continuously prevent the seizure of the remaining part of Europe by the enemy of mankind i.e. Moscow;

Whereas, one of Moscow's major achievements in Helsinki is the declaration made by the U.S. President and the Governments of Free Europe to the effect that they have no intention whatsoever to have the status quo with respect to the subjugation of nations changed, in other words, they do not envisage the liberation of the captive nations in the USSR. By making the said declaration, the USA and other governments have contributed to the demobilisation of the front of fighting nations and have lost their most trustworthy allies. **Basket No. 3** of the Final Act of Helsinki concerning Human Rights is but a bluff! Human Rights do not exist for the subjugated nations within the empire — the USSR as long as the fundamental right — the right of a nation to its independent national democratic statehood — has not been realised;

Whereas, the selection of Belgrade, the capital of a communist mini-empire — Yugoslavia, as a place for the Conference which will be examining whether Human Rights are observed — is utter irony!

Therefore the 10th WACL Conference resolves:

to appeal to the Free World that it is in its own interest to win over the hearts of the people of the captive nations, in order to decisively weaken the military potential of the Bolshevik Empire;

to appeal to the governments of the Free World that the policy of detente with tyrants, be replaced by the policy of liberation — a policy of active support to the national liberation struggle of

Ukraine, Byelorussia, Lithuania, Bulgaria, Rumania, Estonia, Latvia, East Germany, Slovakia, Czechia, Poland, Hungary, Croatia, Slovenia, Georgia, Turkestan, Azerbaijan, North Caucasus and all other peoples enslaved in the USSR and the satellite countries, for their national independence.

ON DISSOLUTION & DE-COLONIZATION OF THE SOVIET RUSSIAN EMPIRE

Whereas, the fate of Europe, Africa, America and Asia depends on the success or failure of the entrenchment of the totalitarian ideology of Communism which hinges largely on the political and military might of the Soviet Russian empire;

and, whereas, Soviet Russian imperialism has become a threat to world peace through its military build up and global subversion to attain world domination;

and, whereas, old colonial empires have come to an end, Soviet Russia in the guise of the USSR is oppressing large portions of Europe and Asia in its intercontinental prison of nations, and has become the largest and most oppressive colonial empire in human history;

and, whereas, according to a conservative estimate, in the Soviet Russian empire alone about 66 million people have been killed since 1917 to the present, at least 30 million in China and about 1 million in Cambodia;

and, whereas, dialectical materialism in its various forms — historical materialism, “scientific” socialism and Communism, marxism-leninism, atheism, etc. — in denying the divine origin of man, his inborn feeling of dignity, phenomenal uniqueness, and his inherent sense of spiritual and cultural values, has become one of the most vicious and brutal instruments of the communist system by resorting to the destruction of the historical and cultural heritage (in order to deprive people of their metaphysical foundations), and to outright genocide (as mentioned above);

and, whereas, the contest for national and cultural self-determination and human rights has become a universal phenomenon in our age, particularly within the Soviet Russian empire, its “satellites” and other Communist-dominated areas of the world;

and, whereas, such struggle for national, individual and human rights is being ruthlessly opposed by Soviet Russia, and its ideological and political allies elsewhere, by means of persecution, mass arrests, imprisonment and even killing of countless freedom-loving and Godfearing patriots, particularly in the non-Russian countries of the empire;

and, whereas, national liberation and independence of the nations subjugated by Soviet Russian imperialism and Communist total-

itarianism, is the main prerequisite for the realization of human and individual rights and socio-economic justice for their respective peoples.

BE IT THEREFORE RESOLVED THAT THE WACL CONFERENCE

- I. Declare, that only the dissolution and de-colonization of the Soviet Russian empire and the elimination of all other forms of communist totalitarianism and aggression shall ensure the creation of a lasting base for a peaceful and free world.
- II. Declare, that Armenia, Azerbaidzhan, Angola, Byelorussia, Bulgaria, Cambodia, Croatia, Cuba, Czechia, Estonia, Georgia, (East) Germany, Hungary, Laos, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Northern Caucasus, North Korea, Rumania, Serbia, Slovakia, Turkestan, Ukraine, Vietnam and many other peoples have an equal right, as do the free nations of the world, to full national independence, the establishment of their independent, sovereign and democratic national states, which will permit the implementation of genuine human and individual rights and freedom and socio-economic justice on their respective national territories.
- III. Support the reunification IN FREEDOM of all divided nations.
- IV. Encourage the nations of the Free World to officially protest and intervene whenever the rights of nations and individuals are violated in countries dominated by Soviet Russian imperialism and communist dictatorship — as it is done regarding such violation elsewhere in the world.
- V. Urge the United Nations that it take immediate steps that its own “DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES” and “THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS” be also relevant to the colonial peoples under Soviet Russian domination, and those oppressed by similar communist totalitarian systems elsewhere in the world.
- VI. Protest the mass arrests of hundreds of prominent Ukrainian patriots and cultural leaders by the Russian KGB, such as Y. Shulkhevych, V. Moroz, V. Chornovil, I. Kalynets and his wife Iryna Stasiv, V. Stus, M. Osadchy, E. Sverstiuk, S. Karavansky, Z. Krasivsky, O. Riznykiv, M. Rudenko, O. Tykhy, and countless others.
- VII. Uphold the fact that the restoration of a free and independent Ukrainian State, holds the key to a reversal of balance of power in Eastern and Central Europe, guaranteeing the national independence of other oppressed nations by Soviet Russia in that area.
- VIII. Condemn the Helsinki Accord as a tool of Soviet Russian propaganda and further political expansion and aggression.



It is the sad and painful duty of the leadership of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) to inform members of the Organisation and community at large both in Ukraine and abroad, that on the 30th of August 1977, one of the most prominent nationalist-revolutionaries died unexpectedly at his work, in the 57th year of his

HRYHORIJ DRABAT

life. Mr. Drabat was the deputy leader of the Revolutionary Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists and the editor of the nationalist Journal "Liberation Path".

The late Mr. Drabat was born into a patriotic peasant family in Western Ukraine on the 17th of March, 1921. Already in the early years of his life, the Deceased was active in the revolutionary-liberation struggle of OUN, and he was especially active during the Second World War on the anti-German and anti-Russian fronts. With his high intelligence, dedication, high principles and diligence, he attracted the attention of the OUN leadership, who then entrusted the young activist with complex and dangerous tasks, which he fulfilled brilliantly. He belongs to the generation of fighters of the 1940's who faced a war on two fronts. He worked on the educational and propaganda section of OUN in Ukraine, and as an officer of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) he succeeded in organising both the ideological-political cadres of UPA and of the revolutionary underground.

On the orders of the leadership of OUN and UPA in Ukraine, the Deceased moved abroad and began organising OUN networks, where he showed his extraordinary ability as an organiser and as a serious and thoughtful author-analyst. He became a member of the leadership of the OUN units abroad during the time of the late Stepan Bandera, and shortly afterwards, a member of the leadership of the OUN, being for many years the deputy leader, and the leader of the Secretariat. The Deceased fulfilled many important functions in OUN — being responsible for the cadres, cultural policy, ideology, politics and strategy, he was

also the editor of the official journal of the OUN leadership for its cadres. He was the author of many original articles dealing with ideology, programme and politics. His work on organisational-cadre themes was especially important. He deeply understood the value and importance of cadres in the revolutionary fight. The Deceased was an uncompromising and highly principled revolutionary in the fight for the liberation of his nation, and at the same time a champion of an all-Ukrainian front of patriots in the fight for the destruction of the Russian prison of nations and the renewal of an Independent and United Ukrainian Nation. In his work he especially emphasised the need for a united liberation fight of the subjugated nations united within the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN).

The Deceased was a prominent worker within the Ukrainian community. He was one of the founders of the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain and for many years was a member of its executive and of its auditing committee. He was also a founder and a director of Ukrainian Publishing Limited and the Ukrainian Information Service as well as being a member of other Ukrainian organisations.

The journal — "Liberation Path" — is the most serious Ukrainian nationalist, socio-political, educational and literary journal, which is the creation of the Deceased, to which he dedicated thirty years of his self-sacrificing, hard-working, noble life. It is to him that we owe its present high standard.

The revolutionary OUN has lost a valuable person — a person of high ideals, a pure, honest nationalist, a straightforward, modest fighter, one completely dedicated to the point of self-renunciation. The guiding principle of his life was — without idealism based on morality there can be no conscientious nationalism. He was the living embodiment of this principle. His attention was always turned to the struggle of his nation, the support of which he placed in the first place amongst the duties of OUN cadres abroad.

Not only the revolutionary OUN, but the whole of Ukrainian society has lost one of its best patriots in the passing away of Mr. Hryhorij Drabat, who will be replaced with only the greatest of difficulties.

The Leadership of OUN wishes to express its deepest sympathies to the grief stricken Wife of the Deceased, and to all His Family in Ukraine and abroad.

The funeral of the Deceased took place in London, on Friday 9th September 1977.

Let Him rest easily in foreign soil, and his glorious memory be eternal.

Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists.

Book review:

THE UKRAINIANS IN AMERICA, 1608-1975; A CHRONOLOGY AND FACTS BOOK. Compiled and edited by Vladimir Wertsman. Dobbs Ferry, N.Y.: Ocean Publications, Inc., c 1976. 140 pp. (Ethnic Chronology Series Number 25).

The volume under review is part of Ocean's Ethnic Chronology Series, a series specifically designed to serve as an introduction to reference material for secondary and community college students. It is also intended to fill the need for educational material on all ethnic groups and their contribution to American life. This volume came out fortuitously, in time to observe the American Bicentennial celebration and the centennial of Ukrainian mass immigration to the United States. Following the format of the series, this handbook contains several parts; a chronology, a documentary section, also a bibliography and several appendices.

Although the chronology section (1-30) is less than one quarter of the book, the author adumbrates in a clear and precise manner the development of the Ukrainian community in this country. This community has contributed greatly to the cultural, political and social life of the United States. Indeed, if we can credit the research of the author, Ukrainians were here from the very beginning. According to Mr. Wertsman, a Ukrainian man named (van Bohdan, came with John Smith to the New World in 1608. The author has discovered Ukrainian names on the rolls of the revolutionary army and on registers of the union army. Many other Ukrainians have served this country in various capacities. For example, Dr. Konstantin Sudzilovsky (Russel) helped organize the Hawaiian Medical Society, and in 1901 was elected to that state's Senate and selected presiding officer. Ihor Sikorsky, organized the Sikorsky Engineering Company which built the first twin engined plane (1923), the first four engined flying clipper (1931), and the first helicopter in the Western Hemis-

phere (1939). Professor George Kistia-kowsky was appointed to head the explosives division of the Los Alamos Laboratory during the Manhattan Project, devoted to the creation of the first atomic bomb. Ukrainian-Americans have always considered themselves the voice of the muted Ukrainian nation. In 1933, the Ukrainian community, without government assistance, supported a Ukrainian Pavilion at the World Fair in Chicago. The world renowned sculptor and adopted American, Alexander Archipenko, greatly contributed to it's success.

The book is heavily weighted on the document side. The document section (31-129), which takes up about two-thirds of the volume, amplifies and illuminates the events sketched in the chronology. In scores of documents, the concerns, hopes and achievements of Ukrainian-Americans are recorded. We have the remarks of the Honourable James A. Hamill, a representative of New Jersey, concerning Senate Joint Resolution 201, which urged President Wilson to proclaim 21st April, 1917 as a day set aside for "the relief of the Ruthenians (Ukrainians)" in war torn Europe. In one article we learn that the success of the resolution was considered the salient accomplishment of the Ukrainian community to that date. Apart from it's moral and humanitarian dimension; it was the first time that the term "Ukraine" was used on a government document and hence implied the existence of the Ukrainian nation. Another included here is Public Law 86-749 which authorized the erection of a statue of Taras Shevchenko — poet-laureate of Ukraine, on public ground in Washington D.C. In addition reprints of Ukrainian Independence Day Proclamations by various government jurisdictions;

several surveys of Ukrainian community life, as well as a description of the activities of such organizations as the Shevchenko Scientific Society, Harvard Research Institute, Ukrainian National Association, etc. are etched.

A selected bibliography enables the interested reader to pursue points of interest. Finally, several appendices can serve as a valuable guide and handbook of the Ukrainian-American community. It contains lists of Ukrainian-American Institutions and Organizations; Ukrainian-American Periodicals; Ukrainian courses at American Universities; Statistical tables and the Ukrainian Alphabet with its English pronunciation.

Although the overall quality of the study is high, there are several blemishes. In the Chronology section, the author states that the first migration of Ukrainians in the 1870s "came mostly from the Carpatho-Ukraine (Western Ukraine), Galicia (Poland), and territories which were under Austro-Hungarian rule." (p. 2) And again, he writes that in 1889 the first Ukrainian Catholic cleric, Ivan Volansky, was recalled by his superiors from "Lviv, Poland." (p. 3) This is slightly confusing since there was no Polish state in the 1870s and 1880s; Galicia was an Austrian province, the eastern section of which was Ukrainian, with Polish and Jewish minor-

ities. Historically, the concept of what is Western Ukraine has changed, but when the term is used, it usually denotes more than just Carpatho-Ukraine. In the Ukrainian Alphabet he inadvertently neglected to include the "g" sound and the letter "u". (p. 137) Also in what is obviously a typographical error, it is claimed that the St. Nicholas Ukrainian Catholic Cathedral in Chicago can accommodate 12,000 people. (p. 7) The figure 1200 seems more likely.

Hopefully, in a latter edition of the work, these shortcomings will be eliminated. None of these comments should detract from the remarkable accomplishment of the author. Mr. Wertsman has edited several volumes in the Ocean Chronology Series. Each study he writes with a compassion and sensitivity that is commendable. A recent event indicates the high regard in which his study is held. The Ukrainian community contributed this volume along with such memorabilia as the trident, Taras Shevchenko miniature "Kobzar", and the Ukrainian encyclopedia in English, to the time capsule of the Freedom Monument in Brooklyn, New York.

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1977

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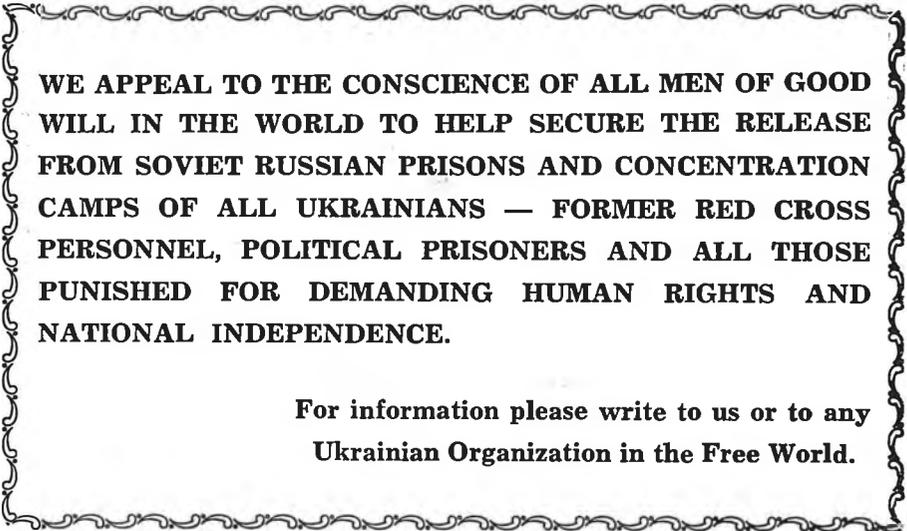
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Volodymyr MAKAR

THE UKRAINIAN INSURGENT ARMY (UPA) — OUR GLORY AND GUIDANCE

A whole generation has been born, grown up and matured since the time that the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) started its activities in Ukraine thirty five years ago during World War II. The active armed warfare of UPA lasted approximately for ten years in some form or other before a new situation arose and it again went deep underground. The bloody battles ended, the paths of combat raids overgrew with grass and the proud fighters of the Insurgent Army infiltrated the national thicket. Many of them were fated to die, others to beguile their time in Russian captivity, some in exile. But it occurred to no one that it was the end of the fight. The Ukrainian nation never capitulates. The fight against the enemy continues, the only thing that has changed are its forms and its methods.

The most fundamental affirmation that can be made about UPA is that UPA was an independent, well organised, expedient, armed political force of the whole Ukrainian nation with its aims and interests organically connected with the will of the nation. UPA arose from the nation according to the plan of its revolutionary inspirer — the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), then under the leadership of Stepan Bandera, during the ravages of World War II — at the time of the greatest danger to the existence of the Ukrainian nation. The aim of UPA was to save the nation from the planned physical extermination by the enemies, to drive away all invaders from Ukrainian soil, to re-establish an independent Ukrainian state and to secure a peaceful life worthy of such a large nation.

A survey of the operations of UPA should be divided into two periods. The first is the time of the German occupation which lasted from 1942 to 1944. The second is the period of Russian-Bolshevik occupation which started in 1944 and continues to the present time with the differentiation of the first phase of military actions up to 1949 and the second phase — the actions of the revolutionary underground from the 1950's.

OUN, under the leadership of Stepan Bandera, expressed the will of the Ukrainian nation for an independent national life by proclaiming the Act of Renewal of the Ukrainian Independent State on the 30th June 1941. The Germans opposed the Act, and in this way revealed their imperialistic-colonial intentions as regards Ukraine. OUN immediately started an open struggle against these new invaders, calling for the whole nation to give their support. From the second half of 1942 this struggle took the form of planned military actions led by UPA.

The first unit of UPA was formed in the Polysya region in October

1942 by Ostap, a military member of the Regional Leadership of OUN in North West Ukraine. In that autumn of 1942 a company of UPA was organised in the neighbouring Volyn region under the leadership of captain Dovbeshko-Korobko, a distinguished member of OUN.

Characteristic of the prevailing situation in Volyn and Polyssya is the fact that in the first months of military actions Ostap's and Korobko's UPA units were mostly engaged in defending the Ukrainian population from the attacks of red Russian partisans and also some Polish terrorists. Only when the backbones of both the Bolshevik and Polish terrorists were broken, was the battle of Ukrainian forces directed against the German occupiers.

The spring of 1943 distinguished itself with successful battle actions of UPA throughout Polyssya and Volyn. In February and March of 1943, UPA units cleared Polyssya of German administration and of Bolshevik partisans and thus was able to establish its own organisational bases. In March and April of that year while in battle with the Germans, UPA succeeded in occupying a series of towns and villages. In the larger towns UPA units broke into prisons and released political prisoners. In May 1943 UPA spread its activities to the Zhytomirsky, Kamyanets-Podilsky, Vinnytsky and Kyiv regions. In the summer of 1943 the whole of Halychyna (South West Ukraine) was embraced with the UPA struggle against the Nazis.

The first battle against the German occupiers and Bolshevik and Polish terrorists caused a great national rebirth and enthusiasm amongst the inhabitants of Polyssya. Huge numbers of volunteers started to join the ranks of UPA. In 1943 many units of the Ukrainian auxillary militia joined UPA and many new UPA units were formed under the leadership of new commanders. This military section took the name UPA-North and its commander was Klym Savur-Okhrim. A little later a second military section was formed — UPA-South under the leadership of Commander Batko. In the summer of 1943 the Ukrainian National Defence Force of Halychyna reorganised itself into the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. It took the name of UPA-West and was under the leadership of colonel Shelest. In connection with the formation of two new territorial sections of UPA, a supreme command of UPA was created and in the autumn of 1943 Roman Shukhevych — Taras Chuprynka became the commander-in-chief.

A series of military schools for non-commissioned officers and three schools for commissioned officers were established during the German occupation.

It is worth mentioning some of the main victories of UPA at that period: the battle for Chorny Lis (Black Forest) in the Stanislav region, the battle against a group of several thousand Bolshevik partisans in the Carpathian Mountains under the leadership of Sydor Kovpak in the early autumn of 1943, the three-day battle of UPA-North against large German forces at Rodovych in region

in September 1943, the six-day battle against German units in July 1944 in the Skole region and in other areas.

According to the estimates of the Ukrainian historian, prof. L. Shankovsky, a specialist on Ukrainian military formations and UPA, on the eve of the renewed Soviet occupation (in the summer of 1944) UPA had 29,860 officers and men. This is in reference to the combat units of UPA; its auxiliary forces were under the command of OUN, in which there were 60,000 armed members, and about 24,000 armed fighters of the Self-Defence Units (SKV), members of the Security Units (SB) and others. In the underground organisation of West Ukraine alone, there were approximately 150,000 active members.

The activity of UPA was not limited to war actions alone. The Ukrainian military political leadership also paid appropriate attention to the organisation of the rural and cultural life of the Ukrainian population and its defence in the face of the enemy. In the place of the destroyed enemy government apparatus, a Ukrainian administration was organised, which formed the basis for the expected full national independence.

One of the leaders of the German political apparatus in Halychyna (Western Ukraine) describes the situation in 1943 as follows:

“1943. Halychyna had two faces. During the day, the German administration ruled. But at night the whole area outside the towns was occupied by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. In the woods — there would be shooting practices, practices on the building of hide-outs; on the roads weapons and ammunition were transported, there were movements of troops, constant controls and patrols; in the villages — encampments of troops which were fed by the local population . . .”

This was how the Germans themselves saw the situation in Halychyna at the end of 1943. In Volyn and Polyssya the liquidation of the German administration occurred much earlier and more thoroughly. Already in the summer of 1943 the German administration did not exist beyond the borders of the larger towns even during the day-time. In the place of the German administration came a Ukrainian administration organised on the initiative of UPA and defended by UPA units. UPA had its look-outs posted in nearly every village, whose duty it was, as in Cossack times, to inform the inhabitants about the approach of punitive enemy detachments, whom the nearby UPA units usually defeated.

The sacrificial work and the achievement of the “republic of UPA” were the best demonstration showing that the Ukrainian nation was able to organise its own life even in the most difficult of circumstances.

The most powerful weapon of UPA was its political and ideological aims which were representative of the will of the Ukrainian nation and for whose realisation battle was fought.

The clarity of ideas and slogans, written on the banners of UPA,

and its uncompromising stand in the fight against the occupiers of Ukraine and the enemies of the independence of other nations, had a deep effect on other national elements which at that time were abiding in Ukraine, especially on individual soldiers and smaller or larger units of the various West European nationalities, and especially on those from Eastern Europe and Asia. The numerous leaflets given out by the political propaganda section of the Supreme Command of UPA in the languages of all the mentioned nations, and also the direct conversations with the war prisoners, had that important effect that many of them responded to the call of UPA, and with arms in their hands joined the ranks of UPA. In the autumn of 1943 there were 15 national units in the ranks of UPA. This gave the impetus to call the first Conference of Subjugated Nations of Eastern Europe and Asia, which took place in Volyn on the 21-22 November 1943. On the basis of the defined principles of that conference, the world-wide known organisation — the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), was later formed.

The forthcoming end of the war between Hitler's Germany and Bolshevik Russia created a new political situation in Ukraine. It created the need for a single political leadership of the Ukrainian nation which would lead the whole nation into battle on all fronts and in all spheres of life. Such leadership was created on the initiative and endeavours of UPA after several days of talks between the representatives of all regions of Ukraine. The conference, which took place in one of the Carpathian forest massifs under the guard of selected units of UPA in June 1944, proclaimed itself the Temporary Ukrainian Parliament and called itself the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR).

At this conference, the revolutionary government of Ukraine, under the name of "General Secretariat UHVR" was chosen and headed by Roman Lozovsky, who was also the General Secretary of War Affairs, Supreme Commander of UPA — alias Taras Chuprynka, and the head of the Office of Leadership of OUN — alias Tur; in civilian life — Roman Shukhevych.

Immediately after the formation of UHVR, UPA swore an oath of allegiance to it — as a symbol of the recognition of one Ukrainian government.

This was how UPA, together with the whole Ukrainian nation, faced the dangerous reality — greatly reinforced with moral capital from the anti-German war, with a considerable knowledge of partisan warfare, with an undaunted determination to fight until full victory had been gained, with the ideological unity of the whole Ukrainian nation and under one political leadership of the Ukrainian nation — UHVR.

THE MAGNIFICENT JUBILEE

ON THE OCCASION OF THE 85th BIRTHDAY AND 60th
PRIESTLY ANNIVERSARY OF HIS BEATITUDE JOSYF
CARDINAL SLIPIYI, PATRIARCH OF UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC
CHURCH.

by Wasyl LENCYK

In this 1977 of God year of the Christian Era we commemorate two noteworthy anniversaries of the greatest contemporary Ukrainian ecclesiastical dignitary, His Beatitude Patriarch Josyf Cardinal Slipyi. It marks the jubilee year of a Man who became the pride of the great Ukrainian nation and whose epic stature — in the words of good Pope John — stood boastfully as “an embellishment of the entire Universal Church”. In glowing tribute Pope Paul VI wrote: “Cardinal Josyf Slipyi is a figure ‘who belongs to the history of the ages’”. Thus the man of Divine Providence who is observing the 85th year of his life and his 60th year in the service of the priesthood.

His Beatitude Patriach Josyf Slipyi came from the richly blessed “Golden Podilia” region. Born in the village of Zazdryst, County Terebovlia, Western Ukraine, he was the son of Ivan Kobernycky-Slipyi and Anastasia, nee Dychkowsky. His primary education he received in the elementary school of his native village, after which his parents enrolled him in the Ternopil Gymnasium-School. Before the young Josyf graduated with high achievement in 1911 he was honoured as the finest student and elected leader of his graduating class. Moreover, as a student in the eighth gymnasium grade, he amazed everyone with his mature insights into the literary works of the Ukrainian genius, Taras Shevchenko, during a concert honouring the Great Bard.

After attaining his Maturity Degree, the young graduate matriculated at the Lviv Ecclesiastical Seminary to prepare for his service to God and nation. Metropolitan Andriy Sheptytsky soon became keenly aware of the rare gifts of mind and heart in the young theologian and in September of 1912 sent him to study at the famous Jesuit directed Canisianium in Innsbruck. There the talented student, under the tutelage of brilliant instructors, acquired a broad education and mastered not only in theology, but also specialized in philosophy, philology, and art in the School of Philosophy at the Innsbruck University. Metropolitan Sheptytsky, after his return from Russian exile, ordained Josyf Slipyi to the priesthood on September 30, 1917.

In common with Metropolitan Andriy, the young priest possessed an ardent love for God, for his nation and the desire to serve it more effectively by drawing it intimately to the Almighty Creator. Both the great Archbishop Andriy and the newly ordained Fr. Josyf Slipyi understood well that these aims could best be achieved through the solid preparation of profound study. Hence, Metropolitan Sheptytsky unhesitatingly directed Fr. Josyf to deepen his knowledge at Innsbruck. He did. For his dissertation "Die Auffassung des ewigen Lebens nach dem Evangelisten Johannes — The Concept of Eternal Life in St. John the Evangelist", he was awarded the academic degree of Doctor of Sacred Theology in 1918. Later in 1923 at the same University he habilitated with his German-language work: "Die Trinitatslehre des byzantinischen Patriarchen Photios — The Doctrine of the Most Holy Trinity according to the Byzantine Patriarch Photius". This entitled him to teach at the University and showed the solid creativity of the young intellectual and above all revealed his great acumen and genius for solving the most speculative of theological problems.

Not being satisfied with laurels won as a young intellectual at Innsbruck University, he went to Rome in November 1920 to advance his studies at these famous papal universities — the Angelicum, Gregorianum and the Oriental Institute. His studies yielded the fruit of an original Latin-language work under the title "De principio spirationis in Sanctissima Trinitate — The Source of Inspiration in the Most Holy Trinity". After successfully passing a special examination, The Rev. Dr. Josyf Slipyi was awarded the degree of Magister Aggregatus. All his early scholarly works composed during his student years and later ones earned for this intellectual a respected position as one of the finest theologians in the world. He loomed as the foremost authority in subjects dealing with the inspiration of the Holy Spirit and the Most Holy Trinity and today is cited as such by all serious authors in various languages. During those Roman years, furthermore, he studied art, travelled widely through Italy, and mastered the modern French, Italian and German languages as well as classical Latin and Greek.

In 1922 Metropolitan Andriy commissioned this talented student to a professorship at the Ecclesiastical Seminary in Lviv. Not satisfied with being a dogma instructor, the young intellectual broadened his scholastic activity by co-founding the scholastic Theological Society and then founding and becoming the first editor of the scholarly theological quarterly "Bohosloviya-Theology", which was regularly published under his capable direction until the advent of the Bolsheviks in 1939. One edition of Bohosloviya appeared during the German occupation in 1943. Publication of this eminent journal, a collection of works by the finest religious and lay talents, was renewed in Rome in 1963 after Metropolitan Josyf returned from exile.

In 1926 Metropolitan Andriy Sheptytsky appointed Rev. Dr.

Josyf Slipyi rector of the Ecclesiastical Seminary and School of Theology in Lviv. He became rector of the Theological Academy established in February 1928 by Metropolitan Andriy. As Rector of both the Ecclesiastical Seminary and the Theological Academy, the Rev. Dr. Josyf Slipyi proved himself to be a talented organiser. Both institutions owed their marvelous development to his brilliant abilities.

The success of the Ecclesiastical Seminary and the Theological Academy was to be credited to the foresight of the founder, Metropolitan Andriy, as well as to the productive practicality of the director, Rev. Dr. Slipyi who was vitally concerned about providing the Church and nation with finely trained labourers for God's cause and for the national interest. And on the occasion of the start of the first academic year of the Theological Academy, the profound thoughts expressed by the Rector, Fr. Slipyi, demonstrated his far-sighted endeavours to give the Theological Academy national importance. No money or effort were to be spared. His guiding principle was to be that it would be a waste far greater than money or effort to provide the church and nation with poorly trained leaders. Consequently, his educational programme for theology and related subjects was to be the finest that could be provided to meet challenge. And, indeed, in every area, the professorial board consisted of the finest representatives from the Ukrainian intellectual community.

The modern era and the new horizons that challenged the young generation of priests were well appreciated by Rector Slipyi. He was abundantly qualified to understand them and prepare for them. When, for example, courses in Library Science and Apiariology — subjects superfluous to a theological curriculum — were introduced by him, they proved themselves to be practical assets for priests during periods of harassment. Principally, however, the Rector placed emphasis on the training and preparation of entire cadres of high class intellectuals in theological and associated disciplines. To this end he introduced scholastic seminars in which a cast number of young intellectuals were trained.

The Rev. Dr. Slipyj painstakingly moderated both professors and talented students in the preparation of scholarly works. With the regular publication of his own original work, he gave excellent direction in scholarship. Even the museum established at the Academy was intended to teach candidates for the priesthood to treasure our memorabilia and to esteem scholarship and research.

In brief, the Theological Academy, a spiritual child of the Rev. Dr. Slipyi, became the centre of our scholastic and cultural life by patterning itself on the brilliant traditions of the Mohyla Academy while mellowing itself with new influences from the West, and thus synthesizing the finest elements of both East and West. Fr. Slipyi was able to maintain this excellent school in this mould because he

himself knew and treasured Ukrainian tradition with its historical ties in the East and was simultaneously able to accept the good elements of the West with which he was perfectly acquainted because of his broad scholarship and regular educational sabbaticals.

Though the Second World War found Dr. Slipyi at the post of director of the highest scholastic institution, nonetheless, Metropolitan Andriy Sheptytsky requested Pope Pius XII to nominate him Archbishop with the rights of succession. Realizing that during the Bolshevik occupation the office of Metropolitan of Western Ukraine demanded an individual of unusual gifts, and foreseeing his own imminent death, Metropolitan Andriy, after considering all possibilities, selected Dr. Slipyi as the finest candidate to succeed him. Consecration took place secretly on December 22, 1939.

With the Bolshevik occupation and with his new position as Archbishop a new chapter began to be written in the life of this spiritual giant. Heavy of heart he witnessed the merciless destruction of his labour of many years with the advent of the Bolsheviks and their occupation of Western Ukraine. During the German occupation, even though conditions were unfavourable, he renewed his efforts at re-establishing the Theological Academy which was so dear to his heart, this, in addition to assisting Metropolitan Andriy in administrating the Archeparchy and preparing for the Synod of Lviv which was convoked by Metropolitan Andriy.

The Second Bolshevik occupation in July of 1944 and the death of the saintly Metropolitan Andriy Sheptytsky on November 1, 1944 compounded the new responsibilities of the Metropolitan of the Halychyna Province of West Ukraine and simultaneously lengthened his way of the cross. For, soon after the death of Metropolitan Andriy, the Bolsheviks began an intensive propaganda campaign against the Ukrainian Catholic Church by attempting to smear the memory of the deceased great Metropolitan Andriy. This was a patent sign that they were intent on liquidating the Ukrainian Catholic Church, the citadel of the Ukrainian nation. Thus began the propaganda activity for "Union" of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church with the Russian Orthodox.

The Bolsheviks, realizing that Metropolitan Josyf would not compromise and would not betray his Church or Nation, decided to remove him. On April 11, 1945 the NKVD arrested him and all the bishops in their territory of occupation. In March 1946 Metropolitan Josyf was tried in Kyiv and sentenced to eight years imprisonment and heavy labour in Siberia. His only fault was loyalty to Church and Nation. This hero accepted the sentence to hard labour and humiliation in the various Siberian concentration camps throughout the Artic regions, in Central Asia and in Mordovia. In 1953 he was resented and exiled into Siberia for an indefinite length of time. A third time in 1957 he was sentenced to seven years in prison and

finally was condemned in 1962 to imprisonment in Mordovia. Always the sentencing followed his refusal to cooperate with the regime, by renouncing his faith and becoming an obedient instrument of the Moscovian Orthodox Church. Every temptation and bribe were decisively rejected by Metropolitan Josyf with the brief statement: "No, I would rather die than renounce my Church and my Nation".

The heroic stance of Metropolitan Josyf during his exile was an inspiration to his loyal priests and to the laity suffering for the faith in exile together with their shepherd. The path of living martyrdom selected by Metropolitan Josyf awakened the drowsy conscience of the Western World. Certain responsible political and church personalities initiated steps seeking the release of the heroic Confessor for the Holy Faith. Answered were the fervent prayers of the faithful in the Free World who in 1962 on the occasion of his 70th anniversary prayed for his release. Finally on February 9, 1963 through the efforts of Pope John XXIII, Metropolitan Josyf, exhausted after 18 years of torture, was released. He came to Rome to be received with a paternal embrace by Pope John XXIII.

Rehabilitated after his long imprisonment, Metropolitan Josyf involved himself in the work of the Second Vatican Ecumenical Council during which he was welcomed by all the Fathers of the Council with loud applause as a Confessor for the Holy Faith.

During the Second Vatican Council the Metropolitan on several occasions raised his voice in several important matters. Once again his keen intellect and practical approach lent themselves to resolving many complicated problems. Metropolitan Josyf placed before the Council the matter of creating the Kyiv-Halych Patriarchate.

As a Major-Archbishop, Metropolitan Josyf Slipyi, according to Pope Paul's decree on the Eastern Churches, promulgated on December 23, 1963, acquired rights equivalent to those of a patriarch as designated in the tenth paragraph of that decree. On February 22, 1965, Pope Paul VI appointed Major-Archbishop Josyf Slipyi a Cardinal of the Roman Church.*

Notwithstanding the weakened condition of his health and his advanced age, Patriarch Josyf continued to labour with renewed energy. In Rome he established the Ukrainian Catholic University,

* The naming of Metropolitan Josyf as Archbishop-Major was only a return to the traditional status of our Church, which it had before the division in the Universal Church. The Kyiv-Halych Metropolia had patriarchal rights which were confirmed by the Union of Brest and the Second Vatican Council. That is why it is logical that on the basis of the live tradition of our Church and in accordance with its basic rights that the V Episcopal Synod confirmed the patriarchal constitution of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. Through the will of Archbishops, Bishops, priests and the faithful, His Beatitude Josyf accepted the title of Patriarch. The Patriarchate of the Ukrainian Catholic Church exists, despite the fact that Pope Paul VI because of the politics of detante with Moscow does not yet recognise it.

which is to become the centre of Ukrainian scholarship preparing church and lay leaders for our nation in Ukraine and in the diaspora. The necessity for such a centre at the crossroads of Christianity is self-evident to all Ukrainians. For that reason Ukrainians, wherever they might live throughout the world, are assisting in the realisation of this great project.

During his comparatively brief residence in Rome, Patriarch Josyf Slipyi published many volumes of scholarly works, once again testifying before the entire world that the genius of the Ukrainian spirit, notwithstanding its present immigrant status, is making its deposit not only into the Ukrainian but into the worldwide treasure of the spirit.

His Beatitude Patriarch Josyf Slipyi stands today as a historical figure preserved by God's special providence for us to emulate. In the spirit of the Old Testament prophets he likewise calls us, his faithful, to work and sacrifice for a holy cause, and especially to exhibit brotherly love and unity, for only then can we expect to realise our greatest dream, the freedom of our Church and our enslaved Ukrainian nation.

ANNIVERSARY OF THE UKRAINIAN PATRIARCH

Rome, October 4, 1977. Over 1,000 laity of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, 60 priests, and 8 bishops came to Rome from communities scattered on three continents and twelve countries to participate in a three-day programme (September 30 — October 2) commemorating both the 60th anniversary of the ordination to priesthood and the 85th birthday of Josyf Cardinal Slipyi whom they recognise as Patriarch of this Church.

Irrespective of the negative stand the Apostolic See has taken to this procedure, the primate of the Ukrainian Catholic Church was commemorated as Patriarch during the Liturgies celebrated on this occasion at the Sobor of St. Sophia at 478 Via Boccea.

On Saturday, October 1, at a concert given at Palazza Pio in honour of the prelate, he was addressed and spoken of as Patriarch in the speeches, vocal renditions, and recitations of the evening. Making reference to the silence among many contemporary western leaders about religious persecution in the USSR and the satellite countries, Bishop Isydor Boretsky of Toronto, Canada described the Ukrainian Cardinal-Patriarch as a "witness to Christian truth in a century of betrayal".

Among the many church dignitaries attending this concert were four cardinals and two Eastern Catholic Patriarchs — Maxim V

Hakim of the Melkites and Chaldean Paul II Cheikho. The 1,500 people attending the concert gave the patriarchs an ovation for their action in defence of the slight eastern rite patriarchs were dealt the previous day during the opening ceremonies of the World Synod of Bishops.

The religious life and its growth of approximately 2 million Ukrainian Catholics living in the diaspora in the western world is hampered by Vatican centralistic administrative policies. As an Eastern Church, the Ukrainian Catholic Church can survive, grow, and serve the pastoral needs of its faithful only in an atmosphere of eastern spirituality and the preservation of its own traditions. This can be accomplished only under its own patriarchal administration similar to that of other Eastern Christian Churches. Yet, as at present it is obvious, the tendency of Vatican bureaucracy is to fragment this Church by subjecting its separate eparchies to the practice of maintaining their individual ties with the Holy See individually through the apostolic legations rather than permitting them to maintain them through a synodal administration of their Particular Church — as is the traditional procedure in the Christian East. The Ukrainian Catholic Church has not only been refused recognition of a patriarchate but now, at a time of an acute shortage of clergy, this is being intensified by a Vatican attempt to impose upon the Ukrainian Catholic Church the requirement for a celibate clergy. The Vatican curial circles are trying to strip the office of the Major-Archbishop of the rights derived from same. They want to make it purely honorific. This is a death blow to the cohesion of the Ukrainian Catholic Church as a separate and complete unity.

This procedure runs parallel to that of the Soviet Union. Spokesmen for the Kremlin maintain that the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Ukraine ceased to exist in 1946 (with its forcible incorporation into the Russian Orthodox Church). Vatican curial circles are Latinizing the Ukrainian Catholic Church and Moscow policymakers are Russifying it. Both practices spell the death of this Church.

Because of his uncompromising struggle in defence of religious freedom and the return of the right to legal existence for the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Soviet Ukraine, Patriarch Slipyi has been under sharp attack in the Soviet press and propaganda publications. Because of his strong defence of the rights of his Church, this prelate has earned the displeasure of the Vatican.

Vatican reluctance to openly defend the persecuted Ukrainian Church and its refusal to respect the traditional rights of this Church has led to the assumption that some offices of the Holy See are prepared to sacrifice it to gain undefined concessions from the Soviet Union. The Ukrainians are deeply grieved by this possibility. They are deeply concerned about the role of the Vatican diplomats at the Belgrade Conference where there is no indication of defence of human

rights in general and religious freedom in particular. Present Vatican policies have aroused serious ferment among Ukrainians who are anxious to preserve their loyalty to the Holy See but who also fear that the price of this unity would be the eventual destruction of their Particular Church. Are Vatican policies toward the Ukrainian Catholic Church not a bad road mark to Christians not yet in union with the Holy See but launched on the path of ecumenism?

Released by World Federation of Ukrainian Patriarchal Societies.

HOMAGE TO THE PATRIARCH

BY BISHOP ISYDOR BORETSKY, UKRAINIAN BISHOP IN EAST CANADA

*YOUR BEATITUDE, YOUR EMINENCES, YOUR EXCELLENCIES
REVEREND FATHERS, VENERABLE SISTERS, DISTINGUISHED
GUESTS.*

We have gathered in the Eternal City to celebrate the Jubilees of His Beatitude, Josyf Slipyi a heroic man of God, who, strengthened by the Spirit of the Gospel, boldly set forth to realize the dreams, the vision that were his patrimony.

Your Beatitude! You remained faithful to these visions even though the barriers seemed insurmountable. You witnessed the destruction of your bishops, clergy, religious and faithful. You, yourself, were not spared physical and moral torture. These atrocities did not take place in a foreign prison but in your own city of Kyiv where the Soviet occupants subjected you to torture and hardships, the scars of which you still bear.

Yet the vision remained and grew stronger for in one of your secret pastoral letters from Siberia, you wrote:

“Brothers and Sisters... God is with us here in distant Siberia. God is and will be with you everywhere, in your homes, your cities, and villages. God is with you in your difficult service on the collective farms... Believe in Him alone, stand firm in the faith of your fathers, be faithful to your fatherland, your Church, your homes, your language, and God’s truth. Do not fear persecution, sacrifice, and suffering, for it is all for our nation and for Christ, Our Lord and God... The day is not far off, the forces of evil will fall and no trace of them will be left; our Church and Christian faith will endure forever and with them will be eternal life and glory and the memory of our holy martyrs who today defend and suffer for them”.

Such pastoral letters filled with hope and commitment were written by St. Ignatius and St. Cyprian, who gave their lives for Christ, just as you were ready to do at all times.

By the grace of God and through the efforts of our great and dearly beloved Pope John XXIII, from near death in Mordovia, you came to the Eternal City, Rome, for the Vatican Council, to bear witness to our Christian faith and to unite the Ukrainian Catholics, who as a result of the occupation of their country, were now spread over four continents.

Our Ukrainian people realised that in your person, they had received from God, a man of Divine Providence. Having lived, together with the great intellectuals of our nation, through extremely difficult times, you, our beloved Pastor, meditated upon and realized the reason for the weaknesses of our Church and Nation. And it was for this reason, that, in the name of our Ukrainian Church, you courageously presented to the Fathers of the Council, the great desire of the Ukrainian people, the desire for a Ukrainian Patriarchate to crown the hierarchical structure of the Ukrainian Church.

Upon coming to Rome, your dreams, vision quickly materialised. You founded the Ukrainian Catholic University in honour of Pope Clement I, who received the crown of martyrdom on Ukrainian soil. We take pride in the fact that our Ukrainian Catholic University, under your leadership, is progressing and has already published a series of valuable works. These works, without doubt, will greatly influence the rebirth of our Church and Nation. The exchange of these works with the great universities and academies of the world will obtain for the Ukrainian disciplines, their rightful place among the intellectual institutions of the world.

In your efforts for the Ukrainian Church and her faithful, you have commenced the erection of the Church of St. Sophia in Rome, the centre of Christianity, just as nine hundred years ago, the Ukrainian King, Yaroslav Mudry, erected a similar edifice in the Ukrainian capital of Kyiv. Thus in the Eternal City there will always stand the Ukrainian Church of God's Holy Wisdom, beside which will stand the centre of Ukrainian studies, the Ukrainian Catholic University.

Most notable of all your accomplishments were Your Beatitude's three trips to the Ukrainian diaspora in the free world. These trips took in every continent on which the Ukrainian faithful live. Exhausted from the thousands of miles travelled on these trips, you never refused to visit the remotest settlement of your flock — sharing with them the magnitude of your vision.

Frequently meeting with heads of state, such as the President of the United States of America, Your Beatitude sought to bring to their attention the suffering of our brethren behind the Iron Curtain. You defended the stand of human rights for everyone in the world on every occasion.

In closing these introductory words, I wish to recall the words of Pope Paul VI, spoken to the Ukrainian pilgrims in Rome on February 25, 1965. Our Holy Father said:

“In elevating the Ukrainian Metropolitan to the dignity of a Cardinal, we wished to testify before the whole Church, before the whole world, that his sufferings, his perseverance and fidelity to the faith of Christ, and his heroism, are a priceless treasure of the Universal Church and they have become a part of history . . . Pray God and believe, the Ukrainian nation will not be lost, but will, with God’s help and the wise guidance of your leaders, triumph in glory!”

These are historical words of the Father of Christians. Never before in our history had a Pontiff spoken such prophetic words to a Ukrainian Prelate. Let us thank Divine Providence that has given us a man of vision. Let us be even more thankful that Divine Providence has brought him forth from captivity, so that he might, through his wise counsel, guide us in the renewal of our Ukrainian Church.

On this glorious occasion of His Beatitudes Jubilees, we honour Your Beatitude as the head of a particular Church — as Patriarch of our people, as a Prince of the Universal Church, as a scholar, a professor and great humanitarian. May God grant you many years . . .

NA MNOHI LITA* — YOUR BEATITUDE.

STATEMENT

BY HIS BEATITUDE, JOSYF CARDINAL SLIPIYI, PATRIARCH OF THE UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

IN DEFENCE OF THOSE PERSECUTED FOR DEMANDING RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AND NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE

In our homeland, Ukraine, for almost sixty years now, our people continue to be subjected to the severe persecution of our religion and our nation. The Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church which was restored in the 1920’s, was destroyed by the Soviet Government in 1929-1930. And in 1946-49, as a victim of this imperialist policy, the Ukrainian Catholic Church fell, which the Soviet Government ravished and liquidated, incorporating it into the Russian Orthodox Church under the command of the Moscow patriarch, by employing police terror, tortures and punishments of deportation to concentration camps against the faithful of our Church.

As a result of this action all Ukrainian Catholic bishops were liquidated; the exact number of the priests tortured to death or executed is not known, but the accepted estimated figure is about 1,500; hundreds of thousands of the Ukrainian Catholic faithful were deported from Ukraine to concentration camps, where many of them remain to this day without the right to return to their native land. Throughout the vast USSR, where once there were 3,040 of our parishes and 4,595 churches and chapels, not even one Ukrainian

* We wish you many happy years.

Catholic parish remains, not one monastery, not even one church. Today there isn't even one Ukrainian Catholic school, nor one seminary and all priestly duties are forbidden. All church objects were stolen, locked away, destroyed or given to the Russian Orthodox Church. The regime has placed the Ukrainian Catholic Church outside the law.

As a living witness and participant in the suffering of my Church and as its Patriarch who has lived through the tortures and sufferings of my flock and who has suffered with them, I have continuously raised my voice in defence of the faithful in Ukraine, at Papal Synods, and recently in a letter to the President of the United States Jimmy Carter. And I continue to this day, for I am duty bound by my nation and by the pleas of my faithful in the catacombs, and by those who have given their lives for their age old faith and are its martyrs.

The Ukrainian Catholic Church was liquidated in Ukraine by governmental decree only as a formality. In reality it exists as the Church — Martyr along with her faithful and priesthood, who seek recognition of their rights to a free and legal existence. We have received word, that our faithful in Ukraine are struggling for the legitimization of their community, but governmental leaders refuse, in contravention of their own constitution and laws.

The Soviet regime is violating not only its own legal norms, but also having taken upon itself international obligations, in particular the Ukrainian SSR and the USSR are signatories to both Covenants on Human Rights of 1966 and the Helsinki Final Act on Security of August 1, 1975. The latter clearly speaks of safeguarding freedom of conscience and the right to freedom of religious beliefs for all people. Yet the Soviet Union, having become a signatory to these international agreements, has changed nothing. On the contrary, there is evidence of an intensification of the anti-religious struggle and persecution of the faithful. In Ukraine hundreds of priests, nuns, laity, deacons and faithful of many religions are under arrest in the internal exile or live under persecution on the periphery of society; they are denied residence permits and are descriminated against in employment. This is why again we are raising our voices of protest in defence of the persecuted, with whom we are creating, in the words of St. Paul the Apostle, one body, one mystical organism: "You are — Christs body . . . and when one suffers, we all suffer with him" . . . (I Cor. 12, 26-27). This is why we must help them with our prayers and strive to inform the public of the sustained persecution of the Ukrainian Catholic Church so as to wrest free for the persecuted, their basic demands for truth and justice and freedom to read the word of their creator and to bow to Him alone.

Josyf Slipyi
Patriarch and Cardinal

November, 1977

A. VUDKA

The Crisis of Russian Imperial Economics

People say: "They are always in a state of crisis, and yet somehow, they always manage to survive".

This is true, but there are different types of crisis. Some only endanger the well-being of the population, whilst others are such, that they can bring down the state system, and sometimes, even the state itself.

In the Russian Empire the main and permanent negative feature affecting the work results can be said to be lack of responsibility and lack of interest.

Absence of justice and lack of responsibility are two sides of the same coin, because to be fully responsible for something, full rights are needed to make decisions and to change things.

The absence of a free market removes the possibility of that or any other business becoming fully effective. False bureaucratic indices attempt to change economic reality, and it is these false indices which appraise the levels of work. A straightforward example is that if government prices have nothing in common with real prices, then how, in the example of electro-energy, can the correct costs be estimated, or do these or other factors of the economy cost more than the actual electro-energy?

This is how theoretical "successes" are really the opposite of what they seem.

The Soviet Empire survives by "campaigns" and "all hands on deck" systems of work, which force people to work with machines which should have been disposed of a long time ago, but for the sake of appearances, for the "assembly of metal fragments" — good machinery is loaded into the smelter.

Direct falsification flourishes, for example on the Zaporozhian metallurgical combine a huge amount of missing hired machinery is initially included "in the statistics" of the production process, which is then shredded, conveyed away, manufactured and **again** included... There is no need to be surprised that even in the very Kremlin, economic statistics are dealt with in the same manner.

In the centralised communist system, agriculture has become chronically crippled and has no cure. The largest and richest corn-producing territory systematically imports bread... This is a real "Russian miracle".

Agriculture is the industry most severely affected by centralisation, because it differentiates itself from other branches of production

merely through natural conditions. In different industrial works it is possible to create a standard technology and the corresponding results. But soil, climate, weather cannot be standardised and are changeable and diverse. There are innumerable peculiarities which affect the crops to a large extent in every region, therefore it is absolutely necessary to take them into account, since sun or rain cannot come to order everyday.

A government which recognises only centralisation and a plan, causes antagonism between itself and nature, whose own "plans" are unpredictable and diverse. The result of this long-lasting encounter is a complete decay in agricultural production.

The consequence is obvious, a person who works on the land, must master it and the results of his own work. This will encourage him to increase production, in which the only guides are concrete circumstances and a personal understanding — and not the instructions of the centre.

But a limitless government will not want to limit itself. It would rather settle for huge material losses.

*

In industry, disregarding the terrible defects of the system, the Bolsheviks have managed to gain several successes, mainly at the expense of the brutal exploitation of the hungry slaves and the incomparable natural riches of the imperial territory. The extent of industrial production, initially military, grew systematically. This is all with which the Russian Empire can flatter itself — although without it, industrial successes would be incomparably better.

A country of satellites and nuclear bombs is still not capable of competing in the free market economy of the Western world. Its main exports are raw materials, formed by nature and not by the hands of man. But in the last few years, even this "success" of the regime — industrial growth — has started to slow down, and now has almost stopped. Surprisingly, it has been revealed, that even in such an empire, human and natural resources run out. This is the first thing that determines the "Highest Level" of imperial strength. The overexploited population responded accordingly — with such a strange form of protest that it is impossible to quash: it does not want to continue to reproduce its breed. It regards one child as being enough, and two as a little too many. The exception are the Muslims, whose countries are not economically developed, because the empire does not believe in their "faithfulness". A lack of work forces becomes more and more of a strain.

In the over-used, easy to reach industrial regions, mineral wealth is almost used up, at a time when the need for raw materials is reaching astronomical proportions. To obtain raw materials it is now necessary to go further east and north, where there are neither people nor businesses, neither dwellings nor roads. The exploitation of far-

off deposits requires huge expenses and the transportation of mineral through thousands of kilometres, through forests and marshes.

But minerals which are difficult to obtain cannot last for long, and then the Empire will be forced to buy exceptionally expensive raw materials. With what finances? With what will they pay? What export will compensate for the import? — for such questions, there are no answers.

*

The Empire could overcome the above-mentioned difficulties with the aid of new technology, and by raising the productiveness of labour, if it were not for one more crisis, which is now becoming the **determining factor**. The crisis is related to this; that the present extent of imperial industry is greater than that with which centralisation can cope.

Something similar has already occurred within American corporations and in the Czecho-Slovakian economy, where the highest levels have already manifested themselves, and due to which, centralised direction becomes impossible.

In the mid-twentieth century in America great changes came about in the running of trusts. Businesses had grown to such a size that each could not achieve exclusive centralised control, or guide internal and external factors productively. "The chain of information" had to be broken down by the firms' managers to smaller sections, which then became autonomous affiliations, and to such an extent that there was mutual competition between them. Decentralisation of management occurred, with the handing over of most rights and responsibilities to the autonomous affiliations, lower sections from the centre.

Such firms which clung to the old methods of management (for example Fords) experienced great losses, and were finally forced to follow the same path as others.

In the mid-60s the same process started to occur in the Czecho-Slovakian economy, where total centralisation was linked with the highest level of production in the Communist Bloc. That is why Czecho-Slovakia became the first swallow. Novotny was then forced to implement far-reaching economic reforms, because the economy was in such a hopeless economic crisis. Centralised management was unable to master the excesses of numerous economic linkages and their dynamic needs.

Hanging onto the centralised method of running the economy led to such a situation in the 1960s, that even when production was raised successfully, the increase was swallowed up by the newly grown chaos. So national growth remained on one level and did not increase.

Due to planned chaos, unnecessary surplus was produced, and even if it were needed, it could not be distributed where required.

The centralised party-government machinery showed itself to be

insensitive and clumsy for the present complex and active economy. Everything became so muddled that any advance was prevented.

This is why Novotny was forced to implement such reforms, that so shook his government, that only Russian tanks could restore the regime. Separate businesses gained **autonomy** and had to settle their affairs from their own profits and not from the government reserves.

For such gains to be real, not artificial, a gradual change to free pricing occurred in order to create a true market. Healthy competition was to change the whole face of the Czecho-Slovak economic scene.

And it did change it, not only in the sphere of production. The life of a community is a complete entity in which one cannot isolate one organ from the rest of the body. A local problem is the problem of the whole organism, not just of the arms or legs. In an analogous manner, a local improvement changes the position of the whole. Blowing in a fresh wind, the economic freedom seemed to clear a path for political and spiritual freedom, and for the resolution of the national problem. The face of the whole community was consequently changed and reworked.

Czecho-Slovakia was not able to neutralise the physical force of the Russian Empire but she must be credited with a spiritual victory over Russia. She showed that it was possible to live in another way, in a much better way at that. It pointed out the fatal disease of the Communist system and proved that at a certain level of development, the shedding of communist totalitarianism becomes a historical necessity.

Losing the weapon of economic control with which the communist party was no longer competent to govern, it also inevitably loses its overall hegemony. The class of party aparatchiks immediately becomes redundant, an unnecessary and harmful burden on community life — an unwanted fifth wheel on a cart.

Such a gigantic spiritual victory of the Czecho-Slovakian nation so alarmed the Kremlin, that the recently much vaunted economic reforms in the USSR were immediately halted. Already in the mid-60's the dangerous loss of effect of imperial production showed signs of beginning. Then the government loosened slightly its silencing hold over economists and there followed on the pages of the press a previously unheard of discussion about the future development of the Soviet economy. It even went as far as the proclamation of the necessity for the existence of a free market pricing system. The government initiated guarded and not very consequential reforms.

The Czecho-Slovakian "threat" was a dangerous experiment. Any reforms were forgotten as if they never existed at all.

The Russian Bolsheviks found the solution to the problem by turning to the West within the terms of the so-called "detente"; the economic basis of which is the "growth of communist society" with the aid of Western finance and Western technology.

The West quickly responded and up to date has committed tens of billions of dollars to help its sworn enemy.

Everything appeared fine. However, in truth, when one has a malady in the head, it is useless treating the soles of ones feet. The lack of finance and technology was merely a manifestation of the crisis caused by the communist running of the economy. No external injections could cure the primary disease. On the contrary the physical growth only seemed to increase the unsuitability of the old form of running the economy.

The external help, on the one hand removed the failure of the communist economic system, but on the other, in the final analysis, it made more acute the inevitable crisis because it placed it in the international arena. The "country of developed communism" found itself unable to repay her huge debts to the countries of the West. There in full view of the whole world the gigantic Russian-communist superpower was changing into a world bankrupt in the literal sense. Insofar as she (the USSR) herself emphasises that the economic question is decisive, this is a final and irrevocable failure in her system.

The most salient fact is that this crisis has arisen after 32 peaceful years, not ones beset by confrontations, but rather of great help from the West. But in this — fatal stand of the Russian communist system is hidden a great danger to the West, and for the whole world in general, because the Bolsheviks may use the increase in tension as a pretext to justify their abysmal economic situation. As they have nothing to lose, they could start a conflict which would end in the annihilation of mankind.

In my opinion the Bolsheviks would already have attacked Europe were it not for the threat from Communist China which to a great extent has tied their hands. Therefore Moscow is left with local wars in Africa and the near-East, everywhere where she can stoke up the fire using other hands.

She (Moscow) fans up the oil crisis in order to, with a minimum of risk, make economic stagnation a general phenomenon so as not to direct attention to herself as the only black spot in the industrial world.

Therefore it is essential to follow in every detail bolshevik adventurism, so that its agony does not turn the heads of the politicians in the free world, so that they hold out and help to free the countries subjugated by the Russian imperialists.

The current national liberation movements in the USSR have not come about accidentally or grown out of barren land. Either consciously or subconsciously the subjugated nations and their peoples sense the inevitability of a far-reaching change in the air.

As to the inextricability of the economic position this also is an enemy of the Russian empire, one against which the KGB and nuclear bombs are helpless.

Joseph MESHENER

WITHIN THE SOVIET CONCENTRATION CAMPS OF THE 1970's

I was fortunate. Fortunate, for after six years of imprisonment in the USSR (1970-1976), I was allowed to go and be reunited with my family in Israel. Fortunate, because during those long years I met and was befriended by hundreds and hundreds of vigorous, courageous fighters for human and national rights. Fortunate, because throughout this period I was incarcerated in the prison complexes of the Mordovian and Permian provinces, and at the time of my release I was serving out my sentence in the infamous Vladimir prison — these places are known from history and also geography. At this time I am in London and at the invitation of my Ukrainian friends I will attempt to give a brief account of the current situation in the political prison camps and the Vladimir prison.

The late 1960's and early 70's introduced certain basic changes in the composition of the political prisoners within the USSR. During the early 1960's revision of Marxism-Leninism was viewed as an improvement by the prisoners in the Mordovian ASSR. The major impetus toward the reconsideration, in my view, was provided by N. Khrushchev following the rehabilitation of millions of individuals who were liquidated or crippled during the personality cult of Stalin, as was revealed at the 20th Congress of the CPSU, and reported widely on radio and in the party and Soviet press. The very fact that the party's "leader idol" was purged cast serious aspersions on the very idea of Marxism-Leninism. Initially member Marxist-Leninists in the USSR rejected "the father of all nations" and turned to the source, Marx and Lenin, which fostered the demand for corrections of various aspects of their learned apostles or for a dogmatic interpretation of their works.

Generally speaking, through the mid-60's there were two groups of Marxists in the political prison camps, the Krasnopyevczev and the Senin group. The former maintained an orthodox Marxist view and the latter strove to further and improve Marxism. It is particularly important to note that, in the prison camp, the vast majority of the Marxists would come into contact with other groups — the living witnesses who experienced the realities of the development of Marxism-Leninism. Eventually they would discard Marxism and join other nationalist movements representing one or another republic, or, turn to religion, or, on occasion, having become disenchanted with all "ideals" turn to the prison camp administration and the KGB hoping to gain favours and leniency. There were rare instances where Marxists would remain orthodox, insisting that the ideology is not at

fault if it falls into the hands of criminals. I won't list their name for they are rare and individual cases.

Actually, in the prison camps one could learn the history of the USSR completely, better than from the works of learned historians not to mention the fact that in the camps it was the truth that was presented. I came to know an individual, who, in 1972 had served 42 years in prison camps. Beginning with 1921, that is from the time of the Kronshtadt uprising, his fate had taken him across the Solovetsk, Kolyma, Siberia and the Urals. I met people who had worked on the Dneprohes and experienced the Amur, built the White Sea-Baltic Canal and the Abakan-Tayshet Tributary.

Throughout the camp stalked the living history of thousands and thousands of human tragedies which forced one to not only wonder about the practices used in the development of communism but to examine the very idea which brought them about. And suddenly, just as before, there was an upheaval. If Krushchev discredited Stalin so Czecho-Slovakia discredited the ideology. Understandably there was a degree of inertia, individual cases of Marxists continued to be imprisoned, but with time it became only the anti-soviets, nationalists and democrats, in short, those who spurned Marx and Lenin. I think that this process has been driven into the fabric of society by the repressive machine of the KGB. Neither the ideologically controlled arts nor the regime philosophers could stem the tide. The prison camps, psychiatric and criminal prisons are now being populated almost exclusively with religious believers and those convicted on the basis of fabricated criminal charges ostensibly for viewing reality in terms other than official versions. In particular the policy of the KGB from 1970-72 lends credence to such a view. During that period arrests and trials were held involving Zionists in Leningrad, Riga, Kishinev and Ukrainian nationalists in Kyiv, Kharkiv, Lviv and Sub-Carpathia. Arrests and 'criminal' trials involving Lithuanian nationalists were held in Kaunas where the defendants were charged with "deliberate disorder". The camps have filled with Armenian nationalists and with representatives from Georgia, Moldavia, Central Asia and Azerbaijan. From the blood and suffering of the destroyed national intelligentsia sprouted the eternal demand of the republics for their right to secede, as guaranteed by the Soviet constitution, and has become the top priority in their struggle. Within the political prison camps there are no representatives of the Crimean Tartars, even though the world is familiar with their valiant struggle to return to the Crimea. Crimean Tartars can be found in psychiatric hospitals (prisons) and in criminal prison camps. This deliberate policy is designed to cast the Crimean Tartar nationalist movement as nothing more than a family quarrel or as distorted views of reality.

Everything I have written is characteristic of the last 5-6 years, but this is not the only contingent and not the largest — for that is the Ukrainians.

Igor SHANKOVSKY, Ph.D.

The Poetry of Courage & Anger

AN EXTRACT FROM THE BOOK BY THE ABOVE AUTHOR

SYMONENKO — A STUDY IN SEMANTICS

A. THE POETS OF THE SIXTIES.

No other literary phenomenon that took place in the Soviet Ukraine after the “fusillade” which destroyed the Ukrainian revival of the late 1920, and early 1930s appeared so suddenly, nor did anything bring about so much controversy, as the poets of the sixties. Perhaps their bold, spontaneous, and enthusiastic appearance (on the Soviet Ukrainian literary scene) was a reaction to Khrushchev’s literary policies, which, after all, made possible at about the same time the appearance of one, Alexander Solzhenitsyn with his bold, disturbing, account about *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich* (on the Soviet Russian literary scene). Both literary phenomena, the Ukrainian poets of the sixties and Solzhenitsyn, sent a shock wave throughout the Soviet Union. However, because of the “unwritten” and, yet, very *clearly* understood Western political conceptions about what *is not* to be brought to the Western reader’s attention of the events taking place in the Soviet Union (including literary productivity) — only Solzhenitsyn was allowed to make the international literary and *political* “Scenario”, until his ruthless expulsion by the Soviet government, early in 1974. Ukrainian poets of the sixties never did manage to make the international “scenario”. They were silenced, one-by-one, in one way or another, by direct intervention of the Soviet internal security forces. Now, in the mid-1970s, there is not a single one of them left, still enjoying his “freedom” who would dare to write or say what each one of them was so boldly writing and saying only fifteen years ago. All those who would still “dare” to write or say it now — are either dead, or imprisoned. Once again there prevails *almost* total darkness in the literary life of the Soviet Ukraine.

This entire period, covering the Ukrainian poets of the sixties, deserves a thorough, separate study; and if such a study *presented in an unemotional and objective manner*, is still not available by the end of this decade — then I do aim, God willing, to provide it.

Focusing the flashback upon the early 1960s one must immediately observe that after the initial shock and surprise had gradually subsided — the appearance of the Ukrainian poets of the sixties brought about heated debates. These debates lasted up to the time of the sudden downfall of Nikita Khrushchev and for a short time after. They enlivened the boring pages of Soviet Ukrainian periodicals and newspapers of the period. These heated debates were carried over to the Ukrainian literary and *political* periodicals and newspapers published by Ukrainian exiles abroad, and, as a result, soon there was no Ukrainian national who would be “unaware” of the phenomenon (both, in the Soviet Union, and abroad). At the same time one could not find a “neutral” Ukrainian national when touching upon the subject. Strange as it may seem, the Ukrainian periodicals and newspapers published abroad, some of them in particular, often showed *less* objectivity, or even understanding of the phenomenon, than Soviet Ukrainian periodicals and newspapers published during the period (some of *them* in particular). And while it is well understood that censorship severely limits anything that can be said about *any* phenomenon that takes place in the Soviet Ukraine, some of the statements made about the Ukrainian poets of the sixties in the Ukrainian periodicals and newspapers published abroad — will forever remain a puzzle. It must be quite pointedly underlined that almost all Ukrainian poets of the sixties, *including* Vasyl Symonenko, *did at one time or another, some did so repeatedly, voice their affiliation and/or support for the Communist party*. They maintained that their poems and public statements were not directed against the Communist party as such, but against those party officials who continuously abuse the sovereign and personal rights of the Ukrainian people, rights granted and fully guaranteed by the Soviet constitution. Their main effort was directed to expose the officially sanctioned Russification of the Soviet Ukraine. They all condemned the ever-growing Russian chauvinism, strove to broaden the limited possibilities that “socialist-realism”, as the only officially permitted style, offered to literature. Their boldness was demonstrated mainly by the fact that they were not *asking*, they were *demanding*. The very essence of their platform, if one could regard as a platform the loose affiliation of the young Ukrainian literary adherents, was best present in the study by one, Ivan Dzyuba, written at the dawn of the 1960s, later smuggled abroad, translated into English and published in London.¹⁵⁶ Dzyuba was arrested for writing this study, he was tried and convicted, humiliated and broken in prison, and, finally, “pardoned” and released in 1974. He now continues to write and publish laudatory articles about “prospering” Soviet Ukraine and is rumoured to be working on a long essay “retracting” the statements made in the above quoted study. Obviously, most of the others were

¹⁵⁶ Ivan Dzyuba, *Internationalism or Russification? A Study in the Soviet Nationalities Problem* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson — 1968), pp. 240.

"persuaded" to change their initial line as well (Symonenko died before the crucial blows could have fallen upon him, Lina Kostenko fell silent and continues to be silent, publishing nothing, some were arrested, like Dzyuba, and are now serving time, still others gave in and collaborate now with whatever the administrative demands might be. Regardless of their individual fate, it must be granted that the Ukrainian poets of the sixties conquered for themselves a significant space in literary movements on the universal level.

*Bibliografichnyi dovidnyk*¹⁵⁷ (Bibliographical Book of Reference), published in 1966, permits examination as to the state of the Ukrainian Writers' Union on 1 January 1966 in the Soviet Ukraine.¹⁵⁸

On that date the Ukrainian Writers' Union embraced a membership of 748 writers. Out of that number 661 (88.2%) were males and only 87 (11.8%) were females. Out of the total 433 (57.9%) were Communist party members and 315 (42.1%) were non-party members. 589 (78.8%) were University graduates, 127 (16.9%) completed secondary education and 32 (4.3%) are listed as having primary education or without any reference to their education level. 107 members completed their graduate studies and held the title of a candidate or a doctor in their respective field. That indicates that 14.3% the membership of the Ukrainian Writers' Union as of 1 January 1966 was employed at university level, or occupied scholarly positions at other institutions of higher learning. The information provided by this study includes careful annotations about the working language of the members. And so 522 (69.8%) writers used at the time only Ukrainian, 162 (21.7%) — only Russian, 15 (2.0%) — only Yiddish or Hebrew, and 49 (6.5%) — other languages.

The membership of the poets of the sixties listed in *Bibliografichnyi dovidnyk* (77) as compared to the *Dictionary IV-V* (17) increased miraculously by 60 writers within the one year that lapsed between the publication dates of these two sources. The number of them was far greater in 1966, *Bibliografichnyi dovidnyk*, as already mentioned listed only the members of the Ukrainian Writers' Union. To mention only those who at the end of 1965 were already published either by appearing in Soviet Ukrainian periodicals, or having had their debut by separate individual volumes, a careful research shows 42 such writers *not* listed in the *Bibliografichnyi dovidnyk* and, therefore, we must presume that they were *not* members of the Ukrainian Writers' Union on the 1 January 1966. They are: Vitali Berezyns'kyi (1937-), Ivan Boichak (1939-), Oleksii Bulyha (1938-), Mykola Vorobiov (1941-), Les' Harasymchuk (1944-), Vasyl Holoborod'ko (1942-),

157) Oleksander Petrovs'kyi, *Pys'mennyky Radyans'koi Ukrainy. Bibliografichnyi dovidnyk* (Kiev: v-vo "Radyans'kyi pys'mennyk — 1966), 799. From now on this source will be quoted as *Bibl. dovidnyk*, with indication of the necessary page numbers.

158) The publisher's note states that the aim of this publication is to show the state of the Ukrainian Writers' Union for the 1 January 1966. See: *Bibl. dovidnyk*, p. 2. This approach makes it possible to establish the exact number of the Ukrainian poets of the sixties within the Union, as compared to the rest of the membership.

Valeri Honcharenko (1942-), Halyna Hordasevych (1935-), Oles' Dorichenko (1936-), Iryna Zhylenko (1941-), Svitlana Zholob (1947-), Volodymyr Zabashtans'kyi (1940-), Stanislav Zinchuk (1939-), Mykola Il'nyts'kyi (1934-), Ihor Kalynets' (1939-), Natala Kashchuk (1937-), Hryhori Kyrychenko (1939-), Leonid Kovalenko (1941-), Vitali Kolodii (1939-), Victor Korzh (1938-), Volodymyr Kulykiv'skyi (1937-), Roman Lubkiv'skyi (1941-), Borys Mamaisur (1938-), Volodymyr Mordan' (1937-), Vanya Otroshchenko (1948-), Volodymyr Pidpalnyi (1936-), Anatoli Polishchuk (1937-), Borys Riznychenko (1940-), Mykhailo Savchenko (1947-), Lyudmyla Skyrda (1945-), Bohdan Stel'makh (1943-), Yaroslav Stupak (?-), Vasyl Stus (1938-), Lesya Tyhlii (1947-), Vasyl Fol'varochnyi (1941-), Svitlana Khmil' (1949-), Mykola Kholodnyi (1940-), Oleksandr Sharvarok (1945-), Valeri Shevchuk (1940-), Yuri Shcherbak (-), Volodymyr Yavoriv'skyi (1942-), and Svitlana Yovenko (1946-).¹⁵⁹ At least two of the above named authors have been arrested and tried during the early 1970s and are now serving time. They are Ihor Kalynets' and Vasyl Stus. The others continue to publish, some of them are by now members of the Ukrainian Writers' Union, the fate of other is still not known.

The state of membership in the Ukrainian Writers' Union for 1 January 1966 is shown in Tables IX, X, XI and XII. Table IX shows the Communist party affiliation, Table X — the social origin, Table XI — the working language, and Table XII — territorial origin and the language used, considering the origin of the Soviet Ukrainian writers listed in *Bibliohrafichnyi dovidnyk*.

Concentrating on these four Tables and comparing the data with those provided in the Tables based on the *Dictionary* IV-V (shown in the first chapter) — the large increase of young people entering literature during the first part of the 1960s is immediately felt. More so, if the 42 names of persons are considered, who *were not* listed as members of the Ukrainian Writers' Union by 1 January 1966, and yet they were all published writers by that date. According to the statutes of the Ukrainian Writers' Union *any* citizen of the Soviet Ukraine who has completed 18 years of age and authored *any published* work can become a member of this, *the only*, literary organization in Soviet Ukraine, provided some members in good standing would recommend acceptance. It would be hard to believe that at least some of the 42 could not find and secure the needed support under normal circumstances. The fact is that most of the beginning writers, born during the 1930s and 1940s, who made their debut in literature during the first half of the 1960s were facing great administrative difficulties not only by trying to by-pass the mandatory censorship but by trying to earn professional standing by joining the Ukrainian Writers' Union as well.

¹⁵⁹ I have carefully researched all available Soviet Ukrainian periodicals, as well as individual publications for 1960-1966, and found all these 42 young writers published, either several times in a periodical, or by their own books, *before* 1966.

TABLE IX.

Communist Party Affiliation of Soviet Ukrainian Writers
on 1 January 1966

Generation	Total writers		Communist party	
		%	Total members	%
Up to 1899	50	6.7 ⁰ / ₀	11	22.0 ⁰ / ₀
1900-1910	195	26.1 ⁰ / ₀	108	55.3 ⁰ / ₀
1911-1929	426	56.9 ⁰ / ₀	283	66.4 ⁰ / ₀
1930 and up	77	10.3 ⁰ / ₀	31	40.3 ⁰ / ₀
Totals:	748	100.0 ⁰ / ₀	433	57.9 ⁰ / ₀

TABLE X.

Social Origin of Soviet Ukrainian Writers
on 1 January 1966

Generation	Peasants		Workers		Intelligentsia	
		%		%		%
Up to 1899	19	38.0 ⁰ / ₀	9	18.0 ⁰ / ₀	22	44.0 ⁰ / ₀
1900-1910	66	33.8 ⁰ / ₀	55	28.2 ⁰ / ₀	74	38.0 ⁰ / ₀
1911-1929	200	47.0 ⁰ / ₀	87	20.4 ⁰ / ₀	139	32.6 ⁰ / ₀
1930 and up	30	38.9 ⁰ / ₀	15	19.5 ⁰ / ₀	32	41.6 ⁰ / ₀
Totals:	315	42.1 ⁰ / ₀	166	22.2 ⁰ / ₀	267	35.7 ⁰ / ₀

TABLE XI.

Language Used by Soviet Ukrainian Writers
on 1 January 1966

Generation	Ukrainian		Russian		Yiddish or Hebrew		Other	
		%		%		%		%
Up to 1899	39	78.0 ⁰ / ₀	6	12.0 ⁰ / ₀	2	4.0 ⁰ / ₀	3	6.0 ⁰ / ₀
1900-1910	128	65.6 ⁰ / ₀	41	21.0 ⁰ / ₀	7	3.5 ⁰ / ₀	19	9.9 ⁰ / ₀
1911-1929	292	68.6 ⁰ / ₀	102	23.9 ⁰ / ₀	6	1.4 ⁰ / ₀	26	6.1 ⁰ / ₀
1930 and up	63	81.8 ⁰ / ₀	13	16.9 ⁰ / ₀	-	-	1	1.3 ⁰ / ₀
Totals:	522	69.8 ⁰ / ₀	162	21.7 ⁰ / ₀	15	2.0 ⁰ / ₀	49	6.5 ⁰ / ₀

TABLE XI.
Territorial Origin and the Language Used by Ukrainian
Writers on 1 January 1966

Province or State	Total writers	Language used				Other
		Ukr.	Russ.	Yidd. or Heb.		
Vinnys'ts'ka	37	32	3	-	2	
Volyns'ka	5	5	-	-	-	
Dnipropetrovs'ka	40	27	6	1	6	
Donets'ka	27	11	16	-	-	
Zhytomyrs'ka	37	27	1	7	2	
Zaporiz'ka	16	15	-	1	-	
Ivano-Frankivs'ka	6	6	-	-	-	
Kyiv (Capital city)	34	20	10	-	4	
Kyivs'ka	57	48	5	2	2	
Kirovohrads'ka	37	30	3	1	3	
Kryms'ka	8	-	8	-	-	
Luhans'ka	11	7	3	-	1	
L'vivs'ka	10	10	-	-	-	
Mykolaivs'ka	13	10	2	-	1	
Odes'ka	25	12	10	-	3	
Poltavs'ka	65	58	3	-	4	
Rivens'ka	3	3	3	-	-	
Sums'ka	20	18	2	-	-	
Ternopils'ka	5	5	-	-	-	
Transkarpaty	17	13	1	-	1	
Kharkivs'ka	48	36	10	-	2	
Khersons'ka	11	7	3	-	1	
Khmel'nyts'ka	20	18	2	-	-	
Cherkas'ka	40	37	1	-	2	
Chernihivs'ka	38	33	1	1	1	
Chernivets'ka	6	3	1	-	2	
In Ukrainian S.S.R.	636	491	91	13	41	
Province or State	Total writers	Ukr.	Russ.	Language used Yidd. or Heb.	Other	
Russian S.F.S.R.	79	19	57	-	3	
All other Republics	21	5	11	2	3	
Poland	9	7	1	-	1	
All other States	3	-	2	-	1	
Fr. outside U.S.S.R. (Soviet Ukraine)	112	31	71	2	8	
Totals:	748	522	162	15	49	

Further examination of the Tables suggests the following deductions:

1. The writers of the third generation (56.9%) composed more than half of the total membership in the Ukrainian Writers' Union as of 1 January 1966. These writers lived their formative years during the reign of Stalin's "personality cult", most of them took part in the "Great Patriotic War" on the front line, in Red partisan units or as war correspondents. Researching the notes in *Bibliohrafichnyi dovidnyk* I have counted 413 (55.2%) writers of the total membership *directly* participated in World War II. Out of them 249 (33.3%) were decorated, 319 (42.7%) were front line soldiers or officers, 33 (4.4%) fought in Red partisan units, and 61 (8.1%) served in supporting logistic units. During their formative years these writers were fully exposed only to "socialist-realism" type of literature and almost totally ignorant of the Western literary movements of the time. Nevertheless, the writers of this generation managed to complete higher education after the war, or at least attended institutions of higher learning, privileges they claim to have earned by their service during the hostilities. This group of writers continuously claims all sorts of "veteran privileges", both, in their literary works, and in their public appearances, as coming to them for having actively fought against the Nazi invaders. This generation had provided a number of accomplished writers, as well as a good number of literary drones, who were among the most severe critics of the innovative creativity demonstrated by the poets of the sixties. More than the traditional "generation gap" is responsible for having driven these two successive generations of Soviet Ukrainian writers completely apart.

2. Out of the fourth generation only 17 names were listed by the *Dictionary IV-V*, in 1965. *Bibliografichnyi dovidnyk* listed 77 (10.3%) members of that generation in 1966. The substantial increase cannot remain unobserved and is only underlined by the 42 names *not* listed. The anthology published at about the same time abroad listed even less, only 60 writers,¹⁶⁰ and is, perhaps limited by its very title: *Shistdesyat poetiv shistdesyatykh rokiv* (Sixty Poets of the Sixties). This data, in spite of attempts to keep the movement downtrodden, shows a remarkable rise in the literary replenishment during the first half of the 1960s.

3. Using rather careful and by far incomplete remarks — 49 out of 245 writers of the first and second generations point out the repressive measures to which they were submitted during Stalin's "personality cult" that inspired years of terror. And so, within his autobiographical note, the renowned writer Borys Antonenko-Davydovych states, that he had "a prolonged interruption to his creative work that lasted until 1956",¹⁶¹ Viktor Leontievich Petrovskiy duly

¹⁶⁰) Bohdan Kravtsov (comp.), *op cit.*

states that he too managed to "devote many years to work far removed from literature",¹⁶² Yevhen Stepanovych Shabliov'skyi remarked, that he "was denied between 1937 and 1957 any possibility to conduct creative work".¹⁶³ Most of the others did not even dare to make such innocent remarks within their notes, yet, as in the *Dictionary IV-V*, long gaps showing inactivity in publication testify as to the true nature of their experiences. *All of them* spent the respective periods as inmates of forced labour camps, were later "rehabilitated", and finally restored to their rights as members of the Ukrainian Writers' Union.

4. The working language used by the members points out some very interesting facts. For instance, the smallest number of writers using Ukrainian as their working language falls on the *second* and *the third* generations. Responsible for that, in my opinion, is the collective experience of those two generations. They were the silent, helpless, and inactive witnesses to the events of the 1930s during which a substantial number of their literary colleagues were physically destroyed, or "put away" and vanished without trace. Some, who survived the purges, were questioned at the time, or put away for a while themselves and remember this period well, never to forget. It is also significant that among the writers of the third generation, those imported out of the Russian S.F.S.R. predominate. Their working language was and still is Russian and their literary output is directed at the local Russian, or Russified Ukrainian population. Autobiographical notes prepared by those writers indicate that they have settled in Soviet Ukraine after World War II. Their arrival coincides with the intensification of the administrative efforts to Russify the Ukrainian population of the Soviet Ukraine. And here, note the behaviour of the *fourth* generation, the poets of the sixties substantially raise the Ukrainian language as the working language for their generation of writers. Studying Table XII it is relatively easy to see "the centers" of the Russification processes as of 1 January 1966. They are: Donbas, Crimea, somewhat less strong — Odessa, Kharkiv, and Kyiv (the Capital city). Unfortunately *Bibliohrafichnyi dovidnyk* does not provide data as to the place of the whereabouts and work of Soviet Ukrainian writers it listed as of 1 January 1966, if such data were available it would be possible to determine the contemporary distribution of literary forces in Soviet Ukraine.

5. Data about the social origin (always the most unreliable of all Soviet data) does not indicate any substantial changes for 1 January 1966. Most of the writers of rural origin are located within the third generation (47.0%), the percentages are lower for the poets of the sixties (38.9%). Data contained in the *Dictionary IV-V*

161) *Bibl. dovidnyk*, p. 13.

162) *Bibl. dovidnyk*, p. 528.

163) *Ibid.*, p. 740.

indicated that most of the urban working class writers appeared with the processes of the Ukrainisation (1924-1933) and that fact had an impact upon the second generation of writers, which even as of 1 January 1966 still contains 28.2% writers of the urban working class origin. Percentages of the intelligentsia, high for the writers of the first generation (44.0%), rises again for the writers of the fourth generation (41.6%).

6. Perhaps the most peculiar information is contained in Table XII, where the territorial origin of the writers is shown. First of all there are 112 (15.0%) writers who were born outside Soviet Ukraine. Noting the working language of those writers we see that the great majority (71) uses Russian. A good number of them had settled in Donbas and Crimea areas and there they have succeeded to Russify the local chapters of the Ukrainian Writers' Union to such an extent that almost all of the publications released by these local chapters are in Russian.

All of the former Western Ukrainian provinces (Volyns'ka, Ivano-Frankivs'ka, Lvivs'ka, Rivens'ka, Ternopils'ka, and Transcarpaty) — are represented in the Ukrainian Writers' Union by only 52 members. That is less than provided by one Poltav'ska province. This would tend to indicate that the official influence of Western Ukrainian provinces upon the processes taking place in Soviet Ukrainian literature is minimal. The reason for such a low number of Western Ukrainian writers in the Ukrainian Writers' Union is clear: the writers of the first, second, and third generations left Western Ukrainian provinces during World War II in large numbers to stay in exile and the cultivation of new literary cadres was proceeding at a slow pace.

Out of all of the members using Russian as their working language it is possible to establish on the basis of their autobiographical notes that out of the total of 162 — 44 (27.2%) are Ukrainians, 89 (54.9%) are Russians, 12 (7.4%) are Jews, and 17 (10.5%) are of some other nationality. That proves that the processes of Russification in Soviet Ukraine are supported by almost half (45.1%) of the writers with *non-Russian* nationality.

All these facts had a great influence upon the appearance of poets in the sixties. They were present there, in the Soviet Ukraine, where Russification and enforced migrations were taking place, they just had to have a say about all that. Their say they did have, indeed. This is how the poetry of courage and anger was born.

The literary movement referred to in my study as *the poets of the sixties* (the movement also included writers working in highly poetic prose and literary critics) had its start with the poetry of Lina Kostenko¹⁶⁴ (1930-), the poetess most "mature in art"¹⁶⁵ even before

164) *Dictionary IV.*, pp. 771-772.

165) Max Hayward and Edward L. Cowley (eds.), *Soviet Literature in the Sixties* (New York, London: Frederick A. Praeger, Inc — 1964), p. 113.

the 1960s. The first book of her poems was published in 1957 under the title *Prominnyya zemli* (The Earth Sunbeams). Soon after two more books appeared: *Vitryla* (The Sails) in 1958 and *Mandrivky sertsya* (The Journeys of the Heart) in 1961. Ever since — new winds began to blow through Soviet Ukrainian poetry. These were excellent times for a new talent to blow innovative and bold spirit into stale air. The party apparatus in Moscow was still bewildered and confused after the XXth Party Congress wavering between the new liberal denunciations of the “personality cult” and the old conservative ways (do not confuse the terms “liberal” and “conservative” as applied to the situation in Soviet Union with their interpretation in the Western world). Even so Lina Kostenko almost at once was condemned by two important Soviet Ukrainian critics (Yuri Barabash and Viktor Ivanynsenko) as being a *formalist* poet, and later, when the poetess refused to submit repenting declarations, during the IV Congress of the Soviet Ukrainian Writers, in March 1959, by Mykola Bazhan. At that time Bazhan was the Chairman of the Soviet Ukrainian Writers' Union.¹⁶⁶

Official rebuke forced Lina Kostenko to fall silent for a while. Her silence lasted for one whole year, throughout 1960. Yet, the poetess was not ready to resign herself to total silence at that time. When it seemed that the conservative party currents gained control of Soviet Ukrainian literature again — her voice was heard, and it sounded even stronger in 1961. It was not a voice of solitary despair any more. Other voices of young poets, writers, and literary critics joined hers in powerful unison. Thus, a new literary movement was born and quickly gained wide popularity and recognition. It was now supported even by some of those writers and literary critics who had previously opposed Lina Kostenko. The first poet to sound in unison was Vasyl Symonenko, whose poetry was widely circulating in manuscript copies even before his first book of poetry was published in 1962. Other names, like that of the poet film actor and director Mykola Vinhranovs'kyi¹⁶⁷ (1935-), the novelist and short story writer Yevhen Hutsalo¹⁶⁸ (1937-), the brilliant literary critic Ivan Dzyuba¹⁶⁹ (1931-), the imaginative poet Ivan Drach¹⁷⁰ (1936-), the reflexive poet and medical doctor Vitali Korotych¹⁷¹ (1936-), the poet and literary critic Ivan Svitlychnyi¹⁷² (1929-), and the very productive lyricist Mykola Synhais'kyi¹⁷³ (1936-), either made their debut within or identified with the movement. I have listed above only those writers who had made important and lasting contributions to Soviet Ukrainian literature during the 1960s, there were many more who

166) *Dictionary IV.*, p. 33.

167) *Dictionary IV.*, pp. 197-198.

168) *Ibid.*, pp. 379-380.

169) Not listed in the *Dictionary IV.* See: *Bibl. dovidnyk*, p. 181.

170) *Dictionary IV.*, pp. 479-480.

171) *Ibid.*, pp. 760-762.

172) Not listed in the *Dictionary V.*, nor in the *Bibl. dovidnyk*.

173) Not listed in the *Dictionary V.* in spite of the fact that he had already published 5 books of poems. See: *Bibl. dovidnyk*, p. 605.

were never allowed to develop. All of them, each one individually, and nevertheless, united in their aims, started out to reach for common objectives: to achieve protection from administrative abuse of the constitutional rights granted to Soviet Ukrainian people and to break ties with the official conventionalism in literature. Lina Kostenko openly spoke about the ills inherited by her contemporaries showing what kind of "relay batons" the poets of the sixties were trying to pass on:

. . . Oh, many souls became in our century
such desperate and mutilated souls . . .
Some got themselves to ail by being sea sick,
go on and stumble on the world's deck.
All shaky, devastated, weak forever,
beware, if one into the Arts should sprout, —

he'd search the forms that were discovered never,
he'd search the forms not ever heard about.

And here are they, who try to find a feeding,
and all the chiselers, sceptics by a haul —
the most contemporary form are seeking
for all the content
missing out of soul.

.

There're all kinds of relay batons.
The poets do pass on to poets
From soul to soul,
Language — to language

Freedom of spirit and words not weakened,
Having not swapped them for baneful trifles,
Nor for the comforts and love of glory . . .¹⁷⁴

It took great courage to write and publish such lines, under the circumstances, when the poetess was already haunted by official rebuke. The courage was set off by anger, it was set off to jolt her "sea sick" contemporaries, to shake up the literature beset by those, who try "to find a feeding, the chiselers, and the sceptics", those who, like Symonenko remarked in his diary, "lie to gain moral and material comfort".

While trying to expand the horizons of Soviet Ukrainian literature the poets of the sixties paid particular attention to the historical aspects of the long struggle against Russification. With all possible vigour they continued to maintain that Soviet Ukraine had

174) These two excerpts, out of the two separate poems written by Lina Kostenko are quoted from the essay by Bohdan Kravtsov. See Bohdan Kravtsov, "Velyka vedmedytsya i honchi psy", *Suchasnist'* (February, 1962), p. 28.

irrefutable rights to be equal *among* her neighbours and not *under* dominance of the strongest one. They had voiced concern for the future of Soviet Ukraine if dominance was to continue and protested loudly against all forms of violence. In some respect their efforts coincided with former, more cautiously worded efforts, made by the writers of older generations. For instance, back in 1955, the renowned Soviet Ukrainian poet Maksym Ryls'kyi carefully voiced his objections to the massive, enforced evictions of Ukrainian youth to distant regions in Soviet Siberia and other Soviet Republics to work on the so called "voluntary work projects". The example provided below shows semantic signification placed on several words in this poetic allegorisation by Maksym Ryls'kyi. The poet understood quite well, that being sent far away from their native land and environment, with little contact with their language, young people were facing denationalisation. In his poem "Porada" (Advice) he said:

A clever gardener once said to me:
 "If a young fir-tree you should be transplanting,
 Mark well the north and south sides of the tree
 And dibble likely: it shall grow well, heating.
 Make sure the same side to the south can peer,
 With the same eye, just like before you picked it;
 Against broad northern wind — the same should veer,
 The same should struggle — somber branches thicket.
 One more thing: in a body do transplant;
 Alone, without the friends, it won't be growing . . ."
 . . . In life there are advices quite well meant
 And not the worse one out of them I'm showing.¹⁷⁵

The words containing additional semantic signification in this poem are: "transplanting" (eviction), "young fir-tree" (young Ukrainian). The above significations are obvious. There is a possibility of semantic signification on the words "north" and "south" (south meaning native land and north — foreign soil). To point out very similar semantic signification in a poem by Lina Kostenko, with the same problem in mind, let us examine "Sadzhanets" (Seedling), written in 1958:

A young tree feathered oneself.
 Coverts are greenish,
 It quivered on jubilating branches.
 In November — fell off . . .
 And the name of that tree was a maple.
 They have dug it all out,
 well, they tore it away from the earth.

¹⁷⁵ Maksym Ryl's'kyi, *Troyandy i wynohrad* (Kiev: v-vo "Radyans'kyi pys'mennyk" — 1957), p. 3.

Rode it on — rode it on
 over jolty Autumnal high-roads.
 To a far away land
 planted on unfamiliar grounds . . .

It did not waste away,
 for a nodule of powerful rooting
 on the journey it took,
 the most native, own mother earth.¹⁷⁶

Here the poetess had concentrated semantic signification on the words "planted" and "maple" in the very same way Ryl's'kyi did on the words "transplanting" and "young fir-tree". Unlike the former, it is obviously clear in Kostenko's poem that by "the most native, own mother earth", the "unfamiliar grounds" and the way they "tore" the young tree "away from the earth" she meant *involuntary transplantation* designed to *doom* the "maple". In botany transplants are made to improve the condition of a plant, yet, in Kostenko's poem the only reason for the "seedling" not "wasting away" (her point being that it was *meant* to) is, that it took along some "native soil". In both poems there is one common denominator: *a tree being transplanted into foreign soil*. It is interesting to note that the first poem was written by the foremost poet belonging to the first generation and the second by the foremost poetess belonging to the fourth generation of Soviet Ukrainian writers. And when the poet of the first generation, well experienced in Soviet literary acrobatics performed in matter to survive, voices a cautions "worry" about the tree being transplanted, then the poetess of the fourth generation, less experienced and more straightforward, voices her deep belief and strong optimism concerning the same problem. Kostenko's "young maple" will survive because it has "the most native" of soil to back it up, while the "young fir-tree" of Ryl's'kyi *could* survive if . . . One thing is clear: *there could have been an understanding among some Soviet Ukrainian writers about additional semantic signification to be used on certain words in their creative works.*

Who can tell to what extent the movement would have developed, what spiritual and semantic ties the poets of the sixties would have established with other Soviet Ukrainian writers of *all* generations, what ties with all of the Ukrainian people. The fact is that in 1963, all kinds of reactionarily forces gathered over the poets of the sixties, and, as early as then, commenced their frontal attack. It was the beginning of the end for the movement. Less than ten years later the poets of the sixties were either jailed and sentenced, or otherwise silenced. The irony of it all is that the very Soviet leader whose literary policies in a way encouraged the appearance of dissidents on all-

176) Lina Kostenko, Vitryla (Kiev: v-vo "Radyans'kyi pys'mennyk — 1958) p. 57.

Union level, and, in 1963 still almighty Khrushchev,¹⁷⁷ joined in the onslaught.

The onslaught, initially involving Soviet Russian writers and artists, inevitably, had its final impact upon the Soviet Ukrainian intelligentsia. Khrushchev's forced heirs made certain of that. It is no secret that the principal "victims" of the 1963 attacks, the Soviet Russian poets Yevtushenko and Voznesensky continue to write and publish, in a similar manner as they did then, even today. Both enjoyed frequent visits abroad. Ehrenburg did as well, until his natural death. And the living Soviet Ukrainian poets of the sixties are, as mentioned before, either imprisoned or broken. None of the ones who still publish today write as they did then. This fact speaks for itself. It was and still is *the* Russian policy, before and after the Revolution of 1917, to show more tolerance toward their own dissidents than towards the dissidents belonging to all other nationalities that are being forced to be a part, first, of Imperial Russia, and now — of the Soviet Union. It could not be any other way. The fate of an Empire is at stake. It is not up to me to judge. Let the impartial reader pass a judgment.

Nevertheless, before the present victory was again on the side of the regime, a new courageous, pure, and unforgettable voice full of character — sounded on the side of the losers. It was the voice of a dying young man, the voice of Vasyly Symonenko.

(To be continued)

177) On 8 March 1963, during a meeting of the leaders of the party and the representatives of the all-Union writers and artists, held in Moscow, Khrushchev delivered a whole series of attacks in a speech entitled "High Ideology and Artistic Mastery is the Great Strength of the Soviet Literature and Art" The speech was translated from Russian and published by *Literaturna Ukraina* (March 12 and 15, 1963). This obligatory speech was delivered in support of L. F. Ilichev, then secretary of the Communist party, who spoke on 7 March 1963 "About the Responsibility of an Artist to the People".

Among other things, Khrushchev said: "... as it happens, some representatives of the arts judge about the reality only by the smell of the latrines, portray people in deliberately distorted ways... . . . portray reality according to their own prejudices, twisted, subjective images about it, following excogitated, meagre schemes prepared by themselves... . . . At the same time we regard it as indispensable to bring to the attention of all the creative workers some of the erroneous motives and tendencies that appear in works of separate authors. Wrong tendencies are mainly in one-sided attention devoted exclusively to facts of lawlessness, self-will, abuse of power... . . . It is also well known that Stalin aimed at destroying a large segment of the creative intelligentsia of Soviet Ukraine... . . . If the Ukrainian bolsheviks would have given in to Stalin's moods at the time, then indeed the Ukrainian intelligentsia would have suffered considerable losses (just as if the Ukrainian intelligentsia *did not* suffer such "considerable losses" — I. Shankovsky), and, probably, a new "case" involving Ukrainian nationalists would have been created... . . . It goes on and on in a similar manner.

Both speeches were directed mainly against the Soviet Russian writers Yevtushenko, Voznesensky, and Ehrenburg. Yet, as noted above, Khrushchev also touched upon the so-called "Ukrainian problem" and that gave reason enough to start vicious attacks directed against the poets of the sixties by every toady in the Soviet Ukrainian printed media. The downfall of Khrushchev, less than two years later, only intensified the attacks, followed by arrests, convictions, terror.

Vickie BABENKO

“Official”* Contemporary Ukrainian Poetry: Mirror of Socio-Political Forces

In its development of literary techniques and genres and in its flowering of literature, especially poetry, after 1917, Soviet Ukraine parallels the trends of Soviet Russia and other European countries. The annihilation of writers and suppression of every independent and creative thought by the Russian overlords is more extensive than in Russia proper. Many outstanding Ukrainian writers and poets, such as Smol'ny, Khvyliya, Khvyliovy, Sosiura, Tychyna, Bazhan and Ryl'sky, to name only a few, were physically or spiritually destroyed. The ones who remained, completely subordinated themselves to the Party, paying for their survival with the loss of creative freedom.

While the Ukrainian national theme of the struggle for independence has been prominent in the works of the older generation of post World War I Ukrainian writers, this theme has undergone a strange change in contemporary Ukrainian poetry. Ukrainian literature has been censored more severely than Russian literature. In fact Ukrainian writers are subjected to special scrutiny (censorship) so that the mere touching upon political and national questions may lead to persecution and punishment. In brief, no Ukrainian writer would be treated as the Russian Yevtushenko or Voznesensky who dared to raise their voices against the government, but received no punishment. While the 1960's in Russia were marked by an upswing of poetry critical of the regime, Ukrainian intellectuals were tried for “conspiracy”, “chauvinism”, and deviation from the Party line. The famous *Chornovil Papers*¹ give a vivid account of these disturbing events. Even today, the suppression of every independent voice in Ukrainian literature goes on more intensely than in other Soviet Republics. While many Russian writers and poets have been rehabilitated after Stalin's death, almost none of the Ukrainians survived to be rehabilitated. A few were allowed to live, despite severe attacks from the government and were republished, although

* i.e. Poetry which is officially recognised by the Soviet regime. This is not to be compared to samvydav (self-published and circulated materials), which constitutes an entirely different category of literature, and which as such needs a separate analysis. (Editor).

¹ Chornovil, Vyacheslav, *The Chornovil Papers* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1968).

incompletely. Verses dealing with national identity, are still the object of criticism from Moscow. But despite the terrible mutilations by the Soviet regime, the independent spirit of the Ukrainian nation is alive.

Ukraine, no less than Russia, always had a strong literary tradition. Its artistic maturity was achieved just after the Ukrainian war for Independence (1917-21) by a group of the literary avant-garde, among whom Pavlo Tychyna was the most outstanding.² Because of his innovative spirit and search for new poetics, his stature equals that of Maiakovsky in Russian literature. He thought musically in unusual groupings of words and images full of unusual meaning. In his poetry the Ukrainian language first acquired the manifold possibilities of expression found in the poems of Western European Symbolists.³ In time, however, Tychyna faced many unjust attacks from Party hacks, until, finally, he was forced to renounce his past associations with Ukrainian liberation groups and to join loyal followers of the party-line. The fact that "in all world literature no one has ever written so many odes on Stalin" in order to survive as Tychyna did, confirm an unhappy truth: one of the most gifted poets was creatively dead for the rest of his life.⁴

A slightly different fate awaited another Symbolist poet, Dmytro Zahul, whose poetic achievement is of lasting value. Like many other Ukrainian writers, he was deported in the 1930's and was never heard of again. Mykola Zerov, distinguished literary critic and an outstanding poet, similarly vanished. Primarily a lyricist, he was arrested in 1935 and sent to a concentration camp, never to return. However, before his arrest he sent a collection of sonnets (113 in all) to a friend. These were fully preserved and published abroad in 1948. Pavlo Fylypovych, Mykhailo Drai Khmara, Yevhen Pluzhnyk, Oleksa Vlyzhko, the Ukrainian Futurist Mykhail Semenko and Geo Skurupiy — all of them vanished in the 1930's. There were many highly gifted young poets, who, if allowed to live and write, would have directed Ukrainian literature to new creative heights and certainly would have enriched the literature of the world. Only a few poets managed to escape the Soviet Union during World War II, among them, Todos Osmachka.

During the last 60 years, Ukrainian literature has gone through a course of turbulent events which were determined by the Party's control and by the extent and the nature of resistance to Soviet-Russian repression. In this connection it is important to emphasize that after 1917, Ukrainians emerged as a modern nation with a strong determination to form an independent state. This determination was nurtured by the ancient tradition of an independent Cossack Ukraine. The mission of national freedom triggered a spiritual revival of

²) George G. Luckyj, *Literary Politics in the Ukraine 1917-1934* (Freeport, N.Y.: Books for Library Press, 1971. Reprint), p. 121.

³) *Ibid.*

⁴) *Ibid.*, p. 122.

Ukrainian cultural life: "This national Renaissance was so fullbodied and resonant that it became a serious threat to the Communist Party... and it had to be destroyed as a mortal menace".⁵ As Professor Luckyj points out, it seems that "the ethnic and cultural freedom of the non-Russian nationalities in the Soviet state was conceded to them... only on the specific condition that they must unite under the leadership of the most powerful member of the Soviet Union — Russia".⁶ Nevertheless, the post-Revolutionary times engendered an intellectual elite in defence of Ukrainian autonomy, such as Blakytny, Shumsky, Khvyliovy, Skrypnyk and Kurbas. They inspired the outstanding works of Zerov, Ryl'sky, Tychyna, Bazhan, Kulish, Sosiura and others. But in the late 1930's all hopes of creating an independent Ukrainian state and literature were destroyed by Soviet Russia, after a special emissary of the Central Committee, Pavel Postyshev, crushed the "rest of the traitors" and "enemies of the people" and silenced a number of leading literary men. Those who resumed writing changed their attitude, glorifying Stalin and his works. Since then, the destruction of Ukrainian "nationalists" has never ceased. In fact, it has assumed many forms but with one goal: to crush Ukrainian national consciousness. The trials of the 1960's and the 1970's and the many Ukrainian intellectuals still imprisoned prove this point.

One of the most ruthless means of destruction of the Ukrainian national identity has been the systematic Russification of the entire Ukraine. The Ukrainian language was the first target. Yet one is surprised to find a flood of collections, all by the younger Ukrainian poets and all in the Ukrainian tongue.

Undoubtably, among contemporary Ukrainian poets are many highly talented, creative men, whose works, however, are not published in the Soviet press. Some of them — Hryhoriy Chubay, Vasyl Holoborod'ko, Mykola Kholodny, Ihor Kalynets, Vasyl Stus — are known abroad via underground channels. In Czecho-Slovakia, for example, the works of these poets frequently appear in anthologies or are discussed in the press, while the Soviet Union refuses to publish them. Ivan Dzyuba, a rising young critic, himself a victim of the "trials", wrote in 1968 that "Brilliant talents and innovatory experiments... run against an impenetrable line of swords in the official press. For years they have been denied recognition in our country, being falsely accused of formalism...".⁷ Dzyuba was sentenced to five years imprisonment and five years of exile, then granted a pardon under the condition that he write an "extended critical analysis" of his own works.

The constant persecution of Ukrainian intellectuals and the refusal

⁵) Ibid, p. 232.

⁶) Ibid.

⁷) Ivan Dzyuba, *Internationalism or Russification?* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1970; New York: Monad Press, 1974), p. 142.

to publish the most talented poets indeed proves that the KGB tries to make the Ukrainian people "tongueless and voiceless" as Stus put it in his protest-letter in 1972.⁸ The poetry which is published today — with only few exceptions — is far from the best. For my analysis, as an illustration of socio-political forces in Ukrainian society, I took several poets at random, all of Soviet upbringing: Valentyna Malyshko, Volodymyr Omelchenko, Anatoliy Rekubratsky, Oleksiy Dovhy, Mykola Nahnybida, Borys Oliynyk, Victor Sokolov, and Volodymyr Sosiura.

Reading the works of most of these poets, one is struck by the uniformity of thought and style, which betrays a subtle obsequiousness towards the Party. Even if the Party is not mentioned, its presence is felt in the empty phrases expressing love for the Soviet Union. The Party, like an invisible monster, hovers over almost every collection of verse. Most of the published poets lack true craftsmanship, and only a few have achieved literary fame. In most of these verse collections one encounters again and again the standard Soviet themes: praise of the Party, love of the Soviet Union, glorification of Lenin or the heroes of labour, and the Great Patriotic War. Nazi terror is still a big theme across the entire country. One must admit, however, that the Nazi occupation left so a deep wound on the country, that it is still open and sore. The theme is practically inexhaustible. There is hardly a person in the Soviet Union who was not affected somehow by war atrocities. Yet by forcing the hatred against the enemy, Soviet propaganda kills any human approach to this terrible subject. Also the continued preoccupation with the Nazi theme (a genuine theme officially sanctioned) tends to deflect concern, by the poets, with contemporary issues. Instead of convincing works of art, the poets are producing trivial and uninspiring pieces of verse.

Lenin is a central theme of "official" Ukrainian poetry. Since Lenin is an idol in the Soviet Union, bombastically displayed and mentioned everywhere, most poets feel obliged to praise him. Needless to say, these verses, marred by false pathos and hollow slogans, only demonstrate obeisance to Communist ideology, mirroring the socio-political forces the writers must obey. There is seldom a poem on this subject that shows real talent, yet everything written about Lenin seems to find its way to print. It is not surprising that Mykola Nahnybida received a state award of the Ukrainian SSR for his collection *Na poli bytvy* (On the battlefield)⁹ — a worthless work, mostly about Lenin. The entire collection has only one lyric poem, about the poet's childhood and the deprivations he and his father suffered during the war. Yet this poem also ends with an ideological point: he praises his father for loyalty to the Soviet regime. The collection consists of five parts, of which the entire first part, ten

⁸) "Sprava Vasylya Stusa: vyrok i komentar", *Suchasnist'* No. 12, 1975, p. 68.

⁹) Mykola Nahnybida, *Na poli bytvy* (Kyiv: Dnipro, 1974), pp. 7-29.

poems, is about Lenin. However, none of these poems has artistic value; they are composed of Soviet propaganda cliches. Here is an example:

Він з нами скрізь,
 Він скрізь присутній:
 В труді,
 На прапорі,
 В душі.
 Вбирайте ж риси незабутні
 В свої серця, товариші.
 Ми з ним нетлінні.
 Над віками
 Зійшов, як сонце, наш Ілліч.
 Присяга наша:
 »Ленін з нами« —
 Лунає, як планети клич.¹⁰

The banality of these lines succeeds in presenting Lenin only as some kind of stiff, lifeless demigod.

Soviet patriotism is also a major theme of "official" Ukrainian poetry. It had begun to gain a platform soon after 1917, but only after the 1930's did it become standard in Ukrainian poetry. Before that time Ukrainian poetry was more concerned with its own national problems, in particular the rebirth of Ukrainian independence. But after many advocates for Ukrainian independence were physically or spiritually destroyed, it was extremely dangerous to write on that subject. Any mention of Ukrainian independence was met with accusations of "national chauvinism" or "peddling a national opiate". Only during World War II, when Nazis invaded the country, were Ukrainian poets officially encouraged to write about national feelings. It was during these years when Volodymyr Sosiura wrote a beautiful poem, "Liubyte Ukrainu" (Love Ukraine), which stirred the patriotic feelings of Ukrainians, feelings which were badly needed in the fight against the Nazi occupation. However, right after the war, the same poets who had emphasized Ukrainian national themes were accused of deviation from Soviet ideology. Sosiura's poem was the object of a lengthy article in *Pravda*,¹¹ which accused the entire Ukrainian press of favouring "ideological perversion in literature". *Pravda* accused Sosiura of failing to expound properly the love of Socialism and the Soviet fatherland which would stimulate "great patriotic feelings". According to *Pravda*, Sosiura in his poem depicted a "timeless Ukraine without relation to the other nationalities in the Soviet Union". The centralist Communist forces in Moscow took issue with the fact that "the poem was written in 1944 and despite its ideological errors, had escaped criticism in the Ukrainian press", which had "reprinted

¹⁰ Ibid, p. 7.

¹¹ "Against ideological perversion in literature", *Pravda*, July 2, 1957.

it many times". Along with Sosiura, two other Ukrainian writers, Alexander Korniychuk and Vanda Vasilevskaia, were also accused for their opera "Bohdan Khmelnytsky", which, according to *Pravda*, is nothing but an "ideological distortion".

After Stalin's death, Sosiura's "Love Ukraine" was republished and included in his three volumes of collected works;¹² but his other poems on national themes, "Mazepa" and "Taras Triasylo", remained suppressed. When Ukrainian poets today write about love of their country, they relate it to the love of the entire Soviet Union. Only a very few who have established themselves as masters of the word, as is the case with Borys Oliynyk, can skilfully mask the national theme amongst other subjects.

It is also an interesting fact that Ukrainian poetry, the one that is officially allowed to be published, completely lacks any criticism of the Soviet regime. Indeed, if not for the great number of talented dissident voices published in *Samvydav*, this would be frightening evidence of resignation on the part of Ukrainian poets. The lack of criticism in the "official" poetry proves that Ukrainians are not only afraid to express themselves freely, but also that the control of intellectual life is much stronger in Ukraine than in Russia. Every officially published poet, without exception, praises the Soviet Union, the Party and Lenin. It seems as if they have completely surrendered to the centralist forces of Moscow. This poetry, always in harmony with Communist ideology, mirrors to what extent the Soviet regime suppresses free expression.

The official themes, not surprisingly, have never inspired a masterpiece. For example, the collection *Chervonny ryadok* (Red line), by known Ukrainian poet, Victor Sokolov, consists mainly of several poems about Lenin, the heroes of the Great Patriotic War, and the progress of industrialisation. The same could be said about the collections of verse by Volodymyr Omelchenko, Oleksiy Dovhy, Valentyna Malyshko, Anatoliy Rekubratsky, and the Jewish poet, Mykola Mohylevich, who has been widely translated into Ukrainian. The verse of these poets is characterized by the same official themes and an indiscriminate, boring style. Such subjection of Ukrainian poetry to the dictates of Moscow has only been achieved by the decimation of Ukrainian writers and intellectuals in the earlier period, and by systematic persecution of brilliant new voices.

However, despite this gloomy picture which the officially published poetry presents, there are, within this very poetry, strong indications, that the free spirit of the Ukrainian people is not entirely destroyed, and that, beneath the systematic Russification of Ukrainian society, the Ukrainian national identity is still alive. Given the frequent trials of Ukrainian intellectuals and Moscow's attempts to weaken Ukrai-

¹² Volodymyr Sosiura, *Tvory* vol. 3 (Kyiv: Derzhavne vydavnytstvo khudozhnoi literatury, 1957), p. 313.

nian culture and, thus, prevent it from acting as a dam against Russification, it is almost an achievement in itself that there is still poetry in the Ukrainian language. As naive and unoriginal as this poetry seems, it reveals two characteristics which are significant: presence of real lyrical poetry, and the use of a certain "code", by means of which the real message of the work becomes evident.

Ukrainian lyric poetry is based on national folklore. It is very musical and optimistic in its outlook. It was this optimistic spirit of Ukrainian literature which in the period after Russian revolution, inspired Khvylyovy, an outstanding lyricist and literary critic, to urge Ukrainians to turn away from Moscow: "Our poetry must run away as fast as possible from Russian literature and its styles. The Poles would never have produced Mickievich if they had followed Muscovite art. The point is that Russian literature has been burdening us for ages; it has been the master who has trained us to imitate him slavishly . . . Our orientation is toward Western European art, its style and its techniques".¹³ Khvylyovy continues: "Great Russian literature is, above all, the literature of pessimism or, rather, of passive pessimism . . . Russian passive pessimism brings forth cadres of superfluous men, or to put it simply, parasites, dreamers, and people without definite occupations. Russian literature has reached its limits and has found itself at the crossroads".¹⁴

During the post-revolutionary years, the Soviet government has constantly attacked lyricists for "distorting national themes" or for "indulging in chauvinistic romanticism". The Ukrainian lyricists have never been republished in their entirety. Ihor Bohdan Antonych, for example, one of the greatest Ukrainian lyricists, who never wrote a single political poem, was not even mentioned in studies of Ukrainian literature until 1957.¹⁵ The richness and vividness of his visual imagery, expressing his love for life, has united his work with nature. His innovative techniques have certainly enriched the world's poetics and are today studied and discussed by outstanding scholars.

Although the best works of Ukrainian lyricists are still unknown to the youngest Soviet generation of poets, the lyrical vein of Ukrainian poetry is strong. Along with official themes, many poets write about nature, love, and other human problems. With few exceptions, the general picture of their lyric is rather meager, but we are not primarily concerned with its artistic value; at this point it is

¹³ M. Khvylyovy, "Apolohety pysaryzmu", *Kultura i pobut*, March 28, 1926. Cited by Lucky, p. 98.

¹⁴ Hirshak, *Na dva fronta v bor'be s natsionalizmom*, pp. 55-56. Cited by Lucky, p. 99.

¹⁵ Bohdan Ihor Antonych, *Pisnia pro neznyshchennist' materii. Poezii* (Kyiv: Radiansky pys'mennyk, 1967). Antonych died in 1937, 27 years of age. Some of his works, after 1930's, appeared again almost after 30 years. Recently a collection of selected poems by Antonych appeared in English translation in the U.S.S.R.: Bohdan Antonych, *Squares of Angles*. Selected Poems (Ann-Arbor: Ardis, 1977).

important to trace the forces of human spirit which this poetry reflects.

The leading lyricist today is Borys Oliynyk, an exceptionally gifted poet, whose imagery won him many admirers even outside Ukraine.¹⁶ Like all Soviet Ukrainian poets, he too writes on official themes. Yet they never constitute the main message of his poetry. He also has written many historical poems, particularly about the Ukrainian past, in which he recreates the heroic atmosphere of the glorious Cossack Ukraine, an atmosphere that can otherwise be found, perhaps, only in the descriptions of Ukrainian nature and the exaggerated Cossack heroes of Gogol. It is probably Oliynyk's original imagery that enables him to write on Ukrainian themes without provoking strong criticism from the official side. For example, in the small cycle of three poems, "Na linii tyshi" (On the line of Silence),¹⁷ Oliynyk blends the heroic Ukrainian past into contemporary world of a Ukrainian sailor serving in the Black Sea-Flotilla. The poem begins with the prayer of the sailor to world peace, which is preserved by his vigilant comrades. The second part describes his interesting heritage from the past generations of courageous Cossacks. They fought for Ukrainian independence, then led a peaceful life as peasants in the village of Dikan'ka. Their children, however, dreamed of the Black Sea, where one of their ancestors had many times fought the Turks. This portion of the poem reads as follows:

Тільки часом, дивна і незвідна
Туга в їхнім серці заговоре, —
І не знали, що то голос діда
В їхніх жилах думе про море.

Eventually, one of them entered the service in the Black Sea-Flotilla. Now he is responsible for the peace of his people (this, of course, is an official theme), yet his heart longs for the freedom of the steppe:

Тільки часом, дивна і незвідна
Туга серце молоде проколе.
І чи зна він, що то голос діда
В його жилах думає про поле?

Blending the past into the present, Oliynyk uses not only syntactical parallels — compare the first two lines of the above stanzas — but also parallel rhymes: "zahovore/prokole", "dumae pro more/dumae pro pole". With this technique Oliynyk relates the past to the present. One of the great secrets of Oliynyk's many poems on Ukrainian themes is that he not only makes the past come alive, but also

¹⁶) For more about Oliynyk's poetry see my article, "Themes of Borys Oliynyk, A Contemporary Ukrainian Poet", *Ukrainian Review*, vol. 22, 1975; pp. 72-82.

¹⁷) Borys Oliynyk, *Vidlunnia*, op. cited, pp. 15-19.

communicates to the readers his love and interest in these distant events. In fact, Oliynyk never separates the past from the present. His Soviet citizens, who are the heroes of his many lyrics — sailors, soldiers, workers or peasants — are all children of the ancient freedom-loving Cossacks. In their hearts they are still dreaming about the lost romanticism of fights for independence. His heroes are always restless; they are never satisfied with what they have achieved; they always feel an unknown longing for something still to be pursued:

Тільки часом, дивна і незвідна
Туга серце молоде проколе . . .

Oliynyk is also one of the few officially published Ukrainian poets who continues the tradition of the Ukrainian elite of the post-revolutionary years, a tradition which was nearly crushed by Moscow in the 1930's, and which was characterized by an actively romantic style, based on ties with ancient Ukrainian art, and including sharp irony, deep philosophic meditation, and passionate poetic glorification.

Most of the contemporary Ukrainian lyrics officially published are inferior to those of Oliynyk. Yet the use of the "code", although unconsciously, enables less gifted poets, in the face of strict censorship and in times when everything seems hopeless, to write of universal human problems and love for their native soil. This "code" also helps the reader to trace genuine human feelings which are hidden beneath the shallow surface of the official themes. (The code is a semiotic's device used to recognize or express certain vital cultural or artistic issues. The use of it, however, is an unconscious matter on the part of Soviet Ukrainian poets).

The imagery of the "code" may be divided into three groups: the first includes the elements of nature, the second is connected with names of famous people, and the third with historically important places.

For example, in Valentyna Malyshko's collection, *Svit mii bentezhny* (My restless world),¹⁸ several images from nature express her love and devotion to Ukraine: a "white branch of blossoms", a "song", or "raspberry bushes" that she planted during the war in Central Asia where she was evacuated. They all are connected with her memories of Ukraine. In the poem "Rozhi" (Roses),¹⁹ she describes a visit of Alexander Dovzhenko, the famous Ukrainian filmproducer and writer, who stood gazing at the blossoming raspberry bushes:

Прийшов. І довго стояв непорушно,
А в серці щеміло щось і пекло.
І тільки очі його зворушені

¹⁸) Valentyna Malyshko, *Svit mii bentezhny. Poezii* (Kyiv: Radians'ky pys'mennyk, 1974).

¹⁹) Ibid, pp. 28-29.

Таке випромінювали тепло.
Й здалося йому: це його Україна
Сьогодні прийшла на побачення з ним.

In another poem, a "piece of a blue sky with a flock of swallows in it" and the "cranes flying in a triangle" — familiar traditional images in Ukrainian literature — help the poet to express her ties with the native soil:

Неба синього шмат розкраяний,
А у ньому сім'я ластів'ят.
Завжди в серці ти, рідний краю мій,
Найдорожчий мені стократ.²⁰

And:

Коли я бачу журавлиний клин,
Така тривога враз огорне душу
Я зупиняюсь, я постоять мушу
Хоча б недовго, декілька хвилин.²¹

These pastoral images unmistakably refer to Ukraine. Since more direct means of expressing one's feelings towards the native country raise a threat, the "code" of traditional images — as banal as they may be — seems the only recourse of Ukrainian poets.

Volodymyr Omelchenko in his small collection *Vohnetvortsi* (The creators of fire),²² employs elements of nature and names of famous Ukrainians to demonstrate his love of the country. For example, the image of the "wide steppe" which he mentions quite frequently in his lyrics, stands for the Ukrainian land. Lesia Ukrainka and Taras Shevchenko are, for him, symbols of the greatness of Ukraine. Although he uses the "code", the result is sometimes an unusually direct manifestation of the love for Ukraine. This is the case in the poem "Synovi" (For my son),²³ in which he tells about the name Taras, which he has given to his newborn son. Taras is commonly believed to be an outdated name today; for him, however, the name implies honesty, beauty and the highest hopes of his life — all equal to his love for Ukraine. Following are some stanzas of the poem, a bold statement of his devotion to his country:

Урочисто на честь Кобзаря,
Я назвав свого сина Тарасом.
Він — життя мого честь і окраса
Й сподівань моїх вища зоря . . .

²⁰) Ibid, p. 65.

²¹) Ibid, p. 66.

²²) Volodymyr Omelchenko, *Vohnetvortsi* (Kyiv: Radians'ky pys'mennyk, 1972).

²³) Ibid, p. 29.

Виростай же хорошим на вроду
 Й чистий серцем. У добрий же час.
 Щоб козацькому славному роду
 Та повік не було переводу,
 Україну люби,
 Як великий Тарас.

Historical sites, rivers, or other places which, in the course of time, have acquired significance for Ukraine are part of the "code" used by many poets. For example, the river Dnipro; the island Khorotytsia, where the Cossacks created their Zaporozhian Sich; and the ancient oak tree (today over 600 years old) under which the Cossacks held their meetings and came up with important decisions are major elements of the "code" which refer to Ukrainian freedom.

Anatoliy Rekubratsky, one of the youngest of the discussed poets, has recently published a collection of poems entitled *Surmy* (Bugles).²⁴ Like many other collections of published poets, it lacks originality and is marred by too many poems about trivial events in Soviet life. On the other hand, there are surprisingly fresh poems about love and human suffering, such as "Uchyteltsi" (For the teacher), "Balada pro kolysku" (Ballade about a cradle), and "Silsky likar" (The village doctor),²⁵ demonstrating the poet's interest in human problems. The collection also includes a number of poems concerned with the national identity of Ukraine, in which he employs traditional imagery. The poem "Vy bachyte na Khortytsi sady" (You see orchards on Khortytsya)²⁶ depicts a summer beach along the Dnieper. In the declining sunset, the lyrical hero notices suddenly the towering island Khortytsya, which impresses him with its majestic beauty and evokes memories of its historical significance, memories that loom into future. The lines read as follows:

І острів —
 Білосніжна каравела —
 Крізь вечорову
 Лагідну печаль
 Руша у світ
 Легенд своїх і див . . .
 Минуле —
 Майбуттям твоїм нетлінне,
 Ти вічна,
 Наче птиці у садах,
 Де Дніпрельстану хвилі громові,
 Пливи у вічність,
 Хортице, пливи.

²⁴ Anatoliy Rekubratsky, *Surmy. Poezii* (Dnipropetrovs'k: Promin', 1975).

²⁵ Ibid, pp. 13, 14, 17; 34-35.

²⁶ Ibid, p. 11.

Oleksiy Dovhy's sixth collection of poems, *Sivachi* (The sowers)²⁷ consists mainly of lyric poems written in the style of folksongs. The poems are very musical and his style is terse, tending toward classical clarity. He has also published a few translations from Russian, among them, Samuil Marshak's poems, which have been set to music. Although he was a child when the war broke out, he writes much about people who were victims of the Nazi terror. One of his poems about war atrocities, "Do ostannioi myti" (Till the last moment)²⁸, is a free recreation of the poem by Anton Parkhomenko, a Ukrainian poet who became a victim of the Nazi concentration camp in Sachsenhausen. The poem depicts the thirst for life of the doomed poet, who, facing death, swears loyalty to his native Ukraine.

Except for the Great Patriotic war theme, official themes occur only rarely in Dovhy's book. Instead, he has a lengthy poem about Ukraine. Since it is a translation from Russian, he can speak freely and safely of an unbounded love for Ukraine. Here are the closing stanzas:

Дніпра золотого долина
 До київських гір поспіша.
 Безсмертна живи, Україно,
 Як пісня, як серце й душа.²⁹

The predicament of Ukrainian poets can be seen in the ambivalent character of their poetry. Verse collections which are officially allowed to be published mirror Soviet propaganda but, at the same time show how Communist ideology cripples the artists, forcing them to rely on the most primitive means of expression. When writers are faced with such conditions, it seems almost a miracle that their poetry can convey a real message. But Ukrainian poetry does have a message, and this confirms again that truly artistic work will be produced in even the most unpromising circumstances. Ukrainian poetry has its merits, in that it constitutes a valuable document of human suffering and national patriotism. The official poetry can be read because, along with the propaganda, are promises that vital human forces and freedom of thought are not totally extinguished under the yoke of the Communist regime.

²⁷) Oleksiy Dovhy, *Sivachi* (Kyiv: Radians'ky pys'mennyk, 1973).

²⁸) Ibid, pp. 19-20.

²⁹) Ibid, pp. 13-14.

Documents and News from Ukraine

A STATEMENT OF MYCHAYLO DYAK

One of the privately published (*samvydav*) articles wide-spread in Ukraine is the statement of Mychaylo Dyak, which until now has been unknown in the West and which was sent to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on the 16th April, 1974.

Mychaylo Dyak was released from Perm Camp WS3 89/35 (st. *Vse-sviatskye*) in 1975 due to complete physical exhaustion, he was actually dying. He travelled to his family (wife and two children) in the Ivano-Frankivsk province where he died a few months later.

Mychaylo Dyak was born in 1935. He graduated from the faculty of law of Lviv University and worked as a senior lieutenant of the militia in a post as the commander of the Dolyn RVM MVC (militia) in the Ivano-Frankivsk province. Arrested in March 1967 for his sympathy with the Ukrainian National Front (UNF), Dyak was sentenced under Article 56 Section 1, 64, and 222, Section 1 of the Criminal Code of the USSR to five years imprisonment, seven years hard labour and five years of internal exile. Below is the full text of Mychaylo Dyak's statement to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR:

*

"In March 1967 I was arrested and at the sitting of the court behind closed doors in November of that same year, the Supreme Court of the USSR sentenced me to twelve years of loss of freedom and five years of internal exile. The interrogation was carried out in the form of blackmail . . . if the accused did not give evidence or statements convenient to the interrogators, psychological pressure was used on him. For example, when I did not testify for forty-six days, Senior Investigator Baranov assured me that he would make trouble for me and that that would be the end of me. For this purpose he used the tragic death of a teacher, Ivan Meleshko, in the village of Vytvytsia in the Ivano-Frankivsk province. Although I did not, nor could have had anything to do with this tragedy, but knowing the methods investigators used during the era of the personality cult of Stalin, I assumed that during our time the fabrication of cases was also possible. This in fact was proved by the blackmail on the part of the interrogator.

"If one was to talk about the trial from the point of view of justice . . . then what is there to talk about: The trial took place behind closed doors, even my family was not allowed to be present. The whole investigation and trial was an exercise conducted against innocent people who spoke out in defence of the rights of their nation, for the separation of Ukraine from the USSR. Now that things are

calmer than during the course of the investigation and trial, I am even more convinced of the injustice of the interrogation and trial of myself and my fellow countrymen. If one is to study the text of Article 56, Section 1, the last part of which we were accused of violating (trying to overthrow the authorities) and charged with betraying the Fatherland, and analyse my activities in the Ukrainian National Front and those of the UNF in general, it becomes clear that they were in no way aimed at the overthrow of the authorities in power. As has been said, they were aimed solely at separating Ukraine from the USSR and agitation occurred to that end. And although the best type of government for Ukraine, an independent Ukrainian State, was discussed in the periodical 'Freedom and the Fatherland', the conclusion was that it should be chosen by the Ukrainian nation — by means of a referendum or by another method. If the Ukrainian nation were to have the opportunity of voting in a truly fair election, then it would choose distinguished people to serve it in that government. And if the court tried us groundlessly for being a 'government' (even though the nation had not yet chosen any of us, it — had not yet had that option), then the courts could equally well, on the basis of this article, have tried the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet with the same success. Who is to know that the nation would choose not us but the members of the Supreme Soviet to govern it (if the Presidium of the SS were to conduct their policies in the interests of the Ukrainian Nation!). Logically it turns out that to deprive people of freedom because of what may happen in the future is absurd. I want to stress that the point lies not in being power-hungry or in the desire to seize power (I had authority when I worked in the militia), but only in that we seriously took to heart the fate of our own nation, and my actions were aimed at like-minded people and joining together with them, not towards seizing power.

"And if the constitutional rights in the USSR (freedom of speech, press etc.) were not contradicted by the articles of the criminal code, we would effect the secession of Ukraine from the body of the USSR by legal means.

"The facts, especially that of my imprisonment demonstrate that the freedom of this or another nation to be or not to be a part of the USSR, that freedom guaranteed by the constitution is also contradicted by the criminal code. How can the question of a nation's freedom exist within the conditions of Soviet reality if in one of those republics (my own experience has shown this) a group of people who were campaigning for a referendum to solve the national problem were deprived of their freedom for many long years for so-called betrayal of their fatherland. Not only did they deprive me of my freedom, but I was also sentenced to a term of exile which undoubtedly proves the severity of my sentence.

"It is no wonder that after six years of imprisonment I became seriously ill with lymphogenyomatosis. Medical literature points

out that in order to treat it, it is imperative to spend time in specialised oncological clinics. An ill prisoner will not find himself in such a clinic because as I was told (and as is evident), there are no such clinics for prisoners in Perm (and not only in Perm but Leningrad and other Soviet towns). I was sent to the sick bay of the investigational isolation unit in Perm three times, where there is only one piece of equipment (a special X-ray machine) for the treatment of my illness. This was old and its use in therapy renders it harmful to healthy tissue and bodily functions. Better results are obtained with radiotherapy using cobalt isotopes, but there was no equipment like that. There are other forms of treatment evidently used only in the specialised hospitals mentioned above which are not to be found within the camp system but only in free society. With the serious complications of the disease which require rapid treatment, it is not easy to be even admitted to the hospital of the investigational isolation unit. By the time permission is obtained from a higher authority or authorities, one and a half to two months have passed. One comes to the isolation unit and discovers that there are no vacant beds in the sick bay and instead of being in a hospital ward (and even that is always under lock and key), one spends another one and a half to two months in a prison cell (cell 14, camp 5). When a particularly serious complication of the disease arose, when I was admitted in Perm on 24th January, 1974, treatment commenced only on the nineteenth day after admission because there was no laboratory technician and therefore no-one to make a blood analysis. And so my treatment was started on February 13th.

“It has never crossed my mind to praise the old regime: Ukrainians then as now experienced national oppression. But now they try and mask it in a more subtle manner so that the process of denationalisation and russification of Ukraine may be more easily accomplished. They are even trying to impose the old pan-slavism in the guise of ‘internationalism’. While on the subject of the old regime, when a Bolshevik Fedoseyev was taken more or less seriously ill, the administration of the Vladimir prison (the headquarters) freed him and he was treated, not in the prison hospital, but at a hospital in the town of Vladimir. Having served my sentence in that same Vladimir prison and in the labour camps of Mordovia and the Urals I heard of no such similar occurrence.

“I do not believe in the justice nor in the humanity of the Soviet regime, so it would be pointless to demand a review of my case and annulment of the illegal sentence. That is why it is also pointless to strive for treatment in a specialised oncological clinic. That is why in my statement I want to voice only protest against the illegal methods of conducting my interrogation, against the trial, against my exile, and I am also protesting against the fact that because I was a prisoner I was deprived of treatment in medical institutions appropriate to my illness”.

A LETTER OF P. KAMPOV TO POLITBUREAU

Letters of Ukrainian political prisoner Pavlo Kampov, circulated by private publication (samvydav), have reached the West. They are letters written to his friends and to M. Suslov — a member of the Politbureau of CC CPSU.

Pavlo Kampov was born in 1929 and completed a university education — he is a candidate of science and lectured in mathematics at the university of Uzhorod. In 1970 Kampov put himself forward as a candidate for deputy of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, alongside the official candidate chosen by the Party. About 100 pre-election leaflets supporting his candidature were circulated among the population. Kampov was arrested on June 16th 1970. At a secret trial he was accused of circulating the above-mentioned leaflets, of the authorship of the privately published article entitled "25 years of hope and disillusion", and also of writing a letter to the CC CPSU requesting permission to create a separate communist party in Transcarpathia.

Below is the full text of Kampov's letter to Suslov:

*

To Member of the Politbureau, M. L. Suslov, Secretary of the CC CPSU, from Kampov, Pavlo Fedorovych, political exile from the town of Uzhorod, Transcarpathian Region. Place of exile: Komso-molsk, Pervomajskyj district, region of Tomsk.

Request for help.

In 1970 the Transcarpathian Provincial Court of the USSR sentenced me, although I was innocent, to six years hard labour and three years of exile. For many years I turned to the members and candidates members of the Politbureau to help rehabilitate me. Nobody ever wrote back and so I spent six years in the concentration camps of Russia. My health was ruined there and I became a second degree invalid. The administrator of camp 389/36, pos. Kuczyno, Czukovskyj district, Perm province, in addition to the doctors, promised me that according to the law, I, as an invalid, would be freed.

But on June 16th 1976 I was taken from the camp in a voronka (black maria) to the station and from there, via prison, to Siberia. Nobody told me where I was being taken. The superior officer of the medical unit Petrov, I. V., when asked where they were taking me, replied that he did not know. He brought me medicines for my fever (for two years my temperature was higher than normal) and for my heart, knowing that the end of my life could come at any second.

On June 28th I was brought to Tomsk prison and here I realised that they had brought me to serve my sentence.

Here I addressed a statement to the officer in charge of MVD Department of the Tomsk region with a request for my transfer to an invalids home, because I could not work and did not have any money or belongings. But I received no reply to my statement.

On July 8th I was again shut in a black maria and taken to the station. From there I was taken to the jail of the Pervomaysky regional division of the militia in a prison waggon. Here I was held for four days (fed on hot food once daily) but on July 12th I was taken to militiaman Pavlenkov. He said that I was free and he would direct me to Komsomolsk.

When I asked him how I was to get there without even a copeck, he replied that I did not have the right to move a step away from the place of my exile. As you can see, each step I make takes me further into the Taiga. But I am a sick man, not accustomed to the climatic conditions of Siberia, and at my age, it is too late to get used to them. They send healthy people from Moscow to Ryazan, but I am 8,000 kilometres from my home. In my sentence nothing was said to the effect that I would have to live out my exile in Siberia.

I reached Komsomolsk with difficulty. During the night I found the hostel of the Lispromchoz (LPCH — The Forestry Industries Administration) but nobody was here waiting for me, at least to show me where I could take shelter.

Next day I asked the village Soviet (Council) and the Administration of the LPCH to give me a place to live. The village Soviet replied that the LPCH managed the housing fund, but the Administration of the LPCH (director — Lazariiev, assistant director — Kalchuk) has not given me living quarters to this day. Being ill and old, I suffer without a roof over my head. The administration of camp VS 389/36 did not send the documents concerning my invalidity, so I cannot apply for a pension. I have been asking them to send the documents for a month, but have had no success. Also the camp did not send me my personal money. I have no means to exist and am barefoot, without clothing, — an ill, hungry invalid. I have not eaten for twelve days, I walk around in prison clothing and people stare at me.

I appeal to leaders of companies and organisations to give me work otherwise I will starve to death.

Professionally I am a mathematician. I completed university and a postgraduateship. I have qualified from the co-operative technical school and specialise in accountancy. I appealed to the Education Department of the Tomsk oblkomp CPSU to give me work in WUZI technical school, or professional-technical school. I used to work as a headmaster in the organs of national education and lectured in applied mathematics at a university. I could work in a school establishment and not be paid at the going rate.

The oblkomp CPSU commissioned the secretary of the Pervomaysky

district committee to reply that they could not give me a job in educational institutes *for political reasons. It would be interesting to find out whether the reply of secretary, Churoulov M. M., is legal.*

In order to somehow survive, I appealed to the secretary of the Tomsk oblkomb* CPSU to give me work in a school for mentally handicapped children. I did not receive a reply. In my statements I particularly emphasised that I would carry out my work in an educational establishment in the spirit of communist ideology and my work would be of a high standard. Meanwhile I tried to obtain work as an accountant. The superior officer of the administration of the region advised me to go to the Pervomaysky state farm where they had a chief accountant — Director Prystavka M. F. who spoke to me and took my statement to consult with the director of the Tomsk Trust, but within a day he told me that nothing could be done concerning my appointment for a job.

I asked the administration of the Komsomolsk LPCH to give me work in one of their departments: accounting, labour and wages department, survey of productivity, chemical security, planned economics. Assistant director Kalchuk, after a consultation with the director of the LPCH Lazariiev and the secretary of the district committee of the CPSU Zhuravlov, presented me with the resolution of rejection for my application saying that no posts were vacant. Together they decided to suggest I work as a porter for the delivery of industrial supplies.

Because of the state of my health I am not capable of working outside, without even mentioning the fact that never in my life have I harnessed horses (indeed I am very frightened of them). This all somewhat . . . (illegible handwriting) Regarding my abode I appealed to the superior officer of the militia, the public prosecutor, I went to see the first secretary of the district committee of the CC CPSU Solopov. *All merely shrugged their shoulders.*

I am without means and possessions, hungry, without clothing, without accommodation, a sick invalid, eight thousand kilometres from home. I do not even know what . . . (illegible). I ask for help.

Pavlo Kampov

Note: District Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

KGB OUTRAGES IN UKRAINE

Immediately after the arrest of Mykola Rudenko in Kyiv, on Thursday, 5th February, 1977, when he was taken to Donetsk prison where O. Tykhy is also being held, Peter Vins, the son of the well known religious activist Georgi Vins, joined the Ukrainian Group monitoring the Helsinki Agreement. On 14th March, 1977 he was called to Donetsk, together with other members of the Ukrainian Group — Ivan Kandyba and Oksana Meshko, for questioning in connection with the cases of Rudenko and Tykhy. At the same time, Lev Lukianenko was detained with relatives in a village and was subsequently also sent to Donetsk.

In Ukraine certain details are being circulated concerning the arrest of M. Rudenko and O. Tykhy. After the arrest of M. Rudenko on 5th February, when his wife was stopped in the street in Kyiv by KGB agents and brought home, their flat was searched by the assistant public prosecutor of the Donetsk province — J. Noskov. The search warrant contained a visa of the USSR State Public Prosecutor signed by the assistant Public Prosecutor of Kyiv, Zamayev.

During the search, Oles Berdnyk called on Rudenko, and was also stripped naked and searched. The same was done with Rudenko's wife Raisa. During the course of the search, Rudenko's literary works, documents, orders and medals for his participation in the "Vitsyzniana"* war were removed. (Rudenko was badly wounded at the front — he sustained a spinal injury for which he needs constant medical attention).

After the search, Rudenko without being formally arrested, was "invited" for a few hours of "conversation" to the Kyiv Public Prosecutor's office, while his wife stayed at home. Three days later she received a telephone call from the Kyiv Public Prosecutor's office informing her that her husband had been arrested and was to be found in interrogation-isolation cell no. 1 of the Donetsk Province, Donetsk. When Raisa inquired on what grounds he was arrested, she received no reply. Raisa Rudenko then turned to the Ukrainian Republic Public Prosecutor's office and to the Donetsk Provincial Public Prosecutor's office for an explanation. Fifteen days later, the Donetsk Public Prosecutor's office informed her that she could obtain an answer in respect of her husband's case in Kyiv, but Kyiv in turn refused to give her any answer whatsoever.

Yet on 9th February, 1977, requests for an explanation of the arrest of M. Rudenko were made to the USSR State Public Prosecutor's office by P. Grigorenko, Z. Grigorenko (Petro's wife), V. Turczyn, S. Kalistratova, A. Sakharov and L. Czukowska. They demanded Rudenko's release on the basis of their personal bail and monetary guarantee. Raisa Rudenko turned to the Republic Public Prosecutor's

* The great patriotic war.

office on 25th and 28th February with a similar request. They all received negative answers. It appears that a joint case is being prepared for Rudenko and Tykhy.

Details of other arrests and searches in Ukraine at the beginning of this year have been made known. Vasyl Barladian was arrested during a search on Leonid Siryi's house in Odessa on 2nd March, 1977 when he called on Siryi completely by chance. On that same day, KGB officials conducted searches in other houses, namely those of Anna Holubyevska, Yelena Danielian and Anna Mykhaylenko. The day after Barladian's arrest, his wife Valentina was told that her husband had been arrested under 187-1 of the Criminal Code of the USSR. Afterwards Valentina Barladian, Leonid and Valentina Siryi, Leonid Tymchuk, Anna Holumbiyevska, Yuriy Horodentsiv and Petro Reydman turned to the USSR General State Public Prosecutor with a statement in which they declared that Barladian was being persecuted for political reason and they therefore demanded his release. On March 13th of this year Tetiana Khodorovych informed Ludmila Alekseyeva, Leonid Plyusch, Vladimir Bukovsky and others that Barladian was in danger of psychiatric imprisonment.

Barladian's case is being investigated by Vasyl Hulenko, investigator of the Odessa Provincial Public Prosecutor's office. Even before his formal arrest Barladian stated that he thought his arrest to be illegal, and that he would announce a hunger strike and refuse to make a statement. The conflict between Barladian and the regime dates back to 1974. He was questioned at the offices of the Odessa KGB on 28th January 1974 and was accused of being a Ukrainian nationalist. By the end of February 1974 they had expelled him from the Party and he was dismissed from Odessa University. Meanwhile his articles on the history of Ukrainian art and old Bulgarian culture were withdrawn from circulation.

At the beginning of 1975 Barladian was working at the Museum of National Architecture and Life in the USSR, in Kyiv, but within a month he was dismissed and ordered out of Kyiv altogether. After this, Barladian found work as a scientific assistant at the Odessa Museum of Western and Eastern Art.

On 16th June 1976 KGB officials searched the house of Barladian's wife and after this Barladian gave up his Soviet citizenship and applied for permission to emigrate in a statement addressed to M. Podgorny. On 3rd September, 1976 Barladian was dismissed from the museum. He disputed his dismissal from work in a "national court" in the Zhovtnevy region of Odessa. The secretary of the Party Organisation of the N. Stenka Museum sent a statement to the court which read that "Barladian was to be released at the request of higher authorities". In February of this year the court chaired by N. Savin rejected Barladian's complaint reasoning that he produced his statement too late. Meanwhile the acting inspector, Ya. Valakshiev, withdrew Barladian's application for an apartment.

Barladian was followed openly in order that he become psychologically terrorised. On one occasion he was told by the persons following him that "if he didn't stop walking so quickly, they would beat him up, because they were fed up of running after him . . .".

On 6th February 1977, a search was also conducted at Nina Strokata's in Tarus. Strokata is a member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group. She was told that the search was connected with Ginsburg's case. The search was conducted by Lieutenant-Colonel Osielkov. At that time Halyna Solov, Yelena Danielian and Kronid Liubarsky were staying with Strokata and they too were searched. Osielkov behaved very rudely — shoving and swearing. During the search, they found certain privately published works (samvydav), the Declaration of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group and protests written in defence of Ginsburg.

During last year and at the beginning of this, 1977, pressure on the families of political prisoners who were receiving parcels from abroad, was intensified by the KGB and other authoritative organs. So on 9th March of this year, the KGB officials in Kyiv summoned Vira Lisova, wife of Vasyl Lisovyi, who is serving a seven year sentence of imprisonment in Mordovia camp no. 19. As long as the summons had no official stamp, Vira Lisova refused to be questioned by the KGB and went to work as usual. Then KGB agents came to her place of work and descended on her inferring that she received parcels from abroad, from "anti-Soviet, nationalistic" organisations. At the same time they demanded that Lisova returned the summons to the KGB which she refused to do. A few days later, an employee of the personnel department of the institute where she worked, came to Lisova's apartment, returned her service record and said that from this moment in time she was dismissed from her work. The result was that Lisova remains out of work.

There are also an increasing number of cases where parcels from abroad are returned without informing the sender. Similarly with letters and telephone calls. An increasing number of letters disappear and it is becoming more difficult to have conversations with the families of prisoners, since some telephone lines are completely blocked.

NEW REPRESSIONS

Vira Lisova, the wife of the incarcerated Ukrainian rights activist, Vasyl Lisovy, told Western reporters of the uninterrupted repressions against so-called non-conformists in Ukraine.

Lisova centered her remarks on the fate of her husband incarcerated in the Perm region concentration camps.

She said that her husband's health is rapidly deteriorating and

prison officials are contributing to this decline. Lisova said that she was to have a meeting with Lisovy on June 23rd, but two hours before she and her five-year old child were to leave Kyiv, the KGB called to tell her that Lisovy was transferred from the camp.

Since there are no direct links between Kyiv and the penal facilities in the Soviet Union, relatives of political prisoners must travel to Moscow for rail connections to prisons or concentration camps.

Lisova, nonetheless, went to Moscow on June 22nd, where she participated in a press conference, along with Tatiana Khodorovych, Malva Landa, Vladimir Slepak, V. Turchyn, Andrei Sakharov and others.

The wife of the 42-year old Ukrainian political prisoner said that her husband was transferred to Kyiv for a second round of "intense re-education".

Lisovy is suffering from neurodermatitis, eczema and hepatitis, said his wife.

He contracted neurodermatitis in 1975 during his confinement in the Mordovian camps. He was locked up there after returning from his first round of re-education in Kyiv, said his wife.

Lisova said that during that time he underwent many interrogations with party and secret police officials, who attempted to pressure him into recanting his views. Co-workers and family members were also brought in to persuade him to denounce his writings.

Lisova said that among those who visited her husband was Lisovy's sister. According to his wife, soon after Lisovy's arrest, her sister-in-law severed contact with the family, saying "there are no problems worth going to jail for".

Lisovy was told by the officials that he must renounce his views, otherwise he cannot work and live in freedom.

Lisova said that the KGB also harassed her, demanding that she convince her husband to recant as did Ivan Dziuba. She said that the authorities consider his letter to the Central Committee of the CPSU in defence of the January 1972 arrested Ukrainian rights advocates, his biggest crime.

In May 1977, the KGB attempted to create antagonism against Lisova by spreading rumours amongst her relatives that she was receiving food and clothing from abroad. They tried to prove that this meant she was a spy.

While family members disregarded these accusations, Lisova was fired from her teaching job.

Lisova, who suffered symptoms of a heart attack early this spring, said that her children have developed nervous tantrums as a result of KGB harassment.

She said that despite severe repressions in the camps, her husband continues to write. She said that he is plagued with painful headaches, and up until now he spent half his sentence in the concentration camp prison.

Lisova also told of the fates of Yevhen Proniuk and Mykhaylyna Kotsiubynska.

Proniuk, according to Lisova, is near death. She said that he can barely walk, he gets out of bed with difficulty, and he walks by propping himself up against the wall.

Lisova said that Proniuk is suffering from acute tuberculosis. His family members pleaded with the authorities to release him on humane grounds, but the request was turned down.

Proniuk worked in the Institute of Philosophy of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences up until his arrest.

Lisova said that M. Kotsiubynska recently became the target of harassment by the KGB. As a result of the arrests of Mykola Matusevych and Myroslav Marynovych, her apartment was searched by the secret police.

The KGB found a copy of the memorandum of the Kyiv Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords, and when asked whether she felt it was anti-Soviet, she replied no.

During a meeting of the workers of the publishing house where she worked, Kotsiubynska was accused of possessing dangerous ideas and being associated with the Kyiv Group.

Despite her arguments, she was relieved from her job. Kotsiubynska protested her firing in a letter to the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party.

SPYRYDONOVYCH SENTENCED TO TWELVE MONTHS

On February 8, 1977, Dr. Mykhaylo Spirydynovych, a Ukrainian physician, was sentenced to 12 months in prison for allegedly accepting bribes.

In 1976 Dr. Spirydonovych was asked by the KGB to spy on Mykola Rudenko, head of the Kyiv Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords.

Dr. Spirydonovych refused and was arrested. He was officially charged with accepting a three-and-half ruble bribe, a pot of coffee, and other minor items.

Prior to his arrest, Dr. Spirydonovych admitted in a signed statement that he was offered a job by the KGB.

"I fully agree with M. D. Rudenko's views and will defend them as strongly as I possibly can", he wrote in the Statement. "I am convinced that we do not have any freedom, not even the most elementary. I believe in Ukraine".

ART HISTORIAN SENTENCED TO THREE YEARS

On June 29th 1977 Vasyl Barladian, an Odessan art historian, was sentenced in Odessa to three years in labour camps.

Barladian was charged with allegedly disseminating material of

the Kyiv Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords. His trial was held concurrently with the trial of Mykola Rudenko, the group's head, and Oleksa Tykhy, a member.

The trial was held behind closed doors.

Barladian was arrested by the KGB in Odessa on March 2, 1977. Since then, reported dissident circles inside the USSR, he has been on hunger strike in protest against the treatment he was incurring.

He is a former head of the Odessa University Art Department and a lecturer of art and ethnics at the Odessa Institute of Naval Engineering.

During the search of his quarters, the KGB agents confiscated several underground manuscripts, the Bible, "Zhyttia Sviatykh" (Lives of the Saints), and other religious publications.

In his "Appeal to Christians Around the World", written in June of 1976, Barladian wrote that he is being harassed for allegedly being a "Ukrainian, Byelorussian and even ancient Bulgarian nationalist".

Barladian wrote that his sole offence was that he did not disassociate himself from Ukraine's history.

"After analysing the works of Marx and his followers, I came to the conclusion that people like myself were stripped of their rights only because we did not know how and did not want to become bastards, that we could not disassociate ourselves from national treasures, form the sacristies of the history of nations, the children of which we are. Such is the logic of Marxism", wrote Barladian.

ARREST OF PETRO RUBAN

On June 16, 1977, reported the UPI, a former Ukrainian political prisoner Petro Ruban, who was working on a sculpture marking the American Bicentennial was sentenced by a Chernihiv court and may serve up to 23 years in prison.

Ruban, who served 16 years for alleged Ukrainian nationalist activity, was initially charged with "engaging in private enterprise" and "theft of state property".

Ruban worked in the souvenir department of a state factory in Pryluky, and spent his free time working on a Bicentennial sculpture. The unfinished sculpture was stolen from his workshop.

According to Khodorovych and Nekipilov dissidents in Moscow, Ruban said that his desire for Ukraine's secession from the USSR was real reason for the arrest.

"I am being tried because I wanted to see Ukraine secede from the Soviet system", he said at the trial.

Initially, during the first trial on December 29, 1976, Ruban, whom the two Russian dissidents termed a "Ukrainian Patriot" and as "talented woodcarver", was charged with "engaging in private

enterprise" and "theft of state property". He was then sentenced to 13 years in prison.

His case was reviewed by a Chernihiv court on April 19, 1977, and the charge of "anti-Soviet agitation" was added. This offence, according to the Criminal Code, carries up to a 10-year sentence.

"With one move, the authorities repaid Ruban for his idea of honouring the United States of America, and for possessing differing views", wrote Khodorovych and Nekipilov.

Ruban's name appeared on a list of 15 political prisoners, nine of whom were Ukrainian, Dr. Andrei Sakharov included in a letter to President Jimmy Carter on January 21, 1977.

"It's very important that the U.S. President should continue efforts for the release of those people who are already known to the American public and that these efforts not be in vain", wrote Dr. Sakharov in his letter. "It is very important to continue the fight for the very sick and for the women political prisoners".

MOROZ AGAIN ON HUNGER STRIKE

Valentyn Moroz the 41-year old Ukrainian historian who in 1974 staged a 145-day hunger strike to protest his imprisonment is again on a hunger strike. He is one of ten Soviet political prisoners of various nationalities who began a 100-day hunger strike late in April to draw the attention of the participants of the Belgrade review conference to the plight of human, national and religious rights of activists behind the Iron Curtain.

The names of all the protestors have not yet been identified, but it is reported that Ukrainian journalist Vyacheslav Chornovil, serving a 12-year sentence, is also among them. Among others identified are Paruyir Ayrikian and Markosian Razmik, both arrested for belonging to the National United Party of Armenia, Michail Kheyfyts, a Jew, and Vladimir Osipov, a Russian..

Besides wanting to underline human rights violations in the Soviet Union, the strikers also want to stress their attempts to be officially declared political prisoners.

Moroz was transferred to the Mordovian penal colony late last spring, after he completed a six-year term in the infamous Vladimir Prison.

For a month between the two confinements Moroz was incarcerated in a psychiatric asylum and many Ukrainian and other prisoners feared that this was an all-out attempt by the KGB to make him recant. International protests against the psychiatric torture of Moroz saved him.

Moroz, who is considered one of the leading Ukrainian political prisoners, must spend two more years in the Mordovian camp. He will spend five years in internal exile after he completes that sentence.

LUKYANENKO THREATENED WITH ARREST

Lev Lukyanenko, a Ukrainian lawyer who spent 15 years behind bars for proposing Ukraine's secession from the Soviet Union, continues to face KGB harassment.

After completing his prison term early last year, Lukyanenko, 50, settled in Chernihiv, where he has been under close secret police surveillance, and must regularly report to the Soviet version of parole officer.

In May 1976, Lukyanenko was detained by the KGB after escorting his wife to a local airfield. He was accused of allegedly violating his parole.

These charges of violating parole persisted, until finally Lukyanenko was severely reprimanded by the KGB and threatened with arrest. All the charges were fabricated.

Lukyanenko, who works as an electrician at a hospital, telephoned the militia to tell them that he would be two hours late for his meeting with the parole board. Lukyanenko was told by the officer in charge that his interview was postponed until the following day when he was to meet with an officer Havrylenko.

When Lukyanenko appeared on the next day, he was told that no one cancelled his appointment, and he was fined 30 karbovantsi for violating his parole.

On November 26th 1976, Lukyanenko was again late for an interview with the parole officer, because due to an illness he was detained too long at the hospital.

He was threatened with arrest if he violated the parole again. The KGB also conducted a search of Lukyanenko's apartment in connection with the arrest of Petro Ruban, whom the Ukrainian jurist did not know. The secret police confiscated letters, postal receipts and 20-year-old college lecture notes.

Last November, Lukyanenko joined the Kyiv Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords.

Lukyanenko and a co-defendant, Ivan Kandyba, were arrested in 1960 and charged with treason, membership of an anti-Soviet organization, and anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda.

They were initially sentenced to death by firing squad, but the sentence was later commuted to 15 years in prison.

ARREST OF FAMILIES

A new tactic of repression is being employed by the KGB against Ukrainian activists.

Instead of arresting the allegedly guilty party the secret police now incarcerates family members.

As a case in point is the arrest of Borys Antonenko-Davydovych's son, Yevhen.

The elder Davydovych, 78, who is a well-known literary figure in Ukraine, was not arrested. The KGB, however, charged his 25-year-old son with violating certain moral codes.

In 1971, Yevhen was sentenced to five years incarceration. During his incarceration, Yevhen managed to learn the English language.

After his release he was again arrested by the secret police.

Davydovych's case is reminiscent of the arrest and confinement of Yuriy Shukhevych, the son of Gen. Roman Shukhevych-Taras Chuprynka, commander-in-chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA).

The repressions against the Davydovyches and Mykhailyna Kotsiubynska, another Ukrainian literary figure, evoked widespread protests across Ukraine.

"Political Prisoners Day" — October 30th 1976 was marked in all Soviet penal facilities with one-day hunger strike.

The political prisoners were demanding that the United Nations create a separate commission to study the conditions in Soviet concentration camps, and the return of Vasyl Stus's poetry, which was confiscated by the camp authorities.

To mark "Political Prisoners Day" Stus staged a three-day hunger strike.

WHY THE UKRAINIAN LANGUAGE CANNOT BE USED

The Soviet Secret Police apparently is continuing to harass Ukrainians for displaying the slightest hint of Ukrainianism in their activity.

In late 1976, the Dniprodzierzhinske KGB and the Dnipropetrovsk Oblast prosecutor warned Ukrainian journalist and poet Volodymyr Sirenko about his contacts with Ukrainian poets in Eastern Europe.

He was allegedly accused of sending copies of his poems to Ukrainian societies in Poland and Czecho-Slovakia. He was also accused of associating with "undesirable persons".

Sirenko was told by the KGB that if he continued to keep these contacts he would be arrested. He was also forced to sign the warning.

Sirenko originally wrote exclusively in Russian. In 1964, however, he began to use more and more the Ukrainian language. This usage increased until finally none of his works were allowed to be published.

He was subsequently relieved from the editorial board of a large trade newspaper, and evicted from the Communist Party.

Sirenko was unemployed for eight months, but eventually found a job in another profession.

TERELYA ARRESTED AFTER DENOUNCING SOVIET ASYLUMS **Soviet Dissidents Appeal to West for Assistance**

Yosyp Terelya, a 34-year old Ukrainian poet, one-time political prisoner, was rearrested by the KGB last April after making a strong indictment of Soviet psychiatric abuses.

Terelya, who had already spent 14 years in prison, was "driven to despair" by the repressions he faced during his brief period of freedom late last year, said members of the Soviet affiliate of the Committee Against Psychiatric Abuse for political purposes, and he wrote in a letter to Yu. Andropov, the KGB chief, that Soviet mental asylums "would have been the envy of Dante for characters and descriptions of scenes from hell".

Four dissidents who belong to the Soviet branch of the London-based organisation appealed on June 1st to Western psychiatrists for help in Terelya's case.

Terelya's case also attracted the attention of Western journalists. In his Wednesday, August 17th column, noted American investigative columnist Jack Anderson, described the tortures experienced by Terelya during his prison and psychiatric asylum confinements.

Terelya was born in 1943 in the Transcarpathian region of Ukraine. The four Soviet dissidents noted in their appeal that Terelya quickly began to "react often and emotionally to all discriminatory actions against Ukrainians".

His candidness resulted in expulsion from school and led to secret police surveillance. In 1962, Terelya was arrested for the first time.

But Terelya escaped. His stay in freedom was not long because he was recaptured, only to escape again.

After his second recapture, Terelya was given a longer sentence, but as the four Soviet dissidents wrote: "Neither camps nor prisons were able to break his spirit, his belief in God".

Mr. Anderson indicated in his column that Terelya is a devoted Ukrainian Uniate (Catholic), "who places God ahead of the state".

My poems, notes and even my thoughts — all of this became evidence of criminal activities aimed at creating a so-called independent Ukraine", wrote Terelya.

In 1972 the authorities changed their methods of torture against Terelya. That year he was taken from the notorious Vladimir Prison and confined in the equally notorious Serbsky Institute of Forensic Psychiatry.

There he was diagnosed mentally insane and sent to the Sychovka prison for four years.

Soon after Terelya arrived at Sychovka, he recounted in a letter to Andropov the following incidents: "Some ten persons — guards and orderlies — burst into the section, jumped on me, beat me and tied me to my bed, all the time demanding to know whom I planned to kill".

Terelya remained tied to his bed for two months.

During his prison and psychiatric asylum confinement, the guards tried to extract an admission from him that he belonged to an underground Ukrainian organisation, probably the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), which came into being the same year Terelya was born.

In 1976, a Soviet court voided the psychiatric diagnosis and set Terelya free. Freedom for Terelya, however, was no different than confinement.

Four Soviet dissidents wrote that Terelya and his family became the victims of intense Soviet repressions and harassment. Neither he nor his wife were allowed to work. They said he "was driven to despair", and in December 1976 he wrote a letter to Andropov.

On April 28th, 1977, Terelya was summoned to the office of the militia on the pretext of being issued a work permit. Instead, he was arrested.

Mykola Rudenko, the incarcerated head of the Kyiv Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords, had said that the conditions of Terelya's confinement were "extremely horrible".

Terelya was told that the earlier decision of the courts was now void and he was rediagnosed as suffering from "paranoic schizophrenia". He was locked in a psychiatric asylum in Berechovo.

His wife was told that the decision was legal because he needs proper medical treatment, which consists of "tryftazyn". She was also told that the period of confinement has not been determined.

The Soviet dissidents listed the address of the Terelya family as Ukrainian SSR, Zakarpatska Oblast, misto Svialiava, Vul. Chapaieva 8, (Transcarpathian Oblast, city of Svialiava, 8 Chapaiev Street).

HRYHORENKO QUESTIONS BARRING OF UKRAINIAN IN LETTERS TO CAMPS

On December 21, 1976, Former Red Army General Petro Hryhorenko, a member of the Kyiv Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords, wrote a letter to the official Soviet government newspaper "Izvestia" asking why the Ukrainian language cannot be used in letters to Mordovian camp inmates.

According to him, a telegram he sent in the Ukrainian language to the Mordovian camps was refused because it was not written in Mordovian or Russian.

He argued that while letters written in Danish, Norwegian, Finnish or even dialects are accepted by the camp officials, it is strange that Ukrainian cannot be used.

"I expect that 'Izvestia' will afford me with a suitable answer and publish my letter", wrote Hryhorenko. "However, your silence will be a very telling response — and I will do my utmost to bring it to the attention of the widest circles of the community".

RUDENKO INDICTS RUSSIAN CHAUVINISM

In a statement written by the head of the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords, on November 14th, 1976, just five days after the creation of the group in Kyiv, Rudenko wrote that the fate of the Ukrainian Helsinki watchers rests with the West.

A copy of Rudenko's strong indictment of Russian chauvinism in the Soviet Union, which was clandestinely circulated in Ukraine, was made public in the West.

The 57-year old Ukrainian human rights advocate began his charges against Russification by stating that the Ukrainian language is rarely heard on the streets of Kyiv. He said that Ukrainian is also infrequently heard in schools and scholarly institutions.

"We are told that this is the way it must be, that a 'new nation' must not speak either Lithuanian, Byelorussian or Ukrainian", wrote Rudenko. "We are being told that the Soviet language is the Russian language. And if you do not agree, then you will find yourself in prison or a psychiatric asylum".

"Soon Svyatoslav Karavansky, who is my age, will complete his 25-year sentence. But Valentyn Moroz, Vyacheslav Chornovil, Vasyl Lisovy, Oleksander Serhiyenko and hundreds of others are still languishing in prisons, concentration camps, or psychiatric asylums. For what? Only because they believed that we were equal partners", wrote Rudenko.

He angrily wrote that the Ukrainian language is "just as good as the Russian language".

The Ukrainian poet explained that the Helsinki watchdog group was formed in Kyiv because Ukraine was being omitted from international gatherings and treaties.

He said that Ukraine is considered a sovereign state within the United Nations, but on August 1st, 1975, Ukraine was forgotten when the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe was signed in Helsinki, Finland.

"Maybe the world long ago became convinced that Ukraine's membership in the U.N. was a Stalinistic tactic, inherited now by the new leaders of Russia", wrote Rudenko. "Even now many in the West still refer to our multi-national state as 'Russia!'"

This fallacy, said Rudenko, is only to the advantage of the Russian chauvinists.

Rudenko wrote that of all the members of the Kyiv group, at that time he was the only one who did not yet experience confinement in a psychiatric asylum, or other penal facility. (Since writing the appeal, Rudenko was arrested and sentenced to seven years incarceration and five years exile).

"And then someone wanted to make a correction in my life. Immediately after the establishment of the Group, on the night of November 10th, someone hurled several bricks through the window of my apartment", wrote Rudenko.

He said that the bricks were "sharp and heavy", and they were meant for "my head".

Rudenko was not at home that evening, but Oksana Meshko, the mother of Oleksander Serhiyenko, a political inmate in the Vladimir Prison, was wounded in the attack.

"Neighbours said the house shook for several minutes during the barrage. They thought it was an earthquake", recounted Rudenko.

Rudenko wrote that the police did not catch the perpetrators and did not file a report of the incident. One officer said, Rudenko wrote, that "not much attention should be paid to this little incident, after all, no one was killed".

"I live in the suburbs, in the woods. Many times VIP's come through the area hunting for wild boars. I certainly hope that a situation, which according to the Kyiv militia, would warrant attention, does not occur. That is why I appeal to you, people of goodwill, support us with your words", wrote Rudenko.

He said that the Kyiv Group does not have any political goals. Their only goal, wrote Rudenko, is humanitarian. He wants to see the "implementation of the Helsinki Accords with regard to human rights".

"But we cannot forget about the national question. The majority of Ukrainian political prisoners were sentenced for alleged or true nationalism. And it is exactly this '**Ukrainian nationalism**' that is **feared by the government**, which considers itself "Soviet", wrote Rudenko.

He also disproved allegations that the Ukrainian Group is a branch of the Moscow Group. Rudenko said that relations between the two groups are based on "friendship and co-operation, not subordination".

Saying that the Ukrainian Group attempts to establish contacts with Russian democrats, Rudenko said that **friendly relations between Ukraine and Russia are undermined by chauvinism.**

'TRIAL' OF RUDENKO AND TYKHY — HELSINKI ACCORDS CAMPAIGNERS

The document, called "Declaration of the Ukrainian Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords" on the Trial of Mykola Rudenko and Oleksa Tykhy, was signed in Kyiv, July 1, 1977, by Petro Vins, Petro Hryhorenko, Olha Heyko-Matusevych, Oksana Meshko and Nina Strokata-Karavanska.

The Kyiv group fears that Rudenko's sentence means death for him because of his war wounds.

"On account of his war wounds he will not last long under the conditions of the harsh concentration camp", they wrote.

Tykhy, who is physically weak, the sentence is for life, they said. "If he survives the harsh conditions of the camp followed by exile, then his health will undoubtedly deteriorate", they wrote.

Below is the full text of the declaration translated from Ukrainian:

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Declaration of the Ukrainian Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords on the Trial of Mykola Rudenko and Oleksiy Tykhy.

Such is "socialist democracy"! And so, seven years concentration and five years exile for the leader of the Ukrainian Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords, the poet and philosopher Mykola Rudenko; and ten years of concentration camp and five years exile for a member of the group, the school-teacher Oleksiy Tykhy. Can this be called a trial? No!

People are tried openly and justly (if they are criminals), but in this case people have been tyrannized for many years and afterwards secretly taken away for investigation, in a gangsterlike manner, 800 kilometers away from their native city. For the trial they chose a place (Druzhkivka) a hundred kilometers even further away. "Krasnyi Ugolok" ("Red Corner": a recreation club), situated in a closed factory, was transformed into a court scene and filled with a carefully selected public. No friends or observers were allowed into the court. Not even close friends or family had been informed either about the end of the investigation or the beginning of the trial.

As a result the defendants were left without any defence. And the wife of Rudenko and the 80-year-old mother of Tykhy were admitted only on the sixth day. They were shaken by the appearance of the accused. Both defendants appeared tired and exhausted. In the course of the defence and especially during his final statement Mykola Rudenko felt faint several times. This is not surprising, five months of detention in a Donetsk prison which is situated in a heavily polluted (industrialised) region, could not have passed without having taken their toll.

The court declared the Ukrainian group to be an anti-Soviet organisation and its documents as anti-Soviet. This is a blatant falsehood. Among the documents of this group there isn't one which we would not support. We find only documents which discuss actual violations of the Helsinki Accords in our country. It is easy to be convinced of this if all the facts we have reported are subject to public examination. But such a public examination was not even attempted. Worse than this, measures were adopted so that even the public would not know what was taking place in the court. The organisers of the trial behaved in a Mafia-like way, abducting the victims and isolating them. This is precisely the principle they followed by choosing Druzhkivka as the place of the trial. In a large city, for example in Donetsk, it would be more difficult to spot an outsider. But in Druzhkivka, the militia knows all the inhabitants. This is why friends of the defendants arriving from Kyiv and Moscow

immediately fell into the hands of the authorities. Some were detained for three days and nights in a preliminary detention cell, and then were forcibly sent home.

Naturally, in conditions of extreme isolation it is possible for the authorities to make false charges and to mete out punishment for a truthful account of repressive activities on the part of the authorities. In such conditions reprisals can be made with gangster-like cruelty. The court sentence for Mykola Rudenko means a death sentence. On account of his war wounds he will not last long under the harsh conditions of the concentration camp. For Oleksa Tykhy this is a life imprisonment. Tykhy is a 50-year-old sick, infirm person and if he survives the harsh conditions of the concentration camp followed by exile, then his health will undoubtedly deteriorate.

Only universal indignation can be the answer to such inhumanity. Shame on the executioners of the judicial cover-up! Shame on those who inspired his executioners! Freedom for Mykola Rudenko, Oleksa Tykhy and Vasyl Barladian, (who was convicted concurrently in Odessa June 29th for distributing materials of the Ukrainian Group)! Freedom for the other arrested members of the Helsinki Groups: Yuri Orlov, Aleksandr Ginzburg, Anatoly Shcharansky, Mykola Matuskevych, Myroslav Marynovych, Zviad Gamsakhurdia and Merab Kostava! Freedom for all political prisoners in the USSR!

ARREST OF RUDENKO WAS "HISTORIC CRIME" SAYS BERDNYK IN A LETTER TO KGB

In a letter to KGB chiefs in Moscow and Kyiv, Oles Berdnyk denounced the arrest of Mykola Rudenko as being a "historic crime". "One of those arrested, Mykola Rudenko, I have known for 20 years. He is a philosopher and poet. His ideas can create a new era of scholarship and knowledge. That is why the arrest of such individuals is a historic crime", wrote Berdnyk.

The letter was addressed to Yu. Andropov, head of the Soviet KGB and member of the Kremlin ruling elite, and V. Fedorchuk, chief of the Ukrainian KGB.

Berdnyk explained that he is not writing the letter to the "strongest repressive organisation in Europe", but to the chiefs of the KGB. "You directed the sword of the organisation against people who only have the word for their defence", he wrote.

"On one side there is a strong armada, armed to the teeth with electronics, secret agents, automobiles, concentration camps, dungeons, etc., and on the other side there are those courageous persons who stand up against the flow of the injustice", he said.

Berdnyk said that some people may think that after surviving Hitler and Stalin, mankind will outlive any form of repression, but he feels that is not the case. He listed some recent arrests of members of the Moscow and Kyiv Helsinki Monitoring Groups, and asked the question "Who will be next?"

SVITLYCHNA RENOUNCES SOVIET CITIZENSHIP

Nadia Svitlychna, a former political prisoner now serving an unspecified period of exile renounces her Soviet citizenship.

In a letter to the Supreme Soviet, dated January 11th 1977, Svitlychna wrote: "Having lost my final illusions about the existence of any elementary rights in the Soviet Union, I renounce my Soviet citizenship".

Svitlychna, 41, cited examples of her incarceration and the plights of other Ukrainian compatriots in a statement to the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party, dated December 10th, 1976 as reasons for denouncing her citizenship.

"If I did not experience on my own skin the arrests, the unceasing searches, harassment and a general degradation of my dignity, I do not know if I would ever have lost the basis for my illusions", wrote Svitlychna.

Among the cases that led her to renounce the Soviet Union were: the officially ordered burning of Stefania Shabatura works, the confiscation of 300 of Vasyl Stus' poems, the death of Mykhaylo Soroka in a concentration camp, and the murder of Alla Horska, a Ukrainian artist, and the subsequent erasing of her name from all her works.

Svitlychna said that in Stus' case, the doctors implanted a listening device into his garments after he underwent a necessary gastric surgery.

"As a free person, and as a mother of an only child, I declare with full responsibility today, — Human Rights Day — that after experiencing what I have lived through, I consider it to be below man's dignity to be a citizen of the biggest, mightiest and most perfect concentration camp on earth", she wrote.

Svitlychna was born in the Donbas region of Ukraine. After graduating from the State University with a degree in philology, she worked at a state radio station in the Ukrainian capital as a script editor.

In 1968 she was fired from her job for attending a rally at the Shevchenko monument. She was fired from her second job in 1969.

Arrested during the 1972 purges, Svitlychna served a four-year sentence for anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda.

Svitlychna is the mother of six-year old Yarema, whose father is Danylo Shumuk, a Ukrainian political prisoner.

Other Ukrainian political prisoners who have renounced their citizenship are: Danylo Shumuk, Vyacheslav Chornovil, Valentyn Moroz, Rev. Vasyl Romaniuk, Oles Berdnyk, Mykola Bondar, and Mykola Motriuk.

A LETTER WRITTEN BY POLITICAL PRISONER BOHDAN REBRYK

A new self-published document has appeared in the west — a letter written by Bohdan Rebyrk, a writer who is serving his sentence in concentration camp ZH KH 385/6 in Mordovia. The letter written in December 1976 is addressed to the president of the largest American trade union, AFL-KIO, George Meaney. Rebyrk writes:

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“I appeal to you as president of and through you to the workers united in America’s largest trade union. I am a worker, a Ukrainian and have become a victim of the persistent arbitrary rule in the USSR and under the conditions of a Soviet totalitarian regime am deprived of the right to make a living. The question is not one of my own personal plight, but that of the whole Ukrainian nation. A short account of my own life will reveal from what rights and liberties a worker in my own country may benefit. Today the Soviet authorities try to prove to the whole world that people like me do not exist, only rarely are they mentioned in the press as ‘renegade’, ‘bandit’, or ‘dissident’. But judge for yourself. I was born in 1938 in Ivano-Frankivsk in Ukraine. In 1942 my mother was murdered by fascists for saving a Jewish family. In 1949 the NKVD arrested my father on false charges and he was sent to a Siberian concentration camp in Kolyma as an ‘enemy of the state’. My father was rehabilitated in 1956 and died in 1957. Having completed seven years of schooling in my home town I went to the F20 school in Magnitohorsk in Russia. I worked as a carpenter on a building site in Magnitohorsk. In October 1957 I was called up by the army where I was assigned to the school of air-gunnery-radio operators. In 1962 I lost 70% of my sight whilst carrying out my duties. I was discharged from the army and returned home, to Ukraine.

Already during the first few days of being on native soil I was struck by the fact that only Russian was used in all the Ukrainian institutions and businesses. At first I perceived it to be as we were taught at school by our teachers and in the army by the political indoctrination officers, that the Russian language is used internationally. But I soon understood that the situation was more complex. At every opportunity my language is slandered and cursed, and those who speak it are tormented and persecuted. And all this is brought about by immigrating Russians whom, by order of the regime, I ought to call ‘elder brother’ or ‘liberator’. What is more my own language has become my enemy. The use of it has precipitated my being classed as a Ukrainian bourgeois nationalist. This is not just a moral and national degradation, it also means hard, low-paid work. The result is that a large number of the working Ukrainian population is forced to seek work in Siberia, Kazakhstan and beyond the North Pole — so long as they are out of Ukraine and ‘of their own free will’ at that. The processes of russification which I came across

contradicted my principles and ideals in life and what is more, according to my simple convictions, they contradicted the Constitution of the USSR. Feeling myself to be a son of the Ukrainian nation I could not reconcile myself with the thought that my nation lies on the brink of genocide. I became protective of my nation's honour and dignity. This sacred duty of every citizen cost me three years loss of freedom. On release from the labour camp the conditions arranged for me were such that they confirmed my convictions that my fifty million-strong nation is forbidden the right to safeguard its own culture. Only after ten months of a beggarly existence, did I, with difficulty obtain a job as a loader in a factory making furniture. But in May 1974 I was again arrested.

I will quote a few words from my sentence — an official document. Here I am concerned with the important charges made against me.

1. 'Handwritten text of 17th and 18th century treaties between Ukraine and Moscow were kept in his apartment concerning the annexation of Ukraine by Russia'. The KGB labelled both texts as anti-Soviet.

2. 'Taped national songs'. This concerned a Ukrainian folk song from the time of Khmelnytski.

3. 'Gave his friend a book of nationalistic character as a present with a dedication'. In fact this was a passage from a poem of O. Oles which was legally published in Kyiv in 1970.

4. 'Voiced his opinion that russification is being conducted in Ukraine'.

5. 'Listened to bourgeois radio stations, "Voice of America" and "Liberty"'.

Of course according to the sentences I did all this 'to undermine Soviet authority'! The 'national court' worked into the crime pre-determinedly and carefully and declared me a criminal recidivist. The term — seven years hard labour and three years internal exile in Siberia.

Soviet propaganda blaes out accross the whole world that every republic embodied in the USSR is an independent and sovereign state. **In fact each Soviet republic is a colony of Russia.**

Mr President!

Through this appeal, I want to bring to the attention of every worker of your great country, the inhuman conditions in which the workers of my country live and work and the rights that they have. Once again I want to emphasise that my own personal predicament is not a unique event, but a mass phenomenon in the USSR. It is everyone's tragedy, but primarily that of my Ukrainian nation... That I can confirm under oath as a christian and if need be with my life.

December 1976

Yours Respectfully,
Bohdan Rebryk".

PERM PRISONERS REMIND WEST

In an open letter to free world leaders and diplomats, political prisoners in Zone 35 of the Perm concentration camp pointed out that while humanitarian treaties are adopted by the countries of the world, their provisions are not adhered to in the Soviet Union.

"Diplomats, government leaders, sign new treaties about human rights, free flow of information, the end of torture, but we must hold hunger strikes because in the USSR none of that is implemented", said the prisoners.

For political inmates, they wrote, the only form of defence is hunger strikes. They wrote that such strikes are held in prison camps and psychiatric asylums.

"August 1st — is a day political prisoners in the Soviet Union set aside for hunger strikes to protest against the inhuman environment, the oppression, the terror and repressions against those who hold different convictions", they wrote. "We frequently hold hunger strikes — in solitary confinement in transports. Often, on ordinary insignificant days — on days of deaths of our comrades, on days of unusual occurrences in the camps, March 8th, December 10th, August 1st, May 2th, and September 25th. We stage hunger strikes frequently".

August 1st is the day that 35 governments, including the Soviet Union, signed in 1975 the Final Act of the Helsinki Accords. December 10th was designated by the United Nations as "Human Rights Day". The significance of the other dates is not known.

The political prisoners wrote that hunger strikes are held for months at a time. Even though the strikes drain the prisoners of their energy, they continue with them because for them they are the only form of self-defence.

"Somewhere out there you make speeches, sign minutes, make promises, but here nothing changes; left to rely on our own strength, we are forced to hold hunger strikes to protest against the always newer and newer illegality of the officials, against repressions, and the curtailing of our rights", they wrote.

The prisoners wrote that this year on August 1st they changed their tactics. They said that "amidst the signing of different speeches" they continue to live behind barbed wire, and possibly, to attract more attention they decided to do away with hunger strike.

"Therefore today, August 1, 1977, we declare that we are not holding the traditional protest hunger strikes, we are putting aside our only weapon in the fight against our oppressors — despite the fact that striking means not living", they wrote.

They also appealed to those world leaders with whom the Soviet Union signed treaties and later violated them, "to take advantage of the hunger strikes as an effective tactic in the fight against the illegality of the totalitarian USSR in the realm of international law".

TORTURED POET CRIES OUT FROM SOVIET "HELL"

Another Alexander Solzhenitsyn is crying out to us from deep within the Soviet prison system. He is Yosyp Terelya, a 34-year old Ukrainian poet who has spent 14 years in Soviet prisons and psychiatric hospitals for refusing to renounce his beliefs.

He was released late in 1976, then re-arrested in April. During his brief months of freedom, he wrote movingly about his ordeal. His story, written in long-hand, has been smuggled out to us.

Some Soviet prisons, writes the determined poet "would have been the envy of Dante for characters and descriptions of scenes from hell".

The KGB secret police first began harassing Terelya when he was 19. He was guilty of two offences against the Kremlin. First he is a Ukrainian, a proud breed of 50 million people who refuse to abandon their ancient culture.

Second, he is a devout member of the Ukrainian Uniate Church, which places God ahead of the state. But it was probably Terelya's eloquence, his ability to express his independent views in stirring language, that most alarmed the Soviet establishment.

Terelya was first put into prison in 1962. But he was young and strong in those days: he escaped and lived for months under assumed names. Eventually he was recaptured and jailed in the village of Ladyshyno.

"My poems, notes and even my thoughts — all this became evidence of criminal activities aimed at creating a so-called independent Ukraine" he writes.

What was a day like in the life of Yosyp Terelya? "We were made to pick up and stack granite slabs . . . We were given three twigs to clean the cells of water sloshed on the floor. We were forced to stand for days on one spot", recalls the poet.

Beatings became routine. "Religious" prisoners were lashed to their chairs by telephone wires and made objects of humiliating ridicule.

In the winter, the rain and snow soaked Terelya's summer uniform. Yet "for inserting towels underneath our shirts and thus violating the uniform dress code, we were severely beaten . . . I did not know that 'cruel' treatment could also be official. That is, sanctioned by law".

For the following two years, Terelya was tortured by the KGB, which demanded that he admit to being a member of a Ukrainian nationalist group that was disbanded when he was three years old.

"They placed me in a penal cell for 15 days", he writes. "The temperature of the cell was changed every hour — one hour hot, one hour cold. Here I got hypertonia and haemorrhoids".

KGB officers told Terelya that if he co-operated, "they would free me in a year, give me a woman and good food". But the continuous physical abuse took its toll; his spine was struck by paralysis; he began to haemorrhage profusely from the nose, mouth and ear. He was transferred to a psychiatric hospital, where his fingers were broken for trying to write with pencil and paper.

One night after the stubborn poet refused to renounce his religious beliefs, he was tied to a cross, gagged and beaten by the guards. He was later made to drink water from a toilet bowl.

Terelya's harshest treatment came at Sychovka, another psychiatric hospital where he was imprisoned in 1972. Soon after he arrived, "some ten persons — guards and orderlies — burst into the section, jumped on me and tied me to my bed, all the time demanding to know who I planned to kill.

I remained tied to my bed for a full two months, receiving a nightly "Kulazin treatment" from the guards and orderlies, who beat me with their boots and keys", he writes.

He recalls that the prison administration sanctioned extra abuse of Jewish prisoners. "For laughs they would force the sick to eat live frogs. They raped the sick and thus satisfied their own sexual needs — and all for laughs".

One patient was killed "with a hammer because he had asked for permission to go to the lavatory", Terelya testifies. A Georgian Jew, pronounced mentally ill for seeking to emigrate to Israel, was tortured to death. Still another patient was beaten nightly by orderlies for two months until he died.

One mentally disturbed prisoner was shot in cold blood after an escape attempt. "Tell me", the poet asks, "in what other country do they shoot the mentally ill?"

Terelya charges that a total of 475 inmates at Sychovka "were killed or tortured to death" between 1963 and 1973. They are listed in the hospital records as having "died".

The anguished Terelya now an invalid, speaks to the world from his prison cell. "What kind of attitude can one have towards murderers?" he asks. "Can a mentally ill person shake the foundations of the Soviet state? How unsure of itself must this state be when it considers all who have their own ideas either "mentally ill" or enemies of the state?"

Footnote: Terelya's account was translated from his native Ukrainian. US officials verified the authenticity of the sources who brought his letter to us. A Soviet Embassy spokesman, however told us that he had never heard of Terelya. He dismissed the letters of jailed dissidents as "just personal insinuations" that do not reflect the true facts of Soviet prison life.

Taken from *The Evening Bulletin* Philadelphia, USA, written by Jack Anderson with Les Whitten.

THE CHRISTMAS APPEAL OF L. LUKYANENKO TO INVETERATE ATHEISTS

Have you ever been to church — not with hammers to break down crosses, not with keys to lock the church from believers, not with hatred — but with open hearts?

O, surely you have not been. Because if you had entered on a feast day, stood under the high arches of the church in front of the iconostasis, and looked at Him, who instead of the pagan moralistic principle of fairness of “an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth” gave people the principle of magnanimity, appealing that evil be repaid with forgiveness, then you would understand how much Christianity has made human traditions more gentle, how it has moved people from their original barbarianism to humanism.

Christianity, of course, has not altered the basic nature of man — what man was in the times of Aristotle, he has remained in the present times, but compare people’s relationships in the time of pagan Rome and those of the XXth century and you will see that in recent times humanity has become incomparably more humane and now it would be impossible to hold games where human blood was spilt, as it was in the Colloseum when the gladiators gave their shows.

Would not your soul be immediately penetrated with a beneficial sense of unity with the cosmic spiritual force, and then you would see on the iconostatis in front of you, not Jesus, the God, but Jesus, the Son of God — a man, and would you not then feel joyous gratitude to Him, who for the sake of humanity went to his death. Think: He, a man, — had the same body, the same senses and sensations as we do, but He was an ordinary man who was not only concerned with his material and sensual desires, but He was a man of high idealistic aspirations, who was concerned with the establishment of fairness, where a rich man would not humiliate a poor man, a strong man would not ridicule a weak man, where a powerful man would not destroy an ordinary man; He wanted a community in which there would be less cruelty and more compassion and sympathy. Held responsible for his ideological revolution and controversial ideas they demanded his renunciation in exchange for his life. He did not renounce his ideals — and went to his death. Do you hear — in front of you — is a man who went to his death for the good of mankind. It cannot be that you will not bow your heads to such a man, it cannot be that you are unable to differentiate miserable worthlessness from mighty individuality.

If you entered a church without feeling hatred to different modes of thought, but with sympathy for your fellow men and stood amongst other such benevolent citizens, then the flickering of candles in front of the portrait of Christ — the Messenger of God the Father, the extremely beautiful singing (such as you have never heard either

on the radio or at the theatre) would progressively free your minds of any bad intentions and direct your thoughts higher and higher to that place where human nature becomes similar to God's, and the silent union of human souls and the Almighty Spirit begins. O, if only you were forgiving. Then you would experience a happiness such as never before in your lives. This happiness occurs in the sphere of human spirituality and not in the physical body, and you, you hardened materialists hardly know anything of this.

For you, a man is a social being, who almost totally exhausts himself in a material, that is a physiological manner. And you think: it is sufficient for people to be fed, clothed, and guaranteed a home for earth to become a true paradise if discontent did not arise. You have believed this postulate for sixty years and constantly propagate it. But man has never only been a physiological being (a social animal). The symbolism of the words "Man is made in the same image and likeness to God" lies in that, that man has always had a small part of God which unites him with God — his intellect, the great sphere of spiritual life. But you never noticed this. You only saw the external part — that which unites man with animals — the body. And that is why with your eternal discussions about the material world and man and your unceasing battle against the belief in God, you did not develop the humanity in man but, instead, primitivised him.

If faith is taken away then nothing else can be given to a nation in its place. Theory (Marxist, Marxist-Leninist or any other) is not able to discard faith for the reason that, mainly, the greater part of their contexts cover different fields and cannot generally influence one another. In the full meaning of faith theology is only a theory and together with any other theory can become mutually influenced.

Both the Marxist-Leninist and religious theories (theology) are a result of the thinking-processes of the brain. Since they are both born of the same apparatus with the aid of the same logical laws and categories, each has the potential to demonstrate its correctness and the incorrectness of the other. After centuries of this theoretical battle atheists have pointed out many discrepancies in assertions made by theologians. Theologians, in their turn, found considerable errors in all socialist theories. It is clear that this theoretical battle will carry on for ever, because the unsettled human mind will forever search for the solution to unanswered questions. However, the belief in God was not born from the theoretical abilities of man — these abilities were only made use of later to either prove or refute belief — but exists as an incomprehensible force belonging to another world which does not base itself on theological theories and therefore no other theory can refute it. As a foundation of faith there are countless mysterious manifestations, occurrences, which man feels in his own soul. Faith exists in emotional and irrational spheres. Many vivid rituals have had little in them that was rational, but

through the course of centuries they have cheered the souls of Ukrainians increasing their emotions, making them finer and richer with the result that the whole spiritual world of man was enriched and bettered. This emotional refinery and richness infiltrated the everyday existence of our ancestors and was often reflected in songs of unsurpassed spiritual beauty. Because you have a primitive concept of man, you are waging battle not against faith itself but, against the manifestations of faith, such as — the church, clergy, rites, and traditions. In this sphere you have managed to do a great deal of harm: you have destroyed ancient rites and created a spiritual desert. Your cries of “there is no God, there is no God”, and “Fight! Fight! Fight!” cannot quiet the desire for a warm, peaceful word, for humane relationships, for a rest from eternal terror and the strained attempt to escape — to nowhere, and people — see how many there are of them — drown their sorrows in alcohol, youth becomes slovenly, families fall apart and a portion of the people return to a belief in God. And last of all, why don't you come into this church, — this old, old church.

Do you know what Christmas church singing is? O, how sad that you don't! It catches the soul on its magical wings and carries it higher and higher. You progressively forget your surroundings and your body and soul as you are freed from the shackles of your physical desires and become totally filled with spiritual wonder, with some kind of sweet bliss. It captures you and in a stormy flood of joy you are hardly able to contain your tears as your soul attains the greatest unity with the surroundings of God's spirit and draws from you all that is elevated and beautiful, which purifies and exalts man to a position above his material and physical desires, and creates a real person, who feels all that is beautiful and himself wants to become better; who for the sake of others' blessings is capable of understanding and forgiving the human weaknesses of his fellowmen, who is capable of replying to bad with good, and so is able to reduce the general amount of evil on earth, and give an example of the way relations should be conducted, which ought to consolidate the change in people from barbarianism to humanism everywhere, which should bring everyone to that path of eternal approachment to God — as an eternal knowledge of Him through His creations.

The internal decoration of the church, the portrait of Christ, and festive singing — all this promotes meditation on infinital themes of life and death, of the fast flowing of time and our present “I”, where not even a small part of the spirit is lost, but returns hence it came having been appropriately transformed in the period of earthly existence . . .

(Look, meditation has again been interrupted — someone to the left moved his arm up to cross himself, and pulled my left sleeve with him. Someone else has just come in, and to the right hundreds

of people pressed even more closely together to somehow make him some room, but there was no more space, and people were standing so tightly as if on a bus; arms by their sides, standing upright, men and women so closely packed against one another that it was simply impossible to move. Many who were able to cross themselves, held their hand on the lapels of their overcoats, not dropping them to their sides. And because still more people came, someone from the back rows passed a candle forward over everyone's heads to put it in front of the icon, and from time to time the church servers made their way through the dense crowd with collection plates and the believers reached over to give their donations to the church, but the pushing was continuous, and this distracted concentration and was annoying).

Chernihiv — is an ancient town with ancient religious traditions. It was here that our ancestors constructed churches from the very beginning of Christianity, which enraptured our nation and others with their high standard of architecture and beautiful decorations. Their beauty paralysed the onslaught of Tartars, Poles, Russians and Germans. Only your ruinous hand was not stilled, as in the dark middle ages religious fanatics burnt valuable manuscripts only because they contradicted their concept of religion, and in the same way, you progressively destroyed architectural masterpieces only because they stood in the way of your atheism, and reminded Ukrainians about their rich past.

Such were found amongst you that ruined the graves of Ukrainian Sichovy Striltsi with tractors, that cut down the crosses of the graves of Polish soldiers with soldiering irons, then made footpaths from the headstone of Jewish graves — you did this as if animals lay in these graves — not people. You have and maintain your atheistic morals as you call them, and all who are not with you are bad, but who is with you, is good, and that is why you will never understand the Christian nobleness of the Spaniards, who after a civil war buried in one grave both the victors and the defeated and who engraved on the grave stone the words: "They died for that in what they believed". The defeated also believed, and therefore they deserve respect.

In adhering to the fanatical law of "Who is not with us, is against us" you have been persecuting those who think differently for sixty years. And here in Chernihiv using your ruling position, you have deprived a large section of the community of a normal way of satisfying their spiritual needs: for a town with over 200 thousand inhabitants, only one small church has been left.

And when there is a feast day, and even on ordinary days, the people simply cannot enter the church but have to stand in the small courtyard, where they cannot hear the words of the priest, nor the melodies of the choir because of the noise on the street which runs against the very walls of the church. The believers have already turned to the town council several times with petitions for the

opening of at least one more church. Such petitions were signed by up to a thousand people, but all petitioning has remained futile.

Paragraph 104 of the Constitution of the USSR guarantees the citizens of the USSR the freedom to observe religious cults and rites.

Paragraph 18 of the General Declaration of Human Rights of the UN, which the government of the Soviet Union also signed, announces freedom for religious belief.

By the last act of the Helsinki Conference the Soviet Union is obliged that "... government members are to recognise and respect the rights of an individual to preach alone or in a group, religion or his faith, acting in accordance with his conscience (VII. Respect for human rights and basic freedom, including freedom of thought, religion and conviction).

After the Helsinki Conference the discrimination against a large section of the population became intolerable. The believers — honest citizens, fulfill their citizens' duties conscientiously, and they have the right to their non-communist point of view, and the time has come to stop persecuting them. In the end we want very little — the opening of one more church in the town.

For the triumph of lawfulness and fairness, I ask you to do this!

February 1977

Levko Lukyaneko — lawyer,
member of the Ukrainian Group to Promote the Implementation
of the Helsinki Accords

POLITICAL PRISONERS MARK HELSINKI DATE WITH STRIKE

Thirty-three inmates of the Perm region concentration camps marked the first anniversary of the Helsinki Accords on August 1, 1976 with a one-day hunger strike.

Prisoners who took part in the protest in camp 35 were: Dmytro Basarab, Dmytro Verkholiak, Semen Gluzman, Vasyl Zakharchenko, Ihor Kalynets, Mykola Kovalenko, Oleksa Marchenko, Mykola Motriuk, Yaromyr Mykytko, Vasyl Pidhorodetsky, Yevhen Pryshliak, Yevhen Proniuk, Ivan Svitlychny, Stepan Soroka, Ivan Shovkovy, T. Asselbaums, Anatoliy Altman, Hillel Butman, Grabans, Israel Zalmanson, Ramzik Zograban, Kyvyko, Miattyk Kiyrend, Yuriy Mashkov, Ihor Ogurtsov and Badrat Shakhverdian.

Inmates from camp 37 who took part in the strike included: Abakov, Oleh Vorobyov, Dmytro Kvetsko, Mykola Marmus, Oleksa Reznikov, Synkov, and an unknown Ukrainian Vynnychuk.

*

Mykhaylo Osadchy, the author of "Cataract", was transferred from the Mordovian concentration camp No. 1 to the Vladimir Prison.

He is confined in a special regime cell along with Yuriy Shukhevych and Vasyl Fedorenko.

Poetry from Behind the Barbed Wire

Iryna SENYK

BLOSSOMS OF REMINISCENCE

The cherries' heady inflorescence
Peers inside my window,
Upon December's cilia the day expires,
The short-lived day is done.

If but my memory were thus extinguished,
If I were rid of apparitions!
But in my heart — a white confusion,
A ghost of fleeting happiness.

And the snow falls, and blankets all,
December's whiter-than-white snow.
From 'neath that snow there blossoms forth
The cherry tree of reminiscence.

LVIV'S MAGICAL ELEGY

How rare it is that the victoria-regia blooms in the gardens.
May Lviv's magical elegy
Appear to you at least in dreams.
May candles of familiar chestnut trees
Light up again the temple of remembrances,
While thoughts, like red blossoms,
Unceasingly flower your days.

THE HIGH CARPATHIANS

Down in the valley —
narcissus
higher up —
a line of white snow
and higher still —
the Carpathians
of my sorrow
the Carpathians
of my longing
the white Carpathians
of my
unforgettable dreams.

* * *

Scattered 'round Bratsk
 Lie common graves.
 Over prisoners' corpses —
 A thousand routes.
 On prisoners' corpses —
 A thousand HES.
 "Here we suffered
 And here we died",
 Drones the dismal
 Refrain of the wheels.
 Auschwitz, Buchenwald, Majdanek?
 For the cremated, it's easier, yes,
 Than to rub wounds raw for years,
 Enduring torment without end.

Iryna STASIV-KALYNETS

FAIRY TALES

Upon the stage
 of a fat tree stump
 a tiny woodland elf sits
 'neath a fly agaric's cap
 and guards our house.
 Its roof is thatched
 with sun-kissed sheaves of straw,
 windows stretched over
 with white fern,
 the bed inside
 is of blue moss.
 And fables for those in love
 have the run of the house . . .

THE WELLS OF MY LIFE

At the bottom of my life — a curative well,
 A bottomless well, radiating blue lights.
 Three fables swim out,
 Three flushed birds
 Out of the golden cradle of my childhood.

And the first fable is about the shiny moon.
 And the second fable is about the shining sun.
 And the third fable is about the shining stars.

And the first fable is about my father.
And the second fable is about my mother.
And the third fable is about the entire family.

Light my way, bright moon.
Give me warmth, bright sun.
Sing to me, blue stars.

A white well lies at the bottom of my life.
Lead me, my beloved, to the altar.
This fleeting moment, which rang as a song of childhood,
Is without beginning and without end.

All poems translated by Bohdan Yasen

*(Taken from the book "INVINCIBLE SPIRIT"
published by "Smoloskyp").*

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The Mitre Press, London, 1961, xxxii + 128 pp. Illustrations.
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LEV REVUTSKY, FAMOUS UKRAINIAN COMPOSER

On the thirtieth of March 1977, the well-known Ukrainian composer, Lev Revutsky, died in Kyiv at the age of 87 after a long period of illness.

Lev Revutsky was born on the 20th of February, 1889, in the village of Irzhavych, Prylutsky District, in the then Governmenschap of Poltava. With the encouragement of his mother, the young Lev first became acquainted with music at the age of five. His parents were interested in matters concerning education, literature and art, in addition both of them loved to read. Lev's father was for many years one of the directors of the Irzhavych District Primary School.

Living, as they were, in the village the family of the future composer were heavily influenced by the way of life in the country and by Ukrainian folk music. Poltava is a beautiful place filled with the haunting echoes of Ukrainian melodies. With time these melodies became the essence of Lev's works. The Revutsky family loved Ukrainian folk music and at Christmas and other religious holidays they would form themselves into a choir in which naturally the children would take part, Lev and his elder brother, Dmytro, (who was shot in 1941 by the Bolsheviks). Lev's parents were also extremely fond of classical music and his mother played the piano and his father the violin. Their greatest wish was to give their son a serious musical education but at the same time not to neglect his general education. In the end they decided to send him to a secondary school in Pryluki where his mother lived with him teaching music before entrusting this task to a finer pianist in the girls' secondary school of Yu. O. Lyakova.

In 1903 Lev went to Kyiv where he entered the fifth form of a private secondary school. He now found himself in a totally different environment, here there were the best operas, famous soloists performed, first-class orchestras and professional choirs which deeply impressed the young man with their power and grandiosity and the impeccability of their performances. The young Revutsky visited at every opportunity the numerous concerts and operas and even attended their rehearsals. All these things made a great impression on his young mind.

In 1915 he married Sophia Andreivna Pasareva, she was also well-acquainted with music, playing the piano, and was to have a great influence on him.

In Kyiv Revutsky enrolled in a musical school administered by M. Tutkovsky for piano lessons under the tuition of M. V. Lysenko. This was the year in which the entire Ukrainian community, including that outside of Ukraine was commemorating the thirty-fifth anniversary of M. V. Lysenko's career. Revutsky saw how the Ukrainian people valued the work of Lysenko and himself decided to become a composer whose work would serve the Ukrainian nation.

Lev Revutsky took lessons for a time under the auspices of Lysenko and when in 1904 the latter opened a school of music and drama he continued his studies there. This school of music and drama was the first such establishment which educated its pupils on the basis of the best musical attainments in the whole world. Apart from his piano lessons, Revutsky also attended lectures in the theory of music which were given by H. L. Lubomyrsky. In his pedagogical approach Lysenko not only imbued his pupils with a love for classical music but also stressed Ukrainian folk music.

In 1907 Levko Revutsky enrolled in the physics and mathematics department of the University of Kyiv, but in 1908 transferred to the faculty of law. At the same time he was taking piano lessons under the tuition of C. E. Korotkevych and in 1911 went onto higher courses under the guidance of H. K. Khodorovsky. The latter was an experienced teacher and the editor of a pedagogical series dealing with work for the piano. He also composed and is best known for his 'Ukrainian Rhapsody' and fourteen Ukrainian songs, arranged for the piano. Revutsky stayed with Khodorovsky until 1915 and learned much in that time. From Lysenko he had learned a specialised finger technique and afterwards had adopted the playing techniques of Korotkevych and to a greater extent those of Khodorovsky which were based on the famous Leshetetsky form.

Revutsky gained a theoretical understanding of harmony and solfaggio from the theoretician Ye. A. Ryba. Because of his talents he was awarded the highest possible marks.

From 1907, Revutsky started to devote himself more and more to a deeper understanding of music and also began to compose. This is highlighted by the persistence with which he taught himself piano works which were not included in the scope of his tuition and by his study of opera works. As a result of his systematic learning to concerts and operas, Revutsky was more and more drawn towards composition. The years 1907 to 1909 saw the appearance of his first works: romantic pieces and compositions for the piano — 'Slow Waltz' *cis-mol*, preludes *cis-mol*, Waltz in B *dur*. From 1913 he studied composition under M. Grier without, however, leaving his piano studies at Khodorovsky's. He also read a great deal, in particular the works of Shevchenko, Lesia Ukrainka, Ivan Franko and the memoirs of the great composers.

With the encouragement of his teacher Glier, a person of high

professional and cultural standing, Revutsky increased the scope of his creative work, becoming proficient in the instrumentation of counterpoint, fugues and symphonies. In 1916 he completed his studies at the conservatory in the school of composition. In the year 1916-18, he served in the army, first in Moscow then in Pryluki.

In the years 1924-41 and then from 1944 onwards, Revutsky lectured in theoretical subjects in the faculty of choral conducting at the M. Lysenko Institute of Music and Drama. In 1935 he was awarded the title of professor and in 1941 he became a doctor of the arts. From 1941 to 1944 he lectured in the composition and the history of music at the Tashkent Conservatory. Many of Revutsky's pupils are themselves now well-known composers and amongst these are V. Homoliaka, N. Dremlyuha, H. Zhukovsky, A. Kolomyec, H. Mayboroda, P. Mayboroda, V. Rozhdestvensky, A. Shvechnykyv, A. Filipenko.

Amongst the most important works by Revutsky are: a poem-cantata named 'Khustyna', with words by T. Shevchenko, two symphonies IA and IIA, two concerts for the forte piano, an interpretation of Ukrainian folk songs in the collection entitled 'Sonechko', 'Kozatsky Pisny', 'Halycky Pisny', editing and supplementing M. Lysenko's opera, 'Taras Bulba', 'Kozachok' for a symphony orchestra, music for the film 'Stepoviy Pisny', music for a mixed choir performing 'Na rikakh kruh Vavylonu', with words by Taras Shevchenko, music for a string quartet a collection of choir music based on the works of Taras Shevchenko and music for piano accompaniment of the song 'Chuyesh Braty Miy'. It is true to write that Lev Revutsky also composed hackneyed Soviet songs, probably that is the reason why he survived to die a natural death. But heedless of the very difficult circumstances created by the Russian occupation Lev Revutsky still succeeded in helping to develop Ukrainian culture.

In his musical work, Lev Revutsky devoted most of his time to adaptations of Ukrainian folk songs because these always embody the spirit of Ukraine's cultural independence. Chumak, cossack, folk, historical, religious and other songs vividly reflect the culture of our people. That is why throughout the whole of his creative life Lev Revutsky continually drew upon the folk genre. Writing about the way a composer enters or penetrates the Ukrainian song he wrote, "It is a deeply intuitive process, one in which the actual *content of the song* (our italics) plays a part as well as all the complex treads of associations it has for us right from the time of childhood, the circumstances in which we assimilated the melodies, whether they be the same or similar ones and of-course the attitude of the composer himself".

In his adaptations of Ukrainian folk songs, Lev Revutsky kept to a simple form which is the underlying feature of all folk art forms. He enhanced the picture painted by the song with piano accompan-

iments using various melisms which are distinct to Ukrainian folk songs. It is worth mentioning at this point that the great D. C. Bortnyansky in his church music composition, underlined the importance of adapting melisms, which P. Chaikovsky, while editing these works deleted and so lowered its worth and its Ukrainian distinctiveness of style.

Revutsky's prolific output contained approximately 70 songs for one voice to the accompaniment of a piano and over 30 choral opuses also to the accompaniment of piano and this bears witness to his great contribution to Ukrainian folk songs. When adopting a folk song to voice he did not change its folk character but on the contrary the accompaniment was of a diverse manner of execution usually not in unison with the voice and melody. He created new melodic traits which arose out of the melos of the given song. In most cases the composer composed accompaniments for the piano based on the variational development of songs, and the form of every variation corresponded to the particular verse of the song.

In some national songs he brought in harmonic and other unique changes in every verse, and in some songs he created such complex forms of accompaniment, that they became reminiscent of sonatas. In some songs the compositions to piano accompaniments were such that they were reminiscent of play on the bandura or lyre. In every adaption a plan of tonality and an enriching harmony flows, arising from an ordered foundation. Apart from that Revutsky used deviations into collateral tonality, although with more harmony, double harmony, chromatic majors and so on. In the composition of some songs (as for example 'A nasha khazyayechka') such accompaniments are used that could be performed on the fortepiano.

In the composition of choral works, the composer is attracted by historical, lyrical, humorous, and children's songs, by vesnianky, and other genres, in which the national melody sometimes undergoes modifications, changes voice, modulates and the song sounds either complete or partial when the tunes that make it up are studied.

It was not possible in such a short article to characterise the composition of national songs, of which there are over a hundred on which Revutsky worked, and we will limit ourselves merely to a general description. It is necessary to say that the compositions of national songs which L. Revutsky composed were very popular. They are a valuable addition to Ukrainian culture.

The most famous original compositions of Revutsky are those which he set to the words of T. Shevchenko, although he also composed music to the works of other poets. It is impossible not to mention the poem 'Khustyna' by Shevchenko, where the music sounds like lightly lyrical, deeply sad, as anger against evil spirits. This is what T. Sheffer says about the work 'Khustyna' in his own writings: "Having read the text of the poem of T. Shevchenko deeply, (Revutsky) recreated

this genial poem in music, the composer skillfully uses expressive musical means, aimed at the fullest expression of its themes, using first and foremost compositions from Ukrainian national songs. This causes the emphasis on the variational development and the melodical expression". Such high opinion about the work of Lev Revutsky have also been given by critics abroad.

Using Shevchenko's 'U peretyku khodyla' and 'Oy choho ty pochornilo' Revutsky composed the first as a dance melody and the second, he brought out "a severe, gloomy choir, a particular 'monologue' of fields, covered with kozak corpses after a raging battle", (Sheffer).

Revutsky was forced to compose works for soloist and choirs to the works of Soviet poets, but of these we shall write nothing as they have nothing to do with Ukrainian culture.

L. Revutsky also wrote another two symphonies, two concerts for the forte piano accompanied by a symphonic orchestra, preludes, he also edited the opera 'Taras Bulba' by M. Lysenko, adding an overture for a large symphony orchestra. His greatest achievement though was his compositions of Ukrainian national songs.

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Western Leaders in Defence of Ukrainian Political Prisoners
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**U.S. SENATOR QUESTIONS RUSSIAN HONOUR
IN UKRAINIAN ARRESTS**

The Kansas Republican has recently become deeply involved in the question of human rights violations in the Soviet Union. In March Sen. Dole formed a Helsinki Ethnic Advisory Council.

He chastised Soviet Communist Party leader Leonid Brezhnev for arresting four members of the Kyiv Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords, and asked him to reconsider his position on human rights.

"All four arrests appear to be an indication of the emergence in the Soviet Union of a policy of increasing harassment of Ukrainian dissidents", wrote Sen. Dole in his 3rd May letter.

Sen. Dole's letter to Brezhnev referred to the 5th February arrests of Mykola Rudenko, head of the Kyiv Group, and Oleksa Tykhy, member, and the 23rd April arrests of Mykola Matusévych and Myroslav Marynovych. "I urge you to carefully consider your government's present actions vis-a-vis your earlier commitment", wrote Sen Dole.

The full text of Sen. Dole's letter is as follows:

"I am writing to reiterate my deep concern for the well being of Mykola Rudenko and Oleksa Tykhy, members of the Ukrainian Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords who were arrested on February 5th. On April 4th, I joined twenty-seven of my colleagues in the United States Senate to protest against the arrests of these two dissident citizens whose only apparent crime was their concern for the implementation of the provisions of the Helsinki Final Act in Soviet Ukraine".

"It is now my understanding that two more members of the Ukrainian group, Mykola Matusévych and Myroslav Marynovych, were arrested on April 23rd. All four arrests appear to be an indication of the emergence in the Soviet Union of a policy of increasing harassment".

"I still want to believe that your government is interested in honouring the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. In this regard, permit me to recall your remarks at Helsinki in August, 1975".

"We assume that all countries represented at the Conference will implement the undertaking reached. As regards (to) the Soviet Union, it will act precisely in this manner".

"I urge you to carefully consider your government's present actions vis-a-vis your earlier commitment. With the Belgrade Conference only a few weeks away, I am hopeful you will act in a just manner".

**REPRESENTATIVE EDWARD KOCH INTRODUCES
RESOLUTIONS IN DEFENCE OF RUDENKO, TYKHY,
MOROZ, SHUKHEVYCH**

Urges President to Demand Soviet Compliance with Helsinki Accords

Washington, D.C. — Rep. Edward Koch introduced in the House of Representatives on Friday, August 15th 1977, three concurrent resolutions in defence of Mykola Rudenko, Oleksiy Tykhy, Valentyn Moroz and Yuriy Shukhevych, which demanded their immediate release from incarceration and emigration to the West.

In proposing the resolutions, Rep. Koch censured the Soviet Union for not complying with the Helsinki Accords, and urged the American President to make it known that the United States expects all the signatories of the Helsinki Accords to respect the provisions of that treaty.

The New York legislator introduced the resolutions at the request of members of the Ukrainian Defence Committee, which presented him with some 3,000 petitions from his constituents on behalf of Rudenko, Tykhy, Moroz and Shukhevych.

The petitions were collected by the Committee over a two-month period and handed to Rep. Koch early this month at his New York office. Present at that meeting with Rep. Koch were Askold Lozynskyy, chairman of the Ukrainian Defence Committee, a division of the New York UCCA branch, Borys Potapenko, director of the Ukrainian Information Bureau, and Ihor Dlaboha.

Rep. Koch said that the arrest and imprisonment of these four Ukrainian dissidents is in "violation of their fundamental human rights".

"None of these men has done anything except exercise rights guaranteed them by the paper constitution of the Soviet Union and by the Helsinki Agreement, which the Soviet Union signed", said Rep. Koch, who is also a candidate for Mayor of New York City. "The purpose of the three resolutions is to request the President to urge the Soviet Government to release Rudenko, Tykhy, Moroz and Shukhevych, and, to respect the human rights principle it agreed to when it signed the Helsinki Final Act. We must not rest until the Kremlin genuinely and finally carries out the provisions of that Act".

In the Rudenko-Tykhy resolution, Rep. Koch also censured the arrests of Myroslav Marynovych and Mykola Matushevych.

He said that the arrests, which occurred after President Carter's human rights policy, "appear to be part of a toughened Soviet stand on internal dissent designed to communicate Soviet displeasure with the President's position".

Rep. Koch said in the resolution that the President should urge the Soviet Government "to reverse the convictions of Rudenko and Tykhy, to release them from prison, and to allow them to leave the Soviet Union, and to release and drop all charges against the other members of the group monitoring Soviet compliance with the Helsinki Agreement".

The Moroz resolution dealt with the invitation by Harvard University to the 41-year old leading Ukrainian political prisoner to lecture at the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute during the 1977-78 academic year.

The resolution was initially introduced by Rep. Koch together with Reps. Millicent Fenwick (R-N. J) and Christopher Dodd (D-Conn.).

Citing the Helsinki Accords provision to facilitate "wider travel by their citizens for personal or professional reasons", Rep. Koch's resolution asked President Carter "to express the request of the United States Government that the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics provide Valentyn Moroz with the opportunity to accept the invitation of Harvard University for the 1977-78 academic year, in accordance with the spirit of detente".

The resolution dealing with Shukhevych said: "it is a request of the Congress that the President should express to the Government of the Soviet Union the concern of the United States Government for the serious physical condition of Yuriy Shukhevych, and should urge the Soviet Government to provide him with the medical attention he needs and to release him from prison on humanitarian grounds".

On the same day he introduced the resolutions, Rep. Koch delivered the petitions he received from the Ukrainian Defence Committee to Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, and asked him "to respond to this plea for United States support for these martyrs".

The Rudenko-Tykhy and Moroz resolutions were co-sponsored by 44 legislators each, and the Shukhevych resolution by 31 congressmen.

The three members of the Ukrainian Defence Committee along with Andriy Priatka, also visited the offices of Sen. Daniel Moynihan (D-N-Y) and Rep. James Delaney (D-N-Y) and presented them with similar petitions.

On May 16, 1977, Rep. Delaney introduced a similar resolution in defence of Rudenko, Tykhy, Moroz and Shukhevych, demanding their release from imprisonment and emigration to the West.

Ukrainian World News in Brief

UKRAINIANS IN DIASPORA

OVER 1,200 YOUTHS ATTEND SUMA RALLY

Two months of summer activities at the Ukrainian American Youth Association Camp at Ellenville, came to an end with the traditional "Zdvyh"

Over 1,200 youths representing 16 branches in the east USA, and another 12,000 guests took part in the three-day programme, which included rally, concerts, sports events and dances.

The theme of this year's rally was "Freedom for Ukraine is our Goal", and the activities were conducted in observance of the 70th anniversary of the birth of Gen. Roman Shukhevych-Taras Chuprynka, commander-in-chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), the 35th anniversary of the creation of UPA, and the 60th anniversary of the ordination of Patriarch Josyf I, primate of the "Pomisna" Ukrainian Catholic Church.

A highlight of the sports events was a foot-ball match between the SUM "Strila" team from Montreal, Que., and the SUMA "Krylati" team from Yonkers.

A special attraction of the programme was the SUMA brass band from Montreal, conducted by George Kulchycky.

The programme was concluded with a marching drill, dedicated to the fighters for Ukraine's freedom, by participants of the counsellors' camp who formed a "tryzub".*

Sunday began with early morning Divine Liturgies celebrated in the Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox faiths.

At the review immediately following the Liturgies, there were some 44 Ukrainian civic, women's, youth and fraternal organisations present, as

* The Ukrainian national emblem, which is in the form of a trident.

well as Rep. Benjamin Gilman (R-N.Y.) and State Sen. Edwyn Mason, both of whom addressed those present.

YAROSLAVA BANDERA POLITICAL REFUGEE LIVED WITH TRAGEDY

Yaroslava Bandera, wife of Stepan Bandera, assassinated Ukrainian nationalist leader, was buried at St. Nicholas Ukrainian Church, Toronto.

Mrs. Bandera, who died in her 60th year, has suffered ill health since her husband's assassination Oct. 15, 1959, in Munich, Germany.

About 2,500 mourners from Canada and the United States have paid their respects at funeral services held, according to Ukrainian customs, since Friday.

Mrs. Bandera, born Sept. 14, 1917, in Ukraine, learned early to cope with tragedy. Her father, Vasyl Oparivskyi, was killed in battle against Poland during World War I, and her mother, a school teacher, was tortured and killed during World War II.

Her brother, Lev, a member of the Ukrainian underground movement when the country declared its independence in 1941, was killed in prison by the German Gestapo.

Her brother, Lev, imprisoned at the Auschwitz concentration camp, and Stepan Bandera himself spent five years in a German concentration camp near Berlin before escaping shortly before the war ended.

Mrs. Bandera, an active member of the Ukrainian liberation movement before and during her marriage, was living in hiding in Munich with her husband, son and two daughters when Bandera was assassinated by a Russian agent.

Mrs. Bandera came to Toronto as a political refugee in 1960.

EIGHT COUNTRIES REPRESENTED AT WOMEN'S CONGRESS

Ukrainian Delegates from Great Britain, Germany, Austria, Belgium, Argentina, Brazil, the U.S.A and Canada met in Toronto's Sheraton Centre May 26-29 1977 at the Third Congress of the World Federation of Ukrainian Women's Organizations. The tone for the deliberations was set at a pre-Congress rally in Toronto's City Hall Square where hundreds of delegates, guests and onlookers listened to speeches demanding the release of Ukrainian women activists from Soviet prisons. Many interested onlookers of the noon-hour rally signed petitions to be sent to the Helsinki review conference and then visited a display at the City Hall library where protest writings, books and other materials explaining the opposition movement in Ukraine were featured. The exhibit was subsequently seen by thousands of Torontonians during the week following the Congress.

The opening ceremonies of the Congress saw the founders of the World Federation honoured by a ceramic icon in recognition of their dedicated work over the past two decades. The Congress deliberations during the three days were centered around individual sessions dealing with work of the Federation in the areas of education, fund-raising, social assistance, cultural development as well as with the internal business of the Federation.

The Congress elected the following governing body of the Federation: I. Burachynska (U.S.A.) — president, Dr. N. Pazuniak (U.S.A.) 1st vice-president, V. Buchynska (Canada) — 2nd vice-president, S. Bernadyn and V. Tsenko — secretaries, L. Diachenko — treasurer, D. Bojdunyk — financial affairs, A. Baran — organizational affairs, M. Lasowska — cultural affairs, O. Prociuk — international liaison, N. Ivaniv — social services, L. Vatsko — folk arts, M. Dolishna — educational affairs, L. Shandra — programming, S. Drabat — Soviet studies, I. Pelenska — editor "Ukrainian Woman in the World", V. Voropaj — vice-president for Europe, L. Tavrydska — vice-president for South America. President of the auditing committee — I. Kryvnyiuk. Head of the committee for the defence of political prisoners — U. Celevych. Mrs. Stefania Sawchuk of Toronto, the former president was acclaimed as Honorary president of the Federation.

The cultural highlight of the Congress was a symphony concert at the University of Toronto with the Hamilton Philharmonic Orchestra under the baton of Volodymyr Kolesnyk, a former conductor of the Kyiv State Opera who escaped from the Soviet Union in 1972. Guest soloist was the outstanding Ukrainian Canadian violinist Steven Saryk.



The Leadership of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists with great sorrow informs its Members and the Ukrainian Community that on Sunday, October 30th, 1977, following a serious illness, having obtained The Holy Sacraments, died in Munich.

**Professor
Stepan LENKAVSKY**

an outstanding member of the Ukrainian nation, a prominent Leader of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement, participant in the First Congress of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), one of the most outstanding revolutionary-nationalists and ideologists, long-time prisoner of Polish and German prisons, Chairman of the Leadership of OUN Abroad from 1959 to 1968.

The deceased was born on July 6th, 1904, in the village of Uhornyky, district of Stanyslaviv, Western Ukraine, as the only son of a Ukrainian priest.

The late Stepan Lenkavsky dedicated his whole life to the Liberation of Ukraine. From his early youth he participated in secret revolutionary activities. While studying at the Stanyslaviv Gymnasium, he became a member of an underground Ukrainian Organisation of Grammar School Students. Being a student of Philosophy at the University of Lviv, he belonged to the illegal "Association of Ukrainian Nationalist Youth". In underground publications for youth he elaborated upon nationalist ideology. At the founding Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists in Vienna, in 1929, he dealt with philosophical-idealistic principles of Ukrainian nationalism. After the above Congress in 1929 he directed the Propaganda and Information department of the Executive Board of OUN in Western Ukraine.

Arrested by the Polish occupational forces in 1931, the Deceased was sentenced to 4 years imprisonment. While in prison he wrote a "Decalogue", which was accepted as 10 Commandments by members of OUN. He was responsible for the propaganda section of OUN during 1940-41, when the preparation for the Declaration of Renewal of Ukraine's Independence, proclaimed on June 30th, 1941, were made. Towards the end of July 1941 he was arrested by the Gestapo and exiled to the concentration camp in Auschwitz, where he remained to the end of 1944.

When the second World War ended the Deceased took an active part in the works of the OUN Units Abroad. After the murder of the OUN Leader Stepan Bandera in 1959, he took up the leadership of the OUN Units Abroad and in 1963 was elected as Chairman and remained in that post until 1968. When in 1968 the IV Congress of the OUN ended, the Late Stepan Lenkavsky became member of its Leadership under the Chairmanship of Yaroslav Stetsko. Besides important functions in the Leadership of OUN, Shepan Lenkavsky was member of the Control Commission of the Yevhen Konovalts' Foundation and was co-author and editor of a book dedicated to Y. Konovalts. Throughout his life the Deceased wrote many important articles, and was helpful in the edition of many highly esteemed Ukrainian publications. By this contribution he helped to maintain the high standard of the nationalist press and for a longtime was the Chief-editor of a weekly newspaper — "The Way to Victory". From the very establishment of the "Cicero" printers, he was the Chairman of its Board of Directors.

The Late Stepan Lenkavsky was gifted with a deep natural intelligence and through continuous studious work became a person of great intellect. As much as he was uncompromising and determined in the fight with the enemies of Ukraine, to his fellow-countrymen the Deceased was always warm-hearted and full of kindness. He continuously endeavoured to consolidate all fractions of Ukrainian political life for the cause of the liberation of the Ukrainian nation.

The Ukrainian nation has lost a faithful Son and the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists a prominent member, one of the most outstanding Leaders of the Ukrainian Nationalist Movement.

The requiem Mass was served by the Ukrainian Bishop Platon Korneliak in the Ukrainian Cathedral in Munich on Friday, November 4th, at 9 a.m. The funeral was held on that same day at 2.30 p.m. in the Ukrainian section of Waldfriedhof.

May his soul rest in peace.

Leadership of Organisation of
Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN)

