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**UKRAINIAN**  
**REVIEW**



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# THE UKRAINIAN REVIEW

A Quarterly Magazine devoted to the study of Ukraine.

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*The St. Sophia Square in Kyiv where the Independence of Ukraine was proclaimed on the 22nd of January 1918.*



*Dr. Svyatomyr M. FOSTUN*

## THE GREAT ANNIVERSARY

The Revolution in the Russian Czarist empire astounded and disturbed a large section of the Ukrainian nation due to the unexpected development of events. The Russian Revolution was a spontaneous revolutionary movement which endeavoured to replace the czarist autocracy with a republican regime and which attempted to change existing social conditions. Social forces played an important role in the mood of the revolutionary masses. The peasants demanded land reform, the workers a socialist economic system in place of the capitalist system, and the end of exploitation of labour by industry. Socialist parties and their nationally conscious ideas had a significant effect on the course of the revolution in the whole empire and also in Ukraine.

In the works of Vynnychenko and of other leading socialist activists, the assertion is often made that there were few nationally conscious Ukrainians at the time of the outbreak of the Ukrainian National Revolution and it is further stated that this was one of the reasons for the failure of the revolution. However the thousands of nationally conscious soldiers, students, intelligentsia, peasants and insurgent soldiers who worked and fought for a Ukrainian state throughout the War of Liberation show that despite centuries of national oppression national consciousness remained. At the end of March 1917, during the co-operative congress, when delegate Vasylchuk ended his address with the appeal: "For a free Ukraine, for independence, for our mother tongue and native school!", he was greeted with thunderous applause from the numerous delegates. The Ukrainians of Katerynoslav demonstrated with the Ukrainian national blue and yellow flag at the "Celebration of the Revolution" on on the 13th March 1917. The revolutionary demonstrations held in Kharkiv, Poltava, and Chernihiv had a definite Ukrainian national character. The Second All-Ukrainian Soldiers' Congress, which took place from the 18th to the 23rd June 1917, attended by 2,500 delegates representing almost 1,700,000 soldiers, demanding the immediate implementation of autonomy, and the Third All-Ukrainian Congress which took place from the 2nd to the 12th November in that same year demanded **not autonomy, but the proclamation of a democratic Ukrainian republic and the complete Ukrainianisation of the army and navy.**

"The national will, the instinctive consciousness of the potentially massive revolutionary creative forces of the Ukrainian nation brought about a great enthusiasm in wide circles of Ukrainian society ...

Everywhere where there were Ukrainian forces, culturally enlightening organisations (Prosvita), libraries, reading rooms, societies, national committees and councils were established; Ukrainian books, pamphlets and newspapers were published... The cultural life in Ukraine, especially amongst the peasants and workers, started to quickly take on a national form. The co-operative weekly "Komashnya", printed in Kyiv, immediately began using the Ukrainian language again, which had been forbidden during the war, when the paper was forced to print in Russian; soon after the collapse of the old regime, the democratic paper "Nova Rada" appeared, and a little later "Robitnycha Hazeta", "Narodna Volya" (a socialist peasant paper) and then the weekly of the socialist revolutionary party — "Borot'ba", appeared..." This we read in the materials of Pavlo Khrystyuk in "The Ukrainian Revolution", p. 15.

The beginning of the Ukrainian National Revolution in 1917 was an event of great significance. It was an event which occurs once in a century. Unfortunately this moment was not utilised by the Ukrainian political activists of the time. Of course, no one denies that the Ukrainian Centralna Rada had great difficulties to overcome: it was not easy to create a state in the chaos of revolutionary reality. But **a clear and precise concept of Ukrainian statehood did not exist within the political circles of the time.** Instead they reached out to "Russian democracy" and deceived themselves with the illusion of co-operation with the new Moscow regime.

"All separatism, all detachment from the Russian revolution appeared as being absurd, senseless. What for? Where will we find more than we already have in Russia?... And as for independence, we even thought the very idea dangerous for the Revolution because it would destroy all the revolutionary forces in all of Russia" — this is what Vynnychenko and his companions thought at the time. ("The Rebirth of a Nation", vol. I, p. 43-44).

It was with such political ideas that the Ukrainian socialists took the leadership of the building of the nation into their hands. However, the nation was not satisfied with the Second Universal because it did not give clear and precise perspectives for national order.

Although the Third Universal proclaimed the Ukrainian National Republic, its initiators nevertheless still dreamed of peaceful co-existence with the Moscow regime and were concerned with the salvation of Russia: "Without separating from Russia and conserving its unity, we will firmly stand on our land to help Russia with all of our strength, so that the Russian republic becomes a federation of equal and free nations". Thus proclaimed the Third Universal of the Ukrainian Centralna Rada.

However, Lenin and the Bolshevik government were not thinking of friendly co-existence with Ukraine, but on the contrary, were intending to capture her. On the 25th December 1917, on the initiative of the Bolsheviks in Kyiv, the so-called Soviet government of Ukraine

was formed — the Central Executive Committee and the National Secretariat — which Petrograd recognised immediately. Antonov-Ovsyenko began the invasion of Ukraine. At the beginning of January 1918, the Ukrainian delegation in Brest Litovsk began official talks concerning a separate peace with the Allies which was signed on the 9th of February of that same year. In January 1918, a Bolshevik uprising began in Kyiv which the Centralna Rada could not suppress because her colonels — Bohdanivsky, Nalyvaysky and Polubotsky — were agitated by the Bolsheviks and declared themselves neutral. Symon Petlura succeeded in suppressing the uprising by attacking the Bolsheviks with the Slobidsky Black and Red haydamaky and part of the Halachiyen battalion under the command of staff captain Almazov. To end the talks with the Allies it was necessary to proclaim an independent and sovereign Ukraine which was fulfilled by the proclamation of the Fourth Universal on the 22nd January 1918.

**“From this day forth, the Ukrainian National Republic is a free, and independent sovereign state of the Ukrainian Nation”.**

The arrival of the German and Austrian armies in Ukraine did not solve the complex situation positively and, in fact, caused even more confusion because the German military regime, seeing the weakness of the Centralna Rada, developed its own policies which were often in complete opposition to the interest of the UNR, especially on the question of agrarian policy. After the change of government in April 1918, the Hetman government, as the UNR, had considerable difficulties in governing and also committed serious errors. It is true though, that in separate areas of the national economy and administration the Hetman government was better organised and more competent than the UNR, especially as regards schooling, finance, foreign politics and the administration of their own military forces. But the Hetman regime did not last for long. Its downfall was hastened by the declaration of the federation of Ukraine with Russia, which was proclaimed by the Hetman in a decree on the 14th November 1918. As a result of this proclamation an uprising arose which precipitated Hetman Skoropadsky's abdication, and on the 14th December he went into voluntary exile.

In West Ukraine, the West Ukrainian National Republic was established — which from the outset had to lead a prolonged war with the Poles — and then a year later, on the 22nd January 1919 in St. Sophia Square in Kyiv, the unification of all Ukrainian lands was triumphantly proclaimed. After this historical Act, war came with enemies on all fronts. Although the Liberation Struggle ended unsuccessfully, it laid down the foundation for further battles for the independence of Ukraine. Because no matter how the heirs of the events and activists of the Liberation Struggle of 1917-1920 will act or plan to act — whether they will idealise or condemn their political mistakes — nevertheless, **they cannot disregard the basic principles and gains of the Ukrainian National Revolution.**

This year sees the 60th anniversary of the proclamation of Ukrainian independence. **This is a highly significant historical event. Although the Ukrainian Revolution did not achieve its definitive aims, Ukrainian society was reborn — a society which has been oppressed for nearly 250 years. It also achieved the postulate of being a state and simultaneously brought Ukraine and the Ukrainian problem into the world arena, in which it is now a permanent feature.** This was correctly noted by Chief Otaman Symon Petlura when he said that: "We entered the arena of history at a time when the world did not know what Ukraine was. Nobody wanted to recognise Ukraine as an independent state, no one treated our country as a separate nation, Only through stubborn and uncompromising battle did we show the world that Ukraine exists, that her nation lives and is fighting for her rights, for her freedom and national independence..."

From the blood of the heroes of the Ukrainian National Revolution and the Liberation Struggle, the young generation again picked up the banner of the Liberation Struggle, inscribing the eternal symbols of UVO (Ukrainian Military Organisation), OUN (Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists), and UPA (Ukrainian Insurgent Army) on it. This generation continues the fight with the enemy, thrusting the slogan "We will fight for the truth" in his face.

We do not know when that joyous day will come when the Universal renewing the independence of Ukraine will be proclaimed in St. Sophia Square. But we believe it will come sooner or later, because our nation is an eternal spiritual entity, which will never die while it has its Morozes, Shukhevyches, Karavanskys, Chornovils, Sverstyukys...

Our nation lives and fights on!

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*Dr. Volodymyr KOSYK*

## WAS UKRAINE RECOGNISED BY THE ALLIES IN 1918?

A thesis which provides a generally accepted answer to this important question has not yet been supplied in any Ukrainian research work.

The members of the UNR government, notably the head of the government — V. Vynnychenko, and the general secretary of international relations, O. Shulhyn — confirmed that the Allies did recognise the Ukrainian National Republic in December 1917 — January 1918.

The Allies were understood to be composed of the founders of the Entente Cordiale — France and England. As a result of controversial statements which were in circulation at that time, O. Shulhyn published a brochure in Berne, Switzerland, in 1918. This was written in French and appeared under the title “Ukraine, Russia and the Efforts of the Entente”, and it included official documents which proved that Ukraine was recognised by the Allies.

Many Ukrainian historians and scholars of Ukrainian international relations did not accept the assurances of official Ukrainian functionaries or only accepted them with certain reservations or with doubt. It is because of this that Ukrainian authors have not provided a single answer to this question. Some assert that there was no recognition at all (Dzh. Reshetar); others limit themselves to stating that the Allies only sent their representatives to Kyiv (R. Yakemchuk); others believe that there was some form of recognition but claim that it was not clear and was somewhere between *de jure* and *de facto* (B. Halaychuk); still others think that there was *de facto* recognition of the Ukrainian government but that this did not refer to the independence of the UNR (V. Markus).

This disparity of ideas can be justified by the fact that all the documents which confirmed recognition were not available to these various authors. Today we have the opportunity to prove recognition was in fact given, through the documents which are in the archives of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and eventually through the use of Great Britain's documents. If one takes France into consideration, then the documents in her possession definitively prove this matter. The author of this article has had the opportunity to study these archives and his article is based mainly on the materials and documents that are available there.

Before we come to discuss the actual question of recognition, the general background around which this question arose needs to be described, as does France's attitude and to a certain extent England's. This description is based on the documents and materials studied.



It is important to remember that in 1917 Ukraine's entrance into the world arena occurred under very difficult circumstances, but this constitutes another matter which will not be discussed here. The French government received much information on the Ukrainian question and about the events which had taken place in Ukraine, but this information mainly originated from Russian and Polish sources and was often contradictory or simply unsympathetic.

Apart from this, the events which took place in the former czarist empire developed so quickly that there was no time to grasp their full significance in Paris (or London), and it was impossible to foresee any one event. The fastest means of communication between the French government and its diplomatic and military representatives in East Europe was by telegram. But telegrams need to be coded and decoded and this process usually took at least a day. Reports sent by courier from Kyiv, Yassy and Petrograd arrived in Paris several weeks after they were sent, by which time the situation in Ukraine had completely changed. For example, an important report about the situation in Ukraine sent by the diplomatic emissary Jean Pelisier dated the 15th September 1917, arrived in Paris only on the 19th November (and it was only given to the appropriate government members to read on the 5th December 1917!).

It is not surprising then, that the French government knew little about the existing situation and conditions. The English government was in the same predicament, which is why it proposed that a conference of the Supreme Allied Council should take place in the second half of December 1917 which was to decide their policies as regards relations with Ukraine. At this conference, which took place in Paris, Clemenceau openly stated that because nobody could foresee the events which were taking place in "Russia" and similarly because nobody knew what the existing situation was, the French government could not engage itself definitively; but he believed that Ukraine should be supported to oppose Bolshevik anarchy and to maintain a front in the East. However, if it would be difficult to maintain a front with France's help, then he suggested that Ukraine should at least be kept in the sphere of influence of the Allies so that her riches, (notably her corn) would not fall into the hands of the Russians. England though, did not regard this political line favourably.

But at this time, the head of the French military mission in Romania, Gen. Berthelot, convinced the French government that Ukraine was necessary to the Allies because she acted as a front for the Romanian underground. In the instance of a German attack on Romania, the only possible path of retreat would be through Ukraine. That was why he advised that the Ukrainian government be recognised and he proposed that Gen. Tabouis, who was then in Kyiv, be made the official Commissioner of the French Republic in Ukraine. Concerning the need to recognise the Ukrainian government, French representatives from Petrograd and Kyiv sent telegrams emphasising

that the Ukrainian government was striving for recognition, and that it demanded this as a precondition for further discussions about the financial and material aid that Ukraine would receive from the Allies.

Essential in the efforts to obtain recognition was the note sent by the Ukrainian government to the Allied governments on the 9th December 1917, in which O. Shulhyn wrote that: "... due to the absence of a central government in Russia which all the nations of the Russian federation would recognise, the general secretariat of Ukraine represents a complete and independent government". (Although O. Shulhyn stated in this note that the UNR would become part of the "Russian federation" when it was formed, at that time there was no such federation, which the Allies knew very well).

In regard to the swift occurrence of events in the East and due to the difficulty of communication, the French government entrusted French diplomatic and military representatives to act on the spot — but within the confines of their general instructions and according to the existing state of affairs. This gave the diplomats and the heads of the military missions in Russia and Romania a great deal of independence.

In the first half of December the relations between the Ukrainian government and France had an unofficial status. Under the pressure of events and taking into consideration the position of the Ukrainian government on the question of recognition, Gen. Tabouis, with the support of Gen. Berthelot and of the diplomatic representatives (of the minister) of France in Romania — de Saint-Oler — decided to deliver an official letter to the Ukrainian government on the 18th December 1917 which signified the beginning of official relations between France and the Ukrainian government.

But Gen. Tabouis was aware that this gesture did not totally appease the Ukrainians, who were waiting for diplomatic recognition. The French representatives in Yassy and Petrograd again started to pressurise the French government into speeding up recognition and to appoint a Commissioner of France to Kyiv. Finally on the 26th December 1917 the French government named Gen. Tabouis as the Commissioner of the French Republic in Ukraine.

This decision may seem to be unspecific because on the one hand the minister of foreign affairs, S. Pichon, informed diplomatic postings that "**Meeting the request expressed by different members of the ministry of foreign affairs and ministers of war and with the intention of strengthening our project as regards Ukraine, the (French) government is prepared to name a 'Commissioner of the French Republic to the General Secretariat of Ukraine' until we are able to officially recognise the new government. It has been decided to entrust this function to Gen. Tabouis . . .**"

Even though the minister of foreign affairs used the words "prepared to name" (this was only a diplomatic phrase) Gen. Foch, in the name of the head of government (Clemenceau was actual head of

government and also minister of war) allowed Gen. Berthelot, by means of telegram, to name Gen. Tabouis as the French Commissioner to Ukraine.

Gen. Berthelot immediately sent the nomination to Kyiv to Gen. Tabouis and designated him to officially and triumphally inform the Ukrainian government and to give the nomination as much publicity as possible through the Ukrainian press.

De Saint-Oler viewed this demarche from the diplomatic point of view, which is why when he informed Gen. Tabouis about his nomination, de Saint-Oler informed him to accept the title of Commissioner when he deemed it absolutely necessary, since the acceptance of this title **"carries Ukraine's recognition by France with it"** (Gen. Tabouis writes about this telegram in his memoirs).

Gen. Tabouis was aware that he could not wait for very long, because, as it was, the nomination may have already come too late. He informed ambassador Noulens in Petrograd telegraphically that as a result of his nomination he regarded himself as the French High Commissioner to Ukraine and that the French commission in Kyiv was now subordinate to him. At the same time he ordered de Saint-Oler to write an official nominational letter to the Ukrainian government. Gen. Tabouis hesitated for several more days, then on the 2nd of January 1918 he informed Paris by telegram that the situation in Kyiv was critical and that the Ukrainian government connected the question of material aid with the issue of recognition.

Finally on the 3rd of January Gen. Tabouis delivered a nominational letter in which it was said that he was named as **"the Commissioner of the French Republic to the government of the Ukrainian Republic"**. His inauguration by the Ukrainian government took place on the 4th January 1918.

On this same day, the French government accepted the decision to definitively recognise the independence of Ukraine although it did not know that Gen. Tabouis had already recognised the Ukrainian government by his demarche.

On the 5th January (1 a.m.) the French minister of foreign affairs informed the capitals of the Western Allies through his ambassadors that he had entrusted Gen. Tabouis to **"inform the Ukrainian government that the government of the French Republic is pleased to recognise it de facto as independent"**. At the same time S. Pichon entrusted the French ambassador to attempt to make the other countries of the Western Allies also recognise the Ukrainian government.

However, among all the members of the Western Allies, only the English government was sympathetic to the French proposition and charged its consul in Kyiv to fulfill the function of an English representative in Ukraine. (Picton Bagge arrived in Kyiv in mid-January and not in December as it appears in D. Doroshenko's *"The History of Ukraine"*).

On the 9th January 1918 the ministry of foreign affairs in France informed the world's largest capitals (Madrid, Lisbon, Tokyo, Peking, Athens, Washington and others) that **"the French government officially recognises the independence of Finland and Ukraine"**.

But the situation in Ukraine started to change very quickly. The following facts did not allow the development and maintenance of relations between Ukraine and the Allies:

1. Some members of the Ukrainian government, notably Vynnychenko, were not satisfied that France had delegated a commission instead of an ambassador. They were also displeased that the commissioner who was delegated was a military man and not a civilian who was familiar with and who understood Ukrainian affairs. Indeed, Gen. Tabouis was in conflict with the Ukrainian government (except for O. Shulhyn the general secretary of foreign affairs) the day after the official notification of his nomination.

2. Ukraine demanded to take part in the Brest Litovsk Peace talks due to reasons which would take too long to explain here. However this fact was cunningly used by Ukraine's enemies, notably after the first plenary session of the talks (10th January). It was said that the Ukrainian government was untrustworthy because it was betraying the Allies. This argument had a strong influence on the military circles of the Western Alliance, which had a decisive voice, because the Allies were primarily concerned with the continuation of the war and not with talks with the Germans.

3. As a result of the armistice on the Romanian front and the talks at Brest Litovsk, German pressure in Romania ceased and the danger of a German offensive vanished. Due to this, the interests of the military leaders of the Allies in Ukraine as an underground for the Romanian front diminished.

4. Ukraine was at war with Soviet Russia at that time. The representatives of the Allies did not assess the situation very accurately, not only because the Petrograd government disguised its intention by its propaganda about the battle of "Ukrainian Soviets against the Ukrainian bourgeois government" and about the existence of two Ukrainian governments (in Kharkiv and Kyiv), but also because some Ukrainians were considering talks with the Bolshevik government; at this time, the Allies regarded the Bolsheviks as an enemy on a par with the Germans.

5. Ukraine needed material aid, which France had promised to supply but had given nothing concrete as yet; because of this the strain between the Ukrainian government and Gen. Tabouis increased.

6. The French were concerned about the frequent government crises and internal changes. They most feared "pro-Austrian and pro-German elements" becoming the main force.

Already on the 12th January 1918 the representatives in Yassy informed Paris that they had entrusted Gen. Tabouis (on their own

initiative) to "postpone" the notification of the "official recognition" of Ukraine until the government crisis had passed. They of course meant the notification of the formal decision of the French government which was the topic of the telegrams sent between the 5th-9th January, and not the notification of Gen. Tabouis' nomination in which Ukraine and her government were recognised *de facto* on the 4th January 1918.

When Gen. Berthelot and the plenipotentiary — de Saint-Oler — spoke of the "government crisis", they had in mind the removal of Petlura — a sympathiser of the Allies — from the post of general secretary of war, and also the destruction of a project planned by the left wing of the Ukrainian Socialist Revolutionaries, who planned to overthrow the Centralna Rada, to arrest the members of the government and to start talks with the Bolsheviks to end the war and even eventually to transfer the rule of Ukraine to them.

The realisation of such a plan involved the removal of O. Shulhyn from the government due to his support for the Allies. Although the conspirators were arrested and there was no overthrow, Berthelot and de Saint-Oler did not change their views on the Ukrainian government. From this it evolves that the "government crisis" only served as a pretext.

In mid-January, when the Ukrainian government officially appealed for help, Gen. Tabouis replied a few days later that France would only give aid when Ukraine had established certain conditions and signed a "contract" in which those conditions would be outlined. Gen. Tabouis' conditions were very severe: if Ukraine accepted them, then the French would obtain control of Ukraine's finances, the economy, trade, foreign policy. In return for this, Gen. Tabouis promised that France would officially recognise the Ukrainian nation and would release Ukrainian money to the sum of 500 million. (The terms of the contract do not specify the currency to be used but it can be assumed that it meant the 500 million roubles which the Ukrainian government planned to release according to the law passed by the Centralna Rada on the 6th January).

Believing that France had already recognised Ukraine, the Ukrainian government was not in a hurry to accept Tabouis' conditions, the more so because the Germans had not given such harsh conditions for the Ukrainians to meet at Brest Litovsk, nor had they given such small diplomatic concessions to the Ukrainian delegation.

In reality Ukraine's recognition increased the pressure of Russian and Polish political circles on the governments of the Western Allies and on their representatives in Russia and Romania. In fact, not everyone knew of the recognition and so under the pressure of those afore mentioned circles objections were raised, notably to appease the Russians. Russian (and Polish) circles put pressure on the English and French governments and on their representatives in Petrograd and Yassy, which pressure increased even more after the



proclamation of the independence of Ukraine on the 22nd January 1918.

Noulens, de Saint-Oler and Berthelot began to formulate their sympathies for Ukraine more precisely and stated that they supported her recognition, but not her independence, because an independent Ukraine would disturb the unity of Russia; but Ukraine, as a member of the Russian federation, would be able to gather strong forces around herself from all Russian territories for war with Germany and for resistance against Bolshevism.

In Paris, the deputy socialist and former minister Albert Thomas led a strong attack against the policies of the French government. In an article in "L'Humanité" (on the 23rd January), A. Thomas sharply criticised the policy of supporting "separatism" saying that Ukraine was negotiating with the enemies of the Allies. On the whole the French press took a critical attitude to the French government's support of Ukraine.

The French government was left virtually on its own. The government of the USA confirmed in a letter (11th January) that it did not recognise any governments on "Russian" territory. The English government was indecisive, although its representative had been in Kyiv since mid-January.

After the declaration of independence of Ukraine, the French representatives in Petrograd and Yassy hoped that the situation in Kyiv would change to the advantage of the Allies, after the talks which were planned by the leader of the Masonic lodge "Moloda Ukraina" ("Young Ukraine") which had the intention of creating a government from sympathisers of the Western Allies and from "figurantes", to recall independence and to declare a federation with Russia.

But the overthrow was not successful, and the members of "Moloda Ukraina" (with the exception of the High Master) in the face of Bolshevik danger, turned fully to nationalist positions, positions in the battle for the defence of an independent Ukraine.

On the 31st January 1918, Gen. Berthelot telegraphed Paris saying that he saw no use in the Allies supporting the Ukrainian government.

After the Brest-Litovsk Peace was signed by the Central Powers (9th February) the French press and various military, political and diplomatic circles raised a movement against Ukraine saying that she had "betrayed" the Allies.

The French government found itself in a very awkward situation. To continue to support recognition of Ukraine became impossible. What was more, as a result of various contradictory assertions, the French government did not know itself if France had recognised Ukraine or not. So on the 20th February the secretary of the political section of the ministry of foreign affairs was entrusted with clarifying

this question which was to be done on the basis of given ministerial information.

The secretary prepared a separate report for the government describing the dispatches which were connected with this question. but he could not come to any clear conclusion. In his opinion the matter was somewhat "doubtful" because although there had in fact been recognition, the Ukrainian government had not been informed of it. Obviously the ministry did not know that Gen. Tabouis officially informed Ukraine of his nomination, which had taken the form of recognition, since no text showing recognition was found in the ministry for the 3rd January. However the relevant text can be found in the archives of the Ukrainian government and in Gen. Tabouis' memoirs, which describe these matters.

In his report the secretary of the political section advised that the French government should regard Ukraine's recognition by France as "not being effective".

But the head of the political section accepted the decision that it could be asserted that France did not recognise Ukraine because there was no notification of such recognition. To appease their allies, notably the Russians, (Red and White), French diplomats used the suggestion made by the head of the political section.

It has to be taken into account however that the decision to use this assertion arose from mere opportunism — to discount recognition of a country which had "betrayed", and not the actual fact of recognition.

Accepting the thesis of non-recognition, prof. Reshetar affirms: "Claiming recognition, Ukrainian functionaries forget that a separate representative sent to a newly formed nation does not in itself constitute *de facto* recognition". (*The Ukrainian Revolution*", in English, p. 100).

This affirmation does not correspond either to the actual recognition of Ukraine or to the reality of international relations.

In his text book on international law, P. Ryter says that there is no procedure which obliges any nation to recognise another, so *de facto* recognition does not come under any specific formula, but it can influence ordinary diplomatic relations, declarations, and agreements, and it can even be implicit, expressed unclearly. P. Ryter says that "Only one element is essential: that the deeds (action) from which recognition stems, express the desire to recognise. (*International Institutions*", in French, p. 124).

In the case of Ukraine, recognition stemmed not only from actions which gave the impression of the desire to recognise, but also from formal documents and the decision of the French government.

So no one can deny that the French government had the desire to recognise Ukraine, and that it actually officially recognised Ukraine

and her government. There is enough evidence to regard the recognition as being actual.

Finally Tabouis, who also desired recognition and had the authority to grant it in the name of France, used his appointment as the official representative of France as a form of recognition and wrote in his diary **"France recognised Ukraine first"**.

Later debates about this question concern military functionaries who were on the spot, and having realised the extent to which Ukrainians were dependent on recognition, wanted to get as much advantage from them as possible, tempting Ukrainians with a new formal recognition.

After the signing at Brest-Litovsk, France informed Ukraine that she did not recognise that Treaty, but she did not recall her recognition. Nor did she formally break diplomatic relations with Ukraine. Only the arrival of the Bolsheviks in Kyiv forced Tabouis and his mission to leave Ukraine.

But even the recalling of recognition and the breaking of diplomatic ties cannot deny the fact of the previous recognition. In the case of Ukraine a recall of the recognition could have happened as a result of the appropriate notification or through recognition of the second government. But at this time France did not recognise either the Lenin or the Kharkiv governments. Finally, according to international lawyers, recall only applies in the case of *de jure* recognition (L. Oppenheim).

The later conjectural and opportunistic denials do not negate recognition — in fact, the French government did not produce any document with which it denied recognition of Ukraine.

Recognition of Ukraine by England constitutes a somewhat different matter. Picton Bagge came to Kyiv between 16-17th January, that is, at the time when the English government was indecisive about its politics as regards Ukraine. So the English government did actually want to recognise the Ukrainian government. The letter which Picton Bagge delivered to the Ukrainian government in the name of his own government engaged England in that sense. So it can be asserted that England also recognised Ukraine *de facto*, although less officially than France.

The question of Ukraine's recognition in January 1918 has a great historical and political significance for the whole Ukrainian question. This is precisely why the opponents of Ukrainian statehood deny this recognition — but their arguments are at best very weak, and practically meaningless.

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Igor SHANKOVSKY, Ph.D.

# The Poetry of Courage & Anger

AN EXTRACT FROM THE BOOK BY THE ABOVE AUTHOR

"SYMONENKO — A STUDY IN SEMANTICS"

(2)

## B. SYMONENKO'S POETICS

It has already been pointed out in the previous chapters of this study that not only the inspired and bold phrases but every thought of this exciting young man were directed against any evil and abuse bestowed upon Ukrainian people by any invader. Unable to separate himself from the social and moral issues of his time in his short stories, offering allegoric reference to the reality in his fairy-tales, the young poet excelled — all of it in his poems which can be described as outright *revolutionary*. The semantic signification of words in his verse is even more apparent. At the same time the analysis of his own diary shows that Symonenko regarded himself as an ardent searcher in the realm of *new thoughts* and was committed against any sort of toadyism in literature. It would have saddened Julien Benda, the author of the notoriously famous *La Trahison des Clercs* (The Intellectuals' Betrayal), to see a poet as committed to his people as Symonenko, some thirty-five years after the initial printing of his apologia. For Symonenko placed his creativity in defence of national dignity and had the courage to write and say what others feared even to think about. One of his contemporary adherents, the poet Mykola Som, wrote in the foreword to the posthumous volume of the departed colleague:

... Having entered literature, Vasyl Symonenko, gifted with generous talent and incorruptible intellect, loudly sang his hearty song. His first volume *Tysha i Hrim* immediately caught on with the people, became a significant phenomenon in the Ukrainian poetry of recent years.

Today Symonenko is with us no more. Yet his fiery song remains, and he himself remains forever young in life and in poetry...<sup>178</sup>

Singing "a hearty song" in a totalitarian State, especially on Ukrainian soil, where a song was always favourably received, could not have lasted for long. After realising that Symonenko's poems contain truly exposing qualities, sensing hidden semantic signification over and above the normative meaning of many a word, having considered all the possibilities of allegorical interpretation — Soviet censorship did apply its proven measures, that are: refusal to print, or, distortion of poems accepted for publication. The petulant ways and means of Soviet censorship are confirmed by Symonenko in his diary. It is also well known that Symonenko's poetry was circulated, in a clandestine manner and without regard for personal safety by

<sup>178</sup> Mykola Som, "Slovo pro Vasyla Symonenka", Vasyl Symonenko, *Zemne Tyazhinnya* (Kyiv: v-vo "Molod" — 1964), p. 3.

those involved, widely in Soviet Ukraine even before<sup>179</sup> the volume *Tysya i Hrim* was signed for publication in 1962.

To analyse Symonenko's poems is not an easy task. The analyst is faced at once with serious obstacles. Even now, some fifteen years after his death, one cannot even dream about the availability of his literary heritage, about free access to his manuscripts. His biography and primary bibliography of his works are for the present only solitary cadres on the film of a short life. More so, it is impossible to conduct a serious analysis while having constantly to consider *which poem has been* and *which poem has not been* abused by censors. Especially, when after years have elapsed from the day of the poet's passing away, some Soviet "friends" keep on "bringing to public attention" and publishing in Soviet Ukrainian periodicals "newly discovered" (sic!) poems, where Symonenko, supposedly, exults in praise of Russia and Communism. A question arises, why were such poems not "discovered" while the poet was still alive? Obviously, if there indeed were such poems written by Symonenko, no censorship would ever have been needed. One thing that Symonenko was *not*, is a scoundrel. Nor did he ever, to judge on the basis of all available works, contradict himself. In one of his poems he urges Russia to *shut up*, while he converses with Ukraine, so, where do the "dithyrambes" in praise of Russia come from, several years after his death? Such falsifications complicate and at times make it impossible to arrive even at a suggestive appraisal of any poem written by Symonenko and *published* in Soviet Ukraine. For that reason I have selected to analyse and make inferences about semantic signification on the basis of the poems smuggled abroad and published in the volume *Bereh Chekan'* (The Shore of Expectations) *only*. Two chapters are being considered: "From Poetry Abused by Soviet Censorship", and "Poetry Forbidden in the U.S.S.R.". Both chapters contain only eighteen poems, a minimal percentage, if compared to the entire heritage of literary works left behind by Symonenko, but, indeed, more reliable than the works exposed to Soviet censorship. This fact was admitted and confirmed by the Soviet Ukrainian critic Ivan Svitlychny, who at the time was already being persecuted, yet, apparently, forced to contribute the article quoted below to *Visti z Ukrainy* (News from Ukraine), a Soviet propaganda newspaper written and distributed exclusively for the consumption of Ukrainians living in exile. Here is what Svitlychny wrote:

... The textological history of *many* poems by V. Symonenko as of this moment is *not ascertained and it is difficult to say, in each and every case, what was changed by the author himself, and what by the editors. There was this, and there was that.* And there are such changes that, indeed, improve the work, but there also are such, that do not bestow honour on those, who made them...<sup>180</sup>

179) Editorial, "Ukrainian Poet and Rebel: Vasyl Symonenko", *The Ukrainian Bulletin* (October, 1965), p. 87.

180) I. Svitlychny, "Vasyl Symonenko — poet anahzhovanyi narodom", *Visti z Ukrainy* No. 35/421 (August, 1966), p. 4. *Italics* by the author of this study.



It is not as important that Svitlychny, a persecuted adherent of Vasyl Symonenko, who is now serving a jail sentence for his convictions, admitted and confirmed that editorial or other "changes" took place. More important by far is the underlining of such an admission and confirmation by those who publish the propaganda newspaper by permitting this confession to be printed. Whatever the reasons, oversight, or repentance (there are such Western intellectuals who never doubt any statement made in Soviet propaganda leaflets), the statement stands. Nevertheless, I am only speculating when saying that Svitlychny was "forced" to contribute this article, for it is strange to see what he goes on to say there. First of all he attempts to "disarm" the method selected by the editor I. Koshelivets' in naming the chapters in the volume printed in exile:

... That way, from the entire chapter "Poetry Forbidden in the U.S.S.R." practically remain only three poems: "Brama" (The Gate), "Zlodyi" (The Thief), and "Nekroloh kukurudzyanomu kachanovi" (A Necrology for a Corn-cob). Poems you can say, edged. So was V. Symonenko, uncompromising, sharp, merciless. But even these poems, in spite of all their edginess, are not anti-Soviet: to criticise selected events of collective farm life does not mean to negate the collective farm system in general. And they are no more edgy than the published poem "The Prophecy of 1917" ...<sup>181</sup>

A few sentences later, as shall be proven after the next quotation, Svitlychny exaggerated, trying probably, to "please" the editors and censors in *Visti z Ukrainy*. He attempted to deny the fact that Symonenko was ever preparing a volume entitled *Bereh Chekan'*:

... And so, in his conception about an *imaginary* volume, which V. Symonenko supposedly created, yet, "it was rejected by the Soviet publishers" I. Koshelivets' builds only upon several poems. What kind of a volume can be made out of several poems? All that, naturally, is not enough to make up an entire *legend* about two Symonenkos, and such a *legend can appear verisimilar only to those, who are not in the position to verify the factual warp of the legend* ...<sup>182</sup>

In this passage Svitlychny questions the vailidity of a statement made by the editor of the volume published in exile, where the latter maintained in his foreword that there were *two* Symonenkos. One, whose poetry was abused and then officially published in twisted appearance, and the other one, whose poetry circulated in clandestine manuscripts. Svitlychny also dismisses the conception that a volume of poetry, entitled *Bereh Chekan'*, every existed as "imaginary". What is true, then, in point of fact? — Exactly the opposite to what Svitlychny states here. The "factual under warp of the legend" *can* be verified. Svitlychny, or those who presented the above quoted essay for his signature, did not take into account the fact that the Soviet press (unlike the Western press in the Soviet Union) is readily available abroad to anyone for the asking. He, or they, apparently forgot, that yearly volumes of any Soviet newspaper or periodical

<sup>181</sup>) *Ibid.*

<sup>182</sup>) I. Svitlychny, *op cit.*, p. 4. *Italics* continued by me.

can be kept legally by any private person for any period of time, not only for the maximum of three years as it is practised in the Soviet Union. I, for example, keep all of the issues of the *Literaturna Hazeta Ukraina* printed since 1956. There, in the volume for 1962, the following item appeared as a part of an editorial presentation, under the title "Let's get acquainted":

Vasyl Symonenko — a poet. Born 1935, in Poltava province. Member of the Communist Party. Graduated from the Kyivan State University named after T. H. Shevchenko. From 1960 worked on the staff of the newspaper *Molod' Cherkashchyny*. A volume of his poetry *Tysya i Hrim* was published by the State Literary Publishers of Soviet Ukraine. Now the poet has completed his second volume, entitled *Bereh Chekan'* (The Shore of Expectations).<sup>183</sup>

At this point it looks as if there is not much more to say about the entire matter. Certainly, even the *Visti z Ukrainy* will not try to convince anybody that I. Koshelivets', who lives and works in Munich, West Germany, was at the time editing *Literaturna Ukraina* in Kyiv to make up his "legend" there. Anyway, one is tempted to ask: *who are the ones that make up legends*, and what happened to the rest of the poems included by Symonenko in his *completed* volume *Bereh Chekan'* (for I do agree with I. Svitlychny's statement that no volume can be made "out of several poems")?! Why exactly these, the missing poems, not published in the Soviet Ukraine? Why do most of the newspaper items printed about Symonenko, as mentioned in the first chapter of this study, name V. Symonenko as a member of the Communist party, while the *Dictionary*, published in 1965 and very carefully listing all other writers who were ever members of the Communist party, *does not* name him as a party member? Is it true, as stated by the Polish emigré poet Josef Lobodowski in the respected monthly *Kultura* (Culture), that Symonenko was posthumously tried in a secret trial involving the very same. I. Svitlychny and the critic I. Dzyuba, that it was decided during that trial to expel Symonenko (again posthumously) from the party and that only some time later was he restored to the party ranks under pressure of those party members who refused to have anything to do with this insanity?

None of these questions shall ever be answered by Soviet authorities under the present circumstances, and it is fair to assume under any circumstances that the Soviet regime will not be able to appropriate Symonenko to its cause, no matter how expertly his poems will be falsified in the future, no matter how many monuments will be erected to his memory. No measures undertaken by the authorities there could possibly deceive anybody, either at home, or abroad.

Thus, out of the volume of poetry that seems to have disappeared, or, perhaps, by a chance of fortune, is kept hidden for the time being by one or more of the numerous Symonenko adherents, the analysis

<sup>183</sup> "Bud'mo znayomi", *Literaturna Ukraina* (December 14, 1962), p. 1. The editorial items also presented other writers there.

must be confined to the eighteen poems available out of that volume now. Two out of the eighteen were included in the quoted *second* posthumous volume printed in Soviet Ukraine. They are: "Samotnist'" (his poem was already compared to the entry Symonenko had made in his diary), and "Ya" (I).<sup>184</sup> Two more poems from the chapter "Poetry Forbidden in the U.S.S.R." were printed some three years later in the Kyivan youth magazine, squeezed in between already known short topical poems that appeared in the *first* quoted posthumous volume printed in Soviet Ukraine. They were presented under the (very revealing!) title: "Parodies, Jokes, and Fairy-Tales". They were "Balada pro zaishloho cholovika" (Ballad About a Stranger), and "Sud" (The Trial).<sup>185</sup> Above this selection, in a short introduction entitled "Zhyvi slova" (Living Words), a Candidate in Philology, one Vasyl Lysenko, maintains that still another volume, one that contains Symonenko's satirical poems, is ready for publication and will be released soon. The introduction is so short that it can be provided here in its entire form:

#### LIVING WORDS...

... Not so long ago, it seems, he was still among us — given to reverie, pensive, smiling. And yet, the literary community of Ukraine already marked the fifth anniversary from the day of his premature, tragic death — one of the most severe losses suffered during the last several years by our young poetry.

Nevertheless, the thundering sound of his powerful poetic engines is still coming to us from beyond the skyline, out of those high orbits that were destined for him by fate forever.

Today we offer a new selection of the unpublished poems by Vasyl Symonenko. There are quite a few of them left in the poet's archive, according to previous counts almost 2000 lines. These are mostly poems of the early period, written during school days, variants, and so on. But, there are also *some of the later works that for various reasons did not make the pages in his published volumes: quite often they were rejected by the poet, who was mercilessly exacting of himself.*

The selection proposed here is composed out of the unknown fairy tales, fables, and parodies by V. Symonenko, who during the last years of his life took interest in the weapons used by our satirists and humorists, contributed to *Perets'* (The Pepper) magazine, planned to *publish a small volume in the series "fellow-penmen" (in the near future this dream, not realized during the lifetime of the poet-satirist and humorist, shall be realized).*

It is not difficult to notice that even in this *genre* the poet had time to utter his ponderable, full-blooded, living words, saturated in the passion of his thoughts and desires, with high civic strivings: from the traditional beginners' fables on indifferent, animalistic topics he was passing to broader, socially important and socially significant themes. He succeeded even in this, by producing a whole series of lasting achievements, which determine his place in Soviet Ukrainian poetry for history.<sup>186</sup>

<sup>184</sup>) *Poezii*, pp. 183 and 189.

<sup>185</sup>) Vasyl Symonenko, "Parodii, zharty, baiky", *Dnipro* (March, 1969), pp. 123-125.

<sup>186</sup>) Vasyl Lysenko, "Zhyvi slova...", *Dnipro* (March, 1969), p. 123. *Italics* by the author of this study.

Needless to say, the volume referred to in the above introduction was never published in Soviet Ukraine as of this writing, some seven years after the promise was made. Some of the poems presented as "unknown" had been published before, as mentioned, in the first posthumous volume, but V. Lysenko could have made an oversight.

A few words now to clarify my own position in relation to existing critical schools before undertaking this final analysis. In the most recent years a number of prominent scholars and literary critics have voiced their discontent with the prevailing traditions in the approach to literary study. On the one hand, there is the deadbeat Western formalist approach by the so called "aesthetic purists", who have succeeded in reducing literary study to obscurantism. For some decades now, instead of examining *what* a literary work really is and what purpose it serves, the "aesthetic purists" tried to squeeze anything analysed into a narrow framework by force, a framework made up by themselves in the first place, even if it meant breaking off arms and legs. On the other hand, there is the notorious Marxist literary teraph, which assaults literature from the trenches of dialectical ambiguity while tending to use historical structuralism for camouflage. Both are totalitarian in their very nature and intolerant to the point of narcissism. The discontent continues to be voiced and is growing. Such outstanding scholars and/or literary critics as John W. Aldridge, Bernard Bergonzi, Wayne Booth, Northrop Frye, Marie-Beatrice Mesnet, Philip Thody, Geoffrey Wagner (in the Western world), and Ivan Dzyuba, Margaryta Malynov'ska, Ivan Svitlychny (in Soviet Ukraine), to name only a few, wrote and commented on the urgent need to reevaluate the theories that make up the bodies of the New Criticism and the Marxist schools, or, perhaps, retire both to the anthologies. I could not agree more, leaning toward the latter proposition.

Rejecting both the formalist and the Marxist theories in their traditional concept, I feel the need to expand the criteria of the conventional terminology as well. For the sake of some fresh air, I propose, conditionally, the following newly combined terms and divide the eighteen analysed poems into three groups: a) poetry of anger; b) psychological, deductive poetry; c) self-determinating lyrics. The last category needs some additional explanation. Symonenko shows in his lyrical poems not only his intimate world of personal experiences, he also points out his attitude towards the reality surrounding him, in other words, the poet self-determines the relationship of his own "I" to the surrounding reality. At the same time, after conditionally agreeing to accept such a sub-division, it must be denoted, that some of the analysed poems contain the elements of all three groups and some others contain the characteristics of more than one.

As an example of "poetry anger" let us consider the poem "Granitni obelisky . . ." (The Granite Obelisks . . .) marked by Symonenko only by three asterisks and first among those printed in the chapter "From the Poetry Abused by Soviet Censorship":

\*

The granite obelisks, just like medusae —  
Crawled on and on, themselves of strength bereaved.  
Here, on the graveyard of *shot down illusions*,  
There isn't any space left for the graves.

*Few billion faith* — into black soil buried,  
*Few billion fortunes* — really blown to bits . . .  
*The soul in flames, the angry mind is burning*,  
*And hatred guffaws screaming in the winds*.

If, suddenly, *their sight regained the cheated*  
If all the slaughtered could to life recur,  
Then — heaven, by the curses all grey-smitten,  
From shame and outrage would crack down for sure.

*Oh, tremble, killers; meditate, you toadies*,  
For life refuses to accept your ways.  
You hear? *Here, on the graveyard of illusions*,  
*There isn't any space left for the graves*.

*One solid gush* — *the nation is already*,  
The soil carnivores all the blood,  
For every *headsman*, every *tyrant* — ready —  
A twisted noose for hanging is begot.

All torn apart, the hounded and the slaughtered  
Arise and go, arrive to judge in grim.  
And their loud curses, frenzied with anger,  
Upon fed, mouldy souls shall fall to smother,  
And on their dandling arms the trees shall gather  
*All the apostles of deceit and crime*.<sup>187</sup>

The poem is a typical iambic pentameter, the first five stanzas are composed of four lines each and rhyme in a-b-a-b order alternating feminine and masculine rhymes; the last, sixth, stanza is composed of six lines and rhymes in a-b-a-a-a-b order.<sup>188</sup> An expressionist hyperbole is used in the second stanza ("few billion faiths", "few billion fortunes") to sharpen the acuteness of the portrayed discourse and is repeated in the fifth stanza ("nation — one solid gash", "soil

<sup>187</sup> Vasyl Symonenko, *Bereh Chekan'* (Munich: Proloh — 1965), pp. 137-138. From this point on his source will be quoted as *Bereh Chekan'*, with indication of the appropriate page number.

<sup>188</sup> In all of the translations made by the author of this study a rigid attempt to preserve the forms of originals is maintained.



carnivorates from blood"). The poem ends with a figure of speech often used by Symonenko: an *oxymoron* ("the apostles of deceit and crime").

Let me point out the individual words and phrases which contain in my opinion semantic signification and/or a key to recognition of the additional meaning provided by Symonenko himself within the context of the above poem. "The nation" equals "one solid gash". "Ready-made, twisted noose" equals "the verdict". "The apostles" (as in the case of "the Jesuits" and "the Roman and Greek priests" from the poem "Roses in Mourning") equal "the leaders representing the regime". The *anger* is voiced by such metaphors and comparisons as "the graveyard of shot down illusions", "soil in flames", "angry mind", "heaven grey-smitten by curses". Symonenko exclaims, that "a noose" is already awaiting *every* "headsman" and "tyrant" for their crime against "the nation" which is "one solid gash". There can be no doubt that under "the nation" the poet had in mind the Ukrainian people and this contention was understood well by Soviet censorship. So, in order to dim the semantics of this poem, a title was added to the version printed in Soviet Ukraine: "The Prophecy of 1917" (any suspicion that Symonenko might have named the poem himself is refuted by the documents presented in the volume *Bereh Chekan'*), while some veteran censor wrote two additional lines to the poem:

... So truth and love shall win the world over,  
To guard the truth — the labour shall arise.<sup>189</sup>

For the critic Ivan Svitlychny, or for those who ordered him to maintain the probability of the added title and the two extra lines (there was such an attempt made in the discussed article by I. Svitlychny in *Visti z Ukrainy*), it will be difficult to convince the reader that there were "two different variants of this poem" in Symonenko's files. If there were — they surely did not resemble the one prepared by Soviet censorship. The poet, who exclaimed so much anger while portraying the realities the collective farmers and workers had to face in Soviet Ukraine, who in his diary compared Marxism to religion, could not have written, under the circumstances, that "labour" shall "arise to guard the truth", having selected for the "prophecy" a year some eighteen years prior to his own birth. Symonenko was a contemporary poet and wrote about contemporary outrages committed against his people. The consistent contemporaneity of his topics is admitted and often even underlined by Soviet Ukrainian critics. A German analyst goes even further, he comments:

... A passionate, well — simply revolutionary — hate blazes out of every Symonenko poem, he whips by them, with curse and irony, the exploitation and debasement bestowed by the Bolshevik regime...<sup>190</sup>

<sup>189</sup>) Vasyl Symonenko, *Zemne tyazhinnya* (Kyiv: v-vo "Molod' — 1964), p. 15.

<sup>190</sup>) Wolfgang Strauss, "Der Fall Symonenko 1935-1938", *Ukraine in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart* No. 32 (1965), p. 107. Reprint from *Rheinischer Merkur* No. 20 (15 May 1965).

Another example of poetry of anger is "Zlodii" (The Thief), first in the chapter "Poetry Forbidden in the U.S.S.R.":

### THE THIEF

Caught was an oldster, he, somehow was nailed flat,  
 They brought that oldster *to the village Soviet*,  
 They chid and lectured to him so about it:  
 — Won't you, oldster, ashamed now feel?  
 Out of the fields your own crops to steal?  
 Who did you steal from? Your own you pilfered.  
 Shame on you, stealing your toil, you! —  
 Oldster his sinciput shyly carded  
 And on a stipe he chewed.  
 Oldster's eyelids were swollen, shivering.  
 So hard to stare into eyes of shame,  
 Hard for him, with plain domestic day-dreaming,  
 All, of this age, paradoxes to tame.  
 — That's so, into his fist he kept on coughing —  
 Stealing is bad . . . Yet, here what is worse:  
 — Tear yourself loose, from my throat fly screaming,  
 My disobedient verse!  
 Why is he a thief? What is the matter?  
 Why did he go to steal his own sweat?  
 A bundle like that would fit my back better —  
 Feelings of guilt into my heart spat . . .  
 Now I should kill him with scorn, for the merits.  
 Yet, in my chest grows a violent tide:  
 Who robbed him, who plucked off this oldster's spirit?  
 Who had the hands of his keen conscience tied?  
 Where are they all — *the dull, the fat-living,*  
*The tongue-tied demagogues and liars, where,*  
 Who bent the backbone of oldster's believing,  
 While climbing to power and to high chairs?  
*They should be tried, and judged, and imprisoned,*  
*Them to the dungeon for the brigandage!*  
 Not enough evidence? Evidence is here,  
 Bundles of robbed *expectations and faith*.<sup>191</sup>

Again Symonenko calls for a trial against the "all-mighty", who climbed up to "power and high chairs". Who are they and how did they do it? They are "the dull", the fat-living", "the tongue-tied demagogues and liars" and they bear remarkable likeness to "the apostles" of the previous poem. They did it by "robbing the oldster's faith" in a better tomorrow by giving it to themselves today, while the oldster must go on stealing his supposedly own crops; in order

<sup>191</sup>) Bereh chekan', pp. 151-152.

to survive. These are angry words. Symonenko even seems to be annoyed by his own disenchantment with the Soviet version of Communist ideology. This is *not* what Svitlychny describes as "to criticise selected events of collective farm life". In the previous poem "billions of faiths were buried in black soil"; here — "bundles of expectations and faiths were robbed". To lose *faith* a given person first of all must have *believed* at one time or another. When such a person loses faith through somebody else's fault — he, or she, gets angry. If that person happens to be a poet — *poetry of anger* is born.

It is an accepted notion, and not only in humanities, that poets get ahead of exact sciences as far as discovery is concerned. When the semantic value of a well selected word and the rhythmic dynamics of the verses allow us to sense what the poet is trying to portray, the picturesqueness, the inventive spirit in ways of expression, the metaphoric insight of the poet allow us not only to sense but also to react to a felicitous poetical phrase more appropriately. At the same time, the poet is facing a much more difficult assignment when he tries to evoke aesthetic feelings by means of semantic signification rather than using conventional speech and the technical tricks or the so-called *otstranenie* (estrangement) method. This point is well taken by the Soviet Russian Member of the Academy V. V. Vinogradov, who in his deliberation about the individuality of style says:

... This is a very important problem, but interpreted and solved in different ways by the Marxist and by the idealistic aestheticians. In reality, here arises the problem of all the accordances, co-relations, and differences in the author's biography, in his literary individuality, socio-historical individuality, and — "the portrait of the author" within the system of his creative literary works. The whole row of topics and questions arising within this cycle calls for philosophical, cultural-historical, and aesthetic-stylistic in-depth research...

... Anti-historism in approaching the category of individual style and the tendencies of its historical development to a narrow, very limited evaluation of the possibilities offered by the research within the realm of style as of a unique, intrinsically joined, individually integral system of means and properties of the oral-artistic expression and portrayal. "The fact, that a given literary work is valued by its own merits and not a part of a whole, and only as an example of its intrinsic characteristics, and only by necessity inserted within the row of all other literary works by a given author, is, indeed, the substance in research of the individual style..."<sup>192</sup>

Such contentions, made by the leading Soviet Russian linguist and literary theoretician, support my own observation made initially in the first chapter of this study, that Symonenko was aware of the experience accumulated by his literary predecessors throughout the modern history of Ukraine. It was exactly on the basis of a cultural-historical background (a tragic experience for the Ukrainian people) that Symonenko did develop his conception of life. Poetry of anger

<sup>192</sup> V. V. Vinogradov, *Problema avtorstva i teorii stili* (Moscow: izd. "Khudozhestvennaya literatura" — 1961), p. 195. The final thought in the above passage is quoted by Vinogradov from: W. Kayser, *Das sprachliche Kunstwerk* (Bern — 1956), p. 283.

has to depend upon reality, else the anger might seem to be groundless and therefore irrational.

How deep Symonenko's love for his native land really is can be seen from the following poem, where anger is interwoven with self-determinating lyrics:

\*                      \*  
                                 \*

Lost in contemplation, I'm inspired —  
By your *blue and anxious* orbs, like dawn.  
Out of them red *thunderbolts* strike fire —  
*Revolutions, riots, risings* — down.

Oh, Ukraine! *My paragon of wonder!*  
As the years continue to expire,  
I shall always, *mother*, proud and tender,  
You, oh, my miraculous, admire.

For your sake — *the pearls in souls I drill* and  
For your sake I *think, create anew.*  
*Russias and Americas* — *be quiet,*  
*For the time that I converse with you.*

Disappear, you all unfriendly, wily!  
Wait for me, my friends, I'll come along!  
Sacred filial rights I have: a while —  
To be left with mother all alone.

Seldom, mother, I remember even  
You, the days are all too short and square.  
Not all devils live by now in heaven,  
Plenty of them trot here on the earth.

See, I'm *fighting with them every hour*  
Hear — the battle's everlasting roar!  
How can I without my true friends flower,  
All their minds, eyes, hands — with me no more?

Oh, Ukraine, *you are my very prayer,*  
*And you are eternal my despair . . .*  
*Roars over the world like mad fire*  
*Struggle for your rights, your life to spare.*

Let the purple clouds continue burning,  
Let the insults hiss, regardless, all —  
Into *droplet* of my own blood turning  
On your *sacred banner* I shall fall.<sup>193</sup>

\*                      \*  
                                 \*

This poem is composed with a trochee pentameter preserved throughout all eight stanzas. Rhymes in a-b-a-b order. Semantic signification is concentrated primarily upon two concepts: *Ukraine* and *history*. The first concept is evident in the following words and phrases: "paragon of wonder", "mother", "prayer", "eternal despair". The latter is mirrored in: "orbs" (out of which red thunderbolts of revolutions, riots, and risings strike fire, for *such* is the *history* of Ukraine), "dawn" (the "orbs" are like a "dawn", pointing out that Ukrainian history is relatively young), "struggle" and "battle" (for the same reason that "orbs"). Symonenko orders Russia and America to "be quiet" while he talks to Ukraine. In the first line of the following stanza he provides the reason why, by identifying both as "unfriendly and wily" and, again, orders both to "disappear". By doing so Symonenko self-determines his relationship to both superpowers.

In the version of this poem printed in the Soviet Ukraine the third, fifth, sixth, and seventh stanzas were omitted altogether, for obvious reasons. It does not really matter how many versions there were in Symonenko's file, I. Svitlychny had admitted that the one provided above did exist, and that *does* matter, for it is exactly how it appeared in the chapter "From the Poetry Abused by Soviet Censorship". This poem is perhaps one of the most intensely charged with Symonenko's love for his native land. For the sake of Ukraine the poet "drills pearls in souls, thinks and creates", even "fights devils every hour", that is, takes part in the "struggle for her rights and her very life". This lyrical self-determination is so sacred for Symonenko that he is ready to fall with his own "droplet of blood" upon her "sacred banner". To write like this one really has to love and cherish his native land. The poet's feelings are passed to excite and involve, even an indifferent reader and that can only happen when the feelings are sincere.

A laboratory analyst would be helpless in trying to find meaning in the case stated above; he would simply reject the issues as irrelevant. Being a victim of his trade, he would choose to involve himself with the mechanical task of establishing the way by which the poet said all that he had to say — he would disregard the question: *what did the poet say?* Moral, political, personal, generally humane views of the poet, conditions under which the literary works were written — do not matter. A laboratory analyst does not really care what it is that he analyses. It could be a dog, a guinea pig, or a literary text; he is concerned with classification and not with revelation of his subject matter.

Symonenko does not classify his subject matter, he simply unveils events by charging ordinary words with semantic signification to the point that they become symbols. In his poem "Brama" (The Gate) he shows the historical perspective of the oppression: This poem is printed overleaf:

## THE GATE

Sombre gate, in wild, unknown forestalling,  
Muses in delirious unease,  
There just scroops and scroops protective railing  
And the *warders* jingle with their keys.

Armed with *bloody swords* the *apparitions*,  
In their cloaks as bleak as starless night,  
Play a game with odd-shaped balls of tissue,  
Heads, heads off the shoulders slashed, all right.

Blood keeps flowing to phlegmatic walls, where  
All the wails freeze on the lips in turn,  
*A few hundred years of shame and torture*  
All the dead in graves do overturn.

Yet, the city doesn't see in night's gloom  
How the *guards, without the swords these days*,  
To the walls throw down *another victim*  
With a dirty rag across his eyes.<sup>194</sup>

How many hag-ridden reminiscences such lines must evoke in all the surviving political convicts and/or in the families of those, who never came back from Soviet jails and concentration camps, what horriification in the unexperienced. The use of trochee pentameter here is also very much to the point and creates almost neo-classic severity. Semantic signification concentrated upon the term "storazha" (translated in the first stanza as "warders" and in the fourth stanza as "guards". The term is broadened to indicate a "few hundreds years" of Muscovite "shame and torture" bestowed upon Ukraine. The expression "without the swords these days" suggests that the historical "warders" (now "apparitions"), who used to wear swords, are, perhaps coming back to live again wearing more modern weapons, for there goes "another victim" thrown down to the walls with "a dirty rag across his eyes". This is why this poem still is and shall continue to be banned in the Soviet Ukraine, to re-name it with something like "The Prophecy of 1917" becomes impossible namely because of the last stanza.

Symonenko kept on expanding the poetry of anger until it was anger reaching revolutionary proportions. In the poem "Kurds'komu bratovi" (To my Kurd Brother) he sounds like Prometheus who is about to break his chains:

194) *Bereh Chekan'* p. 156.

## TO MY KURD BROTHERS

Struggle — you shall win!  
T. Shevchenko

Blood covered mountains crying out by calling,  
In downfall — injured stars the distance cross,  
Into rich valleys, wounded and appalled,  
The *chauvinism* strikes down its hungry claws.

Oh, Kurd, guard carefully your deadly bullets,  
But lives of killers — do not spare at all!  
Upon high-handed, brigandaging *bullies*  
With bloody wind-spot, striking storm, do fall!

With *bullets* talk to them for your advantage,  
They didn't only come to steal your goods:  
*They came to take away your name and language,*  
To make *your son a bastard without roots.*

You can't live with oppressor in compliance:  
His aim — to rule; for you — to pull the cart!  
Got fat on blood of peoples, hurt and pliant,  
The *chauvinism*, worst foe right from the start.

He wed the treachery to base dishonour,  
He shall do all that you yield, to win . . .  
Oh, Kurd, do guard your every bullet on, or —  
Without that you shall not preserve your kin.

Do not rock down to sleep your hatred's power.  
You'll add then cordiality to your list  
When *gaping grave* forever does devour  
The last, upon this planet, *chauvinist*.<sup>195</sup>

No other contemporary could split word into atoms like Symonenko. "Chauvinists" for him are "baistryuky" (bastards, translated as "bullies" in the second stanza of this iambic pentameter), at the same time "baistryuk" (bastard) would become a "son" conceived from a relationship with a "chauvinist". The relation of the term "bastard", as applied to "chauvinist" and "son" at the same time, implies that the "son" would thus become a *traitor*. "Nation" — means "kin"; "gaping" — means "ready-made"; "talking" — means "shooting". Fortunately, the poet does not try very much to hide his ideas and my own interests in a literary work are in direct opposition to those of the laboratory analyst. It does matter to me *what* a poet is trying to say; in the above poem he calls for armed resistance to *chauvinism* and since Russian chauvinism has taken *massive* proportions in Soviet Ukraine there can be no question as to what, while addressing his brother Kurd, the poet is actually saying. It was already pointed

195) Bereh Chekan', pp. 159-160.

out during the analysis of the first fairy-tales that the citation from T. Shevchenko's poem "Kavkaz" (The Caucasus) provides a sort of guiding light. There is also a common motive between that fairy-tale and the poem. In the fairy-tale "tsar Lachrymal" weds his daughter "lady Languor" to his subordinate, the "insidious snake, captain Macaco", while in the poem *worst foe* "chauvinism" weds "treachery" to "dishonour". Without armed resistance no "kin", "name", or "language" can be preserved. The most recent "solution" to the "Kurds' question" points out that Symonenko was right on target. The analogy he drew between the Kurds and the fate of his own people, now that intensified Russification in the Soviet Ukraine is at its peak, is valid even more today.

Symonenko was a realist without any conjectures or disfigurations. Desire to grasp the truth was forever haunting him. His youth, saturated with exceptional wisdom, urged him to reject human weakness; he fought against it until he breathed his last. His was an amazing courage, considering that he knew about his incurable disease. Quite often he would address himself with a whole chain of rhetorical questions, answer himself, air his doubts and confirm again and again his own position. For example; let's take the following poem:

\*                      \*  
\*

By thousands run the roads, a million pathways run in,  
By thousands lie the fields, but *only one is mine*.  
And what am I to do, when only minor reaping  
Was destined for me on my non-abundant plain?

My sickle I should dump, go on to be a fritter,  
Or should I curse my fate that harvest failed to bunch  
*And hire myself out to neighbours in a jitter*  
*To get a pair of sandals, a crackling for my lunch?*

If I could just forget about my squalid parcel,  
*For this poor plot of land I could get everything . . .*  
*Indeed, they say of those, who toady's sandals fit well,*  
*Who put them on — the stubble doesn't sting.*

Yet, now I must go on to native plot barefooted,  
Keep torturing myself, with lazy sickle fight,  
And from exhaustion fall down to the crops uprooted,  
And sleep embracing my own sheaf all night.

*Because this land is mine! Here I shall harvest always,*  
*Because no better crops are anywhere to find,*  
*Because all thousand roads and million narrow pathways*  
*To me paternal land return and bind.*<sup>196</sup>

<sup>196</sup> Bereh Chekan', p. 148.



This time the poem is composed, somewhat amiss, by an iambic hexameter (last lines in the three final stanzas are iambic pentameter), rhyming a-b-a-b. Here, Symonenko arrives at self-determination through psychological deduction. By asking and answering himself rhetorical questions he comes to a conclusion that "his paternal plot of land", no matter how poor, is best for him and that he is to stay there. "Toady's sandals" Symonenko refuses to put on, even when "the stubble does not sting" those who wear them. The psychological deduction is simple: all roads do not lead to Rome, be it even the "third Rome"; they always bring you home. In other words, do not sell out your native land, for nothing can replace it. Simple, but truly great poetry can only be achieved by the greatest simplicity.

This poem, censored, was first printed in *Zmina* (August, 1964) and later, distorted as well (the third stanza was completely omitted), in the second posthumous volume *Poezii*. In both publications the omitted stanza was indicated by a single line of dots.

Similar devotion and attachment to his native land can be felt in the poem which takes Symonenko into a nostalgic refuge of his by-gone childhood:

Carry me, my happy feelings, on your speedy wings,  
Where the sunny rill is beaming by the hills and things.  
Where the houses stand in dresses, white and newly clad,  
Native house, clear and clean, that hops by windows had.  
Where young girls, who muse on happy, walk to cooling wells,  
Where, like silk, green pastures flourish, by a corn-field swell.  
Where myself, a pinkish wonder, with a twig in hand,  
Grabs a mad and hollow gander, grabs me where I stand.  
Bless me, here, my good old fortune, stubborn, squeamish-louder —  
*On this land to live my life also die round here.*<sup>197</sup>

This trochee heptameter rhymes with masculine endings made by an aa-bb-cc-dd-ee pattern.

To end this presentation of Symonenko's poems in translation, as well as my analysis, I have selected a poem representing what was earlier conditionally described as his psychological, deductive poetry. The poem carries a deliberately long title "Nokroloh kukurudzyanomu kachanovi, shcho zahynuv na zahotpunktii" (see the title in translation). In it, by the means of personification and expressionist hyperbole (note, that the importance devoted to a corn-cob alone is expressionist), Symonenko creates a symbol:

<sup>197</sup>) *Bereh Chekan'*, p. 163.

# NECROLOGY FOR A CORN-COB WHICH DIED AT THE PROVISIONARY STOCK CENTRE

No moaning can be heard. The orchestras are rusting.  
Orators from their screams — all hoarse and worn.  
It is no leader, nor *maestro* resting —  
Here, in a casket, lies a cob of corn.

*A casket made of crassitude, in want of talent*  
*Upholstered*, followed by my trend of thoughts:  
Whom to bewail? Whom should I bring to trial?  
Out of whose heart should I knock off the bolts?

Whom should I shake by buttonholes and spirit?  
Whom should I curse for this incongruous death?  
The corn-cob died and I must scream and bear it,  
Filled up with sorrow and despite to fret.

Oh, my corn-cob, why was by rot your dying?  
Oh, my corn-cob, what sin did you commit?  
Oh, my corn-cob, now in your grave are lying  
*The human labour, bounties of the seeds.*

*The sleepless nights, the days forever restless,*  
*Sweat, calluses, the fiery thoughts in vain —*  
*They all lay down beside you in the casket*  
And go on rotting under swollen rain . . .

*Be cursed forever, you, deceiving plotters,*  
*No matter what darn titles you have worn!*  
You go on bringing *human hopes* to slaughter  
Just like you killed a simple cob of corn.<sup>198</sup>

Written in iambic pentameters (this time first lines in the initial two stanzas are amiss, they represent iambic hexameters) this poem rhymes in a-b-a-b pattern, as usual. If one would take only the literal, even grotesque, interpretation, then, there would be no need for this poem to remain on the "forbidden" list in the U.S.S.R. The fact, that this poem continues to be blacklisted, indicates that the "corn-cob" represents something much greater than its literal meaning. Let us take into consideration, exactly *what* was it that died and lies next to the "corn-cob" in the casket? Lying there are: "sleepless nights", "calluses", "restless days", "sweat", "fiery thoughts", "human labour", "bounties of the seeds". Such, vast, hyperbolic overcrowding in the casket is rather far removed from interpreting "death of the corn-cob" as being grotesque; nothing *funny* can be found in any of the conceptions placed along with the corn-cob into the casket.

198) *Bereh Chekan'*, pp. 153-154.

A moment's thought, while examining the reason responsible for such an odd and bewildering predicament, brings forward a deduction that *all* of these conceptions, semantically, have some sort of a connection either to *human labour* (already in the casket): "sweat", "restless days"; and/or to *human hope* (still outside the casket): "sleepless nights", "fiery thoughts", "bounties of the seeds". In the last stanza there is a direct statement, that "human hopes" are soon to join all these other conceptions in the casket for they are "being brought to slaughter". Who had "human labour" laid to rest and is now trying to do the same with "human hopes"? Symonenko provides an answer to his own rhetorical questions about that: receiving plotters, who are wearing titles" he cursed them. And who, may I ask, is there or ever was in the U.S.S.R., "wearing titles"? I leave the answer to that entirely with the reader.

This psychological deduction was deliberately made easy to figure out, especially for those who are being cursed out in anger and despair by the narrator, and this is exactly why this poem was and still is on the blacklist. Symonenko, a thoughtful poet, could not have applied grotesque meaning (it may seem that he did, if the poem is taken literally) to tears, labour, calluses, sweat, and hopes — they all are serious conceptions — to make fun of these entities one would have to be a loathsome scoundrel. I must remind the reader at this point that Symonenko came out of the countryside, and in Ukraine, at least in the rural areas, such conceptions as "labour" and "hope" were always held to be sacred. Thus, all these, seemingly strange gravefellows, lying and rotting next to the corn-cob, are there to symbolize failure of the Soviet agricultural system. "Rusting orchestras" and "hoarse, worn orators" only underline the failure (they are instantly present on any Soviet public scenario). The convicted Ukrainian dissident Mykhailo Horyn, addressing the closed court session of the Lviv Regional Court on April 16, 1966 with his last words, where he had categorically denied the charges of "Ukrainian nationalism" stating that, among others, he was "brought up on the works of Dobrolyubov, Herzen, and Ogarev", had, nevertheless, this to say about the Soviet agricultural system:

... Yes, I considered that the solution of the economic and legal problems of the *kholkhoz* (collective farm) peasantry is being delayed. The press made a lot of noise about the prosperity of *kholkhoz* members while they were receiving only grains and kopecks for a working day. That became the reason for mass pilfering in the villages. The situation was still further complicated by the fact that a *kholkhoz* member was not allowed to leave the *kholkhoz* without a certificate from the chairman of the village Soviet and from the *kholkhoz* chairman. Having no passport, being dependent on the village administration, the peasant was morally depressed. All declarations about substantial changes in agriculture remained statements only...<sup>199</sup>

<sup>199</sup> Vyacheslav Chornovil, *The Chornovil Papers* (Toronto: McGraw — Hill — 1968), p. 107.

Having evaluated the contexts of all eighteen poems making up the two aforementioned chapters in *Bereh Chekan*, I must arrive at the following conclusions: a) Symonenko's poetry is dedicated to Ukraine and to her people; b) Symonenko's poetry presents a bold, loud protest against the infringements upon legality, constitutionally guaranteed rights, and upon the very socialist mode of life (all directed and supervised from Moscow) in Soviet Ukraine.

Ukrainian people felt deeply, understood, and absorbed the words of Vasyl Symonenko. Under the pressure of his followers the Publishers "Molod" (Youth) proposed his works (volumes *Tysha i Hrim*, *Zemne Tyazhinnya*, and fairy-tale *Podorozh v Krainu Navpaky*) for the T. H. Shevchenko literary prize, in January 1965. The posthumous candidacy of the poet was supported by the Ukrainian *komsomol* (Communist Youth), the Ukrainian Writers Union, and by the editors of *Zmina* magazine. The announcement was printed in *Literaturna Ukraina* (8th January 1965) on page one. Many readers responded with approval, here are the voices of some:

... Vasyl Symonenko — one of the candidates for the Shevchenko prize. He is one of the most worthy among candidates because his short but constructive life, small, yet significant contribution, continued and developed within contemporary Ukrainian poetry its best humanist traditions. The poet managed to give all his strength, all his talent, and all his vigour, every drop of it, to his native people...<sup>200</sup>

... The fairy-tale by Vasyl Symonenko "Podorozh v Krainu Navpaky", as well as his volumes *Tysha i Hrim* and *Zemne Tyazhinnya* are proposed for the T. H. Shevchenko prize in 1965. It seems to us that the fairy-tale deserves this distinction. And so do the volumes *Tysha i Hrim* and *Zemne Tyazhinnya*...<sup>201</sup>

Many feelings and thoughts bring out this small volume. You have closed it. You see a familiar name: Vasyl Symonenko... And you continue with his thought:

"No, not enough, yourself great to imagine,  
Great in life you must be".

He did not imagine himself great. He became a wonderful poet of our age, this modest young man, who would have been only thirty years old this year...<sup>202</sup>

... Not a small treasure was passed on to his contemporary by Vasyl Symonenko. His book is saturated with philosophical penetration of life, freshness of thematics...<sup>203</sup>

... I am looking at the portrait of Vasyl Symonenko, which was published in his poetical volume *Zemne Tyazhinnya*. Familiar outlines of the face. Musing eyes... Half-opened lips... It seems, any moment he will begin to speak, speak to him, to you, to me — his adherent, friend, contemporary countryman:

200) Leonid Koronevych, "Holosom Tarasa", *Molod' Ukrainy* (21 February 1965), p. 1.

201) Vadym Skomorovs'ky, "Nadzvychaina mandrivka", *Literaturna Ukraina* (5 February 1965), p. 3.

202) Mykhailo Taranav'sky, "Treba velykomu but'", *Literaturna Ukraina* (2 March 1965), p. 2.

203) Leonid Khodzits'ky, "Samobutna poeziya", *Literaturna Ukraina* (2 March 1965), p. 2.

Today — everything is for you —  
The lakes, the forests, the steppes.  
And speed with your life is needed,  
And rush to your love is needed —  
Do not fall asleep !...<sup>204</sup>

Symonenko's followers did not succeed in their efforts and support. The T. H. Shevchenko literary prize for 1965 was granted to Mykola Bazhan for his long poem *Polit kriz' buryu*<sup>206</sup> (Flight Through a Storm).

There is not much more to say, at this time, about Vasyl Symonenko and his work. Time will come and, perhaps, the entire archive (holding the whole complicated and guarded "case" of his life, encounters, and his unknown and/or forbidden works in their entirety) shall become available for in-depth studies.

Within this, limited, study I have tried first of all to keep up with the subject matter. Wherever any controversy appeared — I have always stated my own rights for subjective opinion, while, at the same time, pointing out and underlining *other* possibilities for interpreting the analysed text. The very term *semantics* is already *subjective* by its very nature; people understand and interpret any matter according to their particular environment and conceptions of life. For example, let us take the term *labour* (so often handled by Symonenko) and it will become apparent at once what a different description and explanation for the term would be offered by a *carpenter* and a *butcher*. It happens to be like that with every other term (with some terms and conceptions the difference is less obvious); all depends upon *who* is receiving and interpreting. I am making this comment because this simple and obvious fact often escapes us.

It is obvious then, that the possibility of multiple views and interpretations of semantic values in Symonenko's poetry proves the fact that words and phrases there are often charged with additional meaning.

To prove exactly that was the main purpose of this study.

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<sup>204</sup> Stanislav Shumyts'kyi, "Ostrovny", *Literaturna Ukraina* (23 February 1965), p. 3.

<sup>205</sup> "Povidomlennya", *Literaturna Ukraina* (9 March 1965), p. 1.

## THE RUDEHKO-TYKHY TRIAL

### The trial of Rudenko and Tykhy takes place in Total Secrecy

The trial of Rudenko and Tykhy began on the 23rd June 1977, their families were informed about the date of the trial only on the 27th June, when they received summonses to appear as witnesses in the court of Druzhkivka, a town in the Konstaniynivska region in the Donetsk province of Ukraine, at 10 a.m. the next day. Rudenko's and Tykhy's relatives came a day earlier than was specified in the summonses, on the 27th June.

The chairman of the People's Court in Druzhkivka — Mykola Olekseyevych Ladyzhsky — said that the trial of Tykhy and Rudenko would take place in another building, but he refused to say exactly where, justifying this by saying that the summonses were for the 28th June, not the 27th.

"Come tomorrow at 10 o'clock" he said, "and I will give you the address of the place where the trial is taking place".

The relatives then started asking people in the town if they knew where the trial was taking place. It transpired that people did know and the address was obtained. The trial took place in the building of "Smeshtorg" ("Mixed Trade Building").

When they came to these premises, they saw that the placard which showed that this was the "Smeshtorg" building had been taken down. Only a trace of where it had hung remained on the wall. The entire two-storey building was guarded by two militia cars, several militia men, and about twenty men in civilian dress.

Rudenko's wife tried to enter the building, but as she approached, six guards in civilian dress arranged themselves in front of a door, on which she glimpsed a sign which read "The Red Corner". She asked to be let into the room but was rudely refused and the men started to shove her out of the corridor. She then asked if they would

\* *Mykola Danylovych Rudenko*: born 19. 12. 1920; a graduate of the philological faculty at Kyiv University; a writer and philosopher; married; a member of the Kyiv Amnesty International Group and the head of the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords, for which he was arrested on the 5th February 1977 in Kyiv. He was sentenced on the 1st July 1977 under Article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR, to 7 years of imprisonment and 5 years exile. Rudenko is a war invalid and is gravely ill.

\* *Oleksiy Ivanovych Tykhy*: born 31. 1. 1927; a pedagogics post-graduate; principal of a middle school; first arrested in 1957 and sentenced to 7 years imprisonment for his endeavours to increase the number of Ukrainian speaking schools in Donbas. He was again arrested on the 4th February and sentenced on the 1st July 1977 to 10 years of imprisonment and 5 years' exile. The reason for his sentence is his membership of the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords and his authorship of material concerned with the question of Ukrainian national and cultural education. He has left an elderly mother living on her own.

take the food and a white shirt that she had brought for her husband, but the guards swore at her and pushed her out into the street.

Some people were standing in the street, who said that they had come when they heard about the trial on the radio, and they stated that some people had even come from as far as Donetsk and Kramatorsk, but that they had not been allowed into the hall.

Two young men had come from Kyiv (Petro Vins and his friend) whose documents had been checked but they were still not allowed to enter the hall. When they asked if the trial was in public or in camera, they were told that it was a public trial, but there was no more room in the courtroom.

At two o'clock in the afternoon about 50 members of "the public" came out of the court. They said that there was a recess for lunch until three o'clock. Two "black marias" (police vans) left the courtyard; they were taking Tykhy and Rudenko to Druzhkivka police station. After these, two more cars left. These were taking the judges to lunch.

At three o'clock the two cars carrying the judges, followed by the two "black marias" returned and parked behind the toilets in the yard. First Oleksiy Tykhy, escorted by two soldiers, was led from the van to the back entrance of the "Smeshtorg" office. Then Mykola Rudenko was led from the second van. At this very moment, Rudenko's wife was coming out of the toilet and seeing her husband, shouted to him loudly. Rudenko was not even allowed to turn round, but was pushed quickly through the doors while several men in civilian dress surrounded Rudenko's wife, started to shout at her, and tried to physically push her from the yard threatening her with arrest. She called to the militia men who ran to the scene, asking them to tell those hooligans that they did not have the right to push her about, because it was not forbidden to enter the courtyard and neither was it private property. The men from the militia spoke politely, but said that these people had been put there for security reasons, and were thus not hooligans, and that she had to follow their orders. Raisa Rudenko asked why they were not wearing arm bands, or some other sign to indicate that they were guards. She received no reply to her question and was led away.

After the recess, both of the Kyivans went into the hall before anyone else to ensure free places for themselves. But by the entrance they were pulled aside — one was pulled to the right, the other to the left — and there they were held until the hall was filled by the same people who were there earlier. The Kyivans, relatives and friends were then told there was no more room for them. The reason given for this was that those who had summonses for the following day, were not allowed in until the time they were to be questioned.

At six o'clock "the public" left the hall, the judges were immediately driven away and the "black marias" took Tykhy and Rudenko to the Donetsk prison (it is approximately 90 km from

Druzhkivka to Donetsk). The judges left in such a hurry that no one had a chance to discover which court was trying the defendants, why relatives were not notified or any other information. The militia and the guards maintained that they knew nothing.

All the guards, the judges and part of "the public" were staying at a hotel in the town of Druzhkivka — evidence showing that they were specially brought in for Rudenko's and Tykhy's trial.

When Rudenko's wife asked the hotel administration for permission to invite two friends in for 30 minutes (from 6 to 6.30 p.m.), the administration categorically refused although the hotel regulations which were hanging on the wall stated that guests were allowed into rooms up to 11 p.m.

The trial was to resume at 9 a.m. the following day. Relatives, witnesses and friends of the accused arrived at the court at 7 a.m. to discover that the building was being guarded more carefully and that no one was being allowed into the courtyard even to go to the toilet, and that the guards now wore red arm bands on their sleeves. Rudenko's wife attempted to look into the still empty courtroom, but was pushed away.

At 8.30 a.m., the secretary of the court came out and collected the summonses from the witnesses. Rudenko's wife requested that she accept a statement from her addressed to the court concerning the violations of the defendant's right of defence, but the secretary refused to accept it saying that the defendant — Rudenko — had his own attorney, and that she would talk to him about it. The secretary promised to tell the lawyer that Rudenko's wife wished to see him. The lawyer came to see her soon after this. His name was Fedir Ivanovych Aleksyevnin. He said that he had been assigned to Rudenko's defence by the Presidium of the Donetsk College of Advocates, and that he was employed by the legal consulting office of the Kalinsky region in the town of Donetsk. He then asked about the statement Rudenko's wife was talking about to the secretary. She replied that she was filing a complaint against the fact that the KGB had assigned its own lawyer without informing her that the preliminary investigation had ended, so she had been deprived of the right of hiring a lawyer of her own choice. The lawyer took offence at this and said "then there is nothing more for me to say to you" and left.

Meanwhile "the public" started to enter the courtroom. Once again those whose presence at the trial was undesirable were held back. Those who were persistent were taken to militia cars and driven to the police station for "identification purposes". This happened to two young men from Moscow (Peter Starchyk and Kyryl...). They were held in the "KPZ" (investigation cell) from the 28th June to the 1st July. They were freed on 1st July — two days after the sentence had been passed. Two Kyivans came from Donetsk to Druzhkivka (Petro Vins and his friend) on the 28th June. They were hoping to be present at the trial, but they were taken off their bus,



taken to the militia, where they were searched, had their money confiscated, were given 'plane tickets, put on the 'plane and flown back to Kyiv. Later three more people who had tried to get into the courtroom were brought to the militia. Their names are not known. The residents of Druzhkivka, Kramatorska, Konstaninivska and Donetsk, who gathered in front of the building where the trial was being held were not allowed in, although there were plenty of free seats. Not even Tykhy's sister and her husband were allowed in, even though they were not witnesses. The guard told them that the chairman of the court had not given them permission.

On the sixth day of the trial (28th June), only Tykhy's eighty year-old mother and Rudenko's sister were allowed in, and later in the evening Tykhy's two sons were permitted entry.

### THE TRIAL

The first to be called were Tykhy's witnesses: H. S. Hrebenyuk, Tsap Chuprunenko, Skrypkin, Syadrysty, and Bakhayeva (a lecturer at Donetsk University). On the 29th June Professor Illy Isakovych Stebun of the department of literary theory at Donetsk University was called to testify.

Other witnesses had been questioned in the Tykhy case previously but nothing is known about their testimony.

1. Alla Vasylivna Rusakovska — head of the department of psychoneurology at the hospital where M. Rudenko spent two months (from January to March 1976) undergoing examination. She testified that Rudenko was brought to the hospital to determine the category of his invalid state. The examination, which lasted one month, was conducted by physicians at the hospital — including herself — and Rudenko was pronounced completely healthy. However, for certitude Rudenko was kept in the hospital for an additional month, during which the examination was conducted by scientists and professors from the Pavlov Psychiatric Hospital. They too, pronounced him completely healthy.

Dr. Rusakovska also testified that Rudenko had brought a transistor radio with him in order to listen to Western radio broadcasts, but that on the following morning, she (Rusakovska) had taken the radio away from him and returned it only two months later when Rudenko was released from the hospital.

2. This was followed by a reading of the testimony of Volodymyr Volodymyrovych Balan, a former soldier who testified that Rudenko constantly listened to Western radio broadcasts whilst in the hospital since his wardmate had a radio. (To this Rudenko replied that Rusakovska had also confiscated his neighbour's radio. Rusakovska said that she remembered taking Rudenko's radio but could not remember anything about the other radio).

Then Volodymyr Volodymyrovych Balan testified that during his

hospital stay Rudenko would demonstratively turn off the radio and whenever anyone protested he would walk out of the ward. Balan also testified that Rudenko said that Soviet radio broadcasts did not contain a single word of truth and refused to watch television. However V. V. Balan said that he himself had never heard or seen any of this, since he had been in a different ward and had only heard about it from Honcharov and Zhilkin. Honcharov was dead but Zhilkin might be alive and could confirm this.

3. The next witness to be called was Ivan Oleksiyovych Kandyba, who said that Rudenko had visited him.

4. Nadia Oleksiyivna Svitlychna, who said that she had given Rudenko her letter addressed to the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords.

5. Oleksander Pavlovych Berdnyk, a Ukrainian science fiction writer.

6. Lev Hryhorovych Lukyanenko, who testified that Rudenko had visited him and that Tykhy had been there at the time, that this meeting had not been planned in advance and that it had taken place as a result of pure coincidence. He said that Rudenko had brought with him the Declaration of the Group and its Memorandum No. I, that he (Lukyanenko) had taken these documents to the kitchen, read them and signed them. Later Oleksiy Ivanovych Tykhy had also gone into the kitchen where he read and signed the documents. During this time Lukyanenko and Rudenko had been sitting in another room. There was no discussion concerning these documents. Afterwards all three discussed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Final Act of the Helsinki Accords.

The prosecutor asked who was the author of the anti-Soviet documents the Declaration, Memorandas Nos, 1, 2 and 3. Lukyanenko replied that all the members of the Group who had signed the documents were the authors... Each had contributed comments and exchanges. During the leave-taking, Tykhy had asked Rudenko to add his (Tykhy's) letter to the Group's documents and to include it in the Memorandum. Rudenko agreed.

7. The court then called Rudenko's wife, Raisa Afanasiyivna Rudenko, to testify. The prosecutor asked her which anti-Soviet documents she had reproduced on the typewriter. She replied: none. She then stated that she still did not know what charges were being brought against her husband and that she felt that the court had violated the defendant's right to defence by not informing her of the beginning of the trial. She said that the American lawyer Ramsey Clark, had agreed to defend Rudenko, and that she had written to the American Bar Association (ASY-u) and to the International Association of Democratic Lawyers (MAYuD) requesting that Mr. Ramsey Clark be permitted to defend her husband. The presiding judge, E. M. Zin-

chenko, replied that foreign lawyers do not have the right to defend Soviet citizens.

8. The testimony of Kaplun (Raisa Rudenko's brother) was then read. He stated that he had taken a manuscript entitled "Energy of Progress" in parts from the Rudenkos' flat without their knowledge or approval and read them at home. He did not tell his wife about this. He also testified that his sister had typed "Energy of Progress" and other works by Rudenko. (Meanwhile the Rudenkos' stated that Rudenko himself typed all his materials and that his wife neither typed nor read them).

After an intermission, Rudenko's lawyer Aleksyevnin came up to Mrs. Rudenko and told her that he wished to speak to her at the request of her husband. She asked which court was trying him and why only selected people were being admitted into the courtroom. The lawyer replied that the trial was open and named the judges. As regards her claim that only selected people were being admitted into the courtroom, he said he had "not noticed". Aleksyevnin said that he had recommended M. Rudenko to plead guilty and recant, but that Rudenko, in the lawyer's own words, had become very angry and had asked that he never bring up the subject again, or he would be forced to refuse his services as counsel. Therefore he, as the lawyer, suggested that Mrs. Rudenko convince her husband to recant. Rudenko's wife replied that she would never suggest anything of the kind to her husband since in her opinion he had nothing to recant. Mrs. Rudenko asked the lawyer why he had not informed her of the beginning of the trial. Aleksyevnin replied that Rudenko had not instructed him to inform her, and that he as a lawyer did not have the right to suggest this. Moreover, the court is not obliged to inform anyone. There is no such law.

The court refused to accept a written statement from Raisa Rudenko concerning a violation of the right of defence.

9. The testimony of V. I. Barladyanu was read. He stated that he had visited M. D. Rudenko on his (Rudenko's) birthday on December 19th 1976, that afterwards he had slept at the train station, and that the following day he had again visited Rudenko and given him his letter to the prosecutor of the Odessa region. Mykola Rudenko had then acquainted him with the contents of Memorandum No. 2. Two days later a search was conducted in Rudenko's flat and the letter was confiscated. Therefore a month later, Barladianu sent an identical letter to Rudenko. At the same time he authorised Rudenko to make use of his (Barladianu's) signature as he saw fit.

The judge stated that everything mentioned here was corroborated by the documents taken from the searches made at Rudenko's home.

10. The testimony of Ivan Petrovych Matusevych was then read. Matusevych confirmed that during a search of his residence some

black envelopes were confiscated containing papers which had been left there by his son. He had not read these papers and did not know their contents. He stated that he knows nothing of his son's activities. He only knows that his son is unemployed at the present because, as his son explained, he is looking for a different job.

11. This was followed by a reading of the testimony of Mykola Ivanovych Matushevych or rather by a leading statement that Mykola Ivanovych Matushevych refused to testify.

12. This was followed by a reading of the testimony of Myroslav Marynovych who stated that he visited Rudenko often and had talked mostly about literature with him.

13. The testimony of Prof. Yu. Orlov was then read but not in its entirety.

M. Rudenko asked that the addendum to the record of Yu. Orlov's interrogation be read, but the court refused.

M. Rudenko asked for a reading of the testimonies that Matushevych and Marynovych had given after their arrests, since the court had made public only the testimonies that they had given prior to their arrests.

The judge asked Rudenko why he found this necessary. Rudenko replied that he wished the witnesses — members of the Ukrainian Public Group — to know about these testimonies since they are slanderous, of a provocative nature and terrible. They state that the Public Group is an underground anti-Soviet organisation.

The presiding judge forbade any discussion of this saying that this was not part of the indictment.

Rudenko and Tykhy asked that all the documents with which they were being charged be read out, including: the Declaration, Memoranda Nos. 1, 2 and 3, Borys Kovar's open letter to the KGB, Yosyp Terelya's "Open Letter" and many others. The court refused. Concerning the letters of Kovar and Terelya, which form part of the charges against Rudenko, the judge stated that both authors are mentally ill and therefore their letters would not be read.

Tykhy asked that no costs be deducted to pay for expertise to determine whether various documents had been typed on his typewriter since he had not denied this and no expertise had been required. Tykhy also asked that the proceedings be recorded stenographically or taped. The court refused, Tykhy made frequent requests that his counsel, Koretsky, be dismissed, but neither the court nor the lawyer paid any attention to this.

During a visit with his wife on the 4th July, 1977, Rudenko told her that many other witnesses had testified at the trial. Incriminating testimony was presented against Rudenko by Yevhen Volodymyrovych Tsybulsky, who regularly wrote denunciations against Rudenko

to the KGB. What was in these denunciations is not known for the Rudenkos were not permitted to finish their conversation.

The witness Stebun testified that Tykhy had called him once at the university and asked for an appointment to see him. This was arranged and during the conversation Tykhy expressed views on the nationalities question that are hostile to our ideology. Stebun said that Tykhy had slanderously claimed that Ukrainian culture is perishing and the Ukrainian language is disappearing. Tykhy's words, according to Stebun, are politically hostile towards Soviet reality and falsify and slander it. Stebun added that Tykhy hates the Russian language.

M. Rudenko asked Stebun: "Do you remember, Illya Isakovych, how in 1949 you were accused of cosmopolitanism, and what my position was at the time?"

Stebun: "It's true I was accused of this (at the time). Rudenko was then secretary of the party organisation of the (Ukrainian) Writers' Union. He fiercely defended writers (who were eventually rehabilitated). But he never helped me personally".

Rudenko: "Why, then are you pouring salt into the fresh wounds of those who are suffering today?"

Stebun: "These are imaginary sufferings. There is no suffering among our people today, and sowing such talk is a crime against Soviet reality".

Tykhy (addressing himself to Stebun): "Do you remember how in 1939 you wrote in your article that Rylsky and others like him belong in Siberia and not in Ukraine?"

Judge: "Tykhy! Tykhy! . . . Don't insult the investigative organs".

Tykhy: "I did not give you my writings and did not ask you to review them. Who gave you my articles to review?"

Stebun: "The KGB".

Tykhy: "I telephoned you at the department (at the university) and asked you to give me a copy of the review of my works that you had sent to the KGB. You said that you would give it to me, but when I arrived, you told me that you could not do so (for someone had forbidden you), but that you had nothing against talking to me. Thus the initiative for the conversation came from you, and not from me, as you claim. You slanderously claim that I came to change your convictions for the purpose of engaging you in hostile activity. Furthermore, there was no talk whatsoever about a conflict between Russian and Ukrainian culture. (Turning towards the court): I accuse Stebun of slander and of denouncing me, Tykhy, to the KGB".

NOTE: The witness Bakhayeva, a lecturer at Donetsk University, had been questioned the day before and said that she was present during the discussion between Tykhy and Stebun and described this discussion exactly as did Stebun.

All of this took place on the 28th and 29th June. All that took place earlier is known only to the court, the KGB and the defendants.

Following is the abbreviated speech of the prosecutor who began his address with an attack on Rudenko then on Tykhy and then on the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords, which he called anti-Soviet, hostile, etc.

"Prosecutor Arzharov spoke for 2 hours and 20 minutes:

"What we have here is not some everyday matter, but an especially dangerous crime committed against the state, and anti-Soviet activity, by Tykhy and Rudenko. Both actively engage in anti-soviet activities. Both are adversaries of socialism, helpmates and agents of enemy states. These renegades and traitors to the fatherland prepared, reproduced, retained in their possession and circulated slanderous documents which defamed the Soviet state and the social system for the purpose of undermining and weakening Soviet rule.

In 1960 Rudenko circulated and sent to the Central Committee (of the Communist Party) his essay on "Questions of Political Economy". In 1963 under the pseudonym "Fedorov" he sent an anti-Soviet work entitled "The Universal Law of Progress" to the Central Committee. In 1972 he sent an open anti-Soviet letter to the Department of Science of the CC CPSU. In 1974 he circulated the anti-Soviet works of "Energy and Progress" and "Economic Monologues" amongst Sakharov and Turchyn. He wrote and retained in his possession the following anti-Soviet works: "The Glow Above the Heart", "Farewell to my Party Card", "Where are We?" "Reply to a Former Friend", "Before the Commissioning of the Kaniv HES (Hydro Electric Station)"; Rudenko wrote and disseminated the anti-Soviet poems "History of an Illness" and "The Cross". In 1975 he wrote an anti-Soviet letter to Sakharov and the anti-Soviet story "The First Line" and the novel "The Eagle's Gully" in 1976: "Gnosis and Contemporaneity", "Afterword" to the "Energy of Progress", an anti-Soviet letter to Turchyn (1974) and a letter to Sakharov (1976); he circulated Grigorenko's "Introduction" to his own "Economic Monologues"; he wrote and circulated "If You Refuse to be a Swine — Off to Jail with You", "To All People of Good Will", a letter addressed to the Prosecutor of Moscow and Kyiv; he circulated the letters of Berdnyk (1972-1977), the letters of Borys Kohvar (dated 30th January 1972), V. Moroz's "Chronicle of Resistance", I. Dzyuba's "Internationalism or Russification?", the letters of Barladyanu, Y. Terelya, Nadia Svitlychna and many others. He prepared, retained in his possession and disseminated the following anti-Soviet documents: the Declaration, Memorandums Nos. 1, 2, and 3. Many of the above mentioned documents reached the West and were published there. Articles about them appeared in Western enemy newspapers.

Wishing to become more active against the Soviet regime, Rudenko befriended the mentally ill Grigorenko and in his flat, as well as in the flat of Ginzburg, passed documents to foreign correspondents. He reproduced and circulated in Moscow among: (he reads a list of names) the slanderous pasquil "If You Refuse to be a Swine — Off to Jail

with You". He gave Ginsburg documents to be passed on to foreign correspondents. Rudenko accepted the letter of the mentally ill Yosyp Terelya as factual and used it for his own ends. Together with Grigorenko he prepared an appeal to Communists in the United States and Canada. He authorised Grigorenko to sign his (Rudenko's) name to this "Message of Good Will" (Poslannia) . . . He conducted an anti-Soviet telephone conversation with Bohdan Yasen and this conversation was published in the newspaper "Svoboda". He wrote a letter to Bohdan Yasen in which he asked the latter to help him establish contacts with the American consulate in Kyiv since dissidents in Moscow have free access to correspondents, while those in Kyiv have no such possibilities".

The prosecutor charged Oleksiy Tykhy with the authorship of the following articles: "The Ukrainian Word", "Thoughts About the Native Language", "Village Problems", "Reflections on the Ukrainian Language and Culture in the Donetsk Region", the Declaration, and Memorandums Nos. 1, 2 and 3, as well as possession of firearms.

The prosecutor said "Tykhy's destructive activity was well masked and well thought out. Tykhy persistently tried to implement it. Tykhy claims that the presence of Russian schools and higher educational institutions is a violation of Ukraine's sovereignty". The prosecutor accused Tykhy of forcible Ukrainianisation of citizens who speak other languages, because Tykhy wrote that people who do not speak Ukrainian should not be permitted to hold leading positions in the Ukrainian republic and in this fashion sowed enmity between the Ukrainian and Russian peoples.

The prosecutor said a great deal more and at the end demanded that Mykola Danylovych Rudenko be sentenced to 7 years of strict regime labour camps and 5 years of deprivation of freedom in accordance with Art. 62, Sect. I of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR, and that Oleksiy Tykhy be sentenced to 10 years of special regime labour camps and 5 years of deprivation of freedom in accordance with Art. 62 Sect. II of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR, and that Tykhy be declared an especially dangerous recidivist in accordance with Art. 26, Sect. II of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR.

## THE DEFENCE OF M. RUDENKO

Rudenko's attorney, Fedir Ivanovych Aleksyevin asked Rudenko whether he had any objection to his defending him in Russian. Rudenko did not protest.

NOTE: The trial was conducted in terribly broken Ukrainian. Earlier the judge asked Rudenko and his wife whether they wished to dismiss Aleksyeyevnin as Rudenko's counsel. The Rudenkos replied that it was too late to hire another lawyer — it was the sixth day of the trial — they agreed that Aleksyeyevnin represent Rudenko at this level.

ATTORNEY ALEKSYEVNIN "I cannot deny and dispute the guilt of my client Rudenko since it has been proven by the evidence in the case. But I ask the court to review the reasons why the crime was committed, where its roots lie, how strong they are and if there are grounds for believing that under the influence of Soviet reality Rudenko will change his views regarding the Soviet state and social order. It cannot be said that what he has done so far is the culmination of his life. I believe that time passes and everything changes, and that the roots of his crime will wither away with time. These roots are not of a purely political nature. Before Stalin's activities during the personality cult became known, that is in 1956, not only was Rudenko's life wholly dedicated to supporting Soviet rule, but he did much to strengthen it.

When one of Rudenko's poetry collections was censored by our criticism, his works were no longer published. Then he was expelled from the Party and from the Union of Writers. These circumstances influenced Rudenko. He felt wronged. This led to a sense of dissatisfaction and injustice. No one wanted to hear his side and Rudenko began looking for reasons, recalling the personality cult, gathering documents of people who had been sentenced, contemplating the fate of Ukrainians and so forth. His sense of being wronged transformed itself into a need to express his views in his works.

Meetings with Sakharov and Grigorenko as well as with like-minded people who were present here as witnesses also affected him. And although they are not worthy of Rudenko, my client met with them finding satisfaction in discussion. All this helped to ease Rudenko's pain. In addition his material situation had become less secure. The whole essence of these experiences was expressed in the documents confiscated during the search of his residence. I regard them as being unobjective for they are not based on confirmed facts. Rudenko was mistaken not only in regard to our reality. He says that he seriously accepted Article 19 of the United Nations Declaration on Human Rights. Article 19 does indeed deal with human rights. However these rights cannot be used against our state and people!

Yet this does not mean that Rudenko's goal was the overthrow of Soviet rule. He had to deal with bureaucrats whom he considers potentially dangerous. But these are not essential roots that can lead us to conclude that Rudenko is an especially dangerous person.

In choosing the term of punishment for Rudenko, I ask the court to take into consideration the explanation of certain views, which Rudenko says have been misunderstood. For example in the last verses of the poem "The Cross" he had something else in mind, and not the overthrow of Soviet rule. Please take into consideration also that part of his works were not circulated. For example his "Credo of Unity" was read only by one person — the writer O. Berdnyk. Rudenko sent his "essay on Questions of Political Economy" only to the Central Committee, his "Economic Monologues" only to Sakharov.



The brochure "Ukrainian Intellectuals Tried by the KGB" came into his possession accidentally and he did not show it to anybody. "To People of Good Will"... The letter from Barladyanu was not circulated. Neither was the letter to the Shah of Iran. As regards the anonymous materials which he found in the letter box, he himself describes them as rubbish. Rudenko himself is critical of some of the documents. He says: "I draw a line between the results of bureaucratic distortions and Soviet rule as a whole". This statement by Rudenko proves that he is not conservative and that he is able to return to the true path which he followed for many years and along which he did a great deal of good for his people and his state.

From 1935 Rudenko was a member of the Komsomol; before the war in 1941, he was already a member of the Communist Party. During the harsh years of our nation, he did not finish his education but, concealing the fact that he was blind in one eye (the left) from the military commission, he went to defend the fatherland from the Hitlerite invaders. He was a soldier in the cavalry regiment of the Special Force formed by the People's War Commissariat. Afterwards he finished school and was a political instructor on the Leningrad front. In October 1941 he was seriously wounded but despite this, continued to propagate the policies of our party among the troops. In May 1946 he was deputy chief of the Political Section on the Caucasus front; on March 15th 1946 he was promoted to the rank of major on the 3rd Western and Byelorussian fronts. In 1944 he was awarded the Order of the Red Star and later other medals. All this is corroborated by documents in the case. The case also contains exceptionally good personal characteristics of M. D. Rudenko (The lawyer then read excerpts from various character testimonials).

1. "Rudenko feels very sick but continues to work . . ."
2. "Rudenko is conducting excellent propaganda work, he is dedicated to the party of Lenin . . ."
3. (The following is a recommendation from the Presidium of the Writers' Union). "Rudenko is highly disciplined, morally stable, has often been elected to the posts of assistant secretary of the Party organisation and secretary of the Party organisation of the Writers' Union. His novels "Wind in the Face" and "The Last Sword" won popularity among a wide readership. M. D. Rudenko is active in all the activities of the Union of Writers in Ukraine".

Prior to his expulsion from the Party and the Writers' Union, Mykola Rudenko accomplished a great deal. He published over 30 books and did much toward the education of our youth.

I believe that prosecutor Arzhanov has asked for too harsh a sentence for Rudenko and I feel justified in asking for its reduction. I am certain that Rudenko has the spiritual and intellectual potential to find the path he followed earlier. Please take into consideration that Rudenko is an invalid of the Second World War. The blood he shed on the altar of the Fatherland also contributed to our victory.

Rudenko is gravely ill and such a long term of imprisonment can seriously worsen his condition. I ask the court to show humanity and pass the minimum sentence on Rudenko . . .”

### **The Defence of Oleksiy Ivanovych Tykhy**

Attorney Koretsky said that the Court, acting in accordance with Article III of the Constitution of the USSR, had assigned him to defend O. I. Tykhy. Koretsky said:

“In my opinion the judges have taken a questionable position in this case, and I wish to express my active defence of O. I. Tykhy, who is charged under Art. 62, Sect. II and Art. 222, Sect. II of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR.

Let me refer to Art. 222 — “concerning the possession of firearms”. An old German rifle, almost completely eaten away by rust, was found in the house of Tykhy’s mother, in a storage space under the straw roof. These circumstances should draw our special attention. In order to find Tykhy (guilty) of possessing firearms we need proof. What proof did the prosecutor present? The rifle was found in Tykhy’s house, i.e. . . . he must have hidden it. No further evidence was presented. Many witnesses were questioned during the preliminary investigation, and they all said that during the war, Tykhy’s older brother, Mykola, collected weapons abandoned by the Germans as they retreated and himself was a partisan against the Germans. Later he was drafted into the army and died at the front without having the opportunity to tell anyone about this rifle. There is no convincing evidence that Tykhy had any connection with this rifle.

Of a more serious nature is the charge brought against Tykhy under Art. 62, Sect. II of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR. It deals with anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda. I am not able to prove that he is innocent of this charge, for his guilt has been established here, but not fully. The mere fact that Tykhy signed the Declaration and the Memorandums of the so-called Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords in itself constitutes a crime. In these documents, the Group accuses the government of deliberately creating a famine in Ukraine in 1933 and uses such terms as “genocide” and “ethnocide” — terms that can only be used in conjunction with Hitlerite fascism. It has been said that Tykhy began his destructive activities in 1972. Tykhy completed the sentence imposed on him in 1957 on February 15th, 1964. This means that by February 15th, 1972, eight years had elapsed and in those eight years Tykhy had not committed a single crime. For this reason, the present conviction cannot be qualified as recidivism, since it is covered by a term of 8 years’ prescription.

Article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR states that a conviction that has not been rescinded or extinguished cannot form the basis for qualifying a person an especially dangerous recidivist.

And Tykhy's first conviction has been extinguished by an 8-years' prescription.

I ask the Court to take into account that Tykhy is an elderly person and has an old mother, whom he must support.

I also ask you to take into consideration the reason why Tykhy chose this path. He did so under the influence of people like Lukyanenko and others".

### **Mykola Rudenko's Final Statement**

"Citizen Judges!

Standing before you today is the Word.

In the beginning was the Word,

And the Word was with God

And the Word was God!

(The Gospel according to St. John, Chapter I)

No matter how we might deny idealism . . . The Word found itself in Man, in Logos . . . This is the knowledge of the Universe about itself. From this it follows that you are in the position of having to judge the Universe for having embodied itself in Man (in the form of) the Word . . . The Universe knows no boundaries. The Word must freely transcend the boundaries of hearts and states. Information which does not emanate from the mind destroys itself . . . In order to determine whether a society is progressive or regressive, there must be freedom of the Word, freedom of information . . . As Tykhy wrote: "The language of a people — is the people". . . . What is the role of the writer and philosopher? It is the expression of his beliefs. Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights states: "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 regardless of frontiers".

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights has been legalised by our government's ratification and must be law for our government. . . In my case the Word was never expressed, because no one has read (my) works. They constitute an archive . . . you are not judging me, you are judging the Word . . . You are judging the Universe, because it is not what the KGB would like it to be.

Millions of Soviet citizens, writers and scholars have been condemned for having said that there is no democracy in our country. For this they were thrown behind barbed wire. The Soviet government will not convince anyone that this is not so in this fashion . . . My crime consists in expressing my convictions. How can the KGB prove that it is not violating Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights? Without the right to be a person . . . The Russian czar Nikolai I was the most ruthless of all the czars, yet he punished Lermontov by exiling him from St. Petersburg to the Caucasus to

serve as an officer in the imperial army. Even he did not deal with writers and poets in as brutal a manner as is done in our country . . . In Russia a poet was always a prophet.. Nothing weakens despotism more than jail . . .

I committed no crime against Soviet rule. All my activities were directed against bureaucratic distortions. All my civic passions . . . were aimed at eliminating (these distortions) and not at overthrowing Soviet rule.

I do not consider myself guilty of any charges in the indictment . . . As Tykhy said, ('they've) sentenced a bull for eating hay' ”.

### **OLEKSIY IVANOVYCH TYKHY'S (born 1927) LAST STATEMENT (abbreviated)**

“I must declare (at the outset) that my final statement will concern itself only with the case at hand. I ask that my words be recorded. I believe that I will need from 4 to 6 hours for the presentation of my final statement”.

Judge: “If you repeat yourself or mock the Court, we will interrupt you. You Tykhy, know too much. It would be better if you knew less”.

(Tykhy) “As I have already stated, I do not consider myself guilty of a single charge in the indictment. I am forced to defend myself not only before the prosecutor, but also before my lawyer. His professional duty is to defend, not to accuse. He should have stated that in accordance with Article 62, the presence of a lawyer is not compulsory, and left. That is what my lawyer did during my first trial. But Koretsky went ahead and spoke. And what is more, just as I expected, he devoted half his speech to the matter of the rifle. The case contains not a single proof concerning this matter, and he knew this.

I am forced to describe my life. I am a citizen of the USSR, a Ukrainian and have never belonged to any parties. The CPSU would not accept me, but I would not want to be a member of it anyway, since (I disagree) with certain articles in its constitution. When I was 18 or 19 years old I read the collected works of Lenin. I have always viewed life through my own eyes. I remember 1933, the famine; I remember the war, the fascists; I remember how they hung people, the round-ups, the refugees, etc. I studied at the Transportation and Agricultural institutes, worked on construction in Zlatoust. Even then my credo was: “The road to freedom leads through prison”.

Afterwards I graduated from Moscow University and worked in a school, where I discovered my vocation. I worked in a village school, saw the village up close, from the inside. It was then that I had my first encounter with the MVD. At that time, they only observed the “rebel” and did not conclude that “an unaccommodating attitude towards bureaucrats” warranted arrest. Everyone recalls the 20th Congress of the CPSU. During a conference held at my school, I

presented a paper about the necessity of changing our educational system which had reached a blind alley and that it needed to be reorganised according to Makarenko's views. I said that everyone has a right to his own opinion, but in mine, we were not building communism. Then began (a series of) questions from secretaries of regional party organisations. This was followed by a letter (I might add in Russian, which I am accused of hating) to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet — "I can no longer remain silent". The two groups of KGB agents took me to Donetsk, where I told them everything I thought. The investigators there fabricated a case against me. The prosecutor there also demanded a sentence of 10 years for me. There I dismissed my lawyer and I did not have to defend myself against him. The main point there was also the fact that I had graduated from Moscow University. The prosecutor at that trial need not have made his remarks, as he need not have made here. The court did not prove a single charge of the indictment, but on the basis of "internal convictions" sentenced me to 7 years' imprisonment and 5 years' loss of rights. I was not the only one convicted. I recall others..."

Judge: "Tykhy! Tykhy! There's no need to list the sentences of all those with whom you were imprisoned. That way you could talk 6 or even 8 hours..."

Tykhy: "I wrote to every department and always received the same reply: "convicted justly". Why do I insist upon a stenographic or taped record, that is, a scrupulous record of the proceedings? Because after 20 years I had the opportunity to acquaint myself with my old "case" and what did I find? The record omits many of the questions I asked witnesses; my final statement is missing. The testimony on the whole, is recorded accurately, but all it contains is that "the school has reached a blind alley". What constitutes my crime against Soviet rule in this?

The case record contains three documents. The first is dated 1958, in which Sudarev, the same prosecutor who appeared at the trial, declared that: "Further action in this case in the form of surveillance is to be discontinued and the records sent for safekeeping to the Donetsk KGB". The document is labelled "secret". Nine years later, Yu. Ya. Noskov, writes an identical document, also labelled secret. The third document is once more signed by Prosecutor Noskov".

Judge: "Why are you telling us about that case? Proceed with the present case".

Tykhy: "Why am I speaking about that case? Because on the basis of that "case", they want to add on from three to eight years to my sentence. I consider it wrong that the court does not have a copy of the verdict from my first trial. I asked that it be included in this case. but my request was denied. Can I expect a just sentence from the court given these experiences? Who is it then that is undermining the authority of Soviet rule? Only the prosecutors, the judges and the

KGB and not people like myself or Rudenko. The records of the 1957 trial have been hidden away, and nothing can be learned about it.

A search was conducted in Tykhy's (that is my) home. They were looking for "material goods stolen from Store No. 7". Instead they found articles, letters and a typewriter. Everything was confiscated. I was also taken in and placed in the investigation detention cell. I wished to speak to the prosecutor, but this was denied. I announced a hunger strike. Then Melnikov from the Donetsk KGB visited me and showed me the opuses of Stebun and others, and tore up two files in front of me. A year later, a document appeared showing that the files were not torn up by Melnikov, but by another KGB officer, and that in the presence of witnesses.

The first trial was closed. This one is open. However, I believe that this is not a chance "public". Just as it is no mere chance that my relatives appeared in the court room only on the sixth day of the trial.

My articles deal exclusively with the Ukrainian language and culture. The article for which the prosecutor wants to convict me, he has refused to read aloud here because it is evident that there is nothing in it. The prosecutor has demanded information on the number of Ukrainian-language schools in the Konstantynivsky region, but why does he speak about all of Ukraine and the Konstantynivsky region, and not about the matter that I tried to investigate? Because these data are useful to him! The status of the Ukrainian language and culture in the Donbas region is well known to all of you.

The prosecutor claims that I reject the term "Soviet people". I am a son of the Ukrainian people, but I am also a son of the Soviet people, a son of the world community.

Everyone — the prosecutor and the lawyers — knows that in accordance with Art. 19 of the Criminal Procedure Code, trials in the Ukrainian SSR are to be conducted in the Ukrainian language. Yet all my complaints were answered in Russian. Or, for example, since the witness Skrypkin does not know the Ukrainian language, and I know Russian, the record of the proceedings is being kept in Russian.

I know the laws and although I do not agree with some of them, I do not break them. That was the case with the law about the language of instruction in schools. I wrote my proposals regarding this matter during the period of discussion concerning this bill. These proposals were not published, and I never received a reply regarding them. But once a law is passed and ratified, I do not break it.

All the charges against me were fabricated by the investigators and upheld by the prosecutor. Some documents were not investigated during the preliminary investigation, since they appeared only after I had been formally charged. About others I can only say that the article entitled "Reflections on the Ukrainian Language and Culture

in the Donbas Region" was sent by Neprak to the archives, and four months later to the KGB. Why wasn't I charged for a whole five years for writing this article? Probably because there was nothing in it. (Regarding) a second article — the letter to Hrushetsky, I asked that the former deputy chairman of the regional executive committee Illyyashenko, as well as Pakharev, who evaluated the work, be questioned. The court denied my request, obviously in order to prevent the details of my conversation with Illyashenko from becoming public. Then this article was sent to the KGB and there it lay for four years.

I am neither a chauvinist nor a nationalist, nor a hater of humanity. In the article I wrote that I am against the "internationalisation" (in quotation marks) of the Donbas region. In the speech of the prosecutor and in the "case" record, the quotation marks disappeared. Insofar as these documents were not investigated at this trial, they cannot be included in the charges against me. Still, Stebun was given these articles to review and he did so. The prosecutor argued before the court that this is a provocative claim, but the prosecutor built his entire case on such words as "intellectual genocide" and "spiritual castration" taken out of context. These are legitimate literary terms and have no hidden meanings. I am being charged with the letter to Hrushetsky after my conversation in the regional executive committee. This letter contains pertinent facts, yet when I asked that it be read out to the court, the prosecutor said: "He wants to be heard here ..." and the letter was not read".

Judge: (Warns Tykhy to stop insulting the investigative organs. Tells him that he will deprive him of the right to continue his final estimate).

Tykhy: "The letter to my daughter-in-law dealt with everyday matters. It was not investigated by the court. The prosecutor commented on certain passages from it quite arbitrarily. "Village Problems" was a draft of an article rejected by the author himself. It was originally meant for "Literaturna Gazeta" and encouraged readers to take part in a discussion on this topic.

The prosecutor said that Tykhy is engaged in sabotage in a masked form and that mask has to be torn off. Yet the prosecutor's statement about my conversation with Andros, in which I tried to convince him not to keep 10 chickens is totally absurd. I have no idea what the article "You and We" is all about. Proof of my authorship of it was that it had been typed on my typewriter. Yet my typewriter was being held by the KGB as an instrument of crime! At the same time (it was said) that Tykhy conducted anti-Soviet propaganda in 1967-68. But what kind of propaganda is it when conducted with one single person — Andros? I told the court that I wished to question Andros but Andros is not present. All that I have is a copy of a letter from him in which he writes: "My comrades have shown me some of your

things, and I know what you are like". Andros testified during the preliminary investigation that I never conducted anti-Soviet propaganda with him. You all know the old saying: "one witness is not a witness". Especially since the conversation was held face to face. Professor Stebun in his elegant speech presented testimony as if it had been taken directly from Article 62 of the Criminal Code. Isn't it strange that having numerous acquaintances for 13 years I would choose precisely Professor Stebun with whom to conduct propaganda? The witness Skrypkin did not present a single fact. He merely said "He spoke Ukrainian with everyone". Yes, I spoke Ukrainian with Russians, Georgians, Armenians and they all understood me perfectly. I want to call the court's attention to the fact that Skrypkin presented his testimony in 1974. What is more, he did not go there himself, but was summoned. This means that the KGB had their own people there, who told them to call that one. Syadrysty also did not go voluntarily to the KGB, but was called, interrogated and told them: "Yes, he spoke Ukrainian". As regards Leonova, she spoke of works with which I am not being charged, and therefore her testimony cannot be used as evidence. The preliminary investigation also proved that no dissemination of materials occurred.

I did in fact receive a warning on the basis of the secret decree of 25th December 1972. But I cannot accept a warning given on the basis of an unpublished law. At that time, after receiving the warning, I submitted an appeal to the courts asking that my papers be examined in a court proceeding. But the materials of this case contain no mention of my appeals (there were four of them), nor do they contain documents about my arrest in June 1976, about my being held in the investigation detention cell. Yet the court refused to examine my articles.

Stebun's "notes" about my articles fall under Article 125 of the Criminal Code. His testimony distorts our conversations and meetings. The presiding judge did not permit me to ask Stebun all the questions I wished to pose to him. The investigation did not take into consideration the fact that there were also positive reviews of my articles by teachers and official institutions. Why did I not try to meet with those who looked upon my work favourably, but instead, chose Prof. Stebun to agitate?

There is one sentence in the prosecutor's speech that merits our attention: "He associated with people who had been imprisoned for especially dangerous crimes". It would follow from this that such people are like lepers. I did not know that this was the view of the KGB and therefore for 13 years, I associated with people and met with friends who had been convicted of "especially dangerous state crimes".

It was decent of the prosecutor not to say that I am internally hostile: he only spoke of my "masked interior". But to go on. I am being charged with discussing the "Declaration" and the "Memoran-



dum No. 1". Witnesses Lukyanenko and Rudenko both testified that there was no discussion on this subject. I am a member of the Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords, and I declare that the authors of these documents are all those who signed them and the other documents. They have a specific goal and do not contain anything anti-Soviet. That is why the prosecutor refused to read them here, which constitutes a violation of Article 314 of the Criminal Procedure Code of the Ukr. SSR. If these documents contained anything anti-Soviet, I would not have signed them.

The commentaries to Article 62 of the Criminal Code define (what constitutes) agitation and propaganda. According to these commentaries, neither Rudenko nor I can be accused of these crimes. It does not say in them that a conversation with one person can be regarded as agitation. (The commentaries) define what may be considered literature as designated by Article 62. It is obvious that some of the documents that I am being charged with ("Village Problems", "You and We") cannot be regarded as anti-Soviet.

The judge asked Rudenko how the investigators and the prison administration had treated him. He forgot to ask me, so I will volunteer the information. Investigator Chorny and others, with the approval of the investigatory group, Nagovitsyn, and Prosecutor Noskov:

1. Demanded that I testify concerning facts with which I was not being charged.

2. Tried to force me to testify concerning facts which cannot constitute part of this case under the statute of limitation and concerning facts that have no bearing on this case.

3. Rejected my applications with respect to questioning witnesses, including new material in the case, and then accused me of prolonging the investigation.

4. Refused to read me the decision of the preliminary investigation.

5. The investigator refused to give permission to add my remarks to the records which constitutes a violation of Article 85 of the Criminal Procedure Code of the Ukr. SSR.

6. Presenting specifically formulated reasons, I refused to testify yet I was driven to interrogations and forced to sit for 4-6 hours behind a bare desk without the right to read, move, or stand up".

Judge: "Tykhy! How many hours have you been going on about this..."

7. "I do not know if my statements have been included in the materials of the case.

8. During the first six days I was not allowed any books or newspapers. For 36 days I was not given my glasses. Although I had money with me when I was arrested, I was forbidden to buy even cigarettes for the first 12 days.

9. The prison administration kept losing complaints and held back replies to them. My complaint to the supervisory prosecutor was not forwarded. For example, something banged on the pipes (in my cell) for seven days, but the administration refused to respond to all my complaints. Something caused a banging noise in my cell around the clock for six days. After my complaint to the prison warden, it finally stopped.

10. The guards arbitrarily shortened the exercise period from 50 to 40 minutes.

Now about my right to defence. I was refused the right to have the lawyer assigned to me by the President of the Association of Democratic lawyers to defend me. I was refused the right to have my son to defend me. Instead I was appointed a "defence counsel" against whom I am forced to defend myself. Both this "defence counsel" and the court pay no heed to my dismissal of him, which constitutes a violation of Articles 45 and 46 of the Criminal Procedure Code of the Ukr. SSR.

The court forbade Rudenko to express his opinion of me. Since we are both being tried in the same case, I wish to give my opinion of Rudenko. I believe that has some significance for the court..."

Judge: "I strike this question (from the record). It may be of significance to you, but not to us. You say that you know Article 319 of the Criminal Procedure Code. You do not know it. (The judge reads Article 319 concerning the final statement of the defendant). I will deprive you of your final statement".

Tykhyy: "If I did not know this article, you would have stopped me long ago. But since this question has been struck, I will say no more.

I became familiar with the works of Rudenko..."

Judge: "I am striking that also!"

Tykhyy: "I believe that no criminal act was committed. No guilt in the form of intent on my part has been established. There were no motives of gain on my part.

My "defence counsel" said many things about the negative influence exerted on me by Lukyanenko and others. I therefore declare that I have lived my entire life fully conscious of my conduct.

It is a strange path that has brought me and the court to Druzhkivka. Why was I brought here when I was arrested on the order of the Prosecutor of the Ukr. SSR P. K. Hlukh, on the basis of a decree of the Moscow Prosecutor Sevastyuk? It is strange that the trial is being held in Druzhkivka and not in Kyiv or Donetsk where all the witnesses are from. I cannot understand this but obviously there is something illegal behind this. After my arrest, a large group of investigators arrived in Donetsk from Kyiv. If I..."

Judge (Interrupting): "The court will adjourn to an adjoining room. The verdict will be announced tomorrow evening at 5 or 6 p.m. or more probably, early the following morning".

(Everybody leaves).

#### NOTES:

1. During (O. Tykhy's) final statement Mykola Rudenko felt very ill because the room lacked ventilation. Rivulets of perspiration poured down his face and he was unable to remain seated. The presiding judge accused Tykhy of making Rudenko ill by dragging out his final statement. However the judge failed to mention the fact that Rudenko was then placed in a Black Maria without windows or doors and transported nearly 100 kilometres to the Donetsk prison.

2. The verdict was read on 1st July, 1977. The court fully upheld the prosecutor's demands.

3. Rudenko's typewriter and camera were confiscated by the state as instruments of the crime.

4. Rudenko was granted a visit with his wife and son Yuriy on the 4th July, 1977. He told them that during the investigation he was charged under Art. 64 but at the trial this was changed to Art. 62.

5. Tykhy was not permitted a visit with his relatives, who were told that he was not in Donetsk. It is obvious that Tykhy was being held in an isolation cell.

6. Rudenko said that during a meeting with his family that his cell-mate did not receive food parcels; therefore the 5 kilogramme parcel that Rudenko received each month was divided between them, each receiving 2.5 kilos.

7. Rudenko's wife was dismissed from her job due to "administrative lay offs".

8. During his visit with his wife, Rudenko told her that he did not believe in the slanderous testimony of Matusevych and Marynovych and regards it as a KGB provocation.

9. All the above materials are presented in an abbreviated form.

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A. SHIFRIN\*

## FOREIGN NATIONALS IN SOVIET CONCENTRATION CAMPS — 1977\*

Today you meet people from all over the world in Soviet concentration camps. This might surprise you. However it does not surprise those who know how the Soviet authorities gradually started to arrest foreign citizens and sentence them to camp terms.

First let us say a few words which will present the background to this sad story, and then we'll review the cases of those foreigners who are currently languishing in the KGB concentration camps.

As far back as 1950, at the famous "Paris Trial", Pierre Dex, an eminent member of the French communist party, denied the fact that there were concentration camps in the USSR; and after the fact of their existence had been proven by numerous witnesses, he had the audacity to proclaim that he was "grateful to the USSR for this magnificent enterprise" — meaning the concentration camps. The witnesses, former political prisoners, who submitted evidence to the trial were: Dr. Yul Margolin (Israel) who had served 5 years in the camps; the Spanish Civil War hero Kampesino (Spain) — 15 years in the camps; Mrs. Leonard (France) — 12 years in the camps; and many other victims of the Soviet Union.

These people were imprisoned in Soviet concentration camps for various reasons. Dr. Margolin, for instance, landed there by "bad luck". He was visiting Poland at the time of her occupation by the Soviet Army in 1939, when Stalin and Hitler divided Poland between themselves. What was to be done with a foreigner? Sent to the camps of course.

The Spaniard Kampesino came to the USSR to escape Franko's dictatorship and he hoped that there he would be able to help the Russians in building communism. The Russians really looked after him well — for 15 years they kept him in the Kolima camps, beyond the Polar Circle. In those camps he met many of his fellow communists who had similarly escaped from Spain.

Later on the authorities started to send the Spanish children who were "rescued" from Franko in 1936-37, to the camps. These children grew up in the USSR, they matured and expressed the desire to return to their homeland. But instead, they were sent to Siberia. As for Kampesino, the immediate reason for his arrest and conviction was also his wish to leave the USSR.

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Mrs. Leonard from France and Mrs. Buber-Noiman from Germany spent 12 years each in the camps; they too were members of the communist party.

Thus the USSR was gaining experience arresting unruly foreign communists who were naive enough to believe that they could freely express their thoughts and opinions in the USSR.

By the end of World War II the Soviet secret police had extended its activity in the field of bringing foreign citizens to Soviet concentration camps. They could now be sure, on the basis of their previous experience, that they did not have to be afraid of being reprimanded since the governments of the Western countries would not make any noise of protest when their citizens "disappeared".

In 1945-47, the KGB kidnapped and deported hundreds of people from Vienna, the Austrian capital, divided by then by the Allies, to the USSR: the most usual accusation made against those kidnapped, was espionage, and they were all condemned to slave labour in Soviet concentration camps; for example, Simon Kranz, who throughout the ten years that he spent in the camps could not grasp the actual reason why he had been arrested. For those naive Westerners, Russia was a real hell, a most terrible pit of horror where they faced hunger, bitter frost, beatings, deathly labour. They became reserved, sullen, shrank into themselves, tried to do everything in order to survive. But most of them perished.

Hundreds of German, Belgian, French, Polish, Hungarian, Yugoslavian, Spanish and Italian citizens were sent to the Soviet camps as "Nazi collaborators" or "war criminals". Actually, most of them were simply deprived of their status of POW's and instead "granted" the status of camp inmates with 25-year terms in special regime camps. They remained in the USSR, in the camps only until 1955-1956, i.e. approximately ten years. They were freed as a result of open bargaining between the USSR and their countries. West Germany, Belgium, and other countries gave the Soviets raw materials, equipment and made political concessions in lieu of them. And today nobody remembers the countless of thousands of innocent people who perished in Siberia.

Former inmates of the "Ozerlag" camp remember that in 1956 about 10,000 Germans were freed from that camp in Taishent (the Siberian railway construction) and permitted to leave the USSR. But in 1946 about 100,000 had been brought there. Only about one out of ten have survived. Why are they silent now? Where are you, our camp comrades, Captain Zigmund Ol'sner, General Sartorius and others?

The Soviets' insolence knew no limits whenever they wanted to kidnap "useful" people, whoever they were. Thus in 1945, the KGB kidnapped Raul Valenberg, a Swedish diplomat in Budapest and took him to the USSR. Valenberg had helped to save Hungarian Jews during World War II and had valuables and information about

valuables belonging to those who perished or survived the war in his possession. All this disappeared. So did Valenberg. It was as late as 1973 that the witness Ch. Mashinsky, who had arrived from the USSR, told us that he saw Valenberg in 1963 on Vrangeli Island in the Arctic Ocean, where three top secret camps for foreigners are located. According to Ch. Mashinsky, the inmates of these camps are subject to medical experiments needed for Soviet navy and space flights.

A leader of the anti-communist organisation NTS, Yugoslavian citizen Trushnivich, kidnapped in West Berlin in 1953, was also kept in one of those camps on Vrangeli Island. Thanks to Ch. Mashinsky's evidence it became possible to locate tens of Italian and German citizens who had been reported "missing" since World II: all of them had been sent to Soviet concentration camps where they can be found today.

As late as 1953-1963, while a prisoner in Siberian political camps, A. Shifrin met the American Army officer Alexander Shornik, and French citizens Vensan de Santer and Pierre Sup'u. A. Shifrin also had a chance to talk with a Greek guerilla fighter, communist Vazupolis, who was kept in the same camps. The USSR "kindly" deported him, as well as five other Greek communists, to Tashkent after they had escaped to Yugoslavia after the failed communist coup in Greece. After a few years in the USSR these people realised that communism in that country did not exist, and they started to openly criticise the Bolshevik dictatorship. All those Greek communists were promptly dispatched to the camps for "anti-Soviet propaganda".

In 1945 the KGB kidnapped Stany Dubik, an American Army General in Vienna; he spent ten years in the camps of "Peschlag" (Kazakhstan) and "Ozerlag" (Siberia). The KGB agents had simply thrown a bag with narcosis over his head and he regained consciousness in a Moscow prison. The KGB demanded information about the American Armed Forces from him. After ten years in the camps, he was exchanged for a Soviet spy arrested in the USA in 1955.

In 1946 the KGB kidnapped Vensan de Santer and his brother in Paris: both were given sleeping potions, brought to the USSR and sent to the camps beyond the Polar Circle. They were frankly told in the KGB headquarters: "We took you by mistake". But to return them? Impossible! Vensan's brother died in the camps, Vensan survived and after 12 years returned to France. We do not know where he is now and why he is silent.

Pierre Sup'u was brought to the USSR by his father who wanted to help the Russians build communism. The father died in the camps in 1942. In 1946 Pierre requested an exit permit to France. He was sent to Siberia instead, in the footsteps of his father, where he spent ten years in the same camps.

Vladimir Gorbovii, a citizen of Czechoslovakia, had to pass through

both German and Soviet camps. He spent 25 years in the Soviet ones. He was sent there for taking part in the Ukrainian National Liberation Movement. He was released from the camps in 1975 and exiled. He is still unsuccessfully trying to obtain an official permit to rejoin his relatives in Czechoslovakia.

The Israeli Yehuda Kogan found his brother in the USSR, with whom he had fought in the partisan movement against the Nazis during World War II and whom he considered killed during the War. In 1963 he went to the USSR holding an official tourist visa in order to see his brother. However, he was arrested immediately. He spent ten years in the camps for political prisoners of "Dubrovlag", being falsely accused of "deserting the Soviet Army". He brought us information about the foreigners who were inmates of those camps in 1974. Below a list of their names is published. Y. Kogan could only recall those he had been friendly with, but could not remember the others.

1. Alex Gincas, American citizen, sentenced to 5 years.
2. Gerstel' Pinkas, French citizen, 15 years.
3. Malofazi, German citizen, 25 years, (died in the camps).
4. Otikava Masafu, Japanese, 10 years.
5. Walter Newman, German, 5 years.
6. Wolker Schafchauser, German, 5 years.
7. Harald Brook, British, 5 years.
8. Debash, Turkish citizen, 10 years.
9. Shudashdemir, Turkish citizen, 25 years.
10. Diszkant, Polish citizen, 18 years.
11. Marczak, Polish citizen, 15 years.
12. Peter Sontag, German, 7 years.
13. Bek, Czech citizen, 15 years.
14. Katrotzius, former commander of the communist Greek guerilla fighters, 7 years.
15. Elevtorius, former commander of the communist guerillas in Greece, 6 years.

In addition to this, Y. Kogan gave us information about ten Japanese, five Egyptians, three Italians, eight Iraqis, seven Lebanese, three Jordanians and two Englishmen who had been arrested in the Soviet Union and were serving terms in the camps there.

Most of these people are suffering in the Soviet camps even today. Their hope to see the free world again is almost nil, since the KGB does not spare any efforts to prevent foreigners from going abroad after they have seen GULAG with their own eyes.

It is interesting to mention that neither I nor my numerous friends who passed through tens and hundreds of Soviet camps of various types have ever met foreign spies in the USSR. And this is not because spies are kept in special camps: we have seen both pilot Powers and the Englishman Vain who was involved in the Colonel Pen'kovsky's affair. Both of them were kept in regular camps alongside other political prisoners. However we have seen no other spies or saboteurs in Soviet camps. There is an explanation for this: until recently foreigners in the camps were not considered enemies of the communist regime sent from abroad; they were mostly people who had got into the clutches of the KGB by mere chance. Or they were "criminals" like the deported Hungarian who took part in the Hungarian revolution of 1956 or Czechs who participated in the struggle for liberation from Soviet occupation in 1968.

However recently, during the last two or three years, the situation with foreigners in Soviet camps has started to change. Some young people in Europe decided to help the nation living under the communist dictatorship, in constant fear of the KGB.

So, young men and women from the Free World went to the USSR bringing with them a weapon which is most horrible for the communists — books forbidden in the USSR. These tourists had in their luggage Bibles, books on anti-Marxist philosophy, studies on the crimes committed by the Soviet regime. These brave young people were deliberately defying the KGB and the Soviet authorities. While distributing the books and at the moment of their arrests, they claimed: "The Helsinki Final Act envisaged the free exchange of ideas and literature. The USSR signed the Helsinki Agreement. We are openly promoting the exchange of ideas".

The list of such heroes who dared to join the struggle for human rights in the USSR is lengthy: Van Brantegem, Elizabeth Lee, Annelie Copiel, Jo Dris, Willy Keipers, Francis Bergeron, Jaques Armou, Takki, Marinutzy, Eidsvig, Jengset — we cannot name them all!

True, during the interrogations the KGB forced some of them to orally renounce their views, after which they were immediately expelled from the USSR without any trial. When they returned to the Free World they told about the KGB methods of interrogation: intimidation, deception, blackmail, provocation, hunger.

But some of the best representatives of the Free World remained unbroken, and that sometimes resulted in expulsion from the USSR after interrogations. Sometimes, however, they had to stand trial and were consequently sentenced to three to five years of concentration camps (and this only for bringing books to the USSR).

With deepest respect and appreciation we pronounce the name of Anton Pype from Belgium, sentenced in 1977 to 5 years of corrective



labour and released before the end of his term, in September 1977, due to the world-wide protests on his behalf.

But some of these heroes are still suffering in Soviet camps. One of the latest victims is Jean-Jaques Poli, the Frenchman who was arrested on September 12th, 1977 in the USSR for distributing leaflets among the population calling for a struggle for human rights in the Soviet Union. What happened to him is still unknown.

In 1976 the executive director of our Research Centre was invited to the US State Department. The State Department asked for the assistance of our Centre in locating the American citizens who "disappeared" in the USSR. The State Department has a list of such people which includes both civilians and servicemen: some went to the USSR on business matters and "disappeared", others were obviously kidnapped; pilots of the planes which crashed, also disappeared without leaving any trace whenever they were picked up and "saved" by the Soviets, and it is only due to mere chance that it became known that they have been seen beyond the Polar Circle.

Some American servicemen captured in Vietnam have also been seen in Soviet concentration camps.

Our Research Centre offered a number of proposals regarding the search for American citizens in the USSR to the US State Department, but as far as we know, no action has been taken as yet. Why then, was the director of our Centre invited to the State Department? It seems the only purpose was to show that the State Department officials were "making efforts".

During a visit to the USA, we happened to hear a speech given by the President of the Committee of Relatives of Service Men Reported Missing in Vietnam. The Committee was trying to press the US Government to take some concrete measures so that their relatives might return home, but to no avail: they are "the voice calling in the wilderness", among the legions of indifferent officials. Everybody is too afraid to disrupt "detente"; thus the USSR gets everything and gives nothing in return.

As for the foreign citizens who so strongly believed in their countries' democracy and were sure their governments would rush to defend them — they are languishing in countless Soviet camps and prisons even to this very day, forgotten, helpless, utterly in the power of the KGB.

Just recently we received information concerning one more secret camp for foreigners located in the Far Eastern part of the USSR. But apparently nobody is interested in this information. The Free (for the time being) World is cowed by the USSR.

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## ***Documents and News from Ukraine***

### **PRISONERS' CONDITIONS IN THE CAMPS**

#### **ADMINISTRATIVE REPRESSION AND THE SELF-DEFENCE ACTION OF PRISONERS DETERMINES THE CONDITIONS FOR PRISONERS IN THE USSR**

### **MORDOVIAN CAMPS**

At the end of 1976 Colonel Romaniv replaced Colonel Drotenko as chief of the KGB division in the Mordovian camps, with Major Tryasoumov as his deputy.

#### **Camp No. I — Strict Regime (Colonel Kropotkov)**

In 1976 eleven people died in the camp. One of the reasons for the high mortality rate is the dangerous industry within the camp: the air is saturated with glass fragments. There are approximately one hundred prisoners in the camp.

Svyatoslav Karavansky has been put in a cell with the "short-term" prisoner Shynkevych, a man well known for his aggressive behaviour and who has terrorised many of his cell-mates.

Danylo Shumuk was hospitalised from the 23rd January to 22nd April 1977. He is suffering from a stomach ulcer.

On the 12th January 1977, a one-day hunger strike was staged to mark the anniversary of the new wave of repressions which began in Ukraine in January 1972. The participants of the hunger strike demanded the release of Ukrainian political prisoners and the end of persecution against those with nationalist convictions. The following Ukrainian took part in the hunger strike: Mykhaylo Osadchy, Ivan Hel, Valentyn Moroz, Svyatoslav Karavansky, rev. Vasyl Romanyuk, Danylo Shumuk, Petro Saranchak (from camp no. I), Vyacheslav Chornovil, Vasyl Stus, Mykola Budulyak-Sharyhin, Vasyl Ovsiyenko, Roman Semenyuk, Konstantyn Didenko, Artem Yuskevych, Ihor Kravtsiv, Iryna Stasiv-Kalynets, Stefania Shabatura, Oksana Popovych, Iryna Senyk. The following non-Ukrainians took part in the hunger strike: Paruyr Ayrikyan, Razmyk Markosyan, (Armenians), Vladimir Osipov, Herman Ushakov, Serhiy Soldatov, Yuriy Fedorov, (Russians), Mykhayil Heyfyts, Edward Kuznyetsov, (Jews), Maygonis Razvinish, (nationality unknown), Babur Shakirov, (Turkman), and Nylone Saduhayte, (Lithuanian). On that day V. Osipov wrote a statement in which he included a list of 40 Ukrainian political prisoners known to him, and called the forced removal of the national language and culture from the prisoners a crime.

In February 1977 Kuznetsov, Murzhenko, Rebyrk and M. Osadchy

went on a hunger strike for five days to protest against the worsening regime. In three other Mordovian camps one-day hunger strikes were held in solidarity.

In April 1977 a search of Valentyn Moroz's cell was made during which his notes about the Vladimir prison and the Serbsky Psychiatric Institute were confiscated. He was deprived of a personal visit, which was to have taken place in July and was thrown into the isolation cell as a penalty for writing the notes. Moroz declared a hunger strike.

### Camp No. 3

Iryna Stasiv-Kalynets was held in SHIZO (a penal isolation cell) from the 5th to 18th May.

On the 10th December 1976 Valentyn Moroz declared that he was changing his status to that of a political prisoner, and so stopped going into the yard, wearing a name-tag, and wearing prison clothes as much as he possibly could. He would not give permission to have his hair cut and would not undress during searches, (his hair is cut and he is undressed forcibly). He also declared that he would only do work for which he is qualified and said that he would agree to other forms of work if prisoners were protected by work rules (at present prisoners work for more than the prescribed 48 hours a week and often work on Sundays) and if the policy of taking half the pay for the MVD were stopped. After this statement Moroz was thrown into SHIZO four times: on the 31st December for seven days (he was put into SHIZO when he was ill and without a medical examination), on the 11th February, again for seven days, on the 26th February for 14 days and on the 23rd March for 14 days.

On the 26th December 1976 Chornovil sent a statement to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR in which he recalled his former statement about his renunciation of Soviet citizenship and his request to emigrate from the Soviet Union. Chornovil wrote that he continued to regard himself as a citizen of Ukraine but not of the Soviet Union, and that he wishes to share the fate of his nation.

On the 31st December 1976 V. Osipov, the former editor of the samvydav journal "Veche", and Chornovil were thrown into SHIZO for two weeks. Chornovil and Osipov both refused to wear the dirty and ragged clothes that they were given and wore only their underwear. On the following day, the head of the camp, Pikulin, agreed that the clothes were useless and ordered that they be given other clothes to wear. During their stay in SHIZO Chornovil and Osipov held partial hunger strikes in protest against the violation of the rights of political prisoners. During the imprisonment of Chornovil and Osipov, Paruyr Ayrikyan, an Armenian, held a temporary hunger strike.

**Camp No. 19.**

On the 3rd February 1977 political prisoners Ushakov, Budulyak-Sharyhin, Yuskevych and Semenyuk held a hunger strike protesting against the imprisonment of Chornovil and Osipov in SHIZO.

In February 1977 due to an influenza epidemic which was in the camp, the work quota was not fulfilled and so the head of the camp declared that the Sundays of the 16th and 23rd were work days with the rights of payment. However, because no one was paid for the work they did on the 16th, no prisoners came to work on the 23rd. For this 7 people were deprived of their right to receive parcels and to shop in the camp store. These prisoners were: Budulak-Sharyhin, Kapoyan, Markosyan, Ovsienko, Ravsynsh and Semenyuk.

Artem Yuskevych is suffering from cancer of the kidneys. The state of his health has greatly deteriorated from the hard physical labour and from the poor food. On the 8th of February he was taken to the hospital at the third camp point (s. Barashevo). Yuskevych is trying to obtain a transfer to the Leningrad prison hospital, Haza.

**THE PERM CAMPS****Camp No. 35**

The number of administrative workers in camp no. 35 has not become smaller since 1974, despite the fact that in 1974 there were 250 people in the camp, and today there are only 96 (April 1977). The prisoners believe that the administration is more concerned to preserve a reliable personnel than with economy.

Nearly all the prisoners are old, invalids, who are serving time for "war crimes", (police, inflictors of punishment), or who are serving time for their participation in the fight for national liberation. Searches take place two to three times a month; and some political prisoners are searched more frequently.

On the 14th April 1977, Evhen Sverstyuk was brought here from camp no. 36 for a personal visit with his wife Lidia. She was told that Sverstyuk had been deprived of the right of visits, but that the administration would allow her a short visit on the condition that they would talk in Russian. Evhen Sverstyuk refused to do this and as a sign of his protest started a hunger strike. 20 other political prisoners joined him in a hunger strike in solidarity with him. On the 30th April, the chief of the camp, Polyakov, sent Lidia Sverstyuk a telegram, saying that a personal visit with her husband was designated to take place at the end of the month.

**Camp No. 36**

There are approximately 30 prisoners in the camp. Towards the end of September 1976, the political prisoner Hrynkiv was seriously injured in manual labour. He was taken to the medical section of the camp. On the basis of this, a statement written by the political

prisoners of the camp was sent to the Prosecutor's Office and to the Central Professional Trade Union of the USSR. In reply they were told that Hrynkiv's wound was his own fault.

Yosyf Mendelevych is a practising Jew, and as such does not work on Saturdays, but he fulfills his work quota during the rest of the week. On Saturday, 11th December he came to the place of his work and saw that his work reserve was missing. His friends helped him to fulfill his work quota. On Monday, Fedorov, the deputy camp chief, called all the work leaders and attacked them asking why all their workers were not at their work places. A few days later Medelevych saw his missing work reserve in the private office and work shop of the chief of the camp. On the next Saturday, the 18th December, Mendelevych was punished because he was not working, and he was put into the PKT\* for a month. Many political prisoners protested. It is known that the Jews Dumshyts, Zalmanson, the Ukrainians Chupriy and Hrynkiv staged a one day hunger strike.

Since October 1976 invalids have been forced to work. Dmytro Basarab and Onufriy Kulak (they are "25-yearers" from UPA) categorically refused. Fedorov, the camp chief, called Basarab to his office every day for some time. At the beginning of February 1977 Basarab had a heart attack: he was taken to the hospital on a stretcher. Earlier he had two strokes.

S. Hluzman, I. Kalynets, V. Marchenko and I. Svitlychny were transferred from camp no. 35 to camp no. 36.

### THE YAKUTSKY CAMP

In February 1977 Hryhoriy Vyns spent two weeks in the regional hospital of the MVD. His health has deteriorated. He has hypertonia.

On the 30th April 1977 the camp administration called him for talks. He was accused of providing the initiative to Western publications for writing about him. As evidence of this he was shown an English paper which had his photograph printed in it.

On the 22nd May 1977, Vyns had a long visit from his wife and son. At the visit he said that new material was being collected for a new case against him, and that copies that he made would be used against him.

### THE VLADIMIR PRISON

The administration of the Vladimir prison managed to obtain the appeal of political prisoners in connection with the exchange of V. Bukovsky with the Chilean communist Corvelan. The appeal was signed by Abakyn, Antonyuk, Afanasyev, Balazhanov, Davydov, Rode and Safronov.

For this Zinoviyy Antonyuk was deprived of a personal visit with his family. The other prisoners were transferred to two months of strict regime camp on 22nd January 1977. At the beginning of April 1977 Zinoviyy Antonyuk had a stroke.

\*) Preliminary detention cell.

### **"FREEDOM FOR THE UKRAINIAN NATION AND HER FIGHTERS" — STATES VASYL FEDORENKO**

A Samvydav document has reached the West concerning the Ukrainian political prisoner Vasył Fedorenko, imprisoned in the Vladimir prison, Moscow, and contains the full text of his appearance at his trial on the 21st March 1975.

Vasył Petrovych Fedorenko was born in 1928 in the Mensky province in Chernihiv. He received elementary education. The first time he was arrested, he was sentenced under article 58-8 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR and was imprisoned in the Vladimir prison. As a mark of protest against his illegal imprisonment, Fedorenko announced that he was going on a hunger strike and remained in this state for 282 days. He was transferred to Mordovia, first of all to camp no. 10, then to camps no. 11, 19 and 17. He was released in 1966. Altogether he served six years, five months and twenty five days.

On the 2nd April 1974 and 12th May 1974 Fedorenko sent statements to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of USSR and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs concerning the renunciation of his Soviet citizenship, and made an application to emigrate. He received no reply. Instead, he was summoned to the Kherson department of visas and registration, and was warned not to write any more statements. However, Fedorenko wrote another statement within two months. When he did not receive a reply he decided to escape to West Germany, where his sister Mrs. Valentyna Horbat lives. Valentyna, born in 1925, has lived in Germany since 1942. She has the statement made by Vasył, which she does not fully comprehend, but this does not mean that Vasył's statement does not deserve attention.

V. Fedorenko crossed the border on 16th September 1974 in the province of the town of Chop. He was caught in Cz. SSR and on that same day handed over to the Soviet authorities. Fedorenko was offered a compromise (unofficially): he was to spend a year and a half in psychiatric hospital and then to receive his freedom. He rejected this proposition and instead openly accused Moscow of colonial politics, which precipitated his draconian sentence.

He was sentenced in March 1975 by the Uzhorod court at a closed trial, although in documents, it is stated that the trial was 'open'. He was sentenced under articles 56, 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR and under article 70 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR to fifteen years of loss of freedom (of which 5 years were to be served in strict regime camps).

Fedorenko was brought to the Vladimir prison on the 25th April 1975 and on the following day he declared his hunger strike, demanding that his illegal sentence be repealed. As a result of the persistent demands of his fellow countrymen, he ended his hunger strike on the 98th day. On the 10th December, 1975, a general day

of hunger strikes held by political prisoners, he started a prolonged hunger strike as a protest against the violation of the Declaration of Human Rights by the Soviet government and against its anti-Ukrainian politics with the demand:

a) that his illegal sentence be repealed;

b) that he be given permission to emigrate from the USSR.

Below an excerpt from Fedorenko's speech at his trial, held on 21st March 1975, is printed:

"Citizen Judges!... I am not a poet, not a writer nor an artist as was Taras Shevchenko, but I love my native Ukraine, and although I am unable to express my love on paper, I know that my love for Ukraine is considerably greater than yours. I am more proud of my native Ukraine than a Russian or a Czech because its beauty is unequalled and its language is like a song. And my country is also richer because it has never subjugated any peoples. But, instead, she was subjugated. And now the Soviet government is crippling Ukrainian youth by introducing systematic russification into the education system.

We, the Ukrainian nation, have the duty of fighting for our rights, to attain the status of an independent nation and the recognition of national rights. Only in this way can the Ukrainian nation attain freedom and independence.

Citizen Judges! You yourselves are convinced that I have not committed any crime, because all this is being done only for the sake of formality — you pretend you are passing judgment accurately — I cannot consider this investigation as being objective.

Let us examine the affair logically: I cannot remember an instance, as you cannot, when a Soviet court made a decision independently of the KGB. Now Soviet people are so frightened that they say they are beyond politics... However, people should not be afraid of the supreme government, and the government should not encroach on the rights of free thinking people. Let us take as an example the International Pact on Social and Political Rights. The pact is distinct from the Declaration, because it is a document which after ratification does not have a facultative character, but is obligatory. The General Secretary, Brezhnev, appearing in Sophia, emphasised that the Soviet Union ratified the International Agreement on Human Rights and with this demonstrated that the Soviet Union has a deep respect for democratic rights and the freedom of individuals.

What will you say to this declaration made by Brezhnev? This is political adventurism and highhandedness with regard to those people who are fighting for their rights.

I think that people should obey the law of the government up to the point that the lawmakers respect it. But when the lawmakers violate their own laws, then such laws are illegal. If I cannot obtain protection from the government, and lawful emigration without hindrance, then I have the right to defend my trampled rights — **human rights.**

I have already referred to the higher organs of the government with statements, and apart from those, I have twice referred to the Supreme Soviet, but have received no relevant replies. My statement renouncing my Soviet citizenship has simply been ignored by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. What kind of "national" government is this? I do not consider myself a citizen of the Soviet Union and I consider this trial to be a violation of the Soviet constitution, of international agreements and of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. I acted in accordance with articles 13, 14, 15 and 16 of the Declaration of Human Rights, and what is more, I was on the territory of another nation.

My convictions and actions are not crimes, and I regard the accusations made against me illegal. Conditions and my experience have convinced me that the politics of the USSR are incorrect and undemocratic. I have been sentenced several times, and when I was reproached, I started to examine the present politics of the USSR. I began to understand the great differences that exist between the upper classes and the workers. I realised that the upper class occasionally give benefits, — such as more pay, shorter work days, better flats to the workers, but this is only to hide the oppression. The working class in the USSR live only on their wages and are hardly able to make ends meet . . .

Freedom and democracy can only exist in a system where the government is not afraid of its nation and tells its people the truth both about its failures and successes. This refers to both internal and external politics . . .

I pledge that I will remain faithful to my beliefs and will serve them until I draw my last breath. For me and for honest people, convictions are more important than life itself.

Freedom for the Ukrainian nation and for its fighters".

#### **LETTER OF THE TEACHER V. OVSIYENKO TO THE MINISTER OF EDUCATION OF THE UKR. SSR.**

More and more information is coming from Ukraine showing that after prisoners are released from camps or prisons, the organs of the KGB continue to persecute Ukrainian political prisoners. These persecutions are not only led against those who are sent into exile after serving their prison terms, but also against those have no exile terms to serve and return to their homeland.

One of the latest victims of such persecution is the teacher of the Ukrainian language and literature — Vasyl Ovsienko from the Zhytomyr province. Since his release from a four-year prison sentence, he has been unable to obtain work as a teacher, and apart from that he is under administrative supervision so is unable to look for



work in another area. The reason for this is: "Ovsiyenko's resistance to re-education". In connection with this Ovsiyenko wrote to the Minister of Education of the Ukr. SSR, the Procurator of the Ukr. SSR, and to the director of national education of the Radomyshlysky region in the Zhytomyr province. All his letters are circulating in Samvydav. The text of Ovsiyenko's letter to the Minister of Education of the Ukr. SSR is printed below:

To the Minister of Education of the Ukr. SSR,  
from Ovsiyenko Vasyly,  
philologist, lecturer of the  
Ukrainian language and literature.

### Declaration

"On the 5th March 1977 I was released from imprisonment and now I again wish to work according to my profession — in a school, or another educational establishment where the Ukrainian language and literature is taught. The court did not prohibit me from working according to my profession in its sentence; and this is also not mentioned anywhere in the laws of the Ukr. SSR.

I graduated from Kyiv University in 1972. In accordance with my profession I worked as a teacher of the Ukrainian language and literature in the Tashansky middle school (in the village of Tashan, Pereyaslav — in the Khmelnytsky region, Kyiv province), where I was arrested on the 5th March 1973. The Kyiv regional court sentenced me to 4 years of imprisonment, accusing me of anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda (article 62, § I of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR). Such an accusation has no foundation; I do not consider myself guilty.

Shortly before my release, workers of another organisation, namely the KGB, without any authorisation and without any foundation, interfered with the affairs of your ministry, and told me that I would not be able to get any specialised work until "I changed my views" (this ensued in conversations with KGB worker Boroda in the Mordovian camp ZhK 385-19, with Stetsenko, a worker of the KGB of the Ukr. SSR, and with Pravalyuk, a worker of the KGB administration in the Zhytomyr province).

This is how it is. After my release I was obliged to go to my widowed 67-year old mother, who needs me and my help (in the village of Lenino, in the Radomyshlysky region, Zhytomyr province). But the Radomyshlysky regional educational division will not give me any work, saying that they do not have any vacant posts. My administrative supervision (which is also illegal) — prevents me from leaving my province — and the refusal of the Radomyshlysky regional educational board to give me any work, is in fact a denial to give me any professional work, that is, it is discriminating against

me because of my views. This is how I am forced to be unemployed. The organs of the KGB and the MVD can also accuse me of article 214 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR (concerning vagrancy). Since it is deliberately unclearly phrased: "aversion from useful community work, anti-social behaviour", it can be used where convenient — for example such forced unemployment as mine, help received from family and friends, refusal to participate in communist subotniks\* or in elections, and also criticisms about various aspects of social life. I believe that this article of the Code contradicts the Constitution of the Ukr. SSR, where nowhere is it stated that one has to work, and it also contradicts the UN Convention of 1956 about the rejection of utilisation of forced labour, which the USSR signed.

Please examine this affair with the aim of guaranteeing me work in accordance with my qualifications in the territory of my province, or, in the final instance ensure that my administrative supervision is ended so as to enable me to seek work elsewhere. For this, it is necessary that the KGB stops interfering with the affairs of your Ministry.

In the event that my case cannot be positively resolved, I ask you to officially register me as unemployed and to allocate me and my mother (she only receives a pension of 20 roubles per month) appropriate aid, because we have no means of survival, and I have no desire to leave my profession, which is one that I love and which I attained through hard work".

3rd April 1977

*Vasyl Ovsiienko*

### **KVETSKO PROTESTS AGAINST HARSH SENTENCE**

Dmytro Kvetsko, a Ukrainian political prisoner presently incarcerated in the Permsk concentration camp, proclaimed in his letter to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR a one-day hunger strike in protest against his harsh sentence.

Dmytro Kvetsko, a history teacher in the Ivano-Frankivsk province and a former prisoner of Stalin's camps, was arrested on March 21st, 1967. He was charged with membership of the Ukrainian National Front and "betrayal of the fatherland" and sentenced to 15 years incarceration and 5 years exile. Initially he served his sentence in Vladimir prison but was subsequently transferred to the Permsk camp.

The following is the text of Kvetsko's protest which has been circulating in samvydav:

"To the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR: Statement by Dmytro Kvetsko, a political prisoner unlawfully repressed.

\* Labour freely given to the state on "off days" or overtime.

The human rights issue is presently actively discussed in the press. The West accuses the East of human rights violations, the East in turn accuses the West. It is difficult to decide who is right and who is wrong. In my opinion there is nothing to violate in the USSR, as there is a completely different approach to the concept of "human rights" in the Soviet Union. Here we should not talk of human rights violations, but the suppression of any kind of desire to attain human rights. This function of oppression is the main task of the court organs, who in their zealotry not only violate human rights but also the norms of socialistic lawfulness and the judicial system.

My trial presents conclusive proof of these violations. On 21st March, 1967, I was arrested and put into the Ivano-Frankivsk prison. The inquest attributed the writing of critical articles of a nationalistic content to me. The articles were published by Zinovy Krasivsky in the samvydav journal "Liberty and Fatherland". I distributed and circulated this journal to my friends: Mykhailo Dyakiv, Yaroslav Lesiv, Vasyl Kulin. For this I was sentenced under article 56. sect. I and article 64 of the Criminal Code to 15 years of imprisonment and 5 years of exile as well as having my private property confiscated. The court grossly violated the Criminal Code by incorrectly categorising the crime: it could not apply the crime to any of the 7 sections of article 56 which constitute the judicial concept of "betrayal of the fatherland". This violation of the Criminal Code lies in the fact that according to Soviet law, punishment does not conform to the crime I have committed, which forces me to protest against the highhandedness and lawlessness of the court. I have written about this on numerous occasions to various Soviet authorities, but to no avail. No one wishes to raise his voice in defence of the trampled socialistic law or defend justice — my elementary human right. To accept all this, would mean to give precedent to all the new acts of highhandedness and unlawfulness. Ten years ago this was possible since the human rights issue did not draw the attention it does today. The trial was held in camera — so no one could learn about the unheard of violations of human rights and Soviet law taking place at this trial. Even today the sentence is given in secret — not because of any hidden secret information, but because it is primitively and clumsily prepared and from a judicial point it has absolutely no substance. The only means by which I can revoke this sentence is by continually pointing to its brutality and unlawfulness.

As a sign of protest against my harsh sentence, I am proclaiming a one day long hunger strike on the tenth anniversary of my arrest".

March 21st, 1977,

Ural, zone 35

*D. Kvetsko*

## THE SUFFERING AND STRENGTH OF STEPAN SAPELYK

The latest "Samvydav" document that has reached the free world gives methodical testimony of the brutality with which the KGB is trying to break the morale and spirit of Ukrainian political prisoners persecuted for their convictions. The document reveals detailed information concerning Stepan Sapelyak, a Ukrainian political prisoner, and includes sections of his protest letter written to the Supreme Soviet of the Ukr. SSR.

Stepan Sapelyak was born in 1950 in the village of Rosohach, Chortkivsky region, Ternopil province. He received his education and lived there until his arrest.

Stepan Sapelyak was arrested in 1973 for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda", and was sentenced to five years of hard labour and three years exile. During his incarceration in Ural prison camp no. 36 (ust. VS 389/36, Kuchyno settlement, Chusovsky district, Perm province), Sapelyak was often brutally punished and put into solitary confinement.

In July 1976 Sapelyak was transferred to Vladimir prison.

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In the village where Sapelyak was born and raised, many Ukrainian national traditions, culture and ideals have been preserved. Since his early childhood, Sapelyak was exposed to Ukrainian national and patriotic songs.

The village of Rosohach has a long history. During the anti-Polish insurrections, a burial mound was built there. From that time on, all who died in defence of Ukraine's independence were buried there. The occupants of Ukraine (Austrians, Poles, Germans) repeatedly attempted to destroy the burial mound, but it was always restored by the inhabitants. Finally the Soviets had the burial mound completely destroyed, levelling it to the ground.

In retribution someone destroyed the Soviet monument of the "Unknown Soldier" — erected near the village. The "Unknown Soldier" trampled land underfoot with his boots — land that was foreign to him, and turned his machine gun against the people of that land. A note was attached to the ruined monument which read: "In reprisal for the destruction of our burial mound". These events took place approximately two years after World War II.

Sapelyak and a few of his village friends were accused of tearing down the Soviet flag and raising the Ukrainian blue and yellow flag in its place on the 55th anniversary of Ukrainian Independence declared by the proclamation of the Ukrainian National Republic (UNR) in 1918, and they were accused of erecting a sign saying: "Independence Day".

The population of the village greeted the swopping of flags with approval and joy and added such slogans to the posters as: "Russians get out" and so on.

A watchman of the village of Rosohach, who guarded a building near the flagpole, was questioned as to how this incident came about. He remarked: "In the evening, I saw your (Soviet) flag flying, mister, and the next morning when I looked, our (Ukrainian) flag was in its place". Some students of the summer school in the vicinity of the village were frightened because of the "new activities of the Bandrivtsi" and asked to be transferred to another school.

During Sapelyak's trial he was accused of collecting songs which called for the liberation of Ukraine. At first Sapelyak was sentenced to 7 years of prison and five years of exile, but later on his trial was reviewed and his sentence was commuted to five years of imprisonment and to three years exile.

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In 1974 Sapelyak was in the Ural prison camp no. 36 where the camp administration often blamed and punished him for trivial things. On the 21st June captain Malentiy wanted to punish Sapelyak for "violation of the dress code". It was a hot day and a few of the political prisoners, amongst them Sapelyak, who were excused from work at that time, removed their shirts. Captain Malentiy, who was passing by, made a comment to Sapelyak about his shirt, which Sapelyak immediately put on. However the captain ordered Sapelyak to report for watch duty, where he was severely beaten, as was later reported in the "Chronicle of Current Events". Sapelyak was punished with 15 days in solitary confinement. (Shizo).

As a result of this, the camp administration set up a rumour that Sapelyak was not beaten and the story was his own fabrication. This version was upheld by some prisoners who were monarchists.

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In the spring of 1975 Sapelyak was brought to Ukraine where he was pressurised to "recant". He was promised freedom, threatened and physically tortured, but he did not "recant".

Subsequently Sapelyak was brought to Kyiv, Ternopil (where he was held in KGB prisons). KGB agents took him to a beach where girls were brought to him. Then he was driven close to his village, where the car stopped and he was told:

— Go home. We feel that you have repented and tomorrow you will sign a statement to this effect.

— No I will not go.

They then threatened to beat him up.

At that time a Ukrainian girl from Canada (an arrested tourist?) was in Ternopil. Sapelyak was ordered to confess in front of the girl that he was not a political prisoner, but a hooligan; that he was never held in the Ural camp, but that he served his sentence somewhere in a camp near Lviv; that all the things that were written about him in the "Chronicle of Current Events" were lies; that he had never

been beaten and that all his previous statements were fabricated.

The KGB agents promised that, if he fulfilled their conditions, there would be no trace of any of this, but that if he did not fulfill their conditions, they threatened that — “We will destroy you...”

Sapelyak is now suffering from extremely high blood pressure and has started to get severe pains in his head.

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From Stepan Sapelyak's Statement to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukr. SSR:

“On the 21. 6. 74 I was called to the guard room VTT 36 (corrective labour camp) to see captain Melentiy — a worker in the camp administration of internal affairs (UVS) — in the presence of the flag raiser — Ramenko (illegible).

On the 24. 6. 74 I was punished with 15 days of solitary confinement, because I had described that incident to my friends. I was physically punished on the basis of the report in which my “crimes” are enumerated.

On the 6. 3. 75. I was ordered to take off my zek (prisoners' clothes) and ordered to put civilian ones on. In the corridor of the KGB prison I heard the command: “Take him and drive him away”.

On the 23. 3. 75 I was taken to the KGB administrative investigation cell in Ternopil. The conditions of the cell were very poor (it was in the cellars, it had a plank-bed and there were not any facilities to satisfy physiological needs).

On the 2. 4. 75, during the (illegible) I was brought to the office of a lieutenant general Ponomarenko who asked in a loud voice; “How much longer do you intend to engage with such nonsense? Now we will try you. Do you understand? We will brainwash you”. I sat in silence and then declared a boycott, and was put into solitary confinement.

On the 16. 4. 75, I was taken to the office of the head of the investigative section of the Ukr. KGB — lieutenant colonel Binyuk (illegible). In the presence of Ponomarenko and others I was warned that if I wanted to be freed then: “Renounce your views with regard to national politics. Declare that you are an ordinary hooligan, and that you served your sentence with other such hooligans as yourself. And if you do not do this — we will teach you, you fool. We will destroy you. Do you understand? Do you see what the situation is?”

On the 19. 4. 75., while trying to persuade me to recant, Ponomarenko screamed: “We are not going to dirty our hands here, we'll find a place for this one”.

... May, the doctor measured my blood pressure as being 170 over 110, and said the severe pains in my head were caused by “brainwashing”, and nervous tension.

On the 12. 5. 75, lieutenant general Binyuk (the chief of the Ukr. KGB

in Ternopil) in the presence of the general of the KGB from Kyiv said: "Oh, and we have dealt with tradesmen before". I questioned this — "It is the same with the Jews as with traitors of the fatherland. What, don't you understand? We'll get some rubber truncheons, and you'll soon understand. We'll make your brain work properly". The general said: "Whilst he is still young..."

I sent a letter of protest against this behaviour to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, and then Binyuk called me to his office and cursed me, saying: "I am a representative of the Supreme Soviet, and we know what to do — we, the Presidium, have the last word... do you understand? And now — go to your cell and think about it". ... 5. 75, I was driven to cities and villages where I was shown "culture" but when I said that I wanted to see Ukrainian culture in Kharkiv, Donetsk and Dnipropetrovsk, Ponomarenko replied: "that's none of your business. So this is your intention. You better forget about it".

I appeal, that the brainwashing of political prisoners by the KGB, prisoners sentenced because of their convictions, be ended".

In the summer of 1975 Stepan Sapelyak was again transferred to Ural camp no. 36. After his return, not one month passed without his being punished for some trifle. He was put into SHIZO (isolation); in May 1976 he was put into PKT (detention cell). Major Chernyak of the KGB — delegated by the KGB to camp no. 36 declared: "Repent". Sapelyak turned his back to him. Chernyak shouted at him: "I will treat you in such a way, that when you leave here, you'll have to put stones in your pockets so that the wind won't carry you away".

Sapelyak often has very high blood pressure. In June 1976 he had a pressure of 180 over 120.

The camp doctors have refused to treat him... (It is a well known fact, and even the doctors do not hide this, that first and foremost they are Chekists, and only after that — doctors).

\*

In July 1976 Sapelyak was transferred to the Vladimir prison (Obviously, as usual for "systematic violation of the regime", and because "he has not taken the road of correction", regardless of his countless punishments and sufferings).

Sapelyak, who has a very small build, is extremely thin. He is a highly cultural person and religious.

### KGB BLACKMAIL PARENTS OF SAPELYAK

Repressions against members of the opposition movement behind the Iron Curtain do not end with the arrest of these individuals. The harassment often continues inside the prisons or concentration camps,

while the KGB inveighs repressive tactics against the dissidents' families.

Recently a letter written by Stepan Sapelyak addressed to Yuri Andropov, the KGB chief, reached the West. In the letter Sapelyak protested against secret police harassment of his mother, Hanna.

It was reported that the probable harassment of Sapelyak's mother was suggested in the July 1977, no. 31 edition of "News From Ukraine" which carried a letter from Mrs. Sapelyak to Ursula Dorman of West Germany. It seems that Mrs. Dorman wanted to help the young Sapelyak, but his mother refused all aid saying that he is being "justly punished for a grave crime".

It was reported that Mrs. Sapelyak's letter resembled a letter allegedly written by the mother of the late Ukrainian poet, Vasyl Symonenko, protesting against Western interest in her son's case.

Sapelyak in his letter, denied all KGB attempts to implicate his parents in his case. He said that is absurd to think that his parents are interested in politics.

"My mother is 48 years old, and completed two grades of schooling. She works on a collective farm growing sugar beets. Her monthly salary is 42 rubles. My father is a common labourer, and his monthly salary is 50 rubles. He is illiterate. The most elementary provisions have been denied my parents", wrote Sapelyak on 8th June 1977. "My parents' sole goal in life is a slice of bread".

He said that his parents were absolved of any complicity in his case by the initial investigation, but nonetheless "immediately following my arrest, repressions began against them and have continued to this day".

Sapelyak said that the KGB began harassing his mother after Ternopil KGB agents discovered that he is greatly concerned about his mother's well-being.

In March 1973, a Col. Smirnov interrogated Mrs. Sapelyak, her son wrote, and he suggested to her that she renounce her son. They threatened to exile her to Siberia if she did not comply.

Sapelyak wrote that letters he sent to his mother have been intercepted and correspondence from his mother was delayed by camp officials. In one letter from his mother, which was dated 28th June 1976 and given to him on 4th August 1976, she advised her son not to use the word "Ukraine" on the envelope.

"My dear son, do not write the word Ukraine on the envelope. Glory to Jesus Christ (Slava Isusu Khrystu), because letters will not be forwarded to us", wrote his mother. Sapelyak said that he had



previously heard this warning not to use the word "Ukraine" on envelopes.

In May 1977, his mother was again interrogated by the KGB. This time they threatened her with imprisonment if she did not cease corresponding with people in the West who sympathise with her family.

"Frightened and terrorised, my mother now lives in utter fear, not only for me, but for herself", writes Sapelyak. "The Ternopil KGB continues to scare the illiterate old woman only because her son was arrested for his political convictions".

Sapelyak said that harassment is receiving approval from the Moscow KGB and he requested that Andropov instruct his agents in Ternopil to cease this activity.

A day before writing to Andropov, Sapelyak addressed a letter to the prosecutor-general of the Soviet Union, accusing the camp officials of not sending his protest to Leonid Brezhnev.

Sapelyak also protested against harassment by Major Fedorov. The young prisoner of conscience wrote that Fedorov, in a loud and vulgar tone, ordered Sapelyak to do work which he is not able to because of his illness. Sapelyak refused to heed the order and Fedorov warned him that he can be denied all his rights.

### **FAMILY AND FRIENDS IN DEFENCE OF LUKYANENKO**

Levko Lukyanenko, a member of the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords, was released from imprisonment early in 1976. He received the death sentence for his role in "The Ukrainian Workers' and Peasants' Union". However the death sentence was commuted by the Supreme Court of the Ukr. SSR on 26th July 1961 to 15 years of loss of freedom. Lukyanenko served his sentence in Mordovia; in 1973 he was transferred to Perm camp VS/389/36 (Kuchua, Chusovsky region) and from the 3rd July 1974 until his release, he served his sentence in the Vladimir prison.

To the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR:

To the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR.

From the family and friends of Levko Hryhorovych Lukyanenko, resident of Chernihiv, Rokosovsky Street, 41b, flat 41.

### **Declaration**

L. H. Lukyanenko was born on the 24th August 1928 in the village of Khrynivka, in the Horodyansky region in Chernihiv, but because his birth certificate was lost during the war and his mother unable to confirm the date of his birth with any other documents, Lukyanenko was drafted into the Red Army in 1944 along with those who were born in 1927 — that is, when he was not even 16 years old. He

served in the Army until 1953, sacrificing the best years of his life to it. He was an intelligent person, which was manifest even in his childhood, and had a great thirst for knowledge. During his service, he finished ten years of secondary education, was an activist and in 1953 was accepted into the C.P.S.U.(B) (Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) ).

From 1953 until 1958 Levko Lukyanenko studied at the faculty of law at the Lomos University of Moscow.

Our family has always given precedence to straightforward honesty rather than guile — it was not advantage, of whatever moral value, but honesty and integrity — these were the moral principles that we, the leaders of the family, tried to instil into our children from an early age.

From 1944 to 1958 our Levko was educated in the Army, his school and university, in the spirit of the ideology of the Marxist-Leninist party — an ideology which widely interprets and propagates the teaching regarding the right of a nation to self-determination. That is why he, being an honest and upright person, interpreted the right of a nation to self-determination, which was part of the ideology he was taught, which is stated in Article 14 of the Constitution of the Ukr. SSR, in a straightforward manner.

In 1961 he was sentenced to death because he clearly expressed his thoughts on paper about the secession of the Ukr. SSR from the USSR, which thoughts were based on Article 14 of the Constitution of the Ukr. SSR. His death sentence was commuted to 15 years of imprisonment, during which he was continually forced to say that "white was black". Because Levko Hryhorovych's moral convictions are strong, he could not acknowledge that the "right" was "forbidden". So in December 1974, the administration of the Vladimir prison, where he was serving his sentence, referred him to the Rybysky Psychiatric hospital, where it was discovered that he was a so-called hypochondriac, and the doctors of the Vladimir prison declared him to be a invalid of the second category.

This is completely outrageous and insulting. There has never been anyone who was mentally ill in our family, and Levko Hryhorovych is a completely normal person. The KGB does not have any doubts about this either, since after his release on 21st January 1976, he was not given any certificates concerning his mental disablement but was put under administrative supervision

When, after his release, L. H. Lukyanenko wanted to make use of his so-called invalidity to obtain the certificate no. L II, it was officially attested that: "The category of invalidity which was proposed by our institution, is not considered valid at the present time".

A year has passed since Lukyanenko obtained his freedom. He works as an electrician in a regional children's hospital, he socialises with us and with other people completely normally and there is no difference between his behaviour and the behaviour of other people.

As far as his views are concerned this is another matter. There is little we agree on with Levko Hryhorovych, but his views are the views of a completely sane person.

The life of Levko Hryhorovych throughout the year since his release is reminiscent of the life of a hounded hare: he cannot visit us without the permission of the police, and when he does come, he continually watches the clock so as not to be late for his registration; he is not allowed to leave his home at night, and cannot go to the theatre when he wishes; his working rights have been limited as have many other of his rights. His flat is searched without reason and he is deprived of the right of free movement, and so on.

On the 1st March... (illegible) Teleznyak from the psychotherapeutic hospital, who has to see Lukyanenko from time to time, came to see Lukyanenko as if he were an insane person.

What does this mean? Who ordered a psychiatrist to visit Levko Hryhorovych and why? In the certificate dated 28. 5. 1976 it is stated that "the category of invalidity no longer applies". Could it be that after the report, ..... (illegible) it became "inapplicable"? Because precisely at this time it became necessary to terrorise him morally and in this way force.... (illegible), the activities of the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords, of which Levko Hryhorovych is a member.

L. H. Lukyanenko has never and never intends to commit any breach of the law; since the days of his youth, he has always been concerned with the well-being of others. And because he demanded the realisation of the rights proclaimed by Soviet law and by international agreements which the Soviet government has signed he cannot be found guilty of hostility towards the Soviet regime, on the contrary, it is necessary... (illegible) for him.

If L. H. Lukyanenko has broken the law, prove it to him... (illegible) to accept an open, fair sentence, and not concern... (illegible) psychiatrically against an absolutely normal person... (illegible) Levko Hryhorovych — because he wants the realisation of official... (illegible) self-will.

We resolutely and categorically protest and demand that this case is reviewed immediately and we demand an end to this cruel treatment.

18th March 1976.

(Signatories: after the signature of Hryhoriy Lukyanenko, Levko's father, and the signatures of other members of his family, follow the signatures of 12 friends, amongst whom are workers, an electrician, a hospital worker, a specialist in agriculture and others).

## MALVA LANDA IN DEFENCE OF STEFANYA SHABATURA

Malva Landa, a Russian intellectual, well-known for her compassion and courage, again appealed to world opinion, this time in defence of Stefanya Shabatura, a Ukrainian artist.

She describes in detail the brutal punishment of Shabatura by the KGB, the destruction of her art work and appeals to the intellectuals of the world to search for a way to help the imprisoned artist. M. Landa's appeal is circulated in the Soviet Union in Samvydav and one copy has reached the free world. The text of the appeal is as follows:

To Artists,  
People of good will,  
Amnesty International,  
U.N. Commission of Human Rights:

Creative works of political prisoners — prisoners of conscience — are confiscated and burned.

Stefanya Shabatura, an artist, was officially notified that all her works — bookplates and drawings — will be burned.

Stefanya Shabatura, born in 1937, is a well-known Ukrainian artist; her tapestry was often displayed at regional, republican, All-Union and international exhibitions.

In 1972 Stefanya Shabatura, amongst many other representatives of the Ukrainian intelligentsia, was arrested, charged with "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" and sentenced by the regional court in Lviv to 5 years imprisonment at a strict regime correctional-labour colony and to 3 years exile.

Shabatura has been incarcerated in the Mordovian strict regime concentration camps for female political prisoners since 1973. She has been systematically punished and tortured in the camp prison for her refusal to do degrading compulsory work. (The camp prison is situated inside the women's concentration camp).

At the end of 1975 Shabatura was taken to Lviv (here she lived until her arrest) for so-called "re-education", which proved to be unsuccessful. As in previous years of imprisonment, S. Shabatura went on hunger strike on Human Rights Day, December 10th, 1975, protesting against the immense violations of human rights in the USSR. Shabatura did not call off or cease her hunger strike even after forceful persuasions made by the Lviv's KGB representative Shumeyko, and a promise to be allowed to see her mother (Stefa is an only child of this unusual woman) . . . Shabatura was warned by Shumeyko that she will regret her noncompliance.

Immediately after Shabatura's return from Lviv to the concentration camp, an indictment was read to her by the camp authorities that all her art works, confiscated before her departure, would be burned as "abstract" and "insulting to the camp". Over 70 bookplates and 150 sketches — all her art works that she was able to create in spite of impossible conditions in the concentration camp — were destroyed. The only reason for the destruction of the bookplates was

because they were dedicated to present or former political prisoners. However, many of them were dedicated to non-prisoners and children. The burned bookplates were dedicated to the following present or recently released political prisoners: Vasyl Romanyuk, Evhen Sverstyuk, Vasyl Stus, Edward Kuznetsov, Ihor Kalynets, Vyacheslav Chornovil, Sylvia Zalmanson, Daria Husyak, Maria Palchak, Nadia Svitlychna, Irena Kalynets, Oksana Popovych, Nina Strokata... Bookplates were also dedicated to the following writers: Zahrebelny, Honchar: to artists — Natalya Pauk, Natalya Petruk, art critic Lohvyn and many others. Shabatura dedicated a large number of bookplates to children: Yarema Svitlychny, Dzvinka Kalynets, the children of Luchuk, Tanya Kotsyubynska, Taras Chornovil, the son of Valentyn Moroz, even a bookplate dedicated to Luis Corvalan was destroyed. Many of the bookplates were already finished in ink, on small pieces of paper, all were unique. Some of the completed sketches were done in colour. Most of the sketches were designed for future use for tapestry, with motifs of ancient Ukrainian history, of Taras Shevchenko, Lesya Ukrainka... Many formal searchings, compositions, even the form of a gobelin.

Until 1974 Shabatura was not allowed to sketch, to occupy herself with things dear and more important to her than anything else. In 1974 Shabatura received a sketch book, paint, brushes, pencils and paper. All this was brought to her by Lviv's KGB representative Shumeyko. (That is why the camp administration did not confiscate these articles which are forbidden in prisons).

Shabatura painted only at odd moments when she was not being punished or incarcerated in solitary confinement (where not even a pencil is allowed). However during these difficult and stagnant hours, days and months of incarceration, new ideas and plans were born, known only to her...

During the previous searches, Shabatura's sketches and bookplates were not confiscated. However, in 1976 vandals destroyed all Shabatura's works that were created during her imprisonment. Perhaps the camp administration did not carry out this sacrilegious act and only frightened her, in order to cause more pain, to break her spirit?

As a protest against the cruel treatment and destruction of her art works, Stefanya Shabatura held a 12 day hunger strike in March 1976. In April Shabatura was put in solitary confinement for 6 months. Since May there have been no letters from her. This causes even more concern as regards her fate. It is hard in prison. The Soviet prison is especially frightful. It is awful when the last thread and bond with freedom — letters — is severed.

Stefanya Shabatura did not commit any criminal offence or state crime. To torture her, to persecute and treat her cruelly, to cripple her physically, to strive to destroy her spiritually, to destroy her art works, is the crime. These crimes are practised in a country of "victorious socialism" under the pretence of socialist legality.

I am convinced that it will not do any harm to artists — “leftists”, “rightists” and others, intellectuals all, who cherish the human being and the exalted aspirations of man, to take a stand in the defence of S. Shabatura and her creative work.

I am confident that international organisations, which dedicate themselves to the fight for humanity, for human rights — will persistently demand an opportunity to visit Stefanya Shabatura in the concentration camp where she is being cruelly tormented with hunger and cold, and will try to obtain a testimony from Shabatura concerning the actual crimes committed against her.

### IN DEFENCE OF NADIA SVITYCHNA

The text of the memorandum no. 2, dated March 1977, of the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords, addressed to the participant governments of the Helsinki Conference has reached the free world.

To: The participant governments of the Helsinki Conference:  
Memorandum no. 2

From: The Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords in Ukraine.

#### **The fate of Nadia Svitlychna:**

On the 18th May 1976 the reknowned Ukrainian activist Nadia Svitlychna was released from a four year concentration camp sentence. She was sentenced for daring to openly criticise her own government, which she helped to elect, and for considering it her sacred right to hold different opinions, and for not believing that to hold this right constitutes a prison sentence in our country for anti-Soviet activity (article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR).

Nadia Svitlychna served a sentence for a crime she did not commit. She served her sentence in full, and according to the laws of the land, she is a full member of the community (ie has all her rights). Soviet law even demands that those who have served sentences be adopted back into normal life as quickly as possible. What new crime has Nadia Svitlychna committed that these laws do not apply to her? How is she dangerous to the Soviet government that after four years in strict regime concentration camps, she is undergoing psychological torture — which is even worse than camps? And, we are about to prove that this is real torture.

I. N. Svitlychna, after her release, was ordered to live in the same place where she lived before serving her sentence and where she was registered — in the flat of her brother Ivan Oleksiyovych Svitlychny, who is currently serving a sentence under the same article of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR (as his sister) and of his wife —

Leonida Svitlychna. On the 15th June 1976 she was issued a passport, that is — she became a citizen of the Soviet Union, with full rights. She was refused a resident's permit though, to live in Kyiv, on the basis that she did not have living quarters there (the flat where she lived until the time of her arrest, measures 28.4sq. metres). This refusal is in violation of the declaration made by the Council of Ministers of the USSR on the 28th August 1974, a declaration concerning the "residency system", which has not yet been repealed. Here is an excerpt from the above-mentioned document: "About some citizens' rights over residents' permits":

II. To establish that living rights are guaranteed in towns and villages of the residential type, regardless of the size of the quarters...

People who have been released from punishment i.e. deprived of their freedom, exiled etc... to the living quarters that are occupied by members of their families or their parents, with whom they lived until the time of their arrests", (taken from the journal "Socialist Law", no. 12, 1974, p. 70).

Here is an incomplete list of the institutions that Nadia Svitlychna turned to with her complaints: the passport office in Kyiv, the administration of internal affairs in Kyiv, the Minister of Internal Affairs in the USSR, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the CC CPSU, and to the general secretary of the CC CPSU, L. Brezhnev, and to the regional procurator of Kyiv personally.

There was a single reply to all her complaints: "refusal, based on the grounds of absence of living quarters".

The Kyiv committee concerned with residency rights eventually came to the same conclusion, but this decision does not come under the jurisdiction of the procurator. The secretary of the town committee and the head of the above mentioned committee — Zahrebsky, explained in a conversation: "Your sister-in-law, Leonida Svitlychna, might remarry, then frictions could arise between you and her future husband. We cannot contribute towards such tensions". This phrase is lawful in the face of such events, but the stance of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, of Zahrebsky and others, only has weight as the next volume in the czarist world of Soviet fantastica.

On December 8th 1976, after seven months of being unemployed, Nadia Svitlychna obtained employment as a janitor-gardener in the Kyiv children's nursery, no. 164, although she is a philologist by profession. On the 16th March she was dismissed from this employment because she did not have a resident's permit, and the manager fined her 50 roubles. This is how Nadia Svitlychna, a citizen of the Soviet Union, was eventually deprived of the right to work — a right guaranteed by the constitutions of the USSR and the Ukr. SSR.

III. The seven year old son of Nadia Svitlychna — Yarema Svitlychny, is living with his mother, but also does not have a resident's permit. In May 1972, after Nadia Svitlychna's arrest, he was forcefully taken to a children's home, of which not one of Nadia's relatives

was informed for 10 days. The district committee for the care of children decided that the seven-year old Yarema was not to be cared for by his grandmother because of her advanced age and her small pension — 20 roubles. Instead the child was placed in the care of Nadia's sister who lives in Voroshylovhrad, but this was against Nadia Svitlychna's wishes and so illegal. Then Yarema's residency permit was cancelled, which was also unlawful, since he did not serve a sentence with his mother. Now that Yarema Svitlychny is not registered, he has been deprived not only of the right of education, but also of medical attention. Nadia Svitlychna, as his mother, was refused a medical certificate for her son at the regional hospital, which according to the law, guarantees payment. At this, the director of the hospital, obviously forgetting his Hypocratic oath, thickly said: "I am giving you a certificate for three days, but don't count on it being more". Leonida Svitlychna was also refused a certificate for the continuance of medical attention for her nephew.

IV. In September 1976 police organs raised the question of Svitlychna's "malicious deviation" from residency rights, which under article 196 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR carries a sentence of up to two years of deprivation of freedom. These actions of the police can only be termed as the cynical and sadistic destruction of a person, because Svitlychna, after her release, only attempted to obtain a resident's permit.

The above mentioned article of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR requires two warnings from the militia, a meeting of the committee, and then a court trial before it can be used for sentencing. The first warning came to Svitlychna at the beginning of October 1976. The second came in December of that same year. Leonida Svitlychna has also not paid the fine for the "illegal residency" of Nadia Svitlychna in her flat. The meeting of the committee took place on the 16th March 1977, but the results of this meeting are not yet known. But it is obvious that in this campaign of terror, the conditions have been calculated to include the minutest detail, and either sooner or later, the court will pass an infamous sentence. We do not want to be and cannot be silent witnesses of this.

From all that has been said it emerges that: the governments of the USSR are unable to adhere to their own laws and are unwilling to comply with them.

The government of the USSR greatly violated the Declaration of Human Rights which it signed, and violated the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference — especially the section concerning human rights.

We demand that the governments of the USSR and the Ukr. SSR immediately resume lawful consideration of Nadia Svitlychna's residency permit and finds her employment according to her profession and education. If the governments refuse to heed these demands



then we demand that the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR allows her to emigrate as soon as possible.

We call on the governments which have signed the Helsinki Accords to request the Soviet Union to explain this gross violation of the Final Act of the Accords:

We call on all Soviet and International organisations, all honest people of the Soviet Union and the world to defend Nadia Svitlychna — the victim of arbitrary administration.

Oles Berdnyk, Ivan Kandyba, Petro Hryhorenko, Levko Lukyanyenko, Oksana Meshko, Myroslav Marynovych, Mykola Matusevych, Nina Strokata.

Kyiv, 20th March 1977

### **DOCTORS FULFILL THE FUNCTIONS OF CHEKISTS — STATEMENT MADE BY IVAN SVITLYCHNY\***

The appeal of political prisoner Ivan Svitlychny, is currently circulating in Samvydav. In connection with this appeal and others that Svitlychny has written, in which he depicts the harsh conditions of his life, his poor state of health and the cruel treatment he receives from the camp administrators, 15 other political prisoners from Perm camp have sent letters of protest in defence of Svitlychny to the Procurator of the USSR — R. Rudenko — the former procurator of the USSR at the Nuremburg trials. The latest appeal of Svitlychny, dated 27th November 1976, is printed in full below:

#### **Statement:**

To the General Secretary of the CC CPSU:  
L. Brezhnev.

I am fully aware that my statement will not find its way to such a lofty addressee (I do not even pretend that this could be so), but I ask the citizen who has been delegated to fulfill these responsible functions and who will be examining this statement, to pay attention to all the attendant characteristics which are connected with various statements which reflect the greatest interests of the authors rather

\* *Ivan Oleksiyovych Svitlychny*: born 19. 9. 1929; a graduate of Kharkiv University; a post-graduate and then an employee at the Institute of Literature at the Academy of Science in the Ukr. SSR; a literary critic, writer, translator, researcher; married; detained by the KGB for 9 months from 1965 to 1966, during which time the KGB broke the fingers in one of his hands. He was arrested again on 14. 1. 1972 and sentenced on 27. 4. 1973 in Kyiv under Article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR to 12 years of imprisonment. He was accused of Ukrainian national patriotism. He is currently serving his sentence in Perm camp no. 36.

than the essence of the matter. I ask you to look — without bias — at the sketch included; it shows the outline of the bones in my hands, and then, with such minimal factual information in front of you (I am afraid, given the conditions of my existence, I cannot give you more), I suggest that you make yourself familiar with the official documents concomitant with genuine declarations. It is in this that the real reason for my declaration lies: to pierce my way through to you — through your solid wall of prejudice, ambitions, the individual concerns of the leaders of various organisations — with whom I have the misfortune to be in contact, although I am aware that my attempts are futile. But I do not have any choice, and have to do this.

In a statement I made to you on the 30th October 1976 I briefly explained the situation which the local administration had created for me. But after this statement and probably because of this statement, the administration decided to take new measures against me and I am forced to add more information to complete my previous statement.

It appears that the administration understood the injustice of its acts and so decided to cover it up by using medicine. A medical farce was acted out (a farce because no one even looked at my injured hands, not even for the sake of formality, and that is why I am forced to draw the outlines of the bones of both my hands) with the result that it was decided that I could work with compressors. Unfortunately, I cannot accurately describe the pains I have in my head, the increased pressure and the spasms of the blood vessels in my head, which cause me more pain than my injured hands do, for which illnesses I have appealed to doctors, and received treatment long before the question of working at the compressors arose. I can only hypothetically suggest what the medical results are, because the role of doctors and of the KGB are not sufficiently clear for me to differentiate between them: the Chekists — the half-disguised producers of the above mentioned farce, freely used medical concepts and determined the conclusions drawn by the doctors; the doctors, with their knowledge of the affair, fulfilled the functions of the Chekists, and the representatives of the camp administrators generalised and realised practically that which the others decided. After a conversation with the representative of the Perm Ukr. KGB — Ivaniv, I was called by his co-worker of the Skalinsky Ukr. MVD — Major Sharlikov, who promised that all punishments would be applied to me. He realised his promise very quickly: at the present moment, as I am writing this statement, I have been deprived of using the camp shop, deprived of my right to receive parcels and of visits; I am trying to finish my statement before I am thrown into the isolator, and there... well, I have already been promised that I will receive all forms of punishment. I am not going to mention them beforehand and list them off. Arbitrariness is arbitrary, and sadism is sadism — and I do not wish to attain the reputation of

someone somewhat naive and simple by expressing my amazement and my anger to that which has become a permanent and unalterable feature of our existence here, and which only deviates from the norm when reminders are made about "humanitarian" verbal legalities (and anyway, this rarely occurs). Having decided to appeal to you again through this statement, I want to emphasise, that without regard to my individual characteristics, I do not refuse any work which I am capable of doing and for the past one and a half years I did not refuse to fulfill the function of a librarian and of being responsible for the club. I did this work in such a way that there could not be any complaints made against me. Today I also do not refuse work which I am capable of doing and I have repeatedly asked the administration to give me such work. But even in this I am refused and instead I am forced to do such work which is dangerous for my life and health — so that I receive all forms of punishment simply because I defend myself. The punishments have already started; I am left with nothing else save to wait for your reply in the hope that it will not be formal.

27th November 1976,

Ivan Svitlychny

### **OXSANA MESHKO PROTESTS AGAINST ILLEGAL HARASSMENT**

Oksana Meshko, a member of the Kyiv based Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords, sent a letter to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, protesting against the KGB harassment of herself and other members of the Group. A copy of the letter was sent to the Political Bureau of the CC CPSU. The text of the letter is as follows:

To the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.  
Copy: Political Bureau CC CPSU.

#### **Protest.**

In April 1977, I forwarded complaints to the USSR and the Ukrainian SSR State Public Prosecutors, to the head of the KGB at the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR (a copy was also sent to the general department of the CC CPSU), protesting against the illegal search of my flat which was conducted on February 5th in violation of Soviet law and which was approved by the Moscow and Kyiv prosecutors.

I did not protest against the unlawfulness of the search but against the abuse of authority by KGB official Pankov: the unjustified search was conducted in the manner of a pogrom — breaking windows, applying physical force, personal search, forceful undressing in the

presence of this KGB official. (This even exceeded the norms that the KGB applies during searches in prisons and isolated penal institutions).

They did not find or confiscate any anti-Soviet materials during the search; however they confiscated the following materials:

1. Photocopies of the UN Human Rights Declaration;
  2. Photocopies of excerpts from the Helsinki Accords Final Act;
  3. Photocopies of the UNESCO by-laws;
  4. Grievances and petitions sent to high Soviet authorities concerning my son Oleksander Serhiyenko, a political prisoner;
  5. My correspondence with deputies of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, with Borys Paton, president of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Science, writer Mykhaylo Stelmakh, composer Dmytro Kabalevsky, who made appeals in 1974 to review the case of my guiltlessly sentenced son;
  6. Some books, published in the USSR, in which I underlined some passages without any comment;
  7. My correspondence with my son Oleksander, my family and friends and letters written 30 years ago to my mother and son from the Stalin-Beria camps;
  8. Letters and statements describing violations of human rights written to the Ukrainian Helsinki Group by citizens. These were mostly copies sent to various Soviet authorities which were never answered;
  9. Finally everything else written or typed in notebooks, on loose sheets of paper, even on scrap paper: poems, aphorisms, proverbs, spontaneous notes, possibly even radio broadcasts — in a word — very personal material, some worthless, which was confiscated without being examined. According to KGB official Pankov, all confiscated material will be "scrutinised by experts".
- All of the confiscated material was placed in a sack and sealed.

The authorities do not concern themselves with government officials violating the law, while I am persecuted by the KGB and the public prosecutor. (I was called twice for interrogations to Donetsk, five times to the prosecutor's office in Kyiv — without regard to the report of my poor health issued by the city clinic).

The search of my flat was conducted in connection with my affiliation with the Ukrainian Group to Monitor Compliance with the Helsinki Accords, and demonstrates the unlawful actions of Moscow's and Kyiv's prosecutors.

The entire group was subject to persecutions, searches and arrests.

The following is indisputable evidence of the violations of human rights:

1. The Group sustained persecution from the first day of its existence (on November 9th stones were thrown through the window of Mykola Rudenko's flat — the leader of the Group. I was present at that time in his flat and was hit in the arm).

2. The initial KGB searches were conducted on December 23rd, 1976, and repeated on February 5th and April 23rd, 1977 in the flats of the Group members and in the flats of their parents and friends. In connection with the Ukrainian Group the searches were conducted in: Kyiv, Drohobych, Chernihiv and in Moscow, and in the provinces of Kyiv, Lviv and Donetsk. In all 27 flats were searched.

3. Four of the Group's members were arrested: On February 5th, 1977 — Mykola Rudenko and Oleksa Tykhy, and on April 23rd 1977, Myroslav Marynovych and Mykola Matusevych.

4. During the searches in all cases except one, all personal correspondence, photographs, even typewriters were confiscated, despite the fact that a typewriter is essential to a writer.

5. The Criminal Code of Ukrainian SSR (Article 116) was violated by taking a Kyivan resident, Mykola Rudenko, after his arrest to Donetsk for KGB interrogations (the place of residence and arrest of another Group member — O. Tykhy; why not the other way round?).

Witnesses for Mykola Rudenko's trial, predominantly residents of Kyiv, were summoned to Donetsk.

Mykola Matusevych and Myroslav Marynovych were arrested in Kyiv. Witnesses were summoned to the KGB at Roza Luxemburg Street.

The entire Ukrainian Helsinki Group, a non-political association with a loyal and law-defending accent on its activities, is subjected to cruel persecutions and four of the Group members were arrested.

The Group has been groundlessly compared with illegal and hostile organisations and its activities termed anti-Soviet and criminal.

The highest USSR authority — The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet — approved the Final Act of the Helsinki Accords and its principles, along with principle no. VII — to respect human rights and the basic freedoms — including freedom of thought, conscience, religion and conviction.

The rise of the Ukrainian Group evolves from the Helsinki Accords which guarantee basic rights and grant lawful activities, aimed at the realisation of the will of the Soviet state, as expressed in the Final Act.

The Final Act was undermined by repressions employed by the KGB and the prosecutors, and the political and juridical meaning of the Helsinki Accords was debased — and not only in the eyes of compatriots.

I am turning to you — the highest authority in the USSR and Ukrainian SSR — with a request not to disregard the "matter" of the Ukrainian Group but to secure for members of the Group the guarantees of basic human rights in compliance with the Helsinki Accords (which you accepted and signed) and of which Mr. Brezhnev remarked in the presence of the representatives of 35 nations, members of

the Helsinki Conference: "It is a victory of mind... It is endemic for mankind to strive for progress in deeds... Well, sooner or later, there must be a beginning".

### AN OPEN LETTER TO PEN-CLUB

An open letter from the members of the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords has been received by the International PEN-Club. The letter was written by Mykola Rudenko and Oles Berdnyk on the 5th January 1977, exactly one month before the arrests of M. Rudenko and O. Tykhy. A shortened version of the text is printed below:

To the International PEN-Club,  
New York.

#### Open Letter

Dear Fellow Writers,

We did not want to trouble you with the affairs of your distant colleagues, however, the problems which confront us today, could be your problems tomorrow if the world literary community does not manifest strong solidarity.

You have probably heard of the repressions which have been going on for many years against the well known publicists and literary writers I. Svitlychny, V. Moroz, E. Sverstyuk, V. Stus, V. Chornovil, S. Karavansky and many other Ukrainians or representatives of other socialist republics.

Now in the activities of the KGB organs a new qualitative period has arisen: in their battle they pay particular attention to futurology, science fiction, to those works which create consciousness in those who are oblivious, to those which stimulate evolutionary or revolutionary changes. For example all the works of Oles Berdnyk (nearly 30 titles) are completely banned from libraries and burnt on the orders of a special "circular" (circulated in total secrecy — is it not reminiscent of Hitler in 1933?). Berdnyk himself was expelled from the Writers' Union five years ago and was forced to live in harsh, miserly conditions.

The same was done to the poet and futurologist Mykola Rudenko. For many years he troubled the ruling organs of Ukraine and the USSR, suggesting that they examine and take into consideration a whole list of scientifically based predictions in the economic, sociological and other spheres. Criticism was not long in coming (however not literary). He was expelled from the party, and from the Writers' Union and became subject to all round terror.

We both experienced repeated searches made by the KGB (O. Berdnyk was searched three times, and Rudenko twice). Nearly the whole of their literary archives were stolen: ten note books with ideas for new books, unfinished stories and novels (futurescopic),

thousands of lines of poetry, which are impossible to rewrite (from Rudenko) and also the philosophical work "Hnosys i suchasnist" were removed. The works "Ukrainian Festivals", "Alternative Evolution" and many others were removed from Berdnyk.

It is impossible to work creatively when every day (or to be more precise, every night) brutal and cruel guests are expected. You, fellow writers, have probably never even dreamt of such a situation, that in a socialist country, ignoramous-gendarmes come and dig with their dirty paws the works of futurologists and poets, while on their dreams of a world of unity, humanity and brotherhood ominous shadows of a merciless present fall.

Do not regard these facts as a mere accident. The state of futurology and science fiction is a very sorry one in our multi-national country. For example, immediately after the death of the famous Russian science fiction writer I. Yefremov, his widow had guests — from the KGB. They conducted a heartless search of her flat, and collected many valuable manuscripts... Many science fiction works of the world-known brothers Struhanskis are banned. The publications of science fiction from abroad barely exist. The future has become the monstrous pretext for the organs of security — in it, they feel a danger to their monolithic rule.

And this is how it is. It is impossible to hold the fire of thoughts and hearts in the paper labyrinths of prohibition and persecution. Prison walls and even death are not able to prevent the flaming flight of thought. Fellow writers, raise a voice of protest against these medieval persecutions against creative writers. The Cosmic Era demands free contacts, free thinking, the union of all the strengths of creators to build a world of Happiness and Love.

We are waiting for your word to rise in our defence.

5th January 1977, Kyiv, Ukraine.

**Mykola Rudenko and Oles Berdnyk**

### **UNDERGROUND LEAFLET CALLS FOR INDEPENDENCE**

An underground leaflet currently circulating in Ukraine calls on the populace to fight for their independence.

The brief statement decries Moscow's "centralism" as "coercion" and says that "the policies of Ukraine should and will be made in Kyiv, not Moscow".

The full text of the leaflet is as follows:

#### **UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE!**

Moscow plunders the natural riches of Ukraine and the Ukrainian people. Centralism is coercion. The policies of Ukraine should and will be made in Kyiv, not Moscow.

Ukrainians, if you want to be masters of your own house, then fight for Ukrainian independence!

---

## *Ukrainian World News in Brief*

### US DELEGATION IN BELGRADE RAISES RUDENKO, TYKHY CASES

The United States delegation, in a meeting of the 35 signatory states on Basket One implementation, has formally intervened on behalf of the two Ukrainian dissidents, Mykola Rudenko and Oleksiy Tykhy, the only two Helsinki monitors in the USSR to have been sentenced. They received 12 and 15 year prison sentences and internal exile respectively for their monitoring activities.

The following are excerpts from the address by R. Spencer Oliver, U.S. delegate to Basket One deliberations, Monday, 12th December, 1977:

"We have expressed our specific concern for the members of the Helsinki monitoring groups because we feel that the treatment they have received should be of direct concern to this Belgrade meeting. We have spoken forthrightly of our concern for the fate of those who sit today in prison without contact with their families or lawyers in violation not only of the Helsinki Final Act, but also in violation of the rights supposedly guaranteed by their own laws.

"There are Mykola Rudenko and Oleksiy Tykhy, founders of the Ukrainian Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords in the USSR, who were given maximum sentences, 12 and 15 years loss of freedom, respectively, for merely exercising the right which Principle VII guarantees. As Vice-President Mondale said a few days ago: 'Their lives are a testament to the moral courage of a few we will see in our lifetime, and because of their courage, because of their unyielding commitment to liberty, those who enter the moral conflict, all those struggling to be free have companions in every corner of the world today'.

"The Belgrade conference is a step in a process which has just begun, but it is a historic step. For the first time an international forum is based on the demand of human conscience to raise the standard of performance

of governments in the treatment of individual rights.

"We will continue to insist that human rights be addressed by the signatories of the Helsinki Accords".

Mr. Oliver's comments on Rudenko and Tykhy are America's strongest statement on human rights violations in the USSR in the five weeks of the conference.

The Soviet delegate, Vladimir Loginov, in reply, made the sharpest attack on the United States since the beginning of the conference. He said that the U.S. "has no right to teach other countries about human rights" and that "life in the United States includes people who cannot afford medical care, and that there is discrimination against minorities". He asked: "Can the U.S. judge when it used napalm and terrible weapons of destruction to kill hundreds and thousands of people in Viet Nam or those who plan secret CIA programmes to assassinate foreign statesmen?"

While the Soviet delegate quoted such accounts from U.S. sources he did not refute or challenge the actual charges levied by Mr. Oliver on Rudenko and Tykhy.

Recently President Carter issued his semi-annual report on compliance with the Helsinki Final Act, in which he spoke of the Rudenko and Tykhy cases. On Friday, 9th December 1977, the director of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians Human Rights Bureau discussed the cases with Myron Hoffman, chief spokesman for the U.S. delegation to the talks in Belgrade.

In other developments, the most significant stumbling block at the conference which recessed on 22nd December, is to establish the framework for drafting a final document of the conference. The disparities are between the East and West interpretations of the Final Act.



The East wants a general, short, forward-looking document and the West countries want a long, thorough assessment of implementations. There have been over 90 resolutions introduced for inclusion in the final document.

The controversy is now centered on the number of special drafting committees to be set up to draw the final document. The East wants no more

than two, and the West wants as many as possible, at least one committee for each basket. Many delegates hope that the non-aligned countries such as the Nordic bloc, Switzerland and Austria, will arrive at a compromise solution. The structure of the drafting procedure was to be decided by Friday, 16th December, since the conference recessed 6 days later.

## U.S. SENATOR DOLE ON POLITICAL PRISONERS IN THE USSR

Sen. Bob Dole (R.-Kan.) made a personal appeal about the fate of 14 Soviet political prisoners to Yuri Vorontsov, head of the Soviet delegation on the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Belgrade.

During his attendance at the CSCE in mid-November, Sen. Dole presented Vorontsov with a list of incarcerated human rights activists in the Soviet Union. The list included Rev. Vasyl Romanyuk, Nijole Sadunaite, Anatoly Shcharansky, Kaliju Matik, Sergei Soldatov, Mati Kiirend, Artyom Yusevitch, Feliks Serebrov, Mykola Rudenko, Oleksa Tykhy, Valentyn Moroz, Algirdas Zypre, Antanas Terleckas and Viktoras Petkus.

Sen. Dole is one of the leading Senate spokesman in defence of human and national rights advocates in Ukraine and other Soviet republics.

The text of Sen. Dole's speech before the plenary session of the CSCE is printed below:

... My delegation, however, is not only concerned with the human rights provision of the Final Act. We are dedicated to the fulfillment of all its provisions. Quite frankly, great doubts were expressed by many Americans about the Final Act at the time it was signed in August of 1975. It was not all some Americans wanted and more than others cared for. President Ford was criticised for his participation at Helsinki and the Final Act was a matter of some contention in last year's Presidential election.

To his credit, President Carter not only continued, but personally strengthened America's commitment to

implement the Final Act. Just last week Vice-President Mondale reaffirmed this resolve. American commitment to the implementation of this Act is across the board, it is strong, it is bipartisan...

### Politics of Human Rights

... Without a doubt, it is popular politically speaking, to pursue the quest for human rights. In most cases it is also highly appropriate. Some, of course, would have you believe they discovered the dignity of man, others are quick to condemn but slow to self-examine.

Ambassador Goldberg and other United States delegates have been specific and to the point. They have properly stated our case. Therefore it is not my purpose to confront, or posture, or pound anyone over the head. Specific "human rights" cases which have been called to my attention have been passed on to appropriate officials. I shall hope for expeditious handling and favourable disposition...

### A Nation of Immigrants

... We are a nation of immigrants, people who have come from all over the world to participate in the promise of America. Most of our population come from European backgrounds. They have cultural and ethnic identity with most of the participating states in this meeting. They actively maintain their interest in their heritage and in their former homelands.

They express their interest through associations and organisations throughout America. For example, I have met with representatives of organisations such as the National Federation of American Ethnic Groups, the Czecho-Slovak National Council of America, the Congress of Russian Americans, the Polish-American Congress, the Hungarian Organisation in North America, the Ukrainian National Association and the Joint Baltic American National Committee — and many others. They have expressed their concern not only about the human rights provision of Basket III and Principle VII but also about the right of self-determination of all peoples.

It is a fact that the United States has never recognised the Soviet incorporation of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia and U.S. official policy of non-recognition was not effected by the results of the European Security Conference. This long standing principle is the policy of the United States and is supported by the Congress of the United States.

I cite these groups and their concerns not to be provocative or confrontational. I merely wish to clarify and explain the reasons for the strong concerns of my delegation and my government in the field of human rights. There is — in my opinion — a direct connection between the public perceptions of the integrity of the Helsinki Process and the ability of governments in the West to carry on the process of detente. Public trials and political dissidents, for example, could have a profound impact on pending or subsequent bilateral and multilateral agreements. Most mem-

bers of the Congress of the United States believe, in my opinion, that human rights cannot be subordinated to development, co-operation and security.

Our basic goal is to promote genuine understanding and realisation of tensions between the participating states, greater respect for human rights, freedom of religion and self-determination of all peoples. We view CSCE as an important step toward achieving these objectives. We also understand that ours is not a perfect system, that we too have our own problems and failings — but we are making efforts to do better, and we will continue our work toward full implementation of all the provisions of the Final Act in our own country.

### **American Proposal**

Finally, it is in this spirit that the American delegation, with the support of other delegations, will put forward a proposal which will, among other things, recognise the importance of the CSCE process and its continuation. The proposal will resolve to implement unilaterally the relevant provisions of the Final Act relating to Human Rights and fundamental freedoms and to ensure their implementation bilaterally and within the context of CSCE and other multilateral fora.

December 10th is Human Rights Day, Anniversary of the U.N. General Assembly's adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948. May it serve to remind all nations of how far we have come and the distance yet to travel as we strive for future co-operation and security in Europe.

## **CARTER CENSURES REDS ON HELSINKI VIOLATIONS**

President Jimmy Carter censured the Soviet government and satellite countries for continuing violations of the human rights provisions of the 1975 Helsinki Accords.

In his biennial report to the Congressional Committee on Security and Co-operation in Europe, President Carter said that Soviet bloc countries

continue to violate the human rights of their citizens while claiming that they are adhering to the Helsinki Accords.

Mr. Carter is required to report to the commission headed by Rep. Dante Fascell (D-Fla.), on compliance with the Accords.

The American President said that

claims of Soviet compliance with the Helsinki Accords are disproved by "The reality of Eastern societies and specific events", such as the persecution of individuals for seeking their government's implementation of the treaty.

In his report, President Carter mentioned the arrests of Aleksander Ginsburg, Yuri Orlov, Anatoly Shchiransky, Mykola Rudenko and Oleksa

Tykhyy as examples of Soviet violations.

Mr. Carter also censured the Czechoslovak government for persecuting the members of the "Charter 77" movement.

He also criticised the East German government for abusing psychiatry for political purposes, and the religious harassment in most Soviet bloc countries.

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THE GRAND PRINCES OF RUS' EXAMINING IMPORTED GOODS AT KYIV HARBOUR

Painting by *Petro Andru*



*Lev SHANKOVSKY*

## UKRAINE AND THE UKRAINIANS

Ukraine, a constituent republic of the Union of Soviet Republics and a founding member of the United Nations, is located in Southern Europe, north of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov. It is bordered on the north by the Byelorussian SSR and the Russian SFSR. Ukraine's neighbours on the east are the Cossack lands, once independent republics and now incorporated into the RSFSR.

In size, Ukraine is the second largest country of Europe. The present-day Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic with an area of 232,600 sq. m. is larger than France (211,207 sq. m.) and larger than both German Republics (137,744 sq. m.) However, not all Ukrainian ethnic territories are incorporated into the Ukrainian SSR. In fact, the Ukrainian ethnic territory covers an area of 364,900 sq. m.

Ukraine, called the "bread basket" or the "granary" of Europe, has for millennia been one of the most important agricultural regions in the world. Widely known for its "black earth" belt and mild continental climate, Ukraine produces a wide variety of grains, vegetables, fruits, sugar beets, and sunflowers. About seventy five per cent of Russian grain exports prior to World War I were grown in Ukraine. Unfortunately, it is not so now. Constant crises of Soviet agriculture and dependence on grain imports from the USA and Canada have one of their sources in the fact that Stalin destroyed the Ukrainian agricultural class. More than eight million Ukrainian peasants, expert toilers of soil throughout millennia, men, women, and children, perished as a result of Stalin's policies of "elimination of rich peasants" (1930) or of the government-made famine to force collectivization (1932-1933). Many others were uprooted, exiled, or fled their native villages to save their lives. All this brought a complete disruption of the Ukrainian farming economy, a catastrophic decline of livestock, a dangerous decline in standards of living with resulting health deficiencies. If to this we add the destruction brought by World War II, which was fought fiercely on all Ukrainian lands, it becomes understandable why Ukrainian agriculture could never return to its pre-World War I status as one of the largest grain exporters in the world. And this has its impact on the situation on all of Soviet agriculture.

It would be erroneous to think, as many still do, that Ukraine is

only an agricultural country. In fact, Ukraine is a highly industrialized country and, accordingly, highly urbanized too. Out of the forty-eight million inhabitants of Ukraine (in 1973, on January 1, 1976 Ukraine's population was estimated at 49.1 million), twenty-seven million lived in cities and towns, and only twenty-one million in rural areas. Kyiv, with two million inhabitants, is the capital and the largest city of Ukraine. Next come Kharkiv with 1.3 million, and Odessa, Donetsk, and Dnipropetrovsk with approximately 1 million each.

There are also thirty-seven cities with a population of 100,000 or more, among them Zaporizhzhya with more than 700 thousand, Lviv with more than 600 thousand, and Kryvyi Rih with more than 500 thousand.

Ukraine's natural conditions for industrial development are very good indeed. One of the greatest assets is the abundance of mineral deposits. Ukraine possesses some of the largest deposits of iron and manganese ore in the world, the only large hard coal basin in Europe, substantial deposits of oil and natural gas, and large resources of water power. Besides, salt, sulphur, titanium, mercury, magnesium, cobalt, nickel, uranium, chemical minerals and construction material are also in sufficient supply. In many cases the location of deposit is very favourable; for example, the iron and manganese deposits are located close to each other and to coal. This not only facilitates transportation but also makes the development of large industrial centres easier.

Thus, at present, Ukrainian industry rivals Ukrainian agriculture in importance. In production of coal, iron ore, natural gas, pig iron, steel and rolled steel, and in production of locomotives, Ukraine occupies the first place in Europe. In terms of natural resources and industrial output Ukraine occupies the second place in the USSR after the Russian SFSR. The most developed branches of Ukrainian industry are heavy industry, such as coal-mining, iron and steel production, the chemical industry and heavy machine building. Some of the latter plants are highly specialized.

The Lviv automotive crane plant, for example, produces all the automotive cranes in the USSR and the satellite countries of the USSR; the Kharkiv and Voroshylovhrad locomotive plants produce ninety per cent of all diesel locomotives in the USSR; the Zhdanov heavy machine plant makes all the oil tanks and chemical cisterns in the USSR, and the Mykolayiv shipyards built the first 45,000 ton aircraft carrier for the Soviet Navy, named *Kyiv*. Another carrier, named *Mensk*, is now under construction.

In comparison with heavy industry, the development of consumer industries, including light and food industries, lags behind heavy industry. The reason for this is the Soviet economic policy which stresses the development of heavy industry and allots a very small

share of resources to the development of consumer industries. Yet Ukraine's share, in the USSR food industry is 19.4 per cent, and in the production of granulated sugar Ukraine occupies the first place in Europe.

Ukraine is the country of Ukrainians. Sometimes Ukrainians are mentioned by Western writers as a "Soviet minority". It is quite an illogical term because Ukrainians constitute a majority in Ukraine. The Soviet census of 1970 states that Ukrainians constituted 32,284,000 or 74.9 per cent of the entire population of the Ukrainian SSR.

As the 1970 Soviet census shows, the barbarous action of the Russian rulers in the past did not eliminate either the Ukrainian language or the Ukrainian nationality. In the 1970 Soviet census 40,753,000 people, or 16.8 per cent of the entire population of the USSR, declared their nationality as Ukrainian.

By their actions of 1863 and 1876, a Russian Minister and a Russian Tsar wanted to imply that Ukrainians did not exist because they counted them among the Russians and considered the Ukrainian language a "Russian dialect". It may be surprising to see that, despite ample evidence to the contrary, many people in the West still subscribe to such outmoded theories of Russian imperialism. It is daily fare for Ukrainians in the USA to see themselves identified as "Russians" in the press and other media, in popular usage, encyclopaedias, textbooks, and in general literature. One can only wonder how the Russian imperialists succeeded in imposing upon the Western world their own conception of "Russia", a conception which treats the Soviet Union as one whole and its people as "Russians".

It must be said here that centuries ago the Western cultural world was better informed about Ukraine than it is now, in the era of communication satellites. Maps published in many countries as early as the sixteenth century bore the designation "Ukraine", and one of the oldest maps bearing such a designation is the map dated 1572 and made by order of Charles IX for his brother Henry of Anjou. This map has been kept in the archives of the French Foreign Ministry.

The Ukrainians belong to the family of the Slavic peoples. The Slavic peoples are sharply contrasted: the Russians differing from the Poles, the Ukrainians from both, and the Slavs of Central Europe and the Balkans forming entirely different groups. The history of various Slavic peoples has been different, their environment has been different, and hence their traditions, customs, cultures, and religions have been different.

The nationality problem in the USSR, which is very acute today as evidenced by wide-spread protest and dissent in the national territories of the USSR, has its source in a bitter struggle of non-Russian peoples against the Russian imperialist efforts to remodel non-Russian culture and ideals on Russian lines, thus causing their

extinction. The so-called Russification policies of the Soviet regime which it extends over the entire domain of culture, national tradition historic past and mode of life of the non-Russian peoples, is not only anti-constitutional in its essence, but it also represents a dangerous intellectual barbarism and neglect of humanity. The people of the USSR will not accept the regime's plans for their own destruction through a drowning in the Russian sea. Therefore, it is safe to predict that the so-called nationality problem in the USSR will grow, and not subside, in its crucial importance for the regime.

The roots of Ukrainian folk culture are easily recognizable in the neolithic Trypillian culture of the early agricultural tribes in Ukraine. However, the situation of Ukrainians in the Southern part of Eastern Europe, on the natural highways between the east and west and between north and south, while advantageous for the development of trade, was equally very unfortunate because it was accessible to invaders from all sides. Thus, invasions of different races and incessant struggles against invaders were the common experience of the Ukrainian people from time immemorial. This situation at the crossroads of Eastern Europe was largely responsible for the inability of the Ukrainians to consolidate as a modern nation and to maintain a stable national state organisation.

Ukraine's role as a shield against Asiatic invaders was recognized and appreciated in the West at an earlier time. In 1253, the Ukrainian king of Galicia and Lodomeria (Volhynia), Danylo I (Daniel), was crowned a king by the Papal legate in recognition of the King's stance against the menacing Tartars. In 1320, the same Ukrainian kingdom was named *Antemurale Christianitatis* (bulwark of Christianity) by Pope John XXII in his accolade to the Princes Lev and Andrew who fell in a battle against the Tartars. Behind the protective wall of this bulwark, the European nations were able to consolidate as modern nations, but, for Ukraine, her position on the borderlands of Western civilisation was the source of many disasters.

The powerful Kingdom of Rus' with its capital in Kyiv, which flourished politically, economically and culturally under its great rulers, Queen Olha (945-960), the first Christian ruler on Kyiv's throne; King Volodymyr the Great (980-1015), patron saint of Ukraine; King Yaroslav the Wise (1019-1054), and Volodymyr Monomakh (1113-1125). Kyiv fell under the blows of the Tartars in 1240. However, the western part of the Kingdom, Galicia and Lodomeria, was able to withstand the onslaught of the Tartars and maintained its independence up to 1340. Thus, the kingdom of Rus' with its capital in Kyiv has its continuation in the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria (Volhynia), and not in the Russian principalities of Suzdal-Vladimir which already separated themselves from the Kingdom of Rus' in the twelfth century and the princes of which considered Ukraine a foreign country. In 1169, the Suzdalian prince Andrew

Bogoliubsky captured Kyiv and devastated the "mother of the cities of Rus".

The Suzdal principality, as the Tsardom of Moscow, later was neither the successor nor the inheritor of the Kyivan Kingdom of Rus'. It grew out of its own roots, and the relations of the Kingdom of Rus' to Muscovy may be more accurately compared to the relations that existed between Rome and Gaul in the history of France. Unfortunately, American historiography of Russia almost unanimously accepts the Russian imperialist legend of the inheritance of the Kingdom of Rus' by Muscovy, and in the history of the Russian principalities and in Tsardom of Muscovy sees the continuation of the history of the Kyivan Kingdom of Rus'. Consequently, American historiography completely ignores the most interesting history of the Kingdom of Galicia-Lodomeria, the true inheritor of the Kyivan Kingdom of Rus' to which the Galician-Lodomerian lands belonged since 981.

With the extinction of the dynasty in the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria, a prolonged war between the Poles, Lithuanians, and Hungarians began for the possession of its territories. Finally, in 1387, they were divided between the Poles, who gained Galicia, and the Lithuanians, who gained Lodomeria (Volhynia and other Ukrainian lands). Thus, the greater part of Ukraine and Byelorussia which belonged to the Kyivan Kingdom of Rus' became part of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania under the rule of the Lithuanian dynasty. In the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, which stretched almost to Moscow in the east and reached the Black Sea in the South by 1430, the vast majority of the population was either Ukrainian or Byelorussian (both were called Ruthenians at that time). In the Grand Duchy they enjoyed full freedom, and their language, Ruthenian, was the official language in the Duchy.

Unfortunately, in 1569, in the union of Lublin, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania entered into a closer union with Poland. As a result, the greater part of Ukrainian lands passed to Poland. In Ukraine the ruling Polish nobility instituted a regime of economic exploitation and national and religious discrimination. The Ukrainian national opposition to Poland resulted in numerous uprisings of the Ukrainian Cossacks, (a special army formed on the model of a knightly order to prevent Tartar incursion into Ukraine; its fortress was the so-called "Zaporozhian Sich", and the army was called the "Zaporozhian Army", that is, an army organized "beyond the rapids of the Dnipro River"). The great uprising of 1648 under the leadership of Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky ("the Ukrainian Cromwell") was entirely successful. The Polish armies in Ukraine were severely beaten in several battles and a great part of Ukraine was liberated from Polish rule. Ukraine once again became an independent state in the form of a so-called "Cossack Republic" where a hetman was at once the head of the state and the chief commander of the army.

However, despite the Treaty of Zboriv, the Ukrainian-Polish war continued. In 1654, as a result of some adverse circumstances, Hetman Khmelnytsky was forced to enter into a military alliance with the Tsar of Moscow. In the Treaty of Pereyaslav (1654) the Ukrainian Cossacks acknowledged the protection of the Muscovite Tsar, but Ukraine was guaranteed to continue as a separate state with separate government and a separate army. All rights and freedoms enjoyed by the Ukrainians were guaranteed on the part of the Muscovite government, even the right to entertain separate diplomatic relations with foreign countries. This treaty, however, proved fateful for Ukraine because Moscow violated it almost immediately after signing it. This resulted in numerous Ukrainian-Muscovite wars: first under Khmelnytsky's successor Hetman Ivan Vyhovsky, then under Hetman Petro Doroshenko, who tried to liberate Ukraine with the help of Turkey, and, finally, under Hetman Ivan Mazepa, who entered into an alliance with the Swedish King Charles XII. The defeat of Swedish-Ukrainian forces in the battle near Poltava on July 8, 1709, a battle which changed the course of world history, put an end to Hetman Mazepa's dream of Ukraine's liberation with the help of King Charles XII.

Indeed, a new chapter of Muscovy's history began after Poltava. It was really the first time that the Muscovites under Tsar Peter stood firmly in Ukraine and could consider themselves her real masters. The old Muscovite idea of "gathering all the lands of ancient Rus'" was realized by Tsar Peter I. To legalise his conquests, Tsar Peter I changed the name of Muscovy (known as Moscovia in the West) to Russia (ancient Rus' was called Rossiya in Greek). He established the Russian Empire and became the first Russian Emperor. By appropriating for his empire the name of the ancient Kingdom of Rus', Tsar Peter I appropriated also the old glory of ancient Rus' and its culture and traditions. They became the foundations of his newly built empire.

The final crushing blow to Ukrainian freedom and autonomy was delivered by Empress Catherine II. The Hetman government was abolished in 1764, the Zaporizhian Sich was destroyed in 1775, and the last vestiges of Ukrainian autonomy were wiped out in 1781 and 1783. Thus, 110 years after the conclusion of the Treaty of Pereyaslav through treachery, ruse and violence, and after a series of bloody wars, Russia succeeded in annexing Ukraine and reducing her to the status of a mere colony.

Within the boundaries of the Russian Empire, Ukrainians suffered savage persecution, economic exploitation, and tyrannical abuse of the Ukrainian language and culture. However, what the Russian government could not imagine suddenly happened: in the nineteenth century Ukraine awakened like the Phoenix from the ashes, and the revival of the Ukrainian spirit commenced, largely under the

influence of the greatest poet of Ukraine, Taras Shevchenko. The rise of the Ukrainian liberation movement continued up to 1917, the year of the Great Revolution in Eastern Europe in which Ukraine became the bastion of the national revolution directed against the Russian Empire.

The Revolution of 1917 and the collapse of Austria-Hungary in 1918 were both a result of the military defeats of the Russian and Austro-Hungarian armies in World War I. The Revolution in Eastern Europe, which began as a social upheaval in Russia and in the territories of the non-Russian nationalities, became a series of national revolutions. In Ukraine, already in April 1917, a Ukrainian National Assembly known as the Centralna Rada was formed in Kyiv and directed the Ukrainian Liberation Movement. On January 22, 1918, the Centralna Rada proclaimed in Kyiv the complete independence of the Ukrainian People's Republic.

On November 1, 1918, as the Austro-Hungarian Empire disintegrated, the Ukrainians in Lviv proclaimed the independent Western Ukrainian People's Republic. Immediately they were involved in a war with the Poles who wanted to incorporate Galicia into Poland. Although on January 22, 1919, a union was proclaimed of the Western Ukrainian People's Republic with the Ukrainian People's Republic, the newly united Ukrainian state could not successfully resist the aggressors (Red and White Russians, Poles and Rumanians) on four fronts. In addition, the Western Entente powers (Great Britain, France, Italy, USA) were inimical to Ukraine's struggle for liberation. France sent six divisions of Gen. Haller's army to help the Polish Army conquer Galicia, and Great Britain sent tons of arms, ammunitions, and war materials to the White Russian Army of Gen. Denikin, who fought for the restoration of the Russian Empire. However, the most striking blow for the reborn Ukrainian state was a blockade which the Entente powers imposed on the territory occupied by the Ukrainian Army. Not even medicine was allowed into "Petlura's territory", and as a result thousands of Ukrainian soldiers and civilians died of typhus and other diseases.

Ukraine could not win the war with an army decimated by typhus and other diseases, including Asiatic cholera. The Ukrainians could not win the war without help from the West. Their military alliance with Poland in 1920 was another illusion. In November 1920, the Ukrainian government and the Ukrainian Army had no other choice than to withdraw from Ukraine, and the Red Army completed its conquest. The struggle was ended, and the only consolation for the Ukrainians remained in the fact that their struggle forced the Soviet occupants to acquiesce in the existence of a "sovereign and independent Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic".

After two years of "independent" existence, the Ukrainian SSR entered into the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. in 1922.

After the liberation war a fierce but disorganized struggle continued on Ukrainian soil, with scattered detachments of Ukrainian patriots fighting to the last against foreign occupation. The struggle lasted for three years (1921-23) and the most prominent among the so-called "insurgent republics" was the "republic" of Kholodny Ya in the region of Cherkasy, which continued its anti-Soviet resistance up to 1923. By 1924, Soviet control of Ukraine became too strong to permit a continuance of guerilla activity. The introduction of NEP policies by the Soviet regime, which gave certain liberties to the Ukrainian peasants, was also an important reason for the cessation of insurgent activities.

What followed at that time was the phenomenal growth of Ukrainian nationalism which was evidenced, first of all, by the spontaneous growth of the Ukrainian Autocephalic Orthodox Church. There was also strong opposition to Soviet rule in Ukraine, and accordingly, there were many complaints by Soviet leaders against Ukrainian "counter-revolution". Even the members of the Communist Party in Ukraine were not free from accusations of nationalism, and one after another, prominent communists were purged and liquidated. It suffices to say that, for example, all prime ministers of the Ukrainian SSR (1921-39) were liquidated. Many leading Ukrainian communists, such as Mykola Skrypnyk and Mykola Khvylovy, committed suicide rather than face a trial of which the result was a foregone conclusion.

With "building socialism in one country", industrialisation and collectivisation of agriculture, the policy of Ukrainisation was stopped by the Soviet regime, and the policy of Russification reintroduced followed by the arrest, exile and execution of Ukrainians en masse. The history of the Ukrainian people during the period between 1929 and 1941 is one of the most tragic in the chronicle of man's oppression of man throughout the ages. In the years 1930-39 the Bolsheviks annihilated an entire intellectual class: scholars, writers, artists, military men, teachers, clergymen — people who formed the highest stratum of the nation. Their list is endless, as endless as the Ukrainian tragedy. Among all these tortured leaders of Ukrainian art, literature, theatre, science, there were repeated, many great names and men of undoubted talent. The action of the extermination of the Ukrainian people can be compared in its colossal proportion only with the Nazi holocaust of the Jews. Before the eyes of the civilized world, more than seven million Ukrainian peasants died in the terrible death of a government imposed famine in 1931-33.

In Poland, Ukrainians were denied the autonomy that the Polish government had agreed to in an international treaty and that the Polish Parliament had decided to grant. The life of the Ukrainian people under Polish rule consisted of an unceasing, desperate struggle against oppression and discrimination. Resistance to the Polish regime



found its most radical expression in the revolutionary acts of the Ukrainian Military Organisation (UVO) and, later, of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), both under the leadership of Col. Evhen Konovalets. He was assassinated by a Soviet agent in 1938.

The frontiers of the Ukrainian SSR were extended by the annexation of Western Ukrainian lands (Galicia, Volhynia, Polissia) after Soviet intervention in Poland in 1939 and by the annexation of Northern Bukovyna and parts of Bessarabia in 1940. In 1945, Czechoslovakia ceded Carpatho-Ukraine to the USSR, which on March 15, 1939, proclaimed its independence under the presidency of Msgr. Augustine Voloshyn (died in a Soviet prison). Soon after Hungarian troops, with the approval of Germany and Italy, marched into the country, overcame a gallant resistance by the Carpathian Sich (militia), and annexed Carpatho-Ukraine to Hungary. In 1944, Soviet armies re-occupied Carpatho-Ukraine.

The incident with Carpatho-Ukraine in 1939 gives the clue to the date when Hitler and Stalin reached a preliminary understanding. The Soviet-Nazi Pact of August 23, 1939, induced Hitler to start World War II, but also enabled Stalin to seize Western Ukraine, to attack Finland, to annex Northern Bukovyna and Bessarabia, and to occupy Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, all with Hitler's consent.

In 1941, Hitler had to make his most important decision in the whole war. He had either to reach a complete understanding with Soviet Russia and allow her penetration into Turkey and the Balkans, or to attack her and check the steady growth of Russia's military strength, which was becoming a serious threat to the Third Reich. Hitler chose the latter. On June 22, 1941, the German armies suddenly attacked the Soviet Union on a wide front.

It was an ideal time for Hitler to spawn a powerful national liberation movement against Moscow, which could have knocked the Soviets out of the war. The spirit of the revolt against Red Muscovite domination prevailed in Ukraine, Byelorussia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, and in the Caucasus and Turkestan. It is no exaggeration: 3,600,000 officers and soldiers of the Red Army surrendered to the Germans during the first seven and a half months. They refused to fight for Stalin's hated tyranny and offered their services to fight for the liberation of their countries.

Despite all bitter experiences with Nazi Germany, in 1945 the Western Allies found at least 800,000 former Soviet POW's who served with the German Army and 100,000 who served in the Navy and Luftwaffe.

Hitler and his clique rejected the offered hand of the non-Russian peoples and rejected all constructive policy in the East. They dreamed of the total destruction of "inferior" peoples and of transforming a conquered Ukraine into the Lebensraum of the German master race.

It is understandable that the Ukrainians looked upon the war as another opportunity to realize their dream of an independent Ukraine. On June 30, 1941, the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) under the leadership of Stepan Bandera (who was murdered in Munich, on October 15, 1959, by a Soviet agent), proclaimed in Lviv the re-establishment of the Ukrainian state and ordered the mobilisation of Ukrainian forces against Moscow. A National Assembly was created, and a provisional Ukrainian government was established with Yaroslav Stetsko as its Prime Minister. The Nazi reaction to this was swift and revealing. A special Einsatzgruppe arrested Bandera and Stetsko and put them into the Nazi concentration camp in Sachsenhausen. Many other Ukrainian nationalists were arrested or shot. Ukraine was divided, and parts of the Ukrainian territories were incorporated into different Nazi satrapies: Galicia to Frank's General Gouvernement, Transnistria with Odessa to Rumania, and from the rest of Ukraine a Reichskommissariat of Ukraine was formed under the notoriously cruel Reichskommissar Erich Koch, "The Hangman of Ukraine".

Disillusioned, the Ukrainian people turned to guerrilla warfare against the Germans. The most important group was the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) formed in 1942 from different underground groups. By 1943, the UPA was in substantial control of Volhynia, Polissia, and the Carpathian mountains, while the Germans held only the towns and with difficulty maintained movement on the principal roads.

The UPA was heartily supported by the entire Ukrainian people. The OUN provided the underground state apparatus for the UPA including military training camps, hospitals, schools, and forest administration. The total number of persons involved in the movement, including medical, administrative, and instructional personnel was in the hundreds of thousands. By July 1944, the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council (UHVR) was established. Under the command of Gen. Roman Shukhevych (nom de guerre of Taras Chuprynka) the UPA entered into the new period of Soviet occupation which began in 1944.

By July 1944, all of Ukraine was reconquered by the Red Army. Under the command of Gen. Taras Chuprynka the UPA challenged the Soviet Union, Poland, and Czechoslovakia, all of whom in 1945 concluded a tripartite treaty to combat the UPA. Facing the victorious armies at their peak strength, the UPA stood its ground until 1953 for eight years after the conclusion of World War II. Yet some reports mention UPA activity in 1956, 1959, and in 1961. In the opinion of Prof. John A. Armstrong, Western Ukraine "became the seat of the strongest anti-soviet guerilla force which has ever developed".

However, the most curious aftermath of the UPA developed in the concentration camps of the USSR in 1953-56 — the strikes and

uprisings of the political prisoners, consisting mostly of UPA and OUN fighters. Over 40,000 prisoners of many nationalities, often under the leadership of Ukrainians, took part in the uprisings, which were suppressed by the Soviets, using all kinds of weapons, including tanks. There is today considerable literature in the West on the strikes and uprisings in the Soviet Gulag Archipelago and Alexander Solzhenitsyn allots much space to them in the third volume of his *Gulag Archipelago*. Names of localities where the strikes and uprisings took place, Vorkuta, Norilsk, Kingir, Tayshet, became familiar throughout the world. In 1955, letters from Ukrainian political prisoners, written on linen, were smuggled by German POWs into the West and were published by *The National Review* in New York. Despite their more or less bloody suppression, the strikes and uprisings in the Gulag Archipelago influenced the policy of the Soviet leadership, which under Khrushchev entered the paths of "destalinisation" and mass rehabilitation of the prisoners of camps, millions of whom were freed in 1956. The strikes and uprisings also brought about the polarisation of Soviet leadership, which since these fateful years has been divided into those who favour and those who resist the liberalisation of the Soviet regime, or, in other words, groups of anti-Stalinists and Stalinists. Brezhnev's clique represents a neo-Stalinist, centralist faction. This polarisation, however, does not augur well for the Soviet regime.

Unlike in 1917, today's Ukraine is a fully developed country with an abundance of natural and industrial resources, with its cadres of specialists in all fields. It is a country of total literacy. Yet despite these facts, today's Ukraine remains an area of turmoil and dissatisfaction, characterized often by foreign observers as the "soft underbelly" of the powerful Soviet Union. Indeed, ferment in Ukraine is a reaction to long-standing grievances, such as a disregard of the regime for constitutional rights, economic exploitation, resettlement of Russians in Ukraine, "voluntary" deportations of Ukrainians from Ukraine, Russification policies, repression, and discrimination of the Ukrainian language and culture. But, nevertheless, it is interesting to point out that the spokesmen of the Ukrainian dissent movement are young people, born and educated in the USSR, in some cases members of the Communist Party or Komsomol. There is undeniably an ambition among the young dissenters in Ukraine to take an active part in governing their country as a genuinely separate republic, not as a mere administrative unit of the Soviet Union. Leonid Plyushch, a Ukrainian dissenter who was held in the Dnipropetrovsk prison psychiatric ward and later was freed and emigrated to the West, while declaring himself a "neo-Marxist", nevertheless strongly defended the conception of an independent Ukraine in his interviews with the representatives of the Western press.

The Ukrainian dissent movement broke into the open with the works

of the poets who were called shestydesyatnyky (poets of the sixties). Among the poets who showed continued resistance to the Soviet regime was Vasyl Symonenko, who died prematurely from cancer at the age of twenty-eight. His works circulated clandestinely and became the object of a cult among Ukrainian youth.

The second half of the 1960's saw the culmination of the Ukrainian dissent movement and the peak of samvydav (samizdat) activity. Much of it took the form of letters and petitions signed by various groups of intellectuals, professionals, and working-class men and women. Many major writers emerged at that time: Vyacheslav Chornovil, Ivan Svitlychny, Ivan Dzyuba, Valentyn Moroz, Yevhen Sverstyuk, Mykhaylo Osadchy, and others. A writer who occupies a special place in this group and has now received wide international recognition is Valentyn Moroz. In 1972, with the demise of Petro Shelest, the Communist Party chief in Ukraine and member of the ruling centre in Moscow, the second wave of arrests of Ukrainian dissenters began. Recently some 1,000 Ukrainians were arrested and tried for "anti-Soviet propaganda".

The great problem during the coming decade is how the authorities in Moscow are going to respond to the growing challenge of a many-sided resistance movement in Ukraine and in other borderlands. All the signs are that, like their tsarist predecessors, they will continue to answer with police repression and concentration camps. Even so, during the coming decade, unrest among the non-Russian nations comprising the Soviet Union will increase and will certainly be an important element in Soviet internal and external policy.

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## UKRAINE: A SOVEREIGN AND INDEPENDENT STATE? A JURIDICAL APPROACH

Soviet political leaders, diplomats and jurists maintain that the Soviet Republics are independent and sovereign states. On the basis of this claim, Andrei Gromyko, then the Ambassador to the United States, made his initial request at the Dumbarton Oaks Conference (1944) to seat the sixteen Union Republics in the projected world organisation. At both Yalta (1945) and San Francisco (1945), Moscow cited the constitutional amendments of February, 1944,<sup>1</sup> as proof that the Republics were independent in foreign affairs and therefore could qualify as founding members of the UN. However, the entry of only Ukraine and Byelorussia into the international organisation spelled out an obvious inconsistency in the juridical position, for one could legitimately ask why the remaining Republics, which possess no more and no fewer constitutional rights, were excluded from UN membership. Professor Dallin notes that:

'Moscow has apparently not been bothered by the illogical situation that led to the separate membership and dual representation of two republics (by their own missions and by the USSR), while the remaining "sister

1) On 1 February, 1944, the Supreme Soviet amended the USSR Constitution by adding to it Articles 18a and 18b which read respectively: 'Each Union Republic has the right to enter into direct relations with foreign states, to conclude agreements, and exchange diplomatic and consular representatives with them'; 'Each Union Republic has its own Republican military formations'. Appropriate amendments were introduced into the republican constitutions, including the Ukrainian. *Istoria sovetskoi konstitutsii: sbornik dokumentov, 1917-1957*, Moscow, 1957, 405, 406.

The terms 'sovereignty' and 'independence' although sometimes used interchangeably, do not have the same meaning. According to one writer 'sovereignty of a State is its supreme power over its territory and inhabitants, as well as its independence of any external authority'. Marek St Korowicz, *Introduction to International Law*. The Hague, 1959, 23. The same author says that 'independence does not mean sovereignty, it implies sovereignty. ... It is a negative concept: the State is independent of any other state, and may not receive orders from anyone. Sovereignty ... is a positive concept expressing the idea of what the State is authorized to do, and of what is its legal competence'. *Ibid.*, 83. Both 'sovereignty' and 'independence' may have either legal or political connotations; that is, there is legal and political sovereignty as well as legal and political independence. Both sovereignty and independence may be limited or reduced; there are states not fully or only partially sovereign, not fully or only partially independent.

As for the Soviet concept of sovereignty, according to Vyshinsky, 'sovereignty means the supremacy of state authority, by virtue of which that authority appears unlimited and autonomous within the land and independent in foreign relationships'. Andrei Vyshinsky, ed. *The Law of the Soviet State*, translated from the Russian by Hugh W. Babb with an introduction by John N. Hazard, New York, 1948, 275-76. Professor Levin follows Vyshinsky and defines sovereignty as 'the supremacy of state authority inside the country and its independence from whatever other authority in international relations'. D. B. Levin, *Osnovnyye problemy sovremennogo mezhdunarodnogo prava*, ed. D. A. Haidukova Moscow, 1958, 200. It seems that the definition given by Korowicz does not differ much (in words, anyway) from the one presented by Soviet writers.

republics" — legally on an equal footing with the Ukraine and Byelorussia — have only the Soviet Union as their spokesman'.<sup>2</sup>

Be that as it may, before examining the claim about the sovereignty and independence of the Ukraine we must answer an even more basic question: is Ukraine a state?<sup>3</sup>

Ukraine is one of the Republics of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, described by the Soviet Constitution as a federation.<sup>4</sup> David Zlatopol'sky points out that:

2) Alexander Dallin, *The Soviet Union at the United Nations: an inquiry into Soviet methods and objectives*, New York, 1962, 107.

3) By the word 'state' is meant 'a people permanently occupying territory, bound together by common laws into a body politic, possessing an organized government, and capable of conducting relations with other states... States, generally speaking, may be broadly classified as sovereign or independent states and as dependent or semi-sovereign states'. Green Haywood Hackworth, *Digest of International Law*, I, Washington, 1949, 47. Charles Cheney Hyde, dealing with the problem of the capability of a state to have relations with other states, wrote that 'there must be an assertion of right through governmental agencies to enter into relations with the outside world. The exercise of this right need not be free from external restraint. Independence is not essential. It is the possession and use of the right to enter into foreign relations, whether with or without restriction, which distinguishes States of international law from the large number of political entities given that name and which are wholly lacking in such a privilege'. Charles Cheney Hyde, quoted in Hackworth, *op cit.*, 47-48.

4) Article 13 of both Union and Ukrainian Constitutions speaks of the USSR as a Union State. In the same Article the word 'federal' is used only in reference to the Russian Republic.

What is a federation? Comparing federation with confederation, one Soviet scholar notes that 'in a federation there are several states united in one new state... In a confederation two or several states, although united with one another, do not form one new state. In short, a *federation is a Union State*, while a *confederation is a union of states*'. (Italics in the original.) D. L. Zlatopol'sky, *Gosudarstvennoe ustroistvo SSR*, Moscow, 1960, 6.

What is a Soviet federation? Speaking about 'the political form of the state organisation of the USSR', Vyshinsky states that 'the Soviet Union State is a federative state. Both by its class essence and by its organisational structure it is sharply distinguished from all existing forms of federation, confederation, unitarianism formerly or now existing in the capitalist world. It is a type of state without a precedent in history. It emerged from the problems of the worker class dictatorship in a multi-national country. It is the realisation and expression of the general will and mutual confidence of the toilers of nations with equal rights. The nationality principle at the basis of the creation of the Soviet Union State is the distinctive characteristic of the Soviet type federation'. Vyshinsky, *op cit.*, 228-29.

Edward Mousley, a Western jurist, defines federalism as 'that principle of union of political societies called states whereby the central or federal government operates for particular purposes directly on the subjects of the component states and not indirectly on them through the medium of the states united in the Federal Union, the authority of such states, each over its citizens, being confined to all remaining matters'. E. Mousley, 'The Meaning of Federalism', *Federal Union*, ed. M. Chaning-Pearce, London, 1940, 21. Some Western scholars express doubt about the Soviet Union being a truly federal state. Professor Hazard says that 'the Soviet federation has some special characteristics. It is not as loose a federation as that of the United States, and by no means as decentralized as Canada or Australia'. John N. Hazard, *The Soviet System of Government*, Chicago, 1960, 76. The author thinks that the powers of the Soviet Republics within the federation are quite limited. *Ibid.*, 87-88. Wheare regards the Soviet state as quasi-federal. He is of the opinion that 'if the full powers conferred by Article 14 of the Constitution upon the All-Union Government are exercised in practice — and there seems every reason why they should be — very little of the federal principle remains in the government of the USSR'. K. C. Wheare, *Federal Government*, 3rd ed., London, 1953, 26-28. Professor Korowicz writes that the USSR 'is a federal state of a special type, because it has many legal features of a confederation of States, and even more features of a *highly centralized State*'. (Italics in the original.) Korowicz, *op cit.*, 279-80. Towster, whose opinion in part is similar to Korowicz's claims that 'in its federal features the USSR resembles more the United States than the British Commonwealth, but by written constitution and unwritten attitude it has also some confederative and strongly unitary characteristics. The nationality aspect of Soviet federal arrangements, which distinguishes the USSR from all other federal states, constitutes a unique contribution to political theory and practice'. Julian Towster, *Political Power in the USSR 1917-1947; the theory and structure of government in the Soviet State*, New York; 1948, 379.

'the peculiarity of the USSR as a federal state consists in the fact that its subjects are *sovereign states*; sovereignty of the members of the federation stipulates the principles of their unification in one state and their rights as subjects of the federation'.<sup>5</sup>

It follows from this statement that the Ukrainian Republic, in spite of the fact that it is a constituent part of the Union, is a sovereign state. Leaving the question of sovereignty aside, what ground is there for considering the Ukrainian SSR a state at all? For a legal answer to this query one must look at both the All-Union and the Ukrainian Constitutions.

The first Article of the Ukrainian Constitution states that 'the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic is a socialist state of workers and peasants'. The territory, one of the essential elements of statehood, is referred to in Articles 6, 15 and 18. Another indispensable element of statehood, the people or its citizenry, is mentioned in Article 17 and in Chapter VIII, entitled 'The Basic Rights and Duties of Citizens' (Articles 98-113). The existence of the third necessary element of statehood, the government or state power, is asserted in Articles 3 and 19; in Chapter III, 'The Highest Organs of State Power of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic' (Articles 20-38); in Chapter IV, 'The Organs of State Administration of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic' (Articles 39-53); and in Chapter V, 'The Local Organs of State Power' (Articles 54-79). The capability of maintaining relations with foreign states, which may be taken as the fourth and last element of statehood, is enumerated in Articles 15b, 19zI, 30j, 30k and 43h. Constitutionally speaking — and the Ukrainian Constitution is the fundamental law of the land, juridically determining the structure of its society — the Ukrainian Republic appears to be a state. However, such a conclusion is premature, for the Ukrainian SSR is not a separate entity, but a part, a member of the Soviet 'federation'. In order to ascertain the true nature of this entity one cannot possibly disregard the relevant provisions of the Union Constitution.

It appears that Article 6 (identical with the same Article of the Ukrainian Constitution) ascribes the entire land or territory of the USSR, including that of the Ukraine, to the Union state. It is the property of the Union. This can only mean that one of the intrinsic qualities of the Ukrainian state — and it cannot be otherwise in any federation — not only belongs to Ukraine, but also to the USSR. Such a territorial status of the Ukrainian Republic, the double ownership of land, imposes restrictions on the Ukrainian state. Article 21 stipulates that 'uniform Union citizenship is established for the citizens of the USSR. Each citizen of the Union Republic is a citizen of the USSR'. It follows from this that a citizen of the Ukraine is a

5) Zlatopol'sky, *op cit.*, 113. (Italics in the original.)

citizen of the Soviet Union and this is stated explicitly in Article 17 of the Ukrainian Constitution. But the reverse is also true: a citizen of the USSR, residing on the territory of the Ukrainian Republic, becomes its citizen, as, again Article 17 of the Ukrainian Constitution declares. If the citizenry of the Republic is of such a fluid nature, faults must arise about the permanency of its population, thus contributing instability to one of the essential ingredients of statehood.

The All-Union Constitution, in Chapters IV, 'The Higher Organs of State Power in the Union Republics' (Articles 57-63), and VI, 'The Organs of State Administration of the Union Republics' (Articles 79-88), refers to machinery of government of the Republics on their respective territories, but this Constitution makes it clear that, in addition to the Republican governments, there is an All-Union government, whose authority extends to all the Soviet Republics. For example, Article 19 states that 'the laws of the USSR have the same force on the territory of all Union Republics'. Articles 30 and 67 state respectively that 'the highest organ of state power in the USSR is the Supreme Soviet of the USSR' and that 'decisions and orders of the Council of Ministers of the USSR are binding throughout the territory of the USSR'. In the case of Ukraine, these constitutional provisions simply mean that, side by side with a Ukrainian government exercising its authority over its own territory, there is another government, that of the Union, which rules over the same territory. In fact, there are two legitimate governments in the Ukrainian Republic.

Finally, Article 18a provides that 'each Union Republic has the right to enter into direct relations with foreign states, to conclude agreements and exchange diplomatic and consular representatives with them'. However, this capacity of the Republics to conduct foreign relations is circumscribed by that section of Article 14a which ascribes to the jurisdiction of the Union 'representation of the USSR in international relations, conclusion, ratification and denunciation of treaties of the USSR with other states . . .'. It is obvious, that, since the Soviet Republics are integral parts of the USSR, the latter, by directing its relations with foreign countries, also directs the external relations of the Union Republics. Applied to Ukraine, such a constitutional arrangement spells out the double jurisdiction over the management of its foreign affairs; in other words, there are two authorities in the Ukrainian SSR capable of guiding its relations with foreign states.

Taking into account the stipulation of both the Ukrainian and Union Constitutions, the Ukrainian SSR seems to be legally a peculiar kind of state, a state *sui generis*,<sup>6</sup> within the Soviet-type federation.

6) The constitutional status of all the other Soviet Republics is the same.



Needless to say, this peculiarity amounts to a legal deficiency.

Can this type of state be sovereign and independent? Part of Article 13 of the Ukrainian Constitution makes it clear that 'outside of Article 14 of the USSR Constitution the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic exercises state power independently, fully preserving its sovereign rights'. Article 15 of the Union Constitution says that 'the sovereignty of the Union Republics is limited only in the spheres defined in Article 14 of the Constitution of the USSR. Outside of these spheres each Union Republic exercises state power independently. The USSR protects the sovereign rights of the Union Republics'. Thus the significance of Article 14 cannot be overlooked. According to it, a wide variety of powers belong to the jurisdiction of the Union, including the following:

'The representation of the USSR in international relations, the conclusion, ratification and denunciation of treaties of the USSR with other states, the establishment of general procedures governing the relations of the Union Republics with foreign states; questions of war and peace; control over observance of the Constitution of the USSR, and the insuring of the conformity of the Constitutions of the Union Republics with the Constitution of the USSR; the confirmation of alterations of boundaries between Union Republics; the organisation of the defence of the USSR, the determination of directing principles governing the organisation of the military formations of the Union Republics; foreign trade on the basis of state monopoly; approval of the consolidated state budget of the USSR and of the report on its fulfilment; the determination of taxes and revenues which go to the Union, Republican and local budgets'.

All these matters are within the juridical competence of the USSR.

Notwithstanding these limitations imposed on the Ukrainian SSR by Article 14 of the All-Union Constitution, the various provisions of the Ukrainian counterpart show definite signs of sovereignty and independence. Its own Article 14 speaks about the right of secession of the Ukrainian Republic from the Union. Article 15 states that the Republic's territory may not be altered without its consent. Article 15a and 15b, respectively, point out that the Ukraine 'has its own military formations' as well as 'the right to enter into direct relations with foreign states, conclude agreements and exchange representatives with them'. In Article 17 we learn that 'every citizen of the Ukrainian SSR is a citizen of the USSR. The citizens of all other Union Republics enjoy on the territory of the Ukrainian SSR all the rights of citizens of the Ukrainian SSR'. The jurisdiction of the Republic is enumerated in Article 19 which declares that 'its highest organ of state power and organs of state administration' are charged *inter alia* with '(a) the establishment of the Constitution of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and control over its observance; ... (w) conferring the rights of citizenship of the Ukrainian SSR; ... (z) the establishment of the manner of organizing the military formations of the Ukrainian SSR; (z) the establishment of the

representation of the Ukrainian SSR in international relations'. Article 43 stipulates that the Council of Ministers of Ukraine, among other things, 'directs the organisation of the military formations of the Ukrainian SSR' (43g) and 'exercises direction in the sphere of relations of the Ukrainian SSR with foreign states, following the generally established procedure by the USSR in mutual relations of the Union Republics with foreign states' (43h). Somewhat intricate and lengthy but important is Article 50 which asserts that:

'the Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR issue within the competence of appropriate Ministries orders and instructions on the basis and in pursuance of the acting laws of the USSR and the Ukrainian SSR, of the decisions and directions of the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR, of the orders and instructions of the Union-Republican Ministers of the USSR, and verify their execution'.

The right to secede from the Union (Article 17 of the USSR Constitution) strongly suggests the voluntary nature of the Soviet multi-national state. Soviet writers maintain that this right cannot be abrogated or changed or limited by the Union.<sup>7</sup> The right to withdraw from the USSR 'means that for each union republic a practical possibility is created to freely express its will about the form of its statehood, and the will of the people within the Soviet Federation constitutes the basis of sovereignty of nations'.<sup>8</sup> Applying the constitutional criterion only, the right of secession contained in the Constitution of the USSR and the Ukrainian SSR looks impressive and greatly enhances the argument in favour of Ukrainian independence and sovereignty.

However, when one examines the section of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR, under the heading 'Crimes against the State', the value of the secession clause takes on a different meaning. Article 56 of this section, entitled 'Treason to the Fatherland' unequivocally states that a citizen of the USSR is faced with severe punishment if he acts against 'the territorial inviolability' of the Union. An identical declaration is made by 'The Law of the USSR concerning penal responsibility for the Crimes against the State' (Article I).<sup>9</sup> In a textbook on Soviet criminal law it is explained that an attack upon the inviolability of the territory of the USSR constitutes an act of treason

7) A. P. Taranov, *Osnovni pryncypy konstytutsyi Ukraïns'koi RSR*, Kyiv, 1962, 105. Zlatopol'sky, *op cit.*, 155. This assertion notwithstanding, Vyshinsky wrote that 'an amendment to the draft of the Constitution of the USSR, introduced while it was being considered by the entire people, proposed to exclude Article 17 from the draft. Stalin pointed out in his report at the Extra-ordinary Eighth All-Union Congress of Soviets that this proposal was wrong and should not be adopted by the Congress'. Vyshinsky, *op. cit.*, 285. It is conceivable, therefore, that at some future date, an amendment to annul Article 17, which would abrogate the right of secession, could be successfully proposed.

8) Taranov, *op cit.*, 105.

9) *Ugolovnoe zakonodatel'stvo Soiuza SSR i zoiuznykh Respublik*, vol. I, Moscow, 1963, 188, 44.

against the fatherland.<sup>10</sup> One must conclude that while the Constitutions of the Ukrainian Republic and the Union permit Ukraine to withdraw from the Soviet 'federation', Soviet criminal law, operating throughout the USSR including Ukraine, prohibits under severe penalties even the advocacy of any such undertaking. This state of affairs is contradictory and under it the right of secession is a dead letter.

The constitutional provision which explicitly denies to the Union jurisdiction over the alteration of the territory of the Ukrainian SSR without its consent, seems to be a strong legal safeguard of Ukrainian independence and sovereignty. Taranov explains:

'Territory is one of the integral features of the nation that formed the union republic, and together with this, the material basis of its independence. Hence it follows that the territory of any union republic may not be changed without its consent. The Union's jurisdiction as regards the territory of the union republics amounts only to confirmation of the decision of the union republics' organs about the border changes among them'.<sup>11</sup>

In the last sentence the author clearly refers to Article 14e of the All-Union Constitution and it should be pointed out that such a provision limits the right of Ukraine as regards its own territorial changes. As one jurist phrased it: 'The territory of the republics may not be changed without their consent, but it also may not be changed without the consent of the USSR for the confirmation of the border changes among the republics belongs to the USSR...'<sup>12</sup>

The proviso in the Ukrainian Constitution which asserts the existence of 'Republican military formations'<sup>13</sup> is a clear and powerful manifestation of Ukrainian independence and sovereignty. Yet the paragraphs of Articles 19 and 43, mentioned above, which deal with the organisation of Ukrainian military affairs, besides being vague, are the only ones in the whole Constitution that concern themselves with the armed forces of Ukraine. The Ukrainian Constitution is silent on such important matters as the institution of military ranks, the appointment and removal of the high command of its armed forces, the proclamation of general or partial mobilization — matters that belong to the jurisdiction of the Supreme Soviet of the Union, specified in Article 49 of its Constitution. Since it is the Union which determines the 'directing principles governing the organisation of military formations of the Union Republics', and since it also 'directs the general organisation of the Armed Forces of the country' (part of

10) *Sovetskoe ugodovnoe pravo*, Moscow, 1962, 23.

11. Taranov, *op cit.*, 104.

12. V. Lysy, 'Derzhavnyi status USSR ta inshykh soiuznykh Respublik SSSR', *Vilna Ukraina*, No. 34, 1962, 17.

13) Article 18b of the All-Union Constitution says that 'each Union Republic has its own Republican military formations'.

Article 68e), the clauses in the Ukrainian Constitution concerning the organisation of military formations of the Republic do not amount to anything more than a declaration of power subordinated to the USSR jurisdiction. Since, again, the question of war is outside the constitutional rights of the Ukrainian SSR, it is hard to conceive of any independent action on the part of the Republic's military forces.

A revealing statement is made by Article 112 of the Ukrainian Constitution: 'Universal military service is the law. Military service in the ranks of the Armed Forces of the USSR is the honourable duty of the citizens of the Ukrainian SSR'. This provision makes no reference to the armed forces of Ukraine but only to the forces of the Union, as if the former, contrary to Article 15a, did not exist at all. The logic of this significant constitutional omission becomes clearer when one reads part of Article 68e of the Union Constitution which stipulates that the All-Union Council of Ministers 'fixes the annual contingent of citizens to be called up for military service...'. Since according to Article 67 of the Union Constitution 'decisions and orders of the Council of Ministers of the USSR are binding throughout the territory of the USSR',<sup>14</sup> and since no provision corresponding to that part of Article 68e is to be found in the Constitution of the Ukrainian SSR, it is clear that, juridically speaking, only the organs of the Union are empowered to deal with the maintenance of armed forces. In conclusion, one must say that the constitutional claim concerning Ukraine's military establishment appears to be extremely slim.<sup>15</sup>

One of the strongest legal arguments for regarding Ukraine as an independent and sovereign state within the limits of the 'federation' is supplied by Article 15b, supported by Articles 19zI, 30j and 30k<sup>16</sup> of the Ukrainian Constitution. Article 15b (Article 18a of the Union Constitution) states the right of Ukraine to be a member of the international community, that is, the right to participate directly in international discourse among states; it gives the right separately to conclude international agreements; and finally, it allows the Republic to send its diplomatic and consular representatives to foreign states as well as to receive foreign diplomatic and consular missions at home. These are, of course, broad juridical powers suggesting strongly that

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<sup>14</sup> See also Articles 50 and 51 of the Ukrainian Constitution, which, among other things, state the subordination of the Ukrainian Ministries to the Union Ministries.

<sup>15</sup> It is curious that both Taranov and Zlatopol'sky speak about the rights of the Republics to have their own military formations rather than about the existence of such formations, distinctly mentioned by the All-Union and the Union Republic Constitutions. See Taranov, *op. cit.*, 108 and Zlatopol'sky, 159, 166. In fact the Ukrainian military formations were never created.

<sup>16</sup> Articles 30j and 30k affirm respectively that the Praesidium of the Supreme Council of the Ukrainian Republic 'appoints and recalls plenipotentiary representatives of the Ukrainian SSR to foreign states' and 'receives the letters of credence and recall of the diplomatic representatives of foreign states accredited to it'.

Ukraine has an international legal personality or is a subject of international law.

Article 19zI, 30j and 30k state in more specific and functional terms the competence of the Ukrainian SSR in foreign affairs, stressing the matter of Ukrainian representation abroad and foreign diplomatic representation at home. It should be noted that no specific reference is made in these articles to the competence of the Ukrainian organs of state power and administration regarding international agreements, but it may be argued that no special mention is required in the light of Article 15b, which treats this important matter. If one were to take into consideration only the above-mentioned constitutional provisions, overlooking other clauses, or their absence, in the Ukrainian Constitution and the decisive Article of the Union Constitution, then juridically speaking, Soviet claims for Ukrainian independence and sovereignty would appear valid in this context.

But after further studying the pertinent stipulations of both constitutions, a different and less optimistic conclusion appears inevitable. First of all, Article 43h of the Ukrainian Constitution declares in unequivocal terms the subordination of the Ukrainian Council of Ministers to the USSR in the exercise of its leadership in relations with foreign states. Also Articles 50 and 51 which discuss the subordination of the Ukrainian Ministries including the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, to the Council of Ministers and Ministries of the USSR, plainly reveal the existing constitutional relationship between Ukraine and the Union in the field of international affairs.<sup>17</sup> This relationship is made even more vividly manifested in the provisions of the Union Constitution.

Article 14a, which assigns to the Union the 'representation of the USSR in international relations', including the representation of Ukraine as one of the constituent members of the 'federation', points out the double jurisdiction of the Union and the Ukrainian SSR over foreign affairs.<sup>18</sup> The same Article asserts that it is the Union which establishes the rules to be followed by the Soviet Republics, including Ukraine, in their relations with foreign states, again demonstrating the supremacy of Union jurisdiction over the Ukrainian Republic. This Article also empowers the Union to conclude, ratify and denounce treaties of the USSR, Ukraine included, with foreign states, which besides indicating double jurisdiction in the matter of making treaties reveals two additional important items in the Union's juridical arsenal. Reference is made to the processes of ratification

17) Texts on Soviet administrative law clearly state that the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of the Union Republics follow the direction of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR. See V. A. Vlasov and S. S. Studenikin, *Sovetskoe administrativnoe pravo*, Moscow, 1959, 223; also *Administrativnoe pravo*, ed. A. E. Lynev, Moscow, 1967, 526.

18) This double jurisdiction is not equal, as Article 68d of the Union Constitution shows: 'The Council of Ministers of the USSR exercises general guidance in the sphere of relations with foreign states'. Corresponding provisions of the Union Constitution to Articles 30j and 30k of the Ukrainian Constitution are contained in Articles 49p and 49q.

and denunciation of treaties which, according to Article 490 of the Union Constitution, are performed by the Praesidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. No such provisions are to be found in the Ukrainian Constitution, although in practice the Supreme Council has exercised the right of ratification.<sup>19</sup> Constitutionally, however, the lack of ratification and denunciation powers limits the competence of the Ukrainian Republic with respect to international treaties.

The questions of war and peace (Article 41b of the Union Constitution), certainly very important prerogatives of any sovereign and independent state, belong to the exclusive jurisdiction of the USSR. Article 49m of its Constitution stipulates that, 'in the intervals between sessions of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR', its Praesidium 'proclaims a state of war in the event of military attack on the USSR, or when necessary to fulfil international treaty obligations concerning mutual defence against aggression'. Discussing Ukraine's lack of constitutional powers to deal with the problem of war and peace, Academician Koretsky writes:

'The Constitution of the Ukrainian SSR does mention the right of the Ukrainian SSR to declare war. The Constitution of the USSR ascribes to the jurisdiction of the USSR the questions of war and peace... This follows from the basic aims of the voluntary union of equal Soviet Socialist Republics created for mutual aid, including defence (Article 13 of the Constitution of the USSR and the Ukrainian SSR).

'An attack on one of the Republics would mean an attack on the entire Soviet Union. The Ukrainian SSR, together with the Soviet Union, participated in the Great Patriotic War, 1941-1945, and in the conclusion of peace treaties. But the Ukrainian SSR (as well as other Union Republics) cannot separately solve questions of war and peace. Only in the solidarity and unity of all Union Republics lies the guarantee of security, integrity and sovereignty of each Union Republic and the Soviet Union'.<sup>20</sup>

This reasoning notwithstanding, the sovereignty and independence of the Ukrainian Republic is sharply reduced in law by the simple fact that its Constitution is deficient in matters of war and peace.

The jurisdiction of the Ukrainian SSR, as specified by Article 19w of its Constitution, contains the right to confer citizenship of the Ukrainian Republic. This right appears to be still another juridical

19) In 1947 the Ukrainian SSR ratified the peace treaties with Bulgaria, Italy, Rumania, Hungary and Finland and in 1963 it also ratified the treaty prohibiting the testing of nuclear weapons in the atmosphere, outer space and underwater. Besides treaties, many other agreements, conventions, charters, etc., have been ratified by the Ukraine. See N. M. Ul'ianova, 'Uchast Ukrain's'koi RSR u mizhnarodnykh konferentsiakh i mizhnarodnykh dohovorakh', *Ukrains'ka Radians'ka Socialistychna Respublika*, ed. M. P. Bazhan et al., Kyiv, 1965, 632-34. Ianovsky suggests that the Constitutions of the Union Republics should have provisions giving the Republics the right to ratify international treaties or agreements. He also proposes that the right to denounce treaties should be included in the Union Constitutions. See M. N. Ianovsky, 'Sovietskie soiuzyne Respubliki — polno-pravnye subiekty mezhdunaradnogo prava', *Sovietskoe gosudarstvo i pravo*, XII, 1962, 59. A somewhat ingenious explanation regarding the absence of ratification and denunciation powers in the Ukrainian Constitution is presented by Koretsky. He says: 'Although the Constitution of the Ukrainian SSR does not mention the right to conduct ratification and denunciation of treaties, this does not mean that such a right does not exist. It is logically connected with the right to conclude treaties'. V. M. Koretsky, 'Mizhnarodno-pravna subiektivist' Ukrain's'koi RSR', *Ukrains'ka Socialistychna Respublika*, 628.

20) V. M. Koretsky, *op cit.*, 628.

guarantee of Ukrainian sovereignty. Since Article 17 of the Ukrainian Constitution refers to a citizen of Ukraine as being also a citizen of the USSR, bestowal of the right of citizenship by the state organs of Ukraine would mean not only citizenship of the Ukrainian SSR, but also of the entire Union. The conferring of citizenship on Ukrainian territory is a matter for the Praesidium of the Supreme Council of the Ukrainian Republic, authorized in Article 3 by the law of 19 August, 1938.<sup>21</sup> The same article also declares that it is the Praesidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR which extends citizenship of the USSR, including Union citizenship on the territory of the Ukrainian SSR, which makes it plain that there are two agencies on this territory able to impart the right of citizenship.<sup>22</sup> Such a state of affairs limits the jurisdiction of Ukraine concerning the right to extend citizenship, but this restriction is not the only one. According to Article 4 of the Citizenship Law of 1938, only the Praesidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union can terminate the right of citizenship of the USSR, including citizenship of the Ukrainian SSR, for no such authorization is vested in the Praesidium of the Ukrainian Supreme Council either by the law of 1938 or by the Ukrainian Constitution.<sup>23</sup>

The last point to be considered in our discussion of the constitutional nature of Ukrainian sovereignty and independence is the Ukrainian Constitution itself. According to Article 19a of this document, the Ukrainian SSR establishes its own Constitution and the controls over its observance. Article 127 states that it is the Supreme Council of the Ukrainian Republic, and no other body, which enacts amendments to the Constitution. Since the Ukrainian Constitution is the Fundamental Law of the land, legally determining the social, political, economic, etc., structure of the Republic, it is of the greatest importance to know whether this basic law of Ukraine is juridically independent of the basic law of the USSR. 'The Union Republic', maintains Zlatopol'sky, 'adopts its own Constitution independently, and also independently makes in it the necessary supplements and amendments, which, as also the whole Constitution itself, must

21) This law is entitled 'Citizenship of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics' which was passed by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. *Sbornik zakonov SSSR i ukazov Presidiuma Verkhovnogo Sovieta SSSR (1938 — July 1956)*, Moscow, 1956, 64. Article 30g of the Ukrainian Constitution mentions the power of the Praesidium of the Supreme Council of the Ukrainian SSR to bestow its citizenship.

22) It is obvious that a foreigner given Union citizenship on the territory of the Ukraine by the Praesidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR automatically becomes a citizen of the Ukrainian Republic.

23) It may be argued that there is still another limitation of Ukrainian juridical sovereignty and independence here. As we have seen, Article 17 of the Ukrainian Constitution additionally stipulates that citizens of all other Soviet Republics have the rights of citizens of the Ukrainian SSR when they are on its territory, which simply means that they become citizens of Ukraine just by crossing its borders, without any action on the part of the Ukrainian authorities.

conform to the basic law of the USSR'.<sup>24</sup> Having cited the pertinent clauses of the All-Union Constitution, the clauses in the Ukrainian Constitution should be scrutinized. Two articles are important here: Article 14d, quoted above, and Article 16. The latter reads: 'Each Union Republic has its own Constitution, which takes account of the specific features of the Republic and is drawn up in full conformity with the Constitution of the USSR'. It is instructive that the Ukrainian Constitution is entirely silent on the matter of its 'full conformity' with the fundamental law of the Soviet 'federation', but the illusion of the independent jurisdiction of the Ukrainian Republic in regard to its own basic law is easily dispelled by reading the Union counterpart. How can anyone do anything independently if one must move within prescribed areas of activity? There is a strict legal limitation imposed on the powers of the Ukrainian SSR to adopt and change its own basic law, and since this law, as the name implies, serves as the juridical groundwork for the whole state system of the Ukrainian Republic, the conditions under which it operates singularly restrict the formal exercise of Ukrainian sovereignty and independence in general.<sup>25</sup>

In summary, the study of Soviet constitutional and municipal law demonstrates that the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, a member of the Soviet 'federation', is a peculiar kind of state with sharply limited sovereignty and independence.

Having shown the status of the Ukrainian Republic from the standpoint of Soviet internal law, its position in the light of the law of nations must be analysed, keeping in mind the findings of the previous analysis. Two closely related questions must be answered: first, whether the Ukrainian SSR is a subject of international law and second, what legal significance, if any, is to be attached to the presence of this Union Republic among the member states in the United Nations Organisation?

Generally speaking, the subjects of international law or international legal personalities are considered to be states — meaning

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24) Zlatopol'sky, *op cit.*, 163.

25) It is of course possible to cite still other Articles of both the Ukrainian and Union Constitutions to show the juridical limitations of Ukrainian sovereignty, but enough has been said to warrant a definite conclusion.

The argument of Soviet writers (see Taranov, *op. cit.*, 109, Janovsky *op. cit.*, 56) that the sovereignty of Ukraine, or of the Union Republics in general, is constitutionally exercised — and therefore apparently enhanced — by the fact that they are represented in the All-Union organs of government as, for example, in the Soviet of Nationalities (Article 35 of the Union Constitution) does not, in my opinion, in any way, change the existing constitutional situation in the Soviet 'federal' state. The legal restrictions on Ukrainian sovereignty and independence remain unaffected by the participation of representatives of the Ukrainian SSR in the Union government organs.



sovereign states.<sup>26</sup> Can Ukraine, which has been shown to be a deficient state only partially sovereign and a member of a Soviet 'federation', be qualified as a subject of the Law of Nations? First, it must be decided (assuming that the USSR constitutes a certain form of federal state) whether a member of any federation can be regarded as a subject of international law. Professor Korowicz says that 'it is generally accepted that a member-state of a federal state, whatever may be its internal organisation and autonomy, has no international personality, being represented in international relations by the central government of the federal state'.<sup>27</sup> He also points out that

'in contradistinction to the confederation of States which is a subject of international law as also all the States belonging to the confederation, the federal State, and not its component parts (called States or provinces etc.), is the exclusive subject of international law. A component part of a federal State is not a State from the point of view of international law, and this is explicitly provided in constitutions of federal states'.<sup>28</sup>

However, many international jurists would take exception to such a view by arguing that the member states of a federation have a limited international personality and therefore may be regarded as partial subjects of international law. Patrick Ransom writes that

'states members of a federation for many purposes enjoy the rights and fulfil the duties of International Persons. They are, in the words of Professor Oppenheim, "part sovereign states and they are consequently, International Persons for some purposes only". What these purposes are depends on the division of powers that exist in the particular federation'.

The author illustrates the last point by citing Switzerland as a federal state in which 'member states are free to conclude treaties not only between themselves, but also with foreign states in certain specified matters'. He also mentions the United States as an example of a federation whose members are not international personalities, since the federal government alone exercises control over foreign

26) 'The classical doctrine of International Law generally regarded only civilized, sovereign States as international persons and therefore as subjects of International Law. The Law of Nations was defined as the body of rules governing independent States in their relations with one another'. Kurt von Schuschnigg, *International Law: an Introduction to the Law of Peace*, Milwaukee, 1959, 69; 'International law is generally defined or described as being applicable to relations between states. States are said to be the subjects of international law...'. Philip C. Jessup, *A Modern Law of Nations: an Introduction*, New York, 1948, 15. Besides states, individuals, international organisations, etc., are considered by many Western jurists as having an international personality. Soviet writers as a rule maintain that only sovereign states and nations fighting for their independence are subjects of international law. See F. I. Kozhevnikov, ed. *Mezhdunarodnoe pravo*, Moscow, 1957, 86-87; L. A. Modzhorian, *Subiekty mezhdunaradnogo prava*, Moscow, 1958.

27) Korowicz, *op. cit.*, 82.

28) *Ibid.*, 277. It must be said that the USSR Constitution neither explicitly nor implicitly refers to the members of the Union (claimed by the Soviets to be a federation) as not being states under international law.

Korowicz of course, is not the only scholar who thinks that members of a federation cannot be treated as subjects of the law of nations. Dolan, dealing with the matter of our concern, is of the same opinion. He relies on Josef Kunz's judgement (J. L. Kunz, *Die Staatenverbindungen*, Stuttgart, 1929, 664), and writes that 'only federations and not their members are subjects of international law...'. See Edward Dolan, 'The Member-Republics of the U.S.S.R. as Subjects of the Law of Nations'. *The International and Comparative Law Quarterly*, IV, 1955, 633.

affairs.<sup>29</sup> It is the field of external relations which seems to be decisive in determining whether a member of a federation can be considered as a subject of international law. 'It will therefore be seen', Ransome states, 'that, while the provisions of International Law are normally binding on fully sovereign states only, they also regulate the actions of states members of a federation in so far as those states retain control over relations with foreign states'.<sup>30</sup> Von Schuschnigg notes that 'in contrast to sovereign States, which are the perfect subjects of International Law, States that are not fully sovereign, that is dependent States, are the imperfect or partial subjects of International Law. They are the protectorates mandates, trusteeship territories, and the member States of a federal Union'.<sup>31</sup> Wesley L. Gould maintains that in a federal state 'the assignment of powers in international relations, hence of international personality, is a matter of constitutional law'. While he asserts that foreign affairs would usually be the domain of the federal government, he nevertheless holds that examples may be found which would show that members of a federation retain 'a degree of international personality'.<sup>32</sup>

Two important points emerge from this discussion: first, in some federations members may be considered as being partial subjects of international law, that is, as possessing an international jural personality to a limited degree only, and second, such a status is derived from the constitutional arrangement within a federal state. The last statement is reaffirmed by Gould when he says that 'in respect to both confederations and federations international law generally does not undertake to assign degrees of personality to the union and its members. It accepts the arrangements made by the members'.<sup>33</sup>

If we accept the view that the members of at least some federations, or the members of composite states resembling federations, are to be recognized as having a degree of international personality and that it is the constitutional law of a particular federation which decides whether its members are to be subjects of international law, we may conclude that the Ukrainian SSR is some sort of restricted international person or is a partial subject of the law of nations. The reason for this is quite plain: both the Union and the Ukrainian Constitutions assert the right of Ukraine to have relations with

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29) Patrick Ransome, 'Federation and International Law', *Federal Union*, 240.

30) *Ibid.*, 240.

31) Von Schuschnigg, *op cit.*, 72.

32) Wesley L. Gould, *An Introduction to International Law*, New York, 1957, 200.

33) *Ibid.*, 200-01.

foreign states, thus making it a subject of international law.<sup>34</sup> To be sure, some Soviet scholars would like us to think that the Ukrainian Republic, like any other Union Republic, is a full subject of the law of nations, as for example, Modzhorian, who writes that, 'after giving to the Union Republics the rights of foreign relations they are, side by side with the Union, the sovereign subjects of international law'.<sup>35</sup> Such a view is based on the assertion that the Soviet Republics are sovereign states in spite of the limitations of the previously cited constitutional articles.

The Ukrainian SSR (as well as the Byelorussian SSR) became members of the United Nations Organisation through the diplomatic efforts of the Kremlin leadership, with Stalin and his associates arriving at the successful completion of their labours not so much by legal as by political means. As Gould put it: 'the Ukrainian SSR and the Byelorussian SSR were admitted as original members of the United Nations as a concession to a Soviet political demand'.<sup>36</sup> Despite this fact, the legal or constitutional argument showing that these Republics were capable of having direct relations with foreign countries and therefore were to be considered as states and subjects of international law, was not only useful, but perhaps made the difference between acceptance and rejection of the Communist request. In other words the juridical argument had to be invoked to

34) Discussing the heart of our problem Professor Halaychuk writes: 'If a member of a federation is to be subject in international law, it is necessary for the member to have the proper power recognized by the federal constitution. Is a constitutional provision alone sufficient? ... Soviet authors believe that a constitutional provision suffices. S. Krylov stated: 'The law of 1 February, 1944, clearly confirms that the Soviet Republics are subjects of international law'. The matter was even more clearly stated by Tunkin. In the course of the UN International Law Commission's work on the codification of diplomatic law, the Austrian scholar, A. von Verdross raised the question whether mention should be made of members of federations who enjoyed the right of legation. Tunkin answered: 'As stated by Mr. Verdross, the question whether a member-state of a federation has the right of legation depends on the federal constitution and is not a question of international law'. See Bohdan T. Halaychuk, 'The Soviet Ukraine as a Subject of International Law', *The Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Art and Sciences in the United States*, IX, 1961, 170-71.

Koretsky maintains that the Ukrainian SSR retained its international legal subjectivity (subjektnist') even after joining the USSR and transferring the conduct of its foreign relations to the Union. This would mean that Ukraine was a subject of international law before the constitutional changes of 1944. The noted Ukrainian jurist seems to explain this legal *tour de force* by stating that the Ukrainian Republic, as well as other Soviet Republics, had the right to take part in the Union organs of external relations (and thus apparently to participate in foreign affairs). See Koretsky, *op cit.*, 627. Brovka, arguing against many of his Soviet colleagues, maintains that it is a mistake to attribute international legal subjectivity (*pravosubektnost'*) to the Union Republics simply on the strength of the USSR law of February, 1944. Basing his conclusion on the decisive importance of sovereignty, he declares that 'the Soviet Republics arose as independent sovereign states. They preserved their sovereignty even after entering the USSR. Therefore, their international subjectivity was not interrupted in the course of their development. With the adoption of the Law of 1 February, 1944, it received still clear expression'. See Brovka, *Mezhdunarodnaia pravosubektnost' BSSR*, Minsk, 83-84. It is possible to admire the legal ingenuity of the Soviet writers, without agreeing with them.

35) Modzhorian, *op cit.*, 64. Brovka says that 'the USSR and the Union Republics manifest themselves on the international arena independently and are full subjects of international law'. See Brovka, *op cit.*, 89. As the title of Ianovsky's article indicates, its author regards the Soviet Republics as full subjects of the law of nations. See Ianovsky, *op cit.*, 55.

36) Gould, *op cit.*, 201.

make the political transaction look legitimate. Once that was accomplished the presence of these two Republics in the international organisation 'shall be states' and Article 4, Paragraph 1, declares

The juridical position of Ukraine in the United Nations is quite strong and is based primarily on the provisions of the United Nations Charter. Article 3 affirms that the founding members of the world organisation 'shall be states' and Article 4, Paragraph 1, declares that 'membership in the United Nations is open to all peace-loving states which accept the obligations contained in the present Charter, [and which] in the judgement of the Organisation, are able and willing to carry out these obligations'.<sup>37</sup> Article 2, Paragraph 1, declares that 'the Organisation is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its Members' and Paragraph 4 of the same Article stipulates that 'all Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat of use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state', implying that all members of the UN have the capacity to wage war.

Since all these references apply to the Ukrainian SSR — there being no exception in the Charter — the juristic status of the Ukrainian Republic in the United Nations is clear: Ukraine, in spite of the fact that it is a member of a 'federation', is a sovereign state, equal to other members, having an international legal personality and being a subject of the law of nations.<sup>38</sup> Wrestling with the same problem

All these statements, true or false, in no way affect the stipulations of the Charter. Verdross wrote:

'Es kann daher kein Zweifel darüber bestehen, dass ein Gliedstaat, der als Mitglied der Vereinten Nationen aufgenommen wurde, auch ein *eigenes Völkerrechtssubject* darstellt. Diese Stellung, nimmt er aber nur gegenüber *dritten* Staaten ein, während seine Stellung *innerhalb* seines Gesamtstaates ausschliesslich nach der Verfassung dieses Staates zu beurteilen ist'. (Italics in the original.)

After noting that in the past international subjectivity of the members of a federation (Bundesstaat) played an insignificant rôle, the

<sup>37</sup>) Article 34 (I) of the Statute of the International Court of Justice provides that 'only states may be parties in cases before the Court'. The Statute is part of the UN Charter and the International Court of Justice is the principal judicial organ of the UN. All the UN members are *ipso facto* parties to the Statute.

<sup>38</sup>) It would perhaps be of some interest to cite the legal opinion of several Western scholars concerning the presence of Ukraine (and Byelorussia) in the United Nations. Goodrich writes that 'the principle that states alone would be members of the Organisation was never applied in any narrow sense. In fact it would be difficult to justify the inclusion of Ukraine and Byelorussia under any generally accepted definition of a state in international law'. Leland M. Goodrich, *The United Nations*, New York, 1959, 86. Dealing with the Stalin Constitution and the presence of the Ukrainian and Byelorussian Republics in the international organisation, von Schuschnigg asserts that 'the constitutional language and the separate UN membership of the two Russian member states are, from a legal points of view, manifestly irrelevant; they constitute one of those anomalies which demonstrate the frequent incongruence of juristic theory and political practice'. Von Schuschnigg, *op cit.*, 77. Having in mind Ukraine and Byelorussia, Gould notes that 'an anomaly is introduced when an entity lacking the status of a state is admitted as a member of an international organisation of states'. He further comments that 'whatever the degree of international personality that may be derived from membership in the United Nations, the Ukrainian and Byelorussian Republics are not states'. Gould, *op cit.*, 201.

## Austrian scholar continued:

'Ganz anders, steht es aber im Falle der völkerrechts-subjektivität der Ukraine und Weissrusslands, da diese im Rahmen der Charta der Vereinten Nationen den anderen Staaten gegenüber vollkommen gleichberechtigt sind und daher alle Rechte ausüben können, die den Mitgliedern der UNO zustehen'.<sup>39</sup>

It appears that the legal status of the Ukrainian SSR is much stronger in the forum of the United Nations than within the Soviet 'federation'. The Charter of the international organisation is much more generous towards Ukraine than either the Ukrainian or the Union Constitution: it makes the Ukrainian Republic a fully-fledged member of the international community. As the Belgian jurist P. De Visscher put it: 'Sur le plan de l'ONU la situation de l'Ukraine paraît juridiquement très forte puisque sa présence au sein de l'organisation n'est à rien liée à la présence de l'U.R.S.S. ou à la forme de son gouvernement'.<sup>40</sup> Such a juridical paradox makes the Ukrainian SSR both a partial and a full subject of international law, but one should not overlook the fact that it is only in the United Nations Organisation and nowhere else that Ukraine is invested with this distinctly normal international personality.<sup>41</sup>

39) There is no doubt that a constituent state, accepted as a member of the United Nations, also possesses individual international law subjectivity. However, this position holds true only *vis-à-vis* third states, while its position within the federal state is judged exclusively by the Constitution of that state... This legal international personality appears to be entirely different in the case of Ukraine and Byelorussia because, within the framework of the United Nations Charter, they possess full equality of right in relation to third states, and therefore can exercise all the rights belonging to members of the UNO. Alfred Verdross, 'Die Völkerrechtssubjektivität der Gliedstaaten der Sowjet-Union', *Oesterreichische Zeitschrift für Öffentliches Recht*, I, 1946, 218. See also Roman Yakemtchouk, *Ukraine — droit international*, Louvain, 1954, 43-44.

40) Paul de Visscher, 'A propos de la personnalité juridique de l'Ukraine', *L'Ukraine dans le cadre de l'Est Européen*, Louvain, 1957, 104-05.

41) An interesting question which presents itself in connection with the membership of Ukraine in the UN is whether this country was given recognition by the other members of the international organisation. Concentrating his attention on the United States, Halaychuk maintains that since Washington agreed to the UN membership of Ukraine and Byelorussia, it definitely recognized them. 'The rule of international law permits no doubt that the United States have recognized Ukraine and Byelorussia *de jure*'. The author builds his case on the opinion of many jurists. See Bohdan Halaychuk, 'Has the United States Recognized Ukraine?' *Ukrainian Quarterly*, XI, 1955, 24-28. However, the United States Government has a different view on this matter. An official publication of the US Department of State declares that 'although Byelorussia... and Ukraine... have status as members of the United Nations, they are regarded by the US Government only as constituent parts of the Soviet Union'. This publication further states that 'the US Government does not recognize Byelorussian and Ukraine as independent states...'. *Status of the World's Nations*, Geographic Bulletin No. 2, Washington, 1967, 8, 13. The entire problem of the relationship between recognition and UN membership received a brief exposition in a memorandum 'Legal Aspects of the Problem of Representation in the United Nations', prepared in 1950 for Trygve Lie, then Secretary-General of the Organisation. The authoritative conclusions of this memorandum, based on the unbroken practice of the UN members, left no doubt that '(1) a member could properly vote to accept a representative of a government which it did not recognize or with which it had no diplomatic relations and (2) such a vote did not imply recognition or a readiness to assume diplomatic relations'. Security Council, *Official Records, Fifth Year, Supplement for January, February, March, 1950* (Doc. S/1466), 18-23.

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## A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF TARAS SHEVCHENKO (1814-1861)

Shevchenko's significance and importance is comparable with that of Dante for Italy, Goethe or Schiller for Germany, Shakespeare for England, Hugo for France and Mickiewicz for Poland. Shevchenko, the most popular poet in Ukrainian literature, is the best known figure in modern Ukrainian history, and a symbol of the struggle for freedom in Ukraine.

In order to better understand Shevchenko's significance, let us briefly analyse the historical and political backgrounds of his time.

After the battle of Poltava (July 7, 1709) a wave of terrible persecution was inaugurated in Ukraine by the Russian Tsar Peter I, who took systematic measures to destroy the political rights of Ukraine. (Before 1709 Ukraine had autonomy under the protectorate of Muscovy, a condition which at that time was quite common, even for such countries as Holland under Spain 1559-1648, Prussia under Poland 1525-1660, and Livonia under Sweden 1648-1721). In 1713 by the order of Peter I, Ukraine became known as "Little Russia", and the name Ukraine was prohibited from being used. "Little Russia" was designed to make the Russian empire synonymous with the Russian people. Under such conditions (as often happens in the history of many nations), the majority of the Ukrainian nobility gradually became russified and the Ukrainian people soon lost their leadership. Later measures of repression were systematically introduced to eliminate the privileges of the autonomous status, and what the Tsar was unable to finish, due to his sudden death in 1725, was continued by the Tsarina Catherine II. In 1765 she finally abolished the autonomy of Ukraine, and in 1792 issued a decree whereby peasants virtually became the property of the nobility, who were thus privileged to do whatever they wished with their subjects. They made the peasants submit to intolerable working conditions, sold them like animals, and treated or even killed them without recourse to justice.

It was in such conditions that Taras Shevchenko was born in Moryntsy, on March 9, 1814. His father Hryhoriy Shevchenko was a prosperous serf at a time when his prosperity could bring him few advantages. He constantly sought a new and better life on the estates

of his master, Vasily Vasilyevich Engelhardt. After his marriage to Katerina Boykivna, the two lived in the village of Kyrylivka, where his father lived. His father-in-law soon bought him a little cabin and some land in Morinty where Taras was born. Conditions here were unsatisfactory and it was not long before the Shevchenkos returned to Kyrylivka where Taras spent his boyhood.

Taras was the third of six children and was always attached to his older sister Kateryna who married when he was still very young. His father tried to give him an education but the opportunities were very few. When he was 9, his mother died of poverty and overwork on the lands of the master. This meant the end of the happy period of his life.

With 6 small children, his father could not maintain his household without a wife, so he soon married a widow who brought 3 children with her to her new home. The marriage was not a happy one since she was very cruel to her step-children, begrudging them the food they ate and quarreling unceasingly. To avoid the perpetual beatings which he received, Taras used to take refuge with his older sister who was married and lived in the neighbouring village. Finally, when he was 12 years old, his father died too and the young Taras was thrown on his own resources, since his uncle who was his guardian paid little attention to him.

To try and find some respite from the cruelty that was going on at home, he went to a village clerk Bohorsky in an endeavor to learn something about painting, for he already had been attracted to this. His stay with Bohorsky was none too successful. The clerk was an incorrigible drunkard and besides nearly starving the boy, he tyrannised him in every way but he did succeed in making him literate and in teaching him to read the *Psalter*. In fact, Taras became so successful in this that the clerk would send him out to read the Psalms at peasant funerals and thus allow himself more time for drinking with his friends. Taras finally took his revenge. One day when he found his teacher drunk, he flogged him as hard as he could and then made off with a volume of art works. This was apparently a book containing some of the stock designs for icon painting and for lettering.

Disgusted with the worthless and brutal teacher from whom he had imbibed only a feeling that violence was wrong, he made his way to the village of Lysyanka to study under another clerk. This likewise was unsuccessful. He left and later turned up at Tarasivka, where there was a locally famous painter but here again he met only a rebuff. Finally he had exhausted all the clerks in the neighbourhood who had any reputation for painting, and there was nothing for him to do but to return to his native village and there, as an orphan he secured a living by acting as a herdsman for the village cattle and by doing any odd jobs that might appear in the community.

Shevchenko was suddenly torn away from this existence by the overseer of the estate who sent him into the kitchen of the manor house to work as an assistant baker but Taras failed to acquire the necessary skill. Another task was sought for him and this time he was appointed as a servant for the young master Pavel Vasilyevich Engelhardt. His work here was boring and insignificant. He had only to remain dressed in a uniform in the anteroom of the master and to serve his slightest whim and needs. It meant long hours of doing nothing. He had to hand the young master his pipe, when he desired, for it was beneath the dignity of Pavel Engelhardt to pick up his own pipe, even if it were beside him. All his other tasks were of the same non-essential character and the boy who was accustomed to his freedom was absolutely disgusted with his fate.

There was however one consolation. The master could not prevent Taras from admiring the objects of art that were scattered around the house. In stolen moments he tried to make copies of them.

He also had the opportunity to travel. In 1829 Engelhardt, who was a Guards officer, took him to Wilno and for 14 years Taras did not see his beloved Ukraine. It was at Wilno that an incident happened that determined his fate. On the 6th December, Engelhardt and his wife went out for the evening and Taras was obliged to stay on watch until they returned. To while away the time, he set himself the task of copying a print. He became so absorbed in this that he did not notice the return of his master who found him copying by candle light. Engelhardt became enraged and scolded him violently because he might have set fire not only to the house but to the whole city. The next day he gave orders to have him flogged. The episode might have ended here but Engelhardt noticed that Taras was making an excellent copy of the work. He also saw some of his other sketches. So, after having punished the young culprit, he sent him to the Academy at Wilno... Later he transferred him to Warsaw to take lessons from the celebrated artist Lampi.

When Engelhardt moved to St. Petersburg, Taras went with him. Taras was sent to Shyriayev, a professional decorator who was known for his work in theatres. There was a plebeian and unidealistic side to making designs and transferring them automatically to the walls and ceilings of buildings that displeased Taras. He felt that he was becoming a mechanical drudge.

In 1837 he made the acquaintance of another Ukrainian artist Ivan Soshenko who was living in St. Petersburg. Soshenko became enthusiastic over the artistic abilities of Taras and over the possibilities of him doing independent work. He introduced Taras to the leading men in the Imperial Academy of Arts and wanted to have him enrolled there as a student. This was impossible for no serf was allowed to study in this institution. The Secretary of the Academy, Vasil Ivanovich Grigorovich and professor Karl Pavlovich Bryulov bo



wanted him enrolled as a student. There was only one solution to the difficulty. It was necessary to obtain freedom for Taras. Englehardt was not sympathetic for he had expended considerable money on the education of the young man and he was not going to be deprived of his services now that he was becoming recognised as an artist. He promptly demanded the payment of 2,500 silver roubles. This was an enormous sum and was apparently intended to be prohibitive.

The group of artists interested in Taras was not to be discouraged by this demand. They interested Zhukovsky in the case, tutor of the Tsarevich, later Alexander II, and the recognized authority on European literature in Russia. With his court connections, it was clear that he could secure the necessary funds. He therefore arranged with Bryulov to paint his picture which was to be disposed of by a private lottery. This lottery was an event for the rich circles of Russia. Money was raised and paid over to Engelhardt and on April 22, 1838, Taras became a free man for the first time in his life. Shevchenko was almost overcome by his new happiness. He registered at the Academy as a student of Bryulov the next day. During the next several years, he won several silver medals for his painting, but more important than this were the opportunities in general culture. His early education was extremely defective. He had not even had the most irregular schooling apart from elementary instruction in reading and writing offered by the local clerks under whom he had gone through the motions of studying. Now he was able to read at his leisure and he applied himself ardently to making up the defects in his training.

At some point during his stay in St. Petersburg, Shevchenko began to write verse. His modesty and his devotion to his painting made him at first very hesitant in regard to his poetic performances and it was more or less by accident that they were brought to the attention of the public. In 1839 a Ukrainian landowner, Petro Martos, met Taras and arranged for him to paint his portrait. As he was sitting in the artist's apartment, he happened to notice some poetry on various sheets of paper. He succeeded in borrowing them and on reading them became so thrilled that he resolved to publish them at his own expense.

The work appeared in 1840 under the title of *Kobzar* and it marked a new era in Ukrainian literature. In vain Russian critics attacked it as insignificant and peasant-like. Ukrainians welcomed it and saw in it the answer to their confused hopes for a worthy literature of their own. The next year *Haydamaky* appeared, the longest of his epics. There was the same criticism of his work by Russian and Polish critics and the same enthusiastic reception by Ukrainians. The edition was soon sold out and Taras received a considerable amount of money for it. He had in a way become a national figure and was more sure of himself in his relations with society and with all those whom he met.

Yet despite his apparent success in all that he undertook, things were not going well for him. He had many firm friends in St. Petersburg and relations with his teacher Bryulov remained as close as before. Yet he seemed to be dissatisfied. He was dissatisfied with the Academy, perhaps because he was not making as much progress in his use of colours as he would have liked. He won no prize after 1841, that is, after he had become famous for his writings. Undoubtedly his dislike for St. Petersburg affected him. He had seen his works scorned or reviewed with hostility by Russian critics. He was busy with portraits and with his social life, but at the same time he was struck by the contrast between the life that he was leading and the misery of his brothers and sisters in Ukraine. He had not seen them for 14 years and he was becoming homesick and he wanted at all costs to pay a visit to his native land.

So in the summer of 1843, he succeeded in securing a leave of absence from the Academy and obtained permission from the authorities to go home. His return to Ukraine was a real event. He paid a visit to his family but he was no longer a serf. He was the poet of Ukraine and all the landowners and persons of prominence vie with one another in entertaining him. His trip was one triumphal procession, as he passed from estate to estate. The trip was successful not only from the social point of view but also from the financial. This short trip changed the temper and the work of the poet. He was able to see the evils under which Ukraine was suffering not through the memories of a young serf but through the eyes of an enlightened and progressive and successful man of the world. The worst evil was in the present and that was a direct result of the Russian overlordship and the suppression of Ukrainian liberties. Henceforth his poem turned against Russia and abandoned the romantic scenes of the past that had formed such a large part of *Kobzar*. At the same time he increased his emphasis upon the injustice received by the villagers.

He occupied himself during this year with a series of sketches: *Picturesque Ukraine*, and continued his usual life at the Academy with his friends. The ferment of opposition to injustice was however working in him and towards the end of summer he finished the *Dream*, one of his most powerful attacks on the situation in Ukraine. It was impossible to think of publishing such a poem with its caricature of the Empress and its open condemnation of both Peter the Great and Catherine the Great. It did, however, begin to circulate in manuscript form among Taras' friends, and the adherents of Ukrainian liberties.

In the late autumn of 1845 he secured a place with the Archaeological Commission which had been formed to study the ancient monuments of Ukraine. This year was one of his most productive years literarily. It was the time when Taras had the opportunity to acquaint himself personally with all the ancient monuments of

his country and to observe the terrible conditions under which the people were living. The year saw the continuation of the tendencies described in the *Dream*, and in such poems as the *Great Grave*, the *Caucasus*, and the *Epistle to the dead, living, and unborn countrymen in Ukraine* where he expressed his bitter indignation at the denial of independence and liberty to his people.

In 1824 a Czech writer, Jan Kollar, had published the *Daughter of Slava*, a series of sonnets appealing for Slavonic liberty and stressing the brotherhood of all the Slavonic races. This work gradually spread throughout the Slavonic world and produced market reactions everywhere. Some of the Russians played with the idea and it found strong repercussions in the Balkans. In Kyiv it affected a group of young thinkers, among them Taras, and its influence was aided by the studies of Slavonic antiquities and general Slavonic literature by Pavel Šafarik, another Czech scholar.

The immediate result was the organisation of the Society of Sts. Cyril and Methodius in January, 1846. The members dreamed of a great Slav republic which was to embrace all the Slavonic nations with the various groups organized as states. There was nothing particularly dangerous about this Society. The members seemed to have believed in the possibility of peaceful change and the very unmilitary character of the leaders should have shown the Tsar that they were little more than idealists who might have been used to further the interests of the Russian Empire. Yet to Nicholas I anything which savoured of free institutions was actually and not only potentially dangerous. Danger threatened the entire group and they were compelled to act as a secret organisation. They adopted their own flag, seal and ritual.

During the summer of 1846, the members of this Society scattered on their own business. Shevchenko spent his time on various estates and dreamed of going abroad to Italy to continue his studies in painting. At the same time he was building high hopes about the possibility of receiving a definite position as a teacher of painting at the University of Kyiv, and this was given him in February, 1847. Everything seemed to be favourable for a happy future, when the blow suddenly fell. Taras had returned to Kyiv for a wedding and several of his friends assembled at the same time. Unknown to them, Oleksy Petrov, a student who had lived in a room near that of Professor Hulak, another member of the group, had listened to discussions that had gone on at various times when some of the members had come to Kyiv during the preceding months, and had become convinced that there was some conspiracy afoot. Perhaps he had even made friends with Taras with the idea of discovering something about the Society. On the 28th February, 1847, Petrov informed M. V. Yuzifovich, supervisor of education in the district, of the conspiracy. The latter at once suspended Taras from his position in the

Archeological Commission on the technicality that he had gone to Kyiv without permission. Still there was no real suspicion towards the group. In the meantime Yuzifovich had forwarded the complaint to Bibikov, Governor of Kyiv, who referred the matter to Count Orlov, chief of the gendarmes. On April 5, 1847 Shevchenko and his friends were arrested and sent to St. Petersburg. He arrived there on April 17 and the trial took place immediately. The sentence came on the 26th May with the verdict: "The artist Shevchenko, for his writing of abusive and impudent poetry of the highest degree as a person of a healthy constitution, is to be sent as a private to the Orenburg Separate Corps, with the right of freedom through honourable service. Instructions are to be sent to the command to have the strictest supervision over him. Under no pretext can he produce any abusive or satirical works. The Tsar with his own hand added to this "Under the strictest supervision with a prohibition on writing and sketching".

Taras had no desire to become a soldier and he loathed army life and discipline. It seemed to him a worse slavery than that which he had known as a serf. Every detail awoke his disgust. It was in vain that the commanders endeavoured to teach him drill and to march. He was shocked at the filth and language of the privates who surrounded him and with whom he had to associate. They were the exact opposite of the cultured and intellectual people with whom he had associated at St. Petersburg and in Ukraine. Several of his friends interceded on his behalf which had some effect, for on the 30th January, 1848 Count Orlov inquired about his conduct and the possibility of removing the ban on his painting. It was possible that a favourable reply was given for early in May he was attached as a sketcher to an expedition which was setting out to explore the east coast of the Sea of Aral. His mission lasted for a year and a half and he returned to Orenburg in November 1849. Again he presented a petition to be allowed to paint. His officers seconded his request. In the meantime they allowed him to live in the city of Orenburg, to wear civilian clothes instead of the uniform and to paint as many portraits as he desired. It was too good to last. In the spring a certain ensign presented a complaint that contrary to the Imperial edict Taras was both writing and painting. His quarters were searched and he was immediately rearrested on the 27th April and set back to Orsk where he was placed in the guardhouse. His trial lasted from the 28th June to the 5th July. On the 26th August the order came to release him from the guardhouse and to send him to First Battalion at Novopetrovsk under the strictest supervision. Here the officers attempted to make an efficient soldier out of him but failed whether this was because of his stubborn determination not to be a good one but to maintain his theories to the last or whether he was temperamentally unmilitary, it is hard to say. For two years the struggle continued. Taras was

watched constantly. He was not allowed a scrap of paper and during his service at Novopetrovsk there was no opportunity for him to write even the shortest poems.

Nicholas I died on 17th February 1855 and a new era seemed to dawn for Russia. The new Tsar, Alexander II was the pupil of Zhukovskiy who had so much to do with the liberation of Taras from serfdom. The new reign was opening with an appearance of liberality and with a general amnesty and Taras could hope for his release. Yet he was not included on the list of pardons. His attack on the Dowager Empress in the *Dream* had been so bitter that she was believed to have influenced her son against the act. Taras was nearly in despair but his friends in St. Petersburg did not lose hope. Count Feodor Petrovich Tolstoy of the Academy of Arts, and his wife continued to work through all possible social channels to secure the release of the poet. It was a hard and thankless task but by the spring of 1857 his friend Mykhaylo Lazarevsky could write that a pardon had been secured and that the days of Taras' exile were numbered. He was finally freed on the 21st July 1857. On the 20th September he reached Nizhni Novhorod but the police were again waiting for him. His amnesty had not granted him permission to live in St. Petersburg and Major Uskov (commander at Novopetrovsk) had in ignorance granted him this permission, when he let him go without requiring him to travel via Orenburg. He was now required to return there for a formal receipt of future instructions. Yet he found friends at Nizhni and the chief of Police and the police physician very willingly allowed him to remain and forwarded to Orenburg a statement that he was too sick to travel. This left him temporarily safe but it postponed his hope of meeting with his friends for it was not until the 1st March, 1858, that he received the desired permission and then there was a disagreeable clause added stating that he was to remain under the supervision of the police.

The winter was not an unpleasant one. Everywhere he was received as a distinguished writer. He was invited to the Nizhni Club, was entertained by the most distinguished social and artistic circles of the provincial city, and painted pictures of most of the outstanding persons, largely supporting himself in this way.

During his imprisonment, Taras had grown more radical. He had become aware that the Russian government was inflicting upon its own people most of the same hardships that it had upon the Ukrainians. As a result he constantly read the works of Herzen and of the other radicals which appeared abroad and from this time on, came to have closer kinship with the leaders of the intelligentsia.

In his heart Taras had never given up thoughts of marriage and while he was in Nizhni he became enamoured with an attractive young actress, Katerina Borisivna Pyunova. She was dissatisfied with her position in Nizhni and was trying to secure one in Kazan.

Taras tried to use his influence and that of Shchepkin, an actor friend, to get her to Kharkiv. She seemed to like his attentions but it was not long before he discovered that she was merely using him in order to secure a better contract and his devotion resulted only in disillusionment.

The years had treated Shevchenko very unkindly. He was only 40 but his exile had aged him prematurely. His health had suffered under the harsh regime and the difficult living conditions of the frontier. Even though his spirit remained unbroken, he was no longer a young and vigorous man. He still cherished his dream of a home and children but from this time on he apparently gave up the hope of charming anyone who might appeal to his mind and fit into the position to which he could honestly feel that he had risen. With the loss of his unconfessed love for Princess Repnina and the episode with Pyunova, Shevchenko turned more and more toward the peasantry form which he had sprung.

On March 27, 1859 Taras left for St. Petersburg where he resumed his studies at the Academy of Arts but this time in etching. He achieved great success in this and his work was so distinguished that in the spring of 1859 he was authorized to submit engravings for a promotion to the grade of Academician and on October 31, 1860 he was formally made an Academician of the Imperial Academy of Arts. His life in St. Petersburg was relatively pleasant but he could not forget Ukraine and his unfortunate brothers and sisters who were still in serfdom. He finally secured permission to go there and left St. Petersburg for his last visit early in June, 1859. He planned to visit several friends and to pay a visit to his brother and sisters at Kirilivka. He met his sister Iryna whom he asked to find him a wife, for now that he was more or less free, he was determined to marry and have a home in Ukraine before he died.

From Kirilivka he visited other friends and then new trouble overtook him. He was suddenly arrested at the town of Moshni. The police authorities at St. Petersburg had notified the police of the various sections where he would be and asked them to watch him. He seems to have expressed himself incautiously to some friends and apparently some Polish landowners reported him to the police. He was arrested on the 13th July and taken to Kyiv where his case was brought before the Governor General Ivar Vasilchikov, who decided that he had been unjustly accused. He advised the poet to return to St. Petersburg, "where the people are wiser and do not worry about trifles, in order to serve well". On the 14th August he started back to St. Petersburg.

There was still the problem of his marriage. After his experience with Pyunova and perhaps Princess Repnina, he had come to the conclusion that he should marry a peasant girl as much for symbolic reasons as for inclination. But where was he to find one?

By now he had become friendly with Vartolomey Shevchenko — brother of Taras, sister-in-law and manager of the estate of Prince Lopukhin. Taras met and became devoted to a 16 year old attractive but illiterate serf on the estate of Prince Lopukhin. She seemed to represent to Taras exactly the type of girl that he wished to marry. It was in vain that his friends advised him against the union, for they realized she could not share in any of his higher interests — his poetry or painting. It was all in vain. Shevchenko insisted on formally offering her his hand. The girl solved the problem by refusing him because she was unwilling to marry an aged "pan" and she had no intention of becoming the slave of another nobleman. This was another blow to Taras but he did not yet lose hope.

Later, at a party honouring him, he met another serf girl, who completely fascinated him and he decided to marry her. He had her taught to read and tried to educate her. The girl responded quickly but it was soon clear to all, even to Taras, that she was hoping to marry him only to get to Paris and to move in society. This completely broke the poet's heart and he began to feel that his chances for a happy married life in Ukraine were doomed never to be realized.

At the same time however he was busy with other plans. He was working hard on etching and was achieving real success. He also reopened negotiations with the censor to bring out another edition of the *Kobzar* which he secured in 1860, provided that it did not include poems written after his arrest and exile.

His visit to Ukraine and his new realization of the hardships of his family in serfdom aroused the desire to have them liberated. It was certain that a general emancipation would not be long delayed, but the poet would not wait. He opened negotiations with their master, V. E. Fliorkovsky, to emancipate, with a little piece of land, his two brothers Mykola and Osyp, and his sister Iryna with their families. He refused to give them land. Finally on the 10th, July, 1860 Fliorkovsky succeeded in coming to an agreement with his serfs and gave them their liberty in return for 900 silver roubles but without land. The poet was angry at this solution but there was nothing that he could do. He saw his relatives freed but they were compelled to rent their land on disadvantageous terms until 1865 when as a result of the emancipation settlement they were able to receive some.

By the autumn of 1860 the hardships which he had undergone began to tell on his health. He complained of pains in his chest but continued to work. In the middle of January 1861, he became worse and for some weeks was unable to leave his bed, or to leave his room. A watery swelling developed in his chest and it grew constantly worse. Towards the beginning of March he was in constant pain.

Late on the 9th March, his birthday, his friends found Taras sitting up in bed, breathing heavily but unable to speak. All that night he suffered greatly and could not sleep. In the morning he asked to be taken to his study but he had hardly crossed the threshold into the hall, when he staggered and fell — and never rose again.

The poet had lived to be one day over 47. Out of those years he had been a serf for 24, a free man for 9, a Russian soldier for 10 and under police supervision for 4.

His friends took his body back to Ukraine. It was taken through Moscow, Tula and Orel to Kyiv. In every city ever increasing crowds welcomed the funeral procession. Finally on May 18 it reached Kyiv but there was the question whether the body could be taken to the Church of the Nativity. Permission was granted by Governor Vasilchikov who had freed the poet at his last arrest. The Dniπρο River was in full flood but his admirers succeeded in getting the body across and in burying it on the Chernecha Hora, one of the poet's favourite spots. In 1892 Vartolomey Shevchenko bought this ground and handed it over to the city of Kaniv to preserve as a memorial to the poet.

Taras Shevchenko lived a life of tribulation and sorrow. There was little that was joyous about it. His muse is one of sadness but of firm belief in the ultimate triumph of right and of human brotherhood and he saw the Ukrainian cause as a part of this noble movement. From the standpoint of spirit and of literature he placed his native land on a firm basis among the Slavonic nations. He perfected the work of his predecessors and he still remains the greatest example of Ukrainian genius.

He accomplished amazing feats even though he had few opportunities for a formal education. He took the Ukrainian language and by the force of his genius made it into a language capable of expressing the most refined emotions and fully adequate to all the needs of more firmly or voiced more clearly an unyielding and uncompromising belief that democracy, truth and freedom would win the day. No one worked harder or suffered more to bring this about.

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*Vasyl SYMONENKO*

\* \* \*

Often I stand alone, like Crusoe,  
Searching beyond the horizon for a ship,  
And my thoughts sink helplessly  
Into the muddy mire of words.

Here on my desert island,  
Clad in a jerkin of crushed hopes,  
I pierce the heavens with a searching eye,  
— Where are you, my Friday?

My voice erupts in volleys of despair,  
Whose roar fades into the distance of indifference:  
— Lord, if a friend be too much,  
Then send me an enemy at least.

\* \* \*

You are a person.  
Did you know?  
Your smile,  
Your suffering,  
Your face —  
Are all unique.

Soon you will be no more.  
Tomorrow others will tread this earth,  
Some kind, some tender,  
Some wicked.

But today — all is yours,  
Lake, copse and holt.  
You must hurry  
To live and love,  
Do not not miss this moment!

For you are a human upon this earth,  
And whether you like it or not,  
Your smile,  
Your suffering,  
Your face —  
Are all unique.

### THE TRIAL

The paragraphs sat down behind the table,  
The footnotes lurked in the corners,  
While citations armed with bayonettes  
Viewed the accused with piercing eyes.

The circular peered through his spectacles,  
Gapers warmed themselves by the stone,  
And the orders, like phantoms,  
Buzzed through the clever telephones.

“An outsider” — pronounced the paragraphs.  
“Not one of us” — came the circular’s voice.  
“Unheard of” — piped the footnotes.  
And the courtroom burst into lamentation and noise.

But as the circular scowled,  
Commotion subsided into silence in the hall.  
And they crucified the wretched thought,  
In the name of dense paragraphs.

In vain it swore with tear-filled eyes,  
That it was innocent . . .  
The court’s logic was iron:  
The thought was separate, out of line,  
Because it was original.

Translated by: *Volodymyr Slez*

*Levko LUKYANENKO*

## **A YEAR OF FREEDOM**

About the author: The author of this essay — Levko Lukyanenko, was released from prison at the beginning of 1976. He was originally sentenced to death having been accused of founding the "Ukrainian Workers' and Pesants' Union". However, on the 26th July 1961 the Supreme Court of the Ukrainian SSR commuted his death sentence to 15 years of detention. L. Lukyanenko served his sentence in Mordovia. In 1973 he was transferred to Perm camp VS 389/36 (Kuchyno, Chukovsky province), and from the 3rd July 1974, until his release, he was detained in the Vladimir prison. The text of his essay "A Year of Freedom" is published without any alterations. Illegible handwriting is indicated by three dots enclosed in square brackets.

\* \* \*

The authorities began the preparation for my release two months before the end of my sentence by giving me a form to complete concerning my future place of residence.

By listening in to conversations held in cells and through the use of other investigative methods used on political prisoners, the authorities of Vladimir prison knew that on my release I intended to stay in Moscow for a few days to visit Volodymyr Bukovsky's mother, Lyubarsky's wife, Balakhanov and some other people, so that I could share the latest news of our pitiable imprisoned life with them. However, on the 10th December 1975 — a day on which it has become a tradition to hold hunger strikes as a means of protest against the violation of the Declaration of Human Rights in the Soviet Union — the administration, in an attempt to conceal the reality of prison life from those it interested, transferred me to Chernihiv prison which was closer to home, although, I still had 41 days of my sentence left to serve. In Chernihiv prison I sat with local criminals and so had the opportunity to become a little more closely acquainted with local conditions, and in particular, gained information about the extent of Russification.

In Rybysk I had been categorised as an invalid of the second category due to the state of my mind, i.e. I had been declared insane. Hence, before my release from prison, I wanted to find out whether I was to be freed as a normal person or as insane. Having made an appointment with the chief administrator of the hospital,

I asked her to give me permission to read the report made at the Rybysk psychiatric hospital. She refused to grant me such permission. I then asked if that report was to remain on the records.

— It hasn't been cancelled, — she replied. — But why do you want to know? Your medical card and the Rybysk hospital report will remain in the prison. We don't pass these records on when prisoners are released, and if you don't pursue your nationalist activities, then the Rybysk report won't have any effect on your life.

— So you consider me to be insane?

— I don't think anything. You're only here temporarily.

About a week later I was summoned to the hospital. The house doctor and a tall, thin, older Armenian woman were in the surgery. Under her white coat new brass buttons gleamed on her green kaftan. The house doctor introduced her as a psychiatrist.

— I didn't make an appointment to see a psychiatrist, — I said.

— What, are you frightened of me? — the Armenian asked with a laugh.

— We considered it necessary for you to be seen by a psychiatrist before you are released, — said the house doctor.

— Who are "we", — I asked, — doctors or KGB agents?

— What difference does that make to you? — replied the house doctor.

— What, is there no difference between you and them?

— We all serve one party, — she replied.

— Why do you hate the Soviet regime so much? — the Armenian intercepted.

— And how, exactly, have you found out about me? — I inquired, — My diseases and not my convictions are recorded on my medical card.

— I have been told a little about you.

— Who told you? Doctors? Then maybe it would be better if you took off your white coat and dispensed with your disguise.

— I could take it off. I, we are first and foremost workers of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and I would like to know if you are going to continue to engage in anti-Soviet activities when you are released in a few days time?

— And something else interests me: according to your records am I insane or not? I am declaring a verbal petition: I request that you give me permission to read the report made by the psychiatrists.

— This report is for us alone. We do not familiarise our patients with it.

— For those who are insane, that principle is quite understandable, but a normal person should have the right to see all the documents which are related to him. So, either you consider me to be insane, and if that is the case, why have you asked me to come here at all, or, you consider me to be sane, and have asked me here to find out

about my plans for the future, and if this is the case, you have no grounds on which to refuse me my request.

— Why are you so aggressive? Is he always like this? — the Armenian asked the house doctor.

The conversation continued in this vein for 40 minutes and ended without any results.

Soon after this, I wrote a statement addressed to the chief administrator of the specialist unit, in which I requested permission to acquaint myself with my case. Before my release from prison, before my official transfer, I wanted to see what information had been collected about me during the last 15 years.

I was summoned to the surgery, where a thick file was brought to me, but I wasn't allowed to look through it myself. An old book-worm, wearing glasses, categorically stated: — Tell me exactly what you need, I will find it and show it to you, but I will not let you see the whole file. — Upon seeing a pencil in my hand, he threateningly added: — I won't allow you to copy anything out of the file.

Ten days before my release I was summoned by the chief of the KGB of the Chernihiv province. The conversation, held in the presence of lieutenant Derenchuk of the KGB, was not very long or constructive. After having been told that it had been decided that I was to be allowed to find employment, I was asked where I wanted to live after my release from prison: in Chernihiv with my wife or in Khrynivtsya with my parents? This information was required so that the necessary preparations could be made. I chose to live in Chernihiv. Then I asked what meaning the Rybysk affair had with regards to my future life at liberty. He answered that it would have no effect either on my work or on anything else.

— I know of two judicial positions, which according to the law, judicial notaries and jurisconsults, who have been imprisoned, are allowed to occupy after their release — I said to him. Will you allow me to take up one of these occupations, or will you oppose this?

— The committee won't oppose you in this. Take up one of those posts, use your intellect, — he replied. And then he said: — You'll be released from prison very shortly and will have the opportunity to meet various people. Your acquaintances will visit you and we are interested in what you will tell them. You have great experience and people will turn to you for advice. We are concerned as to the advice that you will give. Our party now supports a policy of imprisoning as few people as possible. We should prevent crime. However, if you engage in hostile activities again, we will imprison you. The state must protect itself and if warnings don't help, then the state won't hesitate to arrest you. Understand that. You are no longer young. Live the rest of your life peacefully.

— I have had enough of prison and will try my hardest not to land in there again.

— What do you mean not to land in prison again? Will you attempt to conceal your hostile activities, or won't you engage in them?

— I'm not going to do anything that will violate the law.

— Fifteen years ago you also thought that you weren't violating the law.

— I have learnt a lot in 15 years.

— And now, will you hide more effectively?

— That's not what I wanted to say. What I wanted to say, is that now I know what Soviet law is better than I did then.

— You know that we arrest people not only for preparing hostile literature, but also for collecting it. If someone gives you some hostile literature, will you inform us?

— No.

— Just as I thought. Well, then we will come and find it, and you will face a court again.

— And who will bring such literature to me? No one.

— There are such people, you know. No, not amongst the workers and peasants, but amongst the intelligentsia. And why do they need it? They don't have bad lives do they? ... They complain about Russification, but it's an objective process, it's an established law of our times. Nobody forces anyone to speak Russian. take us for example — you speak in Ukrainian and I understand you: I'm a Russian, I speak Russian and you understand me. So — the use of two languages doesn't prevent us from understanding each other.

He paused and gave me a searching look.

— I won't be collecting any hostile literature I replied.

— Don't think that you'll succeed in hiding from us.

— I know very well about the methods that you use: spying, microphones ...

— What are you talking about! It's obvious that you stand alone and that the whole nation supports us.

At the end of the conversation I asked him to return my papers to me, but it seemed that they hadn't yet been sent to Chernihiv from Vladimir prison. He said: — We'll check and return everything, except, of course, hostile anti-Soviet literature.

A day later, I was summoned by Derenchuk, who obviously intended to continue our previous conversation. He wanted to clarify the answers that I had given to some of the questions put to me by the KGB lieutenant, and as a Ukrainian, he was expected to draw frank responses from me. I clarified my answers as much as I considered was possible. The conversation then turned to the painful question of Russification, and he, upholding the theory of its being a voluntary process said:

— I saw the book "Pereyaslavskaya Rada" by N. Rybak in both Russian and Ukrainian in a bookshop. People were buying the Russian version of the book while the Ukrainian version remained

untouched. Who was forcing people to buy the Russian translation of the book? No one. They were choosing the Russian copy voluntarily.

— How many Ukrainian schools are there in Chernihiv?

— Three.

— How many hours in Ukrainian do the radio and television transmit, and how many hours in Russian? Which scientific, technical books are in Ukrainian? Those who select the Russian version of the book "Pereyaslavskā Rada" are the fruit of the Russification process of the last decade. Things weren't like this fifty years ago in Chernihiv. Fifty year-old people understood and spoke Ukrainian. In the last 25 years, a new generation has been born, which understands Ukrainian but can't speak it. The children of this generation can hardly understand our language, and just hear it now and again spoken by their grandparents. In fifty years time a similar situation will arise in the villages of our Khmelnytshyna and in all of Halychyna — this is the death of a nation.

— Why do you paint the picture so blackly . . .

— Ukraine is not Australia which is partitioned by seas: Ukrainians are not Australians who can survive as a nation through the use of the English language. Our geographical and political situation is such that the loss of our language means the loss of everything that makes us a separate nation. Tell me, will you, do you want the death of our nation?

— So this is how you see Soviet reality. Do you really fail to understand that the Soviet regime is so strong that you are helpless to even try to stop its progress. In a few days time you'll be able to walk through the streets of Chernihiv and you'll see for yourself that people dress well, eat well and are generally satisfied with their lives. An impregnable wall stands in front of you. Why bang your head against it?

Our conversation continued for quite a long time. Finally I again mentioned my historical, philosophical synopses, translations from English and various other papers which had not been given to me at Chernihiv prison because, it was claimed, they had not yet arrived from Vladimir prison.

— Do you need them? — he asked.

— Let a recollection of past years remain, and maybe, when I have a free moment, I'll want to flick through those archives and ponder about those ancient days.

— I'll report that.

He rang a bell. A warder came. I rose from the stool which had been secured to the ground, wished Derenchuk "all the best", and as is required by the laws of the land, folded my arms behind my back and walked out in front of the warder who led me back to my cell.

On the day of my release, I was fooled by the warders. Prisoners are usually released at around ten o'clock in the morning. In my



letters and during my visits with my wife and Sashko, we agreed, while conversing through the glass partition, that my wife, Sashko with Valya, Victor and Nadia and maybe their children and Zina, would come to meet me at the prison gates. Sashko was going to take a photograph of me as I came through the gates of the accursed place. We did not mention the photographs in our letters, but the Checkists (i.e. KGB) somehow guessed our intention and would not permit such an undesired record to be made, and so they released me two hours earlier than is usual. I then went on my own to Nadia's flat, rang the bell, and appeared as a bolt from the blue. Zina was also there.

The Checkists thought that I would escape to Moscow and so they tried to put me under administrative supervision as quickly as possible and tried to use the law to tie me to Chernihiv. To make such supervision legal it was necessary to issue me with a passport and to register me. This process usually breaks ordinary citizens' nerves and takes many weeks of running around, but I was registered with lightning speed.

On the 23rd January, when we still hadn't finished celebrating our reunion, the militia telephoned and summoned me. I went to the summons where senior lieutenant A. I. Obshyvany introduced himself as someone who was to help me register all the documents that I needed for my life at liberty.

— You have to have a photograph taken for your passport, which you will collect on Monday and bring here. You must not leave Chernihiv because you're going to be placed under administrative supervision — he announced.

— In fact, I thought of going to visit my parents in Khrynivtsya, — I replied.

— I forbid you to go.

— You do not have the right to forbid me. The supervision hasn't been enforced yet, and until it is registered, I can travel wherever I wish.

— I am a worker for the militia, a representative of the government and I forbid you to go, — yelled Obshyvany.

— I haven't seen my parents at home for ten years and I will go to see them even if you explode here, — I yelled back.

— Watch what you say.

— Don't be so pompous.

— We'll screw you.

— Don't forget that I am a jurist. I obey the law and not your high and mighty whims.

This exchange ended with warder Andriychenko of the RVVS (regional division of the Ministry of Internal Affairs) "allowing" me to travel to Khrynivtsya for Saturday and Sunday.

On the 27th January I was issued with new passport. Article 17 of the Constitution of the Ukr. SSR establishes that "every citizen of

the Ukr. SSR is a citizen of the USSR". It is understood that Soviet citizenship stems from republican citizenship and not vice versa, since republican citizenship originates from the legalisation of a state and from the fundamental principle of the immutable unity of a nation.

The Ministry of Internal Affairs not only failed to print the Ukrainian emblem on the front page, but also, totally ignored the republic's emblem and so undermined the statehood of the Ukr. SSR.

I was registered on the 28th of January and senior lieutenant Obshyvany announced the decision of the chief of the Desnyansky RVVS to put me under administrative supervision for one year.

— I'd like to make copies of the conclusions made by the supervising committee and by the Vladimir prison which recommended that I be put under open surveillance, — I said.

— So this is what you are concerned about, do you want to continue with your prison activities? You should forget everything for which you served your sentence and adapt to life.

— I don't know how I'll adapt, but I'd like to know what was written about me in Vladimir.

— I'll let you know.

And he read out both of the short reports to me. They characterised me as a hardened and incorrigible nationalist, as a violator of the regime and so on, and they recommended the Chernihiv militia to put me under supervision.

— All right, — I said, — I understand both documents, but because I don't have a perfect memory, I won't be able to remember them exactly, so I would like to copy them out.

— These documents are for us, for the militia and not for you. We composed the document for your supervision which you can copy out, but you don't need these other documents.

— Need them, don't need them... Is my supervision meant to be some sort of secret?

— No, it's not a secret, but you yourself know that there are many official instructions which can't be seen by just anybody.

— I'm not talking about anybody, but the subject of the ruling.

— It's one and the same thing.

— Tell me, will you, do I have the right to know about the documents which state my legal position?

— Yes, you do, but not about all of them, and I have already familiarised you with those about which you can be informed.

— I declare an official petition: I request permission to copy the Vladimir prison report out.

— I refuse to give you such permission — and that's not my decision alone. It's time you forgot about complaints. Forget your past, start living in our Soviet reality and live as Soviet people do.

Then we got into a car and drove to the town procurator. The

procurator opened the file which Obshyvany had given him, found the relative report, severely looked me up and down, and, whilst signing the paper said:

— I confirm the decision that you are to remain under administrative supervision for six months.

— Twelve — Obshyvany quickly inserted.

— Twelve, twelve, — he repeated, — and if you violate it, we'll extend it for another year.

— And then what?

— For another year!

— And then? For the rest of my life?

— Yes! Until you die!

— Wonderful!

— Where do you work?

— Nowhere. I've only been out of prison for one week.

— When do you intend to start work?

— I want to rest and have some time to regain my health. I've worked for 15 years without a break and now I want to rest for a few months.

— What do you mean — for a few months? We sentence ordinary people for parasitism when they haven't worked for more than three months, but for people like you, we allow one month for recuperation. That's all. You can go now!

We left.

The decision compelled me to report to the militia for registration every Friday between 17.00 and 18.00 hours.

The decision forbade me:

1. To visit restaurants, bars, cafes;
2. To travel beyond the boundaries of Chernihiv without police permission;
3. To leave my flat between 22.00 and 06.00 hours.

This was how my introduction to Soviet life was made.

Every Friday I went to register at the militia's and Obshyvany asked me how I felt and what I was doing about work. For the first month I replied that I wasn't thinking about employment. I could have remained unemployed for longer, because my brothers, sister and my wife clothed me, and my friends and good-willed people helped me financially so I could have rested in peace for several months. But they started to methodically bombard my wife with questions: "Well, how is your husband?", "Where does your husband work?", "What sort of work does your husband do?" "Your husband still isn't working — what's wrong with him?" and so on. My wife is an ordinary Soviet citizen and her motto for life is: "to be the same as everyone else" so it depressed her that I was different, not only politically, but also in my everyday views. As far as our views on life were concerned a large misunderstanding arose: she knew why

I had served my sentence, but had not even dreamed that after my release my views would continue to influence the way I behaved. She, as Obshyvany, imagined, that I would leave my past behind me — on the other side of the prison gates, and believed that once I entered the Soviet environment, I would become the same as everybody else and would become part of the general mass quite imperceptively — without causing any conflict — either there, or with her, and thought she would gain a husband who had all the requisites for social life and have no new worries. Instead I brought many more new problems with me.

A generally accepted notion here is based on everybody being employed in industry, organisations and so on, i.e. that they should be employed by the state in some way or other (in no way does this mean an actual desire to work) and that no one should be unemployed and living by his own means. I criticised this idea and my wife interpreted this as meaning that I did not want to work at all. She started to press me into finding work as quickly as possible. It became impossible to work at home. The tension increased and the atmosphere often became incredibly strained. Hence, I had to start looking for a job. My wife directed me to the labour exchange, or the employment office as it was called. It was a place which I was to visit often in the course of the next few weeks.

After I had briefly explained my circumstances, I asked a female employee at the office if there were any prospects of finding judicial work. — No, no one will employ you, — she replied.

— Why? According to the law, a jurist who has served a prison term has the right to be employed as a notary or jurisconsult...

— That may be so, but you served a sentence for political reasons... and no one will give you judicial work.

— Well, I'll still try. But meanwhile, help me to find work as a watchman or as an attendant in a gas boiler house.

— Why that sort of work? The pay is only 60-65 roubles.

— I want to have an easy job at first so that I have the chance to recover after prison.

— All right, I'll help you.

She gave me a whole file filled with notices of vacancies for workers and employees in the town. I read them and selected the one which seemed the most suitable. I showed it to her, she described it, gave me the telephone number and told me how to get there... I went. They did not accept me as a stoker because I did not have the necessary certificates. Emphasising the experience I had gained as a stoker in the Mordovian camps did not help. There were no vacancies for a watchman anywhere. I found three vacancies for the post of jurisconsult. I was not accepted for the first post because I was not a communist. At the second place, the interview ended as soon as I told them a little of my biography. In the third place I was told "we'll

think about it" and then having thought about it, they rejected me. Meanwhile, week after week passed by and I had done nothing, apart from looking for work. My wife listened with disbelief as I described my travels to various places.

I have qualified as a IV grade electrician and have had several years of experience working as an industrial electro-wirer. In town and in the employment office, vacancies for electricians were always announced, so I thought that if I couldn't get the work that I wanted, then I would have to work as electrician, and I also thought that I would not have any problems in obtaining such work. However, history repeated itself: I went to the employment office where I was given the addresses of several firms which needed electricians. I visited those firms where electricians were needed and which promised to employ me, but when I appeared the following day I was rejected under various pretexts: some said they needed an electrician of the VI grade, others said they had imprudently promised to employ me without first asking their directors and when they did ask, they found that the posts had already been promised to some-one else...

The KGB's scheme was clear: to reject me everywhere so that I would be forced to go to them and ask for help. They would then benevolently help me, and after some time had lapsed, would demand some favour from me in return for their good deed, and then? That would be seen... They were not idle. My wife was pressurised by agents and she in turn pressurised me to look for work, but the administrators responsible for various firms would reject me. Only one thing wasn't clear: how did the KGB know where I went to seek employment?

Judging from the sympathetic attitudes of several administrators during my initial interviews, and their confused and awkward rejections on the following day, it was obvious that it was not the administrators who informed the KGB, but that they received instructions from the KGB. There remained two possible sources of information that the KGB could have used: the woman at the employment office and our flat, where each evening I told my wife everything that I had done during the day and what I intended to do on the following day.

The sympathetic attitude of the woman at the employment office, and her, as it seemed to me, sincere desire to help me find work, cancelled the possibility of her being a KGB informer, so then I checked out the last possibility — our flat. I visited three firms in the course of the following day and only told my wife about two of them keeping silent about the third. When I went to make arrangements to start work the following day I was rejected by two firms, but at the third firm, about which I had not told my wife, the conversation about employment continued in the same vein as on the previous day. I then repeated the experiment and told my wife about one of

the two firms that I had visited. This had the effect of one firm, the one I had told my wife about, changing the work schedule to shift work (and I had told my wife that I would not take shift work due to the state of my health) and the pay had been reduced to 62 roubles from 80, and finally they told me to "find work at some other place". However, in the firm about which I had not told my wife, there was absolutely no change. I again felt, as I had 15 years before, the hand of something all-powerful and the marvellous poem of Lermontov came to mind:

Farewell, unwashed Russia,  
Country of serfs and of lords,  
And farewell you sky-blue ensigns,  
And you, tractable nation.

Maybe the Kavkaz  
Will let us hide from your jaws,  
From your all-seeing eyes,  
And all hearing ears.

That happened long ago and not here in Ukraine, but those "sky-blue ensigns" are here, now.

One of the places that showed sympathy to me was the Chernihiv District hospital. This institution indisputably belongs to the general structure and does not constitute an exception. It is not an island in the middle of the ocean, but my application there happened in a slightly different manner than in other places and on the 6th of April I was accepted for the post of electrician and was to receive 67.5 roubles per month. At my registration the chief doctor told me that I was not to drink at work, and his deputy, from the administrative-economic section, advised me not to talk about my imprisonment. I agreed to both conditions.

My wife and the militia calmed down, and I started to relive that which I had suffered for 16 years. Instead of occupying myself with academic or with some other creative work, I was twisting wires with a screw driver and pliers — I only exercised my hands and without any mental activity, my brain was turning to sawdust. My God, how many truly talented sons of Ukraine have wasted their gifts in captivity and instead of providing their heirs with a spiritual heritage, they dug the earth or were forced to flounder their whole lives in overgrown jungles of boring, decrepit and infertile dogma!

In March, when I was looking for work, it occurred to me to arrange my own dismissal from such repellant work with the help of my so-called invalidity.

In February 1975 the Rybinsk psychiatry discovered a syndrome of hypochondria in me and declared me to be an invalid of the second category. V. Bukovsky thought that this diagnosis was

necessary for the KGB to keep a hook in me after my release. If I kept quiet, all well and good, but if I were to engage in something which was not to their liking — then they would pull me in by that hook — psychiatrists would come, would notice a worsening of my disease, would take me to a psychiatric hospital and keep me there until my attack (of nationalism or anti-Sovietism as they say) passed. All right, I thought, you have prepared a hook with which you intend to tie me down, but I'll pull that line and hook from the other end so that I can quit my abhorrent work and live on a state pension. I went to the district department of social security where I wrote a statement instructing them that they obtain my certificate of invalidity from Chernihiv prison. They did this. The prison sent a non-committal reply. The department of social security directed their question to the Rybysk. They sent a reply in which it was not clear whether I was an invalid or not. I then wrote to the chief of the Vladimir prison in which I requested that the prison administration send me a certificate that showed that the prison administration regarded me as being an invalid of the second category as from February 1975 until the day of my release. On the 28th May the Vladimir prison sent the following certificate:

The medical section OD-I/VS-2 informs you that we are forwarding you the certificate about which you privately inquired. It is imperative that you apply to the medical institution in the town where you live, and if they deem it necessary, they will direct you to the VTYeK.

The category of invalidity under which you are registered in our institution is no longer actual.

Acting on behalf of the chief of the medical section  
OD-I/VS-2, H. M. Iharev.

So this is what medicine is. For prison conditions, I am regarded as being insane, but beyond the boundaries of prison — normal! How many nerves that cost over two years.

In spring, elections for the so-called People's Judge took place. On the morning of the day of the elections I rang the polling station and informed the people there that I would not be voting. I told them that they should make a note of this immediately and not wait for my vote.

— Why? — they asked, — maybe you're ill, in which case we can arrange for you to vote from home.

— No, I replied, — I'm not ill. I object on principle and on the basis of this I refuse to take part in this campaign.

— This isn't a campaign. This — is an election, — the ear-piece of the telephone echoed.

— An election is only possible where there is choice, but you only have one candidate.

— What are you saying! — the voice intoned, displaying neither surprise or threat.

I put the receiver down.

— What are you doing? — asked my wife in a troubled voice. — You'll be imprisoned. Everyone is obliged to vote and everyone votes. Why don't you want to be like everyone else! You'll lose, you'll see, you'll be arrested again.

— The right to vote is a right and not a duty. Every citizen can take part in elections if he chooses to.

— What do you mean — if he chooses to? It's everybody's duty to vote. And everybody votes.

Finally, I had to find a copy of the constitution and read it a few times to distinguish between those articles which define duties and those which define rights. My intention was to prove that they are not one and the same thing, and to show that we do not only have duties, but have rights as well. I also wanted to show that it is necessary to distinguish between these two concepts, and where it is written that we have a right, then we can do as our conscience dictates.

— To hell with your articles — my wife exploded — nobody knows about them and nobody needs them. You'd be better off if you did as others do and not waste your time reading dead matter. You read enough of that before 1961.

I did not reply.

At around twelve o'clock, a boy of about 25 and a girl of about 20—two propagandists from the polling station, called at our house. They shyly asked if we were the Lukyanenkos and equally as shyly the boy began:

— You rang us and said that you weren't coming to vote. We'd like to know why not? Aren't you satisfied with the candidate? If that's the case, then you can cross him off the ballot sheet and write down someone of your own choice.

— It's got nothing to with that, — I replied.

— Maybe you're not satisfied with something: for example, that there aren't enough buses and that journeys are cramped, then you can propose on the ballot sheet that the number of buses be increased...

— That's not it either.

— Well, what is it? Explain why you have refused to vote.

— You know that elections are a voluntary matter: if a citizen wants to, he can vote, if he doesn't want to — he doesn't have to. It's all a question of wanting to. And I don't want to. I simply don't want to — that's explanation enough.

— Everything has a reason, motives. What are your motives?

— I'm amazed that a country which proclaims itself to be demo-



cratic demands explanations from citizens who refuse to vote.

— If you don't tell us, then members of the polling committee will come to ask you.

— That will anger me even more. Elections are not a duty, and a citizen is not obliged to explain why he doesn't participate in them; participation in elections is not a duty and nobody has the right to demand an explanation of why I refuse to take part in them. If they come, I'll refuse to talk to them at all and will complain to the procurator.

As soon as the door shut behind them, my wife screamed at me:

— It's just what I needed — them to come here! A whole lot of them will come now, they'll tell the Checkists everything and you won't live here for longer than a month. Why do you have to argue with them?! They'll eat you alive.

— I don't want to argue with them, but I want them to recognise a right that the law has given me. Do you understand, the Soviet law, not some Turkish law, but Soviet.

— What good is the law? Haven't you understood what Soviet law is in the last 15 years?

— I understood that it's strong, but not that it had the right to punish me.

— What good is a right that has no meaning?! One has to live. I've suffered for 15 years. I thought: you'll be released — and we would live, but you're making me suffer even more . . .

— Well, how is one to understand life . . .

Our conversation ended. About half an hour later, the silence was broken:

— Dearest, let's go and vote, Don't be so stubborn.

— Go and vote Nadyunka, I'm not stopping you.

— Let's go together.

— Come on then. I'll wait for you while you vote and have a look at the polling station.

The weather was good. We strolled leisurely to the voting district and my wife went up to the table to take a ballot sheet, folded it in half and like everyone else, threw it into the voting box without even having read it.

I had a look around. Nothing had changed in the last 15 years: the same familiar posters, the members of the committee, polling booths covered in posters, but because they were under the watchful eye of "society" nobody wanted to enter them . . . People though, went in, fulfilled their duty and then, feeling easier, as if having accomplished something, left to pass the rest of the public holiday at leisure. Nadya came up and we turned into the street.

— Have you voted?

— Mmm.

— Did you choose your candidate?

— Of course.

— From one candidate you selected one — wasn't it hard to choose the best?

— Stop it!

I stopped. She took my hand and we walked in silence.

On the following Friday when I went to the militia to register, senior lieutenant Havrylenko (who was now in charge of my supervision) asked me:

— Well, did you go and vote for the first time in 15 years?

— No, I didn't.

— Why not?

— One candidate was removed.

— Well?

— Well surely the danger that he wouldn't receive enough votes and so wouldn't be elected doesn't exist?

— Oh, there's no such danger: our nation is monolithic and unanimously voted for the people's judge.

— Therefore my vote couldn't have changed anything and since my vote doesn't have any significance, I didn't vote. If, on the other hand, there had been several candidates, I would have been afraid that the candidate of my choice wouldn't have been elected, and so, to help him onto victory I would have got up at dawn to vote for him.

— That's not how things are done here.

— My legal right and logic interest me . . .

Just then a middle-aged, tall, dark-featured, slim, attractive man came into the office. He walked across to the desk near the window and stood there. Havrylenko, continuing our conversation, turned to him and said: "Lukyanenko here didn't vote at the election . . ." Meanwhile I signed my registration form and the man in a brown overcoat turned to me saying: "Please, sit down" — he pointed to a stool by the desk for me to sit on. He sat down on the opposite side and continued: — "I am from the committee of state security . . ."

He took out his identification, which I opened and read that the owner of the document was KGB major Harasymenko.

The fact that I hadn't taken part in the elections did not interest him. He threw some irrelevant question at me, clearly not caring about my answer and then said:

— I'd like to talk with you. Obviously you can refuse. We won't force you, but that's what I'd like.

— I agree to talk with you, and if I can, I will answer your questions.

After asking a few routine questions about the state of my health and so on, he asked:

— Do you still support the idea of independence for Ukraine?

I replied: — In prison I often answered this question quite openly,

but now . . . our positions are somewhat different: you are a major for the KGB and I am the object of your attention. If I answer your question affirmatively you'll use it against me. I don't want to delude you, so let's leave that question open.

— All right, we'll leave it open. Tell me, if you will, do you know Ivan Dzuba?

— I've heard about him.

— He's an intelligent person. He wrote a book, and then you know, he renounced his nationalism.

— Do you really believe in the sincerity of that renunciation? Do you really think that he underwent that conversation about which he wrote in the newspaper "News from Ukraine"?

— Yes, I believe it.

— I believe that it's possible for a person's convictions to evolve. History has known many such examples. I'd be able to believe in the evolution of Dzuba's convictions if that process had occurred in free conditions and not in prison. Maybe Dzuba is an intelligent person, but his character failed him, and he gave in to you. That doesn't surprise me: there have always been people like him and there always will be. In our difficult times strong will-power always proves itself to be a more valuable asset than intelligence. Will puts intelligence at its service and not vice versa: a weak will always directs intelligence to serve the existing status quo.

— Well, with what can your Ukrainian nationalism oppose our all-powerful Marxism-Leninism? Not with any capitalistic theories!

— Oh yes, . . . it could resist — but anyway it's not being opposed by any Marxist-Leninist theories, but by your armed organisation . . .

The conversation continued in this vein for approximately an hour and a half, we talked about dissidents (Russian, Ukrainian, my friends) my meetings, Ukrainian culture, literature.

On my journey home, I had mixed feelings and in answer to the eternal question which always arose after such discussions: was it worth holding the conversation?, I found as many pros as cons.

After two weeks at work, a Lenin subotnik\* was held at the hospital which I did not attend. One of the directors asked me why I refused. In turn I asked him if subotniks were voluntary or compulsory and on receiving the reply that they were "voluntary" I explained: — Because they are voluntary, my good will directed me to help my wife and my parents who cared for and still care for me, and not to help the state which pays me an unjustifiably small salary and exploits me every day.

— The money from subotniks goes towards the cost of building hospitals, rest homes and to other beneficial causes — the director stated.

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\*) Labour freely given to the state on days off or overtime — ed.

— Rubbish! — I retorted. — There is only one budget in the Soviet Union and the unpaid work of the subotniks merely releases a certain sum of money from the state budget which gives the state the possibility of directing it elsewhere (for example to build yet another jammer to block foreign radio transmissions and to shut us off even more).

The first of May was approaching. The whole hospital was preparing for the celebration: an artist was retouching the placards and posters, the electricians were to work on the lighting to illuminate the garlands and placards. Two days before the First of May all the electricians, chauffeurs, locksmiths, sanitary engineers and others were summoned to the chief doctor's office, who first of all reminded us of a new regulation concerning the campaign to defeat alcoholism, which now deemed that drunkards were simply to be sent for compulsory treatment. We were warned not to drink before or during the parade. After the parade was over, he said, what we did was then our own concern, but warned that we were all to be sober at the parade itself. Then he ordered that a list of people who had to be present at the parade be read out. He went on to say that some people had not attended the previous parade and that he did not want a repetition of this. Then one person stood up, then a second — both pleading that they be excused from attendance — the first because he had urgent work to do at home, and the second because he had to visit his parents at their village without delay. The chief doctor granted them permission to miss the parade. Then a list of people who had to carry placards at the parade was read out.

— Listen, he said, — this is serious, and all those who've been delegated to carry placards and posters must come to their assigned places without fail.

I was one of those people who were assigned to attend the parade (not having been asked though whether I could) and I, of course, did not go. After the celebration one of the directors asked why: I replied that attendance was voluntary which meant if I had wanted to go, I would have gone, and if not, then I would not have gone. I continued that I listened to the voice of my soul, and not having felt a desire to attend, didn't.

— Well, you know, everyone could have done that and then nobody would have come, — he uttered indignantly.

— So? The will of the nation is the higher law.

— Organisation and discipline — that's the law — he cut in, giving me a stern patriotic look.

The 9th of May celebration was conducted in exactly the same manner, with only the placards having been changed. Again I did not go. The directors pressurised me even more. Initially I did not have very warm working relationships due a conflict of opinions as to my working duties. Before the first of May I was ordered to transport

earth which I did. A few days later I was told to move some tables, which I did. The next day I was ordered to move some boards from the carpenters' store room. I carried a few and then returned to my own work shop because my leg started causing me great pain. The head engineer of the hospital came and asked:

— Why didn't you finish your work?  
— I've done enough.  
— The work has to be finished. Go and do it — there's nobody else.  
— How much do I get paid?  
— What, he asked amazed, what pay! Nobody pays for such work.  
— And so you just grab anyone to fulfill these everyday duties and don't pay them for it?  
— What sort of pay can there be for such irregular work? — of course it's not paid.

— But the hospital exists and there's always such irregular work to be done. The hospital must have resources to cover the expenses of such work.

— Rubbish. What resources? Everywhere, in every institution there's such work to be done and everyone does it. Society couldn't survive if it had to pay every time some stupid table was moved. Go and do it!

— Carrying boards isn't part of my duties.  
— Oh, it's like that is it!  
— I was hired as an electrician and not as a porter.  
— So you won't go?  
— No.  
— Well, you'd better watch it — and we'll see how long you last here.

And he quickly left the work shop. Very shortly afterwards our chief electrician came in. I briefly told him about the heated conversation I had just had and asked if electricians are often called upon to do other work. He answered: — All that doesn't come within our list of duties, and I don't compel or ask anyone of you to do it. You only have to show you're weak here once, and you'll be carrying, lifting, dragging something about everyday.

I did my work conscientiously and so gave no reason to be found at fault, but the chief electrician harassed the other electricians terribly, people started to leave and I was also thinking about seeking employment elsewhere. Suddenly the atmosphere changed completely: the chief electrician started to drink. He stopped harassing us and life became bearable.

We managed to hear on the radio that my close friend Valentyn Moroz was to be transferred — after his release from 6-years of imprisonment in the Vladimir prison, not to a camp, but to a scientific-research penal psychiatric institution — to the Serbsky Institute in Moscow. My brother Oleksandre and I and our wives sent a

declaration to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on the 25. 5. 1976. The text was as follows:

We, the Lukyanenko family, discovered not long ago that it is intended to transfer the eminent Ukrainian patriot, poet, author, publicist and historian Valentyn Moroz from the Vladimir prison, where he is currently serving a sentence for his nationalistic views, to the Serbsky Institute. Because Valentyn Moroz is a sane person, transferring him to a psychiatric institution is in effect prolonging the use of psychiatry as a political instrument in the fight against dissidents.

We are deeply concerned about the fate of Valentyn Moroz. We personally understand his situation, because a transfer to a psychiatric institute, for a so-called examination of his mental state, was experienced by a member of our family — Levko Hryhorovych Lukyaneko.

The use of medicine to pressurise Moroz into renouncing his national and political convictions violates the spirit of the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference, and the UN Declaration of Human Rights, and it makes us deeply indignant, the more so because the Soviet Union was a signatory of both of these documents and is bound to respect them.

We, who are concerned with the fate of Valentyn Moroz protest against his transfer to a psychiatric institution and demand that this abuse be ended.

On the 5th of June my wife was flying south and I went to see her off. I was detained at the airport. The policeman who escorted me to the station asked:

— Well, why does the KGB hate you so much? To look at you — you look just like a quiet civilised person. You don't look a bit like an enemy of the state. What's it all about? You're not really an enemy are you?

— Yes, I'm an enemy. I'm a malicious enemy who has no rights. It's all to do with my great love for Ukraine. And one more thing: I badly want democracy.

The conversation on this dangerous topic ended. We arrived at the station and the militiaman wrote out the charge against me: violation of my administrative supervision.

— Well, you don't look like a bad sort, but you've just made out a case which takes me a third of the way back to prison.

— But what can I do? You know your fate isn't decided by the militia — it's decided over there — and he pointed in the direction of the KGB regional office, which stands alongside the militia station. — Our every decision in your case depends on them.

On the 7th June, Havrylenko took me to the judge of the Desnyatynsky province. He was a very young man. He spoke better Ukrainian than most of the Chernihiv employees and his name was Bohdan (which indicated his Halychyna origins). He listened to me and asked how much I earned. I replied that I earned 67.5 roubles a month. He looked up from his papers, calmly looked at me, and in a gentle voice said "twenty roubles". Just those two words. He did not start any long monologue (which are always the same regardless of the case in question), but just said those two words.

— You know that a simple dinner alone costs 70 kopecks, and that you have to eat three times a day, I told him.

— Yes I know, the judge calmly replied.

— How can I survive on 47.5 roubles for a whole month? Should I paint a banner with the words "give me a scrap of bread" and wear it in the Kuybyshev square or what?

— You're a jurist — he said still in his calm voice — and you know that the law is the law.

There was no sign of any malice towards me in his eyes, and as I found out later, he had been ordered to mete out that punishment to me and there was no possibility of him doing otherwise.

I wrote a complaint to the regional court explaining that according to the Civil Code of the Ukr. SSR the site of an institution is regarded as being the location of the administrative office, and said that since the administration of the Chernihiv airport is in the town, I had not violated my administrative supervision. The militia, though, was not governed by civil law but by geographical boundaries, and my fine remained as it was before.

I wanted to visit my sister Zina in the village of Avdiivka in the Sosnytsky region which I declared to the chief of the regional police. He summoned me to his office on the 10th June. I went into his office and greeted him.

— Sit down, — he invited me. We've received a document which states that Vitaliy Kalynychenko from the Dnipropetrovsk region wants to reside here. I warn you, if you invite him to stay with you — you'll pay for it. I will not allow him to live with you. Two "good" people like you is too many for Chernihiv. I won't allow him to live here. Do you understand?

— I understand.

— Now about your sister. You can go and visit her, but don't even think about going to Novhorod-Siverska, which isn't far from her place. Our comrades will be there, so watch what you're doing — don't think about going there . . . Is that clear?

I wanted to say something about Kalynychenko, but he stopped me with the words "all the best".

I left the office and in the evening when I boarded the bus, the

dispatcher who was seeing the bus off, said to the driver: — three militia employees. They were all in civilian dress.

When I returned from my sister's, a dear guest was waiting for me Oksana Yakivna Meshko. I had heard about her energy, joy of life and extraordinary cheerful nature before, but meeting her exceeded all my expectations. She was 71 years-old and was as interested in social, cultural and literary life as if she were 50 years younger. She was a fearless person and exuded ideas and plans. She was prepared to make new undertakings and to involve herself in their practical realisation. It was the first time in my life that I had met a woman who had such a strong love for Ukraine, and was not tired, or disillusioned; someone who had not deserted the path of patriotic activity for the secure position of an observer. I have known great martyrs (for example, Kateryna Zarytska, Odarka Husak, Halyna Dydyk) but such an indefatigable activist cannot be compared to anyone at all.

*(To be continued)*

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*Yakiv SUSLENSKY*

### **FOR YOUR 50th BIRTHDAY, DEAR FRIEND!**

The following account is a portrait of L. Lukyanenko written by Ya. Suslensky — a former political prisoner of the USSR, who served part of his sentence with L. Lukyanenko. Ya. Suslensky is now a resident of Israel.

Lev Hryhorovych Lukyanenko, or more simply, Levko, celebrated his 50th birthday on the 24th August, 1977.

There are not many people who have lived through so many years of cruel torment with such courage, who have been able to retain a youthfully joyous spirit, a vigorous feeling for the present, a tender affection for their friends, a noble mind, and an active role in the stormy whirlpool of social activity.

It is difficult to sketch a portrait of a person objectively, especially one with whom you feel special spiritual sympathies. I am tied to Levko through a long friendship which was not born over a wine-glass but in the company of sympathisers. This friendship was strengthened in joint acts of protest against the behaviour of the camp administration, and in the general campaign for the rights of nations and the individual. This friendship passed the test in the dark casemates of the Vladimir complex where it is impossible to conceal your true nature and psychological ties. The inhuman conditions of that place yield strength to friendships due to the strict and painstaking examinations which take place there.



Possibly due to my personal sympathy for Levko and because I knew him in abnormal conditions, meeting him on the twisting paths of life, I will succeed in presenting him as objectively as possible.

Our paths first crossed in the 3rd zone in Mordovia. That was at the end of summer in 1974. I remember that Mykola Oleksandrovych Budulyak-Sharygin came up to me and asked if I wanted to meet an exceptional person, and mentioned his name. The name seemed familiar to me — straining my memory, I recalled all that I had learnt about him from BBC broadcasts. Then we met.

Levko bewitched me, which took me by surprise. I was captivated by him and I listened greedily to his story — the story of a person of experience. He had behind him a solid sentence of imprisonment — solid even by Soviet standards — 15 years. He still had half of his sentence left to serve. At that time I had only been imprisoned for one and a half years and seemed like a mere fledgling. I was timid and did not violate any camp laws. Levko had just been transferred from Vladimir prison — a place to which people are not sent for their quiet natures and exemplary behaviour. His impressions of the horrific life in the prison torture cells was still fresh and clear, and his account of it vivid and moving.

Levko is an artist of narration. He can describe things so vividly and can paint the picture so colourfully that the listener is transported to the scene of the account in his imagination and feels that he is actually participating in the events.

The warm look and the gentle smile of this spiritual man makes you feel very close to him. He impels you to believe every word he says. The modesty of this extraordinary person conquers you, and, captured, you fall under the spell of this wonderful narrator. Anyway, my participation in our first conversation was minimal. Only many hours later did I free myself from my hypnotic state and slowly joined in the conversation. I saw in him an ordinary person, despite all his natural superiority. That feeling of fascination I felt for him will stay with me forever.

I grew numb with fear when I listened to Levko, and could imagine how he, manacled on his own in a cell for two months, was waiting for the fulfilment of his sentence — death by firing squad — at any second. Levko has very few grey hairs — is this proof of exemplary courage, of an unnamed hero, a hero of the highest order?

Can you imagine, even for a minute, what it would be like to change places with a prisoner before his execution? Let your imagination help you to complete the picture of his condition and his thoughts. If your imagination does not suffice, turn to the classics of literature. Do you remember how ardently Victor Hugo

protested against the death sentence, deeming the suffering of the sentenced man worse than the pain of his sacrifice? Can you understand the despair of a man, for whom there is no respite and for whom the fatal end is inevitable? It was in this state that Levko found himself for two months — and did not become insane! You will say: "A man of steel!" — These though are not the right words. So you'll say: "An unyielding man!" Again, inadequate. No matter what you say, it will be insufficient — it will be too weak, dull. He is a Man — more than that, he is — Levko! His name can serve as a measure of endurance, social courage, immovability.

In the months of my imprisonment in the USSR I met no true geniuses of intellect. I met many gifted, talented, intelligent people but not one of them, however, could be termed a genius. But I was fortunate to meet people with genial characters and I am proud of their friendship. One of these people is Levko.

He had been in Vladimir three times. No, not to see the Golden Gates or any other monuments which are worthy of attention in the ancient Russian town — he was thrust there to serve a prison sentence, for suffering of a higher category.

In jest my friends called me "twice Vladimir of the Soviet Union" — an analogy of "twice hero of the Soviet Union". Levko is a cavalier of all three grades of Vladimir. He is a third timer of Vladimir. The communists of the USSR erect bronze busts for their heroes — real or imaginary. Levko does not want a laurel wreath and honours. The highest honour for him is the knowledge of having chosen the correct path and the community gain derived from his activities; a sweeter pleasure through would be to breathe freely in a Ukraine free from Russian bondage.

Vladimir... What morose memories it awakens in me. The first I learnt of it was from Levko during our conversation. I remembered his account of the vicious harassment by the deputy of the chief of the prison — Major Nikolayev — the hunger and the long hunger strikes and protests, the damp, dark cells, the eternal violations of even the most elementary rights by which Soviet law supposedly safeguards the prisoner.

Having taken pleasure in the two-month long torture — waiting for death — the "humane" Soviet leaders commuted Levko's death sentence to 15 years of imprisonment.

The "case" of the Lviv group of lawyers — Lukyanenko, Kandyb and others was widely publicised in the West. I would like to remind the readers of some of the premises of the "case".

At the end of the 1950's, a group of lawyers from the Lviv area with Lukyanenko Levko Hryhorovych as the head, attempted to establish an organisation. As lawyers who know Soviet law well they acted strictly in accordance with the Soviet Constitution. Th

Constitution of the USSR gives the republics of the Soviet Union the right of self-determination, of secession and of the creation of an independent state. But this right only becomes actual if free propaganda is allowed and this is a condition of self-determination. Without this condition being met, the right remains purely on paper, fictitious. In their programme the group foresaw the need to conduct a propaganda campaign before Ukraine could secede from Russia — this was to be done via the national will, — via a referendum, and not through force by seizure of power. The group did not want a repeat of the Great War of 1917. The group was not opposed to the socialist development of Ukraine, nor against a close alliance with Russia. So the group did not allow and did not expect any illegal activity, but the members of the group were punished because in the so-called law-abiding Soviet state, the Criminal Code is more powerful than the Constitution; it annuls the principles of the latter. However, so that the reader does not confuse or accept the Criminal Code as being the most important collection of laws, I will explain that the instructions of ministers and of the intelligence — the KGB, the MVD, the Supreme Court, the procurators, the ministers of justice — are more powerful than the Criminal Code because they often annul its statutes. But even these instructions are not all-powerful; their activity is neutralised by the orders and the verbal instructions of the chiefs. That is why the fullest collection of laws in the USSR is in the unlawfulness of those who are in power. It is oppression that is the torture on which the Soviet system is based. The traditional classic idea of three whales as the basis for all phenomena is not acceptable to the Soviet system. The three whales cannot exist in the conditions of Soviet totalitarianism. Proof of this is the ousting of Brezhnev.

The present Soviet regime has interited and is systematically realising the idea of conservation of the great colonial empire — united and indivisible — with leads to the policy of Russification and the repression of the national consciousness of the suppressed nations, so of course, the regime could not tolerate the activity of a group of Ukrainian people campaigning for independence. Their activity was treated as a betrayal of the fatherland — but without foundation.

How ridiculous! It is absurd to accuse true patriots of betrayal of the fatherland. Who are more dedicated to their nation than they are? In whose souls are the pains and suffering of the Ukrainian nation more sharply felt? Who confesses their dreams to the second generation? Who sacrifices freedom and lives with more willingness than they do for the sake of the liberation of their nation?

Sometimes people ask: "Is such a sacrifice justified? Has the time come for actual battle for the independence of Ukraine?" But you can't break down walls with heads, especially with just one".

In reality, conditions for a revolution in the USSR are not ripe at the present moment. So the heroism of these brave individuals who decided to try and inform and awaken the masses, become more salient. Today the political prisoners of the USSR are the best expression of the conscience of their nations. The greatest merit of Lukyanenko and his friends lies in the fact that they led the worthy and difficult race of a historical era and transmitted it to a new brilliant generation — to Zoryan Popadyuk, Matusevych, and Marynovych. As long as Russia continues to persecute Ukrainian patriots, the idea of an independent Ukraine will live, the Liberation Struggle will continue, and the spirit will remain undefeated.

In my opinion the interest of the Ukrainian reader in his hero — Levko, will be considerable, and I could tell you much about him and his friends; about our friendship, about protests which were written and signed by Levko, about the demonstrations and hunger strikes in which he took part, the cruel repressions he suffered, his forced "treatment" in a psychiatric hospital in his 15th year of imprisonment, about his statement where he changed his status to that of political prisoner, about his political activity after his transfer to the big zone from the small zone (in the Soviet Union the "small zone" is understood as being the prisons, camps, and the "big zone" as the Soviet Union itself, i.e. the Soviet Union is thought of as one big prison ed.), and finally about the continual persecution which he is receiving even now. I hope that this will not be my last contact with Ukrainians and not my last account of Levko. It is high time a book was written about him; all I can do, is to attempt to squeeze his whole stormy life into the tight-frame of an essay.

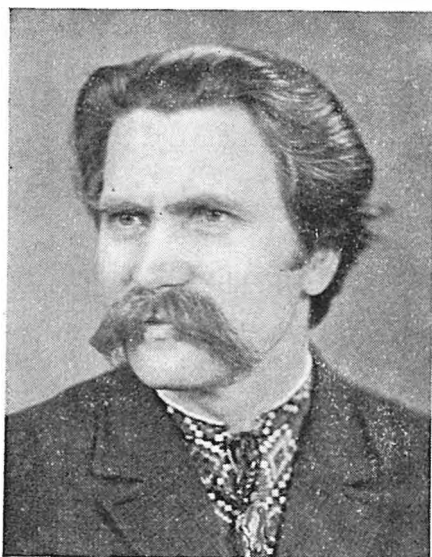
I am immeasurably happy that my education in camp ethics for political prisoners — given by such brilliant men as Levko Lukyanenko, Balys Hayaskas, Mykola Bondar, Kronid Lyubarsky, Vitaliy Synyovsky, Symas Kudirka, Petro Symofal and Hunar Rode Zinoviy Antonyuk and Hryhoriy Davydov, Mykola Sharygin and Volodymyr Balakhonov, Vladyo Vasylyk and Bahrat Shakhverdyan. And obviously my teachers included many of my own countrymen — zionists — and also a man with an extraordinary fate and a rare combination of talents — Mykhaylip Makarenko.

Amongst this brilliant group of Levko's compatriots, he himself the authoritative and generally accepted leader of the Ukrainian community in concentration camps, deserves the most highly honoured place. I cannot compose eulogies, but would sing a dithyramb for him.

On the occasion of his birthday I wish him vigour for his mighty spirit and hope that he will continue to shine so brightly as the star of the greatest brilliance on the horizon of freedom.

On your 50th birthday, Levko, my brother and friend!

## LUKYANENKO



Lev Lukyanenko, a member of the Kyiv Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords, was arrested by the KGB in his home in Chernihiv, on Monday, 12th December, 1977. He was sentenced to 10 years imprisonment and 5 years of internal exile on July 20th, 1978.

Lukyanenko's arrest came some 19 months after he was released from a 15 year prison sentence for belonging to the so-called "jurists", a group of Ukrainian lawyers who were tried in 1961 for calling for the secession of the Ukrainian SSR from the USSR.

In a story sent in from Moscow by Craig Whitney of "The New York Times" (published on the 24th December) about his arrest, Oksana Meshko, a member of the

Group, was quoted as saying: "The situation for us in Ukraine is critical".

It was reported that the secret police conducted a 16-hour search of Lukyanenko's apartment from 7:00 a.m. to 11:00 p.m. before arresting him.

Lukyanenko's arrest raised to six the number of Ukrainian Helsinki monitors to be arrested since the Group's formation late in 1976. Others arrested include Mykola Rudenko, Oleksiy Tykhy, Mykola Matusevych, Myroslav Marynovych and Oles Berdnyk.

At the time of Lukyanenko's arrest, the KGB also searched the apartments of his brother and his 1961 co-defendant, Ivan Kandyba. Kandyba, who lives in Pustomyty, a village on the outskirts of Lviv, was also released from imprisonment with Lukyanenko in the spring of 1976.

As reported earlier, Berdnyk was arrested on the 12th December. The apartment of Rudenko's wife, Raisa, was searched on the same day.

On the 8th December, 1977 the secret police ransacked the quarters of Petro Vins, Georgi Vins' son. The younger Vins, who is a member of the Kyiv Group, was reportedly beaten during the search and detained for 15 days.

It was reported that dissident circles in Ukraine feel that this latest attack on the Kyiv Group is a major KGB attempt to destroy all Ukrainian Helsinki monitors.

## AN INDEPENDENT TRADE UNION IN THE USSR

As is already known from press reports, a group of workers has established an independent union — “The Free Trade Union of Workers in the Soviet Union”. This new Trade Union is independent from the official union as well as from Communist Party control, and aims to defend the interests of workers in the Soviet Union.

After the Charter of the Free Trade Union had been proclaimed the KGB immediately attempted to liquidate it by arresting, terrorising and threatening the prominent members of the Union. As a result of this, many workers have been arrested, some incarcerated in prison psychiatric wards, some have disappeared without trace, and others are being pressurised to “liquidate” the Union themselves.

The Charter of the Free Trade Union is printed below:

### CHARTER

of the Free Trade Union of Workers in the Soviet Union. (Valid from the 1st of January 1978).

### SECTION ONE

#### MEMBERSHIP OF THE FREE TRADE UNION OF WORKERS IN THE SOVIET UNION

1. Every worker and civil servant whose rights and interests are illegally suppressed by administrative, party and judicial Soviet organs, has the right to be a member of the Free Union of Workers.

2. A member of the Free Trade Union has the right to:

a) freely discuss all the affairs of the Union; to introduce propositions; to openly express and defend any motions presented to the Free Trade Union;

b) personally participate in Union meetings concerning the activities or character of the Union;

c) wage an incessant campaign for peace and friendship among nations;

d) increase his political consciousness;

e) abide by the Charter of the Free Trade Union;

f) fulfill the social assignments of the Union.

3. A member of the Union has the following privileges:
  - a) he receives sound legal aid;
  - b) he receives moral and material aid as far as is possible;
  - c) he receives help in seeking living quarters, and if possible, helps his friends in this.
4. Membership into the Free Trade Union is voluntary, but based upon the condition that the candidate contemplates this decision for one week to ensure that he is aware of the consequences of his membership of the Union.
5. The decision to accept someone as a member is taken at general meetings.

## SECTION TWO

### THE ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE FREE TRADE UNION OF WORKERS

6. This is based on the principles of democratic centralism, which means:
  - a) everyone, from the lowest rungs to the highest, is elected by the members and submits reports to them;
  - b) all Union matters are resolved in accordance with the Charter;
  - c) resolutions are passed by a majority vote.
7. An open and thorough discussion of the plans of the Union is an important principle of internal union democracy. On the basis of internal democracy, criticism and self-criticism, activity and initiative on the part of the members develops and strengthens concerns and conscious discipline.
8. The basic principle of the Free Trade Union is the association of members, which was established by "The Forty Three".\*
9. The duties of the Free Trade Union are as follows:
  - a) to fulfill obligations on the basis of collective decisions;
  - b) to encourage workers and civil servants to become members of the Free Trade Union;
  - c) to implement the decisions of the Union concerning the defence of rights and justice;
  - d) to educate the members of the Union to oppose shortcomings, manifestations of bureaucracy and deceit, poor management of the economy and spending, a careless attitude to national wealth.

## SECTION THREE

### THE FUNDS OF THE FREE TRADE UNION

10. The funds of the Free Trade Union are composed of:
  - a) a six-monthly payment of membership dues and contributions from the unemployed within their means;

\*) "The Forty Three", first organised in November 1977 by Vladimir Klebanov, a coal miner, are the initiating and founding group of the Free Trade Union of Workers in the Soviet Union.

b) not more than one per cent of the total wages received; donation accepted without limit;

c) the fees of non-members of the Free Trade Union for legal aid, the printing and composing of complaints — which is not to exceed the national tariff;

d) donations from professional, foreign trade unions.

#### SECTION FOUR

#### THE RIGHTS OF THE FREE TRADE UNION AS A LEGAL BODY

II. The Free Trade Union of Workers in the USSR is a legal body

As soon as the Free Trade Union of Workers in the Soviet Union is recognised by the ILO\* or by professional trade unions, and as soon as the Union receives moral and material aid, the Charter will be reviewed to include the particular positions of workers in our country, and the present, temporary Union Charter, annulled.

The Council of "The Forty Three",  
Free Trade Union of Workers in the Soviet Union

#### REGISTER

of candidates for membership of the Free Trade Union in the Soviet Union.

1. SAVINKOV Oleksander Mykhaylovych — miner, Makiyivka Ukrainian SSR
2. DYATLOV Fedir Fedorovych — worker, Makiyivka, Ukr. SSR
3. KORCHAHIN Viktor Ivanovych — engineer, Kemerovo-2, Russian SFSR
4. SHPILEVOY Petro Tymofiyovych — worker, Kyiv, Ukr. SSR
5. BOYKO Oleksander Mykhaylovych — miner, Donetsk, Ukr. SSR
6. NIKITIN Vasyl Yuriyovych — mountain engineer, Donetsk, Ukr. SSR
7. SHCHUR Volodymyr Oleksiyovych — mountain engineer, Makiyivka, Ukr. SSR
8. KRYUCHKOV Mykola Mykolayovych — clerk, Moscow, RSFSR
9. CHEVERYOV Vitaliy Serhiyovych — clerk, Moscow, RSFSR
10. CHERNYAK Kateryna Ivanivna — worker, Chernihiv, Ukr. SSR
11. OSTRIVNA Vira Vasylivna — clerk, Krasnodarsky Krai, RSFSR
12. PAVLOVA Tetyana Ivanivna — lawyer, Khabarovsk, RSFSR
13. DAVYDOVA Lida Mykhaylivna — clerk, Moscow, RSFSR
14. NOSYREVA Anastasia Metodyivna — worker, Mykolayiv, Ukr. SSR
15. BONDARETS Nadia Yeremeyivna — pensioner, Mykolayiv, Ukr. SSR
16. KHARICHKOVA Maria Mykhaylivna — pensioner, Mykolayiv

\* International Labour Organisation.



Ukr. SSR

17. YASHCHENKO Maria Ivanivna — worker, Mykolayiv, Ukr. SSR
18. MATUSHEVYCH Maria Mykhaylivna — clerk, Mykolaiv, Ukr. SSR
19. KOSTYLYOV Oleh Borysovych — worker, Mykolayiv, Ukr. SSR
20. HUNCHENKO Anatoliy Tarasovych — worker, Mykolayiv, Ukr. SSR
21. MAZUROVSKA Nina Artemivna — worker, Mykolayiv, Ukr. SSR
22. FAZYLKHANOV Mamed Mamedovych — worker, Kazan, Tartar ASSR
23. OSTAF'YEV Serhiy Vasylovych — pensioner, Donetsk, Ukr. SSR
24. FILLIPOV Leonid Ivanovych — miner, Donetsk, Ukr. SSR
25. SYDOROVA Anna Stepanivna — worker, Pestovo, RSFSR
26. MAMEDOV Sabir Babayevych — clerk, Berdyansk, Ukr. SSR
27. USITSKOV Anatoliy Fedorovych — worker, Leningrad region, RSFSR
28. VATS ANNA Moyseyivna — collective farm worker, Rivensky region, Ukr. SSR
29. LEVIT Yakiv Manusovych — clerk, Odessa, Ukr. SSR
30. BORBYSHOV Ivan Petrovych — worker, Susuman, Yakutsk, ASSR
31. ZASIMOV Dmytro Yakovych — clerk, South Sakhalinsk, RSFSR
32. HARAHAH Hryhoriy Yosypovych — worker, Kaliningrad, RSFSR
33. KOSTERIN Roman Moyseyovych — clerk, Sovyetsk, RSFSR
34. KIMAYEVA Anna Oleksandrivna — clerk, Sverdlovsk
35. TULIKOV Kuzma Havrylovych — an invalid of the Second World War, Pavlohradsk
36. OTROKHOVA Anna Zakhariivna — clerk, Voroshylovhrad, Ukr. SSR
37. HAVRYLENKO Viktor Mykhaylovych — lecturer, Lviv, Ukr. SSR
38. BALANYUK Viktor Matiyovych — worker, Odessa, Ukr. SSR
39. POPOV Ivan Ivanovych — pensioner, Dnipropetrovsk, Ukr. SSR
40. RYKHININA Zhanayida Hryhorivna — lecturer, Frunzensky region, Kirghiz SSR
41. MASLOV Edvard Konstantynovych — Ozherelye, Moscow region, RSFSR
42. CHERKASIV Mykhaylo Dmytrovych — miner, Makiyivka, Donetsk region, Ukr. SSR
43. SERHIYENKO Evpotia Lohivna — collective farm worker, Prymorsky Kray, RSFSR
44. DVORETSKY Fedir Pavlovych — worker, Alma-Ata, Kazakh SSR
45. PRYADKO Hryhoriy Mykhaylovych — worker, Poltava region, Ukr. SSR

46. CHERNIKOVA Nadia Ilarionivna — teacher, Stavropol, RSFSR
47. TSADO Larysa Ivanivna — clerk, Stepnoy, Kazakh SSR
48. HULISARYAN Arshaluys Khachaturivna — work invalid Sukhumi, Georgian SSR
49. DAVYDOVA Natalia Dmytrivna — clerk, Komi ASSR
50. KOCHETKOV Anatoliy Mykhaylovych — worker, Moscow RSFSR
51. GUDZ Mykhaylo Stepanovych — worker, Zaporizhya, Ukr. SSR
52. KARNAUKHOV Oleksander Mykhaylovych — pensioner, Sochi RSFSR
53. SOROKA Olena Moyseyivna — collective farm worker, Ternopi region, Ukr. SSR
54. MURAVYOV Mykola Hryhorovych — clerk, Rostov-on-Don RSFSR
55. NECHYPORUK Vira Terentiyivna — clerk, Odessa, Ukr. SSR
56. TARAN Olena Oleksivna — worker, Vinnitsya, Ukr. SSR
57. STENKIN Ivan Ivanovych — worker, Moscow, RSFSR
58. PETROSYAN Edvard Perosovych — engineer, Leningrad RSFSR
59. HALIMOVA Slu Abdulhalymivna — teacher, Ufa, ASSR
60. ARYTYUNAN Henrikh Sarkysyanovych — clerk, Moscow RSFSR
61. REKOVSKA Larysa Viktorivna — clerk, Issyk, Alma-Ata region Kazakh SSR
62. TEYLER Nelli — housewife, Issyk, Alma-Ata region, Kazakh SSR
63. BELETSKA Dina Oleksivna — worker, Mykolayiv, Ukr. SSR
64. KUZNYETSOVA Tetyana Serhiyivna — worker, Vladivostok RSFSR
65. SHAPOCHKINA Valentyna Oleksivna — worker, Vladivostok RSFSR
66. KOZLOVA Olena Petrivna — engineer, Voronizh, Ukr. SSR
67. MAKAROV Mykhaylo Vasylovych — engineer, Moscow, RSFSR
68. NYKYTENKO Vasyl Mykolayovych — doctor, Klyn, Moscow region, RSFSR
69. OBSHYTOSH Khrystyna Ivanivna — collective farm worker, Zaccarpathian region, Ukr. SSR
70. POPKO Stanyslav — worker, Petrade, Latvian SSR
71. SHCHERBAKOV Valentyn Vasylovych — worker, Chelyabinsk region, RSFSR
72. POLYANSKA Valentyna Pavlivna — clerk, Sarativ, RSFSR
73. MOSKVIN Anna Vasylivna — clerk, Lviv, Ukr. SSR
74. TSVYETKOVA Nina Mykhaylivna — clerk, Kyiv, Ukr. SSR
75. OSSO Zhanna — clerk, Kokhtla-Yarve, ESSR
76. HLADUN Tetyana Havrylivna — worker, Mykolayiv, Ukr. SSR

77. MEYER Vira Edvardivna worker, Tul'sk region, RSFSR
78. POHREBNYAK Nadia Lavrentiyivna — housewife, Stavropol'sky Kray, Kazakh SSR
79. ANANSON Mykola Arkadiyovych — worker, Minsk, BSSR
80. BILICHENKO Mykola Makarovych — engineer, Frunze, Kirghiz SSR
81. KASYANOVA Zhanna Fedorivna — engineer, Mytyshchy, Moscow region, RSFSR
82. ANTONOVA Klyara Petrivna — engineer, Kyiv, Ukr. SSR
83. ZHURAVLYOV Mykola Pavlovych — doctor, Uchkuduk, Uzbek SSR
84. BORTSOVA Olena — clerk, Pevek, RSFSR
85. ZOTOVA Lyudmyla Tykhonivna — worker, Klymovsk, Moscow region, RSFSR
86. BALETSKA Vira Anatoliyivna — worker, Makiyivka, Donetsk region, Ukr. SSR
87. KOPENEVA Klavdia Vasylivna — nurse, Makiyivka, Ukr. SSR
88. HOLOVOCHUK Natalia Vasylivna — clerk, Donetsk, Ukr. SSR
89. BOLETSKY Vasyl Anatoliyovych — worker, Makiyivka, Ukr. SSR
90. ZAKHAROVA Klavdia Tykhonivna — worker, Moscow, RSFSR
91. SHESTAKOVA Kateryna Tykhonivna — worker, Saratov, RSFSR
92. KOSYGIN Fedir Mykhaylovych — miner, West Makiyivka, Donetsk region, Ukr. SSR
93. KOVALENKO Volodymyr Stepanovych — miner, West Makiyivka, Ukr. SSR
94. BEKETOV Mykola Ivanovych — worker, Krasnodarsky Kray, RSFSR
95. BARCHO Medzhyd Kazbuletovych — worker, Krasnodarsky Kray, RSFSR
96. YERSHOVA Natalia Ivanivna — worker, Kutayis, RSFSR
97. KUTAKHIN Ivan Stepanovych — worker, Klymovsk, Moscow region, RSFSR
98. TOLYSHKIN Oleksander Oleksandrovych — worker, Lypetsk, Ukr. SSR
99. TRYSHKIN Mykola Ivanovych — clerk, Podolsk, Moscow region, RSFSR
100. SHARYFULINA Nafisa Abudrakhmanivna — worker, Ufa Bash. ASSR
101. LILEKO Nadia Kyrylivna — worker, Kirovohrad, Ukr. SSR
102. KOSTERINA Ihnesa Prokopivna — teacher, Sovyetsk, RSFSR
103. YAKOVENKO Viktor Ivanovych — worker, Moscow, RSFSR
104. MEDVYEDEV Yuriy Ivanovych — engineer, Moscow, RSFSR
105. ZAKHAROV Oleksander Vasylovych — worker, Moscow,

RSFSR

106. HAVRYLIV Ivan Yehorovych — clerk, Petropavlivsk — Kamchatsky, RSFSR
107. MASALOV Vasyl Ivanovych — worker, Mozhaysk, Moscow region, RSFSR
108. PASHKOVSKA Lilia Hnativna — nurse, Donetsk, Ukr. SSR
109. IVANOVA Maryna Mykolayivna — worker, Moscow, Ukr. SSR
110. REDKO Maria Mykolayivna — worker, Bataysk, Rostovsk region, RSFSR

This register is not complete as many of our friends have asked us not to publish their names as yet.

Moscow, 1st February, 1978.

In English translation

## REVOLUTIONARY VOICES

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*Documents and news from Ukraine***THE TRIAL OF A PRIEST**

The Rev. Mykhaiło Vynnytsky was born in 1925 and lived with his two brothers in Lviv. On the 31st August 1975 he was sentenced in the Zalyznychy province, Lviv; he was accused of "violating Soviet law". In 1956 Rev. Vynnytsky organised and led a religious community, and is also accused of "causing harm" to citizen Novosad, who it is claimed, was subject to a nervous illness after participating in this community. Rev. Vynnytsky changed his residence into a place of prayer, appealed to children not to join communist youth organisations, and conducted "religious propaganda" amongst children.

Rev. M. Vynnytsky was sentenced to 5 years of imprisonment and to 3 years of exile for these "crimes". In the sentence it is stated that Rev. Vynnytsky admitted to being a Greek-Catholic priest, that he conducted Sunday services, that he preached and conducted services, that he appealed to the faithful to keep fasts and to pray, and that he told children not to join pioneer and komsomol organisations, not to read atheist literature, go to cinemas or watch television.

Novosad, who plays an important role in the case against Rev. Vynnytsky, is herself an interesting case. It was stated in the sentence that Rev. Vynnytsky appealed to her pray and to keep fasts which it is claimed, led to her physical and psychological exhaustion, and she had to spend a year undergoing psychological treatment. However, citizen Novosad was not present at the trial.

Rev. Vynnytsky does not regard himself as being guilty of the accusations made against him. He said that he did conduct services at his residence, but that he did not regard this as a violation of the law. He said that he also appealed to the faithful to pray, to hold fasts, to attend Sunday services — in accordance with the teaching of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. However Rev. Vynnytsky denies that he instructed his congregation not to go to cinemas, or to watch television, or that he told children not to join the pioneers or the komsomol. He said that he only appealed that the faithful should not go to cinemas or watch television during fasts. He said he also appealed to adults and children not to read amoral or anti-religious literature. As regards the pioneers and komsomol — he was not obliged to recognise these organisations as they are opposed to religion.

As regards citizen Novosad, Rev. Vynnytsky stated that he had never met her, that she had not participated in religious services at his residence, and that he has not seen her at his trial. As has already

been said citizen Novosad was healthy at the time of the trial and was not in a psychiatric institution, but was not questioned as a witness — other “witnesses” described her, notably “witnesses” Khtykalo and Hnyda, who spoke about Novosad’s illness. It seems that they lived in a hostel with Novosad and said that until the summer of 1973 Novosad was a healthy person who led a normal life, but, to use their words, in that summer she “locked herself in herself, prayed a lot, fasted fanatically and visited the place of prayer”. Apart from this, Rev. Vynytsky was also accused of making her promise that she should never marry, that she would belong only to God and that as a mark of this promise he made a sign (a cut) on one of her fingers. However, the judges, having listened to the many “witnesses” stated in their sentence that they were unable to believe that this “crime” had been committed — i.e. that Novosad really did have such a sign.

It transpires that the whole Novosad affair was a provocation instigated by the KGB — which was meant to compromise the Ukrainian Catholic Church. In order to do this it was necessary to show evidence of “superstitions” — and this was done without Novosad ever being asked to appear as a witness — only other “witnesses” including Novosad’s mother, Maria, were called. She said that she had gone to Lviv to visit her daughter, and that her daughter insisted that they go together to a place of prayer. But her mother stated that they did not go to Rev. Vynytsky’s but to another place in the Zhovtny region of Lviv where the service was conducted by someone wearing glasses. Although Maria Novosad *did not recognise* Rev. Vynytsky during the trial, the jury regarded the fact that her daughter belonged to a religious group as sufficient evidence of her membership of Rev. Vynytsky’s group in particular.

Rev. Mykhailo Vynytsky is currently serving his sentence.

### UKRAINIAN PRIEST DEFENDS JEWISH POLITICAL PRISONER

In an open letter, which showed that co-operation and friendship in Soviet prison camps crosses ethnic and religious boundaries, a Ukrainian Orthodox priest wrote an emotional appeal in defence of a Jewish fellow political prisoner.

The Rev. Vasyl Romanyuk, a Ukrainian priest incarcerated for supporting Valentyn Moroz, described Edvard Kuznetsov as a symbol of the suffering of Jews in the Soviet Union.

“Kuznetsov is a person with many talents, a brilliant organiser, a sagacious authority on people”, wrote Rev. Romanyuk in his appeal of September I, 1977.

Rev. Romanyuk wrote that Kuznetsov could have settled into the peaceful life of a government lackey, but he decided to fight for the right of his people.

“He selected a different path and for 15 years now he has been

carrying the cross of a prisoner", wrote the Ukrainian Orthodox priest.

Rev. Romanyuk said that many countries around the world have related histories with Israel. He said that despite the oppression faced by Jews over the centuries, God also blessed them with "endurance".

"Without a doubt, one of the principle characteristics of the spirituality, humaneness and culture of a given nation is its position on the Jewish question", wrote Rev. Romanyuk.

Defending the right of Jews to emigrate to the land of their ancestors, Rev. Romanyuk called the Soviet government's closed door policy in this matter "inhuman". He said that the Soviet government hypocritically bragged that Jews do not want to leave the USSR.

"The right to emigrate is a great human right, and even when it is adhered to minimally, as by the Soviet Union, many people breathe more easily", wrote Rev. Romanyuk.

He said that those who attempted to emigrate, but were arrested and incarcerated "unmasked the hypocrisy of the government". He called Jewish political prisoners "symbols of the enduring struggle of the best elements of the Jewish nation, and that all Soviet policies with regard to emigration are assimilatory.

"Assimilation is not the physical destruction of nations, but traditional genocide, which cannot be shielded from the eyes of the world. The temporary achievements of assimilation are not the result of its justice, but only the result of satanical strength", said the Ukrainian priest.

Inmates in Soviet concentration camps come from all walks of life, religious beliefs and nationalities, and he went on to say that Kuznetsov was able to harmonise all the factions. He set "an example for all decent persons".

"I appeal to all people of good-will, and first of all to the sons of Israel, to do everything possible to free Edvard Kuznetsov and his friends from prison", wrote Rev. Romanyuk. "For many people of faith, their fate has become symbolic. Let their freedom serve as proof of the future freedom for all the children of God".

## **MESHKO FEARS SERHIYENKO WAS INJECTED WITH POISON**

The full text of an appeal to save the life of Oleksander Serhiyenko is printed below. It was written by his mother, Oksana Meshko and his wife, Zvenyslava Vivchar. The appeal was addressed to the United Nations, the heads of the 35 governments which signed the Helsinki Accords, the New York-based Committee for the Defence of Soviet Political Prisoners, and "people of good-will in the West".

Prisoner of conscience Oleksander Serhiyenko is spending his sixth year in confinement. While being chronically ill with tuberculosis which has disseminated both his lungs, he languished for three

years in Vladimir prison where he was sent as a "disciplinary measure" by the Kyiv and Perm KGB and the heads of Perm labour camp no. 36 — Kotov, Fedorov, Zhuravkov and K. (As in Stalin's time, trials today are held on the camp premises without any legal defence or witnesses).

While he was in jail the medical commission sent the ill prisoner for tuberculosis observation by the dispensary in group GDU-3. But two years later, shortly before being transferred to the concentration camp, Oleksander was removed from observation because he was supposedly "cured of chronic tuberculosis" — and that under prison conditions! This took place with the sanction of the chief of the Medical Service of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, Popov, and the expert physician on tuberculosis, Sarikov.

This act was countermeasure to the activities carried forth by Oleksander Serhiyenko's mother, who demanded that her son be released before the expiration of his term for reasons of health. The step was also coincidentally taken at the same time that Oleksander Serhiyenko and his family received an invitation to go to Australia.

Can all this be considered as anything else but an unconcealed act of revenge on the part of the authorities, who can also always depend on the co-operation of the professional doctor — a member of the Medical Service of the MVD?

But Oleksander Serhiyenko survived in prison.

In January of 1977 he was returned to the same execution camp no. 36.

Within a month he was taken to the hospital at camp no. 35 for treatment of a bronchial cold. And while his condition was growing worse, this man with tuberculosis was given a tuberculin (PPD) test!

For some reason the test was conducted by a woman doctor "X", who was specially sent to the camp. After performing this task, the purpose of her business trip being achieved, she left the camp. It is known that she came from Kyiv and that she conducted the test contrary to the most elementary medical ruling which forbids such tests to be made on tubercular patients. It was also carried out in spite of the protests of the patient himself (who is a medical student who did not complete training). But now he is merely a prisoner, able to be mocked without retaliation.

These are the medical symptoms that followed: for two weeks Oleksander Serhiyenko had a high temperature, his blood pressure went up, there were heart palpitations, dizziness, his lymph glands swelled, his entire arm ached and a wound developed on the spot where the test was made. The reaction was most severe, there was even some fear that Oleksander would not survive. Secretly he made his way to camp zone no. 35 in order to warn the other prisoners and tell them of what had happened. For transmitting this information, Serhiyenko was immediately taken out of the hospital and placed in



a punishment cell for 15 days, although at the time he was still running a high fever.

After this, Oleksander's health continued to deteriorate; he felt worse than he had ever felt, even during three years that he had spent in Vladimir prison. In July he was confined to bed and displayed symptoms characteristic of leukemia: unstable temperature, weakness, chills, sleepiness, loss of appetite, a swollen spleen, pain under the ribs. It is difficult for him to write. During the past two months Serhiyenko has been dying in the medical section of camp no. 36 but is without any clinical observation, diagnostic tests or treatment.

On August 11th, 1977, we sent a telegram to the Medical Service of the USSR Ministry of International Affairs with the request that Oleksander Serhiyenko be immediately transferred to the Leningrad prison hospital, but we received no answer.

We then turned to the Medical Service, whose doctors had at one time sanctioned his removal from observation because he had supposedly been cured of chronic tuberculosis.

Is it not possible to presume that during the tuberculin test something else was injected into Oleksander Serhiyenko's body? If anything should now happen to him — and there is reason to believe that an act of premeditated murder was planned — then the state institutions which had sanctioned all of this will be held responsible.

I am convinced that my son's suffering is the outcome of the authorities' revenge for my membership of the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords.

This is our reality: by appealing to the Law and Truth, you place your son, yourself and your family under jeopardy and the vengeance of petty bureaucratic apparatus!

### **SVITLYCHNY TELLS OF CAMP REPRESSIONS, ASKS FOR RED CROSS INTERCESSION**

Ivan Svitlychny, a 48 year-old Ukrainian philologist, complained to Soviet officials about the persistent harassment he is facing because he is unable to complete work assignments.

In a letter to the prosecutor general of the Soviet Union, Roman Rudenko, Svitlychny also requested that the International Red Cross be allowed to investigate the conditions in the concentration camps.

Svitlychny is suffering from high blood pressure and cerebral spasms, and both his hands are severely deformed. He wrote that he was ordered to work as a compressor operator, and when he refused, the camp officials began harassing him.

"Only after appealing twice to Leonid Brezhnev, general secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, did the situation change", wrote Svitlychny to Rudenko in his letter dated May 8th, 1977.

This reprieve was temporary. After he was moved to a different camp, the repressions began again.

Svitlychny said that medication for his ailments were terminated, and he was assigned to latrine duty.

He said that he was released from a certain amount of hard labour, but he was still forced to chop wood, carry heavy items and do repairs.

"And when I could not accomplish the tasks, I was given additional assignments and punishments", he wrote.

Svitlychny categorised the medical treatment at the hospital camp as "catastrophic". He said that basic medications were not available.

Besides inadequate medical facilities, Svitlychny said the camps are plagued with tainted water and rotten fish. Local medical authorities, he said, do not deal with this matter.

"Because of this situation, many sick persons who are in need of medical aid do not even seek help in the infirmary", he said.

Svitlychny said that the situation has become unbearable and that intercessions from local or all-union medical authorities will never be forthcoming.

"Therefore I ask you to allow the International Red Cross to conduct an objective and neutral investigation of the medical facilities in the VS-389/36, and allow them to administer the proper medical treatment", concluded Svitlychny.

Svitlychny repeated the inadequacies in the camp to the prison warden in a letter dated June 2nd, 1977.

He said that if humane conditions are not instituted, he will begin a protest hunger strike.

### **LETTERS OF UKRAINIAN POLITICAL PRISONER — VOLODYMYR HANDZYUK**

Six samvydav documents concerning the fate of the Ukrainian political prisoner Volodymyr Handzyuk — a member of the Ukrainian liberation movement from Ivano-Frankivsk — have reached the free world. After his release, he was arrested for the second time in January 1964 and sentenced to 12 years of loss of freedom and to 3 years of exile. At present he is in exile. His address is: Podhornoye settlement, Tomsk region, Laynsky Province, USSR. He is in need of immediate material aid.

The Russian activist who defends human rights, Malva Landa from Moscow, who is of world renown for her brave actions in defence of political prisoners, has collected all the relevant information about V. Handzyuk and also has five of his letters (of which she writes: "they came to me by accident"), which are now circulating in samvydav.

In the last years of his imprisonment, Handzyuk served his sentence in Ural camp no. 35, Perm region, Chusovsky province, Vsesyatskoye settlement, VS 389/35. Volodymyr Bukovsky served his sentence in

the same "corrective strict labour colony" and was there until May-June 1974. Ivan Svitlychny, Ihor Kalynets, Semen Hluzman, Stepan Soroka, and Vasyl Pidhorodny are still imprisoned there.

On the 5th January 1976 Handzyuk was sent into exile. Before he went, all the addresses in his possession were taken away from him, including the addresses of his family and friends in Canada. While being transported to his place of exile, Handzyuk was put in with criminal prisoners, who stole his belongings from him en route. He was brought to the village of Podhornoy on the 20th January, where he was left without any means of survival.

M. Landa includes 5 letters written by Handzyuk, which he had addressed to an unknown person — "Friend Ivan" — and to another person, also unknown. The letters are dated the 4th February, 16th February, 7th September, 20th September and the 8th October. The letters were written in Ukrainian and M. Landa translated them into Russian. She writes that she considers it to be her duty to circulate these letters and to inform 'Amnesty International', all people of good will and *Ukrainians* (her emphasis) who are concerned with the fate of their countrymen.

*16th February 1976*

Dear Friend Ivan,

As yet there is nothing new here. Everything is as it was when I wrote my first letter to you. I am still living in a hostel — in a waiting room as with a herd of animals — and nothing is certain. They cannot find me any accomodation here, which is why I do not have a permanent address, and do not have any work — and what sort of worker am I? You know this well yourself.

... The director of some state farm came here, who said he would think about it and maybe find me something... He promised to let me know by telephone in two days time. But some delegation from Tomsk came, and, he couldn't let me know. How things were later — I don't know.

After the 9th of February I was ordered to go to another state farm, called Telman, in the village of Barhatertsya, which is 30 kilometres from Podhorny. They put me in a car and drove me there — to get rid of me. They ordered the director of the state farm (Baron) to give me work and accommodation, and told him to inform the district executive committee about my work and behaviour. They did not tell him about the state of my health however, but merely asked whether he needed the services of a specialist electrician, to which he replied that he did.

When we arrived at the state farm the director wasn't there, but arrived after lunch. When he saw me and spoke to me, he immediately telephoned: "Who have you sent me? You've *deceived me!* This

man can hardly breathe and I need some one who can work. He needs medical treatment. I am sending him back by car, do what you want with him. Treat him or find him work. I can't use anyone like him".

I arrived back in Podhorny at 5 o'clock. I returned my papers to the commandant who said: "Well, go back to the hostel if there is still a place there, and I will go and see the director of the state farm and make him think again". And they are still thinking and as yet there are no results.

When he brought me my money (sent by my friend M. L.) he asked amongst other things: "Volodymyr, how do you feel about being sent to the hospital for the time being? It will be until they come to a decision — we have already referred matters to the administration (maybe in Tomsk) — and things will be decided through them".

I replied that I agreed to such a proposition — and had wanted to ask about such a possibility myself. He promised that he would talk to the doctor, an understanding person, within the week.

On the 10th of this month I wrote a statement to the regional procurator. I described everything — how, when and where I became ill, and how I had not been treated because in the camp hospital they always said that they couldn't find anything wrong with me. I also described the whole comedy concerning my transfer to Mordovia and then back to Ural. I wrote that he should help me settle too, because I have to survive somehow — I cannot steal, I don't want to and physically couldn't. I asked if it was within his power and jurisdiction to send me to hospital and asked that the VTK (corrective labour colony) award me with a certificate stating my invalidity, and demanded that on the basis of the X-rays, and the medical diagnosis and conclusions drawn from these on the 27th January in the polyclinic, my case be sent to court so that I could be released from the rest of my term in exile, since I am a cripple, and the state of my health demands long term treatment and a calory-controlled and correct diet. My illness has already been neglected for long enough, it has set in and has become progressive.

*7th September 1976*

Before, I worked at the regional hospital, where I did various jobs — but now my health does not permit me to do such work. To add to this, in June a plank fell on my right foot and broke my big toe. My foot was in plaster for a whole month before it healed. On the 7th of September I was sent away from hospital and went to work at the KPO (general store). I am now working with cobblers. The work here is not much easier, but I am sitting down and most important of all — it is warm. It is true that there is not much here in the way of food, for example — sausages. And the price of food is very high... Are you by any chance Volodymyr Bukovsky's sister? When you see him, send him my regards... Write to me using a "query" as I am

living in the hostel again. I had to leave my accommodation and it is very difficult to find other places to live here. There are no hostels, and the government, although it is obliged to do so, has not given me any accomodation. I live in a communal room. There is a quick turnover of people here, and many different types come to stay. Drunks often make all sorts of scenes and create uproars, but what can you do? It has to be borne.

*20th September 1976*

... I still do not have a good warm hat or a jumper ... Not long ago I bought some shoes for 13 roubles and 40 kopecks, and some warm lace-up shoes for 13 roubles and 80 kopecks. My shoe size is 40, and my garment size is 50 ... For the first three months I lived in a hostel and then found accommodation. It is true that I warned the landlady that I would not be able to chop wood or carry water — which was a long way from the house. Despite this, I had to leave and go back to the hostel ... Now I am looking for somewhere to live again, but so far, have had no luck. There are some places, it is true, but I don't want to go there because they are frequented by drunks, or there are women present with whom I would have to live ... To get accommodation I have approached all the administrators, but with little effect. However, a new 16 — flat residence should be ready in November, when I may get one of the old homes from which people have moved to go to the new residence ... to add to this, I am so dizzy, that I can't even stand ...

I don't know what goes on in the world because I don't have a transistor. On the 15th September I went to the VTK in Kolpachev, but they did not give me a certificate stating my invalidity, but wrote instead that "for the time being he is not fit for work" and said that they would send me to the medical institute — the Tomsk clinic ...

*8th October 1976*

I don't know exactly which medicines I need. You should ask the medical specialist — the physician. I have deforming oosteoarthritic inflammation of the knee joints in both legs, and already have a seriously deformed spine. My legs are very often stiff. One doctor told me that the drug *Bioryn* helps and also the drug *Butazolidine* also helps a little.

If it is possible then I would like to have something from the press-papers and magazines. And I would like the paper "Nashe Slovo" (Our Word) which is printed in Poland in Ukrainian. Maybe I'll be able to buy myself a transistor later — I don't have one at the moment, so I don't know what is going on in the world. I am very grateful to my friends from Moscow for their greetings. At the moment I am in trouble, with a small disagreement with the director over the question of some accommodation for me ...

## BARLADYANU TRIED FOR HIS RESPECT FOR THE UKRAINIAN LANGUAGE, GOLUMBIYEVSKA PERSECUTED

"The Transcript of Barladyanu's Trial" is a new *samvydav* document which gives additional evidence about the total disrespect for any kind of legal norms in the legal proceedings of the USSR and the persecution of people for their convictions.

Vasyl Barladyanu, an art historian and chairman of the art department at Odessa University was arrested at the beginning of March 1977. In June 1976 he wrote "An Appeal to the Entire Christian World, to All Men of Good Will", in which he said that he was dismissed from the university for alleged "Ukrainian, Moldavian and old-Bulgarian nationalism". In reality, the reason for repressions against him was different. He wrote: "In analyzing the works of Marx and his followers, I came to the conclusion that all human rights were taken away from me and those like me because we do not know how and do not want to become bastards, because we are unable to disclaim the national achievements, the temples and the history of the nations whose children we are. Such is the logic of Marxism".

Below are excerpts from the transcript of Barladyanu's trial and a court document against Golumbiyevska.

"The trial of Vasyl Barladyanu began at Odessa on June 27, 1977. At 8 a.m. Barladyanu's friends began to assemble near the regional court building. Half an hour later the doors were opened, but only the employees of the court and KGB agents and 18 students from Odessa University were admitted to the court room — altogether there were 30 people in the room. Barladyanu's friends went to the regional prosecutor's office with a petition. There two of them were received by prosecutor Sokolenko, who said: "The prosecutor's office is not a fire brigade. It does not concern itself with supervision over the execution of procedural norms. This matter concerns the chairman of the court. However, after the trial is over and the decision of the court has been reached, should it be incorrect, the prosecutor's office will change it. The prosecutor should not take any other actions". Moreover, Sokolenko stated that the trial was public since people were present in the court room.

The court chairman refused to receive Barladyanu's friends, but after negotiations with the administration and representatives of the KGB, the secretary of the court declared with a smile that the chairman would receive his friends one by one. However, he only spoke with Leonid Tymchuk and Golumbiyevska and told them that the trial was open, and if they found empty seats they could be present in the court room.

By the day's end nobody had managed to get into the court room. In the room, Barladyanu's attorney requested that the defendant's acquaintances be admitted. But this request was denied by the court.

Then, defendant Barladyanu declared that he refused to take part in the trial if his friends and acquaintances were not admitted to the room.

That day, June 27, 1977, only one witness, Budyansky, had been interrogated. He said that in 1974, during Barladyanu's conflict with the university regarding his receiving an apartment, Barladyanu allegedly expressed certain anti-Soviet and nationalistic ideas.

On the following day, June 28th, the history of the admittance of Barladyanu's friends to the court room repeated itself. Again the same employees and KGB agents and 18 students from Odessa University were admitted to the room. When the friends turned to the chairman of the court, his deputy said: "Get out of here! They are doing the right thing by not letting you in". Chicanery was applied to some as follows: Barladyanu's wife, Valentyna, was called to work at 8 o'clock in the morning, although she works on the second shift. Also Tymchuk and Golumbiyevska were summoned to work, while the militia men came after Mykhaylenko and took her to the prosecutor's office.

That day several witnesses were questioned, among them a former student of Odessa University, Baklanova, who at one time was in the group of students who under Barladyanu's leadership, went to work on collective farms. Baklanova testified that "Barladyanu often led conversations on anti-Soviet topics, praised the Ukrainian language very much, said that it is the most beautiful of all Slavic languages. He said that the Russian language is a language spoken by a nation of plebians. Barladyanu spoke disrespectfully of Stalin, rejecting his role as organizer of victory during the War for the Fatherland".

Barladyanu denied Baklanova's testimony.

Witness Byelitska said that Barladyanu talked about the national question, said that the Russians are a master nation which oppresses Moldavians and Ukrainians.

Mykola Rudenko's testimony was read. He said: "I believe that Vasyl Barladyanu is not an enemy of the Soviet government".

During the court session Barladyanu declared: "I shall continue my hunger strike. And from today, I shall also refuse water and will use all methods to end my life by suicide".

In his last statement Barladyanu stated that:

"Much attention has been paid to the evidence of those students whom I dismissed from collective farm work for violating the rules. But my friends and my wife have not been questioned at all during the course of these proceedings.

With regard to my works, I assure you that they contain no slander whatsoever — I express my deepest convictions in them, and I am prepared to defend them.

The letters and statements about violations of the law which were taken from me in Kyiv, were initially sent to the regional procurator

— H. M. Yasnivsky. However I received no replies to any of them.

I do not consider that I committed a crime by also sending these statements to the Kyiv Group (to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords). The Constitution gives me the right to join various organisations, and the Kyiv Group was not an illegal group, merely unregistered.

This is why I do not consider myself to be guilty, so I do not have anything to repent. I am not asking the court to either make my sentence easier or shorter.

In my statement addressed to Pidhirny, I renounced my Soviet citizenship and I requested permission to emigrate — to any country in which I would be able to live a normal life and study. But I never renounced my vow of allegiance to the army, which is only taken once in a lifetime. That is why, wherever I may be, I will always be prepared to defend my fatherland when it is endangered by war.

If I am given a chance to lead a normal life, to work in my fatherland and to be with my family, I will leave my life of academia and become a manual labourer. During my trial I saw so much filth on the faces of academics that I have no desire to work with them. I know several languages, and in my free time, would be able to do translations, that is, if anyone will publish them".

Barladyanu was sentenced under Article 187-1 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR ("dissemination of anti-Soviet slander") to 3 years of imprisonment. He is now in prison in the Rivno region, where he continues his hunger strike. His state of health is very poor.

During Barladyanu's trial, the KGB also attempted to launch criminal proceedings against Anna Golumbiyevska, a teacher from Odessa, who has been terrorized for her participation in the resistance movement for over a year. A document from the Odessa regional court entitled, "Self-Determination", dated June 23, 1977, has been circulating in the samvydav. It consists of excerpts from Barladyanu's text, and at the same time cites a decision in the case of Golumbiyevska. There, it is stated, among other things: "The court board on criminal matters of the Odessa Regional Court with the following composition: chairman — D. I. Kanevsky, people's representatives — S. I. Lapina, A. I. Doycheva; secretary — D. Y. Melnyk; with the participation of prosecutor Y. V. Zhantyk, having examined in the course of the court session in the city of Odessa the criminal case of V. V. Barladyanu, charged under Article 187-1 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR has decided:

Resident of the city of Odessa V. V. Barladyanu in the years 1972-1977 had systematically disseminated, both verbally and in writing, false, slanderous fabrications, defamed the Soviet state and social order, Soviet democracy, the national policy of the Party, the Soviet life style, as well as having prepared manuscripts, typed documents



and photo copies of the said content . . .

During the court session it has been established that the resident of the city of Odessa, Anna Viktorivna Golumbiyevska, assisted Barladyanu in these actions by her illegal acts and incorrect conduct.

In the case, it has been established that in the years 1975-1976 V. V. Barladyanu kept in touch with A. V. Golumbiyevska and carried on discussions with her of the above-mentioned character.

In the case proceedings it has been established that V. V. Barladyanu multiplied manuscript and typed texts of articles, novels, appeals and letters of slanderous content which defame the Soviet system and the Soviet lifestyle on the typewriter "Moskca" No. 232700 confiscated during a search.

On June 27, 1977, during the court session, A. V. Golumbiyevska, who was called as a witness, when questioned by the prosecutor and the court members, replied that she refuses to say anything, and before her interrogation on June 28, 1977, she read and handed over to the court her statement of June 27th. Thus she has committed a criminal offence under Article 179 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR . . .

The court feels that such illegal acts of A. V. Golumbiyevska should be investigated at her place of work.

Guiding themselves by Articles 23, 340 of the Criminal Procedural Code of the Ukr. SSR the court board has determined:

Regarding the above-mentioned, illegal acts of the teacher of Russian language and literature of the 7th year of secondary school No. 130 of the city of Odessa, A. V. Golumbiyevska, born in 1937, resident of Odessa, to notify the principal of the secondary school No. 130 of the Ilyichevsky district of the city of Odessa in order that appropriate measures be taken. — Chairman — Kanevsky".

### **ALARMING NEWS FROM UKRAINE, AND DETERMINATION OF THE REPRESSED**

Alarming news has reached the free world, which shows that both the activists of the Ukrainian national movement and the movement itself are being methodically destroyed.

On the 6th November 1976, the engineer Volodymyr Horoviy, employed in the film industry, was arrested in Lviv due to his involvement in nationalist activities. In May 1977 he was sentenced to 6 years imprisonment. Since there were no actual grounds for his arrest, V. Horoviy was accused of 'stealing apparatus from his place of work'.

In the spring of 1977, at the same time as the arrests of members of the 'Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords' (M. Rudenko, O. Tykhy, M. Matusevych, and M. Marynovych about whose arrests detailed information has already

been given), brutal searches were conducted in Kyiv, Lviv and other cities. The apartments of Borys Antonenko-Davydovych, Mykhaylyna Kotsubynska, and Yaroslav Lemyk were amongst those searched. Apart from this, Ya. Lemyk was called to the Procurator and warned not to engage in any patriotic activities. He was also threatened.

The activists of the Ukrainian national movement and Ukrainian patriots believe that the enemy is preparing another wide-spread action of arrests and pogroms. It is highly probable that the arrest of the young Ukrainian with British citizenship — Andriy Klymchuk — in August 1977 in Lviv, is the next provocation of the KGB with which it will justify the planned arrests and pogroms. It will be the pretext for the arrest of Ukrainian patriots in Ukraine, who will be accused of conspiracy with foreign agents — considered by the KGB to be Ukrainian patriots abroad. This is reminiscent of the mass arrests and pogroms conducted in 1972, which were made under the pretext of the fabricated charges and arrest of Dobosh. At this time, several inhabitants of Lviv were arrested.

Without ending the brutal repressions — and without doubt, preparing to increase them, the KGB continuously carries out refined preparations against political prisoners, and against, as yet untried people from whom the KGB attempts to draw "recantations" — so that these people become the tools of the KGB in its fight against the Ukrainian movement. It is not the first time that such wide-spread practices have been reported — as for example, the sending of "representatives of society" to concentration camps, the transferring of prisoners to regional centres for "re-education", and so on. In the summer of 1977 Danylo Shumuk was transferred to Kyiv with this intention (he was arrested in January 1972 for the third time and was sentenced to 10 years of imprisonment and to 5 years of exile): Zoryan Popadyuk (who was a student of philology until 1973 at Lviv University then he was arrested and sentenced to 7 years of imprisonment, being accused of publishing a student Samvydav magazine — "Postup") was transferred to Lviv; and Ivan Rebryk (sentenced in 1974 in Ivano-Frankivsk to 7 years of imprisonment and to 3 years of exile for circulating Samvydav) was transferred to Ivano-Frankivsk.

At present a Samvydav document is circulating in Ukraine — a letter from Danylo Shumuk, sent from a concentration camp to Mykhaylo Horyn. The brothers Mykhaylo and Bohdan Horyn were arrested in 1965 and sentenced the following year. They are both working at the same places and in the same professions that they had before their arrests: Mykhoylo an engineer and psychologist, works in the film industry, and Bohdan as a research officer in the Lviv art gallery.

A rumour about Leonid Plushch is circulating amongst some circles of the Ukrainian community in Ukraine, which claim that he is not

doing any worthwhile work abroad for the Ukrainian problem, that he maintains and preaches communist convictions, that he does not defend the interests of Ukraine and that he "keeps company" with Russian chauvinists.

Leaving aside L. Plushch's ideological convictions, to which he is fully dedicated, we must make it clear that he does not co-operate with any Russian chauvinists. On the contrary, he defends the ideal of an independent Ukraine and through his activities he successfully defends Ukrainian political prisoners and the Ukrainian national movement in its entirety. That is why we discount these rumours as being the provocation of the KGB and of others hostile to the Ukrainian cause.

\*

In the document from Ukraine, from which this information is drawn, we found expressions of absolute determination to continue the fight for Ukrainian ideals — even in the worst possible conditions — and urge that Ukrainians in the free world voice this determination, and identify with the pain and suffering that these people are subject to as a result of these Ukrainian ideals at the hands of Russian tormentors; we ask you to give them your help.

Let the voice of the repressed and invincible fighters of Ukraine be the true motive of all our aims. Let it be our imperative, our testament and command.

**"I WAS TRIED FOR LITERARY AND ART WORKS" —  
WRITES M. OSADCHY**

Mykhaylo Osadchy, arrested in 1972 and sentenced to 7 years of camps and 3 years of exile wrote a letter to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR in which he demands his release and rehabilitation. The letter, circulating in the Samvydav, is printed below:

"To the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR  
Citizen Chairman:

According to the decree of 8/2/1977, I, who have been convicted without proof of guilt and have served over three-quarters of an unfounded sentence out of political motives — or putting it more simply — for literary and art works — can be released and assigned to forced labour according to a decision of the KGB, and under their supervision. I shall not have the right to travel and shall be deprived of civil rights. I shall be surrounded by KGB informants everywhere.

I am also threatened with the fact that I shall be forcefully sent to the city of Sumy.

In connection with the situation which has developed, I declare: I have not engaged in anti-Soviet activity and have no intention of

engaging in it. I have been convicted not for anti-Soviet activity as maintained by the officials... (illegible), but for the publication in the West of a creative novel "Cataract". I have been convicted without any legal motives. This is an act of arbitrariness which by cynicism equals perhaps the punishment of Radishchev and Shevchenko. Even the greatest executioner, Stalin, did not try solely for artistic creativity. While serving my sentence my family already were subjected to persecution, as the result of which my mother and I were beaten, and my own brother, Volodymyr Osadchy, 33, was murdered at Sumy on April 5, 1975.

The possibility of sending me to Sumy by force, 900 km. from my family (wife and two children), and in isolation from my friends and environment is an obvious hint that the fate of my brother at any given moment can become my fate as well I, could be killed by criminals just as my brother was, and similarly, no investigation will be conducted, nor will it be ascertained what higher authority incited the criminals to commit an unpunished murder.

Citizen Chairman,

Your decree of 8/2/77 is not directed toward the humanisation of the penal system of our country; it is an instrument of more refined methods of terror, persecution and violence of the Soviet creative intelligentsia. Save me from being a victim of murder. I need rehabilitation, and only rehabilitation, not a conditional release with obvious supervision and forced labour.

Mykhaylo Osadchy, repressed Ukrainian writer".

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## **Ukrainian World News**

### **U.S., CANADA, 14 OTHERS INTRODUCE RESOLUTIONS ON WATCHGROUPS**

The United States, Canada and 14 other western countries participating in the Helsinki follow-up conference in Belgrade, have sponsored two resolutions to be included in the final document of the conference, which are of particular significance to nations and Helsinki watchgroups in the USSR.

The two resolutions, officially known as BM/14 and BM/60, call for official recognition of public groups which have been formed to help implement the Final Act, including their right to speak out on the violations of the Helsinki Accords, and a reaffirmation of principle seven, which calls for respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the freedoms of thought, conscience, religion or belief.

There are to date over 100 resolutions which have been submitted to the conference for inclusion in the communique, some of which are of a provocative nature. These resolutions call for mutual academic ventures in encyclopedic and other publications, which were introduced by the communist countries and have in the past resulted in Soviet falsification of historical events.

The text of the resolution on the Helsinki watchgroups reads in part:

"The participating states reaffirm the relevant and positive role which organisations and persons have played in the process of developing co-operation between governments and people, and in the process of assuring the implementation of the provisions of the Final Act; they recognise that the right of organisations and persons in the task of insuring full implementation of the provisions of the Final Act, including the right to point out instances of non-implementation, should be universally respected".

There have been no resolutions on Principle eight — national self-determination which is an integral part of the Ukrainian, Baltic and other watchgroups in their demands for full compliance with the Helsinki Accords.

### **BUKOVSKY CENSURES RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN USSR AT AFL-CIO LUNCHEON**

Vladimir Bukovsky, the Russian dissident who was given permission to leave the Soviet Union a year ago, warned area labour leaders that economic assistance to communist countries, without

regard for human rights, strengthens those regimes. "Economic aid to the Soviet Union or Eastern Europe, not conditional on human rights, strengthens totalitarian regimes", said Bukovsky at an AFL-CIO luncheon held in his honour at the Roosevelt Hotel in New York on December 19th, 1977.

Bukovsky's appearance marked the end of his II-city tour across the United States under the aegis of the AFL-CIO. Bukovsky focused his addresses on human rights violations in the Soviet Union and what can be done to support dissidents behind the Iron Curtain.

The former inmate of Soviet psychiatric asylums said that no matter how hard western tourists try to understand the Soviet Union, "it is still confusing".

He compared Soviet workers' rights to those of western labourers, saying that unions in the USSR "do not protect workers", and that Soviet labour unions are government-based. He went on to say that strikes in the Soviet Union are illegal and that strikes can receive up to three years in prison, and that picketing and holding sit-down strikes can result in sentences of up to 15 years.

Characterising the Soviet system as "60 years of terror and lack of rights", Bukovsky said that there are 3,000,000 prisoners in concentration camps in the USSR. He claimed that prisoners are an economic aid to the Soviet government: "the prisoners afford cheap labour, they can be moved and they are efficient". Bukovsky said that an average prisoner in the concentration camps earns between 60 and 80 roubles per month, compared with a salary of 140 on the outside. Of this wage 50 per cent is deducted for the guards and another percentage is subtracted for the administration, leaving the inmates with some 15-25 roubles per month.

"A general amnesty in the Soviet Union would cause a great economic catastrophe", said Bukovsky, who reminded American workers that goods imported to the United States from the Soviet Union "contain some slave labour". He summarized the economic plight in the USSR as a vicious cycle of lack of rights and poverty: "the lack of rights gives rise to poverty and poverty strengthens the lack of rights".

Bukovsky reminded the American labour leaders that the Final Act of the Helsinki Accords linked economic aid with human rights and that groups formed in Moscow, Kyiv, Lithuania and other places to monitor complaints with these documents were formed "because we knew that communists would not heed the Final Act". He criticised the lack of interest in rights denials in the USSR on the part of some western states attending the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Belgrade, and said that "it seems that the West signed the Helsinki Accord just for fun".

Bukovsky was introduced to some 500 people at the luncheon by AFL president Albert Shanker, who censured the "silence" of many

in the West on rights violations. He pledged that the American labour movement will continue to support the rights struggle behind the Iron Curtain: "We will continue to fight against those who think that the sale of coca cola is more important than human rights" he promised. "We will do what we can to change life in the USSR".

Lane Kirkfield, secretary-treasurer of the AFL-CIO, said that the American labour union is "waging an uphill battle to refute Soviet attempts to pacify the West by releasing several Soviet dissidents". He went on to say that the American union must "reject quiet diplomacy" in solving human rights violations in the Soviet Union. He urged that "more attention must be paid to this movement". He also quoted at length from a letter written by Dr. Andrei Sakharov to George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO. In one passage from the letter Dr. Sakharov called on Americans to work for the release of Petro Ruban, the Ukrainian woodcarver incarcerated for making a Bicentennial present for the United States.

"It should be a matter of honour for Americans to achieve the release of Ukrainian artist Petro Ruban, convicted for preparing a commemorative present — a wooden book with a model of the statue of Liberty — as a gift to the American people in honour of the 200th anniversary of their independence", wrote Dr. Sakharov.

Bayrd Rustin introduced victims of human rights repressions in South Africa, Poland, the Soviet Union, Cuba, Nepal, the Philippines and Vietnam. Calling the Soviet government a "totalitarian nightmare", he said that violations in the USSR are a "denial of dignity, a denial of the sacredness of the human personality", and said that "we will not rest if humanity is anywhere oppressed".

Also present at the luncheon was Mayor-elect Edward I. Koch, who who said that Bukovsky is "one of the great people of the world". He said that it is a disservice to Great Britain and Sweden to call the Soviet Union a Socialist country. He said that the difference between socialism in Great Britain or Sweden and communism in the USSR, is that in the former countries, a political system can be changed, while in the Soviet Union it cannot be changed.

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# THE UKRAINIAN REVIEW

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LESYA UKRAINKA  
(Larysa Kosach-Kvitka)  
\* 25. 2. 1871 — † 1. 8. 1913

Konstantyn SAWCZUK  
 Saint Peter's College, Department of History

## SOVIET-RUSSIAN STRATEGY IN CONTEMPORARY WAR

Military strategy is subordinated to grand, or over-all strategy. John M. Collins defines the latter as "the art and science of employing national power under all circumstances to exert desired degrees and types of control over the opposition through threats, force, indirect pressures, diplomacy, subterfuge, and other imaginative means, thereby satisfying national security interests and objectives".<sup>1</sup> Grand strategy is the domain of the government. Military strategy, on the other hand, is chiefly controlled by the military. E. M. Earle writes that "strategy deals with war, preparation for war, and the waging of war. Narrowly defined, it is the art of military command, of projecting and directing a campaign. It is different from tactics — which is the art of handling forces in battle — in much the same way that an orchestra is different from its individual instruments".<sup>2</sup> According to B. H. Liddell Hart, military strategy is "the art of distributing and applying military means to fulfill the ends of policy. For strategy is concerned not merely with the movement of forces — as its role is often defined — but with the effect".<sup>3</sup>

Is Soviet understanding of military strategy different from the West? One Soviet work asserts that "strategy is the highest area of military art. It consists of the question of using the armed forces as a whole or of using large groupings of different types of armed forces in the course of the war in theatres of military operations for achieving victory over the enemy, . . ."<sup>4</sup> In the same study, the dependency of military strategy on politics or policy is stressed.<sup>5</sup> The Soviets underline the class nature of military strategy as part of Marxism-Leninism. Hence they speak of bourgeois and Soviet military strategy.<sup>6</sup> The purpose of this short paper is to discuss the military strategy of the Soviet Union insofar as it deals with the conduct of a possible future war.

<sup>1</sup> John M. Collins, *Grand Strategy: Principles and Practices* (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1973), p. 14.

<sup>2</sup> Edward Meade Earle (ed.), *Makers of Modern Strategy: Military Thought from Machiavelli to Hitler* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971), p. viii.

<sup>3</sup> B. H. Liddell Hart, *Strategy* (rev. ed.; New York: Praeger 1954), p. 335.

<sup>4</sup> N. A. Lomov (ed.), *Scientific-Technical Progress and the Revolution in Military Affairs: (A Soviet View)* (Moscow: Voennoe Izdatel'stvo Ministerstva Oborony SSSR, 1973), p. 134.

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

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 134-35; see also V. D. Sokolovsky (ed.), *Voennaia Strategia* (3rd ed.; Moscow: Voennoe Izdatel'stvo Ministerstva Oborony SSSR, 1968), pp. 57-65.

Like the United States, the U.S.S.R. is a superpower, with global aspirations and interests. Its growing navy covers all oceans and its long-range air force and strategic missiles are able to reach even the most remote targets. Almost destroyed by German military power during World War II, the Soviet Union emerged, in the post-war years, as the leader of the 'world socialist system'. "Not a single objective individual", said Leonid Brezhnev at the 25th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, "can deny that the influence of socialism on countries in the course of world events grows stronger and deeper all the time".<sup>7</sup> Thinking less of "socialism" than of the U.S.S.R.'s imperial power, he continued: "Socialism already shows tremendous influence on the thoughts and feelings of hundreds of millions of people on earth... And tomorrow, new evidence of the limitless possibilities of socialism, its historical superiority over capitalism will, no doubt be given".<sup>8</sup> This global expansionist vision, requires, among other things, a global military strategy. Does Moscow have it? If so, what are its main features?

The Soviet-Russians see contemporary war as a global nuclear struggle of unprecedented violence. R. Y. Malinovsky, Marshal of the Soviet Union wrote that:

*'the next war, if the imperialists manage to unleash it, will be a decisive armed conflict between two opposing social systems; according to the character of the weapons employed, it will inevitably be a thermonuclear war, a war in which nuclear weapons will be the principal means of delivering weapons on target. This war will be characterised by an armed struggle of unprecedented ferocity, dynamic, highly mobile combat operations, the absence of continuous stable front lines or distinction between front and rear, greater opportunities for dealing surprise strikes of great strength against both troops and the deep rear of the belligerent countries'.<sup>9</sup>*

The authoritative Soviet work *Military Strategy*, edited by the Soviet Marshal, V. D. Sokolovsky speaks about the possible future war in terms of much larger territorial dimensions than any previous wars. Such a vast concept of military conflict is explained by the new weaponry with an almost limitless range of fire and the use of widely dispersed nuclear forces. It is further explained by the immense destructiveness of weapons; by the concentration of armed forces

7) L. I. Brezhnev, *Leninskim Kursom: Rechi i Stati* (Vol. 5; Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Politicheskoi Literatury, 1976), p. 453. The 25th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union took place from February 24 to March 5, 1976.

8) *Ibid.*, p. 458.

9) Quoted in *Soviet Army* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1971), p. 332.



over a huge area; and by the participation of the majority of the countries in the military blocs.<sup>10</sup> The authors of *Military Strategy* do not believe that the American military will succeed in localising nuclear war and will thus be unable to protect their homeland from a nuclear blow. In all probability, they assert, the military struggle will embrace all basic areas of the world, especially North America, Europe, Asia, the Atlantic and Pacific regions. All countries belonging to opposing camps and possessing significant political and military values will be subjected to nuclear attack.<sup>11</sup>

The Kremlin, it would appear, is thinking of a nuclear world war in which strategic weapons will play the principal role. Such a revolution in military doctrine makes the Second World War's battles of Moscow, Stalingrad and Kursk, in which huge ground forces decided the issue, appear as relics of a bygone age. What would be the role of the Soviet tank and of mechanised armies in such a war? Why should they maintain 45 tank, 115 motor rifle and 8 airborne divisions, 1,825,000 soldiers in all, in ground troops?<sup>12</sup> Apart from this, one also finds a tactical air force of about 4,600 planes and a navy 450,000 strong, including a naval air force of 50,000 personnel, plus a naval infantry of 12,000.<sup>13</sup> Are these forces to remain idle in a possible future war?

Chapter VI of *Military Strategy*, which is especially explicit in defining Soviet-Russian military intentions, assigns significant roles to ground troops, the air force and the navy. The massive assault would begin with nuclear strikes by Strategic Rocket Forces, long-range aircraft and missile-carrying submarines. The frontline ground troops, backed by the tactical air force and the navy in coastal regions, would then move in, to complete the destruction of the enemy.

Since the ground forces will co-ordinate their own operations with the strikes delivered by the Strategic Rocket Forces, they would, in effect, be performing *strategically*. This represents a departure in the role of ground forces as they were used in World War II and emphasises the fact that the Strategic Rocket Forces have become "the principal means of waging contemporary war".<sup>14</sup>

Next to the Strategic Rocket Forces, the Ground Forces still remain the most indispensable component of the Soviet arsenal. Stripped of their primacy in waging a contemporary war as a result of the

<sup>10</sup>) Sokolovsky, p. 335.

<sup>11</sup>) *Ibid.*

<sup>12</sup>) See International Institute of Strategic Studies, London, *The Military Balance 1977/1978* (Washington D.C.: Air Force Association, December 1977), p. 69.

<sup>13</sup>) *Ibid.*,

<sup>14</sup>) Sokolovsky, p. 340.

nuclear revolution, the land troops are, nevertheless, given formidable tasks by the Kremlin strategists.

*Military operations in land theatres in a future world war will also be of wide scope, in spite of the application of long-range nuclear weapons. Final destruction of adversary troops, seizure of his territory, the establishment of proper order and peaceful settlement of all questions after the war could be reached only as a result of operations of the land forces.*<sup>15</sup>

The Soviet ground troops are equipped, of course, with both conventional and nuclear weapons. They are primarily prepared for offensive operations, although defence (and even temporary retreat) received consideration from the Soviet-Russian High Command. Tanks, mechanised infantry and airborne troops will spearhead the offensive and will be backed by operational-tactical rocket forces and front-line air power. Both nuclear and conventional fire power will be applied.<sup>16</sup>

Taking into account the possibility of nuclear attack upon the U.S.S.R., the Soviet-Russians also rely on the National Air Defence Forces (PVO strany), one of the five services of the Soviet armed forces. Since the task of Air Defence is to protect the entire U.S.S.R. from nuclear strikes, it is argued that this service cannot be subordinated to the Ground Forces.<sup>17</sup> Discussing the National Air Defence Forces, Professor John Erickson observes that this branch "ranks third in the hierarchy of importance in the Soviet system — coming after the Strategic Missile Forces and Ground Forces; . . . The Air Defence system, operated by the PVO Strany is the most extensive (and the most expensive) in the world; the manpower involved is in the order of 500,000 . . ."<sup>18</sup>

The Soviet Navy is called upon to perform independent strategic operations in future warfare, in many instances far away from land battlefields, and therefore cannot be tied to the requirements of Ground Forces.<sup>19</sup> For the Soviet fleet this is a real departure from the past (WW11) when the navy was subordinated to the needs of land warfare. Soviet admirals have thus acquired a respectable status. A future global war is likely to enhance the importance of Soviet naval officers; the unprecedented rise of the Soviet Navy under the leadership of S. G. Gorshkov, whom Admiral E. R. Zumwalt, Jr.,

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., p. 351.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., pp. 352-59; see also Lomov, pp. 141-156. On the offensive question stressed by the Soviet Command see A. A. Sidorenko, *Nastupleniie* (Moscow: Voennoie Izdatel'stvo Ministerstva Oborony SSSR, 1970).

<sup>17</sup> Sokolovsky, pp. 340-41.

<sup>18</sup> John Erickson, *Soviet-Warsaw Pact Force Levels* (Washington D.C.: United States Strategic Institute, 1976), p. 43.

<sup>19</sup> Sokolovsky, p. 341.



calls "a 20th century Russian Mahan",<sup>20</sup> causes deep concern for the U.S. Navy. In his book *Sea Power of the State* Admiral Gorshkov wrote:

*...contemporary navy possesses universality, mobility; it is capable of concentrating its striking blows not only against a naval adversary, but also against other branches of the armed forces. Because of this, the scope of the armed struggle on the sea assumes global dimensions.*<sup>21</sup>

Gorshkov also pointed out that, strategically, "the growing capability of nuclear navies can achieve more decisive results in contemporary war". This is especially so when the naval power is directed against the military and economic potential of the opposing side.<sup>22</sup> On the other hand, the Sokolovsky volume, stressing the importance of naval operations in a future war, does not regard them as being decisive "for the outcome of the war".<sup>23</sup>

How does Soviet-Russian military strategy view the duration of the world nuclear war? Will it be long or short? Of course, it could be either. General V. V. Voznenko writes:

*A nuclear war can be comparatively short in time, since the chief political and strategic goals can be achieved as a result of the massed use of strategic nuclear means and active operations by all types of armed forces in the basic theatres of military operations. This thesis poses definite tasks for preparing not only the armed forces for the war, but also the nation, or coalition of nations as a whole, and particularly in terms of their economic preparation. At the same time, in examining various political, economic and strategic problems related to the preparations for war, it is also essential to consider those conditions which can lead to a relatively long and protracted war.*<sup>24</sup>

The Soviet-Russians envisage coalition warfare and their military strategy takes a keen interest in the development of military forces in NATO countries. The Warsaw Pact, dominated by the U.S.S.R. serves as a counter-force to NATO, but the Pact's military value to Moscow in the event of war is open to various interpretations.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>20</sup>) See S. G. Gorshkov, *Red Star Rising at Sea* (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1974), p. 138.

<sup>21</sup>) S. G. Gorshkev, *Morskaiia Moshch Gosudarstva* (Moscow: Voennoie Izdatel'stvo Ministerstva Oborony SSSR, 1976), pp. 362-63.

<sup>22</sup>) *Ibid.*, p. 363.

<sup>23</sup>) Sokolovsky, p. 362. The Authors of *Military Strategy* do not discuss the independent military operations of the Soviet Air Force.

<sup>24</sup>) Lomov, p. 137.

<sup>25</sup>) See Lawrence T. Caldwell, "The Warsaw Pact: Directions of Change", *Problems of Communism*, September-October 1975, pp. 1-19.

Considering the great destruction of nuclear war, is ultimate victory still feasible? Is it still rational to plan a nuclear war with acceptable prospects of winning it? John Garnett, A Western writer on strategy says that

*"Indeed, in the nuclear age, when modern technology threatens to turn any war into Armageddon, to concentrate on planning wars is little short of madness. Today there is no alternative to peace, and this being so, as Liddell Hart put it, 'old concepts and definitions of strategy have become not only obsolete but nonsensical with the development of nuclear weapons. To aim at winning a war, to take victory as your object, is no more than a state of lunacy'."*<sup>26</sup>

*Strategy*, John Baylis, Ken Booth, John Garnett and Phil Williams (London Croom Helm, 1975), p. 4.

Such an approach to planned strategy, or actual war, or both, makes little sense within the present structure of Soviet military thought. The Soviet military have stressed repeatedly the victory of the U.S.S.R. in a future global war. Citing again the most comprehensive and important treatise on Soviet-Russian military strategy:

*In its political and social nature a new world war will be a decisive armed collision between the two opposed world social systems. This war will naturally end in victory for the progressive communist social economic system over the reactionary capitalist social-economic system which is historically doomed to extinction."*<sup>27</sup>

To sum up, Soviet-Russian military strategy is geared to a general nuclear war in which strategic nuclear weapons will play a decisive role. This strategy does not exclude the use of both conventional and tactical nuclear weaponry. Soviet ground, air and naval forces will be required to accomplish many tasks. These will occur after, or simultaneously with, the strategic nuclear strikes against the enemy's strategic and other targets.

Professor Erickson points out that there

*... appears to be a definite emergence of a Soviet concept of theatre nuclear war as a separate form of engagement and operations, — that is, it is no longer solely a 'strategic' undertaking conceived as prolonging and completing the effects of nuclear strikes launched in the course of a 'nuclear missile war' (general war), and thus involving the forces of the Strategic Command (to which the Soviet MRBM/IRBM are subordinated: theatre operations have been, in a sense, decoupled from the wider issue of general war."*<sup>28</sup>

<sup>26</sup>) John Garnett, "Strategic Studies and Its Assumptions", *Contemporary*

<sup>27</sup>) Sokolovsky, p. 235. Italics in the original.

<sup>28</sup>) Erickson, p. 69.

All this may be true for the future, but the fact remains that Soviet-Russian military strategy, as it is conceived today, is to fight a general or a world nuclear war. The notion of limited war — nuclear or conventional — advanced by Western strategists, has no place in current Soviet-Russian military strategy. Also, the much discussed concepts in the United States and Europe, such as selective targeting, initial use of conventional weapons, followed by nuclear weapons, have little, if any relevance in the present context of Soviet military thinking.

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## **TOTAL DESTRUCTION OF UKRAINISATION**

**A chapter from the work "Russification of Ukraine" which is awaiting publication**

The period of ruin of Ukrainian peasantry and the destruction of Ukrainian intellectuals has to be considered as the prelude to the Russification of Ukraine. It was also the time when orthodox international communists (M. Skrypnyk, V. Chubar, V. Zatonsky) and other left-wing elements who adopted the communist doctrine during the Ukrainian National Revolution, like O. Shumsky, H. Hrynko, M. Khvylovy, P. Lubchenko, historian Matviy Yavorsky, Parayka and H. Kossak were destroyed. Likewise fighters for Ukrainian independence who witnessed the blow to the fight for national freedom, and began to believe in the Leninist slogans for national equality, joined the communist party to rebuild their national culture using the communist doctrine (M. Kulish, M. Yalovy and non-party cultural workers: Les Kurbas, Professor and poet Mayk Yohansen, Mykola Zerov, Vasyl Sedlar, Ivan Padalka and others).

In 1929 the Bolsheviks began to destroy the All Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, which was renamed the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences (USA) in 1930 signifying the separation of Western Ukrainian scholars. This action coincided with the arrest of scholars connected with the SVU (Society for the Freedom of Ukraine). The following academics were arrested: S. Yefremov, M. Slabchenko, A. Nikovsky, V. Hantsov; Professors O. Hermayze, V. Otamanivsky, V. Durdukivsky while tens of other academics and thousands of representatives of the Ukrainian intelligentsia were transported to the death camps of Siberia.

The period of cultural development in Ukraine provoked a pathological greed in Moscow to destroy everything that was Ukrainian. That was the start of a black era in the history of the Ukrainian nation.

After M. Skrypnyk, a communist of Ukrainian origin, V. Zatonsky was appointed Minister of Culture. He didn't halt the process of Russification in schooling and national culture, as was the case when Skrypnyk held office. Zatonsky saw the threat that was approaching from Moscow and obediently put into practice its directives, and together with P. Postyshev devastated the UAS and scientific research institutes. N. Polonska-Vasylenko, who was a researcher in the historical-philosophical department of the UAS writes about this period as follows ("Ukrainian Collection of Works", vol. 16):

*"The party and the Soviet government began to destroy the*

*Academy of Sciences in 1929. The years 1929-30 were marked for the liquidation of two departments — the Historical-Philosophical and the Social-Economic and for the dismissal and conviction of hundreds of my colleagues and the destruction of manuscripts, materials prepared during research expeditions and worthy of publication”.*

During Stalin's purges, the following academics were arrested and transported to death camps: P. Supurenko, Ye. Opokiv, H. Vobly, P. Kravchuk, M. Svitalsky, M. Yavorsky, S. Rudnytsky (who came from Western Ukraine in 1929), Semkovsky, Yurynets, Mirza-Avakyants, O. Zaluzhny, Harbuz, I. Sokolyansky, Nikolayev, Yanata and many others. Moscow paid special attention to academic M. Hrushevsky, who was transported to Moscow in 1937 and was killed by NKVD agents in 1934 in Kyslovodsk.

Moscow committed a terrible crime in Ukraine and one cannot silence the fact that it was brought about with the help of Ukrainian communists. V. I. Hryshko writes about this dark episode in the history of the Ukrainian nation in the booklet “Moscow Doesn't Believe in Tears”:

*“Ukrainian communism, which bears the historic guilt for directing the battered forces of the Ukrainian Revolution of 1918-21 into a channel of “international” communism under the control of Moscow, showed itself to be the main hero of the 1943 tragedy, in which the whole of the Ukrainian nation fell victim to a catastrophe . . .”.*

Moscow wasn't satisfied with the ruin of the peasantry and leading workers in the field of education and culture in Ukraine. In December 1934, following a decision made by the Supreme Visiting Assizes of the Military Board of the USSR, twenty eight writers were released to be shot, the best known and talented of whom were: D. Falkivsky, H. Kosynka, O. Vlyzko, K. Bureviy, Ivan and Taras Krushelnytsky.

Evidently, even that wasn't enough for Moscow. During the times of the terror up to the Second World War, the following promoters of Ukrainian culture were driven to despair by tortures and committed suicide in NKVD prisons: D. Borzyak, H. Holoskevych, A. Kazka, V. Okhrimenko, Lyndvyk and Vira Sidletska, Borys Teneta and Ivan Mykytenko.

Before the War sixteen cultural workers were shot by the NKVD among whom were the literary scholar M. Plevako, author-novelist Serhiy Pylypenko, and during the war Lyudmyla Chernyakhivska-Starytska and actor M. Donets.

Altogether one hundred and twenty-six writers, artists and scientists were shot and sentenced to labour camps. Of these, the following were shot while serving their sentences: stage director Les Kurbas, dramatist Mykola Kulish, artist Ivan Padalka and prose writer Hordiy Kotsyuba.

Among those sentenced, the most popular in Ukraine were:

descriptive artists: Vasyl Sedyar, Mykhaylo Boychuk, Ivan Vorna; literary scholars: Petro Kolesnyk, Ananiy Lebid, Yuriy Savchenko, Feliks Yakubovsky, Hryhoriy Mayfet, Ivan Kapustynsky, Mykhaylo Novytsky; poets and literary scholars: Mykola Zerov, Pavlo Fylypovych, Yakiv Savchenko; linguists: Ovsii Izyumiv, Oleksa Synyavsky, Viktor Dubrovsky; poets: Mykola Vorony, Dmytro Zahul, Ivan Kulyk, Lyutsiyana Uiontek, Oleksa Slisarenko, Mykola Filyansky, Volodymyr Yaroshenko, Ivan Shevchenko, Vasyl Bobynsky; humourists: Ostap Vyshnya, Yuriy Vukhnal, Yukhym Gedz; prose writers: Oles Dosvitny, Hryhoriy Epik, Antin Krushelnysky, Valeriyan Pidmohylny, Dmytro Hordiyenko, Hryhoriy Kovalenko, Zinaida Tulub, Mykola Lyubchenko, Lev Skrypnyk; poet and prose writer Andriy Paniv; bandurist and prose writer Hnat Khotkevych.

During the Second World War the Moscow-Bolshevik government sent Ostap Vyshnya home from his place of exile and forced him to "laugh through his tears" — to arouse patriotic feelings in Ukrainians fighting against the Hitlerite hordes. Only after the war and Stalin's death, when the Ukrainian nation lost its courageous leaders, when the Ukrainian nation was totally crushed in the bear-hug of Moscow's Russification, when Moscow's ugly face had claimed the most important top posts in Ukraine for itself, only then did Moscow "take pity" on the promoters of Ukrainian culture who weren't "quite finished" in the northern torture chambers and allow them to return to Ukraine. Among them were B. Antonenko-Davydovych, Volodymyr Gzhytsky, H. Vobly, Zinaida Tulub, Yevhen Shabliovsky and others.

On the basis of personal observations and experiences, let us reconstruct the depressing scene of the beginning of the Moscow-Stalinist terror which closely illuminates Russia's Russification politics. In May 1936 a secret circular issued from Moscow directed as follows:

*Within 24 hours "unreliable elements" of national minorities are to be transported from the borderlands.\**

Within 24 hours a terrible disaster befell thousands of Germans, Poles, Roumanians and Czechs who lived in separate colonies on Ukrainian land bordering the countries of the West. The majority of these "natsmen" were taken to Kazakhstan. Lessons in German, Polish, Czech, Roumanian and even Jewish national schools in rural areas were to be given in Ukrainian, but in towns, Russian was to be used.

This circular took into account the southern regions which were colonised by Germans, Greeks and Bulgarians.

The Kyiv Polish educational institute, and Jewish and German institutes of education in Kyiv were dissolved. In Odessa the Jewish

\*) The author of this extract was later imprisoned in Zhytomyr prison in cell no. 96 (inhabited by those who had been sentenced), together with Artsyukh who used to be in charge of the provincial VNO, who talked about the secret circular.

educational institute was closed and German and Greek departments in the institute of agriculture were closed. In this way the cultural autonomy of national minorities, which was declared by the Ukrainian Central Council in 1917 and which automatically existed up until 1936, was liquidated by centralised Moscow by the implementation of her "international" policies.

But Moscow didn't stop at this and decided to liquidate communists of Ukrainian origin. Zatonsky couldn't hold onto his post as People's Commissar of Education and he was arrested in 1939. He committed suicide in a NKVD cell. It was as if fate had taken her revenge for the betrayal of her nation. Vlas Chubar was transferred to a post in Moscow as one of the deputies of the RNK USSR, and before long he was shot. Panas Lyubchenko, head of the RNK USSR, Chubar's successor, committed suicide with his wife in their apartment after the Plenum of the Central Committee of the CP(b)U (Communist Bolshevik) (Party of Ukraine) in 1937, which was chaired by L. Kakhanovych and which accused P. Lyubchenko of Ukrainian nationalism. V. Balytsky, People's Commissar of the NKVD USSR, while escaping to Roumania from the destructive hand of Moscow in the spring of 1938, plunged through the melting ice of the river Dnister and drowned together with his chauffeur.

In March 1938, Moscow sent a deputy into Ukraine — M. Khrushchev, who at the conference of the Kyiv Provincial Party Organisation declared:

*"... bourgeois nationalists, agents of our enemies... mercenaries, traitors, ... the Yakirs, Balytskys, Lyubchenkos, Zatonskys and other rabble, wanted to make Ukrainian workers and peasants into slaves of fascism".*

Under these circumstances, there was no longer any question of "Ukrainianisation". On the contrary, Russification began to set in, starting in the cities, in institutes of higher education and secondary schools and later, in district centres of the town type.

At the 14th Party Congress of Ukraine, the Russification of schools was openly discussed. In June 1938, the 14th Party Congress passed resolutions in which "... the necessity of liquidating the consequences of sabotage on the part of the enemy in the lecturing of the Russian language in incomplete and complete secondary schools and in institutes is most particularly urged. Bourgeois nationalists, Trotskyists and others resorted to abominations and baseness to expel the great Russian language from our institutes".

In September 1939, on reaching an agreement with Hitler on the question of "spheres of influence", Moscow attacked a weak Poland and "reunited" Ukrainian and Byelorussian lands (which were given back to Poland by Moscow in 1920) within the Muscovite-Soviet prison of nations.

In 1940, Soviet forces marched into Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia which Moscow proclaimed to be "Soviet Republics" and annexed Bukovina, Bessarabia and the land near the Black Sea above the river Dunay from Roumania.

According to Moscow's plans, the main object was always to break up ethnographic Ukrainian lands and join them to the Russian mainland. An example is the annexation of Kuban and the southern districts of Voronizhch and Kurshch to Russia. By these actions Moscow forced the Russification of hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians. The same occurred with the "liberation" of Polyssya in 1939. Moscow joined the lands which had always been Ukrainian and inhabited by Ukrainians, to Byelorussia in order to rid the Ukrainian population of its maternal roots and so facilitate its Russification. Byelorussian language lessons were introduced into the schools of those Ukrainian districts. The Ukrainian population protested against the Byelorussianisation of its maternal culture. Byelorussia herself did not aim to do this, even if the only reason was that there weren't enough teachers for the Byelorussian schools. Moscow easily "solved" this problem: no Byelorussian teachers — Russian ones were sent from Russia, as Ukrainian children couldn't possibly be taught Ukrainian in Byelorussia.

The results of these barbaric methods of Russification and terrorisation were sharply felt by Moscow during the German-Soviet war. It's true that no good came of that war, particularly for the Ukrainian nation, which greeted each piece of news of the war with hope of liberation, expecting during the course of the war to repay brutal Russian imperialism for all its cruelties. The nation believed that the Germans went to war with the USSR on ideological grounds and that they wouldn't attempt to infringe upon the national and political rights of the Ukrainian nation. Living behind the Iron Curtain in the USSR, the Ukrainian nation wasn't acquainted with Nazi politics and believed in the spirit of European culture.

During her pre-war rule, Moscow tore out of the living organism of Ukraine her leading elite, the intelligentsia, beheaded the nation by hunger and executions and during the war, used every inhuman method to devastate her people. Moscow grasped and destroyed technically equipped industrial projects, educational institutes, theatrical artists and most of all, writers — whose numbers had already been reduced by arrests, who had served Moscow in some way and whom Moscow feared to leave in Ukraine. In those cases where the authorities weren't able to transport all the Ukrainian intelligentsia, Moscow agents arrested and murdered them in the vaults of the NKVD. In Lviv, Ternopil and Vinnytsia, tens of thousands of corpses were left in evidence and in Kharkiv, innocent victims were simply burnt together with the prison. Professor M. Mishchenko testifies to this in his work "The Serving of a Solitary Principle". In it he writes:



*"As far the educated and those with different opinions were concerned, it was perhaps all the same to them whether they were burnt on the fire of Aristotle's philosophy or that of Stalin. It is well known that in 1941 in Kharkiv and Kupyansk, nearly five thousand of the Ukrainian intelligentsia (scholars, engineers, educationalists) were burned. Among them was the Professor of Anatomy of the Kharkiv Veterinary Institute. One of these fires consisted of five and half buildings — the NKVD prison which was crammed with the sacrifices of that institution".*

The producer Ivan Yuchymenko was burnt in that horrific fire. God alone knows how many more were sacrificed.

Arkadiy Lyubchenko described the flight of the Muscovite murderers from Kyiv in his diary. He writes thus about July 1st, 1941:

*"The bus arrived and departed, transporting "voluntary fugitives" to the yard. Even at night the "most noble" were taken to the station (Tychyna, Panch, Rytsky, Rybak, Hofshetyn, Hordova with her servant Horodsky) . . . I see a bus in the drive which is being loaded with suitcases and bundles. I glanced at the marches (de lift) and there was Kopylenko hugging a huge bundle . . . He asks: "Haven't you been transported yet?" "No, why?". "Well then you'll go with the next party in about an hour and a half". "Good, good . . ." Oh, the poor wretch, he didn't even suspect that I am in no hurry at all. On the contrary, I am considering how I can stay in Kyiv for as long as possible . . . Suddenly Bazhan appears in army uniform. He and Korniychuk are leading the operation".*

This short extract from the author's diary has great perceptive value. The Moscow clique used every kind of method to root out the Ukrainian intelligentsia, fearing lest a part of it remained to rekindle the idea of Ukrainian independence. This shows that Moscow's communist clique, even though it had a world-wide intelligence service, didn't know that Hitler attacked the USSR not on ideological grounds but purely on economical-colonial ones. Moscow allowed the idea to circulate that Hitler agreed to a renewal of an independent Ukrainian nation to prevent any action, Moscow transported out the intelligentsia and ruined civilian objects like buildings of cultural and religious value as the Kyiv-Pecherswka Lavra, an old building bequeathed by the Suzdal Duke Andriy Boholubsky who ruined Kyiv in 1169.

The state of Ukrainian education and culture during the Second World War is thus described in the so-called "Studies of the History of the CPSU":

*"In the central regions of the USSR there were more than thirty Ukrainian institutes of higher education which served thousands of students (of which nationality? S. F.) Seventeen were united with other institutes on a faculty basis".*

There is no doubt that institutes like this which were transported beyond the Urals by the regime were in operation. But, being aware of that, the fact that Ukrainian youth and even scholars were mobilised to the front, it becomes clear to all that the institutes which were transported out of Ukraine served the Russians and had nothing in common with Ukrainian national education. In reality, documentations of the institutes and of some educational equipment, but more specifically only the names of the institutes were transported out of Ukraine.

This was the situation with the UAS which was transported to Ufa. It's true that the communist-Moscow regime which was frightened by the military successes of the Hitlerites, went for minimal compromises on grounds of propaganda and allowed the so-called government of the USSR to worry about education. The government in 1942 set out proposals before the USSR Academy of Sciences that they renew the work on the regulation and improvement of orthography".

A committee was formed and chaired by the academic L. A. Buchalovsky with M. Bazhan, P. Tychyna and Yu. Yanovsky as members. However the committee didn't make any significant alterations to orthography which existed from the times of Zatonsky — the People's Commissar of Culture. For example orthography was still left without the letter "g" so that the norm of the continuing similarity of the Ukrainian to the Russian language was not interfered with.

At the same time Moscow harnessed Ukrainian writers to write patriotic eulogies. Then, as we know, Ostap Vyshnya was sent back from exile and included in the cohort of "the engineers of the human soul". V. Sosiura published two collections of poems in Bashkir which were of a propagandistic nature. But even so, Sosiura's love of the Ukrainian spirit, of the nation — the natural master of Ukraine — shone through in these poems. In the poem "The Heart" Sosiura leaves the reader the right to conjecture about his secret dreams:

*"Will you, my beloved ones, guess  
Which is the Ukraine that I love?"*

Beyond the Urals, both Ukrainian education and the creative intelligentsia were going through hard times because they were discriminated against in favour of the Russians. Arkadiy Lyubchenko wrote in his diary an account about the research student Kh. who returned to Kyiv in 1942 by unknown means:

*"Yes — Ufa. He was at Tychyna's. Tychyna lived in a small ante-room with two beds for himself and Lida, whose mother slept on the floor. They promised him a warmer room but some actor put in a claim for it and a determined fight for it took place. T. gave up the fight and lost his own place. Tychyna said that he was preparing to write his memoirs. He installed Panch, Kopylenko, Yanovsky, Rybak and Hofshhteyn at the academy in Bashkir..."*

We can see from this extract that “Big Brother” wasn’t bothered and didn’t even create minimal living conditions for the higher intelligentsia and only made use of it for its own imperialistic interests in the field of propaganda. Many died in those appalling conditions. The life and death of academician Ahatanhel Krymsky may serve as an example. He died of starvation and hypothermia on the 25 January, 1942 in Kazakhstan where he was brought (against his will) from Kyiv.

During the Second World War, Moscow temporarily tolerated the UAS in Ufa and in 1942 ordered a Ukrainian student to write “Outlines of Ukrainian History” which was for some reason published in Canada in 1943 by Ukrainian “progressionists”. Strictly speaking there is no real history of Ukraine in it, only condensed eulogies to the glory of Moscow. Apart from this, no end of praises for the victors of “October” but not even a mention of the revolution’s leaders who were murdered on Stalin’s orders but rehabilitated after his death. All this happened and is still occurring according to Moscow’s plan.

The author of “Outlines” writes thus about the period of the revolution:

*“In these critical times H. Pyatakov and V. Zatonsky — traitors of the socialist Revolution, who were later exposed as enemies of the nation, became members of the Central Council as well as already serving as members on the Kyiv Bolshevik Committee. The Central Council criticised the October Revolution on learning of the events occurring in St. Petersburg”.*

In fact the Bolshevik CC were aware that Pyatakov and Zatonsky were in the Central Council because the Bolsheviks planned on taking control to use it as a base from which to seize control of the whole of Ukraine. When this failed, they went to Kharkiv and created a Soviet government there.

After the revolution, the Russians tolerated the so-called National Republics for a while. But during the war, as at the present time, they openly abused the rights of the Captive Nations and used the USSR as a shield for their real conception of a single united Russia. This concept is used where they do not expect any critical resistance. There has never been a case in the history of the existence of the USSR where one of the Soviet leaders openly protested before the Western press who use the historic name meaning the USSR and writing Russia. That really is no wonder because Soviet diplomats were “international” and served the whole of the Soviet Union but at the present time are mainly Russian. What then are the so-called “National Republics” who were included in the Soviet Union of their own free will?

Milovan Djilas, a former leading Yugoslav communist, amazingly confirms this situation in the book "Conversations With Stalin". He writes:

*"During our conversation Stalin asked what our impressions were of the Soviet Union and I answered: 'We are enthusiasts', to which he added: 'I think we do things better in Russia'. This impressed on my mind that Stalin used the term Russia and not the Soviet Union, which means that not only did he propagate Russian nationalism, but identified himself with it".*

Elsewhere Milovan Djilas writes that while on a visit to Kyiv after the Germans had been expelled, he conversed with Khrushchev. The impression he got was that the Soviet Union was not formed of Republics being included of their own free will as is widely propagated in the press and written in the Constitution but that it is an off-shoot of the Moscow empire with forced colonisation of the nations made captive by Russia.

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Wolodymyr T. ZYLA

## A PROPHETESS FATED TO BE DISBELIEVED: "CASSANDRA" BY LESYA UKRAINKA\*

In the early 1900's, Lesya Ukrainka turned her attention from poetry to drama.<sup>1</sup> This change was not entirely sudden or unexpected because her lyric poetry was always deeply permeated with dramatic elements. The transition was noticed by Ivan Franko as early as 1898. He wrote: "Her poetic inclination is lyric, but not too narrowly subjective; she is successful in writing epic and dramatic works, but only when these works express an extremely strong lyrical strain".<sup>2</sup> Lesya Ukrainka slowly established herself as a dramatic poetess and, in this capacity, she turned her attention to the most difficult form of drama, the dramatic poem. This literary genre was widely known at that time in Europe and among the Russian dramatists. The poetess was, without doubt, well acquainted with similar works of Lord Byron, Gotthold Lessing, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, and Henrik Ibsen. In Russian literature she had as examples works by A. Pushkin and A. Majkov. Her husband, Klyment Kvitka, recalled that Lesya liked the dramatic poem *Brand* (1866) by Ibsen<sup>3</sup> very much. She was delighted by Georg Brandes' articles which championed Ibsen and the serious drama of ideas for which he stood.<sup>4</sup>

Lesya Ukrainka's dramatic poems are very original in their structure. They involve an intense dramatic confrontation between hostile forces which represent opposite aspirations. The poetess dramatizes her feelings and thoughts and portrays pictures of the distant past from the histories of various lands and nations. She does not hesitate to make use of themes from antiquity, or from the period of early Christianity.

Her first dramatic poems were comparatively short. In them Lesya took a significant step forward in the development of the dramatic poem. She also perfected the rhythmic structure of her verse. Beginning with the dramatic work *Oderzhyma* (The Possessed One, 1901),

\*) This article is a tribute to Lesya Ukrainka on the 100th anniversary of her birth (25 February 1871). Lesya Ukrainka left a treasury of poetic and dramatic works which established her as one of the most original writers in Europe. Although she died before she had reached her forty-third birthday, Lesya is revered for her spirit and for her courage. These qualities helped her to emerge from the depths of physical suffering without falling into despair.

1) Constantine Bida and Vera Rich: *Lesya Ukrainka* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968), p. 43.

2) Ivan Franko: *Iteraturno-krytychni statki* (Kyiv: Derzhlitvydav, 1950), p. 239.

3) Lesya Ukrainka: *Tvory*, ed. B. Jakugs'kyj (New York: G. Tyshchenko, A. Bilous Publishing Co., 1954), VII, p. 283.

4) Through Brandes' efforts Ibsen's plays were accepted everywhere as sincere and highly moral criticisms of society.

as literary critic M. Boženko has pointed out, Lesya began using in her dramatic works the unrhymed iambic pentameter. In her hands this verse gains music and flexibility and produces the effect of a free conversation. If there is a need to strengthen certain words, than she moves the stress to the last syllable.<sup>5</sup>

Starting with 1897 the poetess became deeply involved in such long dramatic works as *Cassandra* (1903-1907),<sup>6</sup> *U pušhchi* (In the Wilderness, 1897-1909), *Boyaryna* (The Noblewoman, 1910), *Advokat Martiyan* (The Advocate Martianus, 1911), *Orhiya* (The Orgy, 1913), etc.<sup>7</sup> In those poetic dramas one finds a wide scope of problems and a large number of *dramatis personae*; also, in them, the author shows deep psychological involvement of individual heroes and heroines. The first completed dramatic poem of large size was *Cassandra*.

The plot of this dramatic work comes from the ancient legends about Cassandra which started in antiquity and were gradually supplemented by various authors who tried to move Cassandra from a secondary position to a central and more prominent place. A Ukrainian literary critic, Oleksander Bilec'kyj, states that "before Lesya there was no ready material for this dramatic work".<sup>8</sup> She herself developed this old theme by supplementing allusions of ancient sources. About these sources, Bilec'kyj writes: "Homer, partly Aeschylus and Euripides, partly Vergil, Schiller — these are the authors in whose works Lesya could find some superficial or more or less ascertained image of her heroine".<sup>9</sup> From the later dramatists with whom Lesya was familiar one may add Shakespeare, in whose *Troilus and Cressida* Cassandra appears twice. The poetess could have also been influenced by the tragedy *Kassandra* written by Friedrich Gessler in 1877, or by *Agamemnon* written by Gustav Kastropp in 1890, or by the *Kassandra* of Hans Pischinger, which appeared in 1903. There is a possibility that she was influenced by historical works and also by accounts of Trojan excavations (e.g., Karl Schuchhardt's work *Schliemanns Ausgrabungen in Troia*, published in Leipzig in 1891).

Lesya Ukrainka's *Cassandra* is destined, from her very first appearance on the stage, to speak the heartless truth, not only to the people around her but also to her own family and relatives. Her tragedy lies in the fact that she can foresee misfortune but is unable to avert it. This calamity deprives Cassandra of her personal happiness, and her prophetic powers cause others to curse her. She is passive in facing the misfortune; she is disbelieved and disdained by her close relatives.

5) M. Boženko: "Dramatyčni poem y Lesi Ukrainky", *Ukrayins'ka mova i literatura v školi*, 9, (1966), p. 12.

6) *Lesya Ukrainka*, pp. 181-239. Translation by Vera Rich.

7) *Lesya Ukrainka*, pp. 143-180. Translation by Vera Rich.

8) O. Bilec'kyj: "Trahedija pravdy" *Lesya Ukrainka, Tvory*, IV, p. 127.

9) O. Bilec'kyj: p. 127. See also Juliette Davreux *La légende de la Prophétesse Cassandre* (Liège: Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres, 1942), pp. 3-48.

Even at the first appearance of Cassandra, one notices a peculiar expression of her face; she is thoughtful and looks as though she wanted to penetrate Helen with her eyes. She sees further and more than the others. Her knowledge is entirely based on what she sees. Even when Paris left for Greece, Cassandra foresaw the inescapable disaster which was destined for her country. At that time she called upon the Trojans to be prepared to face the disaster:

"Ah, Trojan manhood, forge strong helmets now!

Threefold and fourfold lay the gleaming bronze!"<sup>10</sup>

When Paris arrived with Helen in Troy, Cassandra foresaw at sea the black ships which carried Achaean soldiers. As the play opens she sees that after the destruction of Troy, Menelaus, the King of Sparta, will take Helen by the hand to Greece. She portrays the ruin of her people and predicts an easy and pleasant life for Helen:

The fires are dead on the remains of Troy,

The smoke from Ilium vanished in the heavens . . .

And you [Helen] sit on your throne, a mighty queen (p. 186)

For Helen, Cassandra is "demented" and whatever she says is "a lie!"

Thus, during this first scene, the reader already recognizes the dilemma of heartless truth and dreamy tale. Cassandra's spiritual vigour is also manifested in her contest with gods who will penalize her for the candid truth, as they punished Prometheus who knew that tortures awaited him, but nevertheless gave "life and fire . . . to humanity". Lesya Ukrainka's Cassandra is "one of the spiritual daughters of Prometheus and therefore is always ready to give preference to the wordly contest over personal happiness and quiet dreams".<sup>11</sup>

In the next scene Cassandra discloses the prophetic power of her eyes, which became disastrous for her because they destroyed her own love; Dolon could not hold out against them and could not turn their gaze "from mysteries to living happiness" (p. 188). Pelyxena, Cassandra's sister, cannot withstand the power of her eyes, and she states openly: "Cassandra, I am frightened of your eyes" (p. 189). She assumes that Cassandra is ill and that Apollo has befogged her thoughts so that she can see only evil, even where there is not a sign of it. Polyxena believes that Cassandra wants to poison joy both for her and for others. In the meantime Cassandra prophesies that Polyxena will not become the wife of Achilles; she also says that her sister-in-law, Andromache, will lose her husband, Hector. Polyxena and Andromache are deeply troubled about this prophecy. Andromache says in excitement: "gods omnipotent, avert her words" (p. 191), so that she will not be able to harass her family with the appearance of misfortune and with her prophecies. At this point Cassandra partly discloses the secret of her prophecies; she does not

<sup>10</sup>) *Lesya Ukrainka*, p. 184. Other reference to this work are indicated by page number cited parenthetically in the text.

<sup>11</sup>) *Bilec'kyj*, p. 126.

know the cause of the misfortune; she only sees it and feels it, but she cannot explain from whence it came and cannot indicate the means of preventing it. As a result, her prophecies create panic and loss of confidence in herself; they undermine her authority and ruin her personal happiness and worldly joy. Distraught with grief, Cassandra speaks as if in a trance:

It was not fear, nor shame, nor sword, but I

Who with the truth I spoke destroyed my brother! (p. 194)

Cassandra is driven to despair, her physical forces begin to decrease, and she, for the first time, starts to tremble before the danger of her frank truth. She wants her own words to become untruthful, for her truth has turned into a disaster which has just killed her brother, Hector. But confronting her is implacable Moira, the goddess of fate, whose decisions Cassandra cannot reverse. And again disaster is created by the prophetic power of her eyes:

I cannot tell you, I can tell you nothing,

I shall not prophesy . . . I only see!

Go blind, you doom-foretelling eyes! (p. 194)

Cassandra herself becomes annoyed by the truth, and she disavows before Andromache her ill-omened words. But it is too late, she cannot change the truth nor turn it back.

Together with the tragedy of Cassandra's relatives grows the tragedy of Cassandra herself; she sees the inescapable death of her former fiancé, Dolon, and cannot stop him before his decision to go on reconnaissance into the enemy's camp. Here Cassandra is not trying to hide her face in her hands or to look for protection; she speaks simply:

But what do you

Want with my prophecies? Cassandra is

A byword throughout Troy. Who will believe her?

No one at all! (p. 197)

As she sees him being murdered, Cassandra also takes the responsibility for Dolon's death. Here her inner tragedy grows, and her weakness to resist fate becomes inexorable. Her prophetic powers consistently ruin Cassandra despite the fact that her prophecies become fulfilled. She would prefer to escape her power even if such escape was only temporary and founded upon untruth. Cassandra, however, is not empowered to resist disaster and the overpowering oppression of her unwanted knowledge. Cassandra's tragedy is, in a very real sense, the fulfillment of the tragedy of Lesya Ukrainka, who founded this work "on her personal feelings and experience".<sup>12</sup>

Cassandra must follow the way of great Iphigenia,

. . . who gladly paid her maiden life

To win her people glory. (p. 205)

She has the opportunity to marry Onomaus, the King of Lydia, who had promised to help the Trojans in their war against the Achaeans.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., p. 127.



She resists this plan, however, because she believes it  
would be threefold betrayal,  
of self, of truth and of the Lydians. (p. 206)

Deiphobus, her eldest brother, is unable to convince Cassandra to marry. Cassandra strongly believes that it will be impossible for her to be unfaithful to truth which "is older than elders" (p. 206). With her prophetic eyes Cassandra sees the complete destruction of the Lydians and therefore does not want to send "forth a whole army to its ruin" (p. 206). Nevertheless, under the pressure of her father and of her relatives, she agrees to be married to Onomaus. But her agreement is not sincere; it is planned only to stop the animosities among the relatives. Yet when Helenus, another of Cassandra's brothers, states that "he saw from the birds a lucky sign for victory and marriage" (p. 213), Cassandra decided to correct him immediately by saying that "he is lying" (p. 213). This creates a new wave of dissatisfaction in the family. Andromache discloses these feelings:

All the same, Cassandra,  
Of your truth we have had enough and more,  
Evil-presaging, evil-bringing, let us  
Live now in hope, even if it is false.  
Oh, I am weary with your king of truth! (p. 213)

In the meantime Cassandra begins to doubt the truthfulness of her prophecies and loses belief in herself. This loss of confidence seems to Cassandra to be the gods' punishment, for now, only the others, but also "Cassandra too mistrusts Cassandra" (p. 213). She begins now to question the truth of whatever she sees. At this point Lesya Ukrainka tries for the second time to use Cassandra's loss of faith as proof that the prophetess is entirely human; she can be firm in her convictions or she have some doubts. At this point one notices Cassandra's physical, emotional, and psychological weaknesses, despite the fact that her prophecies are fulfilled.

The conversation between Cassandra and Helenus is of special importance because it represents the confrontation of "naked" truth with illusions and falsehood. Cassandra firmly defends the "truthfulness" of truth, whereas Helenus, who has "Phrygian understanding", often uses falsehood which is necessary for achieving purposes. This dramatic contrast became very successful in the poem, for Helenus himself is a prophet, a diplomat, and the mouthpiece of pragmatic convictions. He considers that no truth gives birth to speech, but that speech gives birth to truth. Therefore Cassandra becomes responsible for the majority of the disasters. But Helenus is not trying to reproach Cassandra, for according to him she is innocent:

Cassandra,  
You are not guilty of your nature. Surely  
The gods are guilty here who granted you  
To know the truth, but did not add the power  
For you to guide the truth . . . (p. 216)

And that is the reason why Cassandra very often stands powerless before the vision of doom. At first glance, it seems that Helenus is right. Deeper analysis, however, reveals that in this world there is room for

Struggle and hope and victory and truth

And also . . . untruth. (p. 216)

If this proposition is true, there must be room for Cassandra, who embodies some part of the confrontation between truth and untruth. The news of the destruction of Onomaus and of the Lydians brings victory to Cassandra, but she does not rejoice. She believes that this is only another act of Moira and that she is but her tool.

The disappearance of the Achaeans and the presence of the wooden horse at the walls of Troy bring the dramatic action to a conclusion. Cassandra appears at the door of the temple with a black staff in her hand and prophesies the complete destruction of Troy:

I can know nothing, I can only see

The bloodstained form of a hyena, hear

The piercing and rapacious voice . . .

(in a sudden ecstasy)

Alas!

Hyenas roam on the ruins of Troy,

Licking the blood that is still living, warm . . .

Sniffing the corpses not yet stiff in death,

Howling with joy . . . (p. 225)

At this time the crowd of confused people turns against Cassandra. Voices from the crowd call: "Away, chase her away!" "Kill the woman!" Cassandra is deeply affected and perplexed. Amid such circumstances she must decide the fate of a captured Greek, Sinon, whom she at first sentences to "an honourable death in Troy" (p. 224). Shortly afterwards when Cassandra receives a sword to kill Simon, she becomes perturbed and tense and begins to believe that "maybe truly the stranger's innocent" (p. 227). She succumbs to the mounting pressures when recalling the Lydians, who wished to save Troy, but perished without accomplishing their task. The sword falls from her hands without touching Sinon, and Cassandra sways and falls into Helenus' arms in a swoon. Her physical weakness caused by the recollection from the past intensifies her spiritual conflict, while the enemy (Sinon) remains alive because "the gods are not desirous of [his] . . . death" (p. 228). The words:

My hand has failed, my heart is dry and sere,

Darkness, all darkness . . . (p. 228)

portray Cassandra's tragedy and reflect her spiritual condition; more important, these words indicate once more her feebleness in the face of misfortune.

On the last night before the destruction of Troy, Cassandra remains in a temple from which she calls upon the guards to "keep good watch!" "Do not sleep, watchmen" (p. 236), but all these cries are futile.

The destruction of Troy is inevitable. Cassandra is aware of this terrible disaster and curses herself that she did not know how to remain silent. Now her prophetic powers will be extinguished with the fires of Troy. Cassandra laughs in despair. Her laughter seems even more terrible because she had never laughed in her life. Her last words are ironic:

Cassandra never told the truth at all!

There is no ruin! It is life! All life! (p. 239)

These words are bitter and scoffing, for Cassandra had previously spoken only truth. Her truth, however, was ruinous for the Trojans, for she could not convert her will into action and stop the tragic events. Thus ill events and misfortune were falling upon her family and her country, and she remained merely a witness and a victim of these events.

Lesya Ukrainka's *Cassandra* is an excellent example of a fine portrayal of the ancient world. To the old traditional theme she brought new events which she created herself by developing unpretentious allusions to the sources that were available to her. The images of Cassandra and other *dramatis personae* are strongly modernized, but their ancient features are well preserved. This is one more indication of the great artistic objectivity of the poetess and of her understanding of the past events which she recreated in her dramatic poem.

The poem centres around two themes: the tragedy of Cassandra and the philosophical revelation of truth and the power of the word. These two themes are deeply interconnected, because Cassandra speaks only truth. Her personal tragedy as a woman and a Trojan is caused by her understanding of truth. The source of her misfortune, as Bilećkyj has already pointed out, stems from the fact that "she endures... tragedy like a far-sighted philosopher, the tragedy... [results because of the] truth that never will fail".<sup>13</sup> She has deep Promethean features, because she is motivated by higher principles of truth for which she is destined to suffer. Her passivity indicates her human characteristics; she is feminine, she lacks physical endurance, and, most important, she is indecisive when she clearly needs to act in order to avert misfortune. Lesya Ukrainka's *Cassandra* believes in fate, and this belief is embodied in the dark and implacable goddess who governs the world.

Cassandra's Moira is diametrically opposite to Helenus' Moira. According to Helenus:

... Moira has decreed

That there should be the world and sea and steersman,  
And ship and storm and time of quiet weather,  
And cliffs and heaven, so that there should be  
Struggle and hope and victory and truth  
And also... untruth. (p. 216)

<sup>13</sup>) Ibid., p. 137.

Therefore Helenus fights the truth and hopes to conquer it and finally to create it. He tells the crowd his own fabricated truth; these lies are pleasant and sweet. While Cassandra disturbs men's minds; Helenus sweetly lulls men to sleep, for he knows that the human mind is weak and will not easily make peace with actual truth.<sup>14</sup> Cassandra was not given this characteristic. It is, however, interesting to notice that each of Cassandra's prophecies is fulfilled. Thus it is quite easy to forecast the final outcome of events and to understand the essence of the tragedy, for the whole action proceeds along two planes: the ruin of her personal happiness and the downfall of the nation. Fate in *Cassandra*, to a large degree, appears as historically inevitable; it controls events and actions of individuals; everything is subjugated to it, and everything has to be sacrificed for it, because fate knows neither grief nor mercy.

The character of Cassandra is revealed by an antithetical method. First Cassandra is contrasted with Helen, then with Polyxena, and finally with Andromache. The relationship between the sisters becomes tense as the action progresses. The sisters are tired of Cassandra's truth. It appears to them heartless and destructive. Helenus, a seer and priest, a man who is governed by "Phrygian understanding", is the most important foil for Cassandra. Between him and Cassandra there is a deep abyss. They differ in character, in behaviour, and in understanding of the superiority of truth over untruth. As the action of the play proceeds, Cassandra becomes more and more isolated; her heart and mind are torn by hopeless solitude, and she speaks words of grievance and accusation. She appears strong only when she acts as an accuser. When action is needed the prophetess Cassandra is powerless; her physical forces are weak and her feminine softness takes superiority over her power of mind. In those decisive moments she lacks strong will power; she is helpless to co-ordinate words with action. In those moments Cassandra becomes the most tragic personality of the gallery of Lesya Ukrainka's heroes and heroines.

Critics have often pointed out that Lesya Ukrainka reveals her own complaints in Cassandra's comments. She was deeply concerned about the truth of the word and the truth of her heroes' actions. The critic and writer Ye. Sverstyuk said that Lesya Ukrainka's heroes' "truthfulness is the truthfulness of Cassandra, who, for the sake of hard truth, renounced her happiness".<sup>15</sup>

"The poetess", wrote Oleh Babyshkin, a literary critic, "knew well that her works reflected her spirit, thoughts, wishes, and nature; therefore she did not want to be identified completely with her protagonists. She even quotes the French writer Charles Bourget, who

<sup>14</sup>) Anatol' Kostenko: *Lesya Ukrainka* (Kyiv: Vyd. Molod', 1971), p. 363.

<sup>15</sup>) Yevhen Sverstyuk: *Sobor u ryshytovanni* (Paris, Baltimore: P.I.U.F. and Smoloskyp, 1970), p. 111.

said that the true writer creates in his work the antithesis of his biography".<sup>16</sup>

Is this true with respect to Cassandra? Was Lesya Ukrainka able to free herself from identity with Cassandra? Is Cassandra Lesya Ukrainka herself, "this sickly girl who created around herself a world of transparent spectres from antiquity"?<sup>17</sup> As a true artist, Lesya Ukrainka never created her plots easily. At first she always had to suffer with her plot. She spent much effort thinking about a plot; she lived with it for some time, and, only then, as it came closer and closer to her, did she begin to write with the sort of conviction that creates a work of art. Was it possible, under such circumstances, to free herself from the world of Cassandra, from Cassandra's heartless truth, and to write objectively? I consider this impossible. Because Lesya Ukrainka deeply believed that "each sound matter needed clean hands",<sup>18</sup> she could not create anything that would contradict her convictions. She would have viewed it immediately as a betrayal of truth. And this is exactly what Cassandra was doing, prophesying the heartless truth for which she suffered with her life in order to serve her people and her country. Lesya Ukrainka's image is similar to Cassandra's image. Both are full of love for their countries; both are dominated by a static tranquillity and a deep belief that their deeds cannot pass unnoticed. Thus Troy, to a large degree, resembles Ukraine and Cassandra resembles Lesya Ukrainka.<sup>19</sup>

This artistic solution clarifies the dramaturgy of Lesya Ukrainka. She reveals a special image of a feminine character who is physically weak, has no strong will for action, but who is wrathful and is dominated by love for her country. This character is full of deep and unique ideas and emotions.

By presenting Cassandra's tragedy, Lesya reveals her own tragedy. She depicts everything that she had seen and lived through. She foretells the danger that stands in the way of her own country. She is aware that misfortune must be averted, because she understands what Cassandra could never achieve. However, she, like Cassandra, is unable to make use of her hard-learned lesson because she cannot find the necessary support on the part of her compatriots. Therefore Lesya, like Cassandra, cannot change the situation, or cannot overcome the danger.

The dramatic poem *Cassandra* is a great literary achievement of Lesya Ukrainka, in which the philosophical problems of absolute

<sup>16</sup> Oleh Babyshkin: "Z psycholohiyi tvorčosty Lesi Ukrainky", *Ukrayins'ka mova i literatura v školi*, 10, (1966)). 7. Charles Paul Bourget (1852-1935), French poet, critic, and novelist. He showed great ability as an analyst of the psychology of his contemporaries.

<sup>17</sup> Sverstyuk, p. 106.

<sup>18</sup> Babyshkin, p. 9.

<sup>19</sup> Kostenko, p. 359.

truth and the relativity of ideas are deeply interwoven with Cassandra's tragedy. Her tragedy occurs because of her prophetic powers, on the one hand, and her weak feminine stature, on the other. Her prophecies are fulfilled, for the Greeks destroy Troy. But, since evil predominates over good, Cassandra cannot rejoice in the truth of her prophecies. She claims that her "reason's broken" (p. 238) and "will be extinguished with this fire" (p. 238) of Troy.

This dramatic poem shows profound spiritual connection with the central motif of Schiller's ballad "Kassandra":

Nur der Irrtum ist das Leben,  
Und das Wissen ist der Tod.<sup>20</sup>

Thus, somehow, life is possible only if man lives in ignorance. Knowledge, which in Cassandra's words is truth, brings death. Therefore Cassandra, who in Lesya Ukrainka's work becomes the true embodiment of the lofty principles of truth, has to follow the Promethean path and be despised because she refuses to submit to the will of the gods who are slaves of Moira.

The numerous variants of this poem, as we find them in Lesya Ukrainka's notebooks, are one more indication that the poetess bestowed special attention on this work and considered it as one of her major creations.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>20</sup>) *Deutsche National-Literatur, Schillers Werke*, ed. Joseph Kürschner (Berlin: Verlag von W. Spemann, n. d.), CXVIII, 217.

<sup>21</sup>) Olha Kosač-Kryvyi n y u k, *Lesya Ukrainka: Chronolohiya zhyttia i tvorčosty* (New York: The Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S.A., 1970), p. 674.

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Levko LUKYANENKO

## A YEAR OF FREEDOM

(part 2)

*About the author: Lev Hryhorovych Lukyanenko, a lawyer, was released from imprisonment at the beginning of 1976. He had originally been sentenced to death for founding the "Ukrainian Workers' and Peasants' Union". However, the Supreme Court of the Ukrainian SSR commuted his death sentence to 15 years of detention. During his brief period of freedom, he became a member of the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords and wrote the following essay. He was arrested for the second time on December 12th, 1977 and sentenced on July 20th, 1978 to 10 years of imprisonment and to 5 years of internal exile.*

\*

We talked until about one o'clock in the morning. We had just retired when the doorbell rang — the militia had come to check whether I was at home and to see who else was staying with me. Mrs. Oksana hadn't fallen asleep yet and through the dictates of her own conscience, answered some of the militia's questions.

On the 16th June I wrote a statement to the town procurator apropos Kalynychenko:

On the 10th June 1976 the chief of the Desnyansky RVVS (Regional Division of Internal Affairs) — Andriychenko — summoned me to the station and forbade me to invite V. Kalynychenko to my home as my guest. He said Kalynychenko was preparing to move from the Dnipropetrovsk province to Chernihiv. Andriychenko declared that he would not allow him (Kalynychenko) to live at my home or in Chernihiv because, so he said, one person like me was enough for Chernihiv.

Kalynychenko, like me, is a dissident, but this fact does not deprive us of the natural human characteristics of forming friendships, and official Soviet law does not impose such a ban on dissidents, so I *request* that you:

either repeal the imposed ban and instruct the chief of the Desnyansky RVVS not to put obstacles in the way of our traditional Ukrainian hospitality,

or indicate the law or statute which gives the chief of the Desnyansky RVVS the right to limit my rights to display hospitality.

In this statement I deemed it necessary to declare to a town official my previous place of residence, that I belong to a separate category of citizen-dissidents — of people who think differently — in order to end any assumptions about me in this plot.

On Friday, 18th June, Havrylenko proposed that I write an explanation about who stayed in my flat. I refused. Then he suggested that I write and explain why I refused to state who stayed with me. I wrote that I would give such explanations only when somebody showed me the law which limits my social rights and forbids me to show hospitality. Havrylenko declared that if I did not give the reasons why people had stayed in my flat, they would come, check my visitors' documents and take them to the militia station to make them give their explanations there.

— Do what you will with my guests, — I replied — but I still won't give you any explanations.

On that very evening, the militia came to have a look around my flat because they had heard that some strangers had arrived. No such people were to be found.

A copy of the decision to fine me was forwarded by the court to the hospital for a workers' meeting to examine. I was summoned by two of my superiors. They showed me a copy of the resolution and warned me that I should not violate my administrative supervision, and they threatened to criticise me severely at the meeting. I replied that I was not afraid of any meetings since I had done nothing that troubled my conscience. The resolution was postponed for a while.

Shortly afterwards I wrote a long letter about the people with whom I work and a little about my working conditions. I typed it on a printer's machine and sent many copies out to my friends, including those in camps where letters undergo censorship; hence my letter could not fail to fall into the hands of our "pastors". Without embellishment, I wrote about my colleagues at work and the conditions there. Although the letter was written in a hurry and was not stylistically corrected, it appeared as a criticism and not in the spirit of socialist realism. When I was sending it out, I asked myself: what reaction will it produce from official functionaries? Nothing? Or would the KGB pass on the letter to the head doctor to read? However a constitutional guarantee exists which provides the right for private correspondence. On the other hand, they could not fail to interfere. What effect would this have on me? Would they find a way to caution me against writing such letters themselves, or would the head doctor fire me because I had spread the word about his institution? He cannot fire me for actually writing the letters because he does not officially have the right to know about them, but I could be fired on the grounds of some petty violation I had committed against work rules... Or maybe they will think of something else.

Whilst waiting for the storm to break, I tried to work hard and not violate any rules whatsoever. However, the storm did not approach, and I began to think that it had passed. But it hadn't.

On the 18th August it was announced that a meeting would be held on security maintenance which all the electricians had to attend. This meeting was announced by workers' unions and not professional ones,



so although I am not a member of a professional union I was still obliged to attend. The new engineer responsible for security collected material for the meeting beforehand, and because he was a "new hand" I really thought that he sincerely wanted to improve security, so not suspecting anything, my colleagues and I entered the hall. Because everyone always tries to sit as far away as possible from the presidiums of meetings and because we came in last, the only seats that were vacant were in the front row, so we had to sit right in front of the presidium.

The meeting was opened by Pasichnyk, the head of the children's section. He announced that the speech about security maintenance would be given by engineer Symonenko. Symonenko's speech and several questions lasted about 20 minutes. Then instead of closing the meeting, the chairman gave the floor to the head doctor's deputy — V. O. Lisova, and she gave a whole speech about me. I was not expecting such a change in the meeting and initially thought that it might be better for me to get up and leave, but on weighing up the situation, I decided to stay, first of all because I did not consider myself to be worse than the other 75 people present in the hall; secondly because I did not want to provoke these hired critics even more by walking out; and thirdly because I wanted to acquaint myself with the people with whom I was working, and who knows if I'll have any work for much longer anyway.

Lisova started her speech with the decision taken by the Desnyansky regional court to fine me. She went on to say that I, as a worker in a regional collective children's hospital, was disgracing the whole collective and so on. "Everyone signs the Stockholm Appeal for Peace, but Lukyanenko is the only person in the whole of Chernihiv who hasn't. All the workers of the children's hospital went to the collectives to help gather hay, but Lukyanenko refused, basing his refusal on the fact that he is not allowed to travel beyond the borders of the town of Chernihiv. His behaviour is an embarrassment to the whole collective. This is the first job that he has had since his release from imprisonment, and comrade Lukyanenko should go along with the whole collective and not commit any more violations". (This was how Lisova's speech was briefly recorded in the minutes of the meeting).

— Allow me to say something! — I turned to the chairman of the meeting.

— Yes, yes. Explain why you behave so despicably! — he uttered.

I walked about three steps to the front, turned around, straightened my unruly moustache, put my hands behind my back, lifted my head, and asked Pasichnyk:

— What is the meaning of this? Why wasn't I warned that you had put my behaviour on the agenda as a topic for discussion?

— What does it matter? It'd be better if you told people about yourself — he replied.

— All right, I'll tell them. But first of all I have something to ask the speaker, — and I turned to her.

— You are not conducting the meeting! — the chairman sharply interjected.

I ignored his remark and said to Lisova;

— You have never spoken to me before, either before this meeting or at any other time. You have formulated an opinion about me without even seeing me and are spreading it around. You only have biased information and report it as if it were the truth. Tell me: do you always do this? Do you always judge people in this way?

The chairman said (to me): You are behaving outrageously! It is not for you to ask the questions. We are questioning you.

From the hall: (Kuznyetsova asks the chairman): Can I ask Lukyachenko a question?

The chairman: Go ahead.

Kuznyetsova. What are the statues by which you were sentenced by the court? What were you sentenced for and what sentence did you receive?

I replied: Article 56 means betrayal of the fatherland, Article 64 is organisational activity. I was engaged in organisational activity which was aimed at the secession of Ukraine from the USSR on the basis of Article 14 of the Constitution of the Ukr. SSR; I wrote a brochure arguing the necessity of the separation of Ukraine. These activities were interpreted as a manifestation of Ukrainian nationalism for which I was initially sentenced to death, and then this sentence was commuted to 15 years of imprisonment.

Kuznyetsova: Why do you hate the Soviet regime so much?

The chairman: There is nothing to be said on this. He's already served his sentence for it.

Kuznyetsova obediently fell silent, depriving me of the chance to ask her where she had heard about me and who had informed her, because I did not know her and had not spoken about my views with anyone in the hospital.

Yevlampiyeva asked me: Why do you behave in this way? You violate your administrative supervision and you did not sign the Appeal for Peace.

I briefly explained the history of the scene at the airport, adding that the human brain is an imperfect system and that I only remembered the civil-law definition of territory and totally forgot the geographic definition, so when I was taking my wife to the airport it did not occur to me that I was violating my supervision.

— You shouldn't have violated it! — she continued. — Once the militia has made its decisions you should obey them! — she finished dictatorially.

— I didn't want to violate my supervision . . .

— Didn't want to? — the chairman interjected ironically. Kuznyetsova wanted to make another remark and added: — You knew that

you were violating the law. You're an intelligent person, so you must have known. You violated it consciously. Why didn't you sign the Appeal for Peace? Does that mean you support war? Does that mean that you want war?

The chairman: Answer!

I replied: That example is not "tertium non datur" — there is not a third alternative: if I signed, 'I'm for peace', if I didn't, 'I'm for war'. I didn't sign the Appeal but I don't want war. I have my reasons and these are valid, but I don't think that it is necessary for me to give them here.

(Several people gave a discontented groan at this point).

The chairman (to me): You see how indignant the people are? Tell us exactly why you didn't sign the Appeal?

For some reason I thought that this question contained the actual essence of all the previous remarks that had been made at the meeting: it was necessary to force me to explain my reasons for not signing the Appeal. Then I had visions of being interrupted mid-way of my explanation with the shout: "He is anti-Soviet!" They would invert my words to mean something else to fit into their plans, and they would have witnesses ready to sentence me under another Article 62. And so I declared:

— I have already said that I refuse to answer this question.

The chairman: You are obliged to answer.

— No, I am under no obligation to answer and I refuse to.

Question: What education have you received?

I answered that I completed my studies in the judicial faculty at the Lomonosov State University in Moscow.

Kruherska: Do you consider yourself to be a citizen of the Soviet Union or not?

— I haven't been deprived of my citizenship, — I replied.

Yavon: What role did Lukyanenko play in the Great Patriotic War?

— I served in the Soviet Army from 1944 to 1953, but I wasn't at the front.

Yavon: What sort of conditions do you live in?

— They're good. (Although for one and a half months during the winter period the temperature in the flat was always below 12 degrees and the water in the radiators thundered like the waters of the river Heteriv — but after life in a prison cell, these were mere trifles, because here you can wrap yourself up as much as you want and have the attention of a caring wife).

Yavon: Who created them for you?

— My wife and relatives.

Question: Why didn't you go and help collect the hay?

— If I were paid 200 roubles then maybe I would want to go and help the collective farm workers, but with a pay of 67.5 roubles, I don't have the incentive.

Then a score of people cried out: How can that be? We go! The majority here are paid 60 roubles and not 67.5 and we still go.

The chairman: He ridicules our order!

O. I. Kalynychnenko: Did you refuse to sign the Appeal because you can't betray your sect?

— Who told you that I belong to a sect? How did you know? I am a believer of the Ukrainian Autocephalic Church. This Church and my faith are not opposed to peace in any way whatsoever.

Then I was asked a few more questions about my family and their participation in the war. I was given permission to sit down and the chairman proposed that others take the floor. On the whole the people who had already spoken spoke again. Here are a few excerpts from their comments:

Savvitska: ... I don't want to believe that there is someone in our collective who wants war ...

Sirenko: ... we medics are people of a peaceful profession and we don't want to suffer because of your beliefs. Citizen Lukyanenko, we don't want bombs dropping to kill people.

Kalynychnenko: ... we are all for peace, but Lukyanenko wants war. We are all ashamed that Lukyanenko didn't sign the Appeal.

Styshovsky: ... comrade Lukyanenko doesn't respect our collective: he won't say exactly why he wouldn't sign and he's not telling us everything ...

Kalchenko: ... we gathered here to hear what you had to say, comrade Lukyanenko, but you are behaving disgustingly at this meeting and will not say exactly why you wouldn't sign the Appeal. I spoke with comrade Lukyanenko before the meeting. (This was a complete lie) and told him that we were going to listen to him at the meeting — (he said no much thing to me) — so there is nothing for you to get offended about, — he said turning to me. You should explain here though, how you intend to behave in the future ...

I was really angered by this and shouted: — Lies!

The chairman: Don't interrupt and listen!

— You continually interrupt speakers with your remarks

The chairman: People are justifiably offended. It'd be understandable if their anger were expressed in more than just words ...

He paused, but nobody wanted to express their anger by some other means, and so the next speaker took the floor.

Yavon: Lukyanenko lives in really good conditions but he isn't satisfied. Even capitalists signed the Appeal for Peace, but he wouldn't. Comrade Lukyanenko is an educated person. Not only did he finish university — his knowledge is a lot broader. He doesn't have our convictions, but his own, and he doesn't want to tell us about them. How is it possible to have different convictions in our society?

— And why doesn't he want to tell us about them?

This was how — it flashed across my mind, — meetings took place in 1934-37: there would be one or two men who would know

what they wanted and scores of faithful (i.e. blind) sycophantic subjects, who are capable of believing that a man has a camel's hump, but the hundreds of terrified accusers have but one thought: "Thank God I'm not in his place!"

Meanwhile the chairman had given the floor to V. I. Kuts: "... it is disgusting that we have a person in our collective who is indifferent to the question of peace ...

Then a narrative took place on the subject of how terrible war is. I shook my head. The speaker first looked at the chairman and then at the back of my head and obviously interpreted my gesture as a sign of protest against what she was saying, so to strengthen her accusation, she started to cry, and then to sob really loudly. Although I didn't really feel like laughing, a smile must have crossed my face because at the end of her performance the chairman shouted: "And what's wrong with him! Can you see? We will not permit such behaviour!"

Kuznyetsova again stood to speak: I want to turn people's attention to the fact that Lukyanenko hasn't made use of his profession to enable him to earn 200 roubles, instead he sits on the backs of his wife and family with only his 67.5 roubles ...

During the summing-up, Pasichnyk spoke for the whole show: — We are all angered by the fact that Lukyanenko didn't sign the Stockholm Appeal for Peace. He says that he has some third position, but there can't be any third position: if a person supported peace, he'd sign the Appeal, if someone doesn't sign the Appeal, it means he supports war. There's no middle path: it's a question of being for or against. Citizen Lukyanenko is our enemy. We can try and have him sent away from Chernihiv — let him go back to the place he came from — or we can demand that he is removed from our lives here at work and that he is sent to some other place ...

As is the case in all trials, I was given the opportunity to have the last word. I tried to say that the speakers either had not listened to anything that I had said or did not know the source of their totally incorrect information, and that they had accused me of such things that had absolutely no relation to reality. Here I was interrupted by Pasichnyk: — We don't want to listen to this. What we want to know is how you intend to behave in the future?

I replied: In the hospital collective I only have working relations — not friendly or brotherly or any other sort — only formal working relations. These relations are regulated by work rules. Until now I have done my work conscientiously and in the future I don't intend to violate any regulations. Secondly, as regards my involvement in community activities, and all work outside of my working duties, then I will decide separately in each case.

The resolution had been prepared beforehand and was now read out, as follows:

"Lukyanenko, whilst under administrative supervision, delib-

erately violated it by going to the airport, for which he was fined 20 roubles.

For this serious violation of his administrative supervision, and for other anti-Soviet manifestations which are disgracing our collective, we express our public reproof and warn him that such behaviour is amoral, so he should not engage in such activities again”.

Two days later a friend came to visit us. He doesn't visit us very often and is generous; he always brings something good to eat and drink. Our conversations were restrained. He would describe the difficult relations with officials and ask us about our life. He would borrow a few history books from us but never expressed a desire to discuss his views on the various volumes he had read, but instead carefully scrutinised my adaptation to life in Chernihiv since my release. This time his visit had a definite purpose; those who had organised the reprimand at the meeting wanted to know the results of their work. Three days had passed since the meeting had taken place. I had told my wife about it and we drew our own conclusions. Just what these conclusions were was what interested our friend at this visit.

We satisfied his curiosity to the full — and more. I emphasised that honest people could influence me and not insolent liars, and that at the meeting the score of unruly people present had clearly used information supplied by the KGB, so the general mass of those attending had nothing to do with the affair. Then my wife told him about her experience at work and added that she was not afraid of being dismissed and that if necessary, she was prepared to sweep the streets.

A few days later I was summoned by the head doctor who said: I wasn't at the meeting, but I've been told about it. Tell me please, have you read the Stockholm Appeal for Peace? I understand your position as regards our political and community activities, but why this . . . why didn't you sign it?

— You know, — I began, — the ancient Romans said: 'protest nolle qui protest velle' — the one who has the right to express his unwillingness, is also the one who has the right to express his will. Obviously, this also applies the otherway round: the one who has the right to express his will, is the one who has right to express his unwillingness. In Ukraine the constitutional right of freedom of speech and the role of the UN Declaration of Human Rights is limited, and when I tried to express myself about Ukrainian reality critically, I was sentenced to 15 years — this means that I do not have the right to criticise. And because I do not have the right to criticise, then I am unwilling to offer praise: only he can offer praise, who has the right to criticise.

— Well look, your views are your concern. What's unpleasant for me is that from all the organisations in Chernihiv, there was only

one person who didn't sign the Appeal, and he's in our hospital.

This conversation took place in a calm, even gentle manner. However, I wasted a lot of time trying to obtain a copy of the minutes and the resolution passed at the meeting. Apart from very short notes, I got nothing and when, not long after, my superior gave him a statement which declared that I was to be transferred onto time-and-a-half he replied:

— Let him learn to live in the Soviet fashion first.

On the 1st October a new excuse was found. I was working with Demusenko. There had been a lot of work to do all morning and after lunch, even more. A light had to be repaired immediately since it was in a vital place. Because it was high and damp, one person could not do the work alone and it would take quite a long time. I went and used the telephone of the sister who was on duty to ring the militia, where usually Havrylenko and three other militiamen, were to be located. Someone else answered the phone. I identified myself and asked to speak to Havrylenko. The voice replied:

— He's not here. What do you want?

— I'd like to ask him to give me permission to come about one and a half hours late for my registration because we have urgent work to do here and I'd like to finish it, — I explained.

— All right. But don't come at all today, come tomorrow morning at 9 o'clock because I heard that Havrylenko was going to summon you tomorrow anyway.

— All right, — I replied.

I finished work at about 7 o'clock and went home. On the following morning I went to the militia to see Havrylenko, but he replied that he hadn't summoned me. The militia in the office declared that they had not spoken to me on the telephone, and I didn't know them well enough to recognise the person with whom I spoke on the 'phone.

— Well, maybe some practical joker was here and played a prank on you, — Havrylenko joked.

— I didn't think that jokers worked in the militia. The more so because there has already been a similar episode which ended quite normally.

— I don't know anything. You have to come for registration even if your hospital's on fire! How am I meant to know where you are? Maybe you were using that excuse as a cover up for something else... — he rambled on.

— All right. Let's go to the hospital now and you'll be able to solve this mystery by asking the sister who was on duty, and the electricians, I suggested.

— We're not going anywhere. You have to be here every Friday between 17.00 and 18.00 hours. You weren't here yesterday, right?

— No, I wasn't — I replied.

— Well, that's all. Write an explanation and we'll let the bosses decide what to do with you.

I wrote an explanation and on the 4th October the People's Judge of the Desnyansky region — Mylytsya — fined me 20 roubles, writing in his decision:

Lukyanenko explained that the reason that he did not come to the militia at the required time on the 1st October was because he was detained at work. I consider that Lukyanenko violated his administrative supervision without a valid reason.

Allowing for the fact that I carelessly did not ask for the name of the militiaman with whom I spoke on the telephone, why lie, why claim that I gave the reason for not appearing at my registration as a delay at work?!

This time the size of the fine itself did not worry me, although it was half a month's wages. However, on the horizon I envisaged a tall red gate, thickly laced with barbed wire. Surely it wouldn't come to that, that I would have to go to a criminal camp for another two years?

On that same day I sent the procurator of the Ukr. SSR a complaint concerning the illegality of the administrative supervision imposed on political prisoners (known after their release as dissidents, people who think differently) in general and particularly, on me. The text of the complaint was as follows:

(Illegible handwriting is indicated by three dots enclosed in square brackets).

To the Procurator of the Ukr. SSR,  
Kyiv.

From: L. H. Lukyanenko, Rukosovska St., Chernihiv.

#### COMPLAINT

I have served a 15 year sentence for my political and national views. On the 21st January 1976 I left prison after I had finished my term. On the 28th January the procurator of Chernihiv sanctioned the decision to put me under administrative supervision for 12 months.

I consider the administrative supervision illegal for the following reasons:

I served my sentence not for criminal reasons but for my political and national convictions. The Soviet regime, although it punishes for reformist intentions and for other political divergencies from the political line of the party leadership, does not, however, proclaim Marxism-Leninism as the national ideology [...] with the existence of a whole line of other ideologies — orthodoxy, catholicism, protestantism and so on. Though Marxism-Leninism is the overruling ideology, it is not compulsory, so the law does not demand that those who think differently reject their ideologies and put them aside for the benefit of Marxism-Leninism [...] and the release of a political prisoner does not depend on whether he has recanted his views or not. Obviously the party organisation of the CPSU attempts to con-



vert those who think differently to their ideology in the place of imprisonment. This is what the party aspires to do — but it is not the will of the nation which was formulated as [...] it is not obligatory for non-communists so the decision for change or [...] of views lies with the individual will of the political prisoner.

The text of the Corrective Code of the Ukr. SSR attests that it gives corrective labour institutions the task of correcting criminal violators and not political prisoners, because it operates on the concept: "inclusion into an honest hard-working life" to prevent "an anti-Soviet way of thinking" and so on.

Those who think differently (dissidents) were not parasites before they were imprisoned, they did not scorn work, they did not violate the social order and did not lead an anti-Soviet way of life. They are not being imprisoned and put behind bars for these reasons, therefore they cannot be corrected for them. The whole of the VKT (Corrective Labour Code) of the Ukr. SSR is directed to eliminating these "harmful" social forces.

However, because correcting is directed at criminal [...] methods that the Code institutes for attaining a set goal: [...] imprisonment and labour. If the text were concerned with political prisoners, it would not [...] compulsory labour and strict regime, but would put all the emphasis on [...] people. A political prisoner is a person who has found himself behind bars as a result of the deviation of his personal ideology from official ideology. His ideology is the totality of his ideas, which change under the influence of other ideas, through education, enlightenment, the cinema [...] and so on; the regime or labour cannot change ideas (through timetabling the day). A hammer and chisel cannot oppose an idea — only another idea can do that. And the fact that political education is third after labour and the regime, proves that the VTK of the Ukr. SSR aims to correct criminals and the establishment of administrative supervision pertains [...]

The decree passed by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukr. SSR on 26. 7. 1976 about the introduction of administrative supervision, does not demand that political prisoners recant their views. It does not even mean that the concept "he started on the path of correction" should be interpreted as "he recanted his views". But it means that the political prisoner did not refuse to work and fulfilled the demands of the regime.

The very same can be seen from decree no. 6 passed by the Plenum of the Supreme Court of the USSR on [...] 7. 1974:

In checking the grounds for establishing administrative supervision on the basis of the conclusions made by the administrative corrective-labour board and [...] committee, the court should link the facts which prove the resistance of a person to be

corrected and to join an honest labouring life during the period that he attends the place of punishment which has deprived him of his freedom. (p. 4, no. [...]).

The decree speaks of an honest labouring life and not about changing political views and so if the ideology of a political prisoner, and after his release, a dissident, has not changed, this cannot be used as a basis for putting that person under administrative supervision if he has done nothing to violate the regime [...].

The attitude of a person — one who has been imprisoned for his political, nationalist or religious beliefs, to work is not an indication of the evolution of his views. It [...] characterises the extent of his adaptability to difficult conditions, and his views (as is clear from the text of the Corrective Labour Code of the Ukr. SSR, the decree of the Procurator of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, dated the 26. 7. 1976, and decree no. 6 passed by the Plenum of the Supreme Court) are not an indication of his correction or non-correction. Hence there are insufficient grounds for establishing administrative supervision over political prisoners in general, and over me in particular.

A special law has not yet been passed as regards political prisoners (after their release, "dissidents" or "people who think differently") and our legal status has not yet been defined. Hence the application of laws which regulate the lives and activities of criminals after their release, to us is both illogical and degrading.

On the basis of the above, I request that you repeal the administrative supervision which was established over me on the 28th January 1976".

Not long after this I sent a supplement in which I told of the specific conditions which proved that the administrative supervision over me was illegal, independently of that for which I had served my sentence:

According to Article 2 of the decree passed by the Procurator of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on the 26. 7. 1966, supervision is instituted when "the criminal has committed serious crimes... and if his behaviour during the period of punishment proves that he is resistant to re-education and resists joining an honest labouring life".

No. II, sect. 4 of the resolution passed by the Plenum of the Supreme Court of the USSR on the 5. 7. 1974, in explaining the concept of resistance to re-education, states: "stubborn resistance to re-education and resistance to join an honest labouring life are to be interpreted as an indication of systematic violation of the requirements of the punishment regime as foreseen by Article 34 of the Corrective Labour Code of the USSR and the union republics, if they (resistance) are not removed or extinguished on the day of release from the corrective labour institution".

When do the penalties extinguish themselves?

Article 89 of the Corrective Labour Code of the Ukr. SSR establishes that penalties extinguish themselves automatically after a year's absence from any new penalties.

My term of imprisonment ended on the 21st January 1976. From the summer of 1974 to the 21. 1. 1976 I had not committed any crimes — this period covers more than one year in time and according to Article 89 of the Corrective Code of the Ukr. SSR all my previous penalties extinguished themselves and I should have been released without any more penalties to pay.

As a prisoner, who at the time of his release did not have any penalties, I should not have been put under administrative supervision after my release. Hence on the basis of the above, I request that:

You annul the year's supervision established over me on the 28. 1. 1976 by the procurator of Chernihiv since it is an unfounded and illegal act.

12th October, 1976.

My complaint from Kyiv was sent to Chernihiv, with lightning speed from whence Procurator Yaroshevsky sent me a formal reply. In response to this I wrote a complaint to the procurator of the region, in which I especially emphasised:

First of all, I did not appeal to the procurator of the USSR with a similar complaint, so Procurator Yaroshevsky did not pay very much attention to my complaint — which was addressed to him.

Secondly, the decree passed by the Procurator of the Supreme Court of the USSR on the 12. 4. 68 about "the orders of considering propositions, statements and complaints of citizens" enforces the person responsible to give motivated answers and not to speculate about the complainants with formal replies.

Thirdly, according to Article 90 of the Constitution of the Ukr. SSR and Administrative Rights, legal proceedings and correspondence of the Ukr. SSR are to be conducted in the Ukrainian language — but Yaroshevsky sent his reply in Russian.

With regard to the above I ask that you entrust another person to review my complaint".

No reply has been sent as yet, and on the 28. 1. 1977 my supervision was prolonged by another 6 months.

I was told by the militia that I might be imprisoned again. My father [...] shook his head, and my mother cried. I calmed them down. Much [...] my release brought them joy only during the first days and then [...] sufferings from the fear that I would be imprisoned again at any moment. For them such [...] as laws and rights do not exist. In the 72 years of their lives they have seen triumphs [...] and not rights and they are not afraid of the law, but they are afraid that they will commit something that [...] not please the rulers — because they are all-powerful and if they do not

like [...] then it does not matter whether the law has been violated or not, they will [...] of a method to deal with that person. Logic does not exist because fear is the stronger [...] it is stronger than intelligence and rules it. And when fear has existed for one year, two, ten, twenty and when it exists not only in one household but in [...] and three and everyone, then conditions of mutual fear are created (as in the air — conditions for sound waves, as in space — for radio waves) [...] and emanates these emotions [...] intellectually powerful people, who have the most and the expense [...] in the created fear, fear which is not created by the soul itself but [...] In the conditions of such an existence only one example has any meaning. And the old bureaucrats use all their strengths to [...] such examples exist. It is sad to see people who knew 40 years ago [...] flights of fantasy and earnestly sang:

The steppe wind will blow

The hanging grey clouds away . . .

and now [...] having seen the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference they groan "O my son, the time to sow will come again . . ."

What for? The Final Act?

They will find a reason.

God, and this in Ukraine, where freedom was once loved so much!

From the first days of my release from imprisonment I started a wide correspondence. Now I was no longer tied by the prison or camp limits where I was allowed to write one or two letters a month, I decided to use my new freedom to thank those people who had not forgotten me when I was imprisoned, and to entertain my friends who were still behind bars and barbed wire. I remembered, and still remember well, what a letter means to a person in prison; when you are locked up in a tiny prison cell, the walls are the same, the faces are the same, the windows are the same; the bars, the water-closet, the wash-basin — all are packed tightly together. And you are here today, and tomorrow, and for a month, and for another. And you want something fresh and bright, and colourful, but everything around you is grey and dark; you want to hear gentle sounds, but they are all the same: the thump of locks in the stone prison [...], the soulless orders of the guards and the voices of your cell mates — and that will be repeated today, tomorrow, for a month and for another . . . severe hunger approaches. A letter, even a very short one, not only brings with it some meaning which feeds the thirsty soul, it [...] a magnetic hook which locks your mind into contemplation about its contents [...] around him; his fantasy awakens and in this way he is able to feel changes in his emotions. Life cannot make a pact with death; a person cannot come to terms with the thought that he is dispensable, and what more than the absence of letters from your relatives and friends proves that? And [...] the soul, tired from the secret of its own dispensability responds [...] caring.

We entertained ourselves with newspapers, discussions, magazines,

and books; however, without any external stimuli emotions slowly die and a new book of information [...] weighs the mind down, somehow suffocating you [...].

Obviously the receipt and sending of letters is under control: with prisoners there is censorship, with those at liberty — unofficial censorship. We all know this. That is why we all meticulously omit all possible literary, linguistic, cultural and generally all important socio-political and national problems from our letters, that is why our correspondence [...] social [...]. And if a portrait of the authors of the letters were attempted [...]. The portraits of the spiritual cripples would appear [...] who through their intellectual [...] are unable to discuss or even pose important questions of a national character, but eternally traipse around their cells [...], food, the weather, sport or something seen on the television or in the cinema. Even such correspondence is like a bone in the throat for our guards — you see it [...] fulfills a (from their point of view, undesirable) function: mutual information of friends and acquaintances about the conditions of life give an opportunity to express sympathy and to give moral support.

My letters “were lost”. I received monetary compensation from the post office for some of them, but I couldn’t get this for all of them due to a lack of information about their fate. Of eight registered letters with registered delivery receipts which I sent abroad, I did not receive any information about their delivery for a whole year. This did not worry me — I accepted it as an inevitable loss and continued to write. Over a 10 month period I had collected many letters, and in the opinion of my supervisors it was high time to confiscate them. It is one thing to unofficially know the contents of letters, and another to have a law specifically designed to discover them. To move from the spy’s level to a legal one, it was decided to connect me with some criminal affairs and so create a “legal” basis to conduct a search and confiscate my letters. It transpired that it was to be the case of Petro Vasylovych Ruban from Prylutsky, an inlayer, who was accused of private enterprise and theft of government property. (This theft was used as a guise for punishing Ruban’s national convictions, which at the present time does not constitute a case).

Ruban had my telephone number, name and patronymic in his note book and this was used to make out a case for a search of my premises. The investigator of the Prylutsky procuracy — Maksymenko — in the decision for a search wrote that he had a so-called reason to believe that there were examples of Ruban’s work, receipts showing that I had given his works to the Kyiv art gallery for exhibitions, and letters with instructions concerning the works. As for the “grounds” for the decision to conduct a search, there was not one word. I really did not know that Ruban lives in Prylutsky, I have never been there and have never met Ruban; in the Kyiv art gallery there is a registration book which indicates which works were

accepted for exhibition by the commission, and which notes the name, the passport number and the address of the nominee, but my name is not there. In no way was I connected with Ruban's private enterprise or theft. Hence Maksymenko's assertion about the grounds for a search are without foundation.

I consider the search an illegal violation of the inviolable constitutional right of residents, and I filed a complaint to the regional procurator. In a very short time I received a one-sentence reply stating that the search was conducted legally. Of course, there was not one word about my arguments in the reply.

On the 26th October 1976, on the instructions of Maksymenko, the investigator of the Desnyansky regional procuracy of Chernihiv — Hladkov — conducted a search and confiscated all the letters which I had received after my release from imprisonment, and also the letters which I received from my wife, parents, brother, sister, friends and acquaintances during my imprisonment — and I wrote letters for over 10 years. The fact that the so-called criminal activity of Ruban started in 1973, and the main bulk of my letters are dated prior to this date (and have post marks) did not stop Hladkov.

I continued to write to my friends and I also wrote about the search. On the 19. 11. 1976 the Prylutsky procuracy passed a resolution concerning arrest and the stoppage of such postal-telegraphic correspondence which comes to me and which I send out. This resolution is illegal because I do not have any connections with the V. I. Ruban affair. Secondly the Criminal Proceedings Code of the Ukr. SSR gives investigators the right to confiscate materials only if they are directly connected to a specific case, and they are not allowed to confiscate any other materials whatsoever. At the search of my flat many registered letters were also confiscated and these had absolutely no connection with the Ruban case, and were written by people who had nothing to do with the case.

The regulation was to remain in force until the 31st December 1976. However, I have not received any letters for over two months now.

Somehow on Friday I got stomach ache. Usually in these cases the pain diminishes after several hours and I am able to walk, but this time the pain lingered and I could only go to the militia after seven o'clock. Havrylenko was not there and the deputy said: Well, Lukyanyenko, this is the third time you've violated your supervision and you'll be tried for it. You're finished!

— I couldn't come any earlier, — I said, — I was in pain.

— Why didn't you 'phone?

— I couldn't.

— You treat your supervision very lightly, but this time it's serious.

— When I was feeling better, I came even though it was 1½ hours late.

— The crux of the matter is that you should be here between 17.00 and 18.00 hours. You weren't here by 6 p.m. Even being late by a few minutes (and not by 1½ hours) means that you weren't here at 6 o'clock, that is, you didn't come at the specified time. Therefore you violated your supervision. This violation will be reported. I don't know what the bosses will decide. However, it's quite possible that you'll be arrested on Monday at 11 o'clock and taken to an investigation isolation cell. An investigator will be assigned to you and you can be sure that he'll make your case out as it should be. Maybe a workers' meeting will be called. You understand, they'll be well prepared. Lukyanenko, no one will help you; all those who will speak, will speak only against you.

I went home. The pains in my stomach became worse again and I had to call for help quickly. I stayed in bed throughout Saturday and Sunday and then it took a whole week for the pain to subside completely.

Having inquired about my health in the hospital, the militia forgave me my 1½ hour late arrival at the station, warning me that if I committed another violation, no matter how small, I would find myself behind barbed wire. I replied that I could give any assurance whatsoever that I would not violate the supervision deliberately, but that I could not promise that I would not commit some small error due to unforeseen circumstances, which the militia could later explain as being a violation of my administrative supervision.

My position is extremely unclear: because I am being punished not for deliberate violations, but for special instances which occur beyond human control, directing my will to fulfilling the demands of administrative supervision does not include any extra-ordinary occurrences and so does not protect me from prison. I am not perfect and can forget things, but government officials demand a supremely well organised society, which does not recognise the fact that a man can make mistakes and stumble. From the point of view of the law, all is clear: the law punishes for deliberate violation of supervision, but whether these violations are committed deliberately or not, and whether a person is in the right or not, is decided by the officials, — everything bends to their will. When I joined the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords in Ukraine, their behaviour became even harsher towards me.

On the 23rd December 1976 the procurator Tsyhanenko and a group of people came to our home and conducted a huge search to find defamatory anti-Soviet documents. There were no such documents at our home and in a zealous fit Tsyhanenko confiscated a synopsis of Kostomariv's history of Ukraine, the poetic drama "Heroika abo pryrechenya Prometeya" written by the Lithuanian Yustunas Martysynkyavychis and translated into Ukrainian by the poet Oleksa Riznyk, a file with the times of foreign radio programmes, the sentence which was passed on Oleksiy Tykhy in 1960, and so on.

This unfounded search and the fact that any material whatsoever had been confiscated angered my wife and we wrote a complaint to the Procurator General:

To: the Procurator General of the USSR,

From: Levko Hryhorovych Lukyanenko and Nadia Nikonovna Lukyanenko,  
Rokossovsky St., 41-B, Flat 41, Chernihiv.

Complaint:

On the 10th December 1976, the senior advisor of justice, the investigator of the Moscow procuracy — Tykhonov, decided and the Moscow procurator sanctioned the decision, to conduct a search of our flat. It was written in the decision that investigator had reason to believe that documents, books, materials and so on which “we know express incorrect views which defame Soviet social and governmental order” could be found in our flat. An aide from the Chernihiv procuracy, the senior advisor of justice, V. I. Tsyhanenko, conducted a search of our flat on the 23rd December 1976, fulfilling the above resolution. He violated two laws of the Procedural Code of the Republic when conducting the search and we are filing a complaint against him:

Firstly he confiscated materials which were not indicated in Tykhonov's decision — that is “incorrect materials”. Regarding our request to be shown these “incorrect materials” Tsyhanenko was unable to show even one from the 12 items he confiscated. Two of his aides — militiamen — were also unable to help him. Instead we were told: they will sort them out there (that is, in Moscow).

— You are jurists, that is, experts on the law, and you should be able to distinguish between criminal and non-criminal texts — I said to them.

— We can't read everything here — Tsyhaanenko explained.

— In that case, — we replied, — take everything — our whole library, our university and academic theses — everything, and let them read it all in Moscow.

— Why are you getting so upset? Everything will be returned to you, — Tsyhanenko replied.

Article 186 of the Criminal Proceedings Code (KPT) of the Ukr. SSR establishes: “At a search and confiscation, only those materials and documents which are connected to the case in hand may be confiscated . . .”

Tsyhanenko could not show us any such “incorrect materials”. Hence he could not show the connection of the confiscated materials to the case. Hence he did not have the right to confiscate them.

Secondly, the senior advisor of justice, Tsyhanenko, conducted



the search with captains of the militia — Bandursky and Arkhy-pivnik in the presence of militiaman Captain Lyashchenko (?) and two witnesses. Article 85 of the KPT of the Ukr. SSR establishes: "in the report of every investigative action, it is vital to indicate: the place and the date where the action took place; the positions and the names of the people who undertook the action; the names of the people who took part in the investigative action; the addresses of these people . . ."

Article 188 of the KPT of the Ukr. SSR expands the rights given in Article 85 of the KPT to allow for such searches as the one which was conducted in my home, but in the report Tsyhanenko named only himself and the witnesses. Such a formulation of his report violates article 85 of the Criminal Proceedings Code and this violation should not be allowed to pass by unnoticed.

Not long after the search we discovered that on the basis of the same sanction passed on the 10th December 1976, searches were also conducted in the homes of most of the members of the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords. Therefore a planned attack was conducted on the Public Group of which I, Levko Hryhorovych Lukyanenko, am a member.

The Group stated its aims in the Declaration made on the 9th November 1976. The Declaration makes clear the intentions of the Group.

From the Declaration it is obvious that the Group does not have any political motives, and does not encroach upon and does not intend to encroach upon the fundamental law of the Soviet regime. Hence investigator Tykhanov's and the Moscow procurator's suspicions that there were "incorrect materials" in our home were without foundation. Hence there was no basis upon which the search could have been conducted.

We consider the attack made on the Ukrainian Public Group, which aims to implement the Helsinki Accords in Ukraine, as the escapade of effectual bureaucrats, who are disatisfied with the decision made by the Soviet government to sign the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference and who are trying to prevent the progressive implementation of the humanitarian aspects of the Act and of the UN Declaration of Human Rights in any way that they can.

We appeal to you, as the highest defender of lawfulness in the Union to defend our democratic rights and to protect our lives from illegal encroachments. We request that you order all the papers which were confiscated from us on the 23rd December 1976 to be returned.

6th January 1977.

Because my wife did not speak very politely to Tsyhanenko he reported her to the regional procurator and on the basis of a resolu-

tion passed there, she was sent to Ukrdinrovodhosp to be discussed at the general meeting. In the reports, many sharp criticisms, seemingly made by my wife, were directed at Tsyhanenko and others in still higher positions. The appropriate representative came to the meeting, my wife was reprimanded and ordered to apologise to Tsyhanenko. She asked for a copy of the resolutions made at the meeting. The administration was reluctant to give these to her and just ordered her to apologise. She stood her ground and they decided not to give her a copy of the resolutions. With this, the whole affair quietened down, generally they let me live peacefully for a while, and instead put all the pressure on my wife.

We greeted the New Year at home with a few friends. I had not seen one of the guests for a long time; she had heard a little about the Ukrainian Public Group but could not believe it:

— How can such a group exist, and that in freedom and not in prison? — it can't be!

— I confirmed that the Group really does exist — and in freedom. And more — it intends to remain in existence in freedom.

— God knows, — she said, — let wages remain constant, and prices, but all the lies — let them die!

Somehow everyone raised their glasses at the same time and shared one happy, unanimous desire; in a strange unison, our glasses chimed: let lies die and free our souls from the fetters of the hated hypocrites! Let those who force us to live lives of lies, die in obscurity!

This was how we had spent 1976 and greeted 1977.

## NEW PUBLICATION

### CATARACT

by Mykhaylo Osadchyy.

- An Autobiographical Outline. An underground publication from Ukraine.
- Published by Ukrainian Publishers Ltd., London, 1975.
- Hard cover. 111 pp.
- Price: £2.50 (\$6.00).

*Available from:*

UKRAINIAN PUBLISHERS LTD.,  
200 Liverpool Rd., London, N1 1LF.

or

Ukrainian Booksellers  
49, Linden Gardens,  
London W2 4HG.

## THE UKRAINIAN PUBLIC GROUP TO PROMOTE THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE HELSINKI ACCORDS

*A new document written by the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords — entitled "Information Bulletin" No. 1, is circulating in Ukraine and the whole Soviet Union. A copy in Russian reached the West and is printed below.*

### INFORMATION BULLETIN, No. 1.

February, 1978

Oles Berdnyk — Kyiv, Lykhachova St. 8, fl. 16

Vitaliy Kalynychenko — Dnipropetrovsk region, Vasytkiv, Shchorsa St. 2

Ivan Kandyba — Lviv region, Pustomyty, Shevchenko St. 302

Oksana Meshko — Kyiv-86, Verbolozna St. 16

Vasyl Striltsiv — Ivano-Frankivsk region, Dolyna

Nina Strokata — Kaluzka region, Tarus

### INTRODUCTION

A little more than a year has elapsed since our editorial collective met in November 1977 and selected the name "The Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords in the USSR". We unanimously arrived at the conclusion that the Group could make a significant contribution to the cause of peace, security and co-operation between nations if it openly and directly disclosed those violations of rights which are perpetrated in our fatherland, to the Soviet government and the world community. All our appeals, letters and memoranda were based on the law and constitutional rights.

The organs of state security decided otherwise. They labelled us as an anti-Soviet organisation, they repressed over half the members of the Group and the rest experienced other forms of illegal persecution.

In these conditions of brutal and illegal terror and psychological pressure, we consider it imperative to continue the struggle for the rights of men and nations, for the dignity of man, for the right of freedom of thought and action in accordance with the highest ideals of humanity proclaimed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

In this year, 1978, we started to issue the Information Bulletin, in which we intend to publicise the violations of the rights of man committed in our republic. We hope that our activities, based on our faith in the law, will bear fruit — if not now, then in the future.

1. In November 1977, the head of the Ukrainian "Helsinki" Group, sentenced by the Donetsk regional court on the 1st June 1977 to 12

years of imprisonment, was transferred to the Kyiv KGB prison. It was suggested to him that he condemn the activities of the Group and recant, but Mykola Rudenko refused to do this. He was then sent to the Mordovian camps to serve his sentence. (Mordovian ASSR, Potma, p/o Lesnoy, ZhKh-385/19-3).

Another member of the Group — Oleksa Tykhy, sentenced to 15 years of imprisonment — was also sent to a Mordovian special regime camp. (Potma, ZhKh-385/1-6).

In December 1977 Mykola Rudenko announced that he was going to stage a three-day hunger strike in protest against the confiscation of the poems which he had written while in prison.

2. On the 12th December 1977 in Chernihiv (Rokosovska St. 41, "b", fl. 1) yet another member of the "Helsinki" Group was arrested — the lawyer Levko Lukyanenko, a person who has suffered an especially tragic fate.

In 1961, the young and successful lawyer, a member of the CPSU for eight years, was sentenced to death by firing squad for writing the theoretical tract: 'Project (for the programme) of the "Ukrainian Workers' and Peasants' Union"' (UWPU). This project was compiled on the basis of the constitutional law of the Ukrainian republic concerning the right of free secession of the Ukr. SSR from the Soviet SSR, as stated in article 14.\*

In accordance with the project, Ukraine would remain socialist and would develop on the principles of Marxist-Leninist ideology. She would have a nationalised industry, but one which would allow private initiative in the service, craft and trade sectors. As far as agriculture is concerned, co-operation between collective farms would be permitted only on a voluntary basis between independent and individual farms.

This project, in essence, is a reflection of the new Euro-Communism.

As foreseen in the project, social economic and political changes could only take place through democratic means, and the secession of Ukraine, on the basis of a referendum.

A group of seven lawyers and party workers was arrested as soon as it started to discuss the project.

In June 1961, a closed court sentenced I. Kandyba to 15 years of imprisonment to be served in camps, Virun to 11 years and the rest of the Group to 10 years each. After a court of appeal had been heard, the Supreme Court of the Ukr. SSR, commuted Borovytsky's and Kipash's sentences to 7 years of imprisonment; Lukyanenko's death sentence was commuted to 15 years of imprisonment to be served in forced labour camps.

L. Lukyanenko spent 2 months and 6 days in manacles in a cell for condemned prisoners, and then four and a half years in the Vladimir prison.

However, the completion of his sentence did not bring him freedom.

\* In the new constitution, this right is now under article 69, (ed.).

For almost two years — up to the time of his next arrest, when living in Chernihiv — he was openly observed by the militia, which resulted in secret KGB surveillance and persecution.

He was accused of engaging in anti-Soviet activity. The incriminating documents comprised the papers compiled by the Ukrainian Group, which Lukyanenko had signed, his personal correspondence and his publicity material, which had not been printed in the Soviet press and which unfortunately was not circulated in samvydav.

A talented and sensitive journalist, he remained unknown to the democratic Soviet public. In particular, he was incriminated for the authorship of the following articles:

a) An autobiographical essay — “A Year of Freedom”.

b) The article “End Corrupt Trials” — which was addressed to the editor of the Ukrainian journal “National Creativity and Ethnography” and where he denounced the unprecedented sentencing of the artist-sculptor — Petro Ruban.

c) An open letter to Professor Rubin, who recently emigrated to Israel from the Soviet Union.

Levko Lukyanenko's residence was not merely searched, but pillaged. Everything was taken — down to the last hand-written and typed piece of paper, his typewriter, all his personal correspondence, which had already been censored and also some photographs. Neither did he and his wife, Nadia, escape a humiliating personal search.

In connection with Lukyanenko's case (no. 39), 8 searches were made on the 12th December 1977. These were conducted at Oleksander Lukyanenko's — his brother, in Chernihiv, at his sister's in the Horodyansky region, (Chernihiv region), at his parents' home in the village of Khrypivka in the same region, and at Raisa Rudenko's residence. Group members — Ivan Kandyba, Vitaliy Kalynychenko, Oles Berdnyk and Petro Vins were also searched. All the searches were conducted in violation of article 186 of the Criminal Proceedings Code of the Ukr. SSR — i.e. not only “documents and materials which are related to the case” were removed, as decreed by the law, but Kandyba had his personal correspondence, address books, and a copy of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights confiscated; O. Berdnyk had handwritten copies of literary-artistic articles and his typewriter taken, and P. Vins had books of a religious content from foreign publishers removed.

On the 23rd January, a search was conducted at Stefa Hulyk's residence in Lviv.

After Lukyanenko was arrested, his wife Nadia Nykonivna was often summoned by the KGB. Investigators Polunin and Sanko accused her of aiding Lukyanenko in his anti-Soviet activities, and of showing hospitality to friends who had involved her husband in this type of activity. She was told “Now we will teach him. He'll do the whole 15 years”.\*

\*) Lev Lukyanenko was sentenced on 17. 7. 1978 to 10 years' imprisonment and 5 years of internal exile. (ed.)

3. On the 28th of February (1978) Petro Vins, a member of the Ukrainian "Helsinki" Group, was arrested. He was accused of violating article 216 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR.

Two months before this, on the 8th of December, he had been detained by the militia on the railway station in Kyiv when he was en route to Moscow. He was beaten up and held under administrative arrest for 15 days for "disobeying the militia". Vins mother's representative told her that he had been beaten up because he refused to submit to a voluntary search. His refusal and demand to see the warrant for the search were classified as insubordination.

P. Vins declared a hunger strike, which is why he did not go to work. For this, his term of arrest was increased by another 15 days. Later the procurator admitted the illegality of the second stretch of detention and so altered this sentence... two days before it ended. Vins was on hunger strike in a militia cell for 28 days.

The arrest of the 28th February took place on the streets, but his family was not informed about this. On the following day, Vins' mother discovered his whereabouts in the regional police station where he had been taken for questioning. Vins only had the chance to shout to her that he had been accused of "parasitism".

Petro Vins is 23 years old. He is the son of the renown Baptist leader Hryhoriy Vins, who was sentenced in 1974 to 5 years of imprisonment. The regime did not allow Petro Vins to either receive higher education or to obtain acceptable employment. He was forced into unskilled labour from time to time which is beyond the capacity of his health (in his youth he had a stomach resection). Now this false "parasitism" charge is threatening him with a year's camp sentence.

4. On the 9th February, again in connection with Lukyanenko's case, the next assault of searches was launched on Oksana Meshko. As had happened a year ago, KGB agents again forced their way into her flat without any authorisation. They gained access like thieves, having obtained the keys from a working tenant (he was brought to the flat in a KGB car with the intention, as the leader of the search said, "to fulfill a duty of the KGB... there is no need to be afraid"). While one of the KGB agents was opening the door, eight of his helpers, having concealed themselves, waited by the gates of the neighbouring building. Fear and confusion was falsely simulated, a search warrant was not produced, but the search was conducted by nine people for over 19 hours. When Oksana Meshko did not want to hand over a letter personally received by her from I. Kandyba (in which he had related all the troubles caused by the illegal administrative supervision imposed on him), Captain Prytayko and Lieutenant-Colonel Hanchuk grabbed her by the arms and twisted her wrists until they were swollen and blue; the letter then fell from her hands... (Oksana Meshko is 73 years old).

KGB agents confiscated her personal letters, address books, various

personal notes which had no relevance to Lukyanenko's "case", and also took a copy of the "International Conventions" on community, political, economic, social and cultural rights, which had been signed by the Soviet government and corroborated in Helsinki in 1975.

Lieutenant-Colonel Hanchuk also put aside her son's personal documents (he is O. Serhiyenko — a prisoner in the Perm concentration camps) to "examine" them later. Only Berdnyk's arrival helped her to defend herself, and the documents were returned.

O. Meshko did not heed a KGB summons, and hence on the 14th February, she was brought to attend this "summons" at the Kyiv KGB headquarters in the presence of the militia and "medical personnel".

Investigator Sanko questioned her for over four hours about the Lukyanenko case, but Meshko refused to answer his questions as they were in violation of article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Helsinki Agreement. After the investigation, Lieutenant-Colonel Hanchuk, having shown her a selection of documents confiscated from her during several searches stemming back to 1972, announced that Meshko "had been warned" about her responsibility. She refused to sign the report concerning this "warning" and denied that the documents were anti-Soviet.

O. Meshko demanded of the investigator an end to the technical surveillance of the building where she lived, which had been set up in an empty neighbouring building and had continued for over a year without any legal foundation. The reply to her demand — was silence.

Throughout the year, and continuing into January, Meshko's friends were questioned about her and about her son — Oleksander Serhiyenko. Some of the people questioned were threatened that if they continued to visit O. Meshko and retain her friendship, they would be imprisoned; others were threatened with "dismissal" from their particular employment, and so on.

Oles Berdnyk, who had come to visit Oksana Meshko during the search, was also personally searched. His poems were confiscated and then he was driven home (he and his family are living in Rudenko's flat at the present time) where another search was conducted.

5. Ivan Oleksiyovych Kandyba, a member of the Ukrainian "Helsinki" Group and a former political prisoner (he served a 15 year sentence with Lukyanenko) is under repression once more.

On the 23rd October 1977, I. Kandyba was detained on the streets of Lviv by the KGB chief from the village of Pustomyty; he drove Kandyba to the regional procurator in charge of the conduct of KGB investigations, Rudenko (brother of the Procurator General) he and General Piluden, chief of the Lviv KGB, spoke to him. They complained to Kandyba about his incorrect life-style and incriminated him for travelling to Moscow, Kyiv, Tarus and Chernihiv. The procurator suggested that he publicly renounce his views and condemn his own activities and those of his friends (i.e. of the "Helsinki" Group). If he

did this, he was promised permission to live in Lviv (Kandyba is registered in Pustomyty, where, throughout the year, until May 1977, he had been under surveillance) and to find employment according to his education (Kandyba is a lawyer and graduated from university). Kandyba refused, whereupon the procurator accused him of "not being a Soviet person", but a degenerate, and an enemy and showed him the already prepared decision to establish administrative supervision over him for the ensuing six months. Kandyba was driven straight to Pustomyty from the procuracy without even being allowed to call at home to collect his personal belongings. On the 28th September, he was visited by general Poluden, who again attempted to force him to renounce his views and undertake to change his behaviour.

Kandyba was barely able to find himself somewhere to live. He has a private flat for which he pays 30 roubles a month, and works as a stoker with a monthly wage of 70 roubles. Throughout the time that he was seeking employment, he was constantly rejected and continually threatened by the militia with criminal proceedings for "parasitism".

The motives for establishing administrative supervision over Kandyba are:

- i. because he evaded seeking employment;
- ii. because he did not live in the place where he was registered;
- iii. because he travelled to various places in the Soviet Union.

Despite the illegality and even the falsity of these accusations, Kandyba was unable to have the above-mentioned decision altered. His appeals, in which he used legal rebuttals against the motives of the administrative supervision, were returned to the regional procurator, who had made the decision.

On the 12th December, when L. Lukyanenko was arrested, Kandyba was searched, as a result of which his hand-written copy of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was confiscated (one such copy had been removed at a previous search while Kandyba was in a prison camp).

On the 2nd January Kandyba was summoned to the Lviv OVYR, where he was questioned whether he had any relatives abroad and if he had ever received emigration papers. They asked him to write out his answers to the questions, but Kandyba refused since this was not legally — necessary. He said that if such papers had been addressed to him, then the government was obliged to entrust them to him without investigation.

In accordance with the practice that has arisen in Ukraine, a request to emigrate is the basis for persecution, including arrest and incarceration in psychiatric wards.

On the 6th February, another Group member, Nina Strokata, had her administrative supervision extended for another six months. She has served a 4-year sentence in the camps and has already been under administrative supervision for 2 years.



6. In October 1977 Vitaliy Kalynychenko and Vasyl Striltsiv joined the Group.

Vitaliy Kalynychenko served a prison sentence for 10 years (from 1966-76) for his escape attempt from the Soviet Union, which is defined as "betrayal of the fatherland". Since his release, he has been living in Vasytkiv, the Dnipropetrovsk region, under the administrative supervision of the militia, and is employed as an engineer.

After the OUVR refused to complete the necessary documents for his emigration (he had received notification), Kalynychenko renounced his Soviet citizenship and sent his passport, military service record and diploma to the Supreme Court of the Ukr. SSR.

Vasyl Striltsiv, a former political prisoner of the Beria camps, was first sentenced to 10 years of imprisonment when he had just passed 15. After his rehabilitation (in the era of "the thaw"), he graduated from Chernihiv University and was employed as a teacher of English in a secondary school. He has recently been the object of illegal surveillance and the several score of complaints he has written to organisations within the Republic and the Union remained unanswered. V. Striltsiv declared a strike and in August 1977 declared his wish to emigrate to Great Britain.

Ivan Sychko, an engineer from Dolyna, also declared a strike due to his illegal transfer to unskilled labour. This resulted in him renouncing his Soviet citizenship and declared his wish to emigrate from the USSR. His son, Vasyl Sychko, also made a similar announcement. He was dismissed from Kyiv University (the faculty of journalism) for ideological reasons.

7. On the 3rd February the Kyiv regional national court sentenced Vadym Smohytel, a musician and composer, to 3 years of imprisonment. He was sentenced under article 206, sect. 2 (malicious hooliganism). The court trial — declared to be 'open' — was guarded by the militia and KGB agents. Only his mother and grandfather were allowed into the court room, and his friends were unceremoniously shoved out; all the places in the small hall were occupied by a "special public". The court proceedings went on without any facilities for Smohytel's defence, there being only an appointed lawyer, who declared that he was unfamiliar with the case. Smohytel was not given the opportunity to defend himself, but was interrupted by the judge who interjected: "...Stop, that's not the point..."

The only true witness (the rest being composed of armed men and militiamen) of the fight of which Smohytel was accused of starting, **did not even see** the event. He testified that having been brought to the militia station with the others he "noticed scratches on the knees of the victim", but in the militia record, these were described as "light body wounds".

The hooliganism incident was staged on the 13th December 1977, in the streets, in the dark, and lasted for two minutes: some man sudden-

ly fell under Smohytel's feet and then he was shoved into the militia car standing opposite.

As a form of protest against the false accusation, V. Smohytel announced a hunger strike and held it to the day of his trial — i.e. for almost two months.

After Smohytel's arrest, a search was conducted in his home, when books and original manuscripts were confiscated from the musician.

Before the "fight", Smohytel, in a telephone conversation with a friend in Canada on the 2nd of December, asked this friend to help him emigrate. Even earlier, in August, he had sent a declaration to the Supreme Soviet of the Ukr. SSR with the request to emigrate from the Soviet Union to enable him to finish his musical education and carry out chosen his work.

Vasyl Smohytel, born in 1939, is a talented and hardworking musician, who organised a national ensemble choir, "Zhayvoronka", which achieved popularity amongst students. His works were recorded for the radio, and he prepared a documentary film about the soloist from the choir "Veryovka" — but all these successes were undermined by secret warnings. His conditions continually deteriorated after the repressions against the Ukrainian intelligentsia began in 1972 (he was very close to some of the arrested people). Hence all these circumstances led to Vadym Smohytel's decision to emigrate.

8. Vasyl Barladyanu — sentenced on the 29th June 1977 in Odessa under article 187-1 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR ("Spreading slander about the Soviet social and governmental system") — is now in a camp in the village of Rafalivtsya, in the Rivensk region. After being beaten up during his hunger strike in the investigatory prison (for refusing to accept food) the state of his health started to deteriorate. In the camp he was forced to carry out manual labour and it was only at the end of November, after many complaints had been written by his wife, that Barladyanu was transferred to the hospital at Lviv. After 10 days he was returned to the camp with the conclusion that due to high blood pressure, he could not be used to do manual labour. Barladyanu was then made to knock boxes together. However, the humid climate in Polissya has a bad effect on him and he is now suffering from, amongst other things, tuberculosis. But still they refuse to transfer him to another camp.

Yevhen Sverstyuk, incarcerated in Perm camp no. 35/VS-389, has been deprived of the right to receive parcels for a year.

In January 1978 Ivan Svitlychny (in Perm camp no. 36) became ill with hepatitis, but he was transferred to a hospital after considerable delay. In February a quarantine was imposed on the camp.

9. In December and January searches were conducted throughout Ukraine connected with the theft committed, as affirmed by the investigatory organs by Ivan Dyky. The people searched were: on the 12th December the mother of the political prisoner Zoryan Popadyuk, Lubomyra Popadyuk (in Lviv); his grandmother, Sofia Kopystynska,

in Sambir, and Olena Antoniv in Lviv; on the 5th January — Bohdan Soroka (the son of the deceased Mykhaylo Soroka, who died in camps) in Lviv, and the wife of the political prisoner Vasyl Lisovy — Vira Lisova — in Kyiv. Some of them did not even know Ivan Dyky.

The Group does not know whether Ivan Dyky is a thief, but it is certain that all the people who were searched were not connected with this case. The true reason for the searches was to discover whether these people were in a position to finance political prisoners and their families.

It is also known that Ivan Dyky, who returned to his fatherland a few years ago after serving a five year sentence in camps and a 2 year exile sentence, for article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR, (anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda), because, it is claimed, he engaged in the writing of anonymous letters sent to government organs. He could not obtain permission to live with his family (he has two children) in one of the villages in West Ukraine, nor could he obtain a permanent residence permit or work and was continually watched by the militia.

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### DECLARATION — BY VITALIY KALYNYCHENKO

*In August 1977, V. Kalynychenko declared that he was renouncing his Soviet citizenship and he explained his reasons in his declaration addressed to the Presidium of the Supreme Court of the USSR. The full text of this document and his statement, also addressed to the Supreme Court, are printed in full below.*

“To: The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Moscow.  
From: Vitaliy Kalynychenko, discriminated against for his free-thinking,

Vasylivka,  
Dnipropetrovsk region,  
Shchorsa 2.

### DECLARATION

concerning the renunciation of my Soviet citizenship.

On the 19th March, 1976, I was released from ten years of imprisonment, which I had served only because I wanted to emigrate from the USSR.

On the 7th April, 1976, the procurator from Vasylivka, the Dnipropetrovsk region, sanctioned the decision which placed me under administrative supervision for 12 months in the town where I lived. On the 12th March, 1977, this supervision was prolonged for another 6 months — for no reason whatsoever and illegally.

This means that I have been placed under house arrest. I am forced to lead a totally restricted life. I am constantly subjected to moral and psychological terror.

Apart from this, on the 5th March, 1977, I was summoned to the Dnipropetrovsk KGB regional headquarters, where the deputy — Colonel Kapustin, declared that the regional procuracy had sanctioned my arrest because I had acquainted several people with the text which announced the formation of the Ukrainian and Moscow Public Groups to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords. However, from what the Colonel said, it appeared that the KGB had decided to postpone my arrest due to reasons of their own. On that same day, inside the brick walls of the KGB building, I was given a warning, in accordance with the edict issued by the Presidium of the Supreme Court of the USSR on the 25th December, 1973. In that report my actions were described as “disseminating politically dangerous ideas” i.e. they are, seemingly, harmful to the state’s interests and to the security of the USSR.

Then, on the 4th April, 1977, a so-called “meeting of the community” was organised at my work place, but this was kept quiet from the workers and took place in the presence of seven especially selected people. According to the KGB’s plans, this “meeting” was to have confirmed the criminal charges brought against me by the KGB in the name of the community.

This “meeting” was conducted by Kustyarov, the head of the regional administration, who had come especially to Vasylivka for this purpose. Kustyarov rang comrade Ivan Demchenko, a participant of the “meeting” and ordered him to speak and condemn my actions and nationalist views.

I have served a ten year sentence in forced labour camps and in a psychiatric prison but not for a crime, because prior to my arrest I always behaved in accordance with the principles expressed in article 13 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. This article requires that everybody has the right to free movement and choice of residence within a state, and that everybody has the right to leave and return to any country, including his own.

Hence, having been punished for these “actions”, I not only should not have been placed under administrative supervision, but in accordance with article 13, I should have the right of total rehabilitation.

But while Soviet authorities practically proclaim that they were the initiators of the drafting and passing of the Declaration, they categorically deny the right of emigration from the Soviet Union. And the people who want to leave the USSR are branded as traitors of their fatherland and are sentenced with the full weight of the draconian article 56 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR (article 64 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR). The sentence under this article can be as severe as 10-15 years of imprisonment or, execution.

This is how the Soviet Union defines actions which are directed to the realisation of the rights proclaimed by article 13 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Due to this, the atmosphere in the USSR is becoming more and more intolerable.

In fact the sentences meted out to the head of the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords, the seriously ill war invalid, the poet Mykola Rudenko, and the sentence passed on a member of the Group — Oleksiy Tykhy — a life sentence to be served in a strict regime, forced labour concentration camp, were only meted out because they both worked in accordance with article 49 of the Declaration and in accordance with humanitarian and legal principles, and because they disclosed violations of the rights of man and basic freedoms, which are noted in the Final Act of the Helsinki Talks on security and co-operation in Europe — a document which was signed by the Soviet Union.

Seven members of the Helsinki Group in Ukraine, Moscow and Georgia are still awaiting their sentences. Other members of the Public Groups and their sympathisers are subjected to systematic repressions, moral and physical terror.

Thousands of free thinkers are now incarcerated in concentration camps and psychiatric prisons for their political, national and religious convictions.

This is a country where cultural-ideological Stalinism has been revitalised.

A dense fog of deceit reigns over all areas of social life. The government, which does not believe in either communism or in any form of Marxism (but which firmly believes in its future as a world empire — Great Russia) deceives the nation, promising an abundance of goods. The worker deceives his leaders by becoming a member of the Communist Party, but only for the sake of a "straight" life.

Fear rules the whole nation.

It is only through fear that people fall into disfavour and party members succeed in sending out the nation to the so-called "Communist subotniks"\*, to unpaid work, seemingly for the benefit of the "peace fund" . . . (illegible). It is irrelevant that people are not paid for their work and that the maximum . . . (illegible) is deducted.

They always go, resentfully, but they go . . . (illegible) possible discrimination. Fear is the only factor which forces citizens to go to the "elections" to "fulfill their duty" of tossing a previously decided ballot sheet into the ballot box.

People feel even more fear when views which contradict the official ones, are involved, and these can only be expressed very rarely, because it is the sacred duty of every citizen of the USSR, in accordance with the constitution, to inform, spy, eavesdrop.

\* n. b. labour given freely to the state on off-days or overtime, (ed.).

Every foreigner is defended abroad... (illegible), there is compulsory daily surveillance over every foreign student (the nation calls such people "actors") and Soviet students, who receive orders from the regional or republican division of the KGB, are recruited to do this.

I know that this is true because while I studied at the Kyiv Institute of Agriculture, I was recruited as a secret informer and was forced to inform KGB captain Ivaniv about the views of the foreign students with whom I lived in the halls of residence. For example, I informed on citizen Fitokh Kone... Christopher from Guyana, citizen Davis Bruce F. from the USA, citizen Po... (illegible) from Kenya (who had been to China as part of a delegation received at one of Mao Tse Tung's receptions) and others.

But the disregard of the national problem in the USSR makes life in the non-Russian nations intolerable, and for whom the Soviet Union, is a prison, as once was the former Russian empire.

Russification is now at the level of national-party politics.

With this intention, Kremlin ideologues have created a false concept of Soviet patriotism which opposes the economic, spiritual and political interests of the non-Russian nations.

This "patriotism" is propagated by all the available means provided by mass communication, party state bureaucrats administer communism (? — illegible) from potential deviation through threats.

Such friendship is implemented, that directs one to only one friend — the Russian nation and only the Russian nation.

This is how the Russian nation grows imperceptively, how the Russian language oppose others regardless of the fact that equality of all nations and languages has been proclaimed.

But the greatest tragedy of the Ukrainians, is that their national life is at stake.

Ukrainian national consciousness is stifled. As a result of the state politics of linguicide, the Ukrainian language in Ukraine is almost dead. Now our beautifully melodic language can only be heard in the most isolated of villages, from the mouths of collective farm workers — the most neglected class of people in Ukraine.

The Russian language dominates all areas of social life (production, science, education, culture, administration and so on).

Ukrainians, one of the oldest autochthonous nations in Europe, now have fewer rights than for example, the black population of the South American Republics, whose difficult national life is written about so much in Soviet propaganda.

The Ukrainian nation is threatened with national liquidation, which has already happened to over 10 million Ukrainians who live in the RSFSR.

Ukraine has been transformed into an economic colony of Moscow; only those areas of industry are developed which are desperately needed by Russia for the development of her empire, for example — mining, metallurgy, agriculture and some areas of machine building.

The criminal politics of Russification in Ukraine are manifest in three different forms:

## I. COMPULSORY STATE RUSSIFICATION

In theory, this is an ideological postulate about the so-called “drawing together of all nations and nationalities” and the so-called “emergence of a new historical community (nation) — the Soviet nation”. However, CPSU ideologues interpret “the drawing together of all nations and nationalities” as national genocide, which is demonstrated by the following: In the project for the new constitution of the USSR, in the section “Social Development and Culture”, we read in article 19: “The Soviet state helps . . . to eliminate the differences between town and country and between mental and physical labour . . . and the drawing together of all the nations and nationalities of the USSR”. In this sentence, two uniform (meaning simultaneous) and successive additions weigh heavily on the assertion *HELPS*. i.e. the authors of the text, on the one hand define the concept of “the elimination of the differences between town and country and between mental and physical labour” and on the other — “the elimination of the differences between nations and nationalities”. That the historical community (the Soviet state) is officially understood by theorists to be a single-language nation, with only Russian characteristics, is confirmed by the fact that the whole state-party elite continually uses the Russian language and display distinct great Russian patriotism. There is no doubt, that they — our Soviet organisers and administrators, are the first and foremost in this “new historical community-nation”.

The theoretical basis for the drawing together, or genocide, is manifest in the Russification practices of the CPSU.

The Ukrainian Autocephalic Greek Orthodox and the Roman Catholic churches have been liquidated, and the Russian Orthodox, with the Moscow Patriarch at its head, has been enforced in their places, although in article 48 of the Declaration, it is stated that citizens have the right to profess their religion. In accordance with the Helsinki Agreements, the Soviet Union is bound to return Ukrainians their faith.

Members of the Ukrainian Communist Party (the so-called ukapists) were either executed or murdered in the 1930's because they fought for the Ukrainianisation of the social and national-political life of Ukraine.

All the honest, nationally conscious Ukrainian intellectuals, and the best part of the peasantry met with the same fate.

Every year, the number of periodicals printed in the Ukrainian language diminishes and the number of this type of publication increases in Russian. The few general educational schools where the language of tuition is Ukrainian are reduced to nothing.

With the aim of Russification, conditions for the migration of the population between the Ukr. SSR and the RSFSR are facilitated. On Ukraine's Right Bank, chronic unemployment has existed for decades, which forces people to migrate to Siberia or other favourable places in Russia. Also there are recruiting offices in the RSFSR for Russians who wish to settle in the Ukrainian countryside for its comforts.

The cultural and spiritual heritage of the Ukrainian nation — created over thousands of years, is being reviled by the spurious Russian doctrine.

The education courses offered in nurseries, schools, institutes of higher education, academic studies, and the means of mass communication are presented in such a way as to strangle the national dignity of Ukrainians.

Ukrainian history is mutilated, the question of Ukrainian statehood, the origins and development of the Ukrainian language and so on, are falsely presented.

On the other hand, everything connected with the Russian nation, is falsified in a such a manner to demonstrate the grandeur of the Russian nation and its Messianic role.

This absolute deception leads the average Ukrainian, even from childhood, to consider, that for example, he has Russian-Moscow roots, but is from the provinces. It is from there, it seems that his name — Ukrainian, originates.

Also Ukrainians who are nationally conscious, who have recognised the truth about their nation and Ukraine, are declared to be bourgeois nationalists. Any expression of ideas, threatens the individual with imprisonment in a forced labour camp or psychiatric prison for a considerable length of time.

Now, as throughout the existence of the Russian empire, the largest percentage of political prisoners is Ukrainian — patriots, whose only guilt lies in the fact that they recognised themselves and their love for Ukraine.

## II. ENFORCED RUSSIFICATION

As a result of the vicious politics of Russification in Ukraine, such socio-political circumstances have arisen, that people are forced to adapt to secure their livelihood, and not only to safeguard careers.

Because people have lost faith in the possibility of any political change in national character, the phenomenon of adaptation has arisen.

New spokesmen and lackeys appear, who, demoralised (the honest rape their consciences) and deluded, dance attendance on the Kremlin.



And those who are higher, and who as they say, are in their places, suffocate their own mother\* — regardless of whether this is in the sphere of "scientific" research, or literature or socio-political life or even in day to day existence.

From the phenomenon of adaptation in Ukraine the Ukrainian Little-Russian has developed.

The average Little-Russian never goes against the grain; he is passive in the socio-political sphere of life. Although he remains Ukrainian in character, he starts to forget his Ukrainian language while his Russian is mixed with Ukrainianisms, which he continues to use until the end of his life; without any knowledge of the humanities, he becomes a great Russian patriot and brings up his children as Russians (although, according to their passports, they are still Ukrainian). Those little-Russians, along with the Jews, compose the majority of the inhumane scientific-academic apparatchiks in the USSR; they are seen amongst the officers; (town residents and those who have left villages to work in workers' settlements are not included in this category).

The phenomenon of adaptation develops a loathsome little-Russian type, who has always occupied places in the state-party apparatus at all levels and has always been a bureaucrat.

In his fear of being accused of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism, this little-Russian destroys everything with any national characteristics.

To a certain extent these people have brought about the Ukrainophobia on the part of the Russians.

### III. CONSCIOUS RUSSIFICATION

Clear evidence of the "triumph of Leninist national politics" is presented by the "historical" achievements of the CPSU in the area of "the elimination of the differences between all nations and nationalities" and the "creation of a new historical community — the Soviet nation". This manifests itself in Ukrainians consciously Russifying, i.e. conscious Russification, as an aim... (illegible) as an event of the highest category.

We — are a sacrifice to the politics of Russification. Why does this happen — in a time of the greatest development of the Ukrainian nation, why do Ukrainians denounce their own nation, and willingly adopt an alien one? Maybe they are incapable of understanding this deception. But why are they not denounced as traitors of their fatherland and not sentenced under article 56 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR!

On the contrary — these people gain respect, doors open for them and they can fly to high... (illegible). No, Ukrainians are poisoned with the drug of ideological intoxication.

\* i.e. their nation.

Soviet reality denies the development of nations, and everyone is able to see the disappearance of national characteristics.

As to the future — the state is aiming at the death of a nation. Ukrainians are ashamed to even refer to Ukraine's past because who could ever think that Ukraine as a nation ever existed (it is as if only the Ukr. SSR ever existed); Kyivan Rus' is considered to be a Russian nation (in the sense of Muscovite). To speak Ukrainian is considered to be an indication of "khokhlatsky" origins\*.

On the other hand — how grand it is to be Russian; as infants, Ukrainians envisaged a fantastic vision of "the gold-roofed Kremlin in the capital of their fatherland"; and yet another grandiosity — soon all the world will be speaking Russian!

This is how Ukrainians are grafted with the psychological complex of their inferiority.

Also, education, the development of personality, is only possible through the use of Russian and through Russian cultural and spiritual values.

This is how the complex of compensation arises logically i.e. equalisation with the "highest" — for which Ukrainians chose to assimilate with the Russians.

Conscious Russification explains the tragic national position of Ukrainians. State-party politics and assimilation are synonymous and are considered to be progressive. Official spokesmen encourage the writing of "scientific-theoretical" works on the theme of conscious Russification and use them for propaganda purposes.

Such is our Soviet reality.

It is not possible to speak of the violation of the Helsinki Accords in the USSR, since elementary human rights and freedom are totally absent in the Soviet Union.

For these reasons, I denounce my Soviet citizenship.

With my declaration, I enclose:

1. The passport of V. V. Kalynychnenko, a former Soviet citizen of the USSR.
2. My military service certificate;
3. My graduation certificate from the Korotchenko Kyiv Institute of National Agriculture;
4. A copy of my court sentence, for which I served 10 years' imprisonment.

August 1977.

*V. Kalynychnenko*".

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\* i.e. from the country.

"TO THE PRESIDIU OF THE SUPREME COURT OF THE USSR,  
From: V. V. KALYNYCHENKO, Vasylivka, Dnipropetrovsk  
Province, Shchorsa 2,  
Persecuted for his views, which oppose those officially permitted  
in the USSR.

### STATEMENT

The political prisoners of the Perm camps who are forced to labour in the Urals declare a hunger strike (which is the only possible means of protest). The intention of the strike is to attract the attention of the participants of the Belgrade Conference to the political persecutions which take place in the Soviet Union.

I am joining these prisoners for the following reasons:

Firstly: I myself served a ten year sentence in these camps just because I wished to emigrate from the USSR.

Secondly: the majority of political prisoners in the USSR are my blood brothers — Ukrainians.

And thirdly: after my so-called release, I was placed under official administrative supervision, which has lasted for over one and a half years now. Administrative supervision is the same thing as house arrest. My life is totally regulated and I am continually both morally and psychologically terrorised.

When considering the difficult internal atmosphere in the Soviet Union which made itself manifest with the acceptance of the new Stalinistic constitution, which deprive the nation of all elementary rights and freedoms, an end of political persecution cannot be expected.

On the basis of this, the declaration made by the government that the USSR fulfills all the demands of the Declaration of Human Rights, the Convention concerning social and political rights, and all the points of the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference, is an absolute fabrication.

This is why I am declaring that I will hold a hunger strike from the 17th to the 26th October, i.e. for 10 days.

I also *renounce* my Soviet citizenship because I do not wish to be a citizen of a nation which intends to destroy another nation by all possible means.

I demand:

I. That the supervision established over me be annulled, as it is without foundation and illegal.

II. That I be given the opportunity of emigrating from the USSR for political reasons.

10th October 1977

V. Kalynychenko".

## WORKERS ACCUSE CPSU PARTY BUREAUCRATS

"... It is as if no laws exist for us honest citizens of the USSR, deprived of the right to work for no reason other than for revealing the abuses committed against the workers by our employers.

Not only will they not give us a hearing or a just examination of the declarations we have presented, but they apply illegal measures against us driving us out of Moscow, interning us in psychiatric institutions. All this in retaliation for the right to voice complaints. Those put in positions of trust by the party and government, are oppressors.

We were all at the meeting with the deputy of the Procurator General of the USSR, A. S. Pankratov: many of us heard his public speech delivered in the lecture theatre on the 9th June, 1976. Pankratov embodies two opposing personalities: in public, he is a true communist, but alone in his office with those who file complaints, he is a hypocrite. V. H. Kozlov from Lipetska, and T. M. Manakov from Sudaka were accused of being speculators; B. H. Kashapova from Ufa was accused of being a prostitute; Zh. F. Kasbyanov was ejected from the office by the militia; A. S. Fufayeva from the village of Ohudnyevo in the Moscow region, was ordered out of the office; in the presence of A. S. Surovov, the Moscow Regional Procurator, he called V. T. Poplavsky from Klymovska a slanderer; he demanded a bribe from V. A. Klyebanov from Makiyivka in the Donetsk region; he declared to Sh. A. Ohanyesyanov from Yerevan: "There will be no written replies to the complaint filed on the 3rd June, 1976..."

We can present many facts demonstrating the repressive, "opportunistic" investigation of workers' complaints: V. T. Poplavsky was seized in the reception of the CC CPSU on the 30th June, 1976, was forcibly taken to station no. 46 of the Moscow militia, and within one hour, had been sentenced to 15 days of imprisonment...

V. I. Kucherenko from Makhachalka was seized on the 22nd June, 1977 at the Marxist-Leninist Institute in Gorky Street; they tried to commit him to a psychiatric institute, but the doctor refused to admit him. Then he was driven to the MVD, special institute no. 2, to the Moscow Regional Executive Committee of the Communist Party, where the director, senior lieutenant P. V. Yefimov, detained V. I. Kucherenko in a prison cell for no reason whatsoever. Then he ordered V. I. Kucherenko to be driven to Ryazan under guard, although Kucherenko lives in Makhachkala.

Z. H. Ryakhina from the village Orto-Say in Kirghiz SSR and A. D. Ovchinnikova from Minsk, were seized on the streets of Moscow, driven to the MVD special building no. 1 where, in accordance with director I. A. Polyesny's instructions, they were stripped naked and degradingly searched. They even tore Z. H. Ryakhina's dress. Then the two women were driven to Moscow.

On the 10th February, 1977, KGB agents seized V. A. Klyebanov and V. S. Cheeryova on the streets of Moscow. They were forcibly driven to militia station no. 46, from whence V. A. Klyebanov was transferred to psychiatric institute no. 7.

They behaved in a similar manner with I. P. Bobryshev from Suman, who was interned in psychiatric institute no. 1 on the 1st May, 1977.

L. I. Tsado from Stepnoy, Kazakh SSR, was seized at the head telegraph office in June 1977 and was forced to "talk" with a psychiatrist.

A. S. Sydor, mother of four children from Postov, and H. I. Haydor, mother of two children from Kyiv, were interned in psychiatric institute no. 13 on the orders of the USSR Procuracy.

The Isayevs — both of whom are over 60 years old, from Kuybyshev, were seized and interned in psychiatric institute no. 7, where Isayeva became seriously ill with a heart attack.

Ye. M. Soroka, from the village of Lidykhova in the Ternopil region, was interned three times in psychiatric institutions in Moscow; Fazalkhanova from Kazan and K. H. Tulikova, participants of the Great Patriotic War, from the Pavlohradsky region, were seized in the reception of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR in January 1977, and were interned in psychiatric institute no. 7...

On the orders of the USSR Procuracy and the CC CPSU, repression were instigated and local authorities set in opposition to those who file complaints. A. S. Fufayev from the village of Ohudnyevo in the Moscow region was sentenced to 10 days in prison; during the night, three people, led by militiaman Shatrov, broke into H. T. Yankov's flat in Moscow. On the 23rd May, 1977 they threw out all his domestic belongings and on the 27th May, 1977, they forced him to leave Moscow.

They tried to transfer A. Z. Ostrokhova from Voroshylvohrad to a psychiatric institute during the night, after her personal meeting with Procurator General of the USSR — comrade R. A. Rudenko.

T. I. Kravchenko, from Mykolaiv, was interned in a psychiatric institute for almost three months. She was only released on the demands of 76 citizens, who, knowing her well, wrote many letters on her behalf to the CC CPSU and the national press.

On the 22nd June, 1977, on the orders of Procurator V. I. Krachkevych, of the USSR Procuracy, the militia attempted to intern Yelena Oleksiyivna Taran in a psychiatric institute.

In September 1975, 54 citizen of Mykolayiv, komsomol members and communists, wrote a declaration to the Procurator General of the USSR in defence of M. I. Yashchenko, whom officials were trying to intern in a psychiatric institution. No reply was sent to the declaration. On the 13th January, 1976 they sent another complaint to the 25th Congress of the CPSU with the request that a reply be sent to

Maria Mykhaylivna Matusevych. A reply has not been received to this day.

On the 28th June, 1977, employee I. I. Klochkov of the USSR Procuracy tried to persuade V. N. Izvyekova to discredit her friends who had sent a complaint to L. I. Brezhnev on the 20th June, 1977. This was intended to abrogate the complaint: in exchange, they promised Izekova that her particular case would be "solved".

On the 12th August, 1977 at 7 o'clock in the evening, procuracy officials in Makayivka threatened V. V. Chatrykiv and V. T. Klyebanov at their flat...

We no longer believe that the USSR Procuracy is an establishment which stands in defence of the October achievements and which is competent of defending the nation's and workers' interests.

We also do not trust those employees of the administrative organs of the CC CPSU who do not carry out the correct procedures to investigate workers' complaints about Party and government officials, but rather forward those complaints to the individuals about whom they have been made. This engenders delays and oppression.

On the 7th October, 1977 the new constitution of the USSR was adopted, which clearly stated to the world that in accordance with article 54 "Citizens of the USSR are guaranteed inviolability of person. No one may be arrested except by a court decision or on the warrant of a prosecutor".

Article 57: "Respect for the individual and protection of the rights and freedoms of citizens are the duty of all state bodies, public organisations and officials".

We will demand a full and just investigation of our declarations and complaints about unfounded dismissals from work: we will hold those officials, who indulge in plundering the national heritage, and who try to intimidate honest citizens with terror, responsible for the repressions.

### **We Demand:**

1. That an authoritative committee be established to examine the activities of the workers of the CC CPSU administration, who, we are deeply convinced, are guided by their own personal motives, and not by Party and government instructions.

2. That in accordance with the constitution of the USSR, we are given the opportunity to personally meet the leaders of the party and government, who are fenced off from us by a barrier of bureaucracy".

This document, dated the 7th November, 1977, was signed by 33 people, who gave their full names and addresses.

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## "IN ETERNAL MEMORY" — ON THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE CARNAGE OF NOVOCHERKASY

Another samvydav document has reached the West entitled: "In Eternal Memory", which was written in May 1977 — on the eve of the 15th anniversary of the massacre of the workers in Novocherkasy, near Rostov-on-the-Don. This document was signed by 21 people including some members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group in Kyiv — namely Petro Hryhorenko and Oksana Meshko. The full text is reprinted below and speaks for itself:

"On the 3rd of May 1977 "Pravda" printed an article entitled "Massacre in Liberty Square" in which the following was written: "... About 200 policemen appeared in Haymarket Square. They shot at the strikers. Salvoes were fired into the crowd, *people fell and died on the bridge*. This happened in Chicago in the United States of America, 91 years ago. It took place on the 1st of May.

"... Soldiers and police appeared in Liberty Square. They shot at the demonstrators — at workers, peasants, students. Salvoes were fired at the crowd, *people fell and died on the bridge*. This is what took place on the previous day in El Salvadore — in one of the poor regions of Central America — in the republic of El Salvadore. It happened on the 1st of May".

Now let us tear ourselves away from the text of "Pravda" and look at the events in a town closer to us, the scene is as follows:

In the streets of Novocherkasy a large peaceful demonstration is taking place. Red flags, portraits of Lenin, posters with peaceful slogans are being carried. To all appearances it seems to be a May Day parade. But it is not. It is a national protest.

The day before, the Soviet regime had increased the prices of meat and dairy products twice. Simultaneously the tariff at the largest factory in the town (an electrical plant) had been reduced by 30%. The workers had had enough. Having declared a strike, they and their families went out onto the streets.

Infantry and tanks blocked the path of the demonstrators in the town centre square. There was a long delay, then the machine guns began to fire — into the demonstrators, shooting children, women, men. Explosive bullets were used and *people fell and died on the bridge* — at the feet of the Lenin memorial, all around the square, in the nearby streets. This happened 15 years ago — on the 2nd of June, in a country which calls itself *SOCIALIST*.

A group of members of the CC of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union under the guidance of two members of the Politbureau — Frol Kozlov and Anastasiy Mikoyan — were responsible for the suppression of the workers' demonstration. General Pliev of the North Kavkaz Command and Basov — the first secretary of the

Russian Regional Committee of the CPSU — were put in direct charge of the shooting, and they fulfilled their task "brilliantly".

When the events in the square came to a halt because the soldiers from the town garrison refused to shoot unarmed people, General Pliev hurriedly replaced them with soldiers of non-Russian nationalities from other divisions in his command; these fulfilled the task. After they had committed their black deed, they themselves were replaced. Why examine those unarmed, peaceful people that they had killed and wounded! This next replacement was deliberately not supplied with explosive bullets so that it could be asserted that the massacre was obviously committed by hostile agents since the Soviet Army did not have such ammunition.

Neither "Pravda" nor any other Soviet paper printed one word about the Novocherkas massacre, and the regime took measures to ensure that no witnesses were allowed to leave the town, to prevent rumours circulating.

An armed cordon surrounded Novocherkas. No one was allowed to leave or enter the town. Everyone was searched and arrests were made. People were forced to sign documents promising that they would not report the massacre. The corpses and the wounded were removed. Even now nothing is known about the victims' families, who were resettled in distant lands. A series of court trials were held. Two of them were "open" (though permission was needed to attend). At one of these trials 9 men (who were sentenced to death) and 2 women (who were sentenced to 15 years each) were tried.

People were so frightened and terrorised that if it were not for the determined and heroic work of Alexander Solzhenitsyn, who painstakingly collected evidence about the Novocherkas events, the world still would not know about them to this day. But even now there are no precise details about the exact number of people who perished. Only 70-80 corpses were left in the square, how many were killed, how many of the wounded were eliminated later and how many were sentenced to death, remains a secret.

These sacrifices cannot be either forgotten or forgiven.

We appeal that the 2nd of June be made into a day of remembrance for the sacrifices taken on that day of insanity, a day of battle against the bloody terror of the regime.

V. Bakhmin, Ye. Bonner, T. Belikanova, T. Bentslova, Z. Hryhorenko, P. Hryhorenko, K. Harutsas, A. Lavut, M. Landa, O. Lukauskayte, H. Meyman O. Meshko, Yu. Mnukh A. Polishchuk, V. Pyatkus, A. Sakharov, F. Serebrov, V. Sapelyak, V. Turchin, E. Finkelshteyn, T. Khodorovych.

May, 1977".



## M. OSADCHY ACCUSES THE KGB OF MURDERING HIS BROTHER, VOLODYMYR OSADCHY

*Ukrainian author — Mykhaylo Osadchy, first sentenced in 1966 and then in 1973 to 7 years of imprisonment to be served in strict regime labour camps and to 3 years exile, has appealed to the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group requesting them to investigate the treacherous circumstances of his brother's death. The appeal, currently circulating in samvydav, is printed in full below.*

“Honoured Ukrainians!

On 5th April, 1975, on 40th Anniversary of October Street, an ambulance collected the body of my 33-year old brother Volodymyr Hryhorovych Osadchy.

The first death certificate which was issued, was destroyed. Some people who read it were astonished — it was different from the second one, which gave the cause of death as alcoholism and heart failure. (I am even more stunned by the tragedy, because I had been warned about the future murder of my brother three months before the event).

I will briefly explain the sequence of events which unfolded around my brother and myself. These are made even more interesting because all the threads of the events are connected to the KGB. Hence, here lies the real truth.

In November-December 1974, I was transferred from a strict regime labour camp (Sosnovka, Mordovia) to a KGB prison. There, senior lieutenant Shumeyko and lieutenant Yermolenko suggested that I do them a favour, in return for which, they, in accordance with the declaration I sent to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, would do everything possible to have my sentence terminated to the length of the term I had already served. Obviously everything would depend upon the assiduousness of my services.

I angrily refused as a person who has been unjustly oppressed and as a citizen who condemns the repressions which took place in Ukraine in 1972. Then KGB threats and plots hailed down on me because, as is known, the KGB doesn't throw its words to the wind.

In the village of Kurman, in the Sumsky region, my 70-year old mother was beaten up because her son is a “criminal”. Senior lieutenant Shumeyko (in December, 1974) said: “We will imprison you”, (this comment was directed at me). Lieutenant Yermolenko (also in December, 1974) said: “Prepare your brother for such an event which will drive you insane”.

I was informed of these remarks by the informer Hromov Oleshko, who was in the same cell as me in December, 1974, and who “confessed” to me that he was an informer. After I was told these things, these events immediately followed. On the 5th January, 1975, in the

transit prison . . . cell no. 13, two criminals — Belmosov and Hutsulyak tried to indecently assault me and beat me up; it was a miracle that I did not lose consciousness.

On the 10th January, 1975, before I was transferred to the camp, Belmosov told me that I would be murdered in exile and my brother would be murdered shortly. In February, 1975, I wrote a letter to my brother in which I warned him to be careful and that until the whole matter had been explained, that he was not to walk on his own. The camp censors confiscated my letter. I do not understand why my brother, who lives and works in Sumy, was involved in any case by the then head of the Dubrovlah KGB, Colonel Drotenko.

I wrote a letter to the procurator of the Lviv region on the 1st April, 1975, in which I listed the facts which proved that someone in my family, particularly my wife in Lviv or my brother in Sumy, was in danger of their lives. I asked them to warn my wife.

These are briefly the circumstances in which I found myself before my brother was murdered. I found out later about my brother's circumstances. But all this, is far from the whole truth.

In December, 1974, my brother was summoned to Lviv from Sumy, where general Poluden spoke with him for one and a half hours. I have not been able to discover the content of the conversation. After my brother returned to Sumy, people who knew him, noticed that he was depressed. He told some people that it had been suggested to him that he should work for the KGB, in return for which, they said, I would be released.

He categorically turned down this disgraceful proposition, but the Sumy KGB, to achieve their purpose, baited and persecuted my brother at every turn. They told him to his face that someone from our family had to become a KGB informer.

At that very same time, someone whose identity remains unknown, brought my brother together with a group of criminals who were serving out their sentences in Sumy at the chemical plant.

There are witnesses who saw my brother more than once in the company of these people. In March, 1975, my brother's new "friends" burgled a shop. On the 2nd April, (or possibly the 3rd), my brother was summoned to the regional Kovpakivsky militia in connection with the burglary. After being detained, my brother was released; he was not implicated in the burglary, but was wanted as a witness at the trial.

On the 5th April, 1975, a group of criminals, friends of those who had been arrested for breaking into the shop, dumped my brother's body near no. 15... (illegible) from which point I began this statement.

I found out about my brother's death a month after he was murdered — it was almost like reading a cheap detective novel. But all that has now become insignificant. Since then I have held a 39-day hunger strike demanding an investigation (into my brother's death) and that the murderers be brought to criminal responsibility. My request is

repeatedly rejected, seemingly, on the basis of the second death certificate which was issued, and according to which the cause of death was not murder. The first certificate, where there was no mention of the presence of alcohol in my brother's blood and which vanished without trace — is not mentioned. Neither is anything said about the blow he received on his temple nor about the strength of the blow. This alone says much. There were also signs which suggest that my brother had been assaulted either before or after he had been killed.

Honoured Friends! I beg you to investigate this case as far as you are able or at least ensure that an official investigation is set up. On a private basis, you can start your investigation with my (and my brother's) friend — the poet and journalist Mykola Danko, who lives in Sumy. Although he knows nothing about the rumours circulated by the KGB and by informers, he might be able to give a lead to people who might be able to explain this tragedy, although Danko believes in rumours and is easily convinced.

I will describe my brother a little: he was born in 1941; he studied the science of commodities; completed higher education; worked in the Sumy regional union of consumer co-operatives for seven years. He always tried to explain to people that I had been convicted twice totally unjustly. All the notices in the co-operative where he worked in Sumy, were rewritten in Ukrainian. This was his only action in the sphere of "dissidentship".

Before his murder he was literally hounded to become an informer. In Sumy, Shostya, Rovna (illegible) wherever he went to work, they appeared everywhere as . . . (illegible) in front of him and forced him to co-operate with them. In the village, where my 70-year old mother lives, before the murder, a disgusting and obscene propaganda campaign was unfolded which claimed that I was a spy, a Banderite, a "criminal", that I will never return from Siberia.

They questioned my niece — Luda Bilohrychenko — a school girl, whom I have seen once in my life when she was seven years old — about my anti-Soviet activities. She was questioned and frightened by the headmaster of her school and by the informer — Andriy Kotoroky. On the day of my brother's funeral — the 7th April, 1975, many KGB agents gathered in the village and noted down all the people present. My wife from Lviv was also there.

Honoured Friends! With my still-unhealed wound, I have appealed to the Moscow dissidents, to the International Association of Lawyer-Democrats and to PENClub. I do not know the fate of my declarations — I have had no results so far. I have also sent declarations to the Dobrovlah, to the Lviv and All-Union KGB. In my declarations, I accuse the KGB of being implicated in the death of my 33-year old brother on the basis of concrete evidence. I have received no replies.

Find out, please, what you can about the circumstances of my brother's death or at least publicise this affair to oppose the denial of the KGB (of their involvement in my brother's death). Help me, because the circumstances in which I am in, do not permit me to do more than I have already done. I have the full support of Rev. Vasyl Romanyuk in this case, which he has stated publicly. If you wish, you may use my declaration: I vouch for its totality and for every word with my signature.

Mykhaylo Osadchy, strict regime concentration camp,  
Sosnovka, Mordovia.

20th November, 1977.

P.S. I am holding a hunger strike: the 16th November is my brother's birthday and the 5th April — the day he was murdered.

Honoured Friends! For the sake of humanity, support my 70-year old mother, who is in deep mourning (for my father who died in 1973 and for my brother who was murdered in 1975) and who bears the weight of my imprisonment. Let everyone who can, write her a letter. By this, you will give her moral and physical strength. Her address is: Sumska Oblast, Nedryhaylivsky Rayon, Kurman village, Osadcha Olena Paramanova.

I, M. H. Osadchy, also request that someone with good literary taste, is appointed to edit my books, poems and prose (probably at the expense of omitting my weaker works)".

### THE POLITICS OF UKRAINIAN POLITICAL PRISONERS

*A new Ukrainian document is circulating in Samvydav which describes the current political positions of Ukrainian political prisoners and which shows how they conceive the future development of the Ukrainian resistance movement. This document was written recently, as indicated by the signatures of the rev. Romanyuk\* and Oleksa Tykhy.\**

*There are several places where the document is illegible, especially the title, which can be assumed to read: "The position of Ukrainian political prisoners" or "Credo of Ukrainian political prisoners" or "A letter from Ukrainian political prisoners". "A Generalisation" is written in brackets following the title. The document is composed of five letters, which are printed below:*

\*) Rev. Romanyuk: born 1925, studied in the Moscow seminary; an Orthodox priest, married with a son; served a sentence in the Stalin camps from 1944 to 1954. He was arrested for a second time on 12. 1. 1972 and sentenced in July 1972 to 10 years of imprisonment and 5 years' exile. He was accused of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" — which in reality was his services to the community as a pastor. He is serving his sentence in the Mordovia concentration camp no. 1-6.

"Today, with a perspective of the not too distant past, it is clear that the national rebirth of the 1960's and 1970's will leave a distinct impression on the history of our nation.

The beginning of the 1960's marks the first stage of national renewal after the 1930's and 1940's, when Ukraine experienced moral and physical destruction, when even the slightest manifestation of nationality was crushed with the utmost brutality.

The several score of dissidents of the 1960's were those bright rays of light in the impenetrable darkness, who certified that the ideas and emotions of the nation were not in ruins, that Ukraine was alive.

In the 1970's hundreds and maybe even thousands of dissenters used their strengths to elevate their nation. A "dissident" is understood to be a person who endeavours to better any facet of life and who openly states his thoughts and convictions. This category of people does not only include political prisoners.

We do not consider dissidents to be just any people who are dissatisfied with the existing state of affairs (there are millions of such people) but only those who openly declare that fact. Anyway — this multi-faced mass did not have a formulated ideal, it did not have a political character, but was spontaneous.

As yet, not one document has been produced which describes, even generally, the ideas of this small group of Ukrainian patriots. The time has come to declare that we are being persecuted and mercilessly punished for our convictions, and also to openly state our endeavours, ideals and aims.

The intensity of the dissident movement in the 1970's is a direct consequence of the intensified repression of the national cultures of non-Russian nations. The methods of repression are Stalinistic and employ illegality, persecution, senseless brutality, a total disregard for social feelings and the world's reaction. On the basis of this it is not difficult to foresee that further action in defence of national rights and freedom will be taken. As a result of this — there will no doubt be new repressions, a new wave of arrests.

However, it will be impossible to stop the movement by repression. Sacrifices inflame, not quell, hearts. Ukrainians should finally have the right to live freely on their land, to speak in their native tongue, to celebrate their national traditions, to develop the spiritual heritage left to them by their forefathers, to defend their national sanctity from dishonour.

Russian chauvinism justifies the spiritual genocide of our nation

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\*) Oleksa Tykhy: born 1927; graduated from a pedagogical institute; first arrested in 1957 and sentenced to 7 years of imprisonment for attempting to increase the number of Ukrainian schools in Donbas. He was arrested and sentenced for a second time on 4. 2. 1977 and sentenced on 1. 7. 1977 to 10 years of imprisonment and 5 years of exile. The reason for his arrest was his membership of the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords and his concern about the Ukrainian education system. He was recently transferred to the Mordovian camps.

with Marxism-Leninism in the guise of Stalinistic bolshevism — the worst and most reactionary idea of the present.

The situation which arose in Ukraine, obliges Ukrainian patriots in the fatherland and abroad to be responsible for the fate of their nation. And because there is the possibility of repressions and bloody terror spreading to other nations, we are responsible before all humanity.

The time has come to declare our aims and duties, which make us defenders of social rights. We are democrats. For us the highest principles of social and national relations are the UN Declaration of Human Rights, UN treaties and documents concerning the sovereignty and independence of peoples and nations.

We renounce the politics and practices of the CPSU on the national question, their interpretation of the concept of democracy, their so-called theory of the development of national literature, art, science, education.

We consider all forms of tyranny, dictatorship, disrespect for the rights of people and nations, and violations of the rights of man to be despicable and evil. We sympathise with and understand the endeavours of all nations to independence, and the acceptance of these ideals by democratic countries and by the UN.

We oppose the support of independence struggles with tanks and rockets; the imposition of well-known ideologies, dictatorship, and lifestyles on former captive nations; independence is achieved by millions of sacrifices, fratricidal wars, millions of emigrées, millions of political prisoners.

We are grateful to all nations, governments, parties and individual activists throughout the world for their support for the independence of nations, especially for their support for Ukraine's independence. We especially sincerely thank the nations, governments and communities of the U.S.A. and Canada.

We believe, that with the strength of the Ukrainian nation and with the moral support of the other nations of the USSR, including the Russian democratic countries and the US, Ukraine will soon achieve her independence and will occupy the place she deserves amongst the democratic countries of the world.

### **THE HISTORICAL FATE OF UKRAINE**

Through the centuries, czarist bureaucracy has considered Ukraine to be an indivisible part of Russia. Her sovereignty, independence, culture, traditions, and language were not officially recognised and any manifestation of nationality was forbidden.

Now Ukraine is declared to be a sovereign nation: her development is spoken about continuously, but running parallel with the amalgamation, the notion that Ukraine has only survived due to Russia, under the banner "forever together" with Russia, is perpetually thrown about.

Ukraine is a country whose history stretches back over a thousand years. From time immemorial, Ukrainian tribes, the people, the nation have had their own land (territory), faith, language, traditions, their own psychological make-up, and anthropological evidence — all of have served to distinguish Ukraine from other nations, including the Slavonic ones.

The many different names by which Ukrainians have called themselves, or which others have called them: rusychi, cherkasy, kozaks, rusyny, rutentsi, malorosy (small Russians) or even the abusive khakhly, in no way eradicates our sovereignty, does not reduce our right to exist as a separate nation, our right to develop and to give our contribution to the general spiritual and cultural heritage of the world.

Ukraine was a great nation under the name "Rus" or "Kyivan Rus". She differentiated herself from other nations of that period because she did not have aggressive intentions, she did not dream of ruling the world or of enlarging her territory at the expense of other nations.

In the union of Lithuanian nations, Ukrainians were not an enslaved peoples, but they administered freely on their own land, developed freely, cared for their spiritual faith. At that time. the Ukrainian literary language was also the language used by the administration. After the unification of Lithuania with Poland, Ukraine started to experience economic pressure, an attempt to change the Orthodox faith to the Catholic, the imposition of the Polish language. This gave the impetus for a general national struggle, which was led by Bohdan Khmelnytsky.

Ukraine overcame these pressures definitively and in 1654, on the basis of the March marches, Khmelnytsky signed a treaty with the Russian czar. The terms of the treaty were continually violated by the Russian government and Czar Peter I violated the entire treaty. This was how Ukraine became one of the provinces of the Russian empire. Ukraine forfeited her military independence, her administrative rights (the Magdeburgs right), and her economic independence.

The Ukrainian church became independent of the Russian patriarch. By a decree issued by Peter I, the Ukrainian language was banned in churches and in the educational system.

As a result of the bourgeois-democratic February Revolution in 1917, in which Ukrainian political parties and individual Ukrainian revolutionaries played a substantial role, the Ukrainian national republic — an autonomous nation of democratic Russia, headed by the Centralna Rada, was created.

On the 22nd January 1918, the UNR (Ukrainian National Republic) proclaimed herself as an independent, sovereign Ukrainian nation. As a consequence of the Civil War and the defeat in World War I, Ukraine was proclaimed to be a socialist republic under the bolsheviks — a component of RCP(b). On the 30th December 1922, in accord-

ance with the talks about the creation of the USSR, Ukraine entered the affiliation as a sovereign nation.

Every one of the socialist republics retained their sovereignty in the economic, cultural, scientific, and educational spheres. All military strengths and diplomacy were united (although military divisions were under the command of the union) to present a united front against external enemies.

Until 1937 the CPSU(b), led by Stalin, while destroying the Ukrainian national intelligentsia, the party and economic cadres, liquidated all the sovereign autonomous rights of Ukraine, including the national army.

Forced collectivisation, the exiling of peasants, the synthetic famine of 1933, the war with Fascist Germany and the post-war repressions, especially concentrated in West Ukraine, took almost 17 million human sacrifices in Ukraine.

Ukrainians are one of the most freedom-loving, democratic, hard-working and peace-loving nations in the world. For over 300 years she has experienced a tragic fate in the hands of powerful neighbours (Russia, Poland, Austro-Hungary, Romania, Czecho-Slovakia), who have attempted to assimilate her. But despite this, no one has succeeded in destroying the courageous Ukrainians, their language, their faith, traditions, their desire for independence and democracy.

Ukraine should be independent, democratic, spiritually rich, materially secure, she should have a high level of science, education, which should be national in character, in content and form.

Every person, group of people, organisation, village, every territorial entity should have the right to freely and without constraint, utilise community, social and political rights — for their own benefit and without harming others. For Ukraine to live in peace and friendship with all the nations of the world, for her to exchange material goods, scientific and cultural gains, for Ukraine to be able to sincerely and hospitably greet all citizens of the world on her territory and for her citizens to be able to visit the countries of all continents, let the citizen be educated by his family, school, church, society and not by the streets, concentration camps and prisons.

### POSSIBLE FORMS OF OPPOSITION

Every person, group of people, every individual nation is guided by specific moral norms. We, Ukrainian political prisoners, whose guilt lies in the fact that we defend our native language, literary creativity, human rights and our nation, consider the following norms of behaviour vital for Ukrainians if we are to be saved from spiritual and cultural destruction:

— To only use the native language on the native land, and so strengthen oneself and one's nation.

— Not to send children to nurseries and schools where Russian is



used as the language of instruction, but to demand that schools and institutions of education use the native language or alternatively, teach children at home.

— To refuse education in schools and institutes of higher education where Russian is the language of instruction, but to demand that schools, technical colleges, and universities use Ukrainian as the language of instruction; and to study independently, and sit external exams.

— To speak the native language not only within the family circle but at work, in communal work, on the streets.

— Not to visit Russian theatres, cinemas, concerts because they have a negative influence on the culture of language, and this influence is especially detrimental to children and youth. This also applies to television and the radio.

— To abstain from alcohol, the use of bad language, smoking (... illegible).

— Not to horde money and valuables for their sake alone, but to use them to help people of ill-fortune, talented children and youth, parents who do not have the means to secure a normal education for their children and for the development of creative talents and so on.

— To refuse work in establishments, educational institutions, social organisations where the Ukrainian language, national traditions, and the rights of man are not respected.

— To refuse army service which is to be served beyond the boundaries of Ukraine and to refuse to serve under officers who do not use Ukrainian.

— To refuse to work more than the instituted 41-hour week, on Sundays and national holidays and also on communal farms.

— To not leave Ukraine to work.

— To defend your own rights, the rights of other people, freedom, honesty, integrity; to defend the sovereignty of Ukraine.

— To reveal and publicise any violations of the law.

The above suggested methods of resistance against the politics and practise of the bureaucracy, which is aimed at the spiritual and cultural destruction of the Ukrainian nation, are not considered crimes as they are not foreseen by any laws.

However, the bureaucrats and KGB agents can persecute people by dismissing them from their employment, by detrimental criticism at work meetings, by demoting them, by reducing their pay, by terrorising them or even by a court trial. But has freedom been achieved anywhere at any time without sacrifice? Is it proper to live the life of a terrified animal, to worry about the next meal, to bring up children — the orphaned children of the 20th century — in this way?

In the instance of someone from the administration, Party, komso-mol, union activists, the militia, the procurators or the KGB showing an interest in your convictions, views, friends, artistic tastes and so on, this should be treated as an incrimination, or an attempt to incriminate someone else with your help. In this case:

- 1) Do not give any explanations.
  - 2) Do not give any evidence, even if positive, about people who are accused of being dissenters, of having religious convictions or of nationalism. (This does not apply to people who are accused of murder theft, hooliganism or spying).
  - 3) Do not believe in the honesty, decency and legality of the investigator without having compared his statements with the Criminal Proceedings Code.
  - 4) Do not fear punishment or even death for non-existent offences because such punishments serve to increase the stature of the person being punished and show thousands or even millions of people the true face of the torturers.
  - 5) Do not bargain for a reduction in your sentence by accepting slander about yourself or by accusing other people.
  - 6) Refuse to enter into any sort of discussions without an accurate record of them being made, as in accordance with the law.
  - 7) One who is already suspected by the KGB has already in fact been tried and been meted a sentence. All the other events — the investigation, the trial — are mere formalities.
  - 8) A person who is a suspect, has been accused and tried, has the right to know the law. You should demand to have copies of the appropriate articles of the Criminal Code and the Criminal Proceedings Code, the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Constitution. Learn them and utilise them.
  - 9) All the answers to the questions of the investigator should be noted down by you. All the violations committed by the investigator, the procurator and by others should be noted down in the records.
  - 10) You should formally complain about every violation committed by the investigator, procurator or others.
  - 11) Defend your convictions in writing or renounce them completely and do not give any evidence which may incriminate someone else simply because he has the same views as you or works with you, and do not mention anyone who holds hostile views about you.
  - 12) At the jury meeting deny the accusations made against you; point out the violations committed against you by the investigator, the procurator or others, complain about every violation; refuse the services of a lawyer who has already admitted to the guilt of the accused — who himself has not admitted such guilt. The accused has the right to appoint any of his relatives or a lawyer from another country for his defence.
- “Everyone who serves his nation, — wears a crown of thorns” ... (illegible).

A wreath of thorns for one who serves his nation can be the concentration camp, prison, exile to Siberia. This means a long period will be spent beyond the borders of the fatherland, behind bars, barbed wire, doing slave labour, suffering the provocations of the KGB, an attempt to diminish human dignity, deprivation of links

with the world and contact with relatives, a limited right to read literature, hunger, isolation cells.

We are all familiar with the terror and ill fortune of political convicts until 1917 from films and art, which ill fortune is the conscience and greatest good of today's prisoners.

Many people have carried this burden time and again. We are all prisoners who have been sentenced to death. In fighting for legality, the rights of man, for the rights of our nation — we do not only strive for a life which is owed to people, but for our very existence behind bars and barbed wire.

We adhere to the following ethics for the prisoner:

1. To continuously work to better his intellectual level; to gain wisdom from any field of knowledge; to share this knowledge with other prisoners and their families; to be involved in creative work.

2. To observe general human moral norms.

3. To treat every prisoner as an equal sufferer; not to oppress him, but to try and help him or defend him if some injustice is committed against him by the administration, the KGB or immoral prisoners, bandits or the administration's lackeys.

4. In the case of persecution, everyone should openly take the status of a political prisoner, whose rights have not yet been recognised in the USSR.

5. Prejudice against other political prisoners on the basis of race, nationality, language, convictions and faith is not allowed. A person who does wrong to other prisoners by his co-operation with the KGB and administration deserves contempt and dishonour.

6. Fights and calumny, attempts to influence someone else — are negative manifestations and are not permissible in the environment of political prisoners.

7. Political prisoners, in accordance with the law, should be kept separate from criminal prisoners and any attempts to keep them together should be fought.

8. The political prisoner — is the conscience of the nation, so his behaviour, life-style, morals . . . (illegible).

. . . Experience has shown that individuals cannot do very much on their own. Any arrest, search, even an ordinary summons to the KGB or the procuracy for dissension, awakens many people, and more importantly, proves that the truth finds a place in many hearts, and sometimes even in thousands of hearts and more — and this — the truth, is more fearful to the KGB than the most organised army, modern war technology, nuclear or atomic bombs.

For people who have overcome their fear, who speak in their native language, who defend the right of their nation to life, who defend freedom, traditions, culture, economic development — are treated with respect by decent and honest citizens.

Every court case, regardless of all attempts to hide it from human

observation, does not remain a secret — it is widely spoken of in Ukraine and beyond her borders.

The law should not be violated. It is sufficient to use the laws proclaimed in the Constitution of the USSR and to use them to release the rebirth of Ukraine, her development and freedom.

“There are few of us, but no matter,  
With time there will be more:  
The darkness cannot hang eternally  
Over our exhausted nation”.

*Pavlo Hrabovsky.*

Signed: Oleksa Tykhy, a member of the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords.  
Vasyl Romanyuk, priest”.

## **D. SHUMUK AND V. LISOVY TRANSFERRED TO CAMPS**

### **S. Karavansky continues hunger strike, V. Stus seriously ill**

In mid-September 1977 Danylo Shumuk and Vasyl Lisovy were again transferred to Mordovian camps after they were taken to Kyiv to be “worked over” by the KGB. In the case of D. Shumuk, who was held for a month in the KGB building at 33, Korolenko Street, KGB officials attempted to extract “new evidence” from him against Valentyn Moroz, and tried to provoke him into activating a “campaign” against Moroz. According to the information received from Ukraine, Shumuk rejected all the “propositions” made by the KGB. During his stay in Kyiv, he was allowed to see his daughter and wife — Olena Yanovska. Shumuk was again taken to the Mordovian camp in Sosnovka (431120 Mordovian ASSR, settlement Sosnovska, p. p. box Zh Kh 3851-6).

All the KGB's efforts to break Vasyl Lisovy, who was also taken to Kyiv with the intention of forcing a “confession”, were without

*Continued on page 86*

*Danylo Shumuk:* born 30. 2. 1914; married, with children; a former member of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). With only two respites, he has been serving a 40-year sentence since 1945, and is currently in the Mordovian camp no. 1-6.

*Vasyl Lisovy:* born 17. 5. 1937; a research assistant at the Institute of Philosophy at the Academy of Science in the Ukr. SSR; a lecturer at Kyiv University; married with two children; arrested on 6. 7. 1972 for protesting against repression in Ukraine. He was sentenced at the beginning of December 1973 under Article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR to 7 years' imprisonment and 3 years' exile. He is currently serving his sentence in camp no. 36.

*Svyatoslav Karavansky:* born 24. 12. 1920; a journalist and philologist. Arrested for membership of OUN (Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists) in 1944 and sentenced on 7. 2. 1945 under Article 56 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR to 25 years of imprisonment. He was amnestied in 1950 but re-arrested on 13. 11. 1965, and without a trial forced to serve the rest of his 25-year sentence. He had an additional 15 years added on to his original sentence whilst in Vladimir prison. His wife *Nina Strokata* has also served a 4-year sentence and is currently in exile.

*Vasyl Stus:* born 8. 1. 1938; a graduate of a pedagogical institute and a post graduate student at the Academy of Sciences of the Ukr. SSR; a poet and literary critic; married and the father of a young son. Arrested on 13th January and sentenced on 7th September 1972 under Article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR, to 5 years of strict regime concentration camps and 3 years' exile. He was accused of his literary activities and for using the Ukrainian language.

**"I HAVE ALWAYS DREAMED OF AN INDEPENDENT  
UKRAINIAN NATION" — WRITES FORMER UPA SOLDIER,  
B. CHUYKO**

"The sentence passed by the Chernivetsky regional court on the 23rd of June and pronounced by the judicial college of criminal affairs of the Supreme Court of the Ukr. SSR on the 15th of August 1972, sentenced me under article 56, sect. 1nd 59, sect. 1. of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR to 15 years of imprisonment, to be served in a VTK (corrective labour colony), and to 5 years of exile. The reason for the sentence was because during the German occupation of Ukraine I was a member of UPA (the Ukrainian Insurgent Army) which fought against the occupation of our fatherland by alien nations and which sought to establish an independent Ukrainian nation.

Disregarding the proclamation made in the Soviet constitution concerning the right of every union republic to free secession from the U.S.S.R., the judicial college decreed that it considered the judgement of the Chernivetsky regional court valid, despite the fact the deeds occurred during the German occupation and were directed against the Germans. The Ukrainian Insurgent Army under the leadership of the OUN (Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists) fought against the Germans and their allies, but after the war the Soviets interpreted our endeavours as being terroristic acts committed against the Soviet regime, and still punish us for them. An interesting manifestation of solidarity, isn't it? Why, then, when there is insufficient evidence, do they cheat, and draw conclusions in total contradiction to the facts presented? For example, it is stated in the sentence that: "the collected materials prove that the banderite factions, led by B. M. Chuyko, murdered Soviet citizens because of their community activities and because they fought against fascism", when in the actual Ukr. KGB files sect. 5, the evidence of witnesses established in OUN archives, proves that the combatant group in question was under the leadership of totally different persons.

On the 3rd of December 1976, as a result of the 15 year prison sentence I had already served (which had been passed by a special council) my 15 year sentence ended, and I should have been released as an invalid of the second category. But in contravention of the law, I was thrust into exile . . .

I do not deny that from the very beginning of my conscious life, I have dreamed about the creation of an independent Ukrainian nation and that I fought against the Polish and German occupations, but if legality is a person's punishment for his actions and not his 'biography', then I demanded and demand the annulment of all which was committed away from Soviet soil, and not directed against it in the sentence of the Soviet court.

Various parts of Ukraine have been under the occupation of various regimes. The Soviet government, in breaking its judicial connection

with the Romanov empire by proclaiming self-determination as a constitutional right, cannot sentence Bukovyntsi for fighting against Boyarska Roumania, Carpathians for fighting against the Hungarian occupation, Halychians and Volynians for fighting against Poland, and then all these peoples for fighting together against the German occupation, if it does not want to liquidate the difference between itself and the history of the 300-years old czarist prison of nations...

In the sentence it was stated that I used the pseudonym "Bohdan" in the underground movement and led the battle of the S.B. (Security Service).

I have been called Bohdan since I was born and could not have used this name as a pseudonym in the underground movement with the intention of conspiracy. The court rejected my frequent requests to see file no. 4243 in the archives of the former 6th division of the S.B., M. Zboryk, from which I would have been able to prove that my name was not my pseudonym in the underground. I could also have shown who in fact led the S.B. "Bohdanivka" from 1944 to 1948 in the hamlet of Turivtsya and in the village of Yasen. The court refused my request as a result of which, without any written statements, and due to other cases the court had to deal with, I did not have the opportunity of either familiarising the court with these facts or of presenting proof of my innocence. That is, I was deprived of my right of defence (T.7, a/s 165-175: T.8 a/s. Statement from the 8. 4. 72; T.9, a/s 8/20)...

However, "Rybak" was the pseudonym I used in the underground movement, as investigator Dolhyn proved in 1948 in connection with case no. 5953, when I was initially sentenced for these activities. (T.I, a/s 22). In 1971 this fact stuck like a bone in the throat and the investigative organs simply totally falsified the documents. Investigator Honchrov stole a document and renumbered the case of 1948 (re. my complaints from the 5. 4. and the 18. 7. 1971 and complaint no. T.7, a/s 131; the reply of procurator Horodka in T.7, a/s 139 and Honchar's explanation in T.6, a/s 274).

That illegal falsification of evidence presented by the witnesses was used (a crime forseen by article 180 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR) is exemplified by the following:

In the previous investigation, witness Ye. Voytyk proved that I used the pseudonym "Rybak" in the underground in the hamlet of Turivtsya in the summer of 1944. (T.4, a/s 41). This pseudonym was noted by investigator Hochrov in the sentence (T.4 a/s 60-71). Shortly after, having comprehended that this pseudonym turned the line of accusation upside down, Honcharov obliterated it and committed the above-mentioned fabrication of the documents. In the jury meeting, witness Ye. Votyky, after the appropriate falsifications had been made, no longer knew which pseudonym I had actually used in Turivtsya and called me by my correct name — on which evidence the court based its accusations. My request to be given the opportunity to familiarise the court with the archives of former OUN and UPA

members to confirm my real pseudonym — “Rybak” — were rejected by the court, and my attorney did not allow time for this . . .

The sentence accuses me of murdering Artamanov and another seven prisoners of war in 1944 in Turivtsya, but such murders did not have a place in any of the events that occurred then.

The inhabitants of Turivtsya and of the villages of Yasen, Slyvka, Pryslyp and Maydan in the Ivano-Frankivsk province, know that in the spring of 1944, the permanent base of the UPA divisions under the leadership of commander “Dovbush” (Hrynyshchak Luka Mykhaylovych), was based in the woods near Turivtsya and the above mentioned villages.

At the beginning of June 1944, this division created a net on the territory of the village Yasen, close to a road leading to Turovill, near Turivtsya and defeated a Hungarian division which was transporting food, medicine etc. to the front. The corpses of the Hungarian troops were buried in the woods — not far from the home of Ostap Hryniv.

In the battle 30 wagons of goods were captured — food, medicines, and weapons — which were unloaded in the woods at the divisional base; the 60 horses and wagons were distributed to the inhabitants of the above-mentioned villages . . .

The unwillingness to establish the truth about those corpses caused wide circles of people to begin a propaganda campaign against Ukrainian nationalism. From the time of the war, it was an officially-accepted thesis that membership of OUN and UPA was comprised of rich and peasant elements who defended their class interests. Being afraid of collectivisation, they fought against the Soviet regime and this in turn led them to serve the Hitlerite occupation. However, the fight of the Ukrainian underground against the German occupation corrected the notion of the battle being a class one and established that it was a national liberation struggle. This fact did not please Honchar, Dolhun Yehoriv and other Russian chauvinists at all, which is why their fabrication knew no limits. The place where the Hungarian soldiers were buried was shown to Honchar by Ostap Hryniv, who helped to bury them himself in 1944.

On the 15th of September 1971, witness Honcharov had the grave opened and again filled in. On the 16th of October 1971 a large meeting was held and the remains of the Hungarian soldiers were reburied at Yasen, where even before my sentence had been pronounced, I was publically declared as the murderer of the above-mentioned “Soviet citizens”. (T.5, a/s 135).

Because I had been accused of killing Soviet prisoners of war, who it seems were buried on the Hurov Hill, I requested that these people be traced. The search was conducted and it was declared that “Soviet citizens, such as Fedir Soznev, Havrylo Sybotyn, Mychaylo Myronenko, and Ivan Nosenko were in truth mobilised into the Soviet army, and that they had died without any trace”. (sentence a. 5).

But the sentence accuses me of killing not four people, but eight former prisoners of war. The search could not trace Hyhoriy Chubenko from Kyivshchyna, Vasyl Roman, Vasyl Panov and Mohamet Abrashtop. To accuse me of murder, the court found it unnecessary to establish who these people were, where they lived, their parentage, their individual characteristics. The court did not want to ascertain my exact role in the deaths of these people. The only proof that these people existed were "the notes of protocol" — which the court also did not wish to investigate.

They conducted the search "assiduously" since I was accused of killing (with seven other people) Hryhoriy Chubenko. Meanwhile this very Chubenko had been sentenced in 1965 under articles 56, sect. I and 58, sect. I of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR to 15 years of imprisonment and he completed his sentence with me in the Ural camp VS 389-36 in the Perm prison complex.

Although the sentencing of a person for killing someone who is still alive is no longer something unusual in the history of the Soviet penal system, it is infuriating when the sentence remains valid after letters and declarations of the "dead person" have been received.

The search was not conducted conscientiously and the "dead" people were in fact alive and well (and maybe are still alive)...

On the basis of the above *I request* that you review my case no. 1-17-72; revise it, annul my illegal sentence and release me from exile.

Because I am extremely ill and am entitled to at least the minimal compensation for my illegally imposed sentence, *I request* that you take into account the period of sentence I have already served, and give me the right of a pension so that I can at least improve my beggarly existence a little.

November 1977

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*Continued from page 82*

results. After that he was again taken to a Mordovian camp (Zh Kh 385-19). During his stay in Kyiv KGB organs put pressure upon his wife — Vira — and tried to force her to influence him so he would do as they wished; this she refused to do.

Svyatoslav Karavansky, who is also serving a sentence in the Mordovian camp Sosnovka, is continuing an unlimited hunger strike in his protest against the cruel treatment that he is now receiving from the camp administration. Karavansky wants to have his case reviewed and wishes to attain the status of a political prisoner.

Information concerning Vasyl Stus has also been received. He has been in exile in the Matrosovo settlements, in the Magadan region since January 1977, and is seriously ill, and at present is in hospital suffering from the effects of trauma.



### **"DAY OF SORROW AND ANGER"**

*Political prisoners in Mordovian concentration camps have appealed to the world's democratic organisations, to the Committee for the Defence of Human Rights in the USSR and to the Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords. They have proclaimed the 1st of March as a "Day of Sorrow and Anger" and will "celebrate" it by staging a hunger strike as a symbol of respect for the sacrifices taken in Soviet prisons, and a sign of protest against increasing persecution. They appeal to people of good will to show solidarity with them. As earlier samvydav reports have shown, groups of prisoners from other camps have also sent declarations to the West protesting against KGB persecution. The full text of the appeal is printed below.*

"The present Constitution is a pathetic farce, an insensate persecution of those who have already been rotting in Soviet torture chambers for years. The rights and freedom granted by the 1936 "Great Stalin Constitution" have changed into the blood and tears of millions of people sentenced behind barbed wire. It is exactly the same now, (... illegible) in the guise of a demagogic campaign for the "freedoms" granted by the Brezhnev Constitution — the machine of terror operates continuously and more intensely, and is aimed at the physical liquidation of all political undesirables.

Since the whole world discovered long ago the true face of the animal which pretends to be "human", it is now deprived of the opportunity it once had to unashamedly murder its political opponents. Now it is forced to disguise its methods of punishment.

Political prisoners are forced to live in exceedingly difficult conditions. They are blatantly aimed at destroying prisoners' psychological and physical health, to drive them to suicide, insanity or to a premature death. The recent trend of political prisoners being beaten more and more often, is especially infuriating. For example, Senior Lieutenant Petrov and his ensigns Stolyarov and Shchukin beat up Yu. L. Fyodorov and another prisoner in a strict regime camp. Yu. L. Fyodorov was nearly beaten to death by escorts on the special train "Potma-Barashevo". Political prisoners are often punished in special waggons used for transferring prisoners, or in transit prisons. They are usually separated from their friends while being transferred and are then under the complete command of professional sadists who abuse political prisoners in various ways, persecute them and often beat them. They frequently use criminals for this purpose — the true sons of the Soviet system. Such criminals mercilessly beat up Osadchy in Potma, and earlier they had put Chornovil in manacles, and despite the fact that he was barely alive after staging a long hunger strike, they put him into a prison car completely naked. The

methods of persecution are many and varied, and anything can serve as a reason to mete out punishment. The camp regime, angered by a seven-day hunger strike staged by 14 political prisoners in strict regime camps, which they organised as a protest against the beating of B. V. Rebryk by Senior Lieutenant Polivanov and his ensign Hlinov, had Rebryk transferred to Ivano-Frankivsk on a fabricated pretext. On the 7th July, 1977, Rebryk was severely beaten in the transit prison in (Bryhidka) Lviv by the deputy officer and his supervisors because he refused to take off his crucifix voluntarily. He was thrust into an underground cell where a Senior Lieutenant poured several buckets of water on the cement floor, saying: "let's see whether your god can dry this cement or not. And if he can — we'll pour some more..."

On the 26th October, 1977, whilst on the way from Ivano-Frankivsk to Kyiv, the communication convoy tried to pull Rebryk's crucifix off, but Rebryk swallowed it. This infuriated the escorts so much that they beat him until he was covered in bruises, and then almost strangled him.

In the Ryazan deportation prison Rebryk was not allowed to visit the lavatory for three days and was given nothing to drink. On the 23rd November, when he tried to defend some prisoners who had been beaten up by the escorts, one of them, wearing a komsomol badge, waved his pistol around and threatened to shoot him.

A toiler in the Soviet penal system senses and knows that any crime committed against enemies of the state will not only not be condemned by his overlord, but on the contrary, is the best commendation of his qualities as an assiduous and faithful dog. The statements of today's rulers — who have seemingly condemned the illegalities of the Stalin-Beria era — are blatant lies, because those who tortured and murdered are not brought to trial and even to this day, have had respects howered upon them for being such faithful servants.

The unbelievably harsh conditions in concentration camps, the lawlessness of the supervisors, and other circumstances force us to affirm that in connection with the acceptance of the "humane" Constitution, the persecution of political prisoners perpetrated by the workers of the repressive apparatus is notably increasing. On the basis of the above, we, political prisoners of the Sosnovka strict regime concentration camp, have decided to protest against the transfer of any one of us from Mordovia, to protect ourselves from the deathly threat that hangs over us. As a sign of protest against the new wave of persecution against political prisoners, we, the undersigned, declare that we are going to stage a hunger strike from the 1st of February to the 1st of March 1978.

This hunger strike is important to our lives. Therefore we appeal to you, with an urgent plea to give us all the support possible.

Apart from this, we, the undersigned, drew the inevitably conclusion that it is necessary to dedicate one day to the memory of the

millions of prisoners tortured in Soviet concentration camps, a day of sorrow and an appeal for just retribution against the torturers. The world does not have the right to forget either the people who have suffered in Soviet torture cells, or their cries. Let this day be known as the "Day of Sorrow and Anger". We will commemorate this day each year on the 1st March by staging a hunger strike, and we appeal to all people of good will to give us their support.

November, 1977.

Evgrafov, Karavansky, Kuznyetsov, Rebryk, Tykhy.

Rebryk also signed on behalf of Murzhenko and Fyodorov, and Romanyuk on behalf of Shumuk".

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### **IVAN HEL FIGHTS FOR THE STATUS OF A POLITICAL PRISONER**

In May 1976 Ivan Hel started a prolonged hunger strike. His demands are: to grant him the status of a political prisoner, to allow representatives of the International Red Cross, the UN Committee of Human Rights and other international organisations, and representatives from an independent press to visit the camp. He also demands that prisoners receive good food — and not mouldy, foul food which is unfit for consumption — and products which cause many prisoners to suffer from diarrhoea and other illnesses of the intestines and stomach. He protests against the continual and humiliating searches, during which even letters received from relatives and friends, which have already been passed by the camp censor are confiscated. He demands qualified medical attention and aid.

Ivan Hel has been suffering from severe pains in his head for a long period of time. In spring 1976 he was at last admitted into hospital for an examination, but this was only for a very short period of time. The pains in his head, according to the doctors' diagnosis, are caused by an inadequate diet causing exhaustion of the brain cells... However, Ivan Hel did not receive the medical aid he requires. The parcel with the needed medicines, sent to the camp hospital with the permission of the camp administration, was returned to the senders.

Ivan Hel began his hunger strike at the end of May 1976. This only became generally known on the 7th August when the prisoners of "ust ZhKh 395/1-6" were visited. Hel has been on hunger strike for 70 days, and is force-fed twice a week.

He was born on the 17th July 1937 into a peasant family in the village of Kletsko in the Horodensky region, Lviv province. His father, Andriy Petrovych, born in 1901, was arrested in 1950 and sentenced to 10 years of imprisonment. His father's convictions

— his community conscience, his Christian belief in truth, justice and good — often led him onto thorny paths. It was on these paths that he lost his health, but he never renounced his principles and always remained morally strong. In 1966 he was released due to ill health. He died on the 12th April 1970.

Ivan Hel's mother, Fevroniya Ivanivna, born in 1908, now a pensioner, lives in the village of Kletsko.

In 1944 Ivan Hel started to study in the Kletsko primary school, where he finished 4 grades. In 1952 he joined the 5th grade of the Komarnivska middle school, from which he was expelled in 1952 because he would not join the Komsomol. In 1953 he was accepted into the 10th grade of the Sambirsky middle school for working youth. In 1954, having attained his matriculation, he worked as a locksmith in the Lviv electro-vacuum works. In 1960 he became an evening student at the history faculty at Lviv national university, from which he was expelled in 1965 in his 6th year for non-attendance — caused by his arrest in 1965 (on the 24th August of that year).

On the 27th August 1965 the organs of the KGB conducted a search of his flat in Chorna St, in Lviv.

On the 24-25th March 1966 a closed trial took place when Hel was sentenced under articles 62 and 64 sect. 1 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR to three years imprisonment, which was to be served in a corrective strict regime labour camp.

Ivan Hel stayed in the Mordovian camps, in the Yavas area until the 24th August 1968. He was released from the camp with a negative report, in which it was stated that he does not recognise his own guilt, that he does not repent and does not reject his anti-Soviet and nationalist convictions.

On his return from imprisonment, Hel wanted to continue his studies at university but this was refused him.

On the 3rd September 1968 he was ordered to live in his sister's flat in Sambir in the Lviv province. From March 1969 he worked as a locksmith in TMK. Then he was accepted to work in the eight-grade school in the village of Nadyby in the Starosambirsky region, but he was dismissed within three months and worked in a dessication system works.

On the 12th January 1972 searches were conducted in the flats of his sister where he lived, and his mother, and Hel was arrested and imprisoned in Lviv prison in Myr St. 1.

Ivan Hel was sentenced under article 62 sect. 2 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR to ten years of imprisonment to be served in a corrective, strict regime labour colony and to five years' exile.

At present Ivan Hel is serving his sentence in the strict regime labour camp in Mordovia. (Mordovian ASSR, Potma settlement, Sosnovka, ust ZhKh 385/1-6).

## **SOVIET POLITICAL PRISONERS HOLD A HUNGER STRIKE DURING COMMUNIST PARTY CONGRESS**

### **Increased Persecutions in Psychiatric Prison Hospitals**

According to reports from Ukraine which have recently reached the West, a number of Ukrainian, Jewish, Russian, Baltic and other political prisoners of the Vladimir prison proclaimed a hunger strike during the 25th Communist Party Congress of the Soviet Union, and sent a petition to the Presidium of the Congress.

Z. Antonyuk, Yu. Shukhevych, V. Moroz, M. Budulyak-Sharyhin, M. Bodnar, V. Bukovsky, Z. Popadyuk, H. Afanasev, I. Valdman, S. Vudka, G. Horedetsky, Ya. Suslensky, K. Lubarsky, F. Prychodko, M. Makarenko, L. Khnokh, B. Shakirov, Safranov, V. Roketsky, M. Zdorosi, H. Davydov, Pashkin, A. Turyk, N. Fedoseyev, A. Chekalyn and others — altogether 32 political prisoners — demanded in their petition that the psychiatric tortures of political prisoners and threats of torture by the prison and camp authorities be stopped. They also demanded the abolishment of the implementation of hunger diets of under 2,000 calories daily as a means of punishment and as a method of political indoctrination, something which according to the International Nuremberg Tribunal's resolutions constitutes third degree interrogation and a crime against humanity.

The petition stated that prisoners in the Soviet Union receive not more than 1900 calories daily.

At the same time the prisoners of Mordovian and Perm prison camps went on a hunger strike protesting against the persecution of dissidents, the inhuman conditions in camps and prisons, against the abuses of prison and camp authorities, the severe sentences of the dissidents, persecution of their families, and all kinds of restrictions against prisoners after their release. Often, former prisoners are left without residence permits, have limited right of movement, are not able to obtain work and in some instances, have disappeared without trace.

The prison authorities refused to forward the petition of the prisoners of Vladimir prison to the Presidium of the 25th Party Congress.

Before this hunger strike, Ukrainian political prisoners in Mordovian prison camps proclaimed a hunger strike on 12th January, 1976 — on the fourth anniversary of the wide-spread arrests of Ukrainian intellectuals in 1972.

In October 1975, I. Kalynets, I. Svitlychny and S. Hluzman sent letters to the International Bureau of the World Postal Union in Berne, Switzerland, stating that the Soviet Union violates the obligatory international postal regulations by allowing prison authorities to

return or confiscate letters sent by prisoners or addressed to them.

In November 1975, I. Svitlychny, S. Hluzman and B. Shakverdian sent a letter to Leonid Brezhnev protesting against censorship. They stated that an official institute of censorship exists in the criminal system of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the USSR, which employs thousands of functionaries as censors. They further asked L. Brezhnev how this conforms with the United Nations Resolution 426-IV passed in 1949, which condemns censorship.

According to the information received from Dnipropetrovsk, all political prisoners in the local "special psychiatric hospital" receive large doses of narcotics as a rule. Ivankiv, a radio technician from the tanker "Tuapse", who at one time had asylum in the USA and returned to the Soviet Union under the assurances of the Soviet embassy that nothing would happen to him, is amongst the prisoners in the Dnipropetrovsk psychiatric hospital.

Borys Kovhar is also amongst the prisoners in the Dnipropetrovsk psychiatric hospital. Kovhar was born in 1926, worked in the Kyiv Museum and in 1967 became a KGB informer. In 1972, during the mass arrests in Ukraine, Kovhar wrote and distributed a leaflet in which he described his work as an informer. He was subsequently arrested in September 1972 and though declared mentally deranged, he was sentenced to imprisonment.

The following well known political prisoners are in the Dnipropetrovsk psychiatric hospital: Mykola Plakhotnyuk, born in 1936, a doctor, arrested on the 13th January, 1972 for alleged co-operation with the journal "Ukrainsky Visnyk"; Mychaylo Lutsyk from Western Ukraine, spent his childhood in Vienna, in 1930 lived in Germany, a former prisoner of the "Gestapo", arrested in 1944 by the KGB, rehabilitated in 1956, arrested again in 1957 and sentenced to 15 years imprisonment; (released in 1972, Lutsyk renounced his Soviet citizenship and announced his wish to emigrate to Austria as an Austrian citizen; in autumn 1973, he was sentenced to two years of imprisonment under charges of vagrancy, and in 1974 he was transferred to Dnipropetrovsk from a concentration camp); Anatol Lupynis, born in 1937, a poet, was sentenced in 1956 to 6 years of hard labour and returned home in 1967 with leg paralysis; (in May 1971 he was arrested for so-called "anti-Soviet agitation" after reciting poems on the Khreshchatyk on the anniversary of the transfer of Shevchenko's remains from St. Petersburg to Kyiv); Leonid Yefimov, born in 1950, from Ivano-Frankivsk, sentenced under article 70, has been in a psychiatric hospital since 1970; Serhiy Potylichyn born in 1952, from Carphato-Ukraine, sentenced for illegally crossing the border, has been in a psychiatric hospital since 1971; also Popov from Dnipropetrovsk; Zabolotny and others. The poet Zinoviy Karavansky is still in the Sucheiv psychiatric hospital in the Smolensk region of Ukraine. In 1975 he suffered a heart attack. In March 1967 he was sentenced for his membership of the "Ukrainian National

Front" (UNF). Also amongst the incarcerated is Yosyf Terelya, born in 1942, sentenced in 1968 for "Ukrainian national propaganda". He served his sentence in Dubrovlag, was transferred to Vladimir prison in 1969 as a suspect plotting an escape. He was tried in Vladimir again and declared "mentally irresponsible".

The magazine "Novoye Vremya", in the first issue of 1976 published an article by A. Sukharov, first assistant to the Minister of the Soviet Department of Justice, entitled: "About some unconscientious defenders of the rights of the Soviet citizen", in which he asserts that "in our country such a level of human rights was attained a long time ago, a level of which citizens of the so-called free world can only dream about . . ."

I. Svitlychny, incarcerated in Perm camp Zh Kh 389/35, sent a letter to the editorial office of the above mentioned magazine repudiating A. Sukharov's assertion that Soviet law does not persecute people for their convictions, for belonging to opposition parties etc., and in fact, I. Svitlychny proved that the opposite is true. Citing his own experience and that of his colleagues, Svitlychny writes: "most of the trials for so-called agitation and propaganda were closed to the public and in the exceptional instance of public trials (as mine for instance) only an especially selected public is allowed into the court room. Even my mother, not to mention my friends and colleagues, had to stand by the door of the court room".

Svitlychny sarcastically points to the allusive conditions depicted by Sukharov, and in which the Soviet Union keeps prisoners and "secures" their rights.

### LETTER FROM A UKRAINIAN POLITICAL PRISONER TO HIS SON

*The letter from Ukrainian political prisoner Mykola Motryuk, written to his young son, is circulating in the USSR and has recently reached the West. In his letter he explains the reasons for his imprisonment and describes the conditions in the Perm concentration camp where he is currently serving his sentence.*

*M. Motryuk completed secondary education, is a locksmith by trade and is 27 years old. He lived in the village of Markivka, in the Kolomyyska district, Ivano-Frankivsk region. He was arrested in 1972 for his conjectured membership of "The Union of Ukrainian Youth in Halychyna". The Ivano-Frankivsk regional court sentenced him on 9th August, 1973 to 4 years of imprisonment meant to be served in severe regime labour camps.*

*The full text of Motryuk's letter is printed below:*

"My dear son! You are still young and there is much that you don't understand, but in time you will want to know why your father forsook his homeland. My son, all will become clear and you will

understand why and how this happened. You'll grow up, my ray of sunshine, and I don't think that you'll condemn me then.

At present I am being punished for being a "state criminal" — this because I and my friends met and discussed the present position of Ukraine, the reasons for her cultural and spiritual decline, and the low standard of living. For this, I was arrested and thrown into prison.

They behaved like dogs — some in uniform and some without, and turned our home upsidedown (although they didn't find anything, because there was nothing to find). They tore us apart and they took me away as if I were a murderer. The same fate awaited my friends. "The brilliant operation" went according to plan. They arrested five men at exactly the same time.

Case 90 began with the commentary — "secret". Throughout the investigation, which lasted for 6 months, we were accused of violating article 56, i.e. "betrayal of the motherland". They terrorised us, and put their own agents in the cell with us; all this was done to prepare a false case.

Then the trial took place — in camera, which made it seem like an innocent dress rehearsal. The court, it is true, changed the accusation from article 56 to 62 (anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda), but the criminal charges were unchanged. The people's court is, oh, so humane!

Hence I am a "state criminal" and not a political prisoner! Who said that there are political prisoners in (illegible) Russia?

They keep us in concentration camps, not like the ones that were once in existence, but in small ones with about a hundred men. We are "re-educated" through work, or prison regulations. We are dressed in work clothes not only at work but in the barracks where we rest. Our hair is cut, because workers don't have the time to look after their hairstyles. Name tags are pinned to our chests so that it's clear who is who!

We are fed merely to prevent us from dying from hunger. Our pay is not state-controlled: the state receive 75% and we — 25%. All this "harmony" is based upon the oppression (illegible), discrimination and arrogance of the camp administration and the KGB.

Having lived through this evil, I have understood much and have seen the true face of this insidious beast! I have less than a year left to serve. What awaits me in my motherland? Constant surveillance, all manner of provocations, baiting and finally, prison and the concentration camp again. These tyrants will not let me live.

This is why I have renounced my Soviet citizenship and have requested a French ambassador to give me French citizenship.

If I succeed in leaving — through the grace of God — I will be extremely grateful to all the people who help me to emigrate.

Not very long ago, Honchar, a KGB representative from Kyiv,



came here. He summoned me for a talk with the local KGB, and advised me not to renounce my Soviet citizenship.

The following conversation took place between us:

Honchar: What will you do there?

Me: Even if I jump into a river, what's it to you?

Honchar: Well, why have you decided to leave the USSR?

Me: To be further away from you!

Honchar: Your efforts will be in vain — we're everywhere — we even had our agents in Hitler's command. But why France? Is it because there's no room for you in any other country?

Me: Because I learnt French at school.

Honchar: But do you know that state crimes are punished in France as well?

(Obviously Honchar doesn't know very much and merely likes the sound of his own voice).

This whole absurd conversation was accompanied by ridicule and mockery. That's right, laugh, you animals! The time will come for you to be sorry . . .

You see, my son, how I am forced to suffer for nothing other than loving my nation, the Carpatians!

Grow, my son, grow to be healthy, learn to live, learn the truth! Ural, zone 35.

Your father, Motryuk M.

---

### **FORMER UPA OFFICER PROTESTS AGAINST MEDICAL REPRESSION IN PERM**

In a letter addressed to the medical sector of the Perm region camps a former officer of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) protested against the medical repressions which he said exist there.

Vasyl Pidhorodetsky, a former member of the staff of Gen. Roman Shukhevych-Taras Chuprynka, commander-in-chief of UPA, wrote that he was designated as being an invalid of the second class by a neuropathologist. This category relieved Pidhorodetsky from four hours of labour a day.

Pidhorodetsky said that in the camp where he was confined, the officials did not recognise the second class category. However, they assigned him to work in the barbershop. Despite this assignation, the head of the rehabilitation-labour column selected 20 second-class invalids for special work. Pidhorodetsky said that this order resulted in "deaths, suicides, complaints and investigations".

"I also complained to the Central Committee of the CPSU, but the doctor who examined me did not change the decision of the KGB. However, she did designate me as an invalid of the third class and assigned me to a four-hour work day despite the continuing seriousness of my illness".

Pidhorodetsky said that he is not complaining against the medical staff in the concentration camp, but claimed that medical treatment is being exploited by the camp administration. He said that human beings are being transformed into experimental units.

The former UPA officer, who was sentenced to 25 years in prison, said that he is being injected with various medications aimed at increasing his work output.

"For a whole year I have protested against these inhuman experiments, which are no different to the experiments conducted in German concentration camps", wrote Pidhorodetsky. He complained that even though he works half a day, the deductions from his salary are the same as for inmates who work eight hours. "For a whole year I was being robbed through the deductions of my last kopeks, which I saved up when I was stronger", he said.

Pidhorodetsky asked the medical authorities to help him. He requested that they either heed the designation of his illness, or not rob him of his money when they conduct medical experiments on him. He says that if he does not receive a suitable answer he will seek help from higher Soviet authorities or international health organisations.

A copy of a letter written by another UPA soldier, Dmytro Basarab, addressed to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, in which protests were made against the violations of human rights in the USSR was also received in the West:

"I do not expect that the Belgrade conference will force the USSR to implement the obligations it took upon itself, which are traditionally violated in country, but I assume it to be my moral responsibility to protest against this continuous cynical violation of the basic rights and freedoms of the people in the Soviet Union", wrote Dmytro Basarab on June 14th, 1977.

Basarab was sentenced to 25 years in prison. He is currently in a Mordovian region concentration camp.

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THE TOWN HALL IN LVIV — UKRAINE



Yaroslav STETSKO

## **The Road to Ideological Victory over Marxism and Bolshevism**

How is one to find a solution to the current ideological, moral, political, social and religious crises that envelope a large part of mankind? These crises do not affect the peoples subjugated by Communism and Russian imperialism, because in their relentless struggle for survival they have rediscovered themselves — rediscovered their enduring values and qualities, which imbue them with the strength to continue that struggle for national liberation and freedom. In suffering and martyrdom, in heroism, in their faith in the victory of Truth and Divine Justice, these peoples forge their dogma: God and Country.

### **Mankind Yearns for Leadership**

Mankind today awaits not merely pragmatists and elected tacticians, but national leaders of vision; men and women with a sense of divine mission who could deliver the world from the destruction engendered by the Communist and Russian-Bolshevik onslaught. Such men and women *do* exist in the subjugated countries — they can be found in the concentration camps, prisons, and psychiatric torture chambers. They are the Dantons of national ideals. They are spiritual giants, who will inspire men of purpose. One of them is Lev Lukyanenko, who has again been sentenced to 10 years of imprisonment and 5 years' exile (on the 20th July, 1978) after completing a 15-year term for upholding the idea of an independent Ukraine. He is the author of an already famous aphorism: "Even if I were the last Ukrainian in the world, I would still fight for Ukraine". Lukyanenko, in prison this time for his membership of the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group based in Kyiv, addressed himself to atheists in his recent Christmas Appeal: "A human being always has a little of that which is God, and which unites him with God — the sphere of spiritual life". God and the concept of nationhood are for him, and for us, the basic tenets of the faith and rebirth of the individual and society.

Valentyn Moroz, a Ukrainian historian, sentenced to fourteen years of imprisonment, wrote: "Awaken! Open your eyes! Cast away your rosy so-called 'progressive' schemes. Then you will see reality, then you will see the greatest of all phenomena, beautiful and formidable in its grandeur — the march of the nations of the world through history... a nation is a weight that Atlas must eternally carry on his shoulders. This is the goal: to carry on one's shoulders the burden of something grandiose, unique, and holy. To feel responsibility for

it, so that it will not fall. That something can only be a nation — that holy chalice into which everything that is most treasured has been deposited over the centuries. One could relieve one's shoulders of that burden, one could make one's life story simpler, but life would then become empty and senseless".

### **The Rebirth of Mankind**

Valentyn Moroz and Lev Lukyanenko have advanced the two basic tenets that will contribute to the rebirth of mankind — Nationalism and Religion, as did the Patriarch of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, and former prisoner of Soviet-Russian camps, Josyf Slipyi, who sees the rebirth of man and society in a new world-view based on heroism, Christian martyrdom, faith in God, patriotism, love and the struggle for one's country.

A new age is dawning upon us — the age of Liberation Nationalism; the age of heroic Christianity and humanism; the age of new values, new concepts of life and struggle, new men great in their faith and magnimity. Nationalism as a new political, social and economic system has not yet been realized anywhere in the world, as an ideological, ethical and cultural system of values it has already begun the process of rebirth within nations. Nationalism can neither be identified with Nazi-sm (which was actually national *socialism*), nor Fascism with its one-party totalitarianism, racism, imperialism, and neglect of the social aspects of the life of an entire people. Nationalism in its broad sense is a totally new ideological system based on anti-imperialism, anti-chauvinism, anti-racism and anti-colonialism. By its very nature it respects and guarantees the right of every people to its national statehood within its ethnographic boundaries. By its very nature it stands above the destructive class system, because through participatory democracy at all levels of society and an economic system based on private, co-operative and national enterprise, it guarantees every citizen a voice in the management of the country and a share in its spiritual and material wealth. Only Liberation Nationalism can deliver the world from the total political, social and economic slavery that Communism and Soviet Russian imperialism leave in their wake.

### **National and Religious Bases of Culture**

Both the Ukrainian historian Valentyn Moroz, and the actual history of mankind itself, teach us that all truly great cultures have had a national and religious base. Without national cultures which produce and nurture men and women of genius, mankind could never rise above grey mediocrity. Without national cultures there could never be a universal cultural mosaic that enriches all men.

Moscow's attempt to create a so-called "Soviet people" means the destruction of the national culture deeply rooted in the national ethos,

religion and traditions of a particular people. To deprive those people of their characteristic spiritual roots would cause a regression in social mores, customs and morality, and would trigger a return to the primitive ages. There is not and can never be a "Soviet people". There are only Ukrainians, Georgians, Byelorussians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, Azerbadzanians, Turkestanis, Armenians, Russians, Tartars, and other peoples within the Russian empire.

### **Communism as a Reactionary Force in the Development of Mankind**

Leninism-Bolshevism, as a synthesis of traditional Russian imperialism and Communism whose basic component is Marxism, is the most reactionary force in the modern history of mankind — a return to the law and morality of the Jungle! It is literally undoing thousands of years of man's achievements in his spiritual and material spheres of activity. In that respect Marx and Lenin have perpetrated the greatest crime against humanity of all time. Their faithful disciple was Stalin, a mass-murderer of genocidal proportions, and a one-time collaborator of another socialist mass-murderer — Hitler. Although Bolshevism, Communism and Marxism have marked their sixty-year rule with at least sixty million corpses, those ideas still appeal to certain segments of society within the Free World, including certain misguided elements among the young. The cause lies not so much in the propaganda campaigns of Moscow, Peking and their satellites about the so-called "achievements" of Communism, but principally in the fact that a) the demo-liberal ideology of the West has sanctioned the hedonistic values and material welfare of the individual as the highest goal in man's life; and b) the official, institutionalised Christianity of the Vatican and of the World Council of Churches, has de facto relinquished those ethical values and philosophical concepts of human life that once made Christianity a victorious and unique phenomenon, of revolutionary proportions in the history of mankind. Out of thirty-one Popes in the initial era of Christianity, twenty-nine died as martyrs. Neither St. Peter nor St. Paul made 'deals' with the persecutors of Christ — the Neros and Deoclicians — as the modern Cassarollis did on the orders of the recently deceased Pope Paul VI. Only martyrdom, faith and militant struggle against evil can give strength to a religion. The Patriarch of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, Josyf Slipyi, the Hungarian Cardinal Mindszenty, the Ukrainian priest Vasyi Romanyuk, and the leaders of the Lithuanian and other persecuted churches, are the representatives of today's true Christianity, and the alternative to its official imitations in the West. The modern catacombs, the underground churches in the Soviet Russian empire and elsewhere in the Communist dominated world, are the symbols of true Christendom; while the collaboration of the Vatican and the World Council of Churches with the "official" Pimenized "churches" endorsed by the godless Bolshevik dictators — and,

furthermore, the direct collaboration with the modern Neros and mass-killers of Christians — is a sign of corruption and downfall. Ecumenicism — yes! But ecumenicism with the Underground Christian Churches, not with their Communist executioners. Christendom, with its heroic principles, and militant action against evil — yes! But not capitulation to aggressive atheism.

### The West Betrayed its Values and Ideals

“Better red than dead” is the decadent motto of the hedonists of the official West. Because the official West has denigrated the ideals of one’s nation and patriotism, and the idea of religion, a large section of its youth has become cynical and lost purpose in life: Remember, *one’s country is not where life is good, but life is good in one’s own country*. The West lost its attraction when it renounced and trampled upon its ideals, its mission, its faith in the greatness of its culture, spiritual tradition and civilisation in general; when it lost its self-confidence and self-respect; and when a large part of its elite began to believe in the superiority of the decadent and reactionary ideas that bring ruin and destruction: hedonism, materialism, including the dialectical and historical variety, Marxism-Leninism, Maoism, Socialism, and Communism in general.

The concept of ‘nation’ has been slighted, as it was the heroic outlook on life, humanism and Christianity. One *must* believe in something; one must know what to live for and what to die for! On the oppressor’s gallows one Ukrainian said: I know what awaits me, and I am not afraid of death. I only regret that I shall not be able to work any more for my country — Ukraine”. (This reminds us of a great American, President John F. Kennedy, who advised his people not to ask what America can do for them, but what *they* can do for America.)

Communism has not been victorious in a single country on the strength of its own ideals and slogans, but only through the misuse of national and social liberation ideas simply stolen for the underlying principles of Liberation Nationalism. Russian imperialism, with Communist ideology as its tool, has included in its arsenal of ideological warfare the idea of national and social liberation as a formidable means of political deception. Thus, in the socio-economic aspect they speak neither of collectivisation of agriculture nor of state pillage of industry, but of giving the land and the means of production to those who toil — the people. Forced collectivisation and pillage, however, come later, after state power finally falls into Communist hands with the inevitable human suffering. In Eurasia such ruthless patterns turned free nations into Moscow’s colonies, as happened with Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia, the Baltic States, Byelorussia, Turkestan, Hungary, Poland and many others. In the so-called “peacetime” of the twenties, thirties and early forties, Ukraine alone lost up to

*fifteen* million people who perished due to three Moscow-made famines (1920-3; 1932-4; 1945-8), and by way of mass-executions and deportations, in an effort by Communist Russia to subdue Ukrainians. Today those genocidal practices are being carried out in Cambodia, Laos, Vietnam, Angola and Ethiopia — all this with the help or even direct intervention of Moscow and its satellite Havana, and of Peking.

### A Question of Values

In its advance against mankind, Moscow, by means of Marxism-Leninism and dialectical and historical materialism, has presented an integral, although destructive, system of life: from atheism, and an internationalist and anti-national class doctrine, to socialist realism in culture, total collectivisation in the economy and a one-party dictatorship. Its ultimate goal: a world Communist Russian empire controlled from the new Moscovite Babylon. Consequently, what the West is doing in the moral and even more, in the political sphere to meet the threat, is totally inadequate. It is absolutely insufficient to counter an integral Marxist-Bolshevik system of ideological warfare with a mere idea of "individual freedom". Freedom is only a framework, a condition, and being able to choose among the various values and qualities, and to have the practical possibility to realise one's choice. But the crucial question is — what are those values and qualities that the West should choose and stand for within the framework of freedom? What is the West's own integral system of values which can successfully disarm the enemy, allow the West to take the initiative, and imbue the subjugated peoples and those countless millions of men, women and children stripped of their human condition with hope and strength?

To the Communist Russian negation of God, the West must answer with a militant affirmation of the existence of God; to the destructive internationalist and anti-national class doctrines and practices, the West must answer with a militant endorsement of the organisation of the world according to the national principle; to "socialist realism" in culture, the West must answer with a militant support of freedom of creativity everywhere; to the de-humanisation of man, the West must answer with a militant affirmation of the human individual as God's creation in His own image; to counter the weakening of the family unit, the West must actively uphold the family as a guarantee of the moral and organic strength of a nation; to counter total control of the economy, the West must uphold a just socio-economic system based on private, co-operative and national enterprise which would guarantee the well-being of *all* individuals. And, what is most important, the imperial idea of Soviet Russia must be countered by the West's militant support of the idea of a world community of free and democratic nation-states. The disintegration of the Russian Communist empire into independent national states is the sole pre-

condition for a full development of the nations concerned, and the security of the rest of the world. In order to overcome, the West must stand behind this ideal in *Word and Deed* — otherwise victory is impossible.

Our patriots and freedom-fighters in the subjugated nations die for national and democratic ideals, for national rights and basic individual freedoms, for human rights — for all that Liberation Nationalism stands for. But let it be emphasised that the sole condition for the implementation of human and individual rights is the achievement first of all of national rights in the form of an independent national state with a democratic political system.

### **The Moral Offensive of President Carter**

The United States, with a tradition of an anti-colonialist revolutionary war, two hundred years ago, and as an upholder of the ideas of freedom and national independence, has often raised these ideas during its history. In the twentieth century President Wilson proclaimed the right of peoples to self-determination, but unfortunately failed to implement it, at least in Eastern Europe; President Eisenhower raised the idea of an American policy of liberation of the Captive Nations, and the U.S. Congress passed a Public Law (86-90) in July, 1959, which mapped the direction of American foreign policy along the lines of the liberation of the subjugated nations inside the Soviet Russian empire and those caught in its "sphere of influence", and the re-establishment of their independent states. However, this supposedly binding Public Law still remains only a well-meaning declaration, which nowadays has a moral rather than a political significance.

President Carter in all probability took a step backward by making a commitment *only* to human rights, and by excluding from his stand President Wilson's position, President Eisenhower's intentions, and the 1959 Public Law about the Captive Nations. But will this Presidential pronouncement concerning human rights produce practical political results, or will it remain only an ethical declaration? Is the American Government ready to back it up with concrete sanctions against the Communist Russian totalitarians and imperialists — including sanctions of economic, political and technological nature — by defending *all* the political prisoners in the USSR (including Ukrainians, Balts and others), and by actively supporting the liberation struggle of the subjugated nations? Or does the declaration apply only to the countries of the so-called "Third World" . . . ? The capitulation of the West in Belgrade unfortunately points to the answer. The failure of the United States Government to support and defend the Helsinki Monitoring Groups in Ukraine, Lithuania, Georgia and Armenia, indicates that President Carter's declaration on human rights is only a statement of principle with no

practical value — at least at the present time. The extremely heavy sentences imposed by the Russians on two members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group, O. Tykhy and M. Rudenko, who were sentenced to fourteen and twelve years of imprisonment respectively, and which has not elicited any reaction on the part of the U.S. Government, testifies to both the lack of seriousness and the lack of commitment to the solution of the national and human rights problems in the USSR and other parts of the Soviet-Russian empire.

Numerous Ukrainian patriots, political prisoners, and those imprisoned for upholding their religious beliefs, have taken President Carter's message about human rights quite literally, and have openly declared their solidarity with the President of the United States. For so doing, and because of the United States Government's failure to uphold its own declaration in practical terms as was expected, those courageous men and women have had to suffer a terrible fate at the hands of the tyrant Brezhnev. They now feel betrayed by the United States Government. We all feel betrayed.

Several Ukrainian political and religious prisoners have sent President Carter a number of appeals petitioning him to grant them American citizenship. As Prime Minister of the last Ukrainian independent government on Ukrainian soil, I have recently received a similar appeal from some Ukrainian political prisoners, which in part reads as follows: "We, Ukrainian political prisoners, have appealed to the President of the United States to ask him to bestow upon us the citizenship of his country... Talented men of letters, artists and scholars suffer personal tragedies, because they are deprived of the possibility to do creative work. To force someone into inactivity, to kill someone's talent, are subtle but cruel methods of destruction of Ukrainian culture... Under conditions of total surveillance and lawlessness on the part of the KGB, to be useful to the Ukrainian cause on Ukrainian soil is impossible. This is why we are appealing to you to support, with your authoritative recommendation, and also through the influence of the Ukrainian diaspora, our appeals to the President of the United States to grant us the citizenship of that country..."

Our conclusion: in order to overcome, the West must militantly conduct its own ideological warfare, fighting the Soviet Russian, Marxist-Leninist, Communist order of things with its own, but just, scheme for a world order, with its own concepts of human life and ethical values.

### **Global Ideological Warfare**

The need for global ideological warfare against modern Bolshevism on the part of the Free World is a matter of life and death. However, even the Constitutions of the countries of the Free World, including the United States( seem inadequate for such life-saving measures.

At the present time the Western countries are powerless to make even a token gesture by granting citizenship to those courageous freedom fighters, to those cultural activists who are selflessly defending the essence of what an individual human being and a nation are really all about — a unique combination of spiritual values as manifested in a national culture.

Political, economic and perhaps military pressures *must* be applied, to shift at last from merely ethical declaration to political action. In addition to this there exists the possibility of putting to use a whole array of internationally binding decisions and laws, which can be turned into a boomerang against the Soviet Russian empire: the United Nations Charter which guarantees the right of self-determination to all the peoples of the world; the U.N. Universal Declaration of Human Rights; the U.N. Resolution on decolonisation (1960/1972); the U.N. Resolution (December 1976) on the justification and duty to provide military help for subjugated nations struggling against their colonial oppressors; the adoption, in Geneva (June 1977), of a new international military law which supplements the 1949 Hague and Geneva Conventions regarding the treatment of prisoners of war of insurgent armies on an equal basis with the prisoners of war of regular armies. The new law states that "The wars of liberation... are included in the category of international conflicts... the struggles against colonial rule and against foreign occupation are also included". In view of this, a state of war exists between Ukraine and Russia, since prisoners of war of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) are still held in concentration camps (after a quarter of a century)!

The ideological offensive against Moscow can even be initiated from the positions and principles embodied in those international covenants and treaties that have been signed and ratified by the world community — including Soviet Russia. Even the Helsinki fiasco could be used to corner the Russian imperialists, at least on some issues. But to do this, to take the initiative, there must be a *will to live* on behalf of the Free World, rather than a wide-spread defeatist attitude. Until the West realizes it is not only the fate of the subjugated nations that is at stake, but also its own survival and deliverance, it will be on a constant defensive and on a path of capitulation and blackmail on the part of Soviet Russia.

The safety and deliverance of the Free World resides first of all in the revival of the heroic outlook on life; in the renewal of the cult of one's nation and patriotism; in faith in God, and in Man created in God's image, in a relentless struggle against hedonism, materialism and against that boundless and obsessive desire for profit and material gain prevalent in the West.

The deliverance of Democracy without the prior victory of Nationalism and of an ethical outlook based on religious values, is *impossible*.



Anna BOLUBASH, B.A., M.A., M.L.S.

## The Great Ukrainian Famine of 1932-1933

### AS AN INSTRUMENT OF RUSSIAN NATIONALITIES POLICY

*"Food is a Weapon".<sup>1</sup>*

Maxim Litvinov, 1921

(Soviet Assistant Commissar of Foreign Affairs)

*The famine is the direct consequence of a particular social order; so long as this social order exists, such famines are inevitable: they can be abolished only by the abolition of this order of society.\**

Vladimir Lenin

#### PART I.

#### Existence and Timing of the Famine

The Soviet Union has made much of its process of economic development. It has however, said very little of the human costs that were involved. Perhaps the most severe of these was the great famine that raged from 1932 to 1934.

Although this famine — among the worst recorded in history<sup>2</sup> — claimed the lives of five to seven million human beings it is scarcely acknowledged today in the West, either by students of the USSR, politicians or the public in general. The result is, that, 36 years after, there is not one single work which would encompass all the direct or indirect evidence of the famine scattered in hundreds (if not thousands) of news items — in newspapers, articles, books, and eye witness accounts — that can be found on both sides of the Iron Curtain. Moscow, for its part, has never officially admitted that this particular famine existed. The reason for this concealment is that the famine of 1932-34, unlike its predecessors,<sup>3</sup> was a man-made disaster. It was a direct result of the economic and socio-political policies followed by Moscow

\*) V. Vodovozov, "Moe znakovstvo z Leninym" ("My Acquaintance with Lenin"), "Na chuzhoi storone" ("In a Foreign Land") (Prague, December 1925), pp. 176-178. Cited from "Facts on Communism", vol. II, 'The Soviet Union from Lenin to Khrushchev', p. 17.

1) Cited by H. H. Fisher, *The Famine in Soviet Russia, 1919-23* (New York: Macmillan, 1927), p. 62.

2) 'The Encyclopaedia Britannica' IX (1968), 58.

3) It has acknowledged, however, a similar tragedy of the 1919-23 period. (*Pravda*, June 26, 1921 — cited by Fisher, *op. cit.*, p. 51).

during its first five-year plan. Obviously, this is not a point that the Soviet leaders wish to admit, and, in fact, they made such a good job of suppressing knowledge of it that few outside the USSR know about the famine, and even some students of the Soviet Union suggest that the famine was of little consequence.

There seem to be two schools of thought on the famine. On the one hand there have been those who admitted to some hunger in the Soviet Union during this period, but no famine. On the other hand, there is a vast majority group which has presented evidence of a famine of every large magnitude. Moscow itself has apparently never acknowledged or even mentioned the famine<sup>4</sup> and it has not been directly referred to in Soviet literature until recently.<sup>5</sup>

To the first school — those who failed “to see” the famine or act as apologists for it — belong persons from the left, and fellow travellers, communists or socialists like Beatrice and Sydney Webb<sup>6</sup> and the ever present “tourists”. The former were — for obvious reasons — “blind” to this particular “fault” in the Soviet system, and the latter were given as always Potemkin-like tours of the USSR which avoided unnecessary exposure to famine-stricken areas; this was the case with M. Herriot (the former Prime Minister of France), who came on a good-will tour, and the French correspondent in Moscow, M. Lusiani, who obtained permission to meet him in Odessa. The correspondent was strictly forbidden to stray off the route which had been marked out for Herriot.<sup>7</sup> To this group also belong those who knew of the famine but avoided referring to it explicitly because of government pressures. J. Walter Duranty of *The New York Times* is one example. He, like others, referred to suffering from “food shortages”, and “hunger”, and wrote understatements and euphemisms such as: “There is no actual starvation, nor are there deaths from starvation, but there is widespread mortality from diseases due to malnutrition”.<sup>8</sup>

However, it was not possible for Moscow to completely hide the famine, and today we have an extensive body of knowledge on the issue. As W. H. Chamberlin, long-time Moscow correspondent for the *Christian Science Monitor* stated on his return to the United

4) In the section on famine in the *Great Soviet Encyclopedia*, there is no mention of the 1932-34 period (*Bolshaya Sovetskaya Entsiklopedia*, Moscow, 1952, vol. II, 625).

One exception seems to be the trial of members of the Commissariat of Agriculture. They were charged, according to *Izvestia* (March 12, 1933, p. 2) with using their authority “to create famine in the country” [cited by Merle Fainsod in *How Russia is Ruled*, Cambridge, 1959, p. 364]. William Henry Chamberlin (*Christian Science Monitor* correspondent in Moscow) on his return from the USSR in 1934 quoted the following: from the speech of President Kalinin of the Soviet Union, made the year before, “The collective farmers this year have passed through a good school. For some this school was quite ruthless”. (W. H. Chamberlin, *Russia's Iron Age*, London, 1935, p. 89).

5) Ivan Stadnyk, “Liudy ne anghely” (“People are not Angels”), *Neva* (Dec. 9162).

6) Beatrice and Sydney Webb, *Soviet Communism: A New Civilization* (New York, 1944), pp. 199-209.

7) W. H. Chamberlin, “Soviet Taboos”, *Foreign Affairs*, XIII (1934/35), 433. See also Eugene Lyons, *Assignment in Utopia* (New York, 1937), p. 576/77.

8) Walter Duranty, “Russians Hungry, but not Starving”, *New York Times* (March 31, 1933), pp. 13-14.

States: "To anyone who lived in Russia in 1933 and who kept his eyes and ears open the historicity of the famine is simply not open to question".<sup>9</sup> This observation was echoed by another veteran Moscow correspondent, Eugene Lyons: "There was no more need for investigation to establish the existence of the Russian famine than investigation to establish the existence of American depression . . . The famine was accepted as a matter of course".<sup>10</sup> Victor Krawchenko, a former Party functionary, concurs that "the famine . . . was a matter of common knowledge".<sup>11</sup>

The observations of those who saw the famine may be divided into three phases. They were: 1) the spring and summer of 1932; 2) the autumn of 1932 through the summer of 1933; and 3) the autumn of 1933 through the summer of 1934. Because the famine was most severe during the spring and early summer months we shall refer to the periods simply as 1932, 1933, and 1934. The famine began to build up in 1932, reached its peak in 1933, and began to decline in 1934.<sup>12</sup>

According to Isaak Mazepa, former premier of Ukraine, the spring months of 1932 "... marked the beginning of famine in the Ukrainian villages".<sup>13</sup> Another former citizen of the Ukrainian SSR also suggests that "in the spring of 1932 people began to die"<sup>14</sup> — a point confirmed by Fainsod,<sup>15</sup> and Hryhorij Kostiuk,<sup>16</sup> for instance.

W. E. D. Allen indicates that the first news of the intensification of the famine came from West Ukrainian provinces (Galicia), and also from the Polish press in 1933.<sup>17</sup> The build-up of the famine during the last months of 1932 is also noted by Belov.<sup>18</sup> Trotsky's "Bulletin of Opposition" (Paris/Berlin, no. 29-30, Sept. 1932) carried an eye witness account of the thousands of youngsters left behind by their starving parents: "The peasants are leaving their children in the cities; the young people leave their villages and travel as stowaways to the North and East. Many *bezprizornye* ("waifs") have appeared in Moscow. The majority of them are Ukrainian".<sup>19</sup>

The famine, however, did not reach its full magnitude until the winter, spring and early summer of 1933. The severity of the situation was suggested by Barnes.<sup>20</sup> Several English writers managed to get

9) W. H. Chamberlin, *Soviet Taboos*, p. 432.

10) Eugene Lyons, *Assignment in Utopia* (New York, 1937), p. 574.

11) Victor Krawchenko, *I Chose Freedom* (New York, 1946), p. 111.

12) Dana G. Dalrymple, "The Soviet Famine 1932-34", *Soviet Studies*, XV (1963-64), 252.

13) Isaak Mazepa, "Ukraine under Bolshevik Rule", *The Slavonic and East European Review*, XII (1933-34), 343.

14) Dmytro Solovei, "On the 30th Anniversary of the Great Man-Made Famine in Ukraine", reprinted from *The Ukrainian Quarterly*, XIX, nos. 3 & 4 (Autumn/Winter 1963), p. 19.

15) M. Fainsod, *Smolensk Under Soviet Rule* (New York, 1963), pp. 259-62.

16) *Sotsialistichesky Vesnik*, New York and Paris, No. 13 (June 25, 1932); No. 14 (July 23, 1932) — eye witness reports: cited by H. Kostiuk in his *Stalinist Rule in the Ukraine* (New York, 1960), p. 15.

17) W. E. D. Allen, *The Ukraine, A History* (Cambridge, 1940).

18) Fedor Belov, *The History of a Soviet Collective Farm* (London, 1956), p. 12.

19) Cited by Kostiuk in *Stalinist* . . . (op cit.), p. 16.

20) Ralph W. Barnes, "Grain Shortage in the Ukraine . . .", *New York Herald Tribune* (Jan. 15, 1933), part II, p. 5.

to the famine area during the spring; one of the first to report publicly was Malcolm Muggeridge, then a correspondent for the *Manchester Guardian*, who travelled through the North Caucasus and Ukraine. His articles left little doubt about the existence of famine: "To say that there is famine in some of the most fertile parts of Russia is to say much less than the truth: there is not only famine, but — in the case of the North Caucasus at least — a state of war, a military occupation". About the Ukraine, Muggeridge wrote: "The population is starving".<sup>21</sup> His revelations were followed later by reports by Gareth Jones, former secretary to Lloyd George, who had made personal tours through a number of villages. Jones stated that "there was famine in the Soviet Union, menacing the lives of millions of people". He based his reports on personal observation, and concluded with sardonic congratulations to the "Soviet Foreign Office on its skill in concealing the true situation in the USSR".<sup>22</sup>

The London *Times*, on its part, also reported semi-starvation conditions,<sup>23</sup> and printed an accusation by the former Russian Chargé d'Affairs in Great Britain that famine was growing and would become more terrible.<sup>24</sup> As the flow of information and evidence increased,<sup>25</sup> and the world's public opinion was being stirred, Cardinal Innitzer, Archbishop of Vienna, launched an appeal for help for famine victims, who were likely to be numbered once more in millions. To the charge that even cannibalism existed, Moscow replied cynically that it had "neither cannibalism nor cardinals";<sup>26</sup> and the next day news came that Moscow had doubled the price of bread.<sup>27</sup> However, none of this was confirmed by the Russian government. Not only did the Russian officials deny the famine, but in the autumn they pressed for a larger world wheat export quota.<sup>28</sup> All authors and writers who reported on the disaster seem to concur that in 1933 the famine was at its worst.<sup>29</sup>

While the harvest of 1933 may have alleviated the situation somewhat, the famine did not immediately disappear from the stricken regions; it continued from the late autumn of 1933 through the summer of 1934. Harry Long, a Russian-born correspondent from the *Jewish Daily Forward* (New York), travelled extensively in the USSR during this period and reported in his newspaper that the famine was still raging.<sup>30</sup> Dr. Ewald Ammende, Secretary of the 'Inter-Confessional and International Aid Committee for the Starva-

21) *Manchester Guardian*, articles on "The Soviet and the Peasantry", (March 25, 27, 28, 1933). Cited by Jones in *The New York Times* (May 31, 1933), pp. 11, 12.

22) *New York Times* (May 31, 1933), p. 12.

23) "Semi-starvation in Russia", *The Times* (May 30, 1933), p. 15.

24) E. Sabline, "Famine in Russia", letter in *The Times* (June 12, 1933), p. 10.

25) For instance Frederick T. Birchall, "Famine in Russia Held Equal to 1921. Witness Describes Starvation in Ukraine", *New York Times* (August 29, 1933), p. 6.

26) "Cardinal Asks Aid . . .", *New York Times* (August 20, 1933), p. 3.

27) "Moscow Doubles the Price of Bread", *New York Times* (August 21, 1933), p. 1.

28) "Russian Wheat Quota", *The Times* (Sept. 21, 1933), p. 10.

29) C. Manning, *Ukraine Under the Soviets* (New York, 1953), pp. 103/4. Belov, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

30) Cited by Nicholas S. Timasheff in *The Great Retreat* (New York, 1948), p. 289.

tion Districts in the USSR', declared upon his arrival in New York that the Committee was convinced that as many as ten millions could starve in the fall and winter of 1934-35 unless the situation changed and aid was provided.<sup>31</sup> A similar appeal was printed in the *London Times* by officials of a relief fund who warned that "millions of people will die of starvation in the coming winter if help is not forthcoming... particularly in Ukraine and North Caucasus".<sup>32</sup> The same summer, resolutions relative to the famine were introduced into the House of Representatives and the House of Lords by Hamilton Fish Junior and Charnwood respectively;<sup>33</sup> a similarly grim outlook was expressed by many others as well.<sup>34</sup> Whether the famine carried over into 1935 is not known yet but on December 5, 1935, a significant article appeared in *Pravda*. It concerned the Don and Kuban regions, and it contained the following statement: "The wickedness of the class enemy reached such a point that many *kulaks* concealed thousands of poods\* of grain and let themselves and their children die of starvation".<sup>35</sup> This statement, absurd as it may be, seems to indicate that even in 1935 the situation was far from being normal.

### Areas and Groups Afflicted by the Famine

It is unanimously conceded by all (i.e. those who provided the evidence and those who collected and reported it) that the famine was most severe in Ukraine and the North Caucasus (particularly in Kuban).<sup>36</sup> Every item in our bibliography stresses this without fail. Other regions heavily affected were the lower Volga (with a large German population), Kazakhstan, and Uzbekistan. In general, the famine was most severe in grain-growing regions. It was there that collectivization was most complete. In respect of this, Lyons stated that: "The tragedy was in direct proportion to the 'successes' [of collectivization]".<sup>37</sup> In Kazakhstan the nomadic tribes such as the Kirgiz and the Kazakh raised cattle. In the course of collectivization their livestock was destroyed on a massive scale and the population suffered heavy losses.<sup>38</sup> Due to Kazakhstan's isolation, however,

\*) 1 pood = about 3/5 of a bushel.

31) "Wide Starvation . . .", *New York Times* (July 1, 1934), p. 13.

32) "Appeal for Famine Victims", *The Times* (Aug. 31, 1934), p. 12.

33) *The Times* (July 26, 1934), p. 7.

34) Emil Hladky, "Russia's Food Supply", *New York Times* (Oct. 23, 1934), p. 18.

35) Cited by Timasheff, *The Great Retreat*, p. 290.

36) See, for instance: R. Conquest, *Agricultural Workers in USSR* (New York, 1968), pp. 28-29; Harry Long's reports to *Forward* exclusively dealing with the Ukraine (cited by Timasheff, pp. 289-90; W. H. Chamberlin, *Russia's Iron Age*, pp. 67-98; Allen, *The Ukraine, A History*, pp. 328-29; Lyons, *Assignment*, pp. 578-79, etc.

37) Lyons, p. 490.

38) V. P. Danilov, *Outline History of the Collectivization of Agriculture in the Union Republics* (Moscow, 1963), p. 408, cited by Conquest, pp. 23-24. See also Duranty, *N. Y. T.* (March 31, 1933), p. 14.

relatively little is known about the progress of the famine there. Scattered famine reports were also noted for Central Asia<sup>39</sup> and Byelorussia.<sup>40</sup> Chamberlin observed the following concerning the famine and the regions affected:

"The unquestionable fact [is] that collectivization wrought greatest havoc, in the main, just where the peasants were more intelligent, and more progressive in farming methods, where the pre-war standard of living was the highest. It is not in the primitive Caucasian *aul* (mountain village) or in the forest of the North that one finds the clearest signs of devastation. The worst famine regions in 1932-34 were in many cases the most fertile and prosperous districts... the rich North Caucasus, the German colonies on the Volga, and in Ukraine, where the people were always noted for their good farming — the fertile "black-earth" Ukrainian provinces of Kyiv and Poltava. It was not the more backward peasants, but the more progressive and well-to-do, who usually showed the greatest resistance to collectivization, and this is not because they did not understand what the new policy would portend, but because they understood too well".<sup>41</sup>

Another point that should be made, is that nowhere in all the material available for this paper were there reports of famine outbreaks in Russia proper. Chamberlain reached the conclusion that: "Northern and Central Russia and Siberia suffered a good deal of hardship and undernourishment, but no actual famine".<sup>42</sup> Furthermore, Isaak Mazepa stated that during the famine: "Communist Moscow had posted detachments of the Red Army along the Ukrainian frontier and prohibited refugees from migrating to Soviet Russia where conditions were better"<sup>43</sup> Thus, the evidence concurs that the famine occurred in the most politically unreliable non-Russian republics or regions, which Moscow attempted to keep quarantined in order to let the famine take the desired course.

The famine, as has been suggested, was particularly severe in the countryside;<sup>44</sup> of those who died in the cities, many, if not most, were refugees from the rural areas who had fled to towns hoping that there the conditions would be better. They were disappointed, however, because there was neither relief nor enough jobs available for them: "In the spring of 1933 the starving masses with their grey faces moved into the large cities. They formed lines for the 'buying of bread' or, begging, they surrounded the mills. They died by thousands in the streets of Kharkiv, Kyiv, Dnipropetrovsk, and other cities".<sup>45</sup>

Furthermore, the famine was even worse for the individual peasant than it was for those who had joined the collectives.<sup>46</sup> Individual

39) Krawchenko, p. 111.

40) Harry Long, "Starving Soviet Foes Exiled to Arctic", *New York Evening Journal* (April 22, 1935), cited by Dalrymple, p. 257.

41) Chamberlin, *Russia's Iron Age*, pp. 76-77.

42) *Ibid.*, p. 88.

43) I. Mazepa, p. 346.

44) For instance W. H. Chamberlin, "The Ordeal of the Russian Peasantry", *Foreign Affairs*, XII (1933-34), 504.

45) Manning, *Ukraine under the Soviets*, p. 101; Kostiuk, p. 15.

46) Chamberlin, "The Ordeal...", p. 504.

peasants were being completely eliminated — either they entered the collective farms (provided they were allowed to do so), or they died of hunger. The individual peasant in this case is not to be confused with the so-called *kulak* ("rich peasant"), for he, as Moscow acknowledged, had already been liquidated (in 1928-32).<sup>47</sup> Rather, as Manning suggests: "The blow of 1933 fell chiefly on the poorer classes... In the same way it was the Ukrainian workmen of the smaller cities who bore the brunt of the hardships. It was the direct triumph of the Russian Bolsheviks over the Ukrainian poor".<sup>48</sup>

In its extent, duration and intensity, the famine of 1932-34 appears to have been one of the worst ever recorded in history. Deaths by starvation ran into millions; it is difficult to make a precise estimate of the number of deaths from the famine.<sup>49</sup> The Soviet government has not only refused official recognition of the famine, but has not published any figures that might be used to calculate mortality.<sup>50</sup> It did not, for instance, publish any crude birth or death rates during the famine period.<sup>51</sup> The only known statement on this subject by a Soviet official came from Petrovsky, President of the Ukrainian SSR, in the course of a dialogue with Fred E. Beal, an American Communist who occupied a position as a propagandist among the foreign workers employed on the Kharkiv tractor plants (and editor of the American Communist factory paper *Tempo*, see p. 253):

"In 1933, I had occasion to call on Petrovsky, the President of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic, in his office in Kharkiv. I was accompanied by Erenburg, my superior in the cultural-propaganda work at the Tractor Plant. 'Comrade Petrovsky', I said, 'the men at our factory are saying millions of peasants are dying... They say that five million people have died this year, and they hold it up to us as a challenge and mockery. What are we going to tell them?' 'Tell them nothing', answered President Petrovsky. 'What they say is true. We know that millions are dying. That is unfortunate, but the glorious future of the Soviet Union will justify that'."<sup>52</sup>

Despite the official silence numerous estimates of the number of victims were made by different persons: highly placed functionaries of the Ukrainian SSR, Western correspondents and travellers in the USSR at the time, former Soviet citizens, and/or witnesses of the tragedy. We shall list the available estimates in round figures and averages:

47) *Bolshaya Sovetskaya Entsiklopedia*, 2nd ed., vol. 24 (1953), p. 10.

48) Manning, p. 102.

49) Of course, not all who died passed through the typical stages of death from outright hunger — abnormal swelling under the eyes and over the stomach, followed in the last stages by swollen legs and cracking bones. The majority died of slight colds which they could not withstand in their weakened condition from typhus, the familiar accompaniment of famine; and of 'exhaustion', to use the familiar euphemistic word in the death reports". Chamberlin, *Russia's Iron Age*, p. 87.

50) Maum Jasny, *The Socialized Agriculture of the USSR* (Stanford, 1949), p. 553.

51) Letter from Warren Eason, Department of Economics, Princeton University, March 27, 1963. Cited by Dalrymple, p. 259.

52) Fred E. Beal, *Word from Nowhere* (London: R. Hale, 1937), pp. 254-55 (published in the U.S. under the title *Proletarian Journey*).

Estimate made or reported by	Estimated number of deaths
W. Chamberlin, "Soviet Taboos", p. 435	4,000,000
F. Birchall, "Famine in Russia . . .", N.Y.T. (Aug. 25, 1933), p. 1	4,000,000
E. Lyons, <i>Assignment in Utopia</i> , p. 579	5,000,000
Archbishop of Canterbury, "Starvation in Russia" (proceedings, House of Lords, July 25, <i>The Times</i> (July 26), p. 7	5,000,000
C. Manning, <i>Ukraine under Soviets</i> , p. 101	5,000,000
N. Jasny, <i>The Socialized Agriculture of the USSR</i> , p. 553	5,500,000
H. Long (quotes figure learnt from a high Soviet official for Ukraine only), published in the New York <i>Forward</i> , cited by Souvarine, p. 670	6,000,000
Derzhplan (state plan) of the Ukrainian SSR, cited by D. Solovei (former Soviet demographer) (figure for Ukraine in spring 1933)	6,000,000
D. Solovei, <i>On the 30th</i> , p. 25 (based on demographic calculations)	6,500,000
N. Prychodko, testimony before the U.S. Congress House Committee on un-American activities. The crimes of Khrushchev, pt. 2, p. 41	6,500,000
Estimates of foreign residents in Ukraine, cited by W. Chamberlin in "Soviet Taboos", p. 432	7,500,000
Otto Shiller (former German agricultural attaché in the USSR), <i>Die Landwirtschaftspolitik der Sowjets und ihre Ergebnisse</i> (Berlin, 1943), pp. 78-79, referred to by Jasny, p. 553 (n. 27)	7,500,000
Adam A. Taudal (American communist) who "learnt from M. Skrypnyk (Head of Ukr. SSR State Plan)", cited by Souvarine, p. 670 (figure for Ukraine and North Caucasus)	8,000,000
Timasheff, <i>The Great Retreat</i> , p. 290	8,000,000
*Balitsky (former head of the G.P.U. in Ukraine), cited by Souvarine, p. 670	8,500,000
Richard Sallet, "says ten million starved in Russia", <i>New York World Telegram</i> (July 7, 1933), p. 3, cited by Dalrymple, p. 259	10,000,000
AVERAGE:	6,500,000

\*) Source of information cited also by Dr. W. Oreletsky ("Starvation of Ukraine", *Ukrainian Review* (1963), no. 3, p. 25) from *Saturne*, Bulletin de la Commission Internationale



It should be noted, however, that many of these figures cover only the years of 1932 and part of 1933, mainly in Ukraine and North Caucasus,\* and, therefore, might be considered conservative for the full period of the famine and the total area stricken. There is also some data available for the losses suffered by the non-Ukrainian population. Harry Long reported that certain districts of Ukraine and Byelorussia lost up to 40% of their population; and that "relief organizations count 104,000 dead in 1933 among German peasant colonies alone" (New York *Forward*, Feb. 19, 1936, etc.).<sup>53</sup> In Kazakhstan, "many mistakes made in 1930-31 . . . led to an enormous destruction of productive forces and the death of many people in the *auls* [villages]", according to a Khrushchovian historian.<sup>54</sup> In fact, the Kazakh people appear to have suffered a population loss of 1.5 million, attributable to collectivization when their livestock — their only livelihood — was virtually wiped out.<sup>55</sup>

A similar process was going on in Uzbekistan and Turkmen SSR where, "during 1933-34 40,000 *bey* and *kulak* households were liquidated, constituting above 5% of all peasant households".<sup>56</sup> Adding up all these losses, the total figure seems to surpass 8.0 million people dead from direct starvation only, in the whole area affected.

However, the human losses due to collectivization seem to have been higher, if we take also into account the period of "*de-kulakization*" before the famine actually took place.

A Politburo decree of January 30, 1930, "On measures for the liquidation of the *kulak* household in areas of wholesale collectivization" divided the *kulaks* into three groups: the first category was composed of "the counter-revolutionary *aktiv*, the organization of terrorist acts and of insurgent organizations"; the second of "the remainder of the counter-revolutionary *aktiv*, composed of richer *kulaks* and semi-landowners", and the third of "all other *kulak* elements (or *podkulachniki*, peasants "sympathetic" to the *kulaks*)."<sup>57</sup>

The first category was to be arrested by the OGPU (political police)<sup>58</sup> and "immediately isolated by being confined in corrective labour camps, the authorities not hesitating to apply the highest measure of punishment [i.e. death] to organizers of terrorist acts, counter-revolutionary actions and insurgent organizations".<sup>59</sup> The second category, like the first, was to be "deported to remote localities

\* "Contre le Régime concentrationnaire", no. 6 (Jan./Feb. 1956).

53) cited by Souvarine, p. 670.

54) Danilov, pp. 293-94. Cited by Conquest, *The Agricultural Workers in the USSR* (New York, 1969), p. 29.

55) The numbers of Kazakh people dropped from 3,968,289 on Dec. 17, 1926 to 3,098,764 on Jan. 17, 1939. Even at the slow rate of increase in all the USSR in 1926-38, the Kazakh should have numbered 4.6 millions in 1939 (Jasny, p. 323).

56) Danilov, p. 252, cited by Conquest, p. 28.

57) Danilov, pp. 39, 104 and *Voprosy Istorii* (1963), no. 5 (Bogdenko, p. 31), cited by Conquest, p. 19.

58) Fainsod, *Smolensk under Soviet Rule* (Cambridge, 1958), p. 242.

59) *Voprosy Istorii* (1963), no. 5, p. 32. Cited by Conquest, p. 19.

of the USSR".<sup>60</sup> The third was to be resettled locally,<sup>61</sup> but since "this category of *kulaks*, too, carried out an active struggle against the *kolkhozes*, the necessity arose to resettle it also in the remoter areas".<sup>62</sup>

The Politbureau Commission charged with the preparations for "de-kulakization" in December 1929, used an estimate of five to six million<sup>63</sup> for the number of persons in *kulak* families. This corresponds roughly with Stalin's estimate in 1928, that *kulaks* constituted 5% of peasant families,<sup>64</sup> or 1.29 million of the 25.8 million peasant families as of 1929.<sup>65</sup>

It is difficult to estimate the human cost of the pre famine stage of collectivization, because the most that official sources admit is that "from the beginning of 1930 until the autumn of 1932, 240,757 *kulak* families — about 1% of the total number of peasant households — were evicted from the areas of solid collectivization".<sup>66</sup> However, Stalin told a meeting of Marxist agricultural experts on December 27, 1929 that "we have moved from a policy of limiting the exploiting tendencies of the *kulaks*, to a policy of liquidating the *kulaks* as a class".<sup>67</sup> This he corroborated during an exchange with Churchill on August 15, 1942:

Stalin: The Collective Farm Policy was a terrible struggle.

Churchill: I thought you would have found it bad because you were not dealing with a few score thousands of aristocrats or big landowners, but with millions of small men.

Stalin: Ten million. It was fearful. Four years it lasted.

Churchill: What happened?

Stalin: Oh well, many of them agreed to come in with us... but the great bulk were very unpopular and were wiped out.<sup>68</sup>

It should be stressed here that not only the so-called *kulaks*, but middle and poor peasants suffered under "de-kulakization" measures, for it was the peasants' political and national attitude, not their social or economic standing, that determined their fate. Not only the prosperous ones resisted but the entire peasant population. The term *kulak* itself was never legally defined, and no official criterion was ever agreed upon for identifying members of this "class" to be

60) Ibid.

61) Fainsod, op. cit., p. 243.

62) Danilov, p. 105. Cited by Conquest, p. 20.

63) *Voprosy Istorii* (1962), no. 4, p. 68; *ibid.*, p. 28.

64) Stalin, J. V., *Sochineniia* (Works), XI, p. 275.

65) *Socialist Agriculture* (June 1, 1936). Cited by Swarup, *Communism and Peasantry*, p. 50.

66) *Istoria Komunisticheskoi Partii Sovetskogo Soiuza* (History of the CPSU) (Moscow, 1962), p. 464, 2nd ed. A family seems to have averaged 5 to 6 persons. This means that about 1.42 million people are officially acknowledged to have been deported.

67) Churchill, *The Second World War*, IV, 447-48.

68) Churchill, *The Second World War*, IV, 447-48.

liquidated.<sup>69</sup> In view of the above, it is only reasonable to suppose that between five to six million persons were deported to Siberia and the far North,\* where many of them perished.

The above estimate of human losses concur with results obtained from statistical analyses of population figures between 1926 and 1937.

From 1924 to 1930 the rates of increase for the USSR (per thousand) were as follows:<sup>70</sup>

TABLE I:	19.4	per thousand	1924**
	20.4	" "	1925
	22.7	" "	1926
	21.7	" "	1927
	24.0	" "	1928
	21.1	" "	1929
	19.0	" "	1930
Average:	21.0	" "	for 1924-1930.

The Soviet census of December 17, 1926 showed a population of 147,027,915.<sup>71</sup> Another census was taken on January 6, 1937. The findings were never published because, as was announced in September 1937, the census had been disrupted by the "activity of counter-revolutionary and Trotskyite wreckers".<sup>72</sup> However, a population of 164.2 million figure was disclosed by Molotov at the Eighteenth Congress of the Communist Party in March.<sup>73</sup>

Assuming the average normal rate of increase of population as being 21 per thousand\*\*\* for the whole of the period between these two censuses, the population of the USSR in 1937 should have been 184.75 million rather than 164.2 million as pointed out by Molotov. Consequently, there is a discrepancy of 20.5 million which suggests that between 1929 and 1935 there occurred a demographic disaster resulting in the loss of 20.5 million people.\*\*\*\* However, the rate of

\*) It is significant that from 1927 to 1933 the number of prisoners in labour camps rose from 140,000 to 6.5 million in 1936, and to 11.5 million at least in 1938. See Alexander Ouralov, *Stalin in Power*, p. 185, cited by V. Kosyk, *Concentration Camps in the USSR*, p. 16. Krawchenko estimates 15 million prisoners for 1937. See also Dallin, *Forced Labour in Soviet Russia*, pp. 49-87.

\*\*) We have taken 1924 as a starting point because the previous years' demographic conditions were abnormal, because of famine and epidemic conditions from 1919-23, which claimed 5 million lives due to "war communism". See Fisher, *The Famine in Soviet Russia 1919-1923* (1927), and also *Bulletin of the Central Statistical Board*, no. 72, p. 91, cited by Timasheff, p. 287.

\*\*\*) This average would be reasonable — if not conservative — under normal conditions, since the rate of increase was 19.7 per thousand even before World War I. See Timasheff, p. 286.

\*\*\*\*) On January 17, 1939, another census was taken and the official figure reported by *Izvestia* (June 2, 1939) — see Timasheff, p. 291 — 170, 467, 186 but still not enough to bridge the gap.

69) *Planovoe Khoziaistvo* (Planned Economy), periodical published by USSR Gosplan (1929), p. 49 Cited by Conquest, p. 28.

70) *USSR for Fifteen Years* (in Russian) pp. 211-12, cited by Timasheff, p. 288.

71) Timasheff, p. 288.

72) *Izvestia* (Sept. 26, 1937).

73) Timasheff, p. 291.

increase did not stay at 21 per thousand but began to drop rapidly after 1930,<sup>74</sup> hitting a known low of 12.3 per thousand in 1935.

TABLE II:	1930:	19.0
	1931:	17.1
	1932-34:	data not available
	1935:	12.3
	1936:	14.1
	1937:	21.0 — recovery
	1938:	20.5

If the increase rate in 1935 (after the famine) was as low as 12.3, then we may safely surmise that during the critical 1932-34 period the rate was still lower or even non-existent (see Timasheff, p 292), since in the famine-stricken republics and other areas the mortality from various causes (deportations, executions, and famine) by far exceeded births. Thus for instance, according to the academician M. V. Ptukha\* the natural increase in Ukraine's population from 1924 to 1927 averaged 2.36% annually, and after 1928/29 declined to 1.92%.<sup>75</sup> The Ukrainian population declined from 31 million in 1926 to 28 million in 1934.<sup>76</sup> which clearly corroborates the above.\*\* From the rural aspect it is also significant to note that between 1929 and 1937 the number of peasant homesteads in the USSR (with a subsequent loss of rural population) decreased from 25.838 million to 19.930 million, which at the rate of five persons per family gives a total of 24. 678 million of people affected. The drop between 1929 and 1932 was only 6.7 million people (the figure frequently quoted for the "de-kulakization" process). But the drop was most precipitate between the 1932-35 famine period involving 17.9 million people.<sup>77</sup> Timasheff calculated that between 1931-36, 15.1 million people "migrated" from rural areas<sup>78</sup> — including those millions who were deported. This leaves us with a figure of 9.574 million people who have not "migrated" and are not accounted for, but whose numbers closely correspond to the toll levied by the famine and other causes.

\*) M. V. Ptukha, a noted Ukrainian demographer and President of the Demographic Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukr. SSR at the time.

\*\*) For extensive analysis of Ukraine's demographic losses in that period, see Solovei's "On the 30th . . .".

74) *Quarterly Bulletin of Soviet Russian Economics*, ed. by S. N. Prokopovicz, no. 4, p. 109. Cited by Timasheff, p. 290.

75) M. V. Ptukha, "Ukraine's Population to 1930", *Bulletin of the International Statistical Institute*, 19th Session, Tokio 1930, vol. I, no. 3 (The Hague, 1931), pp. 59-88. Cited by Solovei, p. 3.

76) *Small Soviet Encyclopaedia*, 1940 ed., under the heading "Ukraine" put the population of Ukraine in 1927 at 32 million, and in 1939 at 28 million [cited by Prychodko, "The Famine in 1932-34", *Ukrainian Quarterly*, IX (1953), 216]. See Conquest, p. 29; Lorimer, *The Population of the Soviet Union: History and Prospects* (Geneva, 1946), table 55, p. 138; *Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopaedia* (1963), I, 201-2; 219, 223 (tables).

77) *Socialist Agriculture* (June 1, 1936); (Nov. '7, 1937), *Socialist Reconstruction of Agriculture* (Nov.-Dec. 1939). Cited by Swarup, p. 50. See also Prokopovicz, *Bulletin of the Russian Economic Institute in Prague*, no. 139 (R. 1937), cited by Timasheff, p. 292.

78) Timasheff, p. 292.

If those 25 million were not forcibly uprooted or dead, from 1929 to 1937, at the established 21 per thousand annual rate of increase, they would have boosted the total population of the USSR by approximately 4.5 million. The general hardship and distress and bleak psychological mood throughout the Union, coupled with the mass terror of the 30's, brought the normal demographic development to a halt even in those republics and regions of the Union less directly affected. This triggered a further drop in the natural increase (smaller families and rise of abortions and divorce rates)\* by another 6 million. Summing up, this would give us—as pointed out above—total a demographic loss of above 20 million\*\* from 1927 to 1937, of which at least 9 to 10 million died. Of these, 7 to 8 million perished directly from starvation (1932-34) mainly in Ukraine, Kuban, North Caucasus and Kazakhstan, and the rest from causes related to deportations (by the end of 1932 some 2.5 million people were removed from Ukraine, see Manning, p. 95), executions, etc. The remaining 9-10 million probably never had a chance even to be born. If this average for the starved (7,500,000) is accepted as probable, then the famine of 1932-4 was among the worst recorded in history.<sup>79</sup>

\*) By 1935, in Moscow and other cities, the rate of abortions was higher than the rate of births; the number of registered and *de facto* divorces had become extraordinarily high. To arrest these disruptive trends, Soviet government imposed in 1936 graduated fees for the registration of successive divorces (see Harold J. Berman, *Justice in the USSR*, Cambridge, 1963, p. 49); and on June 27, 1936, a law was introduced prohibiting abortions except in unusual cases (see *Bolshaiia Sovetskaiia Entsiklopedia*, vol. I (1949), p. 25).

\*\*) This figure, however, seems to be extremely low because: "According to W. Krivitsky, whose excellent confidential source of information is the G.P.U. 'Instead of the 171 million inhabitants calculated for 1937, only 145 million people in the USSR were found; thus, nearly 30 million people in the USSR are missing'." Souvarine, *Stalin, A Critical Survey*..., p. 669.

[Krivitsky: General in the Commissariat of War, who remained in the West. He wrote in *Stalin's Secret Service* (New York: Harper Bros., 1939). Mentioned by Kostiuik, p. 149].

79) *The Encyclopaedia Britannica*, IX (1968), p. 58, cites only two other comparable disasters when taking into account the number of deaths involved: Bengal (in 1769-70), with 10 million dead, and North China (1877-78), with 9.5 million dead.

(To be continued)

In English translation

# REVOLUTIONARY VOICES

## UKRAINIAN POLITICAL PRISONERS CONDEMN RUSSIAN COLONIALISM

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# L I N G U I C I D E

## INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The concept of *linguicide* emerged in the present writer's mind in 1966 during his work in the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism in Ottawa. In view of some Canadian measures to restrict non-English language use, e.g. the Manitoba Act of 1890 abolishing the bilingual Legislature of the province, on the one side, and in view of the steady recession of some minority languages in Canada on the other, the author ventured to advance his concept of "linguocide" in the discussion with B & B Commissioners, and successively at linguistic congress e.g. at the First International Congress of UNESCO on Bilingualism in Nowton in 1961. As the result of those discussions not only the term itself was improved ("linguicide" instead of "linguocide"), but also the concept of *linguicide* was elaborated in more detail.

It was first published in English and French in the author's "Separate Statement" in the first volume of the *Report* of the Royal Commission in 1967. Later it was repeated in various versions,\* and in 1968, on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the Human Rights Universal Declaration of the United Nations, it was published separately by UTHI\*\* in Munich.

Finally, it was presented in an enlarged version at the International Congress of Sociologists in Toronto, Canada, in 1974. In view of the insufficient number of copies printed at that Congress and in order to satisfy the growing demand, the author decided to publish it in its third revised and enlarged version. He owes his thanks to UTHI in Munich for the publication.

## LANGUAGE RIGHTS

The concept of language rights is based upon the assumption that every human being has an inborn right to communicate in his own language with his fellow citizens, whatever this language may be. Thus, the right to one's language is a basic human right. It is as inherent in man as his freedom of speech or of conscience.

Yet, like other human rights the linguistic right is not absolute. As long as it is restricted to private, personal use, i.e. as long as it remains

\*) Winnipeg-Munich, 16. 8. 1975. J. B. R.

\*\*) UTHI — Ukrainian Technical and Economical Institute.

in the sphere of individual life, no law can restrict this right. In other words, the individual linguistic right is not granted by the state or any other social institution, statute or constitution, etc.

As far as the linguistic rights of groups are concerned they are in primary and basic relationship to the law. This is manifested in three main spheres:

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

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

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

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

Cases of restriction or prohibition in the use of languages are rare in modern states. On the contrary, in several constitutions provisions are made for dominant (official) languages, and even for minority tongues. In most cases these provisions are formulated in special articles of the constitutions concerned, the formulation being presented in general terms, as for example:

“Without prejudice to the rights conceded by Federal law to linguistic minorities, the German language is the official language of the Republic”.

*Article 8 of the Constitution of Austria.*

“The official language of the Union shall be Burmese, provided that the use of the English language may be permitted”.

*Article 216 of the Constitution of Burma.*

“Arabic is the official language. A law will determine the cases in which the French language will be used”.

*Article 11 of the Constitution of Lebanon.*

“Provisions may be made by law for the exclusive use of either of the said languages (Irish and English — J. B. R.) for any one or more official purposes, either throughout the State, or in any part thereof”.

*Article 8 of the Constitution of Ireland.*

“National minorities in the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia enjoy the right to and protection of their own cultural development and the free use of their own language”.

*Article 13 of the Constitution of Yugoslavia.*

In Switzerland there are four national languages as against three official ones, viz.:

"L'allemand, le français, l'italien et le romanche sont les langues nationales de la Suisse.

Sont dé langues officielles de la Confédération: l'allemand, le français et l'italien".

*Art. 116 de la Constitution Suisse.*

In its Article 3 the Constitution of Cyprus of April 6, 1960, regulated the use of Greek and Turkish as "official languages" of the country. Other examples:

"The national languages of the Republic (of Paraguay — J. B. R.) are Spanish and Guarani. Spanish shall be the language of official use".

*Article 5 of the Constitution of Paraguay.*

In similar spirit, recognizing the language of the Indian population, the constitution of Peru was amended in 1975. Yet, in the majority of South American states the official languages are those of the colonizers, e.g.

"The official language (of Venezuela — J. B. R.) is Spanish".

*Article 6 of the Constitution of Venezuela.*

"Spanish is the language of the Republic (of Panama — J. B. R.)".

*Article 7 of the Panamanian Constitution.*

"Spanish is the official language of the state (of Nicaragua — J. B. R.)."

*Article 7 of the Nicaraguan Constitution.*

The provision for regional languages in the Constitution of India is very interesting. In Article 347, it introduces the term "regional languages" and it defines their provisions in very general terms, viz.:

"On a demand being on that behalf, the President may, if he is satisfied that a substantial proportion of the population of a State desires the use of any language spoken by them to be recognized by that State, direct that such a language shall also be officially recognized throughout that State or any part thereof for such purpose as he may specify".

The most specific and particular in the formulation of language laws is the Constitution of Roumania. In its Article 82, the following provisions are made for non-Roumanian languages in that country:

"The national minorities are guaranteed the free use of their own languages, tuition of all categories in their own languages, and books, newspapers, and theatres in their own languages. In districts inhabited also by populations of a nationality other than Roumanian, all organs and institutions shall also use orally and



in writing the language of the respective nationalities, and shall appoint officials from among the ranks of the respective nationality or of local inhabitants conversant with the language and the way of life of the local population". Similarly the Constitution of Malta is very specific in respect to language regulations, viz.: 'Language'.

- 5 (1) The national language of Malta is the Maltese language.
- (2) The Maltese and the English languages and such other language as may be prescribed by Parliament (by a law passed by not less than two thirds of all the members of the House of Representatives) shall be the official language of Malta and the Administration may for all official purposes use such languages:  
Provided that any person may address the Administration in any of the official languages and the reply of the Administration thereto shall be in such language.
- (3) The language of the courts shall be the Maltese language:  
Provided that Parliament may make such provisions for the use of the English language in such cases and under such conditions as it may prescribe.
- (4) The House of Representatives may, in regulating its own procedure, determine the language or languages that shall be used in parliamentary proceedings and records".

One of the typical "facultative" regulations of language problems in Europe was the general provision in the Belgian constitution of 1921, stating in its article 23 as follows:

"L'emploi des langues usitées en Belgique est facultatif; il ne peut être réglé que par loi, et seulement pour les actes de l'autorité publique et pour les affaires judiciaires".

In the 1960 the situation changed and Belgium was constitutionally established as a bilingual Flemish-French nation with German minority language.

As an example of the most recent constitutional ventures in this respect, the 1967 Recommendation of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism in Canada, including the present writer's "Separate Statement" and recommendation of the Ukrainian Canadian Council of Learned Societies of 1968 (Subsection 5 in the following text) might be quoted, viz.:

1. "English and French are the two official languages of Canada.
2. Either the English or the French language may be used by any person in the debates of the House of Parliament of Canada and in the legislatures of all the provinces, and both languages shall be used in the respective records and journals of the Houses of the legislatures of the provinces of New Brunswick,

Ontario, and Quebec; either may be used by any person in any pleading or process in or issuing from any Court of Canada established under this Act, and in or from any of the Superior Courts of the provinces of New Brunswick, Ontario, and Quebec. The Acts of the Parliament of Canada and the legislatures of the provinces of New Brunswick, Ontario, and Quebec shall be enacted and published in both English and French.

3. The provisions of subsection 2 shall apply to any additional province in which those persons whose mother tongue is either English or French shall reach or exceed ten per cent of the population of the province; and to any province which declares that English and French are its official languages.
4. Whenever in any province the English or French-speaking population of the appropriate administrative unit reaches a substantial proportion, this unit shall be constituted into a bilingual district, and there shall be enacted federal and provincial legislation making judicial and administrative services in such a bilingual district available in both official languages.
5. Notwithstanding anything in this section, the Ukrainian language used by ten per cent or more of the population of an appropriate administrative district of a province or territory shall have the status of a regional language; the legislation of the provision for *This Regional Language* shall be vested in the governments concerned.
6. Nothing in this section shall be taken to diminish or restrict the use, as established by past, present or future law or practice, of any other language in Canada".

Apart from the constitutional recognition of languages, there are also institutional (statutory, administrative, customary, a. o.) provisions for their use in the society with a considerable variety of rights of the language concerned. According to the sphere of recognition and practice those rights might be institutionalized in the political, social, cultural, educational and economic life of the country, or part of it.

The Canadian Cabinet Committee on Administrative Reform and Bilingualism in Ottawa may serve as an example. It was established by the Government of Canada in May 1963 with the task of defining in greater detail the objectives which the Government was seeking to achieve in the field of English-French bilingualism in the federal administration. In 1966 a special Secretariat on Bilingualism responsible to the Prime Minister of Canada was established within the Privy Council in Office in Ottawa. On April 6, 1966, Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson solemnly declared as follows:<sup>1</sup>

"The Government hopes and expects that, within a reasonable

1) Cf. *Canada: House of Commons Debates*, Ottawa, April 6, 1966, p. 3915.

period of years, a state of affairs in the public service will be reached whereby

- (a) it will be normal practice for oral or written communications within the service to be made in either official language at the option of the person making them, in the knowledge that they will be understood by those concerned,
- (b) communications with the public will normally be in either official language having regard to the person being served . . .
- (c) a climate will be created in which public servants from both language groups will work together toward common goals, using their respective cultural values but each fully understanding and appreciating those of the other . . .”

Institutional recognition of languages does not necessarily imply the official languages of the country. In Canada, for example, languages other than English and French have been institutionalized in churches, private organizations, part-time native schools, and similar. The status of the Ukrainian language at the University of Manitoba in Winnipeg may serve as an example. Before 1949 this language was not taught at the University; in 1949-1967 it was an accredited elective subject; finally in 1967 it became a University entrance requirement and attained all the instructional privileges of the other modern languages.

Institutional provisions for vernacular languages in the United States have been recently analyzed and evaluated in J. A. Fishman's and V. C. Nahirny's excellent survey of language maintenance of non-English tongues in America.<sup>2</sup>

There are many other languages in the Old and New World for which provisions have been established on the institutional level by traditionally developed customs. As far as the non-official languages are concerned, their safeguarding is based mostly on the determination of the groups concerned to preserve their ethnicity within the official (usually dominant) lingual context and to maintain their cultural identity.

In this respect bilingual (or multilingual) milieux deserve special attention. The maintenance of bilingual reality: an intersituational use of one (official) and another (unofficial) language is greatly influenced by the retentiveness of the groups concerned and balance of cultural levels. Institutionalization of the dominated language in the bilingual context appears a condition *sine qua non* for preservation of the bilingual reality. Otherwise the bilingual community changes to unilingual — that of the dominant language.

Besides constitutional and/or institutional arrangements, the linguistic rights of a given group may be protected and enhanced by social acceptance, and by creating favourable conditions in the sense of

2) *Language Loyalty in the United States. The Maintenance and Perpetuation of Non-English Mother Tongues by American Ethnic and Religious Groups.* By Joshua A. Fishman & others. London-The-Hague-Paris, 1966. Pp. 318-357.

allocating resources or otherwise encouraging the use of the language as a means of communication within the given society.

All those processes lie rather in the political system than in legal guarantees. The structure of the state, its electoral system, political parties, and their political order in general are decisive factors in this respect. The majority-minority relationship however, plays an important role here; the balance of power is conditioned by democratic order, and recognition of the basic freedom of the individual as well as those of the group. "... there is a fundamental difference between legal guarantees, which are only declarative rights, and intended powers. The difference is that between the book and the sword".<sup>3</sup>

### LINGUICIDAL MEASURES AND LINGUICIDE

Apart from protection of a language by constitutional, institutional, and other means, the negative attitudes of governments banning certain languages from public life are familiar in the history of mankind. It is clear that the use of a particular language may be forbidden for reasons of uniformity, forcible assimilation, attempted de-ethnization, denationalization, etc. Sometimes it is intended to curtail the development of a dialect vis-a-vis a high prestige language, and it is forbidden in public use, in print, and in schools. As an example, the fact might be quoted that in the latter part of the sixteenth century, the shopkeepers of Fribourg in Switzerland were fined for using French in their commercial relations.<sup>4</sup>

As a rule, the prohibition or restriction of a language is accomplished by administrative orders of the respective governments, following the general negative attitude of the dominant majority to discriminate against the language of minority. Here are some examples taken from the history of tsarist Russia, where such orders were officially known as "ukases". One such order was issued by Russian Minister of the Interior, Count Peter Valuev, on June 8, 1863, when he ordered the Russian censors:

"to allow to be printed in the Little Russian language only such works as belong to the realm of belles-lettres; and to ban the publication of books in the Little Russian language, both religious and educational, and those generally intended for elementary reading by the people".<sup>5</sup>

Valuev's edict was soon followed by the Tsar's "Ukase". On June 18, 1876, in Ems, Western Germany, Alexander II signed a secret order, of which the real author was Michael Yuzefovach, deputy superintendant of the Kyiv School District. The "ukase" forbade the

3) *The Protection of Minorities*. By J. A. Laponce, Berkley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1960, p. 22.

4) *The Protection of Minorities* ... p. 20.

5) Cf. *Ukraine. A Concise Encyclopedia*, Vol. 1, Toronto University Press, 1963, p. 682-684.

printing in Ukrainian of anything except historical documents in the orthography of the original, and belles-letters in the Russian (so-called "yaryzhka") alphabet; it also forbade the importation of Ukrainian books from abroad, particularly from Western Ukraine. This so-called "Emskyj ukase" lasted for two generations and it reached its climax at the end of the last century when Ukrainian composers were compelled to write the texts to their melodies in French...

Other linguistic acts of Tsarist Russia were intended to Russianize the vast empire and bring it to cultural, linguistic and political unity. The attempts of the Russian Government in the 1960s to stamp out Polish by forbidding its teaching in schools are well known:

"A curious example of restriction of the right to print in one's own language is a Russian ukase at the end of the nineteenth century which permitted publication in Lithuanian, but made obligatory, under penalty of imprisonment, the use of Russian characters. An Italian law of 1923 forbade the use of any language other than Italian not only in public notices, legal proceedings, and official correspondence, but also in private advertising. The sight of a foreign character or the sound of a foreign language so alarmed Italian officials that they did not stop at prohibiting billboards in non-Italian languages; they went so far as to prohibit German choral societies and impose the Italianization of foreign-sounding family names".<sup>6</sup>

In Canada the abolition of bilingual schools in Manitoba by an act of the Legislature in 1916 might be termed a linguistic measure. The act was bitterly opposed by the French, Ukrainian and Polish speakers, but the reaction was dealt with firmly; the strongest opposition came from the Mennonites, a considerable number of whom emigrated to Mexico in 1919, defending German as an instructional language in their schools. After 50 years of "linguistic Babylonian captivity" French was re-established as an instructional language in some districts in Manitoba, and Ukrainian became an elective subject in the high school curriculum.

Linguicide is not confined to restrictive measures only. There are other kinds of linguistic acts which cause the partial or complete lingual destruction of a community speaking a given language. Some governments deliberately inflict conditions of cultural backwardness on ethno-lingual groups, refusing help in their organic cultural development. As a result the feeling of "low prestige culture" or "low prestige languages" develop within the groups concerned and lingual switches to dominant languages occur.

In an address delivered by Professor Walter S. Tarnopolsky, Osgoode Hall Law School, York University, to the Eleventh Ukrai-

<sup>6</sup>) *The Protection of Minorities* ... 1. c.

nian Canadian Congress, Winnipeg, October 13, 1974, an objective evaluation of human rights linguicide was given:<sup>7</sup>

"We are living in a time which can be described as the era of the rights of man. Human rights and fundamental freedom were acclaimed in earlier ages, but were never intended to apply to all human beings. Slaves were not considered human beings who had any rights amongst the Greeks, or in the Roman empire. Even in the United States, when the Declaration of Independence in 1776 declared that "All Men Are Created Equal", slaves were not intended to be included.

It is only within the last few decades that we have begun to realize that human rights and fundamental freedom must be assured to everyone. We are only starting to fulfill the Judeo-Christian proclamation of nearly 2000 years — that we are our brother's keepers. We finally realize that the degradation and deprivation of an person at least partly degrades and deprives every other person. Any person who is unmoved by the suffering or oppression of another is to that extent less a human being himself.

It is because of the indivisibility of liberty, not only within one country but in the world, and because we are living, as Marshall McLuhan has described it, in a "Global Village", that the deprivation of civil liberties in the Soviet Union is the concern of everyone, and not just those of Ukrainian, or Jewish, or Latvian descent.

In recent months, with the exiling of Alex. Solzhenitzyn, the world has been brought to see the plight of political dissenters in the Soviet Union, in a dramatic fashion. One cannot minimize the contribution of this brave man. One has to acknowledge that events become important for people only when they involve famous people. Nevertheless, it is somewhat ironic that the western news media should be saying "Now We Know". The fact is that all of us knew long ago.

With the ascension of the Soviet state in the period from 1918 to 1921, hundreds of thousands of people were killed, tortured, imprisoned and exiled — not only students and intellectuals, but working men and women and peasants. During the collectivization and subsequent purges, millions more died. It was almost a travesty when at the XXth Party Congress in 1956 Khrushchev revealed that thousands of good Communist comrades had died. There was no mention of the millions who had starved in the Ukraine and other parts of the Soviet Union during the collectivization.

The year 1940-41 witnessed a new wave of Soviet terror in the western Ukraine, when those supposed enemies — Stalin and Hitler — divided up Poland, and the Soviet Union took over the Ukrainian and Byelorussian parts of eastern Poland. People suffered and died during the withdrawal of the Soviet armies to the east under the German invasion, and people suffered and died while the Soviet armies drove the Germans out once again in 1944 and 1945.

Then a new wave of terror followed in the immediate post-war period, as the Soviet reconsolidated its hold over the area. Some of that was brought to a halt with Stalin's death in 1953. There was some liberalization under Khrushchev, although it was partly counterbalanced by a vigorous anti-religious campaign resulting in the closing of many synagogues and some 10,000 churches throughout the Soviet Union, many of them in western Ukraine. And, although during this time there were no major imprisonments of Russian intellectuals, there was a major move in 1961 against two groups in western Ukraine, one known as the Ukrainian Workers' and Peasants' Union, and the other under the name of the Ukrainian National Committee. Most of these people were not writers or intellectuals, but rather workers, collective farmers, with some professionals.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. "Human Rights in the USSR, and What They mean to us as Ukrainian Canadians" by W. S. Tarnopolsky, *UCPBF Review* 1974, pp. 12-17.

Within a year of Khrushchev's removal in 1964, a new wave of arrests started. Intellectuals were imprisoned in Moscow and in the Ukraine in the late summer and autumn of 1965, and this wave of arrests has not yet ceased.

How is all this possible in a country whose 1936 constitution was proclaimed to be one of the most progressive in the world? It is a constitution in which Chapter X deals with the "Fundamental Rights and Duties of Citizens". Article 125 of this constitution guarantees:

- a) Freedom of speech;
- b) Freedom of press;
- c) Freedom of assembly, including the holding of mass meetings;
- d) Freedom of street processions and demonstrations.

I have often been asked how I can continue to support bills of rights when I see that in the Soviet Union it has not stopped behaviour of the sort I have described. The answer is really very simple. A constitution is merely a piece of paper unless the people intend it to be binding. A bill of rights is not enough. A government which does not respect its own constitution will not respect a bill of rights. Someone once described Latin American constitutions in the following terms:

It is a record of what should be done under ideal conditions. When those ideal conditions have been achieved, the constitution will be respected in its entirety. Until that happy day arrives, more practical solutions must be found to pressing problems.

In the Soviet Union the constitution is even more hypocritical than that. For one thing, Article 125 starts out by saying that the fundamental freedoms are guaranteed only "in conformity with the interests of the working people, and in order to strengthen the socialist system", Article 127 guarantees "inviolability of the person" and provides that "no person may be placed under arrest except by decision of the court or with the sanction of a procurator".

You will see that these provisions are a lawyer's paradise. The fundamental freedoms are subject to the simple decision that someone is not acting "in the interest of the working people" for the purpose of strengthening the socialist system. Similarly, what "inviolability of the person" is there if an arrest can be sanctioned by a procurator? In other words, even if the constitution were observed, it is worded in such a way as to be a sham.

Moreover, a constitution is supposed to be the fundamental document by which all laws are measured. No law which is in conflict with the constitution is to be valid. However, the articles of the Soviet criminal code have never been interpreted subject to the constitution. Thus we find that most of the dissenters have been condemned for "anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation". They have been condemned pursuant to provisions like Article 62 of the criminal code of the Ukrainian S.S.R. which states:

Any agitation or propaganda with the intent to undermine or subvert the Soviet regime... dissemination with the same intent of slanderous inventions against the Soviet state and its social system, as well as distribution, preparation or possession with the above aim of literature with such content are punishable by the deprivation of freedom for terms from 6 months to 7 years or banishment for terms from 2 to 5 years.

The above actions, if committed by a person previously convicted for serious crimes against the state or for crimes committed in time of war, are punishable by imprisonment for terms from 3 to 10 years.

It is under a broad provision such as this that addresses of Pope John XXIII, the speech of former President Eisenhower at the unveiling of the Shevchenko monument, even arguments based upon the Soviet constitution or the very limited protections of the Soviet criminal code, amount to

"anti-Soviet activities". A reading or distribution of such documents is deemed "dangerous activity".

Finally, one must remember that despite the constitution, which is so worded as to be an open invitation of its aims, despite a criminal code which is deemed to take precedence over the constitution, the Soviet secret police have still not been satisfied and people such as Dr Horbovyi have been sentenced without a trial of any kind.

The result is that Professor Peter Reddaway of London University estimates that there are perhaps 1,000 camps in the Soviet Union each with 1,000 or more people. Thus, even with his conservative estimate, there are two and a half times as many people imprisoned in the Soviet Union as in the United States, and seven times as many as in Great Britain. Even if some of these people would be imprisoned for certain crimes in any country, many thousands have been deprived of liberty for what we and the United Nations consider to be fundamental rights of the citizen.

Even apart from all this, even apart from the contravention of the fundamental law of the Soviet Union in the deprivation of the freedom of dissenters, is the fact of the brutal way of life in these camps. Some of you have been in them and know what they are like. In recent years the western world has come to learn of them through the writings of those who were there. I will not go into the details because even prison camp life is not the most base aspect of the way in which the Soviet Union treats its dissenters. Although it has not reached the depths of the Nazi regime in its gas-chamber genocide, it has proceeded to destroy human beings by directing its fury against their minds. To be deprived of liberty and to live under the strenuous conditions of Soviet labour camps is one thing, to be confined to an insane asylum and to be subjected to drug and surgical manipulation is even more horrible.

Let me not go on detailing these horrors — for one thing, most of you know more about these matters than I do. The question before us is, what can we do about it?

First, our effectiveness will be gauged by the extent to which we can affect government policy, and that depends upon the support we can get from others. In order to induce our government, and other governments, to act, it will be necessary to make the appeal not just on the basis that we are Canadians of Ukrainian extraction, related to the dissenters. As I mentioned at the beginning, liberty is one and indivisible. It is necessary for us to point out that deprivation of liberty and human dignity in one area of the globe necessarily degrades and deprives those of us who are better off. An east-west detente cannot be built upon our condoning the "Gulag Archipelago". However, we will not convince anyone of our genuine concern for the human rights of Ukrainian dissenters in the Soviet Union unless we at the same time join in protest against the treatment of the dissenters of all nationalities in the Soviet Union, including the Russian, the Jewish, the Tatar, the Volga Germans, etc., and unless we support the rights of emigration of all nationalities in the Soviet Union.

Furthermore, many people will consider us hypocritical unless we show similar concern for the deprivations of other peoples, whether it be in South Africa, in Spain, in Chile or in the Soviet Union. We cannot argue that the human rights of Ukrainians are the concern of everyone, unless we in turn are concerned with the human rights of others, whether in our own country or in allied countries.

On the other hand, we should not hesitate to ask others for this support. Many groups, particularly those on the left, and church groups, have supported grape boycotts, have given assistance to rebel groups in South Africa, have protested against torture in Chile or Greece. I think they are right in doing so. I have participated in some of these. I merely say: Why not protest similar brutalities and similar deprivations of human rights in



the Soviet Union? I believe that some groups are hypocritical when they decline.

I once heard a clergyman say on TV that he participated in human rights movements in other parts of the world but not in the Soviet Union, because he thought that there was no chance of affecting Soviet policy. That is not only a cowardly answer, it is just not true. The pressure of world public opinion was successful in convincing the Soviet Union to release thousands of Jews, and even Volga Germans. The Soviet Union has even released leading Russian dissenters, **although not one single Ukrainian**. Recently, Professor Harry Crowe returned from the Pugwash Conference in Austria and told me that he was told privately by Soviet participants that the pressure of world public opinion is effective and that we should keep up our work. There is no reason why, for example, the World Council of Churches should not help us, as some trade unions have.

This brings me to one of our most difficult problems. Now that we have achieved some success in informing Canadians about prisoners of conscience like Valentyn Moroz, and now that we have obtained the support of our government in expressing the concern of Canadians about his treatment and his state of health, what next? Moroz is still in prison. So are many others. What more can be done? What kind of pressure can we and our government apply to the Soviet Union? Disruption of wheat sales? In the present world wheat shortage that might have some effect. But when next there is a world wheat surplus, would not the Soviet Union turn to other countries and leave our farmers with full bins and empty pocketbooks? What about cultural exchange? If we attempt to boycott Soviet Ukrainian performers will the Soviet Union stop sending them? Does that achieve anything? No. I do not believe that blanket boycotts would work. We cannot even totally affect the decisions of all Ukrainian Canadians, much less others. Even if we could, it might be self-defeating . . .

I have urged that we should galvanize support on the basis of the deprivation of human rights. However, I am firmly convinced that we will not be able to obtain the support of our government for the self-determination of the Ukraine and the other captive nationalities in the Soviet Union. We must remember that the very same U.N. Charter which proclaims human rights and fundamental freedom, also provides (in Article 2, para. 7) that the U.N. is not to intervene in the domestic jurisdiction of any state. Although we could argue that self-determination is not just a matter within domestic jurisdiction, and although we could point to the recent covenants on economic and cultural and civil and political rights, the fact is that governments are extremely reluctant to interfere in another state, particularly in encouraging its break-up.

We must remember that until it was independent, very few governments (not including our own), were prepared to support Bangladesh. Our government was not prepared to support Biafra. Even when the overthrow of the Communist regime seemed imminent in East Germany in 1953, in Hungary in 1956, and in Czechoslovakia in 1968, no other government dared provide support for the "Freedom-Fighters". It is unlikely, therefore, that our government would raise the matter of the independence of the Ukraine or the Baltic states either directly with the Soviet authorities or in the United Nations. What I believe is that if the human rights of these peoples were assured, they could achieve self-determination themselves.

On the other hand, we must point out to other Canadians that they are doing a disservice to themselves and to Canada if they compare the position of the political dissenters to that of the Quebec separatists. For one thing, our constitution is respected, and even under the *War Measures Act* less than 500 people were detained, only 62 were charged, and only some 24,

who were directly involved with the kidnappings or bombings, were convicted. If the dissenters in the Soviet Union had the same rights as the Quebec separatists, then we could start to compare the two cases. Moreover, whereas the Quebec separatists are devoted to taking Quebec out of Canada, many of the dissenters in the Soviet Union have not gone so far. It is important to point out that many of the imprisoned political dissenters have merely demanded rights and liberties, and the cultural autonomy of their nationalities within the context of the Soviet Union.

This is the kind of criticism one could read any week in a French-language newspaper in Canada. Even members of the federal Cabinet have said as much about the pressures on Francophone Canadians. Certainly it is nowhere close to the separatist policies of the Parti Québécois. There is no possible comparison between a man like Moroz and even Quebec Separatists, much less the F.L.Q. And even if there were, is that an excuse for ignoring his fate?

It is not enough merely to demand government action — above all else, such demands must be based upon accurate information. This is very difficult to obtain under the circumstances. Nevertheless, one or two errors of fact or gross exaggeration tend to detract from 50 other established facts. It is most important that there be established adequate documentation and research centres. The work of such centres will be believed by others, and published in the media, if they can be assured of the competence and independence of such centres. In other words, the research must be conducted under the supervision of recognized experts in the field, and the direction of the centres must be independent of political-cultural-social organizations.

All that I am proposing will only be possible through united effort. Unfortunately, we have never been especially adept at this in at least three ways. First, unfortunately there are still some Ukrainians who remain anti-Semitic because they feel that in past East European history the Jews sided with the landlords or the ruling clique against the Ukrainians. They forget that as the most oppressed minority in eastern Europe the Jews had to make accommodation as best they could, and take whatever jobs were available, or start any business they could, in order to survive. On the other hand, there are unfortunately some Jews who remain anti-Ukrainian because they remember that some of their bitter clashes in eastern Europe were with them. They, too, forget that it was in the interests of the ruling classes to stir up the people, particularly the Ukrainians, against the Jews, and thereby divert their anger from the oppressive landholding classes. 'Divide and conquer' is a very old tactic, and it was used effectively with both the Jews and the Ukrainians.

Fortunately, we are now in a country which follows a policy of multi-culturalism, which should unite people of different races, religions, and ethnic backgrounds with a mutual respect for each other's particular way of life. Just as the oppression of the tsarist Empire once divided us, let the oppression of the Soviet Empire now lead us to a new mutual respect and co-operation, and let this new land, which our peoples have come to and have made their own, provide us with the inspiration to live as good neighbours.

Second, we have occasionally allowed past political divisions to determine present action to the extent of creating disunity. We should be concerned with the rights of **all** dissenters in the Soviet Union whether they are right, left, or centre — whether they are Nationalists, Cultural Autonomists, Socialists, or Marxists. We should be as concerned with Shumuk as with Dzyuba or Chornovil or Moroz or Plyushch. On the matter of human rights, apart from racist or fascist groups on the right, or supporters of Communist regimes on the left, we should consider co-operation with all groups who

believe in a libertarian democratic society, whether they be socialist, liberals, or conservatives.

Third, we must not dissipate our efforts through too many associations. I think the number we have in Canada is about 85. In a sense this is an illustration of the vigor of the Ukrainian-Canadian society. But in another sense, this is an indication of the minute dividing points which result in a proliferation of associations. If I were to be active in all the groups to which I belong formally I would have to participate in my parish association, in CYC, in St. Vladimir's Institute, in the Professional and Business Men's Association, in the Canadian Ukrainian Committee, in the Moroz Committee, etc., etc., and even then other groups feel I owe them some time as well. We need some rationalization. And we also need to recognize that people cannot be put to the choice between almost total involvement in Ukrainian-Canadian societies, or none at all. After all, Canada still must have first call. We need people who can spend a great deal of time over and beyond their jobs in political parties, in private associations, in professional associations etc., and to make their mark there as well. Doing all four — home, work, general community affairs, and Ukrainian-Canadian interests — usually results in the sacrifice of the first, i.e., the home. Who will keep the shoemaker's children in shoes?

In conclusion, what we must understand, and convince others to understand, is that one of the tests of a civilized society is the way in which it treats its dissenters. In recognition of the fact that there is continual change, that injustices arise just through the economic evolution of a country, even without deliberate intention on the part of those in authority, we have come to recognize that people who are dissenters in one age may be the leaders of thought in a subsequent age.

The tragedy of the human race is that people do not seem to learn from their own past experience. The very same Communist authorities who today repress all dissent, had themselves gone through a period where they were oppressed under the tsarist regime. A people who fail to learn from their own history are condemned to re-live it.

In other words, the question: "Who is my neighbour?" is one that can only be answered today by saying "My neighbour is... Valentyn Moroz, Vyacheslav Chornovil, Nina Strokata, Israel and Sylva Zalmanson, Andrei Sakharov, Leonid Plyushch, Andrei Amalrik, General Grigorenko, Isidorius Rudaitis, and many, many others". However, we cannot convince other Canadians of this unless at the same time we are prepared to acknowledge that our neighbours include the black people in South Africa, the Asians in East Africa, and political prisoners in Spain, Chile, Hungary or Czechoslovakia. Liberty, first. The force of right can triumph over the nigh of force, only if we genuinely believe in, and strive for, the rights of those with whom we disagree".

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

## CONCLUSIONS

Without attempting to exhaust general or specific cases of acts aiming at linguistic destruction of ethno-lingual groups in the past

and present, we arrive at the following conclusions with regard to language right and language suppression, linguistic measures, and linguistic:

### *Linguistic (Language) Rights*

The existence of linguistic (language) rights of majority and minority groups in the modern world is an established socio-cultural phenomenon, accepted explicitly and/or implicitly by many countries and societies. Therefore we conclude that:

each group within a state or a nation has an inborn right to preserve and develop its particular language, and to demand that this right be recognized (warranted) by constitutional and institutional-administrative provisions.

### *Linguicide*

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

- a) killing members of a community speaking a respective language or dialect (genocide);
- b) imposing repressive measures intended to prevent the natural, organic development of a language or dialect;
- c) forcibly inflicting on a bilingual community conditions of cultural development calculated to transform it into unilingual groups;
- d) against the will of an ethno-lingual group, denying the right of a language to be taught in public schools, to be used in mass media (press, radio, television, etc.);
- e) against the demand of an ethno-lingual group, refusing moral and material support for its cultural endeavours and language maintenance efforts.

### RECOMMENDATION

In view of the above it is recommended that in addition to "freedom of speech", the fifth freedom — freedom from language suppression and linguistic — be proclaimed and a permanent body at the United Nations Human Rights Commission be established to help to safeguard linguistic (language) rights of the ethno-lingual groups concerned.

*Appendix I*

*J. B. R's: RECOMMENDATIONS REGARDING AMENDMENTS  
to the  
Official Languages Act of Canada of 1969.*

## RECOMMENDATION 1

Whereas the Official Languages Act in its Section 38 provides for a very general ("antilinguicidal") protection of the "other ethnic languages" of Canada and as such does not offer any affirmative provisions for the legal status of those languages, in particular the major ones, e.g. Ukrainian, German, Eskimo-Indian, etc., and:

Whereas after the extensive work of the Commission the awareness of the Canadian society with regard to languages other than English and French was considerably increased, and:

Whereas there is a general trend in the modern world to grant a legal status to various minority languages in the respective countries, I recommended:

that the present Section 38 of the Official Languages Act be extended by the addition of two Subsections which would precede it as Subsection 38 (3), namely:

- 38 (1) Notwithstanding anything in this Act, any language other than English and French used by ten per cent or more of the population of any province or territory shall be declared a *Regional language* with such provisions as the government concerned may specify and approve in response to public demand.
- 38 (2) Whenever in any province or territory the population whose mother tongue is other than English and French reaches ten per cent or more in the appropriate administrative unit, and this tongue has the status of a regional language in the respective or any other territory, this unit shall be constituted into a *Regional Bilingual District* with public services in one of the official languages, and with admission of the given regional language as specified and approved by the governments concerned.

## RECOMMENDATION 2

Whereas the Official Languages Act in its Section 38 deals also with languages other than English and French, and:

Whereas this Act as well as the Commissioner of Official Languages shall be concerned with all the languages of the country (official, regional, non-official, etc.), and:

Whereas the present designation of the Act and the Commissioner might be interpreted as implying a discriminatory attitude towards

the other ethnic languages by ignoring them by the very title of the Act and by the designation of the Commissioner,

I recommend:

that both the Official Languages Act and the Commissioners of Official Languages be renamed to "Canadian Languages Act" and to "Commissioner for Language Protection and Linguistic Planning in Canada" respectively.

## *Appendix II*

### *RESOLUTIONS of the Manitoba Mosaic Congress (Plenary Session, October 17, 1970.)*

1. WHEREAS English and French are the official languages of Canada within the public agencies of the Federal Government,  
*Be it resolved* that the Manitoba Mosaic Congress recommends that the Government of Manitoba should study ways and means of preserving the multilingual and multicultural reality of the Manitoba Mosaic.
2. *Whereas* the official Languages Act of 1969 does not determine the status of the languages other than English and French,  
*Be it resolved* that the Manitoba Mosaic Congress recommends that the question of legal status of languages, other than English and French be studied by Provincial and Federal government for the purpose of determining if additional legislation on the subject should be enacted, and that the languages used by ethnic communities in Canada should be regarded as Canadian languages, and that they be deemed to be the other languages protected by Section 38 of the Official Languages Act.
3. *Whereas* at present a student is frequently denied the opportunity to study more than one second language,  
*Be it resolved* that the Manitoba Mosaic Congress recommends that steps be taken to find ways and means of making such language options available to all students in the Province wherever there are sufficient numbers interested, and that such Federal grants now available for this purpose be so applied.
4. *Be it resolved* that for a class where a second language is taught, that class be entitled and encouraged to study that language in the context of the literature of that language.
5. *Whereas* the Government acknowledges the positive contributions of bilingual civil servants, and  
*Whereas* the Province of Manitoba has within its boundaries a vast linguistic diversity,  
*Be it resolved* that the Manitoba Mosaic Congress recommends that in employing civil servants, the Government of Manitoba take

into consideration the qualifications of applicants who have fluency in more than one language.

6. *Be it resolved* that the Manitoba Mosaic Congress recommends to the Department of Education that it should instruct the staffs of the curriculum development departments, audio-visual aids sections, and teacher training units to develop programmes which would reflect the multi-cultural and multi-lingual reality of Manitoba.
7. *Be it resolved* that the Manitoba Mosaic Congress recommends the support of the development of ethnic archives in the Province of Manitoba, in association with the Provincial archives, the Museum of Man and Nature, and the existing ethnic archives, for the use by historians and interested individuals for the purpose of research, displays, and education, and:  
*Be it resolved* that this Congress should support the establishment of a central union file for the Province of Manitoba, showing the location of existing material, and that this file be duplicated for deposit in the other Western Provinces, in the hope that these provinces and eventually the Federal Government, will produce a central union file of ethnic material for the whole of Canada.
8. *Be it resolved* that the Department of Education take under advisement the revision of existing texts to present a more comprehensive picture of the contribution of all the ethnic groups in Canada to the cultural, economic, social and political life of our province and country.  
*Be it resolved* that the Manitoba Mosaic Congress recommends the publication of an anthology of creative ethnic literature in both the original language version and that competent translations in both English and French be financially supported by the Government.
10. *Whereas* the Royal Commission on Biculturalism and Bilingualism has made 16 recommendations in its fourth volume,  
*Be it resolved* that all levels of Government and their agencies begin implementing these recommendations.
11. *Be it resolved* that MMI recommended that an ethnic library be created within the new Winnipeg Public Library in co-operation with the various ethnic groups in the province — the facilities of such a library to be made freely available to all citizens of Manitoba through the present Regional Library System.
12. *Be it resolved* that the Manitoba Mosaic Congress recommends that a Cultural Council of Manitoba be established by the Provincial Government to serve the whole community, and that the 15-member steering committee of this Congress act on an interim basis until this Cultural Council be established with the purpose of pursuing the objectives of the Manitoba Mosaic Congress.

## Appendix III

J. B. R's: MEMORANDUM sent in 1975

Canadian National Commission  
UNESCO

One of the linguistic acts of the Stalin era in the Soviet Union was the proscription of the letter "g", which had existed in the Ukrainian alphabet since the 17th century and was used in the Soviet Ukraine up to 1933. This letter is retained by Ukrainians in the Free World, and exceptionally used in the Soviet linguistic publications, including the last monograph on the Phonology of the contemporary Ukrainian (*Suchasna ukrajinska literaturna mova*, Kyiv), where it was stated that the phonem "g" exists in the Ukrainian language, but no recommendation as to reinstating the letter "g" in the Ukrainian alphabet is made (pp. 175-176).

From 1941-1969, I collected words with the initial "g" in the Ukrainian language and found approx. 1,000 of them, some forming a special dictionary of "g" entries. Enclosed kindly find this dictionary including an historical and etymological explanation of each word.

I wish to stress that, in particular, the letter "g" is needed in Western personal and place-names, e.g. *Hegel* (not: "Hehel"), *Chicago* (not: "Chicaho"), *Gimli* (not "Himli"), etc.

In view of the necessity of preservation of this important traditional letter in the Ukrainian alphabet on the one hand, and in order to rectify the linguistic abolition of it in 1933, I herewith request UNESCO to undertake steps for reinstatement of the "g" letter in the Ukrainian alphabet, and in particular:

- a) to establish an International Committee, composed of Ukrainian and non-Ukrainian linguists;
- b) to supervise the scholarly, non-political character of the proceedings of such Committees;
- c) to supervise the scholarly, non-political character of the proceedings, re. the implementation of recommendations of the above Committee in the Soviet Ukraine . . .

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## ***Documents and News from Ukraine***

### **Declaration of V. Chornovil on the Anniversary of the Ukrainian Political Prisoner**



On the 12th January 1972, mass arrests were made in Ukraine — comprising one of the biggest pogroms carried out on the Ukrainian 'Renaissance' of the 1960's and 1970's. This day — the 12th January — has now become "Ukrainian Political Prisoners' Day" and is observed not only by Ukrainian patriots but also by their friends living outside Ukraine — in the whole USSR and beyond. On this year's anniversary, Vyacheslav Chornovil appealed to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR with the following declaration:

"The day of the greatest offence committed in Ukraine in recent years by the Soviet government — the 12th January, 1972 — has now become "Ukrainian Political Prisoners' Day", which is observed not only by our Ukrainian friends, but by other political prisoners who stand in solidarity with them, and also by free Ukrainians and those living beyond Ukraine.

That is why today, on "Ukrainian Political Prisoners' Day" I am protesting against the continuing practice of "solving" the nationalities question with the help of barbed wire and immoral murders.

A heavy toll is taken from our nation not only in the form of our natural resources and physical work, but through the cost of Ukrainian patriots — people of ideas and action.

In the last few years thousands of them have passed through the soul-destroying Gulag, and today we reverently bow our heads to the memory of the sons and daughters of our nation whose bones have been used as paving stones and whose blood has spattered mines and new architecture.

The memorials to twentieth century slavery have not been destroyed! I give my support to those Ukrainian political prisoners who are still captive in the concentration camps of Mordovia, Perm, the Vladimir prison, psychiatric prisons, the investigatory cells of the KGB and in exile — and I demand their immediate release! I demand the release of: Z. Antonyuk, D. Basarab, M. Budulyak, V. Vasyluk, B. Veduta, Khamula, Ye. Hlyva, M. Hutsul, K. Datsiv, V. Dolishniy, M. Yevhrafov, A. Zdorovy, Ihor and Iryna Kalynets, D. Kvetsko, M. Kinchakivsky, M. Kots, V. Kravets, M. Kurchyk, V. Lysenko, V. Lisovy, M. Marynovych, M. Matusevych, Ya. Mykytko, M. Osadchy (in a strict regime camp), V. Pidhorodetsky (strict regime camp), M. Plakhotnyuk, Z. Popadyuk, Oksana Popovych, B. Rebryk, V. Romanyuk, M. Rudenko, P. Saranchuk, Ye. Sverstyuk, I. Svitlychny, R. Semenyuk, Iryna Senyk, O. Serhiyenko, P. Serednyuk, K. Skrypnyk, R. Slobodyan, V. Solodky, S. Sapelyak, S. Pronyuk, V. Stus, O. Tykhy, Stefania Shabatura, D. Shumuk, Yuriy Shukhevych, A. Yuzkevych.

If this very incomplete list *were* completed by adding on to it those sentenced for *political* reasons and sent to *criminal* zones, how deceptive it would look — i.e. it would seem that there are only a few Ukrainian political prisoners, who have been sentenced for being involved with foreign intelligence services.

Today, Ukrainian Political Prisoners' Day, the 12th January, 1978, I am holding a one-day political hunger strike. In connection with my sentence which is now to draw to an end, I would like to assure you that when I am free I will continue to observe this day with a hunger strike until the time, that not one Ukrainian political prisoner remains behind barbed wires or in psychiatric prisons.  
12th January 1978.

Vyacheslav Chornovil,  
journalist and Ukrainian political prisoner".

(n.b. Not long after this declaration was written, V. Chornovil was released from imprisonment and is now in exile in the Yakut ASSR — Leninsky region, p/o Chappanda).

**EX- POLITICAL PRISONER DENIED "MEANS OF EXISTENCE"**

*Dr Volodymyr Horbovy is a well known Ukrainian patriot who came to prominence during the Second World War as chairman of the Ukrainian National Committee.*

*He has been persecuted by the Soviet Government ever since and even after his release from 25 years' imprisonment he is slandered in the Soviet press and denied any form of pension to enable him to live.*

*In this open letter to Kosygin, Dr Horbovy asks that either the attacks on him in the press cease and he is given some form of material support or he be allowed to emigrate.*

An Open Letter from V. Horbovy.

"To:

The President of the Council of Ministers of the USSR; A. Kosygin.

From:

Horbovy Volodymyr Hryhorovych,  
Ivano-Frankivsk region,  
Dolyna district, village of Obolonya.

An Open Letter.

I. It is in the nature of Man to try to maintain his personal dignity and respect in society. The maintenance of these demands influences Man's position in his environment and in society in general.

I have always been aware of the demands of social morals and have always been guided by them in both work and leisure. I lived in this way throughout the Polish occupation of Western Ukraine from 1919-39. During the last German stand on our lands I was guided by the same principles; the Polish regime persecuted and tortured me in their concentration camps in Kartuza Bereza for the same reason.

Especially difficult times were created in Ukraine during World War II. The German "Lebensraum" concept made me cautious even before the onset of war. Hence it was necessary to be prepared to meet Hitler's onslaught, while, very importantly, maintaining our national honour.

Guided by the wishes of the Ukrainian community, I first became the chairman of the Ukrainian committee to aid prisoners of war and refugees in Krakow. This was the only organisation in the so-called General Government which exclusively took care of the first war

victims at that time. That was why it was imperative to organise a money collection for this purpose and also to form contacts with the Krakow magistracy and with the relevant officials of the German administration, to feed, and clothe the people in need of help. No political declarations were proclaimed, nor could they have been, because they were not part of the statutory rights and duties of the charitable organisation. I need to emphasise that never in my life have I made any declarations to any foreign powers which were adverse to the national honour of the Ukrainian people.

Shortly after, I had the privilege of being the chairman of the Ukrainian National Committee (UNC). The congress of the UNC, held on the 22nd June, 1941, in Krakow, accepted a manifesto which truly reflected the position of the Ukrainian nation at that historical moment in time. Thus, it was clearly noted in the manifesto that the ruler of Ukrainian lands would be a Ukrainian nation in an Independent Sovereign Ukraine. I immediately sent an appropriate communication in the spirit of this manifesto to Hitler from the Committee.

Obviously this communication called forth the teutonic fury of the German political leaders. They immediately arrested me and imprisoned me in the "Monte Lyupikh" prison in Krakow. The conditions there were horrifying. In 1942 I fell seriously ill in the prison. The German medical commission examined the state of my health and sent me to the Prof. Kostrzhevsky hospital for contagious diseases in Krakow (Copernicus St., no. 15). Later the case became the concern of the main section of the Security Reich. On 14. 7. 1942 a representative of the German security forces came into the hospital and stated that the administration of the Reich had decided to release me from imprisonment on the basis of the state of my ill-health. German persecution had physically destroyed my health but my morality was intact. I was happy that I had preserved my good name and defended the rights and honour of my nation.

The manifesto of the UNC is still preserved in German and Soviet archives. Writers and journalists of the USSR became familiar with it during the Nuremberg trials. Although they were initially impressed by the courage and attitude of the manifesto's authors and by other similar declarations concerning the Ukrainian case, they soon sank below common decency. They maliciously linked the manifesto with the pro-German aim of "together to a common goal" and so on. Apart from this, they circulated a rumour that I sent Hitler a greeting as follows:

"Great Führer! We send you greetings from the whole Ukrainian nation. We declare our citizenship and loyalty to you. Heil Hitler! Volodymyr Horbovy".

To support this cowardly lie they have applied pressure to my wife, Hanna Horbova, to confirm the fact. However, she categorically

denies all knowledge, and has declared that the aforementioned "greeting" is the result of unfounded supposition.

For a correct interpretation of the affair, it is absolutely necessary to:

a) give my wife a chance to publicly expose the false and insulting lies of these authors:

1. Yuriy Smolych in his "work": "With or against the Nation?".

2. Borys Kharchuk in his "work": "Do yo hear, Brothers!"

3. Klym Dmytruk in his "work": "The Rootless".

b) to publish the whole text of the UNC manifesto.

In the 1960's I applied twice by letter to the General Procuracy of the USSR, demanding that Yuriy Smolych and Borys Kharchuk be brought to trial for libel. However the Procuracy did not take up the case although the constitution "guarantees" citizens' rights and interests.

II. I have spent my life working diligently and have behaved impeccably. Until the war I was a member of the Advocates' Soviet in Lviv; during the war, I was a judge in the Polish Appeal Court in Krakow, and after the war, I worked as a jurisconsult in the Ministry of land in Czecho-Slovakia. The heads of these institutions gave me excellent references; relevant documents are now dealt with by the state security of the USSR.

During the personality cult I was repressed, and suffered in prisons and concentration camps for 25 years. However I was not sentenced because I have never committed a crime in my life; in accordance with the practice in the USSR of "presumed innocence", I am a citizen with all my rights intact.

I am 77 years old. I am an invalid of the 2nd category, and I do not receive a pension. Since I was released from prison three years ago on 1st August 1972, I have not received any form of social security. However, in 1975 I received a plot of land which was 60 by 100 hectares, but these holdings cannot fully guarantee a person their livelihood.

The workings of the Soviet administration are incredible. They demand my rehabilitation — i.e., the renewal of my rights — which legally, I have never been deprived of.

III. During my imprisonment, as a foreigner, I constantly demanded to emigrate from the USSR to Czecho-Slovakia, where I had lived until the time of my arrest. I had sent the appropriate letter to the Ministry of Internal Affairs in the USSR in the spring of 1972, but without any success. I am still trying to emigrate and want to live in Prague where my son, Roman Horbovy, lives with his family.

I am familiar with the constitution of the USSR, with its laws, with international law, with the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights and especially with the Helsinki Accords. The spirit and ideals of the Helsinki Agreement and of article 13 of the UN Declaration

of Rights of Man, give people the right of free movement and to live freely with their families. Comparing these humane declarations with those pictures of Soviet reality sketched above, makes one conclude that those humane declarations are not always respected in the USSR.

Thus, I demand that the government of the USSR accepts measures for:

1. Halting and correcting the above-mentioned attacks on my character in the Soviet press;

2. Guaranteeing me with a means of existence;

3. At the extreme, giving me the opportunity to emigrate from the USSR.

Obolonya, 28. 7. 1976.

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### **"K. I. MATVIYUK'S WORK CHRONICLE"**

*A document is circulating in samvydav under the title of "K. I. Matviyuk's Work Chronicle" which gives evidence of the repressions to which Ukrainian political prisoners are subjected after they are released from imprisonment. One of the methods of repression used by the KGB against patriots is to prevent them from getting any work. Kuzma Matviyuk's fate is one example of this. K. Matviyuk was arrested in 1972 during the repressions of that year against the Ukrainian intelligentsia and was sentenced to 4 years of imprisonment.*

"K. I. Matviyuk graduated from the Engineering Faculty of the Ukrainian Agricultural Academy, where he specialised in the mechanization of agricultural processes. He became an engineer-mechanic. In 1971 he graduated from the Pedagogical Faculty of the Academy, where he specialised in the mechanisation of agriculture and became a lecturer of specialised subjects at agricultural and technical colleges and schools.

On the 13th June, 1972, he was arrested in Uman and sentenced to 4 years' imprisonment under article 64 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR (the equivalent of article 70 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR) for distributing samvydav — this to be served in strict regime corrective labour colonies.

He was not given a residence permit for Uman, where he lived until the time of his arrest.

On the 2nd of October, 1976, he came to the Oleksandria Kirovohrad region.

On the 4th October, he applied to the administration of the Oleksandria agricultural plant: they were unable to offer him any employment.

On the 6th October, he applied to the director of the Oleksandria agricultural technical college. He received a reply stating that the director was unable to employ him either in the education system or in the production process.

On the 6th October he applied to the director of the specialised agricultural professional technical school No. I. The director replied that the school could employ him temporarily as a specialist lecturer. Matviyuk was to bring his employment documents on the following day and was to register as quickly as possible. He was to lecture in "tractors" and "metallurgy".

On the 7th October, 1976, when it was discovered he had served a sentence, work was refused to him. The director refused to give the rejection in writing saying: "I cannot employ you, neither can I reject you".

On the same day Matviyuk applied to the personnel department of the Oleksandria car repair plant. The personnel manager replied that Matviyuk could be registered for the post of engineer of spare parts. He warned Matviyuk that the work was connected with dispatches. Matviyuk had to have militia permission to do this. The head of criminal investigations, Major Myasnikov, noted the address of the plant and said: "You can work there".

On the 8th October, 1976, Matviyuk came to register at the plant. He was told: "We have thought it over and can't employ you".

On the same day he applied to the Oleksandria office of construction and technology. There he was told that constructors were needed and he would be accepted for the post of head engineer but on the condition that he had a residence permit for Oleksandria, which he did not.

On the 21st October he registered in Oleksandria.

On the same day he registered for work at the office of construction and technology, but when it was discovered that Matviyuk had served a sentence for political reasons, they would no longer employ him as the head engineer but offered him the post of a constructor during one Shulha's maternity leave. The documents were sent to the head office in Kyiv. In the meantime it was suggested that Matviyuk started work on the 1st November, 1976.

He came to work on the 1st November, 1976, but because his documents had not been returned from Kyiv, the director suggested that he start work on the 9th November.

From the 9-11th November he worked as an engineer-constructor. On the 11th November, the director of the office informed Matviyuk at the end of the working day that on the 11th November, Kyrychenko, the director of the Central Office of Construction and Technology had come and did not want Matviyuk working there. Hence he was dismissed from work. As no orders had come through confirming his position at the plant, he would not be paid for the three days work that he had done.

From the 12-20th November, 1976, he visited the Procuracy, juris-consults, wrote complaints and declarations.

From the 20th November to the 12th December, 1976, Matviyuk was ill with inflammation of the lungs and from the 25th November to 12th December he was in hospital.

On the 13th December, 1976, Matviyuk applied to V. A. Hladky, the head of the supervision committee of the town executive. (He is also the head of the town executive committee). He directed Matviyuk to the car-repairing section, having arranged the job well in advance. The director promised Matviyuk the position of engineer in the technical control section.

On the 14th December Matviyuk went to the plant — but the director was busy. He went again on the 15th December and was told that there was no work. He again went to see V. A. Hladky, but he was not in. He managed to meet V. A. Hladky on the 16th December, who said that he could give him work as a general labourer but not work to suit his specialisation.

On the 17th December Matviyuk wrote a declaration to the head of the town executive committee requesting that he either be employed according to his specialisation or that he be paid unemployment benefits.

He applied to the Oleksandria mills, where he was promised work either as a mechanic in the mill or in the engineering section, but this work was only to start after the New Year.

On the 31st December Matviyuk was summoned by the militia deputy Major Kharytonenko. He was warned about avoiding "socially useful work" (article 214 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR and the equivalent of article 209 of the Criminal Code of the RRSR).

On the 5th January, 1977, Matviyuk wrote to "Pravda" requesting that concern be shown to the unemployed not only in the Federal Republic of Germany and New York, but also in Oleksandria. (The reply "We are unable to give you a teaching post", which he had not even asked about, came much later).

On the 6th January, 1977 he received a reply from V. V. Nikitin, deputy of the town executive committee, who suggested that he seek employment in agricultural regions. Matviyuk replied that his advice was a plagiarism of the Chinese National Republic.

On the 7th January, 1977, Matviyuk was summoned by V. A. Hladkov. He was not there when Matviyuk called because he was ill, but he left a message directing Matviyuk to work at the thermal electrical centre. However, that post was already taken.

On the 8th January he was rejected from the mill. It did not suit them that he was an agricultural engineer-mechanic. (The head engineer was an agronomist, incidently).

On the 10th January, 1977 V. A. Hladkov promised him a job. He received a copy of instructions from the director of the "Technical Repairs" Trust, in which it was stated that Kyrychenko, the director



of the Central Construction and Technical Office (TsKTB), had instructed that Matviyuk be employed for 10 days.

On the 11th January 1977 orders came to accept him for work as a constructor while Shulha was on maternity leave at the Oleksandria construction-technical section. The pay is 118 roubles.

### **MYCHAYLO OSADCHY WANTS TO BECOME U.S. CITIZEN**

**"To the American Nation, Senate and President Carter.**



I am now serving my seventh year in the harshest concentration camp in the world for political prisoners or recidivists. The address of the camp is: Mordovia, Sosnovka, ZhKh 325/1-6, USSR.

I am 41 years old; I am Ukrainian; married with two children (who are 11 and 9 years old respectively); my mother is 70 years old. While I was still free, many of my literary works were published; I defended my dissertation, and the All Union attestation committee awarded me with a doctorate in philological studies; many of my specialist literary essays were published; I worked as a senior lecturer at Lviv University and in other institutions.

I have been repressed twice — in 1965 and in 1972 — both times without any reason, for political motives. I am still imprisoned to this day.

The organs of the KGB have not only deprived me of the possibility of doing any literary work but have sentenced me to death.

I was sentenced to 7 years' imprisonment to be served in strict regime camps and to 3 years' exile in Siberia for the publishing of my book "Cataract" in the West. In 1974, intending to destroy me sooner, the KGB, through the use of criminals, beat up my 70 year old mother, then I got the same treatment at the transit prison in Potma (on the 5th January, 1975) and my 33-year-old brother — Vclodymyr Hryhorovych Osadchy — was murdered by criminals on the 5th May 1975, in Sumy.

I have been warned that I will be murdered when I am in exile. Less than a year remains until I have to serve my term in exile — i.e. my death sentence. I know that no (illegible) world community will

redeem me, and I am doomed to unbelievable degradations, as a slave.

I want to die as a citizen of the U.S.A., a country which in accordance with my deepest convictions, is a bastion of peace, justice, and freedom and is a friend to Ukrainians and Ukraine.

22nd January, 1978.

*Mykhaylo Osadchy,*  
an illegally repressed Ukrainian writer"

### TRIAL OF BOHDAN REBRYK

*The final statement of Bohdan Rebyrk at his trial, which took place in Ivano-Frankivsk in 1974, has reached the West. Many hitherto unknown facts about Rebyrk's life are revealed in this document. He is currently serving his sentence in Mordovian camp uch. ZhKh 385/1. Excerpts from this document are printed below.*

"... I am accused of having engaged in hostile anti-Soviet activities from 1970 to 1974... Let us see, then, if I was, or if I became, a violator of the law. After ten months of imprisonment, I must confess that I sometimes began to believe that I was guilty, although I have not committed any crime. The perseverance of the investigator has considerable results.

Well, who am I really?

I was born on the 30th June 1938, to a peasant family in the village of Pavlivka in the Ivano-Frankivsk region. My mother died in 1943. My father worked as a farmer. In 1951, as a result of anonymous information, my father was sent to Siberia. He was rehabilitated in 1956 and died in 1957. In 1954, during organised conscription, I went to study at the FZN (agricultural and industrial studies) in the town of Mahnitorsk in the Cheblyansky region. When I finished my studies, I worked at... (illegible) in Mahnitorsk, and from 1957 to 1962 I served in the army... In 1962 I returned to Ivano-Frankivsk, where I taught until 1967.

I was arrested in February 1967 and sentenced in May to three years of imprisonment and deprived of the right to teach because I seemingly "slandered Soviet reality" and because I "educated youth in a nationalist spirit". I was really sentenced because my national consciousness had awoken, and for my views contradicting the official ideology (of the Soviet Union). For this, I was labelled a "heretic".

During the investigation, the chief of the KGB section, sub-lieutenant Dolnyk, stated with malice: "Well you son of a bitch, you won't get much now, but we'll get you again". The threat meant that I was now included in the ranks of the unreliable — i.e. I was included on the black list of those who think differently, and from now

on, everything would work against me, everything would be how the KGB wanted it.

From 1970 to 1974, I was provoked by the KGB... On the 21st February 1974... it was decided to conduct a search of my home... A criminal case against me was invented. The content of hand-written and original texts was tendentiously twisted. The investigation was conducted with the conclusions decided well in advance. My explanations were not taken into account, the sentence was simply passed.

It seems as if the regional court is hypnotised with KGB falsifications; it does not believe my explanations, they are not even considered. It declares me to be an especially dangerous criminal and recidivist, and has sentenced me to seven years to be served in a special regime camp and to three years of internal exile...

Sentence me! I am not afraid of prison. I have no fear of the special regime camps nor of the special striped prisoners' uniforms they issue there. You will not change my views to suit the Ukrainian nation's present existence. All they might be able to do is to ruin my health, but I will not lose my honour, or my conscience, or my human dignity. I cannot pretend to be something that I am not. I love my language and my nation. I share its joys and its misfortunes. And how good it is, that you are unable to take even one misfortune from me.

Well, sentence me for my language, with which my nation has created the best song culture in the world, sentence me for my convictions — the same as those for which Shevchenko cruelly suffered — for the language and culture of Kotlyarevsky, Kostomariv, Nechuy-Levytsky, Lesya Ukrainka, and Franko, Yefremov and Hrushevsky. I am guided by the testament left to my nation by its great sons.

I have been accused of seemingly wanting to spread animosity between the Ukrainian and Russian nations. This is obviously to taint my actions with a hostile-chauvinist character. No! Chauvinism should be sought for amongst those who fabricated this case, who usurped the regime, who deprived us of our rights. I don't intend to imply that the whole of the Russian nation is like this; the point is, those who destroy Ukrainians, those who came to Ukraine (under the guise of "brotherhood") perpetuate the politics of the Russian empire. The sympathies of true Russian patriots are with me. And this is a fact known to all. The authoritative voices of high tribunals have more than once defended the national rights of Ukrainians, Jews and other non-Russian nations, because where persecution exists, battle also exists. And to prevent a battle between my nation and the Russian nation, I demand justice!

I respect the individual and the rights of every nation and I want myself and our rights to be respected. Through this, I am fulfilling my social duties. But for these convictions, I am being sentenced for the second time...

Today at the court meeting, the procurator paid much attention to the successes and achievements of the Ukrainian nation, especially in the Western regions of Ukraine. From what he said, it transpires that life in Ukraine is paradise and the Ukrainian nation is the happiest nation in the world. But I can still see living scenes of the terror and hunger of the 1930's in East Ukraine and in 1940-1950 in West Ukraine — scenes that afflicted this, the happiest nation on earth, when thousands of innocent people, children, women, and the old, were driven to the snows of Siberia and thrown from train waggons under the open skies into 40 degrees of frost — to a certain death; most of them remained there forever.

Why do you not want to mention this "happiness"? Or another even worse scene: our modern peasant-collective farm worker works from sunrise to sunset for a pitiful wage — so pitiful, it is a crime to even call it a wage. Is this happiness?

Is it happiness that forces most of the village population of West Ukraine, especially the Hutsuls, to leave their families and native land to go to Siberia, to the Polar regions and the Far East to find work whilst Ukraine is being resettled with millions of foreigners.

No, this is not happiness! All this is the result of colonial politics. All the conditions are created so that Ukrainians stop being Ukrainian . . . Shoot me! I will never change! That's all — I go with God! Let His Holy Will be done!"

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### **DECLARATION OF M. SYMCHYCH, A FORMER UPA SOLDIER**

*A new samvydav article from the USSR has recently reached the West. It is an appeal of a former UPA (Ukrainian Insurgent Army) soldier, Myroslav Symchych, who is currently serving a 30 year sentence, and is addressed to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. The full text of the appeal is printed below.*

#### **"To the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR**

I, Symchych Myroslav Vasylyovych, was born in 1923 in the village of Bereziv in the Ivano-Frankivsk region. In 1949 I was sentenced by the Ivano-Frankivsk military tribunal under articles 54-10-11 to 25 years of imprisonment to be followed by 5 years of deprivation of my rights, this for my participation in UPA activities.

#### **Declaration**

I am turning to you with an appeal but first of all, wish briefly to describe the crux of the matter. After my trial I was dispatched to the far north to serve my sentence — to the Magadansk region,

where on the draconian whims of the camp chiefs I was sentenced for a second time to 10 years of imprisonment by the Khabarovsk visiting assizes under article 59-3-16. This sentence was added on to my first 25-year conviction.

I have no pretensions concerning my first sentence which I had received for my role in the national-liberation struggle (as is known, this movement was repressed in Russia, is still being repressed and will be repressed in the future), as I know there is nothing I can do about it. But I was sentenced illegally in the camp and I appeal to you to review my case. All the persecutions engendered by the Stalin cult were condemned in the USSR by high tribunals. However my second sentence proves that I am a sacrifice, as the present law imposes a 15-year term, but I have a 30 year and 3 day sentence to serve. My imprisonment contravenes both international and Soviet law.

I will briefly describe the circumstances which forced me to fight for the right to be myself, and to fight for my life. In the autumn of 1946 I was brought to Magadan from the port of Vanino on the ship "Nohin" (illegible). Even on board, "legalised thieves" robbed many people and also stabbed several political prisoners to death. I don't know how many people were killed, because they threw the bodies below deck where there was about half a metre of cold water. At the transit prison in Magadan they robbed us all, took our belongings from our bags, and tore our clothes from us, leaving us practically naked. In (illegible) they kept all prisoners together regardless of the crimes that they had committed. We were dispatched to the "Spokiyny" mine from Magadan, where persecution was absolute — there were floggings, cold, hunger and heavy manual labour. Often they did not even give us scraps of bread for several days on the run, saying that there was a shortage of flour, and so nothing to bake with. But they still forced us to work. The camp chief, First Lieutenant Issayev, would openly say: "We have brought you here to finish you, to sap everything from you by making you do the most difficult work". We were driven 8-10 kilometres every day through deep snow to the mine; we were forced to walk with our arms linked with one another. Those whose strength failed them, fell behind, and were torn to shreds by the dogs. There was no water to drink in the living zone, there was no wood to heat the barracks. We would bring wood to the barracks from the forest (on so-called rest-days) to warm ourselves and to dry out our wet clothes. But it was only occasionally that we succeeded in bringing any wood into the living zone, because the escorts would take it for themselves. So we were forced to sleep in unheated barracks, with outside temperatures at minus 45-54 degrees. The water in the sinks would freeze overnight so we could not even wash in the mornings. We were taken to the baths twice a month and sometimes only once. They gave us measures of water — two

litres — in the bath-house, so we could only wet our beards a little before shaving and washing. In the bath-house we would bake our clothes to rid them of lice.

After eight months of life in these conditions, only 700 out of 1200 survived. Many died or lived out the rest of their lives in hospital. I became bloated from hunger and from the 5th February to the 25th April, I was hospitalised. Then I was transferred to Magadan, where I remained until 1953.

In comparison with life in the more distant camps, life here was easier and I managed to survive, unlike others in those camps who died.

But on the 8th May I was again transferred to camp (illegible) in the Susmansk region, Myanzha, which is 80 km. from Magadan. I saw the same persecutions that I had seen in 1949 in "Spokiyiny". Prisoners were beaten, they starved those who were physically incapable of fulfilling their work quotas, and worse, the camp chief, Major Vorontsov and his deputy, Captain Podhorny, tortured people who had no means of defence. Obeying the old principle of divide and rule, they turned friend against friend, and inflamed national hatred. To make their "educational-labour" duties easier, they organised a group of prisoners who called themselves "honest thieves" in the zone. These scoundrels murdered, robbed people, and took their parcels. They also stole money earned by others at work — i.e. they demanded that the supervisors record others' work quotas with theirs, so that those who worked, received nothing. They took groceries from the kitchens — processed meats, sugar, flour — in a word, everything that was good, and just left groats for everyone else — corn was not delivered here. These "honest thieves" stole watches, "confiscated" money, even from freeworkers in the working zone. They raped women, or murdered them. For another example, before my arrival the thief Ivashchuk (because of whom I was later sentenced) stabbed the cook simply because he wouldn't give all the processed meat to the criminals and put some in the food he prepared for everyone. All these crimes were committed in front of and with the blessing of the camp administration. If any of the prisoners tried to resist this piracy, they were severely punished by the camp administration, and accused of nationalist tendencies. I soon became a victim of the practices of these bosses.

After a month in the camp, one of these thieves, Makartsev, tried to rob me, but because I did not even think of submitting but defended myself and resisted him, I was punished by being put into a BUR (cell) for two months. They fabricated a report claiming that I beat up Makartsev on the basis of national hatred. Just before my term (in the BUR) ended, I was put into the cell with the thieves — with Makartsev's friends. At that time they were serving sentences for stealing from free workers and for raping women. I was put in with them so that they could beat me up or murder me. On the

following day, on the 12th August, 1953, we were taken to work in the "forbidden zone", where Makartsev's friends — Yavorsky, Pavlov, and Ivashchuk — hooked a steel grip onto an iron shear from the straw mill and tried to hit me with it. However, when Pavlov tried to strike me, I managed to knock it from his hands and defended myself from all three of them. Some prisoners came and gave me support when they saw what was happening. All this was done with the knowledge of the chief of the operative section, Major Vorontsev, who did not put me into the cell with Makartsev's friends by accident. After this incident he fabricated (illegible) and distorted all the facts and accused me of nationalism. All who were involved, or simply tried to stop the fight, were implicated in the case with me. This was how a nationalist group evolved — with its own convictions and rules. On the basis of this, eight of us were sentenced under article 59-3-16 to 10 years of imprisonment.

It is scandalous that it was Vorontsev who provoked the fight in the first place and conducted the case himself, i.e. he delegated his deputy, Captain Pidhorny, with whom he fabricated everything. All eight of us demanded an independent investigator, which was categorically refused us because they were afraid that an independent investigator would reveal all the provocations. They didn't allow a lawyer to be present at the trial although we had insisted upon having one. All the witnesses of the so-called "victims" were friends and lackeys of the camp administration. Our witnesses were not allowed to take part in the trial. Every prisoner who protested against the persecution in the zone, was punished. That major Vorontsev organised all this can be proved by the fact that after my trial, puffed up with the pride of his success, he organised an even larger group of thieves who stole, beat up people, and terrorised the whole camp. Vorontsev delegated them a separate barrack, No. 1, where about 200 of them lived. These bandits annoyed people so much (there were 3,500 men in the zone) that one night, they surrounded the thieves' barrack and set it alight. They didn't let anyone out alive. Similar actions were committed in all the 23 sections of Berlag. Many people, like me, were accused without reason and sentenced, simply because we dared to oppose the persecution and oppression perpetrated by the camp officials.

But the years passed, and the personality cult and its consequences were condemned by the party and the government. Many cases of people whom I knew or had heard about from others, who had suffered under Stalin's oppression, were reviewed and people were released.

In 1956 the Committee of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR shortened the punishment term to 10 years. But after having spent 4 years away from the zone, someone decided that I had not served enough time and I was arrested again for the so-called open-affairs.

Who is to blame that the investigative organs were in a hurry and had not conducted their investigations thoroughly?

I was told by Captain Pyetukhov "25 years are enough for you and we have to bring the case to a close quickly."

This is why I can easily say that everything was done in such a way that one could be tried again at any time. Who does not know, that I, as an UPA soldier, did not sow or reap, but fought against Soviet brutality every day? But I was arrested again, with the decision made by the Committee being annulled. Therefore, it is obvious that I was arrested for my involvement in UPA and not for my fight in the camps against the Beria persecutions.

That is why I consider it wrong for the camp sentence to have been added onto my first conviction thus increasing my term of imprisonment to 30 years. The Committee rehabilitated all seven of my unfortunate friends.

Why have they now discovered "resurrected" people, and why do they justify persecutions condemned long ago, and why have they forced me to serve the rest of my sentence, which was meted out to me at an unconstitutional trial for opposing unconstitutional deeds? Are there no decrees concerning 30 year sentences?

I request that you review my case and rehabilitate me. I would like to know if my 30 year sentence will ever end, or will the 1950's be repeated, and my sentence be eternal?  
Summer, 1976.

*Symchych M. V."*

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## CHRONICLE OF THE 35th ZONE IN THE GULAG ARCHIPELAGO

*A new samvydav document has reached the West which describes in detail the conditions of political prisoners of one zone in the Perm concentration camps, in which there are a large number of Ukrainians. The events which are described seem like a microcosm of the USSR: on the one hand there are the representatives of the various nations of the USSR who are deprived of freedom and of other human rights, and on the other hand — the insensitive camp administration, which not only physically and spiritually persecutes people for their convictions but also provokes and encourages national hatred, intimidates political prisoners with criminals and so on. As is evident from the document, the camp administration works hand in hand not only with thieves and bandits, but also puts rabble like former German collaborators and torturers in positions of trust. The main sections of this chronicle are printed below:*

In January 1977 the administration began a campaign to liquidate



the premises where we read books. At the same time it intended to create more animosity between political prisoners and the criminals who always made a lot of noise in the area where we study and write.

Prisoners Tkachuk, a diabetic, and Soroka suffering from... (illegible) of the small intestines were declared fit by Dr. Sheliy, who refused to give them a "diet".

On the 31st January they took Mykola Motryuk from the camp, to the transit with all his possessions.

On the 1st of February they deprived Zahrabyan of the right to buy goods in the prison shop — the warder Lyetov announced that Zahrabyan wrote a declaration during working hours about the oppressions committed by the camp administration.

On the 2nd of February, on the basis of information provided by Khromov, Altman was deprived of a visit and Kiryand was forbidden to buy goods from the camp shop because they rested in the middle of the day (i.e. not during working hours). On the 4th February, the so-called "prophylactic group", under the guidance of Kitmanov and Sheliy, renewed the regime of "turning the screw": they summoned and persecuted Proponyuk and Zahrabny from the zone for not fulfilling their work quotas. They declared to them: "Don't shield yourselves with the state of your health. We'll force you to fulfil your work quotas", (this is an accurate quote). They also took Kurtkovsky there and he also had his share of threats, because during daytime working hours, he lay down to rest on his bed.

On the 6th February in the working zone, a search was carried out which lasted for several hours. This was conducted by officers and supervisors under the guidance of two KGB agents (Shukin and one unknown person); they tore the wooden panels down, ripped up floors, unscrewed the ventilators on the pipes, took all papers — including magazines and newspapers — every scrap they could find — plastic bags, pencils, pens and so on. Everything that was taken was immediately burnt in a stove. They found nothing of importance.

On the 10th February they pardoned the Kalmuck Dordzhtsev (he had two years of a 25-year sentence left to serve: he had been sentenced for his war crimes). Also on the 10th February they unexpectedly took Razayika Zahrabyany to the transit prison in Chusovy; he was tried there and it was decided to transfer him to the Vladimir prison, for not fulfilling his work quotas and for violating the camp regime. Neither the procurator nor the representative of the camp administration — lieutenant Bukin — mentioned his illness. On the 10th February the informer Udartsev insulted the national integrity of Zalmanson and a fight broke out. Both were locked away in a cell (but Udarstev had sheets and other privileges).

We were informed that Kovalev (in zone 36) had developed cancer of the rectum.

(On the 9th February Soroka received a parcel — his first for three years. He immediately shared it out with his friends).

On the 11th February Butman discussed the Zalmanson and Udartsev incident with Sharykov and Polyakov. Both officers informed Butman that the evidence of Zalmanson would be given to the court in as far as Udartsev was a victim! (Udartsev was transferred from the prison cell to the hospital on the 10th February, i.e. the incident of 1974 with the provocateur Ismahliv repeated itself).

On the 14th February a large group of political prisoners sent a statement to the regional court demanding that they be called as witnesses of the incident and as witnesses of the anti-Semitic policy of the camp administration and KGB. Hluzman also sent a statement to the CC CPSU.

On the 3rd February on the basis of the false evidence presented by Lieutenant Timofiy and Doctors Sheliy and Solomiy, Pedan was locked up in an isolation cell for 10 days; on the 13th February on the basis of new false evidence, his term was prolonged by 5 days. On the 16th February Udartsev appeared in the zone "to punish the Jews".

Mykhaylo Klymovych Slobodyan is serving his sentence in zone 36. He was born in 1939 in the village of Trach in the Kosiv district of the Ivano-Frankivsk region. He is married and is the father of two sons who are 19 and 15 years old; he completed secondary education. Until 1970 he worked as a division officer — as a first lieutenant in the militia. Just before his arrest, he worked as the manager of a club in Trach. He was arrested on the 15th July, 1975. He was the leader of the Ukrainian national democratic liberation movement — "Homin". No other person was involved with the case. He was sentenced to 11 years of imprisonment and 3 years of exile under article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR, and under several general articles.

(Slobodyan exposed a spy network which kept the KGB informed in which there were nearly 30 people including the leader of the Baptists in Trach). He acted through a friend, Dmytro Chornoba, who worked for the KGB in Kosiv. Chornoba knew nothing of the organisation, and his fate is not known. At the trial the court accused Slobodyan of raising the national flag in the town of Kosiv and in the village of Debeslavtsya. In 1975 Slobodyan's wife was not allowed to visit her husband, but when she came in December she was allowed to see him for two hours. Slobodyan has liver disease, chronic tonsillitis and often suffers with angina and rheumatism.

On the 16th February Kiyrend (?illegible) received a letter from Meshener from Israel. On the evening of the 12th February, captain Utyro had a long discussion with the informer Dovhanych. They worked out the tactics to be used by Dovhanych as a witness in Zalmansons trial i.e. the false evidence to be presented. On the 21st

February Butman sent a statement to the procurator Chasovy demanding that criminal proceedings be started against Udartsev under articles 74 and 206 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR. and also demanded that the chief of the camp — Polyakov be tried for inflaming anti-Semitism.

On the 18th February water started to leak through the ceiling of the sewing section. There was water everywhere — on the floor, on the work tables (and on the tables of the chronically ill Pronyuk and Marchenko). The water seeped further still, and started to leak through the first floor — straight onto the machines and electrical equipment. On the 22nd February, only because of the demands of prisoners who were forced to work in the wet and damp, the administration started to take measures against the leak (the reason for this was a defect in the ceiling and walls). On the 23rd February the water was still dripping through to the sewing section. The invalids Pronyuk and Marchenko wrote a declaration to the camp chief describing the work conditions in the sewing section. At the end of February, after the Zalmanson incident, the informer Udartsev was given the name of "work and duty foreman" for his "services". They informed us of this in the camp wall newspaper.

We found out from reliable sources what Polyakov and Udartsev spoke about on the night of the 11th February. Udartsev openly and brutally stated his anti-Semitic credo and suggested that the camp administration use his services to deal with Jews in the camp. Polyakov reacted favourably and he summoned Zalmanson for a confrontation. He clearly took Udartsev's side and threatened to take Zalmanson to court. On the 19th February an investigator from the Moscow regional procuracy came to the zone. He summoned Udartsev, Dovhanov and Svitlychny to act as witnesses. He did not give his name, nor did he say why he had come — by which he violated procuracy norms. The supervisor of the operative section of the camp, Bukin, took an active part in the questioning although this was not recorded in the notes of the meeting. The investigator was basically interested in life and the medical service in the camp. Over ten political prisoners handed him petitions demanding that they be called as witnesses in this case. But on the 21st February, the investigator summoned the prisoner Urnyezhons, a semi-literate and demoralised man, and with the help of Bukin, took a prepared statement from him. He did not tell him about his rights as a witness nor about the case that he was investigating, nor did he tell him his name.

On the 10th January the prisoner Stepan Soroka had a visit from his brother Semen, who had travelled from Ukraine. The visit took place in camp 37, in accordance with KGB operational practices. Because permission had been granted for only one visit, Semen had bought a return ticket for the 12th January. During the conversation, which of course was secretly recorded, the KGB agents misinterpreted

one of the brothers comments and thought Semen received written information from Stepan. They reacted immediately: camp administration officers and supervisors entered the visiting room and, despite the fact that they could discover nothing of suspicion, local KGB agents ordered that Semen remain for another two days, so that they would have time to make inquiries at the city KGB about the sanctions for provocations. Semen Soroka, who had a train ticket for the 12th January tried to oppose this ruling, but was forbidden to leave the camp. By threatening them and through persistence he managed to end the visit only on the night of the 12th January. On his way home, in Kirovohrad, Semen Soroka was beaten up; he received several fists blows to his head and was taken to the local militia station for being a participant of a "fight". He was only released from there, ill and beaten, when the KGB had checked him "inside out". Obviously, they did not discover anything, because there was nothing to find. No-one took the responsibility for this "misunderstanding" but Semen Soroka, who has served a sentence in the Stalin concentration camps, was yet again convinced that persecutions and provocations are not yet a part of history. Semen Soroka, in his provincial Kirovohrad, still probably does not know the reason for the unfortunate incident which took place when he went to visit his brother.

On the 18th February Zalmanson was driven to Chusov for the court meeting; on the basis of the court decision he was transferred to a prison regime where he is to remain until the end of his sentence.

On the 23rd February, Polyakov replied to Pronyuk's and Marchenko's declarations about the unbearable conditions in the camp: "This is in a state of emergency; when it is repaired, the shortcomings will be seen to". This day, they gave us stale fish for supper.

On the evening of the 3rd to 4th January, Lushch, a Ukrainian, died. A few weeks before, the doctors had refused to give a recommendation to the court that he be released before the completion of his sentence, because of his illness (... illegible). On the 3rd January Svitlychny and some other prisoners fell ill with flu; doctor Solomina refused to release them from work duties although when the informer Velmozhko asked, he was released from fulfilling his work quota although he was not as ill as Svitlychny. On the 7th January on the basis of information supplied by the supervisor Tyeploykov, they forbade Butchenko to buy goods in the camp shop because he arrived late for the morning roll call. On the 7th January supervisor Letov informed against Butman because he arrived a few minutes late for work.

On the night of the 7th to 8th January Pedan fell ill unexpectedly. He was taken to the hospital at 9 o'clock. On the basis of the diagnosis "complications after flu", Svitlychny was transferred to the hospital on the 12th January.

On the 17th January they confiscated Kvetsko's letters to the former prisoner Mastyuk, about Lushch's death (they knew each other from the Vladimir prison).

On the 24th January the temperature in the cell was 10 degrees, as it was before, but the work quotas are calculated on the basis of work done in comfortable conditions. On the 25th January supervisor Varantov composed a false report about eight political prisoners — stating that they had seemingly violated the work regulations. On the 30th January, on the basis of Atayev's information, Shovkov and Symchun were fined for lying down to rest during the day.

1977.

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## DOCUMENTS FROM THE REVEREND VASYL ROMANYUK



Some new documents authored by the Rev. Vasyl Romanyuk have reached *The Ukrainian Review*.

The Rev. Romanyuk is a Ukrainian Orthodox priest, sentenced in 1972 to two years' prison, five years in a labour camp and three years internal exile. He is now in a labour camp in Mordovia.

Two previous sets of documents from the Rev. Romanyuk dealt with his sentence and a plea for western support in securing his release.

Of the present set of documents two are reproduced here in full, an appeal to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and an open letter to President Carter.

A third document is addressed to the editor of the Vatican paper "Osservatore Romano". In essence it is an appeal to the Western world but in particular Christians to support those persecuted for religious reasons in the USSR.

The Rev. Romanyuk in his letter to "Osservatore Romano" describes his sense of isolation because of the situation in his native Ukraine: "... In Ukraine the percentage of believers is higher than in Russia and the filthiest of tactics are used against the church. The

constant repression, persecution and humiliation have resulted in there being no solidarity at all between the Orthodox clergy in Ukraine and the believers. If one of their brothers falls into misfortune everyone turns their backs on him. If a priest is unknown, his family lives in poverty".

The Rev. Romanyuk states his son was expelled from Lviv University "on the direct instructions of the KGB". He says he himself is "a kind of scarecrow" to his friends, "especially the priests".

None of them write to him and only the Russian Orthodox priests Revs. Sergei Zheludkov and Gleb Yakunin maintain any contact with him. He knows letters are sent to him from abroad but the camp authorities do not pass them on to him although sometimes they taunt him by showing the letters from a distance.

The Rev. Romanyuk describes the consequences of this lack of support from the Christian world:

"... The dissidents imprisoned for their convictions alongside with me in the labour camp would like to see the model of love and solidarity which the Christian world should be in action.

"But if believers see yet remain silent, the non-believing dissidents attack the Christian world for its indifference. They say: 'What are these millions of Christians good for? The Soviet Union tells the world what to do and tramples on human rights. It openly persecutes Christians. But the Christian world not only remains silent, it even signs various agreements with the Soviet Union'".

According to the Rev. Romanyuk's letter a Ukrainian Committee for the Defence of religion is to be formed soon. It will be ecumenical, possible participants being Orthodox Christians, Catholics, Evangelical Christians and Baptists. The Committee's aim will be to demand the government does not violate the laws dealing with freedom of conscience.

The Rev. Romanyuk asks international Christian and other organisations to support the Committee once it is formed because the leadership of the country (whom he describes as "yesterday's men... who try to solve all problems by brute force") may be expected to respond with repressions against the Committee members.

The other two documents from the Rev. Romanyuk are reproduced in full on the following pages.

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### **TO THE PRESIDIUM OF THE SUPREME SOVIET OF THE USSR — AN OPEN LETTER —**

You issued a decree according to which a conditional release could be applied to particularly dangerous recidivists, including political prisoners. It is well known that the KGB takes care of Soviet political prisoners. The people who come under their jurisdiction will be

directed to certain places under special supervision — to forced labour. The camp correction officers are calling this decree "the next humanitarian act of the Soviet government". We are told: "If you conduct yourself in an exemplary fashion you could be released from exile upon the recommendations of the labour board". To conduct oneself in an exemplary fashion means to acknowledge one's guilt and to renounce one's views. In short, this camouflage is intended to deceive the international public and, therefore, I consider it my duty to protest emphatically against this comedy. And if this Decree is applied to me by force, I shall nevertheless not stop fighting against the lawlessness perpetrated upon me. I shall demand total rehabilitation and the prosecution of those who fabricated a political trial against me.

I declare that I have not engaged in anti-Soviet activity and have no intention of so doing. I am only protecting myself and my family from violence and lawlessness. My son, for instance, was expelled from the Lviv University for the sole reason that his father is a "criminal". But everybody knows very well, especially those who have been close to me, that I committed no crime. For this very reason I was tried within four walls without the people's knowledge.

My father perished in Siberia from hunger and hard labour, and my 13-year-old brother was murdered by the Stalinist hangmen. I was rehabilitated after my first conviction and received the second one — the camp — in 1946 solely because I complained about the first.

But in spite of all this, I am now proclaimed to be a particularly dangerous recidivist and am told: "You are a churchman; nobody will even listen to you". And indeed, nobody listened to me. They did with me as they pleased, but one thing they could not do was hide the truth from the people, as they had done in times past.

So now the Soviet government has invented a Decree by which it wants to force those innocently convicted to acknowledge their guilt and at the same time to conceal the subsequent crime against Man. Because of this I consider this decree to be an anti-humanitarian attempt which reinforces the trampling of human rights in our country, since its application does not alleviate the plight of political prisoners, but, on the contrary, degrades their human dignity and gives the penal organisations, under new specific conditions, an opportunity to use acts of violence and terror against every repressed (individual). It is on these grounds that I am forced to reject this Decree because I do not wish to be party to an overt deception of the international public. It is well known that any decrees issued by the Soviet government always have a demagogic aim in mind and never bring any concrete benefits to the people.

*Father Vasyl Romanyuk*

## **AN OPEN LETTER TO PRESIDENT CARTER — “FOR THE IDEALS OF A FREE WORLD”**

Honoured Mr. President,

You have been the head of the government of the most powerful nation of the world for almost a year, a nation to which all deprived people turn to as a bastion of peace and freedom on earth. Your activity in this short time and your position on the question of human rights, have found approval in all the oppressed nations of the Soviet Union, and have stirred a fervant enthusiasm in all those who think differently — especially amongst the faithful, (who continuously experience all manner of persecution and degradation), democrats and defenders of rights. Your activity has created great enthusiasm, especially amongst all political prisoners in Soviet concentration camps, because for no one are justice and freedom as dear as for those who have lost them or never had them.

It is America, at whose head you stand, that has the greatest moral right to defend the rights of man in every place they have been violated, because it was only a short time ago that the American nation sent its sons far from their homeland to defend the ideals of a free world. If other Western countries acted as does America, the world situation would be very different today.

Also our fate would be different, because it is the nature of this regime that when it, or its satellites, achieve any successes in the international arena, repressions are poured on our nation. It is a pity that those who protest against American politics (illegible) or those who would never agree to live (illegible) regime, are silent now, although they know well about the bloody massacres committed by those whom they once defended.

An analogous situation exists now. The American government and you personally, Mr. President, have raised the question of human rights at the highest level, but unfortunately this cannot be said of the governments of other Western countries where it seems to us the question has not received due attention.

Using this opportunity, we appeal to the American nation, to Congress and to you personally Mr. President, and to your staff and to all governments and nations in the civilised world, not to pay any attention to the so-called theory of non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries, because it is through this very theory that the Soviet Union and its satellites safeguard the right to perpetrate various illegalities against their own nations whilst simultaneously claiming that their country is a bastion of peace and freedom.

The inhuman violation of basic human rights and freedoms and the imprisonment of people in concentration camps for many years simply for expressing their thoughts either verbally or on paper, cannot serve the cause of peace, and cannot justify any erroneous



theories, because this practice creates fear and suspicion between nations.

60 years have elapsed since freedom was murdered in our country, since human rights were destroyed, since it was forbidden to express personal convictions in any way whatsoever. Our country has become a fortress of the blackest reactions and of wild fury, which has given rise to bloody repressions and the physical liquidation of millions of people in times of peace.

This is the continuing and bloody balance of today's celebrations. No other tyranny in the world has committed such evil in the whole history of mankind. This is why Mr. President, your efforts on the human rights issue are so important to us, and why it wounds us to see the indifference of other governments, parties and groups of people in the free world on this question.

The lessons of history have shown us that peaceful relations between nations are impossible while justice and human rights are abused. It is for these very reasons that sharp conflicts have arisen between people, while he who abuses them lies when claiming that he strives for peace and freedom.

In no other country in the world is there such persecution of the free thought, and nowhere have so many people been destroyed for free thought and nowhere have so many people been destroyed for their convictions as here. All the institutions built by communism in this country treat the individual as a programmed mechanism. All that is done in this society is directed against man, against his will and desire. All those who have their own will and thoughts are despised here. Neither the nation, nor a group of individuals have the right to express their individuality or independence in any manner whatsoever.

Never has human faith been so deceived as here and nowhere are there such suspect laws, that push man into the net of illegality, as the laws created by this regime. Instead dark and negative forces unfold with the result that man is soon degraded and loses confidence.

The mass destruction of individuality, the sacrifice of human individuality to the oppressor, the collective, education in an atheist ideology — which has become a religion here — have been evolved by a generation of degenerates, without humanity or understanding of noble aspirations, but conscious of their crime against the world and humanity. And although there are no longer massive and bloody repressions in our country as there were in the 1930's, this does not mean that the regime has become humanitarian; the murder of even 10 innocent people is a crime equal to the murdering of millions of people, because these ten are murdered to remind the millions that nothing has changed and that the same fate awaits all who dare complain about the existing state of affairs.

In recent years, the repressions against those who think differently

demonstrate this in a classical way. These repressions started when communist propaganda caused a campaign of European talks; worse, when various agreements were signed, the repressions continued.

Even now, as the Belgrade conference finished, the members of the Ukrainian Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords — Mykola Rudenko, Oleksa Tykhy and many others — were severely punished. This is why we consider the issue of human rights to be the cornerstone of all problems in the present epoch, and we trust that our appeal will be considered with suitable attention not only by you, Mr. President, towards whom we feel no doubts, but by the whole American nation and all people of good will on the earth; and that they give their maximum efforts to strive for the respect of human rights in all countries of the world.

May God bless your work, Mr. President, for the cause of justice and peace on earth!

*Reverend Vasyl Romanyuk*

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**“MY HUSBAND IS BEING PERSECUTED FOR HIS BELIEFS”  
WRITES YOSYF TEREPLYA’S WIFE**



*Yosyf Terelya was born in 1943 in Carpathian Ukraine. In 1962 he was accused of stealing weapons, for which he was given a 4-year sentence which was to be served in camps. Terelya escaped from the camp but was captured and sentenced a second time. He escaped again, but was re-captured. As a result of these escape attempts Terelya was transferred to a special psychiatric hospital in Sychivtsya in 1972. On the basis of a court decision Terelya was released in 1976. In December 1976 he wrote an open letter to the chief of the KGB — Yuriy Andropov — protesting against the persecution of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. This letter was*

*published in the Ukrainian samvydav and also in the West.*

*On the 28th April 1977 Terelya was again interned in a psychiatric hospital in Borehiv, Carpathian Ukraine. On the 10th June 1977 the Borehiv regional court reviewed Yosyf Terelya's case in the light of his escape attempt from the hospital. The trial proceeded in the*

absence of the accused, an attorney or any other representative of Yosyf Terelya: even his wife was refused entry into the court. In mid-June, the procurator of the Borehiv region, A. M. Meshko, informed Terelya's wife that the court decision (to intern Terelya in a special psychiatric hospital) had been repealed due to the violation of Terelya's right of defence and that a retrial with an attorney would take place in the near future; however she was also informed that Terelya would nevertheless be sent to a special psychiatric hospital.

At the beginning of July judge Yosypchuk informed Olena Terelya that she would not be informed when the trial of her husband would take place as it was not the duty of the judician to provide such information. It was only at the end of July that Terelya's wife discovered that the second trial of her husband had taken place on the 27th June, and that he had been transferred to a special psychiatric hospital at Dnipropetrovsk. It also came to light that in May 1977 the medical commission of the Kazan special psychiatric hospital decided to release Mykola Plakhotnyuk from the hospital. But this decision was annulled by the Kyiv regional court so Plakhotnyuk is still incarcerated in Kazan.

*The full text of Olena Terelya's letter is printed below:*

\*

"To the International Association of Psychiatrists,  
The Committee for reviewing the use of psychiatry for political ends.

#### DECLARATION:

I, Olena Tymofivna Terelya, born in 1943, wife of Yosyf Mykhaylovych Terelya — persecuted for his religious convictions and freethinking — am forced to appeal to you in connection with the never-ending persecution of my husband.

In September 1975 my husband was released from the Sychivetsya special psychiatric hospital and in April 1976, on the basis of a court decision he was released from a general hospital. He remained true to his beliefs after his release, and in a very short time he was again being persecuted. In November 1976, on the initiative of the government, he was interned in a psychiatric institution for 28 days.

In a period of relative freedom, my husband and I requested to emigrate from the USSR. As well as this my husband wrote a letter to the chief of the KGB, Yu. Andropov, about the status of political prisoners in camps and psychiatric institutions on the basis of his own experience during his imprisonment. He also wrote a letter in defence of the Ukrainian poet, Mykola Rudenko, who was arrested in February 1977.

In May 1977 he was again interned in a hospital and on the 2nd September transferred to a special hospital in Dnipropetrovsk. His

"treatment" consisted of stelazine and cyclodome which only succeeded in the further deterioration of his stomach ailment. The appalling conditions of this institution are already known from the evidence presented by L. I. Plusch. My conversation with the doctor-psychiatrist Nela Mykhaylivna Budlevych left me with a deep feeling of oppression. The only syndrome which she was able to name was the desire of my husband to emigrate from the Soviet Union.

I am a doctor and I assure you that my husband does not require psychiatric treatment.

I appeal to you to help my husband. Please help him in any way that you, as doctor-psychiatrists, can. You have Yosyf Terelya's letters and documents in your possession, in which his "crimes" and "illness" are described. My husband and I trust that you will examine his case and also, if possible, examine him. I am prepared to give you all the information that I can about my husband and will answer all your questions.

I beg the committee to do everything possible to help my husband.

Olena Terelya  
295340 Zakarpethian province,  
Svalyava,  
Chapayeva St. 8.

The address of the hospital:  
320026 Dnipropetrovsk,  
Chicherina St. 101, YaYe 308/RB"

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### **NINE-YEARS IMPRISONMENT FOR U.S. BICENTENNIAL TRIBUTE**

Petro Ruban, a woodcarver, who has already served a 16 year sentence for alleged Ukrainian nationalist activity, was initially arrested for "engaging in private enterprise" and "theft of state property". His attempt to create a sculpture to mark America's Bicentennial was seen by many human rights activists in the Soviet Union as the real reason for his arrest.

The first trial, which was concluded on the 29th December, 1976, found Ruban guilty as charged he was sentenced to eight years incarceration and five years exile under article 81, paragraph three of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian S.S.R.

During that trial, two Russian dissidents called Ruban a "Ukrainian patriot" and a talented woodcarver".

Ruban appealed to the Supreme Court of the Ukrainian S.S.R.

for a review of his sentence. The judicial body quashed the sentence and ordered the Chernihiv regional court to review the case.

The matter was taken before the regional court and a charge of "anti-Soviet agitation" was added. On the 19th April, 1977, the Chernihiv court sentenced him to six years imprisonment and three years exile.

The review lasted seven days, during which 44 witnesses were called. It was reported that most of the witnesses refuted the charges against Ruban. The prosecutor, however, assured the court that Ruban did in fact have the means of stealing state property.

Ruban worked in the souvenir department of a state factory in Pryluky. In his free time he worked on his bicentennial sculpture.

Tatiana Khodorovych and Victor Nekipilov, two Russian dissidents from Moscow, said at the time that apparently somebody did not like the idea of Ruban creating a Bicentennial tribute. The unfinished sculpture later "disappeared" from Ruban's workshop.

"In one stroke, the authorities repaid Ruban both for his idea of honouring the United States of America, and for having differing ideas", said Khodorovych and Nekipilov.

Ruban's attorney tried to prove his innocence and the defendant did not plead guilty.

*"I am being tried because I wanted to see Ukraine secede from the Soviet Union".*

Ruban again appealed to the Supreme Court of the Ukrainian SSR for a review, but on the 28th June, 1977, the high court sustained the sentence.

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NEW ON THE BOOK-SHELVES:

**FOR THIS WAS I BORN**

The Human Conditions in USSR Slave Labour Camps

Photographs, Testimonies, Poems, Readings, Petitions,  
Letters, and other Documents.

Compiled and Edited by Yuri Shymko

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

## **AFTER THE "HOLOCAUST"**

*The dramatised TV documentary "Holocaust" which dealt with Hitler's liquidation of six million Jews during the last war called forth a mixture of strong feelings after its screening in the United States and Britain earlier this year.*

*The NBC "documentary" made repeated accusations in its story that Ukrainians and other East European nationalities collaborated on a mass scale in the Nazi extermination.*

*Eventhough the "documentry" was in many places very weak on its facts if not to say complete fantasy most viewers had no reason not to accept it as factually correct and believe the calumnies against Ukrainians and other nations.*

*In Britain the programme was criticised as adopting a soap-opera format in dealing with one of the most horrific events of this century and largely dismissed as businessmen cashing-in on a tragedy.*

*However, in the United States it was received with more credibility. Attempts have even been made to introduce the "documentary" as compulsory study matter for school students.*

*Indignant at the twisted way Ukrainians were presented in "Holocaust" a group of Ukrainians in Philadelphia, USA, formed the Ukrainian Anti-Defamation League whose manifesto is re-printed below.*

*Many Ukrainians wrote to their local press about the programme protesting against its gross in-accuracies. To them the insult had an added dimension of irony because just a a few years before the last war millions (estimated at between six and nine million) of Ukrainian Peasant Farmers were starved to death on Stalin's orders in a forced famine.*

*Also many Ukrainians living abroad lost relatives in World War II executed by the Germans for aiding Jews.*

*A selection of these letters is reproduced below:*

### **COMMUNIQUE OF THE UKRAINIAN ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE**

The need for the existence of a Ukrainian anti-defamation league became particularly apparent for all Ukrainian Americans with the showing of the film "Holocaust", which contained a number of malicious distortions concerning the activities of Ukrainians during World War II. However, this need has been felt for a long time, since it is not an infrequent occurrence that Ukrainians are slandered, while facts about the persecutions of Ukrainians in the recent past,

which persecutions frequently reached genocidal proportions, are rarely mentioned.

The Ukrainian Anti-Defamation League that was recently formed in Philadelphia has set before itself the task of correcting this strange situation that has existed for a long time now, thanks to Ukraine's numerous foes, and which shows no signs of disappearing. However, in order to be successful in fulfilling its objectives, the co-operation of the entire Ukrainian community in the United States is necessary. Some of these areas, where co-operation from the Ukrainian community is particularly essential at present, include the following:

1. The collection of documents. Since the best means for achieving its goals lies in working on a factual and scholarly basis, the league is gathering data that can serve as documentation in disseminating the truth about Ukraine's recent past. In connection with this, the league requests that everyone possessing photographs, documents, eyewitness accounts, newspaper clippings or similar material, relating to the assistance extended by Ukrainians to the Jewish population during World War II, to send this material to the UA-D League at the following address: Ukrainian Anti-Defamation League, P.O. Box 2142, Jenkintown, Pa. 19046. U.S.A. The league agrees to return this material if requested. The league also asks that similar materials (especially eyewitness accounts) relating to the artificial famine of 1932-33, or the activities of the Cheka-NKVD, be sent to the league, since the league plans to publish brochures about the Ukrainian holocaust which can be used by schools in their special programmes about holocausts in world history.

2. Legal assistance. The league is presently particularly interested in collecting information on problems Ukrainians may have encountered as a result of the film "Holocaust" (cases of physical or verbal harassment, loss of employment, etc.).

3. Financial support. The objectives of the Ukrainian Anti-Defamation League clearly cannot be achieved without a solid financial base. In fact, the greater the financial support, the more effective will the league be in its activities. Contributions can be sent to: Ukrainian Self-Reliance Federal Credit Union, bank account #4314, 4814 N. Broad St., Philadelphia, Pa. 19141, U.S.A.

Though the Ukrainian Anti-Defamation League has been in existence for only a short time now, it has been active in a number of areas. Primary among its immediate aims is the obtaining of rebuttal time on national television to present the Ukrainian reply to the film "Holocaust". The local NBS station in Philadelphia has agreed to grant this request, and thus the league is hopeful that the national NBS network will likewise accede to our demands. Nevertheless, the league appeals to all Ukrainian Americans to write to NBS demanding such rebuttal time, particularly in light of the fact that NBS, in not editing the anti-Ukrainian statements made in the film "Holo-

caust", has allowed hatred to be spread against Ukrainians. Such letters should be written to: Robert Mulholland, President, NBS — T.V., 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York, N.Y. 10020, U.S.A.

The league has already taken steps in introducing information about the Ukrainian holocaust to the holocaust kits' that are being disseminated in schools throughout the country. (It is important to note that twice as many Ukrainians perished in the Ukrainian holocaust of the 1930's as Jews during World War II).

The Ukrainian Anti-Defamation League hopes that other Ukrainian communities throughout the United States will follow this initiative and form local Ukrainian anti-defamation leagues.

**Dzvinka Shwed**, president

**Ihor Mirchuk**, secretary

**Melany Sarachman**, financial secretary

### **THE 'HOLOCAUST' STILL CONTINUES FOR UKRAINIANS AND OTHER NATIONALS**

Editor, Courier Times:

The superb presentation of "Holocaust" has a great importance not only for the Jews but for all humanity as well. Since adoption of the Genocide Convention by the United Nations, now for the first time in history "Holocaust" clearly depicted and branded genocidal policy. As a result of this policy six million Jews perished in the gas chambers, and by firing squads in Nazi Germany and occupied lands because they were Jews.

To this horrible mass murder of the Jews we can only compare the even more extensive destruction of six million Ukrainian farmers during forcible farm collectivisation in 1931-1933 in the Soviet Union, and the perishing by firing squads or in the concentration camps of another 10 million conscientious Ukrainians during the reign of the Communist Russians.

For the Jews, "Holocaust" is a past story but for other nations it still continues. Presentation of "Holocaust" can spark a world-wide reaction and movement to stop the present genocide in the Soviet Union, Cambodia, Uganda and many other countries or prevent the Recurrence of genocide in the future. The television program, "Holocaust", has to be considered as an unprecedented contribution to the preservation of the nations and of the human race.

For a perfect picture of the past, some inaccuracies in relation to other nationalities, Ukrainians, Poles, Lithuanians, etc. in "Holocaust" would have to be corrected. I am speaking out for the Ukrainians. The Ukrainian nation, deeply religious and with ancient spiritual culture, never was anti-Semitic and did not co-operate in the destruction of the Jews. Ukraine was occupied by the Nazi and treated



as a colony. Five million Ukrainians were deported to slave labour camps in Germany and an other two million perished in concentration camps or by firing squads, including in Babi Yar.

The leader of the Ukrainian Catholic Church Metropolitan, Count Andrij Sheptytskyj, and the clergymen publicly protested against the destruction of the Jews. Thousands of Ukrainians were executed by Nazis for hiding Jews. The Ukrainian Insurgent Army — UPA — fought against the Nazis until 1944 and against the Russian Communists until 1953. In UPA there were many Jews. So-called Ukrainian police were under strict Nazi orders and it was the same as in other occupied countries. In 1943, the majority of these police revolted, joined UPA, and fiercely fought against the Nazi occupiers.

To prevent another "Holocaust", all nations and all good people will have to be united, speak out and act now.

Alexander P. Tatomyr, Levittown  
(*"Burks County Courier Times"*)  
May 17, 1978

## UKRAINIANS NO NAZI HENCHMEN

To the Editor:

I am a new arrival from Odessa, Ukraine, a citizen of Israel studying at Temple. I was disgusted with Robert Wiener's letter in Friday's Inquirer. Such bigotry is more injurious to the Jews than to the Ukrainians or Poles — the targets of Mr. Wiener's attack. My Ukrainian friends at Temple were mad about being equated with Nazis. There is not and there never was any substance for such equations.

I was born in Kazakhstan, U.S.S.R., where my late father, a veteran, had moved after leaving Odessa in the beginning of the war. However, in 1958, my family returned to Odessa, and I practically grew up in the Ukrainian milieu in such district capitals as Cherkassy, Vinnytsia, Chernivtsi. I graduated from a Ukrainian grade school and was admitted to Odessa boarding school with English as the language of instruction. This school served the selected students from all Soviet nationalities. I graduated from this special high school in 1974 with a silver medal.

However, my application to the Odessa University as well as to the Odessa Institute of Pedagogics (specializing in foreign languages) was rejected because I was one Jew too many. I was admitted to the Odessa Agricultural Institute, where I completed the sophomore year. I was thrown out of the Institute when, after my father's death, my mother applied for a visa to Israel.

During my growing-up in Ukraine, I met thousands of Ukrainians. Many of them were my best friends, and I must emphasize here that

I never heard anti-Jewish remarks even in the form of a joke. I heard them from the Russian students in the boarding school or at the Agricultural Institute, who reproached the Ukrainian students for fraternizing with 'zhidovki' (insultingly — Jewish girls). Thus, in Ukraine, I was never confronted with an instance of a "Ukrainian anti-Semitism" as it is called in this country, and I strongly believe that such a beast does not exist at all. The Russian anti-Semitism is there for all to see and to experience in its anti-Israeli, anti-Zionist and anti-religious form.

Writing of the Ukrainian peasants with derision and contempt, Mr. Wiener shows that he does not know what he is talking about. Illiteracy has long been passe in Ukraine. As a student of the Agricultural Institute, I was obliged to spend my vacations at the kolkhozes to work at harvesting. My memories of the Ukrainian peasants especially of women, are and will remain the best. I, an "alien" in the villages, was immensely honoured when the Ukrainian peasant women called me dochko (my daughter). Not everybody is spoken to in this way. However, they must have appreciated my efforts to please them and to show them that I "belonged", and they were ready to show their appreciation.

*Ruth Resniansky*

### COMMENT ON THE HOLOCAUST

Mr. Fred Silverman  
President, National Broadcasting Company  
30 Rockefeller Plaza New York, New York 10020

Dear Mr. Silverman,

I am certain that you have had plenty of complaints from the various circles of the Ukrainian American community about numerous fact distortions and slanderous generalizations concerning the attitudes of the Ukrainian people toward the tragedy of the Jewish people during the Nazi terror in Ukraine as presented in the four-part nation-wide TV film "Holocaust".

This letter is to inform you that the Ukrainian American community of the Greater Philadelphia area is very much disturbed about the tendencies presented in the film, on the one hand, and the total omission of the efforts of many Ukrainians to help the Jews in their tragic situation even though extreme penalties were inflicted by the Nazi occupation forces upon any person and his family for such an aid, on the other hand.

We believe that the Ukrainians should be given an equal opportunity to present facts about their holocaust suffered from the hands of the very same Nazi totalitarians as well as from the hands of the Soviet Communist genociders. Millions of Ukrainians were starved to death in the Nazi prisoner-of-war camps, publicly executed

throughout the country, and still other millions were deported as slaves to work in Germany or placed in concentration camps.

An equal thorough treatment of Moscow's man-made famine in 1932-33 in Ukraine taking over six million Ukrainian lives definitely deserves merit. Also the vast Soviet Communist concentration camps system under the control of the NKVD-MVD-KGB should be made known to the American people. How about the holocaust in Cambodia as well as in several African countries? Should the people of the United States be deprived forever of the truth concerning Stalin's total deportation of six nationalities in Caucasus region?

Humanity would expect that all of these mass holocausts should be exposed and treated thoroughly, so that the American people would know about human tragedies everywhere that occurred in this century.

April 27, 1978

Peter G. Stercho, Ph.D. President, Philadelphia Branch Ukrainian Congress Committee of America

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### WACL CONFERENCE 1978

One of the results of the World Anti-Communist League (WACL) Conference held earlier this year was a recommendation that two imprisoned members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group, Oleksy Tykhy and Mykola Rudenko, be awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.

All 440 delegates representing 68 countries at the 11th General WACL Conference were urged to write from their own countries to the Nobel committee in Norway nominating the two Ukrainians for the prize.

The Ukrainian delegation was prominent at the conference, held last April in the Shoreham Americana Hotel, Washington D.C. They succeeded in having a variety of wide-ranging and comprehensive resolutions adopted by the Conference. Some of these dealt with decolonisation of Russian-occupied lands and particularly the withdrawal of occupation forces from Ukraine. The Conference condemned "Russian policy which aims to create an artificial 'Soviet people' and the policy of Russification and denationalisation of Ukraine and other subjugated nations".

The Conference also passed resolutions in support of Ukrainian political prisoners including those who have asked to emigrate. The Conference demanded from the free world that it "By all possible means put pressure on Moscow to release all Ukrainian political and

religious prisoners, such as: Yuriy Shykhevych; Valentyn Moroz; Svyatoslav Karavansky; Vyacheslav Chornovil; Oksana Popovych; Ihor Kalynets; Ivan Svitlychny; Ivan Hel; and all members of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), who for decades have been suffering in prisons and concentration camps; and to liquidate these concentration camps and psychiatric prisons”.

The Conference also discussed major developments on the world scene such as Russian-Cuban adventurism and militarism in Angola and the Belgrade Conference.

Delegates expressed “grave misgivings about the policy of the Sovietisation of Africa and the lack of a positive counter position by the United States”.

Concerning the Belgrade Conference delegates said, “The Russian obstinacy at the Belgrade Conference regarding the human rights issue brought another serious failure from the West’s viewpoint. Western nations should take legal, political, economic, journalistic and other necessary steps to make it mandatory for the Russians to observe the stipulations of the Helsinki Agreement concerning respect for human rights and the lifting of the Iron Curtain.

The delegates decided the next WACL General Conference would be held in Asuncion, capital of Paraguay, in 1979.

### **JOINT COMMUNIQUE** **11th Conference of the World Anti-Communist League** **Washington, D.C., April 30, 1978**

The 11th General Conference of the World Anti-Communist League (WACL), held in the U.S. capital on April 28-30, 1978 and attended by 440 anti-communist fighters from 68 countries and 30 international organisations, demonstrated the great unity of world forces for freedom. The delegates extensively examined the current international situation and worked out political manifestos as well as concrete measures for WACL’s stepped-up joint endeavour to bring about and assure national freedom, human rights, peace and prosperity for all mankind.

The WACL Conference noted the following characteristic of the world today:

— Because of their continuous multi-front expansionist moves, the communists are making it ever clearer that they have not changed and will never change their goals for world communisation and human enslavement.

— Communist ideologies, political systems and ways of life are being vehemently abhorred and opposed by more and more people.

The Conference participants have reaffirmed that multipolar power politics cannot bring about durable global equilibrium and

that man should not rely on nuclear strength alone as a major factor helpful to the preservation of freedom and security. Instead, the leading motivating factors are the determination to remain free, the desire for national freedom and human rights and the request for progress and happiness.

In order to guide global development in a corrective direction, the Conference adopted "*Unity for National Freedom Against Communist Aggression*" as the theme of WACL's perpetual endeavour. At the same time, the conferences resolved to call the world's attention to the following immediate steps:

1. That the United States of America be requested to formulate a new global policy in order to meet the urgent need for the common security of free nations. Aware that the existing bilateral defence ties of free nations are not sufficient to maintain free world security, WACL therefore urges that free nations should enhance regional co-operation to further their common strategic, political and economic interests. And that the U.S. be urged furthermore to consolidate her friendship with allies in order to implement the global policy more effectively.

That positive efforts be made to strengthen the island chain of defence in the Western Pacific area; and that the U.S. enhance her treaty relations and defence arrangements with the Republic of China, the Republic of Korea, the Republic of the Philippines, Japan, and other free nations of Asia. It is also urgent that the U.S. should continue its strong deterrent power in the Republic of Korea for peace and security in that part of the world.

2. Free nations should not indulge in the illusions that the Chinese communist regime may change its basic policy for the communisation of the Free World. At their 11th Party Congress last July and recent Fifth "National People's Congress", the Chinese communists reiterated their stand for the "revolutionary diplomacy" of the proletariat, and clearly laid down their anti-U.S. attitude in the "Constitution". The Peking and Moscow regimes similarly treat the U.S. as a major enemy and are racing toward the same goal of world communisation. Any U.S. attempt to win the Chinese communists over as a checkmate against the Russians can only cause irreparable damage to the Free World. Free nations therefore should refrain from moves towards so-called "normalisation of relations" with that regime. We hope that the forthcoming visit of Mr. Brzezinski to Peking — would not be detrimental to the defence treaty obligations between the U.S. and the Republic of China. On the other hand, the Free World should clearly note the strong desire of the enslaved Chinese on the Mainland for a true democracy, and encourage in every way, their aspirations.

3. The human rights campaign is a source of great encouragement to the captive peoples under communist rule and therefore must be promoted vigorously behind the Iron Curtain. A surging tide for

freedom and civil rights then can rise throughout the world. The U.S. and other free nations must apply a rational uniform yardstick with regard to human rights and take joint steps against all the communist regimes of the East and the West that are true enemies of humanity and human rights.

4. The Soviet Union should be strongly condemned for sending Cuban troops and heavy armaments to Africa for expansionism at the cost of African lives. The free nations of Africa must guard themselves against communist schemes to fan racial strife and utilize the so-called "third world" for division and conquest. The free Africans furthermore should promote co-operation with free peoples elsewhere for their advancement. The WACL observes with grave misgivings the policy of the Sovietisation of Africa and the lack of a positive counter position by the United States.

5. WACL condemns the international communists for their infiltration and united front manoeuvres against free Latin American countries. The struggle of anti-communist Cubans against the communist Castro regime must be positively supported. The free Latin American nations and peoples that are engaged in heroic battles against communist and leftist forces should be commended and assisted. Efforts should also be made for the implementation of effective measures to assure the common security of free Latin Americans.

6. Because the interests of the Middle East are joined inseparably with those of free nations elsewhere and because freedom and security are indivisible, vigilance must be further heightened against communist attempts to utilize the complicated Middle East situation. In order to halt the advance of communism in the Middle East, the free world in general and the U.S. in particular are urgently requested to declare their full support of the following principles:

Condemnation of foreign aggrandizement; the implementation of U.N. Resolution No. 242 stating withdrawal from the occupied territories; the recognition of the right of all peoples in the area to full self-determination; and the right to their own independent states.

7. The Russian obstinacy at the Belgrade Conference regarding the human rights issue brought another serious failure from the West's viewpoint. Western nations should take legal, political, economic, journalistic and other necessary steps to make it mandatory for the Russians to observe the stipulations of the Helsinki Agreement concerning respect for human rights and the lifting of the Iron Curtain. WACL condemns the Soviet Russian policy of the mixing of peoples with the aim of creating an artificial "Soviet people". WACL considers the restoration of the national independence of the subjugated nations in the Soviet Russian empire and its satellites, and the abolishment of the communist regime, as an inevitable prerequisite for the implementation of national and human rights.

8. Acting in accordance with congressional resolutions concerning captive nations, such as Ukraine, Byelorussia, Croatia, Rumania, Bulgaria, Latvia and others, the U.S. Government should make support to the captive peoples' independence and human rights campaigns part of its foreign policy, thereby pressing Russia and its satellite states into abolishing concentration camps, releasing political and religious prisoners, and halting all acts of suppression and persecution against writers, artists, scientists, etc., so that these people, after the restoration of their national independence, can of their own accord contribute to human civilization and social advancement.

9. Some recent developments are judged as commendable, such as: the French election victory over leftist elements; the growing Japanese opposition to the signing of a peace accord with the Chinese communists; and the establishment of WACL's African regional organization. WACL urges all free nations to provide support and encouragement to these and other similar efforts so that the growth of freedom forces in all world regions can be accelerated.

The participants in this successful WACL Conference in Washington, D.C., all being determined defenders of freedom, have decided to hold the 12th WACL Conference in Asunción, capital of the strongly anti-communist Latin American state of Paraguay, at an appropriate date in 1979, to be announced in due time. This decision is another reflection of the growing WACL movement for Man's freedom and world peace.

All the participants from abroad appreciate the hospitality extended to them and the arrangements made in bringing success to the 11th Conference by the WACL U.S. Chapter — the Council on American Affairs. This conference will be recorded as the beginning of a new phase of redoubled WACL effort in unity to attain its lofty goal.

## **RESOLUTION**

### **for the Withdrawal of Russian Occupational Troops from Ukraine**

WHEREAS, the Atlantic Charter, adopted in the aftermath of World War II, to serve as the foundation for an international order, based on freedom and justice, proclaimed freedom of speech and conscience, freedom from fear and want throughout the world;

WHEREAS, the United Nations Universal Declaration on Human Rights of 1948 and the International Covenants of Civil and Political Rights and Economic, Social and Cultural Rights of 1966, and Principle VII of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe of 1975, together reaffirmed the aforementioned guarantees of the Atlantic Charter;

WHEREAS, the said Universal Declaration on Human Rights and

the International Covenants on Civil and Political Rights and Economic, Social and Cultural Rights extended said rights beyond the individual to include, through international jurisprudence, the right of all nations and peoples to self-determination and national independence;

WHEREAS, the United Nations' Organization has adopted the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples of 1960, and further, recognizes UN General Assembly resolutions reaffirming the right of all colonial peoples to armed struggle in their determination to rid their countries of alien oppressors;

WHEREAS, the II WACL Conference, having considered past and more recent reports reintensified efforts by the communist Russian regime in the USSR to repress movements in the Soviet Union for such national and human rights espoused by the aforementioned documents, covenants and agreements;

WHEREAS, the Ukrainian nation has through armed struggle demonstrated throughout the centuries, its determination to rid its land of the alien Russian occupier;

WHEREAS, the Ukrainian nation, representing only 20% of all the peoples in the USSR, consistently constitutes over 70% of all religious and political prisoners in the USSR, among them: VALENTYN MOROZ, a historian and freedom-fighter, YURIY SHUKHEVYCH, a martyr by birth, SVIATOSLAV KARAVANSKY, philologist and nationalist, the recently arrested and sentenced members of the Kyiv Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords, MYKOLA RUDENKO, OLEKSA TYKHY, MYROSLAV MARYNOVYCH, MYKOLA MATUSEVYCH and PETRO VINS, and countless others struggling for the right of their nation to cultural and religious development and national self-determination and religious development and national self-determination and independence, and;

WHEREAS, the World Anti-Communist League recognizes the Soviet regime's continued refusal to comply with international declarations and conventions, its continued illegal occupation of Ukraine, its brutal repression of the Ukrainian people and its persistent violation of their rights, its exploitation of the people and their resources, its efforts to destroy the national identity and unity of the Ukrainian people through policies of Russification, genocide and linguicide;

NOW THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED THAT THE 11th WACL  
CONFERENCE

REAFIRMS the inalienable rights of the Ukrainian nation to the four freedoms as stated in the Atlantic Chapter and to self-determina-



tion, freedom and independence in a united Ukraine, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and as recognized in the UN Declaration on Human Rights, International Covenants of Civil and Political Rights and Social, Economic and Cultural Rights and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples;

RECOGNIZES the national liberation movement in Ukraine as the representative of the Ukrainian people in their struggle to achieve self-determination, freedom and national independence and sovereignty in a united Ukraine;

CONDEMNS the communist Russian regime for its aggression against the Ukrainian people and their national liberation movement, and its massive repression of the Ukrainian nation by establishing an environment of intimidation and terror for the express purpose of imposing upon Ukraine a bogus constitutional structure aimed at subverting the territorial integrity and national unity of Ukraine and perpetuating ruthless policies of Russification and colonialism;

DEMANDS the immediate release of VALENTYN MOROZ, YURIY SHUKHEVYCH, SVIATOSLAV KARAVANSKY, MYKOLA RUDENKO, OLEKSA TYKHY, MYROSLAV MARYNOVYCH, MYKOLA MATUSEVYCH and PETRO VINS and all other political or religious prisoners, whether charged or tried or held without charge or held in Ukraine or any other area of the empire;

DEMANDS the withdrawal of all Soviet occupation forces and their terror apparatus from Ukraine and all other enslaved nations in the Soviet empire, and;

DEMANDS the liquidation of concentration camps throughout the Soviet empire, an end to Soviet policies of colonialism, imperialism, chauvinism, genocide, linguicide and Russification and the restoration of national independence and sovereignty to Ukraine in accordance with recognized international covenants, declarations and charters.

## **RESOLUTION**

### **For National Independence of the Nations Subjugated by Bolshevism**

WHEREAS, each nation in the world has a right to independence and sovereignty, according to God's and human laws, including generally accepted decisions by different international forums; and,

WHEREAS, the subjugated nations in the Soviet Russian Colonial Empire — USSR — and satellite countries attested their will for national independence and sovereign life on their territories by the blood shed in the liberation struggle and by millions of sacrificed lives, and have never ceased to continue this fight; and,

WHEREAS, the national liberation struggle of the subjugated nations for their independence and human rights is in the interest of all freedom loving mankind, and because throughout decades, it has held back, and is still holding back the Bolshevik hordes away from the still free parts of mankind; and,

WHEREAS, the human rights of the individuals of the subjugated nations can never be realized (as the history of all empires of the world proves), as long as the prerequisite, namely, the independence of the nation with a democratic system is not realized; and,

WHEREAS, the Belgrade Conference ended in complete failure for the Western governments, not only because the immutability of the boundaries obtained by Russian Communist aggression in Europe was recognized by the Western Powers in the Helsinki Final Document, but also because even the mention not only of national rights, but also of human rights was excluded from the final communique of the Belgrade Conference;

#### NOW, THEREFORE, THE 11TH WACL CONFERENCE RESOLVES:

To urge the Western powers, according to the United Nations Charter, the UN Declaration on De-colonialization from 1960/1972, and Articles VII and VIII of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, to take legal, political, economic and other necessary steps (as the USSR has done with its tanks and "Cuban aid" in Africa), in order to enforce the de-colonialization, i.e., the dissolution of the Russian Empire — the USSR; and,

To urge the Western powers, according to the United Nations Resolution from December 1976 on the legality of any support for the military struggle of subjugated nations against the yoke of colonialism, and the agreement in Geneva in June 1977 on equal treatment of soldiers belonging to insurgent armies fighting against foreign colonial invaders, and of soldiers belonging to regular armies, to apply the same standards to the nations behind the Iron Curtain; and,

To urge the United States government to observe Public Law No. 86-90, adopted by the United States Congress with respect to the Captive Nations on July 19, 1959, by which the US Congress committed itself to encourage the liberation of Ukraine, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Byelorussia, Georgia, Armenia, North Caucasia, Cossakia, Azerbaijan, Turkestan, Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, Poland, Czechia, Slovakia, Croatia, East Germany, Albania, and all nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and Communism such as Cuba, Vietman, North Korea, Cambodia and Laos, and to identify itself with the restoration of their national independence and freedom and,

To appeal to the United States President and to the US government, that concepts of national and human rights should be as integral to

US foreign policy as Marxist Leninism-Communism is to Soviet Russian operations and planning. National and human rights must be a political component of American foreign policy, not a humanitarian programme; and,

To emphasize that, in the present era of dissolution of empires and of the formation of new national states throughout the world (as evidenced in the United Nations itself, whose membership has increased almost five-fold since its foundation), the last colonial empire — the USSR — cannot and must not be maintained; and,

To consider the liquidation of the Russian Empire and of the Communist system as an inevitable prerequisite for the implementation of human rights and fundamental liberties; and,

To urge all Free Nations to use all means possible to exert pressure on Moscow to bring about the abolition of concentration camps and psychiatric prisons the release of all political and religious prisoners; an end to Russification and to national, political, social and religious oppression; an end to collectivization and state control of all aspects of the economy; and above all, the withdrawal of Russian occupational forces and of the communist terror apparatus from all enslaved countries, thus enabling them to restore their national independence and democratic order.

### **NOBEL PEACE PRIZE FOR TYKHY AND RUDENKO**

#### **WHEREAS:**

Soviet Russia is incessantly and unabashedly violating every principle concerning national and human rights, and is specifically continuing the persecution and unjust arrests of numerous Ukrainian patriots, cultural and religious leaders, and proponents of national and human rights, and sentencing them to long periods of incarceration and exile or confinement to psychiatric prisons; and,

#### **WHEREAS:**

National and human rights issues affecting the subjugated nations due to Soviet Russian and other Communist dictatorships are NOT an "internal matter" of those oppressive states; and,

#### **WHEREAS:**

The principle of decolonization, sanctioned by the United Nations and other international bodies, must also be made relevant to the Soviet Russian empire and the Communist dominated part of the world in general; and

#### **WHEREAS:**

Soviet Russia is continuing to exploit the so-called "detente" and the SALT talks as a means for its expansionist policies, and for morally and politically weakening and subverting the Free World, as

exemplified by: the West's recent capitulations to the Russians in Belgrade even on the issue of human rights; the gradual "Angolization" of Africa; the reluctance of the U.S. Government to deploy new deterrent weapons that might help to stem the Russian threat around the globe, particularly in Europe; etc.

BE IT RESOLVED THAT:

- 1) The members of WACL shall influence the Governments of their respective countries to take a hard stand on foreign policy and defence issues in regards to Soviet Russian expansionist plans and aggressive moves.
- 2) The members of WACL shall influence the policies of the Governments of their respective countries along the lines of active support of the national liberation and human rights struggle of the nations subjugated by Soviet Russia (Ukraine, the Baltic States, Byelorussia, Georgia, Armenia, Turkestan, Poland, Hungary, and others) and of all other countries subjugated by Communist dictatorships.
- 3) That the members of WACL shall influence the Governments of their respective countries so that they raise the questions of the violation of national and human rights by Soviet Russia and other Communist regimes before the General Assembly of the United Nations, and call for a United Nations resolution condemning Soviet Russia and other Communist regimes for such violations, and demand appropriate sanctions by this international body. Such action by the nations of the Free World is indeed long overdue.
- 4) That the 11th WACL Conference condemns the imprisonment of Oleksiy Tykhy and Mykola Rudenko, both members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group based in Kyiv; and that the 11th WACL Conference and the members of WACL enlist appropriate support in their own countries for the nomination of Tykhy and Rudenko by 18 Members of Canadian Parliament for a Nobel Peace Prize for 1978; and that such support be forwarded in writing to the Nobel Institute in Norway.
- 5) That the 11th WACL Conference proclaim a "Political Prisoners' Month" which will encourage all its members to conduct on a pearly basis an effective world-wide campaign in defence of political prisoners in the Communist and Soviet Russian-controlled parts of the world.
- 6) That the members of WACL increase their efforts in the area of mass information about the national liberation and human rights struggle in the countries dominated by Soviet Russia and Communist regimes in general, as well as about Communist subversive activities in the countries of the Free World.
- 7) That the members of WACL report on the progress they have made on all of the above issues at the next WACL Conference.

## WACL EXECUTIVE MEET IN HONOLULU

From November 26th to 29th 1978 the Executive Board of the World Anti-Communist League (WACL) met in Honolulu to discuss the international situation and to plan the activities of the WACL Presidium and WACL units and also to prepare the program for the next WACL Conference.

The meeting took place in the Ala Moana Hotel. Present were the members of the Presidium and Honorary Chairman, Dr. Ku Cheng-kang (National China), Dr. Roger Pearson WACL Chairman (U.S.A.), Secretary-General, Dr. Woo Jae-Seung (Korea) and the representatives of the regions and of the nations that previously hosted the WACL Conferences. The Delegates participating were: Mr. L. Landing (Austria), Col. Georges A. Rombouts (Belgium), Dr. Carlo Barlieri Filho (Brazil), Dr. Yao Chi-ching, Gen. Tan Ying, Prof. Wu Ping-Chung, Prof. Hsu Fu-teh (National China), Mr. Don Martin (Great Britain), Dr. Osami Kuboki (Japan), Gen. Honkon Lee, Prof. Song Moon Soo (Korea), Dr. Nathan C. Ross, Hon. Beauford A. Mensah (Liberia), Prof. Raimundo Guerrero, Prof. Deustua Ramirez Arturo, Miss Maryann Olivares (Mexico), Gen. Alejo S. Santos, Mrs. Juantia G. Santos, Col. Ernesto P. Golez (Philippines), Prof. A. Larson (Sweden), Gen. Praphan Kulapichitr, Mr. Pramote Kulapichitr, Mr. Viwat Visanuvinol (Thailand). The Executive Board member of the subjugated nations is ABN President, Dr. Yaroslav Stetsko. Mrs. Slava Stetsko (ABN), Dr. Han Lih-wu (APACL), Dr. Rafael Rodriguez Lopez, Miss Rosa Maria Corona (CAL), Dr. Ahmed Salah Jamjoom, Mrs. A. S. Samjoom, Dr. Fethi Tevetoglu (MESC), Mr. Javier Aguilar, Mr. Jadan Abassi (WYACL) also attended. The delegation from Paraguay consisted of: Dr. Juan Manuel Frutos, Mr. J. M. Frutos, Lic. Carlos Podesta, Mr. Anibal Rairl Casal. Paraguay will host the next Conference.

The guest speaker was H. E. Minister, Orlando Montenegro from Nicaragua. Dr. Woo Jae-Seung gave a report of the activities of the Secretary-General and presented the budget for 1979. The aforementioned representatives gave short, informative speeches on the situations in the countries of their regions and on their activities. Mrs. Slava Stetsko gave the information on the ABN activities. Mrs. Stetsko also participated on the Committee preparing the Final Communique. In the Final Communique it is partially stated:

"Moscow must be condemned for its trampling of national and human rights. Active support must be given to the staunch anti-Communist struggle in Indochina and active assistance must be given to the fights for liberation, national independence and freedom continued by the Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Lithuanians, Georgians, Roumanians, Bulgarians,

Croatians and other captive peoples under Soviet Russian imperialist subjugation inside the Soviet Union and its satellite states. We call upon the entire free world to actively promote national and human rights deep behind the Iron Curtain and give political, material and moral support to the anti-Communist endeavour of all the captive nations”.

The entire text of the Final Communique was given to the reports at the Press Conference held on November 28, 1978. It deals with the situation in the Soviet Russian Empire, Asia, Africa, The Middle East and Latin America.

The meeting devoted much of its attention to the preparation of the next WACL Conference to be held from April 23rd to April 28th, 1979 in Asuncion, Paraguay. The representative from Paraguay gave detailed plans for this event, from which it was clear to see that the Paraguayan Government is giving full support to the WACL Conference.

*ABN Press Bureau*

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## The House of Representatives

### THE 60th ANNIVERSARY OF UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE

(RECORDED ON JANUARY 25, 1978)

Mr. FLOOD: "Mr Speaker, we are celebrating today the 60th anniversary of the independence of Ukraine.

"Ukraine . . . is not independent today. In the long string of nations subverted and conquered by Soviet Russian imperiocolonialism, it stands as the first major non-Russian nation which was victimised by imperialist Moscow.

"As many of us know, with the collapse of the Czarist Russian empire the Ukrainian nation recovered the independent statehood it enjoyed a century and a half ago. On January 22nd, 1918, the right — the human right — of national self-determination was re-exercised by the Ukrainian people, and the independent state of the Ukrainian National Republic was established. Because of a tragic convergence of historical circumstances, including our ignorance of the many nations in the Russian empire, this reborn state was destroyed by Trotsky's Red Army in 1920, Sovietised, and three years later forced into a new empire — the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

"Sixty years, Mr. Speaker, are but a few minutes in historical time. The drive, the fight, the struggle of a major East European nation for its genuine independence continues to this day. Since 1929 each decade has been replete with heroic expressions and movements for recovered Ukrainian independence. In this decade, highlighted by Moroz, Chornovil, Rudenko and others, thousands of Ukrainian nationalists make up the dissident roll of Ukraine and are now incarcerated in Russian labour camps and psychiatric hospitals. Anyone who is familiar with the contemporary history of this nation, knows that in all six decades resistance, sacrifice and armed opposition to Moscow's imperialist rule have more than amply demonstrated the invincibility of the Ukrainian spirit and fight for independence.

"This anniversary is not just a ritual of rhetoric but another time for us to reflect on the strategic significance of Ukraine in the global context, and hopefully, on the basis of our reflections, develop new and challenging dimensions in our foreign policy. No one fears an intensified interest in Ukraine more than imperialist Moscow itself. It knows that Ukrainian nationalism has been a threat to its imperial rule over the nations in Eastern Europe and Asia. It knows that Ukraine is its largest resourceful colony, and trouble there would mean trouble throughout the Soviet Russian empire. Also, it knows

that Ukraine — the largest non-Russian nation in Eastern Europe and the U.S.S.R.: 50 million people — is the Achilles heel of Moscow's empire.

"Mr. Speaker, in terms of human rights, in natural terms of nationalism, in terms of our own traditions and national strategy, Ukraine is a prime object of concern to us. For example, the Stalin genocide of the Ukrainian Orthodox and Catholic churches should be of keen human rights interest to us. We look forward to legislative action in this field. There is also the outcome of the Belgrade conference. Will the Helsinki Monitors in Ukraine be protected from arrest and punishment?

"On this 60th anniversary, the myths surrounding Ukraine should be dissipated and a captive nations policy should begin to see the light of day...".

Mr. DERWINSKI: "Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to once again join with my colleagues in commemorating the anniversary of the proclamation of Ukrainian independence... This past November the Soviets staged a great spectacle to commemorate the 60th anniversary of the Russian Bolshevik victory. However, rather than representing national freedom and progress, the Bolshevik revolution actually imposed a communist dictatorship upon the non-Russian people of the USSR, who numbered over 100 million.

"During the six decades since the time of the Russian communist takeover, the Ukrainian people have not given up hope of once more regaining the freedom which they knew only too briefly. Their constant efforts are proof of the inability of the Kremlin rulers to break the noble nationalist Ukrainian spirit. The tenacity of their dissident movement has never died and on this occasion we all honour and salute it. Despite the extreme pressure-tactics employed by the Soviet Union against the Ukrainian people, the ranks of its articulate dissenters continue to speak out against the cruel Soviet tyranny, and the determination of its people to retain their culture and intellectual freedom still grows.

"Mr. Speaker, I also wish to salute the 3 million Americans of Ukrainian descent who have made a tremendous contribution to the development and progress of the United States. Ukrainians have also played a major role in the economic and political life of our neighbour Canada. They have added spiritually, culturally and intellectually by their firm support of freedom wherever Ukrainians have settled in the free world...

"... As we once again commemorate another anniversary, marking the passage of one more year in their continuing struggle, we must make it known to the Soviets that we take quite seriously the issue of human rights and, in the case of the people of Ukraine and others held captive, that we strongly support them in their aspirations for freedom and self-determination. Although we long for an easing of



global tensions, we must not be so dazzled by treaties, negotiations, cultural exchanges and other such activities that we forget the nations within the USSR who are struggling to achieve real freedom”.

Mr. ROONEY: “Mr Speaker, this week 50 million Ukrainians residing in the Soviet Socialist Republic are “celebrating” the 60th anniversary of Ukraine’s independence. It is not a celebration akin to our American Fourth of July, but rather a proud acknowledgement of the glorious freedom of the past and a brave hope for renewed liberation in the future.

“When we speak of ‘freedom’ in the United States, we most often refer to the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence in one breath. Unfortunately not even the Helsinki Accords or membership of the United Nations hold for Ukrainians the powers of protection that our government yields for us. For only two brief years after World War II did the people of Ukraine enjoy a life devoid of government coercion or constraint — a privilege which we in America take so much for granted . . .

“This year, the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America has asked members of Congress to focus not on the indomitable spirit or unique cultural heritage of the Ukrainian people — for those characteristics go without saying — but instead the committee’s wish is that emphasis instead be placed on Ukraine’s strategic assets, which Russia will employ to spread its party influence. I believe it is our job to stop the rampant persecution of peoples of all nations and to protect our own inalienable rights from the threat of a similar fate. Those of us serving in the House of Representatives will have a hand in determining that fate as we debate and formulate legislation of international relevance. I ask you all to remember with me the difficult struggle for Ukrainian independence and as we consider foreign policy questions, to remember the words of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, reminding us:

That peace among nations cannot be guaranteed without free contacts between peoples and the free exchange of information and ideas”.

Mr. HORTON: “Mr. Speaker, 60 years ago the peoples of Ukraine enjoyed a brief period of independence from Russia. That independence, which came first in the form of autonomy under the provisional government of Alexander Kerensky, soon became subverted and attacked by the Bolsheviks and the Red Army. The right of self-determination, which today is a cornerstone of America’s rededication to human rights and freedoms, is not a right guaranteed to the people of Ukraine or any other captive peoples. Instead, the Soviet Union, a signatory to the Helsinki Agreement, continues to subjugate Ukraine while professing to be an advocate of the principles that underlie the Helsinki Agreement.

"Regrettably, self-determination for the people of Ukraine is not the focus of America's crusade on behalf of human rights. Instead, the United States avoids this issue with the Soviet Union in the interests of 'detente' and of trade with the Soviet Union. However our crusade becomes less than credible to the peoples of the captive nations because we steer clear of the more difficult and formidable examples of violation of rights enunciated in the Helsinki Agreement.

"Moreover, the United States has chosen to adopt a policy of convenience and contradiction with regard to human rights. A little more than two weeks ago, the U.S. Secretary of State turned over to the Hungarian communist regime of Janos Kadar a symbol of freedom, sovereignty and political legitimacy in Hungary — the Holy Crown of St. Stephen. By that act the United States has lowered the standards by which it focuses on human rights around the world. To my mind, the criterion upon which the return of the Holy Crown was judged, "improvements in our bilateral relations with Hungary", is not the criteria which coincide either with the meaning of the crown or with principles of self-determination or freedom. We have no such symbol for the people of Ukraine other than our dedication to human rights. How are we to be judged when our convictions are set aside in favour of trade or other considerations? . . .

" . . . The cause of a free Ukraine is no less noble, real or legitimate than the cause of a free Poland, Hungary or any other Eastern bloc country. Improved relations with the Soviet Union must not be the criterion by which we determine our commitment to human rights".

Mr. ARMSTRONG: "Mr. Speaker, as others have pointed out, both this year and in years past, Ukraine is the largest non-Russian captive nation in the U.S.S.R. Many people, and probably the majority of American, have forgotten that Ukraine has been an independent nation for periods lasting hundreds of years and that Ukrainians today still have a fierce sense of independence and hunger for freedom from oppression.

"From the 9th to the 14th century Ukraine was a strong and independent nation. Again from the 16th to the 18th century, Ukrainians ruled themselves, before Czarist and Russian troops moved in. Then, in the turmoil of the Russian Revolution, on January 22nd 1918, the Ukrainian people declared themselves independent, and established the Ukrainian National Republic. Even the Russian Government recognised the new government of Ukraine.

"That recognition was merely the prelude to conquest, as the communist government invaded Ukraine in 1920. By 1922 this proud land was once again under foreign domination. But the reign of terror had just begun; during the 1930's, 3 to 5 million Ukrainians died or were executed outright under the forced Stalinist collectivisation of Ukrainian agriculture. While figures are hard to obtain, estimates indicate

that another 11 million may have perished through starvation, war and police-state measures under the rule from Moscow.

"While over 2 million Americans are proud of their independent Ukrainian heritage and live under our free institutions, over 47 million live under continuing oppression in their homeland, without guarantees of civil rights, without self-government — still fiercely proud of a cultural heritage that predates the establishment of the United States by over 800 years.

"In this light I would like to call attention to the people of Ukraine on the 60th anniversary of the founding of the independent Ukrainian National Republic — to a people who have not wavered in their independence of spirit, even as their human rights have been denied over and over again . . .".

Mr. Le FANTE: Mr. Speaker, January 22 is a day which has great significance for more than 2 million of our fellow Americans. On that date in 1918 the newly formed Ukrainian Central Rada under the presidency of Prof. Mykhailo Hrushevsky, Ukraine's foremost historian, issued a universal proclamation declaring the full independence and sovereignty of Ukraine. This act of January 1918 was the realisation of Ukraine's right to self-determination.

"After many long years of struggle, Ukraine finally received its reward. The new Soviet Russian regime, under Lenin, officially recognised the independence of Ukraine and the people rejoiced. We can well imagine their hopes and dreams as they embarked on what they thought would be a new era of peaceful progress. But we also know their independence was to be short lived, for the Ukrainians were destined to fall victim to Communist Russia's aggressive campaign to dominate its neighbours and transform them into Communist states.

The same agreement which recognised the independence of Ukraine contained provisions which required the withdrawal of Russian armies from Ukraine. Lenin and his government did not respect this agreement and instead sent Russian troops to conquer Ukraine. After three years of fighting and subversive activities, Russia defeated the outnumbered Ukrainian armies, occupied the territory of the Ukrainian state and forcibly incorporated Ukraine into the Soviet Union...

"... I deplore the lack of sensitivity on the part of the Soviet government and the indifferent attitude which they have taken toward the expressed will of the people of Ukraine who have sought to realise the principles expounded at Helsinki. The arrest and imprisonment of Mykola Rudenko and Oleksa Tykhy, chairman and co-chairman respectively of the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords, is an example of the total disregard the Soviets have for the Helsinki Declaration.

"By the fact of this disregard the American people — and all the people who value their liberty — will strive to urge the Soviet

government to end its harassment of Ukrainians and its jailing of those courageous dissidents who stand up and speak out for their freedom and for the freedom of their fellow citizens . . ."

Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts: "Mr Speaker, this week marks the 60th anniversary of Ukraine's short-lived independence. There has been a renewed focus on the plight of Ukraine and the captive nations within the Soviet bloc in view of the convening of the Belgrade Conference and its discussion of human rights. Basket three, which encompasses greater individual freedom through humanitarian, cultural and educational co-operation has systematically been denied or wholly ignored where the rights of the Ukrainian people are concerned.

"What has happened to Soviet and East European assurances that all persons would be allowed freer movement of ideas and people? What has happened to the reunion of families? On these very basic issues there has been no visible improvement. In fact when Ukrainian freedom-thinkers joined together to form the Kyiv Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords, their civil rights had been repeatedly violated and several of their leaders, Valentyn Moroz, Mykola Rudenko and Myroslav Marynovych, were jailed without charges.

"The 50 million people of Ukraine were once a proud and sovereign nation. Although the Ukrainian S.S.R. and Byelorussian S.S.R. were co-signatories of the Helsinki Final Act, neither was able to present their own views independently of the Soviet Union.

"The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has done everything in its power to eradicate the national longing of those courageous people for a free and independent nation. Like their other non-Russian brothers they have maintained a tenacious grip on their national identity despite intensive Russification policies . . ."

Mr. St GERMAIN: "Mr. Speaker, I am honoured to use this forum once again to pay tribute to the Ukrainian people on the anniversary of the proclamation of Ukrainian independence. I am especially pleased to have this opportunity to speak out, since I, myself, am half Ukrainian.

"The passage of another year has seen no change in the captive status of 50 million Ukrainians. Still the Soviet Union's political control casts a black shadow of oppression across the country. Still the Soviet government is unscrupulous in its attempts to destroy the Ukrainian culture and to break the Ukrainian spirit. Still our sense of outrage is inflamed at the blatant robbery of the dignity, pride and sense of accomplishment of a freedom-loving people.

"Yet Ukrainian patriots pursue their ancient struggle for freedom with a patience and a dedication which is unparalleled. Steadfastly, they refuse to give up their identity. Remarkably, their yearning for independence is undiminished in the face of overwhelming odds. And

admirably, their undaunted courage and their invincible will unite them in their fight for liberation.

"I join with the millions of Americans of Ukrainian descent who mourn for their brothers back in their shackled homeland. Time and again during my boyhood I saw the look of worry and sadness come into my own mother's eyes as she thought of the atrocities being perpetrated there.

"Let all Americans share in this grief and be unremitting in their support for those who endure this tyranny. While exalting in our own freedom, let us be mindful, particularly at this time, of the crushing burden of sacrifice borne daily by those brave citizens.

"Long ago, our American forefathers implanted in us the unwavering devotion to freedom which has preserved our country. This devotion has manifested itself most recently by the renewal of the pledge to the cause of human rights. We must lift our torch high for all to see, and we must speak out against the injustice which now binds our friends in Ukraine. This done, together we will await the granting of the God-given rights of national, individual and cultural freedom . . .".

Mr. HUGHES: "Mr. Speaker, although the formal celebrations and pageantries of the Bicentennial are over, the spirit of that anniversary and independence still lingers, and freedom is a daily fact of life for us. With the festivities of the Bicentennial still fresh in our minds, I suggest that we pause to remember those not as fortunate as we — the people of Ukraine. The spirit of independence is very much in the hearts of those people, but the practice of freedom is far from reality. During this week, which marks the 60th anniversary of the Proclamation of the Independence of Ukraine, there will be no festivities such as we enjoyed during our Bicentennial — for these people will be marking this occasion under the yoke of Soviet oppression . . .

"... The years of suffering these people have endured under Soviet domination have been exacerbated by religious and national persecution, Russification, and inhuman treatment. And yet, despite the attempts of the Russian government to suppress the aspirations for independence in the Ukrainian people, their struggle for nationalism has been continuous and vigorous, and the flame of hope burns as brightly as it ever has. Suppression and domination have not quelled the desire for freedom in the hearts of those brave people, nor arrested their prodigious efforts for independence . . ."

... Mr. WYDLER: "Mr. Speaker, if we were to put a question regarding the largest nation in Europe territorially and the fifth most populous, I wonder how many people would know that the nation in question is Ukraine? With over 47 million people, Ukraine is exceeded in population by only Britain, Germany, France and Italy; with an area of 232,000 square miles, slightly larger than France, Ukraine is

first in geographic size. Ukrainians have a distinct language and an ancient culture; they are exceptionally talented people who have made important contributions to the arts and sciences. Ukraine is rich economically, with fertile agricultural land which once earned it the title of "Breadbasket of Europe" and an abundance of natural resources such as manganese and iron ore, coal, salt and oil.

"The question that comes to mind, Mr. Speaker, is this: why do we not hear more about this nation in world affairs? Here is a large and rich nation of very able people, and one would expect that such a nation would be taking an important role in current affairs on the world scene. Yet in fact, we hear little of Ukraine. Why is this?

"The tragic answer is, that although Ukraine is indeed a large nation compared with many in the world, it is overshadowed in size and military might by its neighbour, Russia, and it has been the sad fate of Ukraine to be totally dominated by this neighbour. Not content with simply overpowering and exploiting Ukraine and its people, Russia, first under the tsars and now as the dominant republic in the U.S.S.R., has been determined to destroy the national identity of the Ukrainian people.

"The policy of "Russification" begun under the tsars continues under the Soviets. For only a brief period was Ukraine... able to remain relatively free of Soviet tyranny and suppression. Three years of warfare followed the Ukrainian Proclamation of Independence on January 22nd, 1918, culminating in a defeat of the independence-minded Ukrainian forces. Incorporated into the Soviet Union as a federal republic in 1923, Ukraine experienced a brief period of relative cultural autonomy before the dark night of Stalinist terror fell upon this unfortunate land and its people. Mass arrests and executions followed the reintroduction of the policy of "Russification", and millions of Ukrainians died of starvation in an artificial famine that was caused not by natural disasters, but by the policies of Stalin.

"With variations in the degree of severity, depending on the inclinations of the Soviet leadership, the policy of repression and "Russification" continues to this day. That, Mr. Speaker, is why we do not hear more about Ukraine in world affairs.

"The Soviets are themselves well aware that, with respect to every criteria by which nationhood might be defined, Ukraine and its people qualify as a nation — indeed, the Soviets demanded and obtained a seat in the United Nations for Ukraine. Furthermore, the Soviet Constitution states, on paper, that Ukraine has its own government and foreign ministry. But, of course, it is Moscow, not Kyiv, that dictates domestic policy for Ukraine, and the Ukrainian "foreign ministry" is not permitted to establish separate diplomatic relations with foreign governments or pursue an independent foreign policy.

"This nation has been completely swallowed up by the Soviet

Union, which exploits this land and its people while ruthlessly attempting to suppress the sense of cultural identity of the Ukrainian people.

"Are the Ukrainians meekly submitting to this attempt at cultural genocide? The answer is an emphatic 'no'. Ukrainian dissidents are valiantly fighting the Soviet system. And because they speak out not only for individual, human and political rights, but also for national rights, they incur the particularly severe wrath of the Soviet leadership. But they continue. Mykola Rudenko and Oleksa Tykhy, founding members of the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords, are but two of the courageous Ukrainians currently suffering imprisonment for their struggle against Soviet tyranny. I was pleased to co-sponsor legislation urging that their case be taken up at the Belgrade review of the Helsinki Accords.

"I have also co-sponsored legislation to urge that the President call upon the Government of the Soviet Union to allow the re-establishment of the Ukrainian Orthodox and Catholic Churches. Freedom of religion is a basic human right as acknowledged by the U.N. Charter and Declaration of Human Rights, as well as by the Soviet Constitution.

"Washington is known as a city of monuments, not all as well known as those honouring our nation's famous presidents. I would on this occasion like to call particular attention to an impressive monument in a small park at 22nd Streets in northwest Washington. It is a statue of Taras Shevchenko, "Bard of Ukraine". A separate sculpture depicts a man attempting to break free from chains. The monument is dedicated to the liberation, freedom and independence of all captive nations...

"... The spiritual heirs of Taras Shevchenko are alive in Ukraine today. If they can keep up their faith and courage, that sculpture of a man attempting to break free from chains will one day be a depiction of the past, not a tragic statement of the present..."

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