

The
**UKRAINIAN
REVIEW**



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THE UKRAINIAN REVIEW

A Quarterly Magazine devoted to the study of Ukraine.

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FREEDOM FOR THE NATIONS,

FREEDOM FOR THE INDIVIDUAL!

U.S.S.R — the Prison of Nations.

A wood-carving by Neal Khasevych — "Bey-Zot"
for an anti-Soviet hand out leaflet — "Bey-Zot"
for a anti-Soviet hand out leaflet to publicize
"The Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations".

35 YEARS OF COMMON STRUGGLE

On the 35th anniversary of the Anti-Bolshevik Block of Nations the Central Committee of ABN issued this statement:

At the height of Ukraine's war against Nazi Germany and Communist Russia, and on the initiative of the Supreme Command of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), a Conference of nations subjugated by the two totalitarian states was called in order to establish the general guidelines for a common struggle directed at the overthrow of both empires. The Conference took place on November 21-22, 1943, in the region of Zhytomyr, Ukraine. The representatives of the insurgent armed forces of Ukraine, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Byelorussia, Turkestan (Uzbeks, Tajiks, Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Turkmen), Northern Caucasus, Armenia and other peoples established a Committee of subjugated nations for the co-ordination of the national-liberation struggle against Russian and German imperialism, and for the re-establishment of their independent states. The Committee was headed by a leading Ukrainian nationalist and revolutionary.

Military units of the subjugated nations were formed within the framework of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). They fought on Ukrainian territory against the common enemy, although the strategic reason for their formation was their eventual transfer to their own home territories. The strategy developed by all concerned called for a revolutionary armed struggle by their respective national insurgent armies in their own countries. The political strategy and goals of the liberation struggle were also agreed upon. As a result, the anti-imperialist front of the revolutionary-liberation forces began to unfold.

The Committee of subjugated nations, conscious of its historical duties and responsibilities, issued an appeal to the other nations subjugated by Nazi Germany, encouraging them to join forces with the newly-established anti-imperialist front. It further appealed to the western democracies to provide the nations subjugated by both

imperialistic states all the necessary assistance and support, rather than give it to the Russian imperialists — for only an alliance with subjugated nations could lead to a victory over BOTH imperialist aggressors, assure their overthrow and guarantee a just and lasting peace through the establishment of national independent states. After thirty-five years, it is clear how realistic and farsighted was the main strategic policy of the First Conference of the subjugated nations of Eastern Europe and Russian-dominated parts of Asia. The concept of all-national revolutions of the subjugated peoples as the sole road to liberation, is the only realistic solution, and also an alternative to a nuclear holocaust.

The creation of the Anti-Bolshevik Block of Nations (ABN) was an event of historical and universal importance. Its ideas, activities and proposed forms of action are the only means of liberation of the subjugated nations, and of delivering the still free world from the Communist Russian onslaught.

Today, patriots in Ukraine constantly emphasise in their appeals the importance of such a common front. They value incomparably more a common front of the subjugated nations in their struggle for liberation, than that segment of the emigration which places its hopes on the intervention of outside forces. In thirty-five years, ABN, with its ideas and scope of activities, gained world-wide importance. The World Anti-Communist League (WACL) — with a membership of 75 nations and 25 international organisations — even included in its constitution the basic ideas of ABN: (1) The idea of struggle for the disintegration of the Communist Russian empire; (2) a demand for the re-establishment of state independence of the nations subjugated within the said empire; and (3) the WACL charter guarantees the national liberation organizations of the peoples subjugated within the USSR and the "satellite" countries a permanent representation on the WACL Executive Board. All this testifies to the fact that the revolutionary representations abroad of the subjugated nations duly fulfill their tasks. The European Freedom Council also included in its charter the principles of ABN. The subjugated nations have joined, particularly through ABN and WACL, the battle of ideas and concepts about solutions to the world crisis, laying in its foundation the national principle as opposed to the imperial one, national statehood as opposed to empire-building, the supremacy of spiritual values over materialism and the heroic outlook on life over egoism.

In the subjugated countries the ABN concept — nation versus empire — is paramount in their struggle against the attempts of the Russian imperialists and their henchmen to create a so-called "Soviet people" — a nationally and culturally amorphous society. In reality, however, their intention is to enlarge the Russian nation at the expense of all others which must be Russified or exterminate. Not

only the Bolsheviks consider Russia a super-nation, but also the NTS.* According to the programme of the NTS "The Russian nation is a unique phenomenon in its formation — it is a closely-knit family of peoples and nations self-aware and historically united over centuries of common historical fate; it is a community of mutual state, cultural and economic interests". And in the preamble to the new constitution of the USSR the "Soviet people" have been described as a "society of socialistic community relationships, in which, on the basis of the drawing near of all classes and social strata, and the Justice and equality and brotherhood of all nations and peoples, a new historical community came into being". In view of the above, a question must be raised — who borrowed from whom: the CC USSR from the NTS, or vice-versa? The imperialistic souls always find one another.

The position of ABN is clear and invariable. ABN is the champion of the subjugated nations whose ancient cultures have enriched humanity and its world culture. In the face of ruthless Russification, ABN raises the issue of cultural creativity and freedom, because should nations die, culture shall also die, and the dehumanisation of life shall set in. Should nations disappear, the heroic conception of life shall also disappear, and with it man as a spiritual being.

ABN is not an émigré formation of national communities in exile, because these are only a part of their respective spiritual organisms — nations. As such, ABN is a community of nations with deeply rooted state and cultural traditions, and which fearlessly defend their national essence.

ABN continues the struggle behind the Iron Curtain. Common fate, a common goal and common interests consolidated those nations into a single front. Numerous joint actions in and outside the concentration camps repeatedly justify the idea of ABN, as the *only realistic road to liberation*. ABN is not only an international organisational structure, but, above all, it is a beacon, a concept and a strategy of a common liberation front that alone will lead to the final goal: the liberation of the nations subjugated by Russia and Communism.

The merits of ABN are unique. Thirty-five years of struggle is a unique contemporary phenomenon among the various international organisations of peoples subjugated by Soviet Russia and Bolshevism in general. The reason for such longevity is that ABN has always relied on the inherent strength of its member-nations, and has never been either financially nor politically dependent on extraneous sources of assistance. Financial independence is the sole guarantor for an independent liberation policy. There are no international organisations of states that have had a longer active existence than ABN. The UNO was founded later than ABN. Those international organisations of captive nations which were assisted financially by extraneous sources disappeared from the political horizon when their donors no longer needed them for their own political aims.

*) NTS — Natsionalno Trudovij Soz.

ABN is a singular sovereign force in the world arena, which shall never be subdued by terrorism or led astray by any extraneous material pressures. ABN serves only and exclusively the liberation cause of the nations subjugated by Communist Russia and Bolshevism, and shall never forsake its liberation ideal: the national revolutions leading up to the dissolution of the current Russian empire and the re-establishment of national independent states within the confines of their historical and ethnographic boundaries.

It is an undeniable fact that ABN through its varied work became the symbol and a co-ordinating factor in the revolutionary activities of the subjugated nations at home. On the universal level, ABN became a symbol and a champion of the anti-Russian and anti-Communist front struggling for the overthrow of the current Russian empire and the acknowledgment of state independence of the subjugated nations according to the principle of "Freedom for nations — Freedom for the Individual!"

Thirty-five years in the forefront of the struggle against the most barbaric power on earth — there is no other such international formation in the freedom-loving world.

ABN now begins a new phase in its struggle, with unflinching faith in the victory of the nation over the empire, in the victory of freedom and independence over oppression and totalitarianism!

November 1978

Read

Read

ABN Correspondence

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

Munich 8, Zeppelinstr. 67, Germany

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Peter BALEY

THE ELEMENTS OF SOCIAL REVOLUTION

(From the Introduction to an unpublished work — 'The Expropriate Society')

No intelligent person could ever be in doubt that any social revolution (especially the 1917 Russian October Revolution) has ever benefited workers or peasants, although these classes have always been used as a very potent and effective tool. Such revolutions were never designed to benefit these social classes, so much publicly celebrated since the Marxist phraseology took a strong hold on revolutionary propaganda. To those who understand this sad fact, it would be wryly amusing — if not so tragic — to see that some prominent people in this country are trying to convince us that Marxist-type social revolutions are desirable and could be uniquely beneficial to the historical progress of humankind.

Real social revolution, with all its murderous ramifications, is a terrible thing; there is little or no hope in it at all. We must clearly differentiate between national and social revolutions, and not pronounce the American, French and Russian Revolutions in one breath, as if they were the very same thing. The American Revolution of 1775 and the second revolution in America, which we prefer to call the Civil War, were both clearly political uprisings. The first, in 1775, was a war between England and the American colonies over their independence, which separated those colonies from their motherland and united them into one nation; the second, from the years 1861-65, was a war between the Northern Union States and the Confederate Southern States, which were fighting for their independence from the North. The result of this second uprising was a re-unification of the Union, although that war left a long-lasting scar on the nation.¹ The French Revolution of 1789 split the nation and polarised it politically to such a degree that it took almost two centuries to re-establish inner political equilibrium.

The Russian Revolution of October 1917 split all those nations enslaved by the tsarist empire into two antagonistic and unreconcilable parts; bled those parts to the point of utter exhaustion, and

¹ Of course, radical social changes occurred in the South after that war, but they were only incidental by-products of the victory achieved by the Northern Union States, which fought primarily for the indivisibility of the United States in the Spirit of the Constitution of 1787.

misled the aspirations of self-liberated nations for full equality and independence during the March Revolution. It established the foundation of a new enslaving empire under even worse conditions — socially and politically — than under the ancient regime of tsars. The results of the Marxist, or so-called Bolshevik revolution in Russia have proved to be the opposite of the results of the American Revolution of 1775. In fact, the latter was a reactionary socio-political act as compared with the social and national revolution of March 1917.

In his paper 'Revolution as a Problem in the Philosophy of History', Paul Schrecker tells us that 'two essential conditions are indispensable' for a political revolution to be successful: 'The first is that the change shall affect the fundamental laws, written and unwritten, of a state or nation; the second is that the change shall be illegal under the very law that is abolished'. He then gives us a brief definition: 'Revolution . . . an illegal change of the conditions of legality'.²

George Pettee, in his paper 'Revolution — Typology and Process',³ names quite a number of different types of revolution including every war, which he defines as 'revolutions in the world order'. Of course, following such strictly theoretical reasoning, one might with equal justification, find elements of revolution in every radical change in the world of Man and the world of Nature; however, we are primarily concerned with the kind of revolution which has a political character and which tends to change radically either social relations between functional constituents of a society within a given sovereignty, or tends to break up the existing sovereign political body into two or more parts of completely independent political formations (states, nations) with separate and well-defined territories and peoples, and with independence.

In both cases, revolutions have a socio-political character, but for terminological purposes and convenience, and because of dominant elements in these revolutions, we shall call the former a social, and the latter a political, revolution.

In retarded autocratic and multi-ethnic empires, when all the socio-political elements of a radical change become ripe and sufficiently potent, a revolution requires the characteristic of both types: political — with separatist tendencies toward national independence of heterogenic elements, and social — which aims at a reversion of legal and political relations between hostile social classes, by abrogating economic and political privileges (or rights) of a ruling or dominant class of the old order.

The most prominent revolution of this type in our times was the March Revolution in the Russian tsarist empire, in 1917.

There is yet another type of revolution, which Paul Schrecker describes in the following manner: 'Philosophers of history have

2) 'Revolution', Yearbook of the American Society for Political and Legal Philosophy', edited by Carl J. Friedrich, Harvard University (Second printing) 1967.

3) Ibid.

closed their eyes completely to the numerous examples of non-political revolutions, which have changed and determined the destiny of humanity so radically and so profoundly that the torches of the most revolutionary political movements grow pale in their brilliant light'.⁴

Every revolution may become successful or be a failure; it may become beneficial if conceived for rational goals, and carried out by mature people with a humanitarian attitude, or it may become deplorable, derogative and socially malignant if employed for destructive purposes and envisioned for utopian aims by vindictive men. When unsuccessful, the social revolution will be known in history as a revolt, a social upheaval, or a civil calamity. The political revolution, when successful, becomes a war for independence or national liberation; when unsuccessful, it acquires the name of rebellion or civil war. In any case, a definition of civil war applies always to those revolutionary upheavals after which the affected political society remains politically integral in principle. For instance, we would not call the American Revolution of 1775 a civil war, but rather a war for political independence, or a war of liberation — to use a fashionable term of our times. But we call the rebellion of the Southern States a civil war, which could very well be interpreted as a successful, purely social revolution, if we did not know better.

Actually, both wars on American soil were wars for the total independence of new political conceptions, psychologically ripe and envisaged as sovereign societies. The difference is only that the first insurgence was successful, whilst the second was futile. Historically, in both cases the results — the first positive, the second negative — have proven beneficial for the socio-political order we call the United States of America, and may also be proven as beneficial from the viewpoint of the broader and more lasting emancipational processes of homo sapiens as a species.

It is absolutely incorrect to identify the American Revolution, or war for political sovereignty of the American Colonies, with the great French Revolution or with the October (Bolshevik) Revolution in Russia — with which the American Revolution of 1775 has absolutely nothing in common, either ideologically or politically; the only common element is the violent physical struggle by means of arms, but such similarity is easy to find in any war or uprising. When comparing it with the French Revolution, the only common factor is the principle of democracy, which by being successfully established in America, had a profound influence on Frenchmen. We find the greatest resemblance to the American Revolution, or struggle for independence, in the March Revolution of 1917 in the Russian empire.

North-American society did not suffer the spasms of a social revolu-

4) Ibid.

tion because the legal foundation of the American political system was rational conceived by men of supreme maturity, and ripened in the atmosphere of a genuine hunger for the widest-possible freedom of an individual.

For men, this foundation opened every door, and, thanks to the even social temper (inclined to a lasting equilibrium) so typical of societies of Anglo-Saxon origin and culture, has survived until today without any great need for radical change. The social evolution, which was not only possible, but was also a very logical modus of development in such a constitutional frame, achieved the greatest success in history without overheated hatred and without the compulsory decapitation of individuality, dignity and decency. Sure enough, there is not, and never will be, an ideal social order where every human need will be completely satisfied, where justice will be served to every human being in equal proportion; but to crave a social revolution in that country is like some madman wishing to replace his perfectly healthy heart with an artificial one, in order to brag that he, also, has had a heart transplant.

One never stops wondering about those occult breeding grounds in our innermost selves that drive reasoning and intelligent creatures to commit deeds and to conceive ideas which are totally contrary to Man's own, publicly proclaimed interests. How can one comprehend social phenomena that so abundantly exhibit unmistakable tendencies to run contrary to affluent American society, which collide with every kind of logic, which go against sane judgement and contradict even the most fundamental instincts of every living creature... In what terms can one explain the lunacy of an educated and gifted individual, who disregards total human experience painfully accumulated during millenia of history, who would rather accept once more a mirage of distant utopia than face the most enchanting reality at which human genius has arrived, but who thinks himself capable of being a benefactor to humanity by showing it a path toward 'everlasting happiness' and 'profoundly meaningful life'?

Such is the common phenomenon in every college and university of our times: a young man with a chance of being brilliantly educated; a man of great mental faculties, endowed with the talent of self-expression in letters; a man with an already considerable amount of assimilated knowledge — this man confesses moral integrity according to his convictions, and he experiences an urge to express his judgement upon the complexities of the whole world, which came into being without his participation, advice and consent. He rolls up his sleeves and begins to turn our world upside-down. Encouraged by an initial response from those whose similar 'intellectual wavelength' closely corresponds with his own, he gradually gains the conviction that if his ideas (which are seldom really his) and his plans were accepted by active men in politics, men of authority and power,

the whole world would immediately experience 'revolutionary' improvements and benefits.

'Knowing' what would be 'good' without realising what is possible at a given time and by available means, he becomes obsessed with anxieties which can be neither satisfied within the present social, political and moral orders, nor can be removed from his life with the help of present knowledge, nor by faith in its present decline. And so, in spite of his natural endowments he does not feel at home in this world, because he does not find the realities of common life to be well adjusted to his standards. But he will never admit to himself a notion that *he* is the misfit; and for that reason the whole world will have to take the blame for being so complex and so unaccommodating. His immaturity reveals itself disproportionately between his intellectual capacity to accumulate knowledge and his ability for intelligent, practical application and adjustment.

The fact, though, of being a misfit amidst prevailing circumstances does not necessarily have to spring from want of material necessities, although it very often does. If it develops in spite of material well-being, then it certainly has the same root as the troublesome intuition experienced by the whole of society, but in himself it comes forth more forcefully and clearly because of his being more sensitive and more apprehensive than the average man. The non-materialistic incitement of human anxieties, when it begins to voice itself out of the depth of our unconsciousness, becomes the most forceful promoter of action, and exercises the most powerful influence on the whole of human behaviour.

Now, because our revolutionary is not well-adjusted to the present world of Man, to the *real* world — for which he may experience various degrees of repulsion, even abhorrence — he craves for an immediate change to simplification and reduction. He envisages a classless society which would reduce contradictions to nil; he hopes with the help of six hardworking and unassuming clerks to simplify state business and state bureaucracy to the limits of absolute efficiency; he promises to reduce the complexities of social and state business to such a degree that a cook could run it successfully . . .

But is he the man to bring about such social and political changes, which would result in a durable 'ideal' society for each and every citizen?

The revolutionary change, in order to be completed, requires three well-co-ordinated elements: (1) Ideological justification for the change and an ideal towards which the change may lead (2) Practical leadership able to work out a general strategy and capable of applying proper tactics under flexible conditions, and (3) Physical force to disturb social inertia, to overcome hostile opposition, and to destroy prevailing order.

The function of the revolutionising ideologist constitutes the first

element of revolution: he justifies the call for change, and establishes his own authority to proclaim it, by identifying himself with the interests of the selected social forces which will carry on the physical struggle; he also envisages the future social ideal in the name of which the struggle must be undertaken.

History shows us few men who were capable and sufficiently equipped by Nature to be equally successful at both producing ideas and taking direct action. Usually, a revolutionary would count on the acceptance and realisation of his ideas and programmes by an active and practical man; an orator with inborn authority and power. By doing so, the ideologist/theoretician overlooks the fact that he has, by proxy, delivered the practical execution of his theoretical plans to a man basically unlike himself; a man of different motivations and a talent for the practical, who might have felt supremely competent in the previous world-order if circumstances had not prevented it, and who would find it much easier to fill up this new ideological frame with himself and his own ambitions, rather than to submit to the ideological requirements for self-limitation, for which he has not the slightest need.

Here we have a classic confession by the lifelong Marxist, Georg Lukacs,⁵ concerning the fundamental difference between a theoretical mind and the practical ability to act according to theoretical logistics:

'My internal, private self-criticism came to the conclusion that if I was so clearly in the right, as I believed, and could still not avoid such a sensational defeat, then there must be grave defects in my practical political abilities. Therefore, I felt able to withdraw from my political career with a good conscience and concentrate once more on theoretical matters. I have never regretted this decision'.

Would the great creators of the materialistic political philosophy, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, have been as successful in the practical employment of their own ideas as they were in the theoretical presentation and ideological fertilisation of the rebellious minds of the 19th and 20th centuries? This question remains open to argument because all their activities — literary, propagandist and organisational — belong rather to a theoretical revolutionary display than to the practical conduct of a violent revolution, although the whole essence of the Marxist political philosophy centres on practical action, on 'going beyond' ideological limits if revolutionary praxis so requires. Would Lenin have become a communist theoretician of the same magnitude as was Marx if Marx had not existed? Definitely not, because the more Marx remained a grand literary theoretician

⁵ Georg Lukacs, 'History and Classconsciousness', Preface to the new edition, 1967. This was unquestionably a decision of an honest man, but it will still remain an open question whether an honest man can become a practical Marxist, or, maybe, theoretical logistics or Marxism are too much divorced from an honest man...?

even in his praxis, so much the more Lenin manifested himself as a pure practitioner, even in his literary activities.

Assuming that Marx did not exist, the revolutionary activities in the Russian Empire would, anyway, still have continued to develop, and if war had ended as tragically for that empire as it did under the imbecile government of Nicolas the Second, Lenin as a revolutionary practitioner would still have had the same chance to reach for supreme state power, though he would have to accept the ideological justification for his action from somebody else.

Assuming now that between the years 1905 and 1917 the Russian throne was occupied by the 'Russian Bismarck', and the Russian empire, through some clever manoeuvring, was not involved in that tragic war — or, if involved, it came out of it victorious — Lenin would have remained in exile for the rest of his days and would occupy today a place in the Marxist glossarium similar to those of Kautsky and Bernstein — only on the opposite side of the Marxist spectrum.

This gulf between the theoretical and the practical mind; the fact that Man as a species cannot be defined in static terms at any stage of his development; the fact that at any moment of his history no essential description of Man as a particular individual would fit the rest of humanity other than approximately — yet at the same time every human creature can be definitely recognised in that description; the fact that any two human beings carry in themselves the definite potential to produce in the infinite dimension of time an individual who would match the same essential description very closely — all these facts, completely independent of human will and of Man's intellectual manipulations, put the most gifted ideologist embarking on the creation of an ideal human world, in a very precarious position.

In order to envisage and to shape into perceptible ideas an ideal human world (ideal for all individuals no matter how different they may be), the dreamer, consciously or unconsciously, must disregard the above-mentioned 'irrationalities' of real life, and by so-doing, completely escape the gravitational forces of our reality; his faculty of differentiation between real life and the Hollywood movie-stage is lost to him for ever. As a result of such a departure from reality, he fails to reach the logical conclusion that flows out of ideal-world definition, which in order to remain a true definition, must on the one hand, avoid brutal coercion against those who do not fulfill the requirements of the ideal, and on the other hand, must take into account that, without the fulfillment of the minimum required of every individual, that new world cannot become ideal. It is not within human power to put a lid on the progressive and exuberant mind until the retarded and sluggish produces the equivalent for the progressive; neither is it possible to whip up the immature into instant maturity. The irrational attempt to do such things destroys the

laboratory of the human future, which is indeed this human world of the present.⁶

Albeit the future of Man and of his associations is continually being created by his activities (and passivities) at the present, the ideal human world *cannot* be achieved at the present because the present world is an ordinary world, and in order to convert the ordinary into the ideal, it has to be separated from the present. Therefore, all those ideal worlds Man has ever imagined for himself had by sheer necessity to be located in the distant future. Lenin, for that matter, transferred the completion of the ideal communist society into quite a respectable future — a few thousand years from now. However, it is a complete absurdity to build a distant future by means of the present. Such a 'builder', without realising it, tries to arrest thousands of years of potential human progress in knowledge and experience, in new discoveries of limitless natural resources and human potential. Such an approach to the production of the most important structure that Man is able to create — a human world — becomes as absurd as would be the contention of an eighteenth century physicist to satisfy the technical needs of the twentieth century within the limits of his knowledge of electronics, nuclear energy, biology, astrophysics, etc. It is an unpunishable crime, unfortunately, to force future generations into the shackles of our own dogmatised utopias, born only out of our own unsurpassable inadequacies — quite possibly both meaningless and ridiculous in the eyes of Man in the distant future.

Consciously or not, the ideologist of revolutionary radical change towards the ideal social order will never admit that his all-promises system, which by necessity must be produced in the real world of nature and by the real Man as part of that nature, may contain the same contradictions which were also an inherent part of the previous ideology created equally, with no lesser idealism, and with no less a noble contention. Such an admission would not be, so to speak, in the interest of the new ideology, because if the ideologist believes in his soterological ideas (which we must positively assume in order to regard him as being serious and in good faith), then he is interested only in acquiring all the necessary means to realise these ideas in the human world. In our modern times, such adequate means of forcing upon the whole nation the 'ideal order' are all concentrated in the ruling organs of a totalitarian state, no matter what title they might bear — autocracy, dictatorship, rule of the class or 'democratic dictatorship' — because only such bodies claim to be capable of

⁶) 'The future should never become an object of Man's direct concern and thought. The intelligent and wise enjoyment of the present is the only care for the future'. (L. Feuerbach: 'Philosophical Foundation of the Future').

establishing the ideal permanency through the introduction of the permanent social order.⁷

In order to make his own system the most attractive to the widest segments of the potential revolutionary forces, the ideologist must also become a propagandist of his own ideas, because on his abilities to present his ideas in a popular and convincing style will depend his first success to mobilise those social forces interested in his ideas. If he does not possess the qualities of a gifted propagandist, then he or his ideas will have to depend upon the emergence of a man of talent who will be keen to convert these ideas into his own successes.

Assuming that the ideologist is also an articulate propagandist, then we will certainly find that he will employ two other methods, possibly opposing, depending upon which direction his arguments are slanted. The arguments directed against the present order will be grossly exaggerated and augmented. He will blame the existing order and its representatives for more than their fair share of social and political maladies. Actually, he will make their presence seem to be responsible for all derogatory social qualities that have accumulated from the dawn of human history. He will even negate those positive achievements of the criticised system that cannot be denied.⁸ The idea of such treatment is not only the mobilisation of the sympathetic to the forces of revolutionary change, but also the demobilisation of the hostile opposition by way of shaming them into an admission of guilt — at least to themselves — and by that both to deprive them of any moral basis for effective defence, and to discourage any potential allies of the antagonist. He will, for instance, dwell on the present social inequality and injustice, putting the blame for the situation exclusively on the upper classes, without mentioning that both sides — privileged as well as deprived — share the guilt for the formation of these ills, if the inescapable nature of any human society at any stage of Man's development and maturity could be called guilt. In this social state of natural polarity in any well-developed human society, both the propagandist and the ideologist shall figure, not only in the defeat of the protagonist but also by hoisting themselves into

⁷) Direct or representative democracies do not belong here because they never contended to be an ideal system per se, but only the means towards the best possible conditions for the development of Man's potential. The ideological statism in the real democratic system is a contradiction in itself, and the politically motivated promise to establish the ideal permanency of the ideal social order is nothing but sheer demagoguery.

⁸) See 'The Communist Manifesto' Part 1, 'Bourgeoisie and Proletariat'.

the tempting position of supreme power held till now by the defeated.⁹

Further, the ideologist-propagandist will blame, for instance, the industrial capitalist society for the degradation of religion, for the destruction of family life, for the subordination of the nobler human emotions to material interests, and even for adultery. However, this without mentioning that the existing society inherited most of that same religion, degraded already by the mediaeval inquisitions conducted by the Church herself, by the financial policies of the Roman Curia known as simony, by the use of the moral authority of the Church for wordly political purposes and for materialistic aggrandisement; that the destruction of family life among slaves and serfs was commonly practised by slave owners and feudal lords way before the early capitalist society came into being; that marriages were concluded even between infants for parental gain, and that forced marriages were arranged between individuals indifferent to one another, and true lovers violently separated for the same reasons, as far back as history records; that adultery, as an atavistic survival of the last days of promiscuous sexual life in prehistoric societies, is as old as human civilisation: etc. etc . . .

Of course, there is no question that many of the enormous economic powers have been created both in past and present times more 'unlawfully' than 'lawfully', but the lawful and the unlawful are not constant attributes of the same phenomena in different societies, and without such concentrations of wealth and power, neither could culture have developed and civilisation grown, nor could any progress be defended from alien human forces, or shielded against assaults by Nature's elements.

Now, when arguing the defence of his own concept of the ideal social order, the ideologist-propagandist will be inclined toward the opposite method, using bright and attractive colours to paint the final picture of the ideal future. He will try, however, to avoid details as much as possible — for two good reasons: firstly, to leave room enough for future amendments and interpretations; secondly, if he

⁹ What we call here the social state of natural polarisation, is the fact of a permanent existence in any society of the natural dependents who in any critical situation are not mature enough to carry full responsibility for themselves, not to mention society as a whole; and there is a 'great minority' of independent characters who, thanks to natural endowments such as courage, wisdom and exuberant physical energy, assume leadership at the primitive stage of any human collective not by contract or election, but by their natural qualities which give them self-reliance, and ambition to excel and to succeed. Also, that personal quality known as charisma can elevate an individual to a higher social position. As long as displacement of these natural endowments does not occur as a result of the ancestral inheritance within a family (dynasty), as a result of the petrification of customs, or because of the naked political and economic forces in the exclusive services of egoistic clique interests, there will be no feeling of injustice, oppression, and so on. In advanced societies, though, such self-appointment of genius is definitely out of place and repulsive, as one may experience when reading a letter written by Marx to Engels on May 18th, 1859: 'When I met the deputation of the "Knoten", I told them straight out that we (Marx and Engels) had received our appointments as representatives of the proletariat party from *nobody but ourselves*. It was, however, endorsed by the exclusive and universal hatred consecrated to us by all parties and segments of the old world. You can imagine how staggered the blockheads were . . . ' So they were, as we would be today, facing such an 'explanation' . . .

wanted to dwell upon details, then he would have to reveal not only the 'value of the proposed merchandise' but also the 'actual cost of it'. Although most of us like the idea of the perfect society there would in fact be very few willing to pay the price. Therefore, when emphasising that his ideas — when introduced into living society — would better humanity, not only as an organised community, but also as individual human beings, to such a degree that everybody would be absolutely free and nobody hurt, that no one shall be forced to do anything he would not like to do, and nobody shall be deprived of anything he would need, the ideologist will fail to inform us that there had already been many attempts made under the rigorous supervision of superhuman and natural powers with the same splendid intentions — but result were negligible and, what was more disappointing, shortlived.

Telling us that all previous leaders, governments and upper classes had been corrupt, egoistic, greedy and cruel, he will insist, without explanation, that the specimens of the same species, who will perform the same, or similar, functions in the new system, will be free of these destructive human properties — as if within the 'revolutionary class' human kind would not be infested in the same proportions with thieves, liars, greedy hypocrites and frauds, like those of other classes which have already had the chance to discredit themselves.

Why should the deprived, poor and discriminated-against at this time be necessarily good, trustworthy and incorruptible in the position of power and satiety, when so many others, coming from the same despicable circumstances, failed to withstand the same temptation?

The commonly-accepted theory that the revolutionary idea evolves from a deep-seated social need for a radical change is partially a truism and partially a legend. The perceptible need for change has always existed in all developing societies and will always exist; this is a truism. A socially perceptible need for radical revolutionary change in a given society is a legend. The radical revolutionary concept has always been a product of an individual intellect bent either towards utopia, or much more concerned with the transfer of the state supreme powers from the effete ruler to the 'newfangled leadership', and with an eye rather more on effective exploitation of the natural resources than on improvement of existing social relations.

A need for a radical revolutionary change never really exists in the consciousness of the general public. It does not even exist in the class or social segment which has acquired a vital importance in the national economy, risen to cultural prominence, and has become mature enough to carry a full responsibility for equal political and civil rights with the dominant classes in the interests of the whole nation. This is plainly visible in the deliberations of the French

Constituent Assembly (1789), and in the general resistance of the Russian Constituent Assembly (Jan. 1918) to Lenin's request for the transfer of all state powers to the Soviet — i.e. to the communist leadership under Lenin's dictatorial powers. In both cases the mass movements for equal rights and for essential changes in socio-political structures were heading only towards significant reforms, without Jacobinism in France and without Bolshevism in Russia.

Conclusion: the struggle for equal rights does not imply a radical socio-political change by violent revolutionary means. The violent radical revolution erupts suddenly at a time of extreme strain in social relations, and it always happens as a result of the unintentional co-operation (in a process of invocation) of antagonistic forces that oppose the moderate majority, supporting substantial reforms with equal intolerance. In France, the vacillating policy of the absolute monarch towards demands and reforms undertaken by the Constituent Assembly brought Jacobinian radicalism into the foreground of the revolution, resulting in a whole string of successive dictators and emperors. In the Russian empire, the prolonged political struggle (1905-1917) between the absolute monarch and the reformist parties gave Bolshevism the chance to acquire national prominence, to usurp the political powers of the central government (Nov. 8th, 1917), to forcefully dissolve the Constituent Assembly, and to establish a dictatorship of unprecedented concentration of state powers and national resources in the hands of the partisan leadership.

If, however, in spite of Aesopian language, the utopian wellwisher gains your support at a critical time in your disturbed society, and as a result of it you and posterity pay a draconian price for your negligence to read beyond the sweet promises, do not then blame the prophet of a new sinless era, because he was as much a human being as you in trying for success in his own way, and for the improvement of that which he believed must be improved. Blame *yourself* for expecting to receive more than you would be willing to give; for depending on miracles to be performed by individuals like yourself without inquiring who exactly is going to pay for them; for trusting your leaders blindly in matters which you would not be able to trust yourself to control; for accepting every change as equivalent to progress; for abandoning the responsibility for your own well-being to "your betters"; for trading the millennial human experience and your own better judgement for the old superstitions formed into new fashions — for all that — blame *yourself* . . .

UKRAINE IN THE BRITISH PRESS BETWEEN 1914 and 1939

At various times throughout this century Ukraine has been the focus of press attention. In 1978 Askold Krushelnycky, then a student in the post-graduate journalism department at The City University, London, carried out a study of Ukraine's treatment in the British press as part of his course requirement.

Originally Mr Krushelnycky wanted to carry out a survey of Ukraine's press treatment which would have taken in the years 1900 to 1977. However, because of the large amount of material available this was not practical in terms of the time limit imposed and the restricted number of words available for the project. Therefore it was limited to the years 1914 to 1939.

The project was carried out under the supervision of Mr. Victor Svoboda, a lecturer at the University of London's School of Slavonic and East European Studies. The primary source of material was the newspaper archives of the British Library (newspaper library) at Colindale, London.

The Times, because of its acknowledged influential position, formed the "skeleton" for the survey but was supplemented with references from the Guardian (called the Manchester Guardian during the period covered by the survey) and The Telegraph.

Other British papers were excluded because of the time factor; nevertheless, Mr Krushelnycky feels the three papers used give a useful perspective on the attitude of the British press to Ukraine between the years covered in the project.

We print a shortened version of the project below — an introduction giving an outline of Ukrainian history has been left out as unnecessary for a readership already acquainted with the subject. Some technical details dealing with the search for references have also been omitted. Where an article is quoted in the project, the name of the newspaper is given followed by figures denoting the date of the issue, and page and column location. Thus "Guardian, 12. 3. 14, 9g" refers to an issue of the 12th of March, 1914, the article being located on page 9 in the seventh column. The columns run from "a" to "g" — ie. 1 to 7.

Editor

A. KRUSHELNYCKY

TREATMENT OF UKRAINE IN THE BRITISH PRESS BETWEEN 1914 AND 1939

While time was limited, a wealth of information was available and the problem was to select which events were the most significant ones in recent Ukrainian history in the period covered, and which could be treated in the space available in more than just a superficial manner.

The following events were chosen:

1914, Coverage of the centenary of the birth of the Ukrainian national poet, Taras Shevchenko.

1917-22, the birth of the Ukrainian People's Republic, fighting in Ukraine, treaty of Brest Litovsk, eventual crushing of Ukrainian independence.

1920's, Ukraine under the Bolsheviks, New Economic Policy, Ukrainianisation.

1930's, Collectivisation of agriculture, famine, nationalist "conspiracies". Life in Polish-occupied Ukraine.

1914

Prior to the overthrow of Tsarism the attitude of the British papers to Ukraine was that she was of little significance and had no separate national identity. Even the name "Ukraine" was used very infrequently by British journalists; when acknowledging that there was some difference between Ukrainians and Russians they called them variously "Little Russians" (a race of pygmies in the middle of Europe?) or "South Russians".

There were correspondents based in Kiev, but articles usually did not hint at a separate Ukrainian identity. A typical example is a series of travelogues by a *Times* correspondent called "Return to Russia" (5.2. 14, 7d) which talk of Kiev as the "Russian Bethlehem" because of the beautiful churches in that city. The fact that Kiev is a Ukrainian city and that it was a Ukrainian monarch who proclaimed Kiev Christian in 988, and thus spread the Christian faith throughout Eastern Europe, is not mentioned. At one point mention is made of Little Russians but nothing to suggest that Ukraine was ever anything but an integral part of Russia.

However, sometimes events did bring the question of Ukraine into the pages of the press. Russia had territorial ambitions with respect to the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and the fact that there were

Ukrainians, called "Ruthenes", living in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, was often used to substantiate this claim. A trial of Ruthenes by the Hungarians gave rise to a series of articles in *The Times* from its St Petersburg correspondent under the name "The Ukraine Movement" (21. 2. 14, 7e). It says the trial "has indirectly awakened the attention of (Russian) nationalist circles to the supposed dangers of the Ukrainian minority in South Western Russia, which they appear to have hitherto ignored. The attempts to magnify Little Russian into a separate language were derided." The journalist makes no attempt to suggest that there is a basis for any danger; rather the article conveys the sneering disdain for the ideas of Ukrainian nationalism voiced by Russian government circles.

Taras Schevchenko was a great Ukrainian poet, who by his writings inspired Ukrainians to work towards the goal of an independent Ukraine. The centenary of his birth was March 9, 1914 and Ukrainians everywhere paid homage by various celebrations. In Russian-occupied Ukraine nationalist groups were quite extensively organised and wanted to celebrate this occasion in Kiev. The events that followed seemed to be a revelation to *The Times* correspondent. The celebrations were forbidden and demonstrations followed in which troops were called in and over 130 Ukrainians, mostly students, were arrested. A Zeppelin airship was even brought in to observe the City. *The Times* printed two reports under the title "The Ukraine Movement" (10. 3. 14, 5b and 12. 3. 14, 5d). The first was a straight report with no comment " the celebration of the centenary of the birth of Shevchenko has been abandoned because the Government feared it might stimulate propaganda". The second report details the disturbances and adds "the Ukraine question is fraught with dangers hitherto not generally suspected".

The *Guardian* was not as russophilic as *The Times* and pointed to the contradiction between the Russians righteously attacking the Austro-Hungarian Empire for its persecution of Ukrainians living there and its own action in forbidding the commemoration of Shevchenko's centenary. "As the trial was going on the Russian Government was prohibiting the celebration of the birth of Taras Shevchenko, a poet who is as popular among the Little Russians as Burns is in Scotland. Since Southern Russia would be the scene of any war that might take place between Austria and Russia the question of the attitude of the Little Russians is of very great importance". (*Guardian*, 12. 3. 14, 9g).

War did come and with this Ukraine was forgotten completely for the time being. Russia was an ally and stories dealing with the Russian Empire gave an impression of total solidarity within the Empire. As the *Guardian* had correctly predicted, a great deal of the fighting did take place in Ukraine, especially that part which had been in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Many reports in all three

papers deal with military operations in Galicia, and Bucovina, which are Ukrainian provinces, but this fact is not mentioned.

Austro-Hungary had been somewhat more benign to its minorities and Ukrainians were well organised in Western Ukraine, enjoying a thriving commercial and cultural life as well as having representatives in the Austrian Diet (Parliament). When the Russians invaded Western Ukraine they set about systematically eradicating the Ukrainian intelligentsia and other nationally conscious elements by mass arrests and deportations to Siberia, in preparation for the incorporation of Western Ukraine into the Empire. Nowhere are those events noted in the papers although they were carried out on a scale which must have come to the attention of correspondents on the spot or in Kyiv where special arrangements had to be made for the large number of Ukrainians in transit on their way to imprisonment in Siberia. The demands of the war made sure that all the allies were depicted as heroes who could do no wrong and the Central Powers as the villains.

Only towards the end of 1916 did the façade of total unity within the Empire begin to be breached but even then no mention is made of the Ukrainian situation.

Revolution

In March 1917 the Tsarist regime was overthrown and a more liberal system of government headed by Prince Lvov substituted. There has been growing dissatisfaction with the way the war was being run and peace was a very attractive proposition even if it was concluded separately from the other allies. However, the British journalists covering these events seemed to deliberately underplay these threats to the allied war effort and to blame all dissension on German intrigues: "... Germans are spreading ideas of disunion and socialism. There is no doubt that the enormous majority of Russians are loyal to the Provisional Government." (*Times*, 26. 3. 17, 9c). The *Telegraph* commented how peaceful the transition had been. "The revolution in Southern Russia... complete tranquillity... here in Odessa not a drop of blood has been spilt." (2. 4. 17, 7c).

In March Ukraine had formed its own government, the Rada, composed of Ukrainian deputies as well as representatives of minorities living in Ukraine. Even though the Ukrainians themselves were at this time thinking of only limited independence, the press who were based in St Petersburg suffered from the bias of having to maintain that this independence did not threaten the unity of the Empire and viewed the events from afar, adopting a low key attitude: "Among the more educated classes opinion here appears in favour of a constitutional monarchy or a federal democratic republic with meetings of different Little Russian parties in Kieff... demand to be

present at any future peace conference" (*Times* 4. 5. 17, 5d "Russian Republican Movement").

Britain's main concern was whether Russia would remain in the war, and interpretations of events in the Empire were made from this standpoint: "The stimulus lent to racial aspirations by the revolution has been particularly noticeable among the Little Russians... the Ukrainian movement has long been in progress among the Little Russians and the Ruthenes inhabiting Austrian lands and as the Russian armies have pushed their way further West into these regions the Ukrainian movement has developed a wider and more intensive form. Kieff serves as the centre for the propagation of these nationalistic ideas... In practice the agitation has been confined to propaganda in favour of autonomy and a national army." (*Times* 12. 6. 17, 5c).

The *Telegraph*, 15. 6. 17, 5b, wrote: "The Ukrainian demonstrations at Kieff have so far involved no serious menace and the Coalition Government* has even authorised the formation of one Ukrainian regiment. But this concession has merely intensified the appetites of the Little Russians. According to news from Kieff they are leaving the ranks and enrolling in fresh Ukrainian regiments. Orders have been given from Petrograd to put a stop to this movement as it threatens to increase disorganisation in the Russian army".

The Ukrainian Rada were increasing pressure for a greater degree of independence. In order to avoid the complete breaking away of Ukraine from Russia four ministers from the Coalition Government were despatched to Kyiv for talks with the Rada. Amongst these was the future head of the Coalition Government, Alexander Kerensky, and ministers Terestchenko, and Tseretelli. In July 1917 the Provisional Government of Russia recognised Ukraine as a semi-independent self-governing unit within the Russian state. *The Times* was not very pleased at these "Concessions to Ukrainian particularism of a very extensive character", (19. 7. 17, 7a) and supported the actions of some of the other government Ministers in resigning in protest. They write: "The abuse which the Finns are making of the wide autonomy lately granted to them must undoubtedly add weight to the protest of the Cadets**".

The Times adopted a scolding attitude to those countries who were seizing the opportunity provided by the confusion to push forward their claims for nationhood. Typical of the tone of its articles was the following: "All were far more keen to express their national claims than to help Russia in her hour of trial". (3. 10. 17, 5c).

After the Bolshevik coup d'état events moved rapidly. Although nominally relations between the Rada in Kiev and the Soviet Gov-

*) Coalition or Provisional Government headed by Prince Lvov.

**) Cadets — a political party. The party was called the Constitutional Democrats which in the Russian had the initials K D and Cadets is a corruption of the Russian pronunciation of these initials.

ernment in Petrograd were correct the Bolsheviks were actively encouraging the setting up of a Soviet Government in Kharkiv which claimed to be the true representative of the Ukrainian people. The forces of the Rada were too weak to cope with the forces opposing them and the result was that the Rada turned for aid to the Germans. The Germans readily agreed to conclude a peace with Ukraine (although there had been no serious hostilities since the summer of 1917) because they badly needed to replenish their granaries in order to carry on the war and Ukraine provided the only chance of doing this. In consequence an armistice was concluded at Brest Litowsk in December of 1917, and Ukraine was formally recognised as a completely independent republic by the Germans and under the terms of the treaty by the Russians also.

From this time onwards the Ukraine received a great deal of attention in the press, including a number of lengthy editorials. The attitudes of the papers were sometimes contradictory. On the one hand the fact that Ukraine had concluded peace with the Central Powers meant that the war would be prolonged, as all the pundits thought Ukraine would be able to provide food indefinitely to the Germans. On the other hand Ukraine was anti-Bolshevik and so was Britain so that Ukraine's claims to nationhood received more sympathetic treatment than previously in the press. *Times*, 12. 1. 18, 8b; 21. 1. 18, 5b; 8. 2. 18, 5a; 12. 2. 18, 7f. (Articles dealing with these events may be found in the *Telegraph* and *Guardian* on the same dates in almost identical form as the same news agencies supplied the details of the transactions at the Brest Litovsk conference.)

Even though Ukraine was not officially recognised by the British Government the press treated her as a country that would remain independent after the war, and articles discussing her history and difficulties in the future abounded.

The fact that Ukraine was propped up by the Germans (who were invited in the spring to rid the country of Bolsheviks) was not used to criticise the Ukrainians as much as it could have been. The *Guardian* devoted a large amount of space to an article dealing with Ukrainian history in which it wrote that Ukraine had given birth to Russia and not the other way round and that Russia had usurped Ukraine's culture in the same way it had annexed her territories. All in all, 1918 was a year when sympathy for the Ukrainian cause peaked in the British press, even though ironically this was after Ukraine had made peace with Britain's enemy. When it was learned that because of poor harvests Ukraine was not capable of supplying Germany with corn, Ukraine was no longer even aiding the enemy. (*Times*, 30. 5. 18, 5a).

The main enemy was seen by the British to be the Bolsheviks as 1918 went on and a favourable conclusion to the war in the West seemed imminent. In the Spring the Battle of Ypres was preoccupying the press and reports from what had been the Russian Empire were

piecemeal and sometimes based on hearsay because the conditions for reporting were very difficult. The Russian Civil War was being waged to a great extent on Ukrainian soil, and the Ukrainians were in conflict with the "Whites" who wanted to restore the Empire to its former status and the "Reds" who supported the Ukrainian Soviet "Government" in opposition to Hetman Skoropadsky, who with German backing had assumed dictatorial powers in Ukraine, although still advocating a nationalist line. British correspondents based themselves in areas held by the "Whites" and had to rely on second hand reports and often contradictory information supplied by news agencies representing Ukrainian and Soviet Russian interests.

After the German Defeat

With the defeat of the Germans came the collapse of Hetman Skoropadsky's rule and his replacement once again by the Rada. Whatever the complexion of the Government was already, the fact remained that there were now no military forces capable of fighting against the numerous forces attacking Ukraine. The man emerging as in control of the Ukrainian Rada was Symon Petlyura who was viewed with suspicion by the press. "Petlyura's men are . . . adventurers attracted by high wages and the prospect of loot." (*Times* 13. 1. 19, 8b).

The Allies had thrown their force firmly behind the counter-revolutionary "White" forces and the Poles while Ukraine was left to her own devices.

Ukraine's struggle to maintain her independence is not covered in any depth except insofar as it affects the progress of the British-backed "Whites" and Poles. Petlyura remains a man of mystery to the press and one viewed with distrust: "Petliura having no desire beyond personal supremacy would without any doubt cast in his lot with any person of power who would assure him some degree of fortune" (*Times*, 23. 1. 19, 10b). These views were shared by the *Guardian* (4. 3. 18, 5d).

Only in April do the papers seem at last to have established direct contact with Petlyura and find the "mysterious man" quite amiable. *The Times* ran an interview with him in which he explained Ukraine's position and appealed for Allied help in the form of medicines and arms. However, by now the Rada was in disarray with the area under its control continually contracting. Indeed, the interview was carried out in a carriage far from Kyiv as that city had once again been captured by the Bolsheviks. (*Times*, 5. 4. 19, 12b).

This changing attitude to Ukraine is reflected in the increased use of the words Little or South Russian, Confusion reigns: "The situation in Ukraine is far too obscure for anything like a true representation of it" (*Times*, 27. 6. 19, 11c).

To add to the confusion an anarchist named Makhno, Ukrainian by birth, attracted the attention of the press "Makhno, Check on Red

Army in Ukraine", (*Times*, 18. 6. 19, 11a). Makhno fought everyone at various times, the Rada, the Reds, the Whites and the Jews. Seemingly a romantic character, he captured the imagination of the journalists writing about Ukraine to the exclusion of items of news about the Rada. Reports about Ukraine when they did occur were very short then tailed off almost completely until the autumn of 1920 when Petlyura tried to regain power in Ukraine with the aid of Poland. Again the reports are couched in the context of Ukraine's effect on the fortunes of the groups backed by the British, in this case the Poles. "New Threat to Kieff. Bolshevik Reverses in the West. With an independent Ukraine and White Russia beyond its Eastern borders Poland is relieved of the embarrassment to a very great extent of having Bolsheviks as neighbours." (*Times*, 23. 10. 20, 7c).

The Polish backed offensive, although initially successful, ultimately failed and the demise of an independent Ukrainian state was only a matter of time. In 1921 the only items about Ukraine seem to be fillers supplied by various agencies including the Ukrainian Press Bureau in Vienna. By the beginning of 1922 the Bolsheviks were consolidating their hold on Ukraine and the press was referring to the Soviet Ukrainian Government.

The partitioning of Ukraine between Russia and Poland is reported (but without comment) by the press despite the fact that under the Versailles Treaty Britain had an obligation to ensure that the Western Ukrainians under Poland enjoyed a degree of autonomy.

Ukraine as part of the USSR

In line with Lenin's promises concerning nationalities, Ukraine was to develop as a union republic enjoying a degree of autonomy. To this end a period of Ukrainisation was embarked upon; it was required that all officials in the country should be able to speak Ukrainian, education should be conducted in the Ukrainian language, etc. Ukraine was largely treated as just another part of Russia by the press, and again reporting of events suffered from the fact that journalists seldom seemed to venture into Ukraine, most of the reports coming from Riga, capital of the newly independent state of Latvia, and some from Moscow.

Articles about Ukraine were few in number and dealt with the area in such a piecemeal way that a reader would have found it hard to form any comprehensive analysis of the prevailing situation. The Ukrainian People's Commissar (Minister) for education, Shumsky, got coverage for his speeches about the need for more political education in schools (*Times* 15. 1. 25, 13b; 19f) and his eventual fall from favour was because of accusations of Ukrainian nationalism levelled against him (8. 7. 27, 14c; 14. 7. 27, 14c).

All three papers dealt with the various nationalist "conspiracies" uncovered by the Communists in Ukraine, which usually led to trials

and executions. *The Times* covered in some depth the "internal" struggle between the Communist Party of the USSR and the Communist Party of Ukraine. (*Times* 13. 8. 26, 9c).

There were also short reports about anti-Soviet movements in the academy of Sciences (16. 6. 28, 15f) measures for the relief of famine in Ukraine (17. 11. 28, 11b) and the persecution of intellectuals (21. 12. 29, 11d). All these items appeared in the three papers used for the study. Most of them came as paragraphs in longer stories dealing with Russia as a whole and were neutral in their character, expressing no comment. The press was hostile to the Bolshevik Government but its attitude was that the people were suffering from the Communist rule rather than the oppression of Ukraine by an occupying power, the Russians.

The same situation pertained to reporting events in Soviet Ukraine in the 1930's. Occasionally articles were written about Nationalist conspiracies, and the suicide of the then Ukrainian People's Commissar for Education, Skrypnyk, attracted quite extensive coverage because he had been a leading light in the Bolshevik rise to power, and had committed suicide rather than recant when accused of the ubiquitous "nationalist conspiracy" charge. (*Times* 5. 7. 33, 11d; *Telegraph*, 5. 7. 33, 5d). The same fate befell the Ukrainian Prime Minister, Lyubchenko, in 1937. (*Times*, 18. 11. 37, 13f; 23. 9. 37, 23e). As before, the articles were of a superficial nature, and one feels the press, reporting at one or two removes, were wary of making any comments.

At the beginning of the thirties the New Economic Policy which had been introduced in 1925 to prevent total economic collapse and permitted a certain amount of private enterprise, was being run down. Collectivisation of agriculture followed and gave rise to famine in Ukraine, in which millions (variously estimated as between five and nine millions) perished.

This event was tragic, not only in terms of the pure loss of so many lives in the course of political expediency, but because those who perished were the peasants who had always been the bastion of Ukrainian nationalism and had retained their national identity when the city workers and bourgeoisie had been susceptible to Russification. The famine went almost unnoticed by the British journalists, most of whom were resident in Moscow and seldom ventured out except on officially organised press trips to newly built factories or prosperous collective farms, where between the vodka and caviare they were plied with facts and figures extolling the Soviet system, which not many bothered to question.

Malcolm Muggeridge was at that time *The Guardian* correspondent and he seems to be the only British journalist to have reported the famine. In March 1933 he left Moscow without permission and toured Ukraine and the North Caucasus, which were being ravaged by famine due to forced collectivisation of agriculture and by executions of peasants who did not accede to the demands of collectivisation. *The*

Guardian published three of Malcolm Muggeridge's reports on the 25, 27, and 28 of March, 1933. Some extracts from his reports serve to illustrate the completeness of the devastation wrought by the famine and the fact that in Muggeridge's opinion the famine had been a forced one:

"The whole population was obviously starving. I mean starving in the absolute sense.... (it was true they had nothing. It was also true that everything had been taken away... The famine is an organised one." (*Guardian*, 25. 3. 33, 13g)

"Hunger was the word I hear most. The peasants begged at the train stations... their stomachs swollen up by hunger." (*Guardian*, 27. 3. 33, 9g).

"In both tht Ukraine and the North Caucasus grain collection has been carried out with such thoroughness and brutality that the peasants are now quite without bread. Thousands of them have been exiled, in certain cases all of them have been sent to the north for forced labour... It is a common sight to see hundreds of wretched men and women called Kulaks being marched away under an armed guard... Only the military and the GPU are well fed, the rest of the population are obviously starving." (*Guardian*, 28. 3. 33, 9g). [A fuller review of these articles appears in another part of this issue of *The Ukrainian Review*.]

Ukraine Under Poland

Western Ukraine fared even worse as far as coverage of events in the Polish-occupied territories went. Even though the British had an obligation under the Versailles Treaty to Ukrainians in Galicia they did not attempt to honour these obligations. The press treated Poland sympathetically as it was anti-Bolshevik and no mention was made of Ukrainian grievances against the harsh (albeit less tyrannical than in the USSR) rule of the Poles, who subjected the Ukrainians under their rule to economic and cultural oppression. In 1935 the Polish Home Affairs Minister, General Pieracki, was assassinated by the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (*Times*, 14. 11. 35, 13g). There followed a trial of Ukrainian nationalists which was widely reported. One of the accused in the trial was Stepan Bandera, leader of the organisation, and he and two others received the death sentence. Although the reports of the trial gave as background information some of the demands of the Ukrainians living in Galicia, they give the impression that the writers were not very sympathetic to them and hint that Nazi German agents were fostering discontent amongst the Ukrainian population. Indeed the *Times* concludes its reports of the trial by praising the Polish Government for commuting the death sentences to life.

In the following years the Ukrainians of Galicia are mentioned more frequently. Their demands are outlined but the case is never

presented from their side, rather the demands they make are dismissed out of hand or ascribed to German intrigues in the same way as Ukrainian demands for autonomy before and during the First World War.

Conclusions

The coverage of events in Ukraine and the question of Ukrainian independence were poor in the three papers used for the study. A number of factors are responsible for this poor coverage and will be discussed here. At any rate *The Times*, chosen as the primary source of material for this study because it is and was during the period of the study regarded as the most prestigious of the national papers and the leading opinion-former, would not have been able to present its contemporary readers with a true or balanced picture of the situation in Ukraine.

Coverage from 1914 to 1917

It must have been obvious to all that there was soon to be a European war. Correspondents in the Russian Empire therefore painted a favourable picture of the Russian Empire which was to be their future ally. The British journalists there were aware of the oppressive conditions suffered by the mass of the people under Tsarism but did not go out of their way to criticise the system for its social evils and much less for its oppression of non-Russian nationalities in the Empire. Therefore almost until the time Ukraine broke away from Russia the nationalities question was rarely mentioned and an impression of solidarity within the empire was created.

Independent Ukraine

After Ukraine had declared its independence from Russia and concluded a peace treaty with the Germans, its importance on the political scene was obviously great and the pages of all three papers often carried many items of daily news about Ukraine; numerous feature-type articles were also printed. Even though Ukraine was linked to Germany through this treaty it was not seen by the British press as an enemy, and criticism was further tempered by the fact that the Ukrainian Government was anti-Bolshevik. The articles published in 1918 are sympathetic towards Ukraine and reflected well the situation prevailing.

Inter-War Years

After Ukraine was again partitioned, this time part of it becoming the USSR and the Western part a Polish protectorate, coverage fell to an abysmally poor level. This can partially be explained by the

fact that only a small part of the reporting was done in situ, the overwhelming part being either from Moscow or Riga, Latvia. Malcolm Muggeridge in his memoirs, "Chronicles of Wasted Time", sheds an interesting light on why the reports were of such limited scope. He writes that apart from the fact that all reports had to go through a Soviet censor (with journalists who by-passed the censor being expelled from the country) many of the journalists were Socialists who were proud of being part of the "Soviet experiment" and readily accepted what they were told by official sources. They did not venture out of Moscow or Leningrad except on officially arranged junkets and consequently saw only what the Government wanted them to see and did not develop journalistic contacts with persons who could have put forward an alternative viewpoint.

Therefore it would seem that some of the journalists working for British papers at this time were consciously distorting the facts or making political decisions not to include news items. The organised famine in Ukraine would seem to be a case in point as credence was not given to reports of a famine by most journalists, although apart from Malcolm Muggeridge's reports it had been widely reported in other countries. (*Chicago American* 1. 3. 35; *Chicago Herald and Examiner*, 3. 3. 35).

In Poland, the Ukrainians did not receive much coverage at all except for the trial of nationalists after the assassination of General Pieracki. The pattern of reporting of events here closely followed that of Ukraine before the First World War, namely that the overall guiding principle seems to have been to reflect British Foreign policy. Hitler was adopting a threatening posture, and Poland was an ally of Britain and so had to be cast in the mould of a virtuous actor in the play soon to be enacted.

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THE GREAT UKRAINIAN FAMINE OF 1932-1933

AS AN INSTRUMENT OF RUSSIAN NATIONALITIES POLICY

PART II.

(Continuation from No. IV, 1978)

Mere statistical data cannot portray the full impact of the famine. To grasp the magnitude of the human tragedy one must turn to eye-witness accounts.

While the dying and the dead were to be found at first in the main cities, it was in the villages that the famine was at its worst. Belov was a resident of one of those villages:

"The famine of 1932-33 was the most terrible and destructive that the Ukrainian people have ever experienced. The peasants ate dogs, horses, rotten potatoes, the bark of trees, grass — anything they could find. Incidents of cannibalism were not uncommon. The people were like wild beasts, ready to devour one another. And no matter what they did, they went on dying, dying, dying. They died singly or in families. They died everywhere — in the yards, on streetcars and on trains. There was none to bury these victims of Stalinist famine. People travelled thousands of kilometres in search of food — to Siberia, the Caucasus. Many perished on the wayside, or fell into the hands of the militia".⁸⁰

Some might wish to classify these types of accounts as emotional, exaggerated, or isolated events. Unfortunately, this is not the case. Similar gruesome accounts were provided by scores of other people

⁸⁰ F. Belov, *The History of a Soviet Collective Farm*, pp. 12-13.



*Frozen Bodies of Famine Victims in a Kharkiv Cemetery.
Spring 1933.*

from different villages and districts, by foreigners and highly placed people both in the USSR and abroad. We have already cited men like Chamberlin, Manning, Beal, Taudul, Lang, Lyons, Ammende, and others in whose articles and reports such disturbing accounts can also be found. Up to fifty similar testimonies made by individuals associated at the time with different villages situated in different countries, districts or provinces in Ukraine affected by the famine, were collected in a book.⁸¹

The most ghastly phase of the famine was cannibalism, which appears to have been commonplace. References to this are found in much of the material already cited.⁸² There are, obviously, no records as to what extent cannibalism was commonplace, but it is pretty revealing that "in many places sausages were found that were made of human flesh, either of people who had died, or who were killed for food". The extent of this practice is shown by the fact that in 1936, among the prisoners of Solovki, there were 325 persons guilty of cannibalism, 75 men and 250 women.⁸³

But the nightmare in all its tragedy, and the cynicism of the Kremlin administrative apparatus in Ukraine and other areas affected by famine, is revealed in what Harry Lang saw and recorded:

"In the office of a Soviet functionary I saw a poster on the wall which struck my attention. It showed a picture of a mother in distress, with a swollen child at her feet, and over the picture was the inscription: EATING OF DEAD CHILDREN IS BARBARISM. A Soviet official explained to me: 'We distributed such posters in hundreds of villages, especially in Ukraine. We had to'."⁸⁴

Causes of the Famine

Famine throughout history has generally been caused by some natural phenomena (drought, disease, pests, etc.) or war.⁸⁵ The famine in Ukraine, Kuban, North Caucasus and Kazakhstan, does not seem to have been immediately caused by any of these factors. In this case the famine was — to an extent perhaps unparalleled in history — man-made. Let us, then, turn now to the analysis of production, procurement and famine relief during this period.

The most striking feature of food production during the famine

81) S. O. Pidhainy, I. I. Sandul, et. al. (ed.), *The Black Deeds of the Kremlin, A White Book*, vol. I: *Book of Testimonies* (Toronto, 1953), pp. 187-305.

82) "Cardinal Asks . . .", *N.Y.T.* (Aug. 20, 1933); "Visitors describe", *N.Y.T.* (Aug. 29, 1933), etc. Cases of cannibalism were also confirmed by W. C. Bullit, the American diplomat in The Congressional Record, House (Washington, 1952), vol. 98, pt. 2, 210. Sited in *Ukrainian Review*, X (1963), no. 3, p. 23.

83) Manning, p. 98.

84) Lang, "Socialist bares Soviet Horrors", *New York Evening Journal* (April 15, 1935), p. 2. Cited by Dalrymple, p. 268.

85) *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, IX (1968), pp. 58-59.

period is that while it was less than average, it was not a failure, as shown in the following table:⁸⁶

Production of Major Crops in the USSR (in mill. tons)

TABLE III

| | Year | Grain | Potatoes | Sugar-beet | Total | Percent |
|---------|---------|-------|----------|------------|-------|----------|
| Average | 1926-30 | 73.3 | 45.1 | 9.4 | 129.8 |) |
| | 1931 | 66.7 | 44.1 | 12.0 | 122.9 |) 10%) |
| | 1932 | 66.4 | 43.2 | 6.6 | 116.2 |) 5.9%) |
| | 1933 | 70.1 | 49.9 | 9.0 | 128.4 |) |
| Average | 1932-33 | 68.2 | 46.2 | 7.8 | 122.2 |) |
| Average | 1934-38 | 76.9 | 57.0 | 16.6 | 150.5 |) |

Thus, total food production was lowest in 1932, before the worst year of famine. Even so, for all three groups the yield was below the total 1926-30 average by only 10%. Consequently, it hardly seems possible that this drop in basic foodstuff production in regions termed the "granary" of Europe resulted in the deaths of 7.5 million people. Even this decrease can be attributed more to human causes rather than natural. While it appears that certain districts may have suffered from some drought⁸⁷ and hot dry winds in 1932,⁸⁸ otherwise "weather conditions were normal for the 1932 crop",⁸⁹ and consequently, "the famine was correctly characterized as man-made".⁹⁰

The greater problem was the disrupted state of agriculture. The breakdown was largely brought about by the policies of the Kremlin — forced collectivisation, violent requisition of food, elimination of millions of productive peasants (so-called *kulaks*), wide-spread terror, etc. Not only were the peasant masses weakened and driven to destruction by their losses, but they were also antagonized. The result was general apathy and discouragement in tending the crops.⁹¹ In addition to this there was a noted livestock mortality due to collectivisation which produced acute shortage of draft power as well.⁹² In view of the above — to use Dalrymple's expression — the

⁸⁶) Figures based on official data: Jasny, chart table 28, p. 792.

⁸⁷) Manning, p. 95.

⁸⁸) Chamberlin, *Russia's Iron Age*, p. 85.

⁸⁹) Jasny, p. 551.

⁹⁰) *Ibid.*

⁹¹) Chamberlin, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

⁹²) See charts and comments in Jasny, pp. 62-63.

wonder then is that the average crop yields of 1931, 1932, and 1933 were not lower than the registered maximum of 11% in 1932. This certainly points to the great productive potential of the areas affected by the famine even in the face of the adverse conditions — natural or provoked.

Although the crop was 10% lower, there is plenty of evidence that there was enough to keep the population of the famine areas alive:

In 1941, when the Germans invaded Ukraine they found in the Academy of Sciences in Kyiv the statistics of the crop harvested in 1932. These figures proved that the yield was sufficient to feed the Ukrainian population for two years and four months and to seed all the fields.⁹³

The above chart table appears to corroborate to a certain extent this finding in the Academy of Sciences, since the crop during the critical period of 1932-33 yielded an average of 122.2 million tons — only 5.9% lower than the average of 129.8 million tons for the relatively normal period of 1926-30. Even if we were to assume that this lower percentage may have caused food shortages, it was still the general testimony of the peasants that they could have "pulled through" if the authorities had not carried out heavy requisitions of food stuffs.⁹⁴

The reason that actually turned the below-average crop years (see above table) into famine years was the procurement which kept draining off from the population the last possible reserves of food.⁹⁵ The methods of procurement were legally reinforced through a decree of the Central Executive Committee and the Council of the Peoples' Commissar of the USSR, of August 7, 1932, "on the guarding of state property"; it ordered that all collective farm property (cattle, standing crops and agricultural produce) should henceforth be considered state property, "sacred and inviolable". Those guilty of offences against such "state property" were to be considered "enemies of the people". There were only two penalties for its theft: execution by shooting and under certain circumstances imprisonment for no less than 10 years with total confiscation of private property.⁹⁶ The decree

93) N. Prychodko, "The Famine in 1932-33 in Ukraine", *The Ukrainian Quarterly*, IX (1953), p. 216.

94) Chamberlin, *Russia's...*, p. 85. Also in "Visitors describe...", N.Y.T. (Aug. 29, 1933), p. 6 the plight of a villager in the Kyivan region is cited: "It is they who are killing us. It is an organised famine. There never has been a better harvest, but if we were caught cutting a few ears of corn we would be shot or put in prison and starved to death". See also Shiller, *op cit.*, p. 78.

95) Manning, pp. 103-04.

96) *Kolektivizatsiia Selskogo Khoziaistva* (Collectivisation of Agriculture) (Moscow: USSR Academy of Sciences, 1957), pp. 423-24, 448, 451. Cited by Conquest, pp. 24-25. See also Stalin, XIII, p. 402 (Note 61).

was written by Stalin himself.⁹⁷ The extent of procurement of grain can be seen from the following table:

Production and Government Procurement of Grain (in million tons)

| Year | Production of Grain | | Procurement | |
|----------------------------|---------------------|--------|-------------|--------|
| Average 1927-28 to 1930-31 | 75.1 | | 15.0 | |
| | down 11% | | | 31% up |
| 1931-32 | 66.4 | | 22.8 | 21.63 |
| 1932-33 | 66.0 | 44% up | 18.8 | |
| | 67.1 | | | 24.8 |
| 1933-34 | 70.1 | 24% up | 23.3 | |
| 1934-35 | 72.2 | | 26.2 | |
| 1935-36 | 76.6 | 27.3 | 28.4 | |

Although the grain production over the three years of famine conditions decreased by 11%, the grain procurements increased by an average of 31% going as high as 44%. Thus, the rural population was deprived yearly of about 48% (36 million tons) of grain with respect to the total average (1927-31) of 75.1 million tons. However, it should be taken into account that the above procurement figures are for the whole of the Union. The breakdown into individual regions would show a different picture. Thus, according to official figures, the estimate of the general harvest in Ukraine in 1932 was the fictitious figure of 894 million poods [1 ton = 61 poods] (14.65 million tons) of grain, in order to justify the exorbitant quota set at 385 million poods (6.3 million tons).⁹⁸ By collecting in Ukraine 225 million poods (4.2 million tons) from the 1932 harvest and an additional 145 million poods (2.3 million tons) to be set aside for "seeding" (since the seeding supply of grain had been already taken in 1931 from *kolkhozes*), the state actually deprived the peasants of at least 130 million poods (2 million tons) of grain destined as provisions.¹⁰⁰ Since those extra 7 million tons or so of grain were largely existent only on paper, therefore the lack of the grain that had been requisitioned made itself felt in the tragic winter and spring of 1933. A similar plundering occurred in North Caucasus as well.*

In April 1929 Stalin said: "Through natural flow we are able to procure about 5.0 to 5.8 million tons. The residual 2.5 million have to be taken through organised pressure..." and then added with

⁹⁷ Stalin, XIII, p. 402 (Note 61).

⁹⁸ Jasny, p. 794 (figures from official sources).

⁹⁹ *Ukrainian SSR in figures* (Kiev, 1936), cited by Solovei, p. 23.

¹⁰⁰ S. Kossior's speech "Results of the Grain Deliveries and the Tasks of the CU(s)U in the Struggle for the improvement of Agriculture in the Ukraine", printed in *Pravda* (Feb. 15, 1933), cited by Solovei, p. 21.

great emphasis: "The grain procurements have to be *organized* [Stalin's italics]".¹⁰¹

Thus, during the 1931-32 crop year the tried "iron broom" technique of the period of "war Communism" was applied again. From the government point of view the policy seems to have worked since in that period procurement achieved a record level (see table).

The same procedure was used during the 1932-33 period: "That autumn (following the harvest in 1932) the red broom passed over the kolhozy and the individual plots, sweeping the 'surplus' for the state out of the barns and corn cribs. In the search for 'surplusses' everything was collected. The farms were cleaned out even more thoroughly than the kulak had been".¹⁰² However, grain deliveries were beginning to lag since reserve stocks — as pointed out above — had been already cleaned out, and the Ukrainian Communist leadership of the country apparently was getting too soft-hearted and nationally minded for the Russians in Moscow.* Therefore, early in 1930, Postyshev was sent to Ukraine as a special plenipotentiary of the Central Committee. He brought with him about 10,000 party workers from the Russian Republic.¹⁰³ The group set to work and the last reserves of grain, which had been buried in the ground by the desperate peasants, were dug up and confiscated.¹⁰⁴ Their actions were "marked by the utmost severity... the detachments carried off not only grain but everything edible".¹⁰⁵ Muggeridge observed the following:

"They had gone over the country like a swarm of locusts and taken away everything edible; they shot and exiled thousands of peasants, sometimes whole villages; they have reduced some of the most fertile land in the world to a melancholy desert".¹⁰⁶

Mikhail Sholokhov (a prominent novelist) complained to Stalin about the situation in a letter dated April 16, 1933, but in vain. Stalin cynically replied that it was "as clear as broad daylight that the esteemed grain growers are not such inoffensive people as it might appear from afar..." and that they "were essentially conducting a 'quiet' war against the Soviet rule. A war of starvation, dear Comrade Sholokhov".^{106a}

In the summer of 1933, the government established obligatory deliveries of grain, the assessment being made by hectare.¹⁰⁷ The

*) M. Skrypnyk — Commissar of Education of Ukr. SSR and later chief of State Planning of Ukr. SSR — could not resist the pressure and shot himself on July 7, 1933.

*) In 1928, the amount of grain realized by the state was 56 mill. poods whereas during the hungry years it went up to 107 (1931), 112 (1932), and 133 (1933) — two or three times as much as the peasants gave up in 1928. The man behind this was Sheboldeau — a Moscow emissary. (Chamberlin, *Russia's...*, pp. 85-86).

101) Stalin, *Problems of Leninism* (Moscow, 1934), p. 426 (Jasny, p. 225).

102) Belov, p. 12.

103) Kostiuk, pp. 27-35 (for detailed role of Postyshev); see also *Ukrainska Radianska Entsyklopedia*, XI, pp. 418-19; Manning, p. 97; Sullivant, *Soviet Politics and Ukraine 1917-1957* (1962), p. 193.

104) Chamberlin, p. 85.

105) Manning, pp. 96-98.

106) *Fortnightly Review* (May, 1933), p. 564, cited by Manning, p. 97-8.

106a) This was quoted by N. S. Khrushchev in *Pravda* (March 10, 1963), p. 2 *Current Digest of the Soviet Press*, XV, Apr. 3, 1963, no. 10, 12.)

107) Jasny, p. 371.

harvest was organized like a military offensive; army detachments were placed to guard the grain on the field, and even air-planes were constantly flying over the fields as a precaution against "enemies".¹⁰⁸ If the set quotas were not delivered then those officials and peasants responsible were dealt with according to Stalin's decree of August 7, 1932 — as "enemies of the people". They were executed or deported, as happened with an alleged conspiracy in the Peoples' Commissariat of Agriculture and State Farming. The accused were charged with using their authority to wreck tractors and to disorganise sowing, harvesting and threshing in order "*to create famine (italics added) in the country*". As a result 35 were shot and 40 were deported (*Izvestia*, March 12, 1933, p. 2).¹⁰⁹

When it was all over the grain requisitions for the period of 1933-34 were even higher than for 1931-32, and about 24% above the 1932-33 rate as shown in the table. Thus, the famine continued to levy its toll well into 1934.

It has been suggested that the immediate cause of the famine was the ruthless food procurement policy of the regime. The main long-run reasons behind it were the Kremlin's desire to impose its control especially in the non-Russian territories; to obtain foreign exchange; to provide for a military war chest; to "feed" the industrial population, and finally "rural overpopulation".

In order to obtain control over agriculture Moscow placed great emphasis on state and collective farms tied in with Machine Tractor Stations, which proved to be quite useful for the regime in this respect. The only problem was that the peasants were not interested in joining the collective farms. The reason for this lies in the fact that the very essence of the collectivisation scheme was organically alien to the psychology, traditions and way of life of the people of Ukraine and Kuban, who are individualistic with an inherent sense of and respect for private property. This proved to be in complete opposition to Russian peasant mentality where the principle of community ownership of land had already taken root through such traditional institutions as *mir-obshchina* — an older version of the present-day *kolkhoz*. In view of this, it should not be surprising that the Russian peasants complied without too much hesitation.¹¹⁰ When the peasants' recalcitrance to submit was enhanced further by requisitions of food, it soon became apparent that the ensuing famine would provide a method for driving them into the collective or out of

¹⁰⁸ F. Birchall, "Famine . . .," N.Y.T. (Aug. 25, 1933), pp. 7-8.

See also Duranty, N.Y.T. (Aug. 24, 1933), p. 1; "Visitors Describe . . .," N.Y.T. (Aug. 29, 1933), p. 6.

¹⁰⁹ Fainsod, *How Russia is Ruled*, p. 364. See also "Soviet Grain War Trials of State Farm Officials", *The Times*, (July 14, 1933. For other cases see Belov, pp. 13-14, and Chamberlin, *Russia's . . .*, pp. 86-87, etc.

¹¹⁰ Allen, pp. 324, 327; Manning, p. 92; Dmytryshyn, *Moscow and the Ukraine 1918-1953*, p. 134; The Same Idea is also contained in the *History of the CPSU* (p. 445) although expressed indirectly and in more general terms.

existence. If conditions were tough on the collective farms Moscow made sure that it was even worse for the individual farmers.¹¹¹

As the collectivisation and the famine grew in intensity Moscow was confronted with a wide-spread resistance which took an "expression of ultimate human hopelessness, a natural catastrophe of the human spirit, a non-co-operation movement that was akin to mass-suicide".¹¹² Stalin, however, considered this as deliberate sabotage.¹¹³ Consequently, he was not prepared to lower the grain demands.¹¹⁴ But not all resistance was passive. Scores of acts of violence and mass uprisings took place during the period of collectivisation. Rebellions took place in Moldavia, Drabove, and the Holo-Prysten districts in Kherson province, and also in the province of Kamenets-Podilsk and Vynnytsia. In the province of Chernyhyv (Horodno, Tupyshiv and Snov districts) the peasants' risings had the support of the 21st Chernyhyv regiment, and were crushed only after major concentrations of GPU and regular army troops were dispatched against them. Other revolts occurred in Tarashcha, in Volhynia, and in the Mykhailivka, Pereschepyna, and Pavlograd districts of Dnipropetrovsk province. All of the above districts are located in Ukraine.

Resistance to collectivisation was wide-spread in other non-Russian republics and areas of the USSR as well — especially in Kuban, Caucasus, Georgia, Uzbekistan, and Kazakhstan.¹¹⁵ Thousands of party officials were killed and tens of thousands of rebels executed or deported.

The above situation was also officially acknowledged in the Soviet Press and even in the official *History of the CPSU*:

"The kulaks carried on malicious propaganda against the collective farm movement... assassinated rural Communists, chairmen of collective farms, rural newspaper correspondents and activists".

The enemies of Soviet power calculated that *the excesses and mistakes* committed in the processes of collectivization would incense the peasantry and provoke *mass anti-Soviet revolts*... *Here and there* they succeeded in inciting the peasants to *anti-Soviet actions*.

In the second half of February 1930, as a result of the *mistake* made in collectivisation, *dangerous signs of resentment* on the part of the *peasant masses* made themselves felt in a *number of areas* of the country [*italics added*].¹¹⁶

111) Chamberlin, *Russia's...*, pp. 81/82, etc.

112) Lyons, p. 491.

113) See footnote 106a.

114) Chamberlin, "The Ordeal...", p. 504.

115) For documented detailed accounts of open resistance in countries, areas or districts see Kostyuk, *Stalinist Rule in the Ukraine*, pp. 10-17; Conquest, *Agricultural Workers in the USSR*, pp. 19-30; Avtorkhanov, *The Reign of Stalin* (London, 1953), p. 11, cited by Kostyuk; Allen, *The Ukraine, a History*, pp. 324-333, etc.

116) *History of the CPSU*, pp. 441-446.

The Kremlin's struggle against the peasantry very soon acquired national and political traits in the non-Russian territories. Thus, the purpose of Stalin's offensive against Ukraine was not only to force collectivisation on the stubborn peasants, but it was also to destroy the spiritual and biological backbone of the nation.

In the later twenties, Ukraine was one of the most thriving countries in East Europe. Economically (in the production of steel, coal, agriculture) it was the most powerful republic of the USSR; numerically it was second only to Russia; culturally, it boasted great achievements.¹¹⁷ It was the period of the modern Ukrainian renaissance,¹¹⁸ whose forces were released during the national revolution of 1917-21,¹¹⁹ and which led to the establishment of the Ukrainian National Republic. With the fall of the independent state the unleashed national forces continued to mould the country into a clearly defined national, economic, and cultural organism overriding all the centralizing attempts of Moscow.* This trend was clearly voiced by the leading officials of Soviet Ukraine such as Skrypnyk (Commissar of Education and the Chief of Derzhplan of Ukr. SSR until his death in 1933; and M. Khvylovyj** (a leading literary figure). We shall quote their words which clearly delineated the Ukrainian position:

"Organising the Soviet Union... we guarantee each separate people its free development. And no one suggests that his people, his separate culture should dominate the territory of the Soviet Union. We value and recognise the importance of Russian culture,... but apart from this, not one conscious worker or peasant tries to suggest that the Russian language, the Russian culture should dominate the territory of our Union. The Russian people have their territory, they have their culture, but on other territories where the majority of population consists of Bashkirs, Ukrainians, Georgians, Karelians, where Russians form a national minority, there must be guaranteed the full independence of each separate people". (M. Skrypnyk).¹²⁰

"The Ukrainian economy is not Russian and cannot be so, if only because the Ukrainian culture, which emanates from the economic structure [of the country] and in turn influences it, bears characteristic forms and features. So does our economy. In a word — the [Soviet] Union remains a Union and Ukraine is an independent state". (M. Khvylovyj).¹²¹

117) c. f. Kossior's speech, *Pravda* (Dec. 2, 1933), cited by Kostyuk, p. 38 et. al.

118) Manning, p. 114.

119) o.f. John S. Reshetov, Jr. *The Ukrainian Revolution* (Princeton, 1952).

*) The CP of Ukraine consisted of two contending elements: the national element and the Russian element. During the twenties the Ukrainian element had the upper hand (Kostyuk, p. 35).

**) M. Khvylovyj shot himself on May 13, 1933, protesting against Moscow's cultural policy in Ukraine. (Kostyuk, p. 48, etc.).

120) Skrypnyk, *Statti i promovy* (Articles and Speeches), II, pt. 2, 153-159, cited by Sullivant, p. 200.

121) M. Khvylovyj, "Apolohety pysaryzmu (The Apologists of scribbling)", *Kultura i pobut* (Culture and Life), (Visti) no. 13, 1926, 1-8; cited by Kostyuk, p. 41.

It should be clear then that such a Ukrainian stand on national, cultural and economical issues posed a direct threat to Moscow's growing hegemony in Eastern Europe and Russian empire building. Stalin sensed the danger and expressed his apprehension to Kaganovich in a letter written as early as April 26, 1926, where he stated that the Ukrainian stand could "assume the character of a struggle for the alienation of Ukrainian culture and social life from the common Soviet cultural and social life, of a struggle against Moscow and the Russians in general".¹²²

Moscow reacted, and in 1930 the first Ukrainian political trial took place in Kharkiv. 45 individuals were accused of being involved with the "Union for the Liberation of Ukraine". In 1931, as a result of the growing resistance of the peasants (on economic and national grounds) to collectivisation, and faced with the imminent danger of a general peasant revolt (which was already spreading as we have seen) Moscow decided to eliminate all those who could be considered as being connected with the peasantry, and who might organize them and become their leaders. Regardless whether they were loyal or not to the Soviet Ukraine in the preceding years, there began a wholesale and systematic destruction of the Ukrainian *intelligentsia* and the leading cadres of the country. In 1931, the GPU professed to have discovered a Ukrainian organisation called "The National Centre". In connection with this, Hulubovych (former head of the Rada government and member of the Ukrainian delegation to the Brest-Litovsk negotiations) Shershel, Mazurenko, and other politicians were shot. This was followed by thousands of new arrests and executions. In 1933, the GPU again declared that they had discovered a military conspiracy on the part of a "secret military organisation". After a theatrical trial, Kotsiubynskyi (Vice-President of the Ukrainian Council of Peoples' Commissars), Kovnar (Commissar of Agriculture), and scores of other persons who had occupied important posts in the army or administration, were shot. Also, in the same year, Skrypnyk (Head of the Ukrainian State Plan) committed suicide (July 7, 1933).

In 1933 Pavel Postishev* replaced Kaganovich as Stalin's lieutenant in the Ukraine. The speech he delivered at the 12th Congress of the CP of Ukraine is clearly indicative of Moscow's policy:

In Ukraine our leading party members and Comrade Stalin himself are specially hated.

The class enemy has been to a good school in this country [Ukraine] and has learned how to struggle against Soviet rule. In Ukraine have settled many counter-revolutionary parties and organisations. Kharkiv [then the capital of Ukraine] has gradually become the centre of attraction for all sorts of nationalistic

¹²²) Stalin, *Sochinenia (Works)*, VIII, pp. 157-163.

*) "Stalin's associate and friend", *Kalendar Kommunist* (Moscow, 1931), pp. 725-26, cited by Kostiuk, p. 31.

and other counter-revolutionary organisations. They have all been drawn to this centre and they have *spread their webs all over Ukraine*. You remember, Comrades, when twenty Secretaries of Party Regional Committees *dared to declare that it was impossible to fulfil the Harvest Plan?* (It should be kept in mind that at the same time the Ukrainian countryside was starving). [*italics added*].¹²³

The stage was set for the final assault which had begun in 1930 and Postishev in his short reign purged the CP Ukraine of a quarter of its strength.* Thousands were shot and/or deported. A main characteristic of the 1933 purge of the CP members in Ukraine was the fact that the bulk of the purged were of Ukrainian origin and the vacancies created, especially in higher party positions, were filled mainly by non-Ukrainian personnel** who came chiefly from Russia.¹²⁴

However, this was not the end yet. Nothing was left untouched. Every field of cultural, scholarly, or scientific endeavour in Ukraine was also affected by the purge. The following are some of the institutions that were affected: the All Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, the Agriculture Academy, the Research Institute of the Deaf and Dumb, the Research Institute of Constitution and Law, the Shevchenko Research Institute of Literary Scholarship, the Ukrainian State Publishing House, the Book-Union Co-operative Publishing House, the Ukrainian School of Painting, the Ukrainian Film Industry, the Institute of the History of Ukrainian Culture, numerous literary organisation such as "Vaplite" (Free Academy of Proletarian Literature), etc.¹²⁵ At least sixty leading figures of these organisation were either banished to labour camps or shot.¹²⁶ On the literary scene the devastation was more complete. In 1930, 259 Ukrainian writers were publishing their works; in 1938, only 36 of the original number remained. Of the 223 who disappeared, 17 are known to have been shot immediately, 8 committed suicide, 175 were either banished, shot, died in the camps, or were excluded from literary work by other police methods, the fate of 16 is unknown and 7 died of natural causes.¹²⁷ Since the death of Stalin, of those "223" 76 writers were posthumously "rehabilitated". Thus, up to now, the official sources

123) Postishev's speech in *Proletarian* (Kharkiv, 1934), nos. 15-21, cited by Allen, p. 326.

*) The strength of CP of Ukraine rose from 291,950 members and candidates as of July 1, 1930 to 468,793 as of Oct. 1, 1933. *Pravda*, Jan. 24, 1934, p. 4; cited by Dmytryshyn, p. 245). For instance, according to Postishev's testimony before the November 1933 Plenum of CC of CP-Ukraine, between January 1 and October 15 of 1933 out of only 125,000 members and candidates checked, 27,000 were purged. About 21.6% as "class enemies" (Postishev's speech, *Pravda*, Nov. 24, 1933); in the provincial party organisations of Kyiv, Odessa, Vynnytsia, Donetsk, 51,713 (out of 267,907 total) members were purged as reported in 1934 at the 17th Party Congress (Kostiuk, p. 61).

**) As pointed out before, Postishev, for instance, brought with him 10,000 officials from the Russian Republic "to help" to carry out the collectivisation.

124) Dmytryshyn, p. 245.

125) Kostiuk, p. 59, et al.

126) *Ibid.*

127) Y. Lavrinenko, *Rostrilane Vidrodzenia (The fustillated Renaissance; Munchen, 1959)*, p. 12.

admitted that 76 of the 223 were liquidated.¹²⁸ Many of the unaccounted-for very likely met a similar end. In the religious sphere the All-Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church was dissolved and thousands of Church Officials, clergy and lay members were deported or shot. They all were repressed on the grounds that: "they spread nationalistic poison, organized sabotage in industry, transport, *rural economy*, etc. . . strove to upset the economy of Ukraine, *to create famine*, and to prepare a counter-revolutionary uprising". [all italics added].¹²⁹

It is also significant to note that behind this massacre in all walks of Ukrainian life stood L. Kaganovich, P. Postishev, and S. Kossior — all three of them non-Ukrainians who nevertheless occupied key positions on behalf of Moscow in the CP of Ukraine and the government.¹³⁰ Thus even their individual backgrounds were helpful to them in the execution of their tasks in Ukraine.

By 1938 it was all over, and another battle in the Russo-Ukrainian conflict came to a tragic end. It was necessary to dwell extensively on this subject because it is against the background of Ukrainian history of the twenties and thirties that we must study the famine of 1932-34 and the role it played in Moscow's plans and policies toward the non-Russian nations. This cannot be overlooked, because the collectivisation and the famine had coincided exactly with the beginning of the attack on the political, economic and cultural life of Ukraine in particular.¹³¹ The famine became a handy instrument for the solution of the national question in the USSR: "... the famine . . . established the fact that in the economic sphere Moscow could direct Ukrainian life as it would . . .* and it went hand in hand with the attempt to exterminate the old Ukrainian cultural life".¹³²

Moscow's Problem of Procurement of Foreign Exchange can also be examined in relation to the famine. Stalin, in the First Five-Year Plan, started from the assumption that a programme of rapid industrialisation was imperative and that a wholesale socialisation of agriculture could guarantee the grain reserves to carry it forward. As we have seen, the Stalinist plan involved the preliminary application of "emergency measures" in order to expropriate the surplusses

128) *Ukrains'ky Pys'mennyky. Bio-bibliografichnyj Slovnyk (Ukrainian Writers. Bio-bibliographical Dictionary)*, vols. IV + V (Kyiv, 1965), cited by Ihor P. Shankovsky in his introduction to "Vasyl Symonenko and His Background", M. A. Thesis, Univ. of Alberta. Published in *Ukrainian Review*, XIV (1967), no. 1, 20-38.

129) I. Traikin, "Lenininskaiia Partia v borbe na dva fronta po natsionalnomu voprosu" (The Struggle of the Leninist Party on two Fronts on the Question of Nationalities), *Sovetskoe Gosudarstvo (Soviet State)*, no. 1 (1934), p. 73. Cited by Dmytryshyn, p. 153.

130) For Kossior and Postishev consult *Ukrainska Radianska Entsyklopedia*, VII (1962), pp. 275-76; XI (1963), pp. 418-19.

131) For more detailed accounts of the above, consult Allen, *Ukraine, a History* (1940), pp. 324-332; Dmytryshyn, *Moscow and the Ukraine* 57-249; Manning, *Ukraine under the Soviets* (1953); Kostiuk, *Stalinist Rule . . .* (1960); Sullivant, *Soviet Politics . . .* (1962), pp. 65-208.

*) It is interesting to note that this was even stated in the official *History of the CPSU*: "Collectivisation led to the final consolidation of Soviet power in the countryside . . ." (p. 471).

132) Manning, p. 102.

which they were allegedly hoarding. Thus, the main burden of accumulating an industrialisation fund was to be transferred to the countryside. The advocates of this plan professed to believe that *rapid industrialisation could be combined with an increase in consumption as the result of the application of modern technical methods to agriculture*. This proved to be totally unrealistic. Mechanisation and industrialisation could only be introduced slowly, and meanwhile the state faced the problem of *extracting the grain from the collectives and state farms to pay for the industrial base on which the production of tractors and other agricultural implements depended*.¹³³

Strictly from the economical point of view this mistake of the First Five-Year Plan has thrown Soviet economy into a vicious circle from which it has never recovered. Applied on a large scale, without regard to the availability of improved machinery and the attitude of a multi-national peasantry, collectivisation was a failure. Agricultural production decreased, livestock was decimated.*

The Plan foresaw the transformation of the USSR into a "mixed society", one that was both agricultural and industrial. To achieve this, the output of industry had to be increased by 150% and that of agriculture by 50%. Since financially this was to prove far more costly than expected, the planners had to choose: either to slow down or abandon the whole enterprise, or to find another way of financing it. They chose the second alternative. Thus, their real sources of investment were:

- 1) Expropriation in the countryside,
- 2) Decrease of real wages to starvation level,
- 3) Depreciation of currency.

None of this was foreseen by the Plan. In addition to the failure of the financial plan, there are other vital aspects to take into consideration. The Plan foresaw increasing efficiency of labour. In reality, its efficiency decreased, owing to the starvation standard of living, the introduction into the labour class of millions of peasants without any technical training, and the inefficient forced-use of means of production in order to fulfill unrealistic quotas which resulted both in the waste of equipment, human labour, and in low quality products.¹³⁴

Nevertheless, heavy industrialisation advanced,* but other vital aspects of the economy such as agriculture (and light industry) were left in ruins, from which it has not yet totally recovered.** This fact

133) Fainsod, *How Russia . . .*, p. 100-101.

*) To this day, the USSR has to import grain from the West.

134) Timasheff, pp. 113-130.

*) It would be interesting to study what role American (in particular) capital and technical know-how played in Soviet industrialization. A statement in N.Y.T. ("The Five-Year Plan", Jan. 1, 1933, pt. IV, 4) is significant in this respect: "there is a famous tractor factory at Stalingrad, the new Ford plant at Nizhni-Novgorod, the great Dniepr power dam built by American engineers". Beal also reports great number of foreign skilled and semi-skilled workers in Kharkiv, etc.

**) To this very day the USSR periodically has to import grain from the West (Canada, for example) and the supply of consumer goods lags behind the demand.

should not be overlooked when discussing the First Five-Year Plan, and neither should whether it was economically feasible to build up one aspect of the economy at the expense of another with all the material and human losses it brought about. Thus, in the light of the above it is highly questionable whether under such circumstances Moscow's use of food to obtain foreign exchange for allegedly industrial investments at home was practical — notwithstanding the moral aspects of such unprecedented "economic" practices.

However, the exports of food went on with a total disregard for the chaos that was unleashed in all sectors of the economy, for the disruption of human life in particular in the republics and areas directly affected. An examination of Soviet export and import statistics for the calendar years of 1932 and 1933 yield the following figures:

| Value of Soviet Food Exports and Imports (in thousands of roubles) | | | | |
|--|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| Category | 1932 | | 1933 | |
| | Exports | Imports | Exports | Imports |
| Unprocessed total | 222,361 | 142,168 | 155,876 | 66,742 |
| Grain | 180,688 | 55,854 | 139,081 | 2,043 |
| Livestock (for slaughter) | 379 | 57,811 | — | 43,645 |
| Others | 41,294 | 28,503 | 16,795 | 21,054 |
| Processed total | 264,548 | 102,270 | 189,453 | 32,397 |
| Meat, dairy, poultry | 79,243 | 12,889 | 53,489 | 10,738 |
| Fish and fish products | 49,683 | 27,425 | 38,711 | 12,383 |
| Milling products | 39,176 | 28,018 | 36,896 | 2,408 |
| Fruits vegetables | 16,548 | 13,354 | 8,024 | 2,675 |
| Other | 79,898 | 20,584 | 52,333 | 4,193 |
| Total Food | 486,909 | 244,438 | 354,329 | 99,139 |
| TOTAL ALL TRADE | 2,003,730 | 2,453,650 | 1,727,418 | 1,213,568 |

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Accordingly, exports of food accounted for 24.3% and 20% of the value of all Soviet exports in 1932 and 1933, respectively. *Grain* was the *largest* food item, representing 9.0% and 8.1% of the total exports. Imports of food accounted for 10% and 8.2% of the value of all imports in 1932 and 1933. Tea, which has no nutritive value, was one of the largest single items, representing 1.7% of the total imports (tea largely made up the unprocessed "other" category).¹³⁶

On balance, there was a net export of foods in the two critical years. In 1932, exports of food were worth about twice as much as imports. In 1933 (at the height of the famine) they were worth *three and a half times as much*. In 1932, the net value of these exports was 242.5 million roubles, and in 1933, 246.2 million roubles — or about

135) *Vneshniaia torgovlia SSSR za 1918-1940 g* (Foreign Trade of the USSR for 1918-1940; Moscow, 1960), pp. 121, 144-49, 334, 360-63. Cited by Dalrymple, p. 271.

136) *Vneshniaia*, pp. 334, 360-63 (Dalrymple, p. 271).

\$60.6 million in 1932, and \$61.5 million in 1933.¹³⁷ In terms of weight, net grain exports totalled 1.70 million tons in 1932, and 1.84 million tons in 1933,¹³⁸ which represented 6.2% and 7.9% of the total of all trade Soviet exports for 1932 and 1933 respectively. Using the suggested rate of exchange the value of these net grain exports were 31.2 million dollars in 1932 and 34.3 million dollars in 1933 — a total of 65.5 million dollars. These rather low figures clearly suggest that exports of grain in 1932 and 1933 and the "profits" made were not of such "vital" importance that their reduction would have affected in any significant way the Soviet export programme, and the procurement of foreign exchange necessary for industrialisation. Besides, the economic losses suffered by the disruption of agriculture by far exceeded these "gains".

We have already established that according to official sources (see Kossior, note 100) about 2 million tons of grain destined as provisions for the peasants had been requisitioned in 1932/beginning of 1933. Therefore if at least *half* of the grain exported in 1932 and 1933 (3.54 mill. tons) had been retained in the famine areas, millions of lives would have been saved without affecting the "process of industrialisation" and the "success" of the First Five-Year Plan. It should be clear then that the transformation of the USSR into a "mixed society" through industrialisation could not been the main and only motive for forced collectivisation and procurement that produced the famine. However, Moscow sold 7,500,000 human lives for the meagre price of 65.5 million dollars — at the rate of eight dollars and sixty cents (\$8.60) per each Ukrainian, Kuban, and North Caucasian man, woman and child starved to death.

It was, of course, well known by the starving population that food was being exported. Belov recounts that the peasants were told that "... the industrialisation of the country demanded grain and sacrifices from them..."¹³⁹ On Kravchenko's farm — where half of the population had perished from hunger — butter was steadily made for export. The manager of the collective farm store commented: "You see, starvation is one thing and foreign exchange is another".¹⁴⁰

A considerable proportion of the grain and food procured was also placed in reserve in a military "war chest".* Some of this grain was quietly used to establish deposits of grain throughout the Union.¹⁴¹ V. Kravchenko came across what appears to have been such a cache

137) The original figures are in 1950 rubles (*Vneshnina*, p. 7). The conversion to dollars is on basis of the exchange rate for that year of four rubles to a dollar. *Basic data on the Economy of the USSR*, US Dept. of Commerce, World Trade Inform. Service, pt. I, p. 19; referred to by Dalrymple, p. 272.

138) *Vneshnina*, p. 144 *Ibid.*, p. 272; see also S. N. Bakulin and D. Mishustin, *Foreign Trade of the USSR During Twenty Years* (Moscow, 1939), p. 35. Cited by Jasny, p. 86.

139) Belov, p. 12.

140) Kravchenko, pp. 121, 129.

*) In 1932, there was tension between Russia and Japan when the latter occupied Manchuria.

141) Duranty, *N.Y.T.* (Now. 26, 1932), p. 9; see also Duggan, pp. 696, 704; etc. Also *N.Y.T.* (March 7, 1933): "Soviet Sells Food..."

at a local railroad station in the autumn of 1933. Being concealed by officialdom it had remained untouched even though half the population of his village died of famine the previous winter as was mentioned above. He noted that such huge reserves existed "in many other parts of the country, while peasants in those very regions died of hunger".¹⁴² The fact grain was kept *idle* in deposits during the famine should be sufficient to change the mind of the apologists of the Soviet "industrialisation" drive, since that grain was *neither* used for obtaining capital for industrial investment *nor* to feed the starving population. It is clear that Stalin did not release the reserves of grain quite intentionally.

Although the workers were not starving there was a consensus of opinion that the food shortages were severe.¹⁴³ Eugene Lyons records that "... the search for food, the struggle for sheer physical subsistence monopolized men's minds and drained their energies. Men changed their trades, their creeds, their friends in the hope of a little more sunflower seed oil or tea or bread. I saw them risk their careers or put themselves in danger of exile to a concentration camp for an extra ration".¹⁴⁴ Fred Beal, a former Communist, who was the public relations director and contact man for the foreign workers in the Kharkiv tractor plant, records that even "the large colony of privileged foreign workers subsisted on a starvation diet".¹⁴⁵ But more appalling than this was the fact that those foreigners "were in despair at having to work alongside starving, stupefied and dazed native workers".¹⁴⁶ The poor food conditions led to a turnover problem as workers fled from plant to plant in order to secure enough food. On November 17, 1932, W. Duranty reported from Moscow:

"The Soviet Law permitting the dismissal of a worker if he is absent from his job... was made more drastic today by a decree signed by President Kalinin and Premier Molotoff. This decree permits the dismissal of a worker for a single day's absence, with a further penalty of deprivation of his food and goods, his ration book and his living quarters... This is the first of the measures foreshadowed yesterday by the newspaper *Pravda* to counteract the high labour turn-over, which has reached such a point that every worker in heavy industry changes his job once a year — that is, statistics quoted by *Pravda* show that the annual labour turnover is more than 100 per cent".¹⁴⁷

At the beginning of 1933 (the height of the famine in Ukraine) Moscow opened the so-called Torgsin stores (*Torgovla z inostrantsiabi* — trade with foreigners) in the urban areas, where grain was sold at

¹⁴² Kravchenko, p. 129.

¹⁴³ Lyons, pp. 97-99, 177-182; Beal's *Word from Nowhere*; Duranty's articles in *N.Y.T.* in 1932 (Nov. 17), p. 6; (Nov. 13), pt. II, p. 4. Also (Aug. 21, 1933), p. 2.

¹⁴⁴ Lyons, pp. 179-80.

¹⁴⁵ Beal, p. 236.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 239.

¹⁴⁷ *N.Y.T.* (Nov. 17, 1932), p. 6. This should be also indicative of the "successes" of the First Five-Year Plan industrialisation programme.

4 karbovantsi (Ukrainian equivalent for roubles) for 1 kg (2 pounds) of white and 3 karb. for 1 kg of black bread. The peasant received from the government for the obligatory "sale" of grain 90 kopeks for 16 kg of wheat. *These commercial prices had to be paid for in foreign currency or in gold or silver.*¹⁴⁸ This was corroborated even by the Soviet Ukrainian writer Ivan Stadniuk in his novel *People are not Angels*: "World went around the village that a shop with the wonderful name "Torgsin" had opened in Vinnitsa. It was possible to *exchange gold and silver there for bread, flour, barley, and sugar*". [italics added].¹⁴⁹ Thus, the urban population were also made to contribute for raising foreign exchange". On August 20, 1933, Moscow doubled the price of bread and as of August 20, 1933, 1 kg of bread was costing 15 rubles "in a North Caucasian industrial town".¹⁵⁰ This, *in spite of good crop harvested that year (70.1 million tons of grain — see table III).*

It is hard to see how this minimal amount of food directed to feed the urban and industrial population could also be blamed for the famine. If it were just a matter of feeding the industrial forces the food supply would be quite sufficient. Finally, the claim that rural overpopulation may have been the cause of famine does not seem to hold water either. Although Soviet sources indicate that there was at least an excess of 10% of rural population at that time, *overpopulation, however, was proportionally greater outside the area hit by famine.*¹⁵¹ This also points to the fact that famine was intentional, since, as it turned out later, Postishev, who besides his official post, held also that of general inspector of the Ministry of Grain Production for *resettlement*, was given the general task of preparing a plan for an *immigration into Ukraine from various parts of the Soviet Union*. The dislocation of population was worked out in detail. Millions of Russians, Byelorussians, Uzbeks, etc. were to be sent in. Special attention was devoted to the region close to Russia on the left bank of the Dnipro (Dnieper) River, and there was talk at one time of annexing to the Russian Republic the Kharkiv-Donbas industrial region.¹⁵²

Some of those "colonisation" plans seem to have been put into effect because in 1926 there were 2.8 million Russians¹⁵³ on Ukrainian territory and as of 1959 their number increased to 7.1 millions — about 44% of all the Russians living outside RSFSR — constituting the largest national minority in the whole of the Soviet Union.¹⁵⁴

148) Manning, p. 100. See also Lyons, loc. cit.; Souvarine, p. 537; N. Y. T. (March 7, 1933).

149) Ivan Stadniuk, *People Are Not Angels* (1963), p. 133. (First published in the USSR in *Neva*, Dec. 1962).

150) N. Y. T. (Aug. 21, 1933), pp. 1-2.

151) Nancy Baster, "Agrarian Overpopulation in the USSR, 1921-1940", M. A. Thesis, Columbia University (May 1949), pp. 57, 75, 188. Cited by Dalrymple, p. 276.

152) Manning, p. 102.

153) F. Lorimer, Tables 25 and 55, pp. 63, 138.

154) Isupov, A. A. *Natsionalnyj Sostav Naseleniia SSSR (National Composition of the Population in the USSR)*; Moscow, 1964), p. 19.

Recapitulating on the causes of the famine, there is a curious parallel here with the action of the Soviet government in 1921 when it not only withheld news of famine conditions in Ukraine, but levied a food tax and continued to ship out grain from the famine-stricken areas in Ukraine to Russia (Volga region, Samara, Saratov, Uralsk, etc.). Fisher indicated that one cannot escape the feeling that *fear or political expediency, or both*, influenced the official famine policy in those regions [Ukraine].¹⁵⁵

Vernon Aspaturian voiced a similar opinion: "Ukrainians experienced a sharp decline in their percentage of the total population of the USSR (21.2% in 1926 vs 17.8% in 1959). Perceiving in this intractable nationality a rival centre of power to that of Moscow, Stalin pursued a ruthless policy of keeping it in check".¹⁵⁶

The Famine and the Outside World

In the light of what we have seen so far, it is small wonder that Moscow was not interested in providing relief to famine victims. Rather than relax its economic and political pressures, it proceeded as if there was no famine at all. Neither did it lighten the requisition policies nor did it allow outside famine relief — contrary to the practice during a similarly-induced disaster in 1921-23, when the greatest famine programmes in history were carried out as part of the "inauguration" of the "most progressive politico-economical system ever devised".¹⁵⁷

Nevertheless, many aid organizations were established. For example, on July 14, 1933, a "Civic Relief Committee for Starving Soviet Ukraine" was set up in Lviv (Lemberg), Western Ukraine. Similar groups sprung up in Roumania, Czecho-Slovakia, France, Germany, Canada, and the United States. The famine was the main issue at the Congress of European Minorities in Berne, Switzerland, on September 16-19, 1933. And on December 16-17, 1933, an "International Conference for the Relief of the Starving" was held in Vienna.¹⁵⁸ By the summer of 1934 an Inter-Confessional and International Aid Committee for the starvation districts in the Soviet Union had been established in Europe with Dr. Ammende as Secretary.¹⁵⁹ Similarly, an English branch of H. H. Elizabeth Skoropadsky's Ukrainian relief fund came into being.¹⁶⁰ None of these groups were ever allowed by Moscow to carry out their relief plans. However, some of

155) Fisher, p. 264 and pp. 261-226.

156) Allen Kasoff (ed.), *Prospects for Soviet Society* (New York, 1968), ch. on "Non-Russian Nationalities", pp. 178-179. For an extensive analysis of the population changes in Ukraine consult *Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopedia* (1963), I, 200-202, 205-229 (including tables).

157) A complete treatment of this subject can be found in H. H. Fisher's *The Famine in Soviet Russia, 1919-1923* (New York, 1927), 609 pp.

158) *Famine in Ukraine* (New York, United Ukrainian Organisation of the United States, 1934), pp. 11-12. Cited by Dalrymple, p. 268. Dr. Ammende was secretary of the congress, while Cardinal Innitzer called the Vienna Conference (*The Times*, Sept. 18, 1933, pp. 11, 13). See also Manning, pp. 104-105 for Ukrainian relief organizations in Lviv.

159) See fn. 158, and N. Y. T. "Wide Starvation . . ." (July, 1934), p. 13.

160) Florence MacKenzie, "Starvation in the Ukraine", *The Times* (Aug. 18, 1934), p. 6.

the food packages and money that were sent in never reached their destinations. On visiting their home village near Kyiv in the summer of 1933, an American couple — Mr. and Mrs. Stebalo — found that “food and money that had been sent to relatives had never been delivered during the past year”.¹⁶¹

It has been suggested that the attitude of Moscow was not that of great concern for the starving. The Kremlin was less concerned with human life than it was with farm animals. Following their visit, Mr. and Mrs. Stebalo reported that “it is true that cannibalism is punished, but nearly not as severely as say the theft of a horse or a cow from a collective farm”.¹⁶² Ammende also stated that

“Moscow is infinitely more anxious to preserve and even increase the number of draft oxen than to render aid to the suffering population. And, indeed, from the point of view of Russian interests, the real catastrophe is not the mortality from starvation, but the unexpected loss of draft oxen due to collectivisation”.¹⁶³

Thus, as has been already indicated, the famine was man-made. This conclusion was already reached as early as January of 1933. *The New York Times* was perhaps one of the first to make that charge by stating on January 1, 1933, the hunger did not come upon the Soviet Union “as an act of God; it is man-made”.¹⁶⁴ This point did not escape the starving either. As one told Mr. and Mrs. Stebalo in the summer of 1933, “it is they who are killing us. They want us to die. It is an organized famine”.¹⁶⁵ Practically everybody concurred in this charge.¹⁶⁶

In Moscow they preferred to consider the famine as “war” Even Stalin referred to it as “war” in his reply to Sholokhov. And Comrade Hataevich (Secretary of the Dnipropetrovsk's Regional Committee and member of the Central Committee of the Party) stated in Ukraine during the harvest of 1933: “*A ruthless struggle is going on between the peasantry and our regime. It is a struggle to the death. This year was a test of our strength and their endurance. It took a famine to show them who is master here. It has cost millions of lives, but the collective farm system is here to stay. We have won the war*”.¹⁶⁷ [Italics added] Stalin and Hataevich were correct in

161) “Visitors Describe . . .,” N. Y. T. (Aug. 29, 1933), p. 6.

162) Cited by Ammende, *Human Life in Russia*, p. 101 (Dalrymple, 269).

163) Ammende, pp. 152-53, *Ibid.*

164) “The Five Year Plan”, editorial, part IV, p. 4.

165) “Visitors Describe . . .,” N. Y. T., loc. cit.

166) All of the material scanned in writing this paper point in one way or another to this fact. For example, see Chamberlin, *Russia's . . .*, pp. 82, 88; Jasny, p. 551; Manning, pp. 102, 93-107; Lyons, p. 570. Also Belov, Timasheff, Kostiuik, Dmytryshyn, Allen, Solovei, etc. in the pages already cited elsewhere; and articles from *The Times* (London), *Manchester Guardian*, *New York Evening Journal*, *New York Times*, etc.

167) Reported by Kravchenko, op cit., p. 130.

their assessment of the situation, for they knew better than anybody else the motives behind it: it certainly was a war — a war between Moscow and the non-Russian nationalities, Ukraine in particular.

Another peculiar characteristic of the 1932-34 famine still is Moscow's persistent attempts to conceal it. This is in contrast to the situation in 1921-23 when the Bolsheviks at least acknowledged the famine and accepted about 66 million dollars worth of American relief alone!¹⁶⁸

It is not likely that Moscow chose to conceal the famine to avoid being put under pressure to cut off exports if they invited relief, because in the autumn of 1922, for instance, Moscow announced its intention of exporting food and at the same time asked foreign organisation to provide relief for four million people who were on the verge of starvation.¹⁶⁹ And even then, this kind of inhuman policy was not new to the Russian rulers during the Tsarist period because food had also been exported and relief accepted during the famines of 1911, 1906, and 1891.¹⁷⁰ During the famine of 1946-47 similar practices were in effect as revealed by Khrushchev: "The method [Stalin's and Molotov's] was like this: they sold grain abroad, while in some regions people were swollen with hunger and even dying from lack of bread. Yes, comrades, it is a fact that in 1947 in many of the country's *oblasts* people were dying from hunger. But grain was at this time being exported!" *Pravda*, Dec. 10, 1963)¹⁷¹ Consequently, the reason for Moscow's desire to hide the famine lies in the objective to crush the resistance of alien masses and to achieve total economic and political control over all constituent members of the Union. If the Soviets were to acknowledge the famine and accept relief [it could not *acknowledge* the famine and *refuse aid at the same time*], it would mean a concession if not a lost battle in Moscow's "war" on other nationalities (see notes 166 and 167). This, obviously, they could not do, for concessions do not come into play in "a struggle to the death". (See Hataevich note 167).

Another equally important reason was, undoubtedly, the matter of Soviet prestige. The Soviets had been trying to create an impression of an economic and social success of the First Five Year Plan and of its "crucial" importance: "The results of the First Five Year Plan were of tremendous *international significance*. The Soviet Union had demonstrated to the *whole world* the *superiority* of the planned socialist system of economy over the capital system..." [italics added.¹⁷²] Therefore, to admit to the whole world the existence of a famine (and, thereby, open the Iron Curtain for the flow of foreign "bourgeois" relief) would have hardly been the kind of triumphal conclusion of the First Five-Year Plan that the leaders in the Kremlin

168) Fisher, pp. 51-52, 553 (Table 1).

169) *Ibid.*, p. 308.

170) *Ibid.*, pp. 476-480.

171) Conquest, p. 43.

172) *History of CP of Soviet Union*, p. 469 (see pp. 459-471).

would have wanted.¹⁷³ It is true, however, that the results of the First Five-Year Plan were of "tremendous international significance" for they showed what devastating results unlimited power placed in the hands of a ruthless clique could produce. But more than prestige was at stake. The Soviets, in this period, were working for: a) diplomatic recognition by the United States and other countries, b) admission into the League of Nations, c) "non-aggression" pacts with several European nations, and d) improvement of trade relations.¹⁷⁴ If the story of the famine were made known, Moscow's chances for success on the foreign relations' front would have been diminished — because the famine was man-made, and because nothing was done on the part of the Soviets to alleviate it.

In the case of the American recognition of the USSR, Ukrainian groups in the United States did their best to focus attention to the famine. A delegation was even sent to President Roosevelt to ask for an investigation of conditions in Ukraine before granting recognition.¹⁷⁵ Public pronouncements were made and demonstrations held, which were usually attacked by the American Communists.¹⁷⁶

In the same period, a number of relief organizations, government and church officials tried to raise the curtain of silence that concealed the famine, unfortunately without much success. While these frustrated actions were annoying to Moscow, they proved to be not much of a hindrance to its objectives, for on November 16, 1933, the U.S. gave diplomatic recognition to the USSR; on September 18, 1934, the Soviet Union was admitted into the League of Nations, and signed a series of treaties with various countries.¹⁷⁷ Had the facts about the famine been better known to the outside world, Soviet diplomatic successes may not have come as readily as they did. It should also be pointed out that at that time Nazism came to power, and this diverted world attention from the famine.

In order to conceal the famine, Moscow's first step was intensify its control over the representatives of the foreign press in the Soviet Union. This was not difficult because the entire foreign press corps was located in Moscow, and the correspondents could stay only so long as the Soviet authorities thought fit. Moreover, their dispatches were *subject to official clearance*. Thus, even though correspondents had a good idea of what was going on outside Moscow, they were reluctant to report anything that would displease the authorities and jeopardise their stay in the Soviet Union.¹⁷⁸ The following is an

173) See also Lyons, p. 541.

174) See Vernadsky, pp. 371-74, and Dalrymple, p. 278.

175) "Litvinoff Stays Hour in Warsaw", N. Y. T. (Oct. 28, 1933), p. 16.

176) See the following reports in N. Y. T., 1933: "Ukrainian societies denounce Soviets", (Nov. 12), pt. II, p. 3; "5 hurt as 500 Reds Fight Parade Here" (Nov. 19), pp. 1, 31; "100 Hurt in Communist-Ukrainian Riot as Reds Attack Paraders in Chicago" (Dec. 18), p. 1.

177) See Vernadsky, pp. 371-374.

178) Dalrymple, p. 279. See also Lyons, ch. XV, pp. 572-580 ("The Press Corps Conceals the Famine"). The same was corroborated by Aaron Einfrank, former *Toronto Telegram* correspondent in Moscow, who was expelled at the end of his term (1969). He also stated that some Western correspondents were "bought" by the Soviet authorities either to report favourably or avoid certain issues (public lecture given at U of T on Dec. 19, 1969).

example of the euphemisms used to describe the Ukrainian holocaust: "There is no actual starvation or death from starvation but there is wide-spread mortality from diseases due to malnutrition".¹⁷⁹

In order to disclose fully the thory behind this journalistic understatement we shall now cite at length Eugene Lyons, a veteran Moscow correspondent of the United Press:

"Duranty's statement '... characterises sufficiently the whole shabby episode of our failure to report honestly the gruesome famine of 1932-34...' We were prohibited to make personal investigation. The episode, indeed, reflects little glory on world journalism as a whole. *Not a single American newspaper or press agency* protested publicly against the astonishing and almost unprecent *confinement of its correspondents in the Soviet capital* or troubled to probe for the cause of this extraordinary measure ...

The dividing line between "heavy loss of life through food shortage" and famine is rather tenuous. Such verbal finessing made little difference to the millions of dead or dying, to the refugees who knocked at doors begging bread, to the lines of ragged peasants stretching from *Torgsin* doors in the famine area waiting to exchange their wedding rings and silver trinkets for bread.

Maurice Hindus, though among the most industrious apologists for Stalin, was kept waiting nearly a month for a visa during the famine and finally was admitted on condition that he should not go outside Moscow.

Forced by competitive journalism to jockey for the inside track with officials, it would have been professional suicide *to make an issue of the famine* at this particular time. We were summoned to the Press Department one by one and instructed not to venture out of Moscow without submitting a detailed itinerary and having it officially sanctioned [someone by the name of Umansky of the Soviet Press Department was the head censor of the foreign press corps.]

The same department which daily issued denials of the famine now acted to prevent the U.S. from seeing that famine. Our brief cables about all this, in some obscure corner of the paper. The world press *accepted* with complete equanimity the virtual expulsion of all its representatives from all the Soviet Union except Moscow. It agreed without protest to a partnership in this macabre hoax.

Belatedly the world had awakened to the famine situation. We were able to write honestly that "to speak of famine *now* is ridiculous". We did not always bother to add that we had failed

179) W. Duranty, "Russians Hungry but not Starving", N. Y. T. (March 30, 1933), p. 14.

to speak of it or at best mumbled incomprehensibly *then*, when it was not ridiculous".¹⁸⁰

Despite this situation some journalists like Gareth Jones (at one time secretary to Lloyd George) and Malcolm Muggeridge (of the *Fortnightly Review*), who, somehow, managed secretly to get into the famine area¹⁸¹ reported extensively on the matter. However, steps were immediately taken to discredit them by their fellow correspondents who remained in Moscow, as was... the case with G. Jones when he returned to the West. Walter Duranty of the *New York Times* immediately cabled a denial of the famine dedicating his whole report to refuting Jones with cynical statements such as:

"Mr. Jones is a man of keen and active mind, and he has taken trouble to learn Russian, which he speaks with considerable fluency, but the writer thought Mr. Jones' judgement was somewhat hasty... It appeared that he made a forty-mile walk through villages in the neighbourhood of Kharkov and found the conditions sad..."

And he concludes his "refutation" by stating that "there is no actual death from starvation, but there is wide-spread mortality from diseases due to malnutrition".¹⁸²

However, G. Jones replied to Duranty describing in detail where he obtained his information about the famine. Among other things he stated:

"My first evidence was gathered from foreign observers. Since Mr. Duranty introduces consuls into the discussion, a thing I am loath to do, for they are official representatives of their countries and should not be quoted, may I say that I discussed the famine situation with between twenty and thirty consuls and diplomatic representatives of various nations and that their evidence supported my point of view. But *they are not allowed to express their views in the press, and therefore remain silent* [*italics added*]."¹⁸³

As the 1933 harvest was gathered, the famine areas were gradually opened to foreign correspondents and: "the first to be given permission to travel into the forbidden zones were the technically 'friendly' reporters, whose dispatches might be counted upon to take the sting out of anything subsequent travellers might report. Duranty, for instance, was given a two weeks advantage over most of us".¹⁸⁴ The Soviet faith in Duranty paid off, for in his articles he apologized on behalf of Moscow by writing that although "conditions had been bad in many sections prior to the harvest and that most of the pessimistic reports emanated from quarters that are naturally the most hostile to the Soviet Union... the present crop is so abundant that whatever

180) Lyons, pp. 578.

181) *Ibid.*, p. 575.

182) Duranty, "Russians Hungry . . .," *N. Y. T.* (March 31, 1933), pp. 13-14.

183) G. Jones, "Mr. Jones Replies" (letter), *N. Y. T.* (May 13, 1933), pp. 11-12.

184) Lyons, p. 579.

the shortcomings the national food supply is fully assured for the coming year".¹⁸⁵

Yet, there seems to have been "another" Duranty who in private would give "his fresh impressions [of the famine] in brutally frank terms...", and "his estimate of the dead from the famine was the most startling I had yet heard from anyone". Duranty estimated that the mortality rate in Ukraine and North Caucasus had more than trebled. "But Walter, you don't mean that literally?" Mrs. O'Hare McCormick (roving correspondent for the *New York Times*) exclaimed. "Hell, I don't... I am being conservative", he replied.¹⁸⁶

Before the ban to travel into the famine-stricken Ukraine and North Caucasus was somewhat eased, steps were taken to conceal the physical vestiges of famine. This meant getting the starving out of the cities, factories and railroads. During the first stages of the famine a great number of already weakened peasants flocked to the cities in the hope of finding food, and died there massively. Since the presence of dead and dying people on the streets was embarrassing to the regime they were exiled from the urban districts, turned back to their villages, or deported to labour camps.¹⁸⁷

To enforce these measures a passport system was introduced in December 1932 for residents of the cities, which meant that the peasants and city dwellers were not permitted to leave their home areas. Nobody could move or stay 24 hours away from home without a visa from the G.P.U. militia, and this incriminating document indicated the social origin of the bearer, his family attachments, his occupation and movements. During the three months that "passportisation" was being introduced, Stalin vetoed *marriages, divorces, adoptions, and changes of address* in order to render fraud impossible.¹⁸⁸

Thus, an extensive "clean-up" campaign in the famine areas accessible to foreigners was put into effect, as F. Beal reported: "The Soviet authorities... would round up the starving people in the streets, collect them in great herds, and turn them over to the G. P. U. It was a weekly occurrence. Sometimes a raid would be improvised a few hours before the arrival of a foreign delegation".¹⁸⁹ Small wonder, then, that visitors like Mr. Herriot saw only what he was shown without knowing what was going on a few miles away.¹⁹⁰

There were, however, other groups in the countryside who could

185) Duranty, "Famine Report Scorned", (Aug. 21, 1933), pp. 1-2; Also his December 1933 articles: (14th); (18th), p. 8; (19), p. 15.

186) Lyons, pp. 579-80.

187) Manning, pp. 90-100; Allen, p. 329 Chamberlin, *Russia's*, pp. 85-6.

188) Souvarine, p. 527; Fainsod, *How Russia...*, p. 365; see also Duggan, "Russia after Eight Years", *Harper's Monthly Magazine*, CLIX (1934), pt. II, p. 696; "Soviet Sells Food...", *N. Y. T.* (7/3/33).

189) Beal, p. 244; also pp. 257-59; Lyons, p. 574.

190) Lyons, pp. 576-77; Chamberlin, "Soviet Taboos", p. 433.

not be misled. These were the foreigners working in foreign firms. One source of famine information was, for instance, the Drusag Agricultural Concession in North Caucasus. It was subsequently closed in August 1933.¹⁹¹

There is no need to stress that Soviet citizens — a potential source of information — are not allowed to leave the USSR freely. And those who have left one way or another have to keep in mind their relatives left behind.

Finally, to make the concealment complete, Moscow has not published any vital statistics for the famine-stricken republics during this period,¹⁹² and physicians were forbidden to enter "hunger" in the records of illness and death. They were ordered to give as the cause of death "BBO" (absence of white corpuscles). Sometimes it was recorded as "childish" or "old age" weakness, "paralysis of the heart", and "diarrhoea" (all symptoms, however, of death by starvation).¹⁹³ This further complicates matters as to the breakdown in establishing the cause of death.

Thus, the most rigorous censorship in all of Soviet Russia's history had been successful, for it had concealed the catastrophe until it had ended, thereby bringing confusion, doubt, and contradiction into the whole subject.¹⁹⁴ "The British and American literature of apologetics which in later years 'blamed' the peasants for the famine [like Duranty did as early as 1932 in his article 'Food Shortages Laid to Peasants', *N. Y. T.*, Nov. 26, 1932, p. 9] that killed millions of them was either cynical or stupid".¹⁹⁵

Nevertheless, "years after the event the question of *whether there had been a famine at all* was still being disputed in the outside world". [Italics added].¹⁹⁶ And sometimes even today! There should not be any doubt that Moscow's effective killing of famine news was one of the missions most successfully accomplished by the Soviet Press Department and its fifth columns abroad.

Thirty years after the famine the young generation of Ukrainian writers in the Soviet Union could not remain indifferent and began to probe the past. Thus, on October 16, 1962, the brilliant young poet Wasył Symonenko* noted in his diary:

"Nothing could be more horrible than unlimited power in the hands of a limited man.

The chairman of the collective farm in Yaremenko's village was screaming in helplessness and fury during the meeting: *I'll arrange another 1933 for you!* Naturally, nobody even thought

191) "German Concession in Russia is Liquidating", *N. Y. T.* (Aug. 28, 1933) p. 2.

192) Lyons, p. 579; Jasny, p. 553.

193) Manning, p. 101 (see also terminology used for famine in newspaper reports: "malnutrition, exhaustion, disease, etc.").

194) Lyons, p. 577.

195) *Ibid.*, p. 491.

196) Lyons, p. 577-78.

*) He died in 1963, at the age of 28, of causes not fully established. Some of his works and his diary reached the West through unofficial channels.

about taking this scoundrel out by the scruff of his neck. And yet this fool with one idiotic phrase could destroy the achievements made by dozens of sensible people. If our *leaders* had more brains than they really do, such loudmouths would be admiring the sky from behind iron bars". [Italics added].¹⁹⁷

As already noted, two months later, in December 1962, Stadniuk's courageous novel *People Are Not Angels* was published in the USSR. The work deals not only with Ukrainian village life during the collectivisation period, but makes *no secret of the famine* and of its causes. In fact, its impact on life is portrayed quite frankly:

"Hunger, a threatening dark word, which chills the heart. He who has not experienced hunger cannot imagine what human sufferings it causes. There is nothing more terrible for a man, the head of family, than the consciousness of his complete helplessness before the sad, imploring eyes of his wife, who does not know how to feed her children. There is nothing more terrible for a mother than the sight of her emaciated, dull, hungry children who have forgotten how to laugh.

If it were for a week or a month... But for many months in the majority of Kokhanovka households have had been nothing to put on the table. *The grain bins were swept out, the barns were emptied, there was not a hen left in the yards. Even the beetroot seed had been eaten.*

All were awaiting the spring as not one of them had waited for anything before. They waited for the frost to loosen the ground so that it might be possible to dig up the gardens, where in the autumn they had gathered the potatoes. Perhaps a potato had been left in the ground. Frozen during the winter, it would still retain in its hardened skin just a fragment of starch. They waited for the bark to quicken on the lime trees and for the buds to swell. Young nettles, goosefoot, sorrel, maize would spring up. They hoped that nature would come to man's aid with something.

But the spring suddenly withdrew. It was the men who died first from hunger. Then the children, then the women. But before departing from life, not infrequently people lost their reason and ceased to be people". [Italics added].¹⁹⁸

In other sections of the novel he writes:

"Misfortune is growing in the family of your people. Your ruler has seen the ray of the sun, and imagines that *the sun lives already in his soul*. When there is a *false sun*, there is false warmth. *The mania of infallibility is warming the heart of*

197) Symonenko, *The Shore of Expectations* (in Ukrainian). p. 175. English version quoted from Shankovsky, "W. Symonenko and...", M. A. Thesis, pt. II, *Ukrainian Review*, XIV (1967), no. 2, 38.

198) I. F. Stadniuk, *People Are Not Angels* (London, 1963), pp. 132-33.

your ruler, fed by the flattery of some and the silence of others, imposed by the fear of death. Incapable of comprehending all the complexity of the people, gone astray, inflexible as death he is sowing grief in your land . . .¹⁹⁹

... He had run away in order to find out the truth. He believed that his wrathful voice would reach Moscow, would come to the ears of Stalin. He must find out about the terrible disregard of law and the arbitrary acts which are being committed".²⁰⁰

The above quoted passages from Symonenko and Stadniuk make unmistakably reference to the immediate causes of the famine. Stadniuk's book is a powerful moral condemnation of a political system that made the famine possible.

In this paper we have actually barely scratched the surface of what involves in the tragedy. Probably thousands of printed pages of references, comments, reports, articles, accounts, eye-witness testimonies, documents, photographs, etc. lie in dusty archives throughout the world. There are also thousands of people who lived through the ordeal and now reside in the West ready to recount their experiences to those who will listen.

All of this scattered material waiting to be collected in a capital work would remind history of man's cruelty to man; of the contempt of one nation for another.

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¹⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 177.

²⁰⁰ Stadniuk, p. 262. [Stadniuk clearly lashed out at Stalin and Co. who during his rule was precisely praised as the *yasne sointse* — the "bright sun" which is the metaphor he used in the cited passage.

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Documents and News from Ukraine

UKRAINIAN POLITICAL PRISONERS WANT TO EMIGRATE TO USA

The letter reproduced below was written by a prominent Ukrainian political prisoner. It is addressed to the former Ukrainian Prime Minister, Yaroslav Stetsko, who headed the Ukrainian nationalist government after Ukraine's declaration of independence in June, 1941.

The letter is written on behalf of several Ukrainian political prisoners who want Mr Stetsko's help in emigrating to the USA.

The author's main reason for wishing to leave his homeland is that even after their release from prisons and labour camps political prisoners are still persecuted. They are prevented from getting work in their own professions and are relegated to manual jobs.

The author says, "To condemn to inactivity, to kill talent, is a more subtle, but no less cruel method of destroying that treasure which is the Ukrainian culture".

Even though the original is signed, we have kept the author's identity secret to prevent KGB retaliation. Also parts of the letter which may have identified the author have been omitted or changed but the meaning or sense of the letter have in no way been altered.

"To His Excellency,
Prime Minister of Ukraine,
Mr Yaroslav Stetsko

Esteemed Mr Prime Minister:

The aim of this letter is to consider a question which has two aspects; one of a public and the other of a personal nature.

During the last several years a significant number of people, particularly Jews and Russians, have been allowed to leave the USSR. The majority of them come chiefly from the ranks of the open opposition, which, regardless of increasing repression by the regime, has grown intensely in the last two decades. Thus the world's public has received eyewitness reports from them about the existence of

totalitarianism in general, its practices, the situation of an individual and the enslavement of whole nations.

The world is especially well informed about the circumstances of Jews in the USSR and their oppression and this has helped to mobilise the world community, mass media and the governments of many countries against such violence. However, there have been almost no Ukrainians among those emigrating.

There is however, a positive side to this, inasmuch as this numerically small (percentage-wise), but highly nationally conscious part of the population remains in Ukraine.

Nevertheless, in my opinion, an active involvement of this segment of Ukrainians in the national liberation process, culture and science would bring Ukraine incomparably greater benefit were they in the Western countries and in our diaspora. It is a matter of saving the people who are already unable to work in Ukraine. There are many who want to leave but find it impossible to do so.

Realising the complexity of the situation (and in order to establish a precedent) Vyacheslav Chornivil, Valentyn Moroz and Ivan Hel have asked the President of the United States to grant them American citizenship. Being political prisoners, this may complicate the situation. But there are thousands of people who are "free" but have been ruthlessly repressed by the KGB for many years. Consequently they find themselves in a hopeless situation. This is the second and personal aspect of the problem.

Talented literateurs artists and scientists suffer personal tragedies or are unable to work creatively. To condemn to inactivity, to kill talent, is a more subtle, but no less cruel method of destroying that treasure which is the Ukrainian culture.

For instance: Opanas Zalyvakha, an artist of European stature, has not been allowed even one exhibition of his work. Talented poets like Lina Kostenko and Ihor Kalynets have not published a single collection of poetry in the past ten years. Ivan Svitlychny, a renowned literary critic, was unemployed for approximately ten years prior to his arrest and could not publish a single article. Mykhaylo Horyn, a talented psychologist, is employed as a stoker and has not had any work published in 12 years.

Yevhen Sverstiuk, a well-known Ukrainian literary critic and psychologist, was persecuted even before his arrest by being dismissed from his job and since then by not having anything published. Vasyl Stus, one of our best poets, has not even had one collection published.

The following scholars have been dismissed from institutions of learning: R. Krypiakevych, M. Braichevsky, Y. Leshkevych, as well as other literati whose works have never been published such as V. Ivanysenko, B. Horyn, M. Kosiv, V. Badzio, R. Kohadsky.

The talented writer R. Kudlyk has been silenced in common with scores of others who have refused to compose party odes and panygerics and because of this their works do not appear on the pages

of newspapers and periodicals. The list of such people can be complemented with hundreds of names.

Each of us in his own way contributes to the process of creating the Ukrainian culture and the rebirth of the nation — a new wave of upheaval for our freedom. But who are these people? A short biographical sketch of the author of this letter may be helpful in this context.

I was born into a family to whom the idea of Ukraine and God were equally sacred. My father became, at the age of 17, a volunteer in the Ukrainian Galician Army and took part in the 1918-1920 war of independence.

Then came the "Prasvita (enlightenment) Society" and UVO, the Ukrainian Military Organisation.

In 1950 he was arrested and sentenced for active participation in the Ukrainian underground.

My mother's sisters were nuns of the Basilian Order. All of this was entered into the appropriate NKVD files and from the first day of Soviet Russian occupation it was used to repress every member of our family.

As a 15 year old I was expelled from school for refusing to join the Komsomol. When I wanted to become a student they cynically stated that "there is no room in Soviet universities for Banderite children".

Thanks to the efforts of Ukrainian patriots I was able to attend evening lectures at the Faculty of History but the KGB kept me under surveillance. In 1958 persecution and threats of making me rot in prison began. In 1965 I was arrested for the first time. In 1972 I was arrested a second time, for my participation in the Ukrainian national revival, and sentenced to 15 years, imprisonment. Presently I am in one of the 'strict regime camps', which in plain language means a hard labour prison.

From these facts it can be seen that under the conditions of absolute tyranny and arbitrariness of the KGB a Ukrainian cannot be useful to Ukraine whilst he is in his own country. This is precisely why I turn to you, Mr Prime Minister, with the request that you strengthen with your authoritative recommendation, as well as the influence of the organised Ukrainian diaspora, the request to the President of the United States to grant the above-mentioned the citizenship of that country.

Once again, I want to emphasise it is not a matter of just individual cases. The above cited biographical facts represent only a small part of the picture.

In Ukraine there live thousands of people with similar histories whose creative potential is doomed to extinction.

Repression for beliefs and for the creation of spiritual values is varied: concentration camps, prohibition to write and paint, confiscation of works already completed etc. The methods are varied. But the objective is always the same — to destroy the spirit of Ukraine".

MURDER BY MEDICINE



*Oksana MESHKO with her son
Oleksander SERHIYENKO (1957)*

For a long time Soviet medicine has shown itself equally adept at helping the KGB torture political prisoners as at healing.

The following letter was written to President Brezhnev by the wife and mother of a political prisoner, Oleksander Serhiyenko, who suffers from tuberculosis.

Doctors at the labour camp where he is serving his sentence have consistently denied him the treatment he requires and in some instances have even deliberately aggravated his illness.

As the letter to Brezhnev points out, "It is not much of a service to kill someone, but not to treat someone is to kill them".

To the President of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR,
L. I. Brezhnev.

From: O. Meshko, mother,
and Z. Vivchar, wife.
252086, Kyiv-86,
Verbolozna St. 16.

In defence of political prisoner Oleksander Serhiyenko.

COMPLAINT

Oleksander Serhiyenko was sentenced in 1972 on political grounds without any evidence. His present conditions are inhuman. Without medicines and medical treatment and under the strain of unjustified and systematic punishments he is dying in Perm camp No. 36. Even before O. Serhiyenko was arrested he was suffering from a severe illness diagnosed as bilateral disseminated pulmonary tuberculosis. The relevant medical certificates were forwarded to camp No. 36 and the Vladimir prison.

But the medical authorities of the punishment institutions do not take into consideration the regulations concerning prisoners suffering from tuberculosis — as laid down by the Corrective Labour Code of the USSR — although O. Serhiyenko had been excused from serving in the Soviet Army due to his illness.

The medical authorities at the camp and prison, and the medical authorities of the MVD, meted out the following administrative punishments:

1. They removed Oleksander Serhiyenko's name from the HDU-Z dispensary register of those suffering from tuberculosis in 1975 and again in 1977.

2. He was deprived of prophylactic treatment in the prison and camp.

3. His treatment for chronic tuberculosis was ended since he was considered to be "cured".

4. While he was ill and had a high temperature, O. Serhiyenko was sent from the camp hospital to the camp isolation cell in November 1976, and then in March 1977, he was sent to the prison isolation cell.

It appears that the torturer and the doctor are one and the same person — here are a few facts:

1. In 1973, O. Serhiyenko, ill with tuberculosis, was sentenced not to be detained in prison on the recommendation of the camp chief, but instead was thrust into "disciplinary regime" for three years. (To this day, the heart-breaking practice of holding camp trials without witnesses, legal defence or right of appeal, is retained). The old doctor who was in charge of the hospital — Petrov — did not even dispute the fact that Serhiyenko, ill with tuberculosis, was given the maximum sentence.

2. In 1975, the medical commission of the Vladimir prison, where O. Serhiyenko was transferred, sent him to the tuberculosis treatment centre HDU-Z. But before long, he was discharged as having been "cured" as this was a necessary tactic needed by the prison administration and the KGB for subsequent punishments. This illegal tactic was not even questioned by the administrator of the hospital, Yelena Butova.

3. In March 1977, O. Serhiyenko, registered as having tuberculosis, was given an injection of tuberculin which resulted in a severe flaring of tuberculosis. (The doctors in the hospital observed a "brisk" reaction to the Mantoux test, which resulted in burning which left scars on his arms). These doctors are guilty of profaning the treatment of tuberculosis; without any pricking of conscience, they obeyed the orders of the administration to discharge an ill person to the isolation cell. The punishment was altered due to "information" they received — the suffering man had been able to relate to friends in camp no. 35 the new treatment "methods".

Our many attempts to complain about the arbitrariness of the medical administration in the camps and prisons, to the Medical Administration of the MVD in the USSR, have been in vain. The illegality was supported and dealt out as in the proverb "birds of a feather . . ." — but to the detriment of the high principles of their humane profession: to heal and save. (We appealed to the following doctors: Popov, Bobilev, Stepanenko, Savinin, Kalenchyn, Ruzhytsky and Starikov).

In order to ease the condition of the seriously ill O. Serhiyenko and to have him transferred to the regional hospital, we appealed to the Central Committee of the CPSU on the 23rd August 1977 and on the 18th September 1977.

Both these letters were re-addressed to the institution about which we were complaining and where we had already written three times: on the 11th August 1977, on 11th September 1977 and on the 11th October 1977. We waited for a long time for the replies of the medical institute administration of the BVD of the USSR, which arrived on the 28th September 1977, (no. II/5293) and on the 21st October 1977 (no. II/5675), where it was declared, without foundation and maliciously, that the person who deals with complaints — the doctor curator Ruzhytsky — stated that the ill Oleksander Serhiyenko is "... practically well...". This conclusion was drawn irresponsibly and illegally.

Nobody diagnosed Oleksander Serhiyenko. At present he is in a workers' colony doing forced labour, without any medical or clinical care or treatment. Even after the treatment he received in March in the camp hospital VS-389, he had been seriously ill since June of the previous year. Now, apart from his major illness, his spleen and liver have become enlarged, he has stomach pains, his heart troubles him; he has a high temperature.

In reprisal for his hunger strike protest on the 8th January 1977, he had his special-diet foods, which had been ordered by the hospital, denied him.

The natural instinct for survival is not condemned by anyone except by doctors of medical institutions when this involves political prisoners. It is not much of a service to kill someone — but *not* to treat someone, is to kill them.

Oleksander Serhiyenko is not being treated. The practice of uncontrolled and one-sided reviews of complaints resulted in tragic consequences.

We ask you to authoritatively investigate this case — to demand that Oleksander Serhiyenko is transferred to the regional hospital for treatment. We request that his sentence be ended on the basis of his health. If the laws of the USSR were respected, then he would have been released long ago.

O. Meshko — mother
Z. Vivchar — wife

N.B. To our request to send a food parcel to O. Serhiyenko a month before the prescribed time to VS-389, we received a telegram stating that "On the basis of the decision of the medical commission, O. Serhiyenko is not allowed to receive food parcels. NR 575 Polyakov, 12. 11. 77".

VALERIY MARCHENKO APPEALS TO HIS GRANDFATHER

The text of Valeriy Marchenko's letter of appeal to his grandfather, Professor Mychaylo Marchenko, is printed in full below. V. Marchenko was born in 1948, arrested in 1973 and sentenced to 5 years' imprisonment to be served in camps and to 3 years' exile. His letter is currently circulating in samvydav.

"Dear Grandfather!

This is related in our family as if it were a folktale.

You, as one of the first organisers of the state farm system, decided to build a new life and started in your own home. You wanted to encourage passive peasants by using yourself as an example. But when you went into the stables to take our horses to the state farm, my great-grandfather attacked you with a pitch-fork. Yet another tragedy would have taken place in the village, but for the "comrades" who were with you and who defended you and appeased your father. Nevertheless our family only joined the state farm later.

Despite the individualistic nature of farm workers, the state farm system became the main agricultural method in Ukraine within a few years. But at what price?

In 1933 you went to study at the 'red' institute. You stayed in Kharkiv, studied "Karly-Marly", observed how the Party preserved its order.

You and your wife and children were saved from starvation by your mother — my great grandmother. The wise old woman saved our cow from state confiscation, and when all the animals and bread were taken away from the other state farm workers, she fed her family on milk.

Nine million people died from starvation — this figure was given at the Plenum of the CC CP(b)U, the Plenum after which Skrypnyk committed suicide. He opened Lenin's work at the section concerning committed suicide. He opened Lenin's work at the section concerning the nationalities question and shot himself through the head. Through this action he summarised the building of socialism in Ukraine.

But you became a historian at that same time . . . We can be proud of my grandfather's better historical works. Your PhD dissertation "Russia's and Poland's Struggle for Ukraine" taught many people to love their fatherland. I, for example, am one of those. However, there is one "but": how is one's individuality to be retained? The educated and society . . . This is the question of the responsibility of the educated man for what he has created. Who is the beneficiary of your writings? It seems that this is a question which merits some contemplation.

In Ukraine, one of the most democratic countries in the world, churches were destroyed. This was justified by anti-religious groups as being necessary for the liquidation of bourgeois culture. It is left in the hands of historians to decide whether these structures have any cultural value. And how few memorials of our past you have saved! Yet, I know how those acts designed to destroy our memorials were signed. But does this awareness make things easier?

Who will give Kyiv its gold-roofed Mykhaylivsk Cathedral back? How will Ukraine fill the vacuum created in its science, literature, and art as a result of the destructive cultural revolution?

Through some miracle you were saved in 1937. The secretary of the Party organisation at the History Institute attacked your work, claiming that concepts of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism were "creeping" into them. But it so happened that the secretary was arrested the night after making these accusations, when his criticisms were defined as being an ideopolical diversion — calumny against an honest Soviet worker.

What a beautiful reality! Your family did not die from starvation. You were not shot — what more can be desired? Only to live and to praise God and to sip water slowly!

I have never been able to understand this poisonous tradition.

How can one build a nation and destroy the builders — give life and then eat one's own children? The forests were hewn, but splinters flew from them. Dostoyevsky was once troubled by the question of whether human happiness could be built on the death of even one innocently murdered child. And he rejected this paradise.

But the Communists' path to the bright future leads through class war. The most horrific truth — loss of the soul — has been sanctified and proclaimed.

No, do not murder people — people should be loved! Professor — it is not my place to teach you!

I know that doubts began to assail you a long while before your arrest (when you saw the cells prepared for those who were "anti").

Halychyna — that Ukrainian Piedmont — has awoken the consciousness of many Ukrainians throughout the last 50 years. Without a doubt the liberalism of the present Professor Mykhaylo Marchenko of the Kyiv National University was formed to a great extent during his stay in Western Ukraine. His friendship with the world renowned F. Koles, and V. Shurat (to this day I am still unable to say these dear names without a feeling of respect) and mainly the access to anti-Marxist literature, sowed grains of doubt about the regime, which you had served without question — blindly — until that time. And it was not by accident that after you came home, you shared your doubts with your brother Stepan and sang the Ukrainian national anthem over a drink.

Curse our steppe phlegmatism! We think about what we should do before and after, and then wait — and so we lose, and die.

You once said that in building the new society you did not even dream that it could turn into such a nightmare. So despite good intentions, a path to hell is laid down. Obviously many objections will be found to this assertion. One old Communist once said that it is certainly easy to be wise if one considered everything from the perspective of time; then I asked him if he understood then that everything around him was evil? He replied that he did.

You could not have failed to see the injustices that were perpetrated then. But you, the Soviet intelligentsia, were silent, hoping, obviously, that the evil would pass, and hid behind the banal "I'm all right", although everything was becoming worse. Caution turned into fear and settled into your souls for eternity. And this animal state has been accepted as being the cultural development of individuality.

Your arrest, which came after the CC (Central Committee) sent a telegram stating: "Look into Marchenko" — cut across everything. In June 1941 the gates of 33 Korolenko Street opened for the first Soviet rector of Lviv University.

I don't want to say much about those times. I always associate your sentence in the Siberian Gulag with the words which our neighbour

said to my mother: "We always pissed in the mouths of people like your father".

It is not by accident that I am using details from our family life: thus it is more clear what the Soviet government has presented us with.

I remember how your speech at the general meeting of the pedagogical institute in 1956 ended. Stalin's personality cult had just been denounced and the liquidation of the anomalies of life in this undemocratic country had been loudly proclaimed. Your description about Soviet concentration camps was accepted as a matter of fact. But criticism from below? — from us? — don't be so naïve! Summons were immediately issued from the regional and town Party organisations, where 'lost sheep' explained that it was forbidden to describe our reality in such stark colours because it could mean the end of Party membership, and leaving to lead a "sweet" life in the Polar regions. And you, knowing our most democratic court system, came to the conclusion that silence is golden. And what is more degrading and offensive for the intelligentsia than not to be of any use to their nation?

At the time when Asia, Africa, and Latin America freed themselves from the bonds of colonialism, when the national ideal captured the world, Ukrainians contented themselves with an abominable chewing-over of the idea that it is not possible to secede, because, it seems, either the Germans, or the Americans, or God knows who else will attack us. While in Europe 34 independent nations, who do not know the meaning of barbed-wire boundaries, live in harmony! We are a nation of primitives!

And you taught students from foreign countries, appeasing yourself that a Caesar deserves a Caesarean life and that this is how it has always been and always will be. In defending me from life's storms so as not to awaken revenge in me, you did not teach me to see the true face of the KGB. But how useful this would have been! This would have saved me from making more than one mistake!

In attacking the whole nation of lies, I have had one foothold — the awareness that a yoke is unbearable. It was necessary for me to hit the stone wall myself — to feel the pain from the blow — to understand evil can be overcome and that we can and must fight against it.

To deny bolshevism is not a revelation, but a way of life. It (bolshevism) should be fought, but not with silent passivity. No one but ourselves will help us. The demand to resolve all problems in a democratic manner is the only alternative for every Ukrainian citizen.

The point of my letter to you is to try and explain why and for whom this is necessary.

Ural, July, 1975.
Your Grandson".

KGB INFORMANT DENOUNCES HIS MASTERS

Two important samvydav documents have reached the West which describe KGB tactics against the Ukrainian resistance movement. These two documents are: an "Open Letter" written by Borys Kovhar to his instructor (KGB investigator major Viktor Nechyporovych whose surname is not known) and an introduction to Kovhar's letter — "One voice from the Ukrainian community in Kyiv".

Borys Kovhar, a Ukrainian born in 1928, with higher education and a member of the CPSU, was a secret KGB collaborator from 1967, whilst he was working as a manager in the finance section at the Kyiv museum of Architecture. Kovhar was arrested either on the 20th or 25th March 1972. In September 1972, his case was judged by the Kyiv regional court by default and Kovhar was interned in a special psychiatric institution in Dnipropetrovsk, where he remains to this day.

The reason for Kovhar's arrest was his open letter addressed to the KGB investigator, in which Kovhar revealed how KGB agents instructed him to act as a surveillor over Ukrainian cultural activists in Kyiv and instructed him to give them materials with which they would be able to incriminate these activists with "nationalism". Kovhar surveilled and reported on such honoured members of the artistic community as I. Honchar, the conductor of the choir "Homin", L. Yatsenko, O. Serhiyenko, and the poet M. Kholodny.

On the 1st of February 1972, Kovhar wrote his "Open Letter", which was circulated in samvydav. The full text of "One voice..." is printed below.

"ONE VOICE FROM THE UKRAINIAN COMMUNITY IN KYIV"

The political arrests of the creative intelligentsia in 1972 — in Kyiv, Lviv, Ivano-Frankivsk, Odessa, Kharkiv and other towns — had the effect of thunder storming down from the heavens on the Ukrainian community. It seems that those arrested were selected for their popularity — they included authoritative young literateurs, artists, and members of the community such as engineers, doctors, students, and teachers.

The so-called Ukrainian community in Kyiv was not some sort of monolith in those days. It was not even officially registered as a group, was neither a club nor an alliance, and was far from being an organisation. It was a natural, amorphous group of rebellious young people of Ukrainian descent, mainly first generation intellectuals who developed spontaneously as a result of the Khrushchev liberalisation era. They were united by national consciousness, Ukrainian song, poetry, an interest in history and so on. They sang on the banks of the river Dnipro in Kyiv, in the amateur choir "Homin" which

was conducted by Yatsenko at festivals they sang in the streets and in the capital's churches; they practised ancient customs — e.g. the festival of the first sheaf — (“uzhynok”), they lighted fires and floated garlands on the waters of Ivana Kupala,* the Dnipro. They visited Ivan Honchar's private museum of folklore and ethnography at his home, which was hospitably open for all interested people — both good and evil. The Writers' Union formed in a small “cell” — they staged anniversary celebration in honour of those three hundred authors, posthumously rehabilitated by the Ukrainian elite, who were slowly raising the curtain brought down in the cruel Stalin era.

They graduated instinctively to lessons on the history of Ukraine, where F. Shevchenko, Kompan, and Braychevsky delivered lectures. The Ukrainian Academy of Sciences approved a whole cycle of such lectures for them. The inquisitive Ukrainian intelligentsia crowded into the hall of the building, filed the corridors and stood for several hours thronged closely together; they then started to write letters proposing that a large hall be used due to the huge number of listeners. Obviously because of this, the lectures were soon stopped and those who delivered or organised them were locked away in various institutions; Honchar himself was ostracised. Yatsenko's coir was dispersed and all the members noted down on the black list and subjected to persecution — in institutions, at work, in their homes; the most courageous were summoned by the KGB for questioning.

On the 12th January the arrests started. This action was set in motion suddenly and unexpectedly. It had been in preparation for some time, and was carried out within one month and simultaneously. It was a calculated action designed to terrorise — an offshoot of the personality cult. This was a warning for those not yet arrested, but who could be possible victims.

On the 15th January, “Soviet Ukraine” printed an article concerning the arrest of the Belgian tourist Yaroslav Dobosh for “undermining and anti-Soviet activity”. On the 11th February, the same paper printed that “... in connection with the Dobosh case, Svitlychny, Chornovil, Sverstiuk and others are being held responsible for criminal activity. The investigation continues”.

After these two items had appeared, Z. Franko wrote an open letter — which had been prepared well in advance. The nature and contents of the letter speak for themselves. This is an official confirmation of an open ideological trait in Ukraine supported by military strength. In printing Z. Franko's letter, the paper totally ignored the 19th section of the Declaration of the Rights of Man: Franko confessed that she circulated “defamatory materials”, that her guilt was “mounted upon the illegal and distorted acceptance and interpretation of the shortcomings and difficulties in our life...”, that “in her

*) A Ukrainian pre-Christian traditional folk-ritual, performed by youth in mid-summer. (ed.).

political blindness" she was able to "take the path which led her to betrayal..."(!). There were other similar descriptions from the same tragic arsenal; in times of repression people were forced to condemn themselves and renounce uncommitted crimes, whereupon they were shot; on the basis of letters they had written, other were arrested.

In February 1972 the samvydav letter of Borys Kovhar, a revealing document about himself, was circulated. The letter was in circulation for about a month, when it fell into the hands of the KGB, and Kovhar was arrested. The investigation did not take long; the trial was held in camera and Kovhar was interned in a special psychiatric hospital in Dnipropetrovsk, where he is still receiving "treatment".

The tortures of his conscience were greater than the risk of giving up his freedom and fate, than leaving his three sons of school age at home with his wife, who did not work.

It is not known whether the attraction of material security, or perhaps other reasons, made Kovhar work with the KGB. Or maybe he simply believed their solicitations, that his information would help in "the battle against foreign information services", who are always held responsible for any manifestations of national dissatisfaction in Ukraine. But he was deceived by the Mephistophelean contract and sold his soul to the devil. He entered the heart of Ukrainian society, he sang with "Homin", visited Honchar's museum, and sometimes on the request of the over-burdened host, acted as a guide... He befriended Mykola Kholodny, a homeless poet who often stayed with him. Kovhar liked to write poems and now his poetry acquired the style of the angry Mykola Kholodny. He submitted a book of poetry to the critic Yevhen Sverstiuk, but it was rejected. Borys Kovhar is of Ukrainian origin, seemingly under "Shevchenko's influence", a university graduate, a former editor of a paper produced in the Kyiv Antonov factory, and a member of the CPSU; he soon integrated with the Ukrainian public...

After seven years of intimate life with in the community, he had not met anyone who could be suspected of "working for the downfall of Soviet society and of spying for the benefit of foreign information services financed by OUN" despite the instructions of those whom he served.

Maybe those years of his life were a bright ray of revelation to him — as a typical member of the consumer society, weighed down by the responsibility to give "secret information". He then started to invent information, simply to report *something* to "them".

Life showed him just how low he could fall if he did not come to his senses.

New "actions" were continually demanded of him and he could not bear the strain.

When Borys Kovhar considered the case of the sad Z. Franko, grand-daughter of Ivan Franko, he came he came to his senses. He

understood that he was being used as a witness-hireling, that he was betraying innocent people — those with whom he had become close and had come to respect and love.

And so he wrote his penetrating letter — without self-pity or fear.

We want to finish this account with the words the thief said to Jesus at his Crucifixion: "Lord, remember me in Paradise".

THE WORD "UKRAINE" FORBIDDEN

The following article contains a declaration made by Stepan Sapelyak to the head of the KGB, Yuri Andropov. It is being circulated in samvydav form.

Stepan Sapelyak was born in 1950 in the village of Rozsokhatch, in the Chortkivska region of Ukraine. He was arrested in 1973 for allegedly pulling down a Soviet flag and replacing it with a blue and yellow Ukrainian one.

He was also accused because from an early age he had collected folk songs whose lyrics contained calls for a fight for Ukrainian liberation. Sapelyak was sentenced to five years loss of liberty and transported to the Perm labour camps.

The fact that Sapelyak's parents are being threatened, as he alleges in his writings, are borne out directly by "Visti z Ukrainy" the KGB sheet sent from Kyiv to Ukrainians living abroad. In issue no. 31, July 1977) a letter was printed, signed by Sapelyak's mother, Hannyia Sapelyak, in which she protests against a letter sent to her by Ursula Dorman from Bremen, West Germany, who proposed to send a parcel to Sapelyak.

In the letter Sapelyak's mother says she is "angered" and declares her son is serving "a just punishment for a very serious crime".

In many respects this letter is reminiscent of the ones purportedly written by Vasyl Symonenko's mother "protesting" against the interest shown by Ukrainians living in the West in her son's works and his fate.

The following is the text of Sapelyak's declaration to Andropov:

"My mother is 48 years old. Her education consists of two years schooling. She works in a collective farm producing beetroots. She earns 42 karbovanets a month.

My father is a labourer on the collective farm. He is illiterate and his monthly wage is 50 karbozovantsi. My parents (they have two sons to provide for as well as an elderly mother) have not got even the basics as far as affluence is concerned. To suggest they are interested in politics is absurd. My parents' sole purpose for existing is to get a piece of bread.

In 1973, when I was hardly 22 years old, I was arrested by the KGB and sentenced in camera in a Ternopil court for my political beliefs, to five years imprisonment and three years exile in the northern regions of the USSR.

The investigatory committee concluded that my parents had no involvement whatsoever in my "case". Notwithstanding, immediately after my arrest repressive measures were taken against them and continue to this day.

During their investigations the Ternopil KGB saw I loved my mother very much and was concerned about her. They also saw that my mother loved me very much and used this as a basis to exert pressure on her.

At the beginning of March 1973 Lt. Col. Smirnoff, Lieutenant Lozha and others summoned my mother ostensibly for an interview but proposed to her that she renounce me. Otherwise threatened Smirnoff, "We will forced to send you to Siberia". From May 3 to August 10 1976 my mother did not receive any of my letters although I sent them regularly.

In those four months I received just two telegrams from my mother: "What is wrong? I am worried. I do not have any letters". A letter which was sent by my mother on June 28 1976, was only handed to me on August 4, 1976. My mother wrote, "My dear son, do not write the word Ukraine on the envelope. Praise be to Christ. Because the letter will not reach us . . ."

As I later found out the KGB collaborators in Ternopil had specially urged my mother to do this. In May 1977, my mother was once again summoned by the KGB. She was threatened with imprisonment and ordered to stop corresponding with people from abroad who were sympathetic to our family.

Intimidated and terrorised, my mother now lives in constant fear not only for me but for herself. And the collaborators of the Ternopil KGB maintain this fear in an illiterate peasant. All because her son is serving a sentence for his political beliefs.

It is difficult to imagine that all this is happening with your knowledge. Because of this I ask you to forbid your Ternopil collaborators to carry out similar actions and to protect my parents from repression. If, naturally, I am not mistaken.

Kuchino 8. 6. 77 Stepan Sapelyak"

GENOCIDE FOR DISSENSION

We present here a translation from the Russian of a samvydav text of a memorandum sent by a group of political prisoners to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

MEMORANDUM

The statute and convention regarding the prevention of the crime of genocide and its punishment was passed by the UN General Assembly on December 9, 1947 and ratified by the Government of the USSR. It defines as acts of genocide among other things the following: —

- a) The destruction of members of religious, racial, political and similar groups.
- b) Causing serious physical or moral harm to members of these groups and deliberately creating conditions calculated to effect the total or partial destruction of these groups.

We, political prisoners of strict regime labour camp number 385-1-6, imprisoned for dissent, believe that crimes are being committed against us which are of the magnitude of genocide.

Over a year ago an outbreak of aggression towards political prisoners by criminal inmates was encouraged by the camp administration. The criminal elements, with whom the guards covertly and overtly sympathised and helped, were allowed to lower the human dignity of political prisoners, humiliate them, beat them and carry out physical punishment on a mass scale.

On November 9 this year the prisoners of our camp received a letter from a certain S. L. Shenkevych who until recently was regarded as a criminal in the "enemy of the people" category. However, by his diligent work as a secret KGB informer he earned an official re-examination of his case. The tag of "enemy of the people" was removed and he was allowed the great honour of once again being styled an ordinary criminal.

Soviet law forbids prisoners imprisoned in different places to send each other letters. But regardless of this fact Shenkevych, protected under the wing of the KGB, managed to get his letters (9 of them!) through without any difficulty. This is just another instance of the two-faced nature of Soviet justice.

The above-mentioned letters are a continuation of the policy of

causing strife between the various categories of prisoners. They mock political prisoners and call upon the criminal inmates to settle accounts with them.

This is a long-standing attitude of our KGB "protectors"; to use the spirituality close to them criminal inmates in a vendetta against the political prisoners. This manifests itself in the KGB's everyday open sympathy and encouragement to the reactionary and pogrom-inclined elements in the prison camps.

The appearance (against the law) of Shenkevych's provocative letters proves that the KGB does not want us, imprisoned for dissent, to serve our assigned (also illegally and against the norms of the civilised world) prison terms in peace. On the contrary they are doing everything in their power to transform our prison terms into a period of torture and thus carry out the most serious crime against humanity — the genocide of those who think differently.

In response to the contempt and dirty defamatory campaign initiated by the KGB and carried out by such dregs of society as Jablonski, Shenkevych and others of a similar ilk; in order to keep our dignity and lives; to expose the villainous alliance between the KGB and criminal inmates with the aim of the genocide of dissenters, we the political prisoners of labour camp 385-1-6 are forced to make the following statement:

1. The convention dealing with the prevention of the crime of genocide and its punishment, ratified by the government of the USSR, should be adhered to. Therefore, we strongly protest against the genocide being waged against us and demand it be stopped. We also demand the punishment of those responsible and their collaborators in the genocide.

2. We declare: Although Soviet penal law is the most severe of all in existence at this point in time, the reality of soviet prisons is now completely inhuman and we therefore demand the very minimum, namely that Soviet penal practice should be consistent with the declaration in the constitution of the USSR and the statutes relating to corrective labour zones.

3. If we do not receive guarantees from the KGB that they will cease to take part in the crime of genocide we shall have to turn with analogous memorandums to the following bodies:

- a) The International court
- b) The Human Rights Commission of the UN
- c) The governments of the countries which are signatories to the convention dealing with the prevention of the crime of genocide and its punishment.
- d) The governments of the countries which took part in the Conference of European Security and Economic Co-operation.

Signed: Evhrafov, Karavanski, Kuznetsov, Murzhenko, Osadchy, Romaniuk, Tykhy, Fedorov, Shumuk.

THE PERSECUTION OF PETRO AND VASYL SICHKO

Among the Ukrainian underground literature recently arrived in the West are some biographical notes about two new members of the Ukrainian Group Monitoring the Observance of the Helsinki Accords; they are Petro and Vasyl Sichko.

Below we give details about the two new members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group.

Petro Sichko: Born August 18, 1926 in the village of Vetvetsya. A participant in the national liberation struggle in Western Ukraine, a former officer in the UPA (Ukrainian Insurgent Army).

In 1947 Petro was arrested for his part in the alleged formation of an underground student organisation in the Chernivets University called the "organisation of Fighters for a Free Ukraine" which was alleged to have a network spanning the universities and institutes of Western Ukraine. Sichko was condemned to death but this was later commuted to a 25 year term of imprisonment. In 1957 he was released under the general amnesty.

On April 30, 1978 he became a member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group.

Petro Sichko is married and has three children. He lives in Ivano-Frankivsk Oblast.

Vasyl Sichko: The son of Petro, born on December 22, 1956 in Magadan. He finished high school in the town of Dolyna, Ivano-Frankivsk Oblast and worked in a factory. In 1975 he began to study journalism at Kyiv University. When this became known to the KGB they called in Vasyl's father, Petro, and began to blackmail him proposing he either became a KGB informer or they would see that his son would not be allowed to continue his studies.

Petro Sichko resolutely refused to the local KGB section chief, Kushchenko, to go along with such a proposition. On July 20, 1977, following order number 556, Vasyl Sichko was expelled from Kyiv University.

On August 12, 1977 Vasyl wrote to Brezhnev with the request that the university's decision be rescinded otherwise he would be forced to renounce his Soviet citizenship and request permission to emigrate as a sign of protest.

Vasyl did not receive a reply and on September 18 he renounced his Soviet citizenship, a move about which he wrote a declaration to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Ukr. SSR.

His passport and army documents Vasyl turned in to the internal affairs office of the local administration. His Komsomol documents together with a declaration about his resignation from membership, he sent to the Central Committee of the Komsomol in Ukraine.

At the beginning of November the KGB wanted to arrest Vasyl Sichko, accusing him of planning to immolate himself on the Khreschatic during the USSR Sixtieth Anniversary celebrations. They said this was the way he planned to protest against the genocide of the Ukrainian people.

However, when they could not find Vasyl the KGB arrested his father, Petro, and held him a several days till all the festivities associated with the sixtieth anniversary celebrations had finished.

Vasyl Sichko was called up for army service several times but refused on the grounds that he no longer regarded himself as a Soviet citizen. On January 17, 1978 Vasyl was arrested and handed over to the Ivano-Frankivsk Oblast psychiatric clinic. On January 31 he was released.

On February 26, 1978 Vasyl Sichko became a member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group.

A UKRAINIAN WORKER'S APEAL

Leonid Siry is a Ukrainian worker from Odessa who has written several appeals to the Soviet government to allow him to emigrate. This latest appeal to Canadians is similar to one recently addressed to the USA.

Dear Ukrainian community of Canada!

A Ukrainian from the city of Odessa, a father of seven children, appeals to you, with a request that you, honourable Ukrainians, help us emigrate for economic and political reasons.

We do not have the strength to continue living the way we live now. I will explain our situation: 1) Workers, clerical workers, and families are in difficult economic and political situations. 2) Work norms and appraisals are frequently revised. At the same time, workers are not given the necessary materials and tools (a lot of things we don't have at all; also, work production is stagnating and as a result it is, above all, the worker and his family that suffer the consequences). Each year workers are assigned increased socialist work obligations. Work plan requirements are constantly increasing while wages remain the same. We are forced to work in excess of the work norms even during our holidays — *subotnyky, nedilnyky** — to work "for the other fellow" on the account of the five-year plan, and other forms of work exist for which we are not paid which are not found in

*) The terms *subotnik* — from the word *subota* (Saturday and *nedilnyk* — from the word *nedila* (Sunday) refer to special work days, on Saturdays and Sundays, when workers "volunteer" to "donate" their labour and the wages earned thereby to the state. Such "working holidays" are assigned several times a year by the state.

the law. 3) The trade unions are aware of these irregularities but do not defend the interests of workers but are merely interested in co-operating with the party and government. Our trade unions have become purely administrative bodies. 4) Prices have risen and there is a lack of produce and consumer goods. 5) Health care is inadequate and there is a shortage of medicinal drugs. 6) managers are involved in theft, bribery, and the use of "connections". 7) Religion is persecuted. 8) There is oppression of national movement and thought.

I am a lathe-operator. I fulfill the plan according to Soviet law. I do not drink or smoke; I do not neglect my duties. I supported human rights and defended persecuted individuals. I spoke out against attacks made by our official press. The militia — "the aware ones" — summoned me to the procurator's office to testify against friends in the struggle. I did not testify or sign anything. I was then harassed by the KGB. They persecuted me and tried to force me to sign provocative statements, threatening me with the law. I did not sign anything and said, "I will not help you in your dirty business". They conducted a search at 12 midnight. They frightened the children. They forced me off the bus and set a dog on me.

Doctors, a father and son, beat me up in the hospital. My friends from work were summoned and my performance appraisal was taken to the KGB. It states that I am a "good worker and a family man, but an anti-soviet". The KGB seized my medical files from the polyclinic and a KGB agent, Michun, visited my wife. I was summoned six times during the year. Last November third, I was warned by mail that I would be tried under Article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR for "agitation and propaganda". The sentence would be seven years imprisonment and five years exile. But I don't consider myself guilty of anything. I cannot bear all this nor do I have any intension of doing so. I have the right to life and to a decent wage, and not to a miserable, beggarly existence working in a Soviet enterprise for a meagre wage (160-180 roubles per month). I don't want to and cannot go to prison. The children will die of hunger and the authorities will badger them mercilessly. That is why I am once again appealing to you, dear community, to please *help us* emigrate. Arrange for an invitation as a family member. We are believers. God help us. Goodbye.

Our personal data:

- 1) Siry, Leonid Mychailovych, b. 28/10/36, Sloviansk, Donetsk oblast.
- 2) Sira, Valentyna Leonidivna, b. 25/8/44, Oleksandrovets, Kherson oblast.
- 3) Siry, Edward L. (son) b. 12/6/63, Sloviansk, Donetsk oblast.
- 4) Sira, Victoria L. (daughter), b. 29/9/64, Sloviansk, Donetsk oblast.
- 5) Sira Laryssa L. (daughter), b. 8/8/67, Odessa, Odessa oblast.
- 6) Sira, Rita L. (daughter), b. 1/3/71, Odessa, Odessa oblast.
- 7) Sira, Oksana L. (daughter), b. 19/9/72, Odessa, Odessa oblast.

8) Siriy, Vladyslav L. (son), b. 13/12/74, Odessa, Odessa oblast.

9) Sira, Dina L. (daughter), b. 9/4/77, Odessa, Odessa oblast.

Address:

Ukrainian SSR

M. Odessa 270005

Vul. Frunze 199

KV. 128

Siry, L. M.

TRADE UNIONIST GIVES REASONS FOR LEAVING UNION

The Ukrainian worker Leonid Siriy from Odessa, sent a declaration to the Central Committee of Trade Unions in the USSR in Moscow, in which he states his decision to resign from the Union. He gives a list of reasons which are embarrassing to the Soviet Union, whose government claims that it is guided by workers' interests. Siriy's declaration is circulating in samvydav.

DECLARATION

"I, L. M. Siriy, a lathe-turner, have been a member of the Trade Union (of the USSR) since 1952 and have been working in this plant for eight years. I have decided to resign from the Trade Union for the following reasons:

1. This Trade Union is totally unable to defend workers' rights. (The right to demand higher wages, lower prices, better working conditions and longer holidays is non-existent here. One has to *plead* for all these things).

2. The Trade Union is totally subordinate to the Government and the Administration. The administrative and Party Bureau delegate city committees and dictate to them. Workers' meetings are a mere formality.

The Trade Union is unable to give aid to families in need, who are unable to earn the mean of 50 roubles per head.

4. The Trade Union does not give us legal aid. Hence we are forced to suffer the brutality of some unconscientious leaders and workers — for example: 'Why do you have so many children?', 'What is this, weren't you taught anything!' and so on.

5. We receive poor medical treatment. Our doctors do not carry out their duties conscientiously.

6. Teachers in our schools behave in the same way as do our doctors. They call our children beggars and forbid them to be friends with the other children.

7. Having obtained a new apartment, we are now suffering from

could and having to put up with unfinished fixtures and inconveniences.

All this brings me to the conclusion that we are dispensable people and so the best way out of this existing situation — as a sign of protest — is for me to quit your Trade Union.

18th April, 1978.

Odessa 270005

Frunze St., 199, fl. 128

*Leonid Siriy, worker, and father
of many children”.*

ASSOCIATION OF FORMER POLITICAL PRISONERS TO BE FORMED

The full text of an appeal from a group of political prisoners addressed to A. Sakharov and to the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords is printed below. The appeal is currently circulating in samvydav.

“To the Chairman of the Committee on Human Rights in the USSR,
A. Sakharov, and to

The Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation
of the Helsinki Accords.

Announcement concerning the formation of an association of
former political prisoners:

The fact that the extremely slow and inconsistent process of liberalisation of the present regime does not even give the basis for conjecture that in the foreseeable future persecution of people for political reasons will stop in the USSR; that the government of the USSR officially does not recognise the existence of political prisoners but that it employs one of the most brutal penal systems in the world to deal with them (on a par with penitentiaries used to deal with criminals); that the practice of total isolation of Soviet political prisoners deprives them of the right of legal aid, and also protection from the Party which has a monopoly over the dissemination of calumny and misinformation about us; that the families, friends and sympathisers of political prisoners are subject to repression and are often deprived of the means of existence; that those political prisoners who have served their terms are still discriminated against for many years after their release (they find great difficulty in finding work, in settling in the towns of their choice, in obtaining education or any specialisation); that all the previous efforts to help political prisoners, although useful in essence, had and have an incidental and selective nature; that the position and needs of political prisoners and their families are best understood by those who have themselves been in prisons, camps for political prisoners, or in exile — we, having

agreed with other prisoners of the Mordovian camps, wish to found an association of former political prisoners for the prisoners and their families leading to mutual help.

We consider such an association to be legal. It will have no political motives; it will have an all-Union character but will be as decentralised as possible and will unite all those sentenced for political reasons who would wish to affiliate themselves to the association regardless of nationality, party membership, ideological positions, and relations to the existing regime — i.e. it is to be an association which will not limit any form of social activity (either pro-regime or oppositionist) of its members beyond the humanitarian demands of society, and an association which will not bear the responsibility of such activities.

If the principle of our suggestion is found favourable, then we are prepared to present the project for the constitution of the proposed association for discussion.

Signed: P. A. Ayrykhan, M. H. Osadchy, B. Z. Rebryq, V. Ye. Romanyuk, V. N. Ssipov, S. P. Soldatov, V. P. Chornovil, D. L. Shumuk, political prisoners of Mordovia.

10th December, 1977."

UKRAINIAN TEACHER ASKS PERMISSION TO EMIGRATE TO ENGLAND

Vasyl Striltsiv, a former political prisoner, has requested permission to emigrate to England. Not long ago, he became a member of the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords. The full text of his "Third Request" is printed below.

"With reference to my declaration, dated the 14th September, 1977, in which I renounced my Soviet citizenship, and to my requests to emigrate, written on the 19th September, 1977 and the 4th October, 1977, addressed to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, I ask you to grant me permission to emigrate from the Soviet Union without delay.

I was born on the 13th January, 1929 to Stepan and Yustyna Striltsiv — into a family of Ukrainian agriculturalists. I was the youngest of their two sons and one daughter. We lived in the village of Zahvizlyia, near Stanislav, (now renamed Ivano-Frankivsk) in West Ukraine, which was then under Polish rule. Between 1936-1944, I attended the local village school and the Stanislav secondary school. Towards the end of 1944, i.e. when I was 15 years old, I was arrested

by the NKVD, and some time later sentenced by the Stanislav military tribunal (but in fact without having committed any crime) under article 54 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR, to 10 years of imprisonment to be served in corrective labour camps. For the first two years of my sentence, I, an underage person, was held in prisons and at transit prisons at Stanislav-Lviv, Kyiv, and Odessa. From the autumn of 1946, when I had become of imprisonable age (which is 17), until the autumn of 1954, that is, until the end of my undeserved sentence, I was detained in the camps of Norylsk at the metalurgical combines — in conditions of a severe polar climate, chronic hunger and without stimulating mental occupation. I stared death in the face more than once. After 10 years in prison, I grew up, having lost both my mother and my sister during that time. Although they had wanted to wait for me, they did not survive to see me again.

As a result of the unforeseen annulment of the tribunal's exile sentence, I returned to live with my ageing father in Stanislav, where, while working, I finished the 9th and 10th grades at evening school; then, as a protest against the general procurator of the USSR, R. A. Rudenko, the Stanislav regional court rehabilitated me, as did the English department at Chernihiv University. I taught at schools in the Ivano-Frankivsk region for almost 18 years, of which I have spent the last 12 teaching in the middle school No. 1. in Dolyna. Here, apart from my main post as a teacher of English, I was also the head of the association for teachers of foreign languages for three neighbouring schools for 3 years; I conducted the seminars for teachers of English in the Dolynsky region for 7 years; I was the chairman of the school organisation for the defence of Ukrainian historical and cultural monuments for 9 years; I was a member of the local teachers' union for 10 years; I also taught English in the Dolyna consultation point at the Ivano-Frankivsk Institute of Oil and Gas (from 1966-1968) and in the Dolyna evening Oil Technical College (from 1967-1974).

However, shortly after the KGB had conducted a search in my flat on the 2nd February, 1972 (and especially after the arrest of my brother Pavlo, on the 4th July, 1972, and his sentencing under article 187, sect. I of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR to 18 months of imprisonment), the administration of the middle school No. 1 in Dolyna started to victimise me. The headmaster of the school, V. D. Lavriv, tried to persuade me to leave the region twice and due to "psychological" pressure "relieved" me of some areas of my instructional work and from the above-mentioned activities — normal for a Soviet teacher. This was done in order to create an atmosphere of isolation around me and to alienate me from school life. Through discrimination, falsification, blackmail and ridicule, oppressor Lavriv and his accomplices have deprived me of a host of elementary rights — for example: my human dignity, the right to work according to my profession, the right to live in the place of my choice, and for defence against persecution, the right to self-defence, to ask "embar-

passing" questions during union meetings, to union aid, to gratitude and reward for my work, to excursions, and so on. All this forced me to announce a strike on the 2nd February, 1977, in protest against the inhumane conditions forced upon me at my place of work and the highhanded and inhuman decision to dismiss me from teaching on the 9th February, 1977. The 37 despairing complaints that I sent to appropriate organisations have not brought about justice on any level whatsoever, and the tendentious replies to these letters seem to confirm the illegality of Lavriv's actions and my lack of rights. In addition, the militia warned me that I would be held responsible for so-called "parasitism" if I did not find employment within the month. Also, not long ago, just to appease me, they offered me work in another region, knowing full well that I would not agree to this unfair approach to the matter. This is how the tragic situation in which I find myself has arisen; the threats of some highly placed people have for the second time made me appear guilty of something that I have not committed, and because I am prepared to defend myself against the despotism of the Lavrivs, this has forced me to renounce my Soviet citizenship and to ask for permission to emigrate.

I sent the statement concerning the renunciation of my Soviet citizenship to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on the 15th September, 1977. On the same day I sent a copy of the letter to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukr. SSR and personally took a copy to the regional division of internal affairs in Dolyna. I have already applied to the Presidium of the Supreme Court twice with the request for me to emigrate to England — on 19. 9. 1977 and on 4. 10. 1977, but have still not received a reply. It is important to note here that throughout the first years of my life I lived under Polish rule (1929-1939), then I lived under German rule for 3 years (1941-1944), spent 10 years in prison (1944-1954), 2 years in exile (1954-1956) and finally for the last 2 years (1975-1977), I have been treated as a second-class member of society. Therefore, despite my age, I have been happy for a comparatively short time, having suffered the "blessings" of Soviet citizenship.

I also wrote a letter to the British embassy in Moscow at the same time (19. 9. 1977) and to the British government in London (20. 9. 1977) requesting them to help me to emigrate to Great Britain. Insofar as the intention to leave the USSR does not constitute a crime in legal communities, then I hope that in my case there will be no searches for a "crime" to revenge my "insolence".

Again, I express the basic motive of this appeal: I ask you to allow me to emigrate from the USSR without delay.

V. S. Striltsiv
Dolyna, October 21, 1977

My address: 285600,
Ukr. SSR".

WORKER'S RIGHTS IN UKRAINE

An open letter signed by 25 workers and employees from various national republics in the USSR has reached the West. In it is described the prevailing situation of workers in the USSR and a list is given of the persecuted colleagues of the signatories many of whom are Ukrainians. The letter also appeals to the world community to defend those persecuted and raise a public outcry about what the signatories call the "hunger and misery of our children".

As subsequently became known this document was the first step in the formation of an independent trade union in the USSR and this was reported by the western press. The group was led by a worker from Donetsk, Volodymyr Klebanov. The following are extracts from the document.

"An open letter to the world community about the true circumstances of workers in the USSR on the eve of the sixtieth anniversary of the U.S.S.R.

We are sending this letter for the purpose of information.

One copy is to be sent to the United Nations. One copy to the heads of nations taking part in the Belgrade Conference to be passed to the head of the soviet delegation. In the past ten years the USSR has seen some very important events in terms of political and ideological implications.. Their aim was to reinforce international prestige and to engrave on the memories of nations the terrible consequences of the cults of Stalin and Khrushchev.

On September 9, 1977, Yuri Andropov, head of the KGB and a member of the politburo declared: "We are of the view that an individual has real rights if their actions fall in line with the broader developments of social order... Soviet law gives the widest possible political freedoms to her citizens. To those comrade who have justified criticism we extend a helping hand. We behave towards them as to people of good will and thank them. However, we have to take a different line with those so-called dissidents who by their actions break Soviet laws".

We are people from different stratas of society. We did not know each other before but have met on the crossroads of our sufferings (we use that word in its fullest meaning). We are people of different nationalities and from different parts of the country and are forced to address ourselves to the so-called "bourgeois press".

Those who by their positions, our leaders, our press, members of the Party and Soviet ministries, have a responsibility to listen to us and to solve our problems do not want to give a hearing to us, honest workers in Soviet society — the producers of material wealth. How

many of us are there? We think there are tens of thousands, hundreds of thousands of us. We are not going to make emotional appeals. We will simply state the conditions of our everyday, inhuman plight, tell of our suffering.

Today we are suffering but tomorrow any Soviet citizen might become a member of our "collective" and start to think the same way we do. It is very straight forward: The ruling elite is doing everything it can to divide us and crush us, morally and physically. Notwithstanding what question a Soviet citizen turns with to a lawyer, the courts, the ministers, the Presidium, the press and finally the Central Committee of the CPSU, everywhere the answers are not those laid down in law but those dictated by one or other of the "guardians" of the law.

We are people in our middle years with at least ten years of work behind us in various working collectives. We were leading workers. We, this enormous army of Soviet un-employed, have been thrown out of the factory gates because we tried to get the right to make complaints, to criticise and to get freedom of speech.

Our press, radio and television are always underlining the deprivation of rights and oppression in other parts of the world. But no-one wants to take any notice of our complaints in our free country. To talk about the hunger and misery of our children.

The facts about deprivation of rights and oppression are myriad and do not have the character of isolated incidents. Because no matter whereabouts a worker or functionary might live, where he might work, or whom he might complain to, in the end his complaints always finish up with those "responsible organs" who use repressive methods against a citizen who searches for justice or satisfaction from the laws.

We will explain our facts on the basis of documents and appropriate events. The facts in this document are based on repressions committed against individual workers. Among them, Volodymyr Klebanov from Makiyivky, Donetsk Region, Anna Fufayevka, Valentyn Popiavsky, Ohanesyana, Huryeva and others. Then there follow the names of 50 workers and functionaries persecuted by the regime or incarcerated to special psychiatric hospital because of their opposition.

The following people on the list are from Ukraine, Nadiyka Hydar an economist and engineer from Kyiv, imprisoned in a psychiatric clinic No. 13 in Moscow; Anna Vats, a collective-farm worker from the village of Pereyatyn, incarcerated on the orders of the relevant co-worker of the Central Committee of the CPSU, Serhiy Shishkova and Lev Smirnov. Yakib Levyt from Odessa, a deputy editor of a newspaper and a member of the CPSU. He was arrested together with his daughter, an Intourist interpreter in Odessa, by the KGB; Oleksandyr Savenkov from the Donetsk Region, a worker-draughtsman. Fedir Dyatlov from the Donetsk Region, born in 1959 who was arrested in February 1977 in the hotel "Rossiya" for allegedly setting

fire to it. M. Nikitenko from Donetska; Biyko a worker from the town of Donetsk, incarcerated in a psychiatric clinic in January 1977; Petro Shylovy, a locksmith who worked on the Kyiv Dam, now in a psychiatric clinic in Dnipropetrovsk for standing in the Red Square with a placard demanding observance of the constitution. Victor Havrylenko, a history teacher, now in a Dnipropetrovsk psychiatric clinic; Victor Balanyiuk, a stonemason from Odessa, now in a Dnipropetrovsk psychiatric clinic; Ivan Popov, a former secretary of the regional CPSU, a pensioner, now in a Dnipropetrovsk psychiatric clinic; Tatiana Kravchenko, an engineer and economist from Mykolayev; Mychajlo Cherkassov from the Donetsk Region; Hryhoriy Priadko, a worker from the Paltavsk region; Mykhaiylo Hudz, a fisherman and member of the CPSU in Zaporizhzhya, incarcerated in the seventh psychiatric clinic in March 1977; Olena Soroka, a collective-farm worker from the Ternopilsk Region. Vera Necheporuk, an accountant from Odessa.

The document contains the names of 23 workers and functionaries, who, as a mark of protest against the illegality of the Soviet system renounced their Soviet citizenship. The document ends with the following: *"We are not afraid of coming out into the open at our factories, we are not afraid of open courts. We are all for our being tried if we are not in the right, but only in open courts and in the presence of workers. We believe that workers would not condemn us but instead the Shiskovyks, Filatovs and Pankrotovs (collaborators with the organs of the central committee of the CPSU). It is they who should be in the dock. We do not believe that publicising information for world public opinion concerning repression and illegality in the Soviet Union is a breach of Soviet law. We ask you to help in seeing that our complaints are dealt with according to the laws and constitution of the USSR.*

Put an end to the repression and persecution of Soviet citizens.

NOTE: A copy of this open letter was sent to the Soviet Government and the Central Committee of the CPSU and to the central press organisations of the USSR, the letter was signed by 25 people and was dated September 18, 1977, Moscow".

J. WILKINSON

'COMING HOME'

God gave us a land to work on,
Fair and wide, with good earth too,
Rich with grain, and herds of cattle,
Crowned the years — our rightful due.

This we made, and filled with envy,
Neighbours near and far away,
And they came with greed and malice,
Swords held high, at break of day.

Thrice we stood, and fought with ardour,
Homes and land, were scorched and burnt,
When we'd done, we looked around us,
Dazed and spent, the truth we learnt.

There we were, back where we started,
Bound in chains and freedom gone,
All seemed lost, but some were scattered,
Far from home — our hope to come!

Time has passed, Ukraine grows weary,
Fighting wrong with voice and pen,
"Tell the world of our oppression!
Do speak up, tell all good men!"

So on us does fall the honour,
Spreading news of our Ukraine,
Where men die — but not forgotten,
In gulags of evil fame.

Fly the Flag, blue's for sunshine!
Hold it up, yellow for grain!
Stand up straight, right's on our side!
Tell the truth, ever again!

God gave us a land to work on,
Fair and wide, with good earth too,
Stolen from us, but remember,
We will claim our rightful due!

THE PRESENT SITUATION OF THE ORIENTAL CATHOLIC LAW CODIFICATION

The direction in which the codification is proceeding has not been previously indicated as clearly as it is in the article by Father Ivan Žužek, S. J., the Secretary of the Codification Commission, in *Nuntia* 6 ("CANONS CONCERNING THE AUTHORITY OF PATRIARCH OVER THE FAITHFUL OF THEIR OWN RITE WHO LIVE OUTSIDE THE LIMITS OF PATRIARCHAL TERRITORY").

Everything revealed in this article was confirmed in protracted conversations with Fr. Žužek in Rome and Regensburg, and repeated in discussions with three other Jesuit fathers.

The desiderata of those Eastern Catholic Churches which are more conscious of the Oriental character of their Church and of their right and the need to defend their autonomy within the Roman Catholic community, have been denied, especially the right of Patriarchs to follow their own faithful everywhere on their own initiative.

Fr. Žužek is adamant about this because the territorial limitation of patriarchal jurisdiction was established by Vatican II, and Pope Paul VI expressly ordered that the Council must be followed in everything. Once this premise is accepted, then the conclusions follow automatically, and the work of the Code Commission, as it is shown in Žužek's article, justifies itself.

It is true that the territorial limitation of Eastern Catholic Churches was legislated by Vatican II, and that the respective decree was signed by the Eastern Catholic Hierarchy. However, there are reasons why even Vatican II should be set aside:

1. The Eastern Catholic churches have largely lost their territorial character and have become ethnic groups, an aggregation of persons who are compelled, because of political and economic vicissitudes, to migrate together all over the globe. This is true of the Ukrainian Catholics, and largely also of Near East Churches of the Melkites and Maronites.

Consequently, Vatican II ought not apply in this respect to those Eastern Catholic Churches which are involved in this accelerated migration, and new norms have to be developed for them.

2. There are a number of examples of changes in Vatican II norms inaugurated or approved by the Holy See. Why then be so rigid with

the norms of the Council in respect to the Eastern Catholic Churches, and why not permit a change in certain principles?

3. The prohibition for Eastern Patriarchs, and other heads of Eastern Catholic Churches, to extend their pastoral care by their own initiative to the faithful who have emigrated to other parts of the globe, is against natural law. The "Pater et Caput" of an Eastern Church cannot be deprived of the innate right to follow his flock anywhere, and conversely, any member of an Eastern Church is entitled to lay claim to the pastoral solicitude of his Church without interference from other authorities.

4. We, Catholics, have the papacy which is above ecumenical councils. Why not employ the papal authority and reform this norm of Vatican II?

As it is known, Father Žužek's position is not shared by other Jesuits, but they feel powerless because the other consultors, often latinized Eastern Catholic priests, vote against them for Žužek's proposal.

Bishop Marusyn, the recently appointed Vice-President of the Code Commission, is certainly a well-meaning and dedicated man. However, he is not a canonist. He is, of course, of an Eastern Catholic Church, but his past interest was centred in liturgics. He is less cognizant of the legal dimension of the existence of an Eastern Church. He equates loyalty and obedience to the Roman Pontiff with uncritical devotion to the Roman Curia. In this attitude he was even more confirmed as a sequel of the unpleasant experiences due to the Ukrainian Patriarchal Movement, and which may easily lead to the conclusion that it is in the best interest of the Eastern Catholic Churches to have as little autonomy as possible.

Naturally, he "knows" the canons, but this is not enough. Only a good canonist is aware of the history of the pertinent legislation, is conscious of the ramifications in the world of today, and is able to assess the repercussions in the future. Bishop Marusyn has lived all his 31 years as a priest in Rome and has little knowledge of the ecclesiastical and pastoral circumstances, for instance, in the Americas. He identifies the mistaken tendency of the Curia to uniformity in the Church with the will of the Roman Pontiff, the voice of the Holy Father.

Bishop Marusyn wishes to accomplish one thing now: to demonstrate that he is "on the job" and this he will show, as he said himself, by pushing for the publication of the draft of the CICO. While this draft can be changed, this will be difficult, since the principle of territorial limitation of the churches will permeate every part of the CICO.

The Eastern Catholic Churches have nobody sufficiently independent of mind in the Code Commission to represent their interests. The consultors are distributed in some ten groups, which meet twice

a year as a rule. They may not see each other for years. What is needed is somebody in the Secretariat itself, another vice-president or some secretary general, who has the right to suggest and promote changes in the general direction in which the Code Commission is presently heading.

The Pope himself should be persuaded to appoint such an ombudsman of the Eastern Catholic Churches, who shall not be a part of the Roman Curia. He shall be in continuous contact with the various Patriarchs in order to inform them of the work on the CICO, *before* canons have been formulated, and to convey their suggestions and wishes to the Code Commission.

The Pope shall be requested to order the calling of another Plenary Meeting of the Patriarchs and other members of the Code Commission, to review the work of the Commission, especially to revise the Guidelines adopted in 1972. This time, somebody other than Fr. Žužek must explain to the bishops the legal consequences of the principles adopted by them.

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BOOK REVIEW:

Ukrainian Medicine from the 12 to the 19th Century

Vasyl Plushch: NARYSY Z ISTORIJI UKRAJINS'KOJI MEDYČ-NOJI NAUKY TA OSVITY. Knyha I (Vid počatkiv ukrajins'koji deržabnosti do 19 stolittja). English title: Outline of the History of Ukrainian Medical Science and Medical Education. Munich 1970. 342 p.

The book under review fills, very successfully, the hitherto existing gap in the history of Ukrainian scholarship. It reveals, in a popular, narrative manner, the achievements of Ukrainian men and women in the field of medical science starting with the XIIth century up to the end of the XIXth century. The development of Ukrainian medicine during that span of time had been remarkable. Dedicated physicians served not only domestic needs in their home-land — Ukraine — but extended their services to other countries, as e.g. to Byzantium (Princess Eupraxia-Zoa, daughter of Mstyslav Volodymyrovych), Italy and Poland (George Michael Drohovych), Germany (Ivan Poletyka), and primarily to Russia under Peter the First (Thomas Tykhov's'kyj, Gregory Sukharev, Gregory Sobolev's'kyj, Opanas Shafons'kyj and many many others).

In his book Plushch characterizes each of those men, presents their biographical data and evaluates achievements in their profession. One is surprised not only by the considerable number of names appearing on the pages of this work, but also by the unique Ukrainian contribution to the development of medical science and practice in Eastern Europe and elsewhere. As such Plushch's book is a very objective and sound account of the history of Ukrainian medical science and medical education through the past centuries.

In presenting his material the author encompasses a great deal. For each epoch he offers a broad basis of cultural and political development. He touches upon military upheavals and situations in Ukraine and Eastern Europe in general. Such historical digressions add some patriotic flavour to his exposition and make the book interesting not only to specialists in the field but also to general readers. Here it should be mentioned that in view of distortions and tendentious silence about the national background of Ukrainian men of medical science in the Soviet Ukraine. Plushch's book is extremely important; it identifies their Ukrainian origin and corrects falsifications by the official Soviet censors and party followers.

As every work of this kind, the pioneering study by Plushch has some shortcomings which are understandable if one considers the circumstances under which the book was written.

In view of the author's quotations from Lucretius (pp. 195-6), and even from Goethe (p. 218), one would be glad to find quotations from for instance Pamvo Berynda (1627) whom Plushch mentions on p. 301 (here again the first Ukrainian dictionary, *Leksys* by L. Zyzanij of 1596 is left out).

One of the positive aspects of the book is its terminological aspect. Indeed, the Ukrainian terms used both in the literary as well as the folk language deserve the special attention of the reader. Rare historical expressions, folk names of various illnesses and international medical terms are a great asset of this work. Thus, for instance on p. 19 the author discusses the post-Mongolian period in Ukrainian history and offers a rich variety of terms used in the folk medicine of that time (XIII-XVI c.). He refers to such terms as *zlatjanycja*, *vdus'*, *usovi*, *ohneva*, *trjasučka*, *mozolie*, *vozuhlje*, *sverbez' sukhotka*, etc. Unfortunately, sources or references to authors are not given — another shortcoming of Plushch's book.

As mentioned above, the author is generous in offering a wide cultural historical background to the development of medicine in Ukraine. He quotes many peripheral facts, even the history of Kyjevo-Mohyljans'ka Akademiya (XVII-XVIII c.) and non-medical authors who were either teaching these or were alumni of this academy. In this connection it is difficult to understand why he omitted from his considerations an important author of the XVII-XVIII centuries — ieromonakh Klymentij Zynovijev with his literary output often referring to the medical profession of that time. Klymentij's works were first published by V. M. Peretz in 1912 and one finds there several special chapters which are important for the historian of Ukrainian medicine. Thus, in a verse entitled "O doktorjakh i o čelljurykhakh" Klymentij makes a clear distinction between medical doktors and "cyrulyks" — self-made medical men who help the poor people. Moreover, he writes about "illnesses" of any living being, he devotes a poem to "people lying in sickness", to "death", he discusses the "unfruitful women", "mute and deaf people", etc. A broad scope of medical problems of VII-XVIII cc. in Ukraine is covered by Klymentij and his omission in Plyushch's book is serious shortcoming. It should be improved at the second edition.

Yet, despite all criticisms this work stands as a novelty in Ukrainian medical literature and as an important contribution to the history of Ukrainian science. As such it fully deserves to be translated into one of the Western languages, primarily into English, and it is hoped that his widow, Dr. Nadia Plushch in Munich, will realise this idea in the near future.

J. B. Rudnyckyj

Dr. Aleksander SOKOLYSZYN

SOVIET PSYCHIATRY AND METHODS OF ABUSE

"Russia's Political Hospitals; the Abuse of Psychiatry in the Soviet Union" by Sidney Bloch and Peter Reddaway. London, Victor Gollancz Ltd., c1977. 510 p. Ill., Ports. 22cm. Includes bibliographies and index.

The United States and other Western powers are hoping that with help of advanced technology, they may be able to help mankind in all aspects of life, particularly medicine. The Soviet Union, on the other hand, is fighting against human rights and freedom through the use of psychiatric abuse.

The Western world has reaped success for its efforts, but all the Soviet Russian government has received is condemnation for persecuting dissidents. Never before has a government applied psychiatric torture to political prisoners. The book, "Russia's Political Hospitals; The Abuse of Psychiatry in the Soviet Union", is a documented study of responses by Western psychiatrists to the psychiatric abuses in the USSR, which could be called "crimes against humanity".

Vladimir Bukowsky, to whom, among others, the book is dedicated, wrote in the foreword that human rights defenders in the Soviet Union are the key targets of Soviet psychiatric abuse. These human rights defenders include Ukrainians and other nationalities, he wrote.

A preface and 10 chapters, dealing with different aspects of Soviet psychiatry, psychiatric abuse, the international response, the victims, and the oppositions to the psychiatric abuse, follow the foreword.

The book ends with 10 appendices, including a list of victims, letters and other material relating to each topic, 58 pictures, a table of reference, and an index.

It is interesting to note that over 60 pages are devoted to Ukrainians, such as Leonid Plushch, his wife, Tatiana, Mykola Plakhotniuk, Ivan Dziuba, Anatoliy Lupynis, Mykhaylo Lutsyk, Valentyn Moroz, Gen. Petro Hryhorenko, and his wife, Zinaida. Among the photos are Hryhorenko and his wife, Plyushch and his wife, Plakhotniuk, Moroz and Lukyanenko.

The American edition was published under the title of "Psychiatric Terror".

We consider this book to be of great value to the anti-Communist struggle.

Stanley W. FROLICK

THE POLTAVA AFFAIR

The Poltava Affair, A Russian Warning: An American Tragedy — by Glen B. Infield — Macmillan Publishing Co., 265 pp.

With the de-classification of many hitherto secret documents relating to the conduct of the last world war, the list of books appearing on the market utilizing this material keeps growing. Infield's book is one of these. It is an account of a secret World War II American operation, code-named "Frantic", which involved the procuring and the operation of US air bases in the Soviet Union for B-17 bombers.

Such bases were needed to enable American Flying Fortresses to mount round-trip shuttle bombing missions of strategic targets in East Germany and its occupied territories further east, which were beyond the range of these British-based aircraft. Having these bases in the USSR, they could land there, re-fuel, re-arm and return to home bases in the United Kingdom, attacking additional German targets on the homeward flight.

American military planners also hoped that US bases and the presence of their bombers in the East would divert German forces from Western Europe, thereby ensuring the success of the planned Allied landing in France. It can be safely assumed that this argument was not put forth to Soviet leaders too forcefully.

The Americans were also anxious to demonstrate their friendship and good-will, win the trust and confidence of the Soviet-Russians, and build a foundation for full and close co-operation in the post-war period. Lastly, and probably most importantly, the American side hoped that the granting of bases for shuttle bombing would be the foot in the door leading to the provision of further bases in eastern Siberia from which US airplanes could bomb the Japanese homeland.

Whatever the motives or considerations, "Operation Frantic" is now only of academic interest, as the operation failed. It failed because it was not meant to succeed from the outset if the Soviet-Russian "ally" had anything to say. It is truly amazing how much patience (naivete would be a better word) Americans displayed in the protracted and frustrating negotiations with Soviet Russian officials, from Stalin down, before their wish was granted. In the course of these negotiations, it is simply appalling to read how the American negotiators knuckled under to all Soviet Russian demands and preconditions; how much they gave away to appease their "ally" and, after being kicked in the teeth time and time again, how they swallowed their pride and kept coming back for more of the same. All the while, they kept comforting themselves with the most ingenious and ludicrous theories to explain away their ally's intransigent behaviour.

In the end in exchange for stepped-up aid, US technology, secret military equipment, and top-secret US intelligence, the Americans had to settle for only three bases, all in Ukraine: at Poltava, Myrhorod and Piryatin. Even so, they were also compelled to accept severe restrictions on the number of US military personnel stationed there, on air corridors for ingress and egress of American aircraft, on the quantity and type of navigation aids to be employed, a prohibition of aerial reconnaissance and of all activities related to meteorological data gathering for purposes of weather forecasting, and finally, on the targets to be bombed. Naturally, the Reds did not wish any property damaged in areas slated for incorporation into their empire on cessation of hostilities . . . Were the suspicions of the Americans aroused? Not at all!

The condition in the agreement which proved to be the most disastrous for the Americans was the provision that Soviet Russian forces alone would assume the exclusive role of providing all air and land defence for the three bases. On June 21, 1944, German warplanes attacked the American air base at Poltava, destroying and damaging more than 60 US heavy bombers and other aircraft, communications, equipment, parts and supplies of all kinds, stocks of ammunition and aviation fuel, and surface vehicles of various types. American fighter planes, of course, were permitted to take off to engage the enemy bombers. And while these circled over the airfield for almost an hour and a half, methodically inflicting the greatest possible damage, not a *single* Red air force fighter was sent aloft to attack or pursue the German bombers!

On the basis of all the facts collected by the author of the book, he concludes that the Poltava disaster was a result of Stalin's connivance and treachery. But there were no American protests lodged with their ally, and American war material and aid of all kinds continued to flow to the USSR, enabling the Soviet Russian dictator to further his plans for conquest in the process of empire building. And long after the military necessity for such bases had disappeared, the Americans continued keeping and using them, albeit on a smaller scale.

Infield sees the greatest tragedy of all in the American failure to recognise Soviet Russian duplicity and to see the behaviour and attitudes displayed by them throughout this sordid affair for what they were: a harbinger of things to come.

Like so many American and British writers, Infield keeps referring in his book to the inhabitants of Poltava and Ukraine as "Russians". It is difficult to explain this unfortunate practice, particularly as he and others would not (and if they did they would be laughed out of the country) as an example, describe the natives of Scotland or Edinburgh as English, — rather than as Scots, or at the very least as British.

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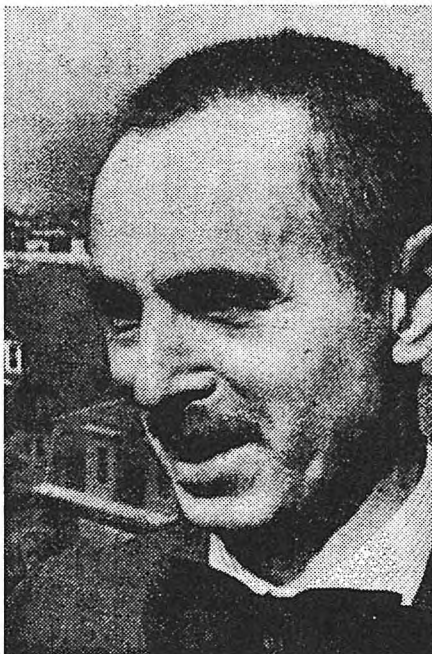
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A Quarterly Magazine

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VALENTYN MOROZ — UKRAINIAN FREEDOM FIGHTER

Jaroslav STETSKO

RUSSIFICATION AND NATIONAL GENOCIDE

The new constitution of the USSR is a constitution of an empire which is a prison of nations and people — not a constitution of a multinational society. It guarantees only the rights of the imperial, ruling people (the Russians); the rights of the totalitarian Communist party; the rights of the General Procurator of the USSR.

The new constitution legalizes the sovereign rights of the fictitious "Soviet people" to avoid mentioning by name the Russian people as the backbone of the empire. It officially sanctions terror as a governing system, investing the General Procurator of the USSR (i.e. the KGB) with uncontested rights to appoint, or approve the appointments, of the procurators on the so-called "republican" level who are also KGB candidates. The Politburo in Moscow has absolute control over all the Communist party branches in the so-called "republics". Not even one of the "sovereign republics" has its own Communist party. The governments of the "republics" have on the basis of their paper-constitutions, less rights than a county administration in any free nation of the world. The USSR is not even constitutionally a multinational state, but a state of a "super-nation" — the Russian — under the name of the "Soviet people".

Not a single "republic" has even a paper right to secede from the USSR, because the fictional article about "voluntary secession" is neutralized by the unlimited sovereign rights given to the "Soviet people" (i.e. the Russians), the Communist party centralized in the Politburo, the centralized KGB, the office of the General Procurator, the centralized Soviet armed forces commanded by the Politburo, and the totally centralized state bureaucracy commanded by the all-Union government. The latter holds in its hands all the vital aspects and functions of the state, leaving to the so-called "republican" governments trivial tasks of a colonial nature.

There are no safeguards whatsoever for the rights of a nation (even in theory) — that is impossible in an empire, and, therefore, the human rights of a person who belongs to a subjugated nation also cannot be guaranteed. The general preamble and the preambles to the relevant articles of the constitution reject in principle all national and human rights when they state that those rights are subordinate to the interests of the "Soviet people", the Communist party, the "working class" and the USSR. Moreover, the constitution

is interpreted by the General Procurator of the USSR — i.e. the KGB.

A logical outcome of the “new” imperial constitution is the strengthening of the russification processes of the subjugated nations. The introduction into the constitution of a new element — the “Soviet people” as a euphemism for a Russian super-nation — has resulted in a bold and pressing russification policy on the part of Moscow. The Russian language has been given the status of a privileged language — “the language of Lenin, indispensable in the relations among peoples, and as a means of access to the achievements of world culture.” In reality this makes the Russian language a tool of denationalization and assimilation of the non-Russian nations. In a situation of complete bankruptcy of Communism as a system of life Moscow has now totally disclosed its imperialistic policies both in theory and practice.

If any of the subjugated nations wished to practise Communism, then, logically, it could best be preached in the mother tongue of a given people. But since Moscow can no longer rely on an ideology that is dead in the occupied countries, it openly stirs the chauvinistic instincts of the Russian masses in order to mobilize them for the campaign to russify the subjugated nations.

In Georgia and Armenia Moscow tried to eliminate from the “republican” constitutions the native tongue as the official language of the “republic”, but the people demonstrated in the streets, and Moscow had to retreat. The offensive on Byelorussia has escalated drastically and russification is already celebrating its pogroms. Because of Russian colonialism in Kazakhstan, Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia, ethnocide and genocide continue. Russification is not only a forced implementation of the Russian language, but it is simultaneously a type of colonization by the Russians of the occupied territories — a cultural, ethnic, religious and physical destruction of entire nations. The forced deportation of North Caucasians, Crimean Tartars, Volga Germans, Kalmyks and Don Cossacks, and the simultaneous mass importation of Russians into those territories to replace the native populations, is a contemptible form of russification. The mass importation of Russian into the Ukrainian regions of Donbas, Kharkiv, etc — that is russification. The privileged status of the Russian language in the educational system of the occupied countries, the compulsory nature of teaching Russian culture, history and literature, the promotion of the cult of the Russian tsars, military leaders, writers, etc. is yet another path towards russification.

The struggle for national culture, national environment in the schools, national spirituality in literature and the arts, and, finally, the struggle for the preservation of the mother tongue, is a task of prime importance in our respective homelands, which demands our full support from abroad.

The newspaper “Soviet Education” (11 Nov. 1978) published a decree of the Russian colonial government in Ukraine which paves

the way for further russification of the entire Ukrainian educational system on all levels. The decree calls for: the teaching of the Russian language to Ukrainian children *en masse* from the first grade; the raising of the teaching methods of the Russian language to the privileged status enjoyed by foreign languages, which means teaching in smaller groups with the exclusive use of Russian in all subjects of study; increasing the numbers of Russian teachers in the Ukrainian educational systems; the creation in Ukraine of more centres of specialization in the field of Russian language and literature; the holding of "language olympiads" in Russian language and literature on all levels of the public school system — from the regional to the "republican".

The struggle for the national (by content and language) cultures, and the battle against the policies of total russification have become an issue of prime concern in the countries occupied by the Russian imperialists. We, as spokesmen for the subjugated nations, and our entire diaspora, must join in this struggle with all the means at our disposal.

Against the current onslaught of Russian imperialism and chauvinism it is necessary to rise in massive protest-actions, emphasizing in particular the Russian occupation (national, political, economic and cultural in nature) of numerous countries. The main objective of such occupation is russification, which constitutes a whole array of methods and means of annihilation of the ethno-national, cultural and religious, ideological and philosophical, folkloric, traditional, and linguistic substance of the subjugated nations. The mother tongue is a particularly important factor for the preservation of the intrinsic national cultural spirituality. **THE STRUGGLE FOR THE MOTHER TONGUE IS AN ELEMENTARY FACTOR IN THE STRUGGLE FOR THE SOUL OF A NATION!**

It is the duty of the political leadership of the diaspora of the subjugated nations to call and organize joint massive actions of all types against russification, and in this manner strengthen the battle for the national culture and language in their respective homelands. Community, academic, cultural, youth, women's, veterans' and other organizations must also join the growing anti-russification front. It is also imperative to mobilize analogous organizations of the nations among which lives the diaspora of the subjugated nations. This struggle in defence of the national language and culture of the subjugated nations is, in its essence, a struggle against the barbarization of life, against the cultural impoverishment of mankind. World geniuses thrive and create whilst nourished by their own national spiritual, cultural and linguistic environment. **HE WHO KILLS THE LANGUAGE OF A NATION, KILLS THE SOUL OF THAT NATION**, which, in turn, leads to the de-spiritualization of the life of mankind because world culture is, in its essence, a mosaic of national cultures.

It is imperative in the free world to document the russification policies and practices before government, parliamentary, academic and cultural forums, as well as the mass media, and urge their intervention in order to force Moscow to stop its ethnic, cultural, linguistic and biological destruction of the subjugated nations. The current wave of Russian chauvinism must be turned into a subject of concern and action at all international political conferences, and academic and professional meetings of local, national and international nature. Those Russian nationals WHO OPPOSE Moscow's policies of imperialism and chauvinism have now yet another opportunity to declare their anti-imperialistic stand in concrete actions, which would be useful for the establishment of good relations between them and the subjugated nations.

The representatives of the subjugated nations in the free world must, by all possible means, supply their respective countries with information about the actions taken against russification and in support of the re-establishment of independent national states in place of the Russian empire. Such information is vital in order to strengthen the embattled nations morally, spiritually and ideologically in their struggle against the Russian invader.

Special efforts must be channelled into a continued defence of the cultural activists of the subjugated nations, who were the first to join in the battle against russification — a gallant stand for which they paid with long terms of confinement in prisons and concentration camps — some of them even with their lives.

The defence of the nationalists-revolutionaries currently incarcerated in the "Gulag" is our constant duty, because they embody the ideal of national sovereignty and independence, which is the key to the realization of all the national and human rights in our homeland. Our actions cannot be limited to more "armchair protests". We must bring out into the streets masses of people to protest before and put pressure on Soviet Russian embassies, consulates and other representatives of the invader in the free world, and, at the same time, urge and demand intervention on part of the free world to assist our nations battling now for their very survival.

VALENTYN MOROZ FREE

Valentyn Moroz, who for many years as a political prisoner was the symbol of Ukraine's struggle against Russian oppression, is since his release taking on a new role as the symbol of hope in Ukraine's eventual victory in that struggle.

Valentyn Moroz was one of five political prisoners exchanged by the Soviet Government for two Russian spies imprisoned by the US Government on espionage charges. President Jimmy Carter took a personal role in negotiating the exchange which was completed on April 27 when the five political prisoners were flown to New York.

At every one of his public appearances Moroz has reiterated his nationalistic beliefs and has made it plain he stands by the principles outlined in his writings.

Moroz, who will be taking up a post as lecturer at the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, said he believed he could do more in the West for Ukraine because if he had remained in Ukraine he would have been re-arrested soon after his release.

Moroz believes he and the other political prisoners were released because of the pressure exerted on Moscow by the West, possibly linked to the SALT negotiations. He said the Ukrainian community's strength was also a factor in his release.

Valentyn Moroz appears to have adopted a firmly nationalistic political stance, and says he sees as one of his tasks to draw closer together Ukrainian groups of various political persuasions.

He has already proved himself to be a man of extraordinary will-power and immense charisma and it remains to be seen whether the Ukrainian community as a whole will react positively to the opportunities and lead presented to them by Moroz and instill with fresh vigour the struggle for the release of political prisoners and the independence of Ukraine.

Below we print some information about Valentyn Moroz including a short biography, a selection of his public statements and a short analysis of his literary works by Mr Jaroslav Wasyluk.

BIOGRAPHY

Valentyn Moroz was born on April 15, 1936 in the village of Kholonovy in the Volyn region of Western Ukraine. His parents were peasant farmers.

He graduated from the Lviv University history faculty in 1958 and taught history and geography in secondary schools until 1964 when he began lecturing at the Lutsk Pedagogical Institute and then from September of that year at the Ivano-Frankivsk Pedagogical Institute.

Moroz was first arrested in 1965 in connection with a doctoral thesis he was writing about Polish-occupied Ukraine in 1934.

Moroz was sentenced to four years imprisonment in 1966. He was released in September 1969 only to be re-arrested in June 1970. This time he was sentenced to nine years imprisonment plus five years exile on charges of "anti-Soviet propaganda for the purpose of subverting Soviet rule".

During his first imprisonment Moroz had produced a number of literary works which established him as a powerful writer and a leading member of the Ukrainian resistance.

Whilst imprisoned Moroz was subjected to a variety of tortures, and assaults. In 1976 only a worldwide outcry prevented the KGB from incarcerating Moroz in a psychiatric prison. Much of his sentence was spent in solitary confinement in the notorious Vladimir prison in Moscow. On two occasions during his second imprisonment Moroz declared lengthy hunger-strikes (one lasted over five months) and had to be force-fed.

*

MOROZ ON NATIONALISM

Asked how he would describe himself in terms of political ideology, Valentyn Moroz said he is, above all else, a Ukrainian nationalist. "Every person should take a stand for the independence of his nation", he said.

He added: "I understand nationalism in the same manner it was understood by Taras Shevchenko, who, for me, is the highest authority and a Ukrainian prophet. For him, a factor such as Ukraine, the nation, was the highest reality. He said: 'I love my Ukraine so strongly that I would curse even God, that I would lose my soul for it'.

"In my opinion, nationalism is not something that should be placed alongside other ideologies, alongside other tendencies. Nationalism should run like a thread through every meaningful ideology. Religion becomes a meaningful religion when it becomes a national religion. Every political phenomenon and spiritual phenomenon becomes meaningful when it grows into concrete national ground, is penetrated by its juices and becomes a concrete national phenomenon. As an example, one could cite Catholicism in Poland. Polish Catholicism has blended so well with the notion of Polishness, with the Polish spirit, that one can no longer differentiate the two components. Now it is one: Polish Catholicism. This is a mighty weapon in the hands of the Poles. This should be the case with every spiritual phenomenon".

STATEMENT TO UKRAINIAN COMMUNITY, MAY 12, NEW YORK

My dear fellow Ukrainians!

I am deeply indebted to all of you. Since the first day of my arrival, I have yet to feel greater sincerity and warmth in my entire life. My reaction to this warm greeting is indeed somewhat hurried; I can only say "Thank You!" and then be on my way. There is such little time. Today, I am with you and this brings me great joy . . .

I lived in Ukraine under Soviet Russian rule. I have seen hundreds of 'Komsomol' gatherings and was even a leader in the 'Komsomol', but I have yet to see that fire, that enthusiasm, which I have seen in the Ukrainian youth here in America. Even then, on my second day in the U.S., when I was by the UN Plaza Hotel, I said to myself: "Moscow has lost its fight for Ukraine".

Ukrainian youth throughout the world present a formidable explosive potential. Do not accept the notion, that the youth in Ukraine is Communist . . . Communists lie to you, just as they lied to us. They constantly told us that Ukrainian rallies in America are attended by no more than a handful of individuals. Well, let them listen to "Voice of America". Let them hear our numbers when we sing our national anthem; when, at our next demonstration to the Soviet Russian Mission we chant: "Free Shukhevych!"

Our youth is seized with a great goal, which presents itself like a crystal-like melody. Even now I am dazed in wonderment by the sight of such pure fire in your eyes, by such pure burning desire in your youthful hearts. For me the purest display of sincerity was that by the Ukrainian youth, who welcomed me in the U.S.

I am proud to state that I am a nationalist! And you should not be afraid of calling yourselves nationalists . . . Let the non-nationalist hide his non-nationalism. I shall not hide mine. Do not be afraid to have enemies. For one, who has many enemies, also possesses many friends. You must not hide! You must shatter the stereotype, which Moscow has thrown upon America. We must teach all Americans that nationalism is not nazism . . . Let Moscow seek out Nazis within its own ranks. Hitler's camps were based upon the Russian model. The first camp was established not in Germany, but in Russia in 1919. Moscow divided war spoils in 1939 together with the Nazis. When Nazi bombs shelled Coventry, Moscow applauded. Let them seek out Nazis within their own ranks. Nazi camps have long disappeared. Communist concentration camps still remain.

Do not fear that some may say that you are limited, because you love your nation and see nothing beyond it. Yes, I know that all people are equal. My reasoning tells me so. But, yet, at the same time, I know that my nation is the greatest! Those are the words coming from my heart. Yes, I'd rather believe in my heart, than in my brain.

Only a nation which firmly believes in its mission, steps out into the world victoriously.

A world, which does not include a free Ukraine, cannot exist. For me a physical existence is insufficient. A philosophy of mere existence is the philosophy of animals. My children and their children must be Ukrainian. Anything less for me is inconceivable. And if someone says that assimilation is a natural process, let him assimilate with me, but not I with him.

Yes, assimilation is omnipresent, but there are both strong as well as weak, — those who assimilate and those who are assimilated. We should be among the strong, the constructors, rather than the material or their construction.

The Ukrainian youth in free world has a specific mission. Once we win the final battle and a blue and yellow Ukrainian flag is raised in Kyiv, we have yet to fill the vacuum created by the Soviet Russian oppression and create a new spiritual bastion cleansed of Soviet Russian influence.

Our eternal trident has a threefold symbolism: the nation, its faith and the right of the individual to choose his own fate. We may possess different views, but with a common spiritual goal. Everyone has the right to choose his own path. But in choosing that path, we must remember that together we must bear three important objects: the blue and yellow Ukrainian flag, the holy trident and our sacred slogan — DEATH TO THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE — FREEDOM FOR UKRAINE.

LAST HOURS BEFORE RELEASE

During a press conference in New York Valentyn Moroz told of the events preceeding his arrival in New York City on April 27.

There was no hint to indicate that Valentyn Moroz was to be released and sent to the United States as part of an exchange deal between the Soviet and U.S. governments.

There was no hint in the treatment that Mr. Moroz received — it was always harsh.

Mr. Moroz was last imprisoned in Camp No. 1 in Sosnovka, Mordovian ASSR.

On the night before his release his measurements (including neck measurements — this, Mr. Moroz said, was unusual) were taken and he was told to change from the striped camp garments to black prison garb. He had to sign his name in a book when given the clothes, and it was then that he noticed the names of Aleksander Ginzburg and Edvard Kuznetsov before his. He understood that this was more than a coincidence.

He was then taken to Potma station and seated on the train with

KGB agents. The train arrived in Moscow and he was taken to Lefortovo Prison, where he was placed in a cell with a prisoner jailed for dealing in foreign currency. Mr. Moroz protested the fact that he was to share a cell with a common criminal and declared a hunger strike.

The next morning he was awakened earlier than the usual 6 a.m., probably at about 5 a.m., and was told to shave. Mr. Moroz refused to eat breakfast since he had declared a hunger strike.

He was given civilian clothes — a Polish-made Vistula suit and Czecho-Slovakian-made shoes. "Apparently the Soviet Union has neither", Mr. Moroz quipped at the press conference.

He was taken into the office of the chief warden of Lefortova Prison where a man by the name of Gavrilov, a representative of the prosecutor general, read a statement saying that Valentyn Moroz was being stripped of his Soviet citizenship and expelled from the Soviet Union for his hostile activity.

Mr. Moroz said that the officials thought this would have a great emotional effect upon him, but he was concerned mostly about his manuscripts. The warden said Mr. Moroz would not be allowed to take a single page with him. Mr. Moroz protested, saying he would not leave without them. In addition to the manuscripts, the authorities withheld books, letters, Ukrainian art works and an icon.

Mr. Moroz was then asked if he wanted any family members to emigrate. He listed his wife Raisa, 42, son Valentyn, 17, and father Yakiv, 75.

At this point Mr. Moroz was to leave the prison, but he refused to do so without his manuscripts. He was forcibly carried out of Lefortovo into a waiting car, a Volga, by two persons in civilian clothes who turned out to be KGB agents. It was interesting to note, said Mr. Moroz, that the two were already drunk at 7 a.m.

In the car, Mr. Moroz tried to lean on the seat in front of him but his hand was slapped. There was no conversation in the car. Mr. Moroz looked out the window and saw that they were headed toward Moscow's Sheremetevo International Airport.

A car in front carried Pastor Georgi Vins, but Mr. Moroz was not aware of this at the time.

At the airport there were hordes of KGB agents. At first the car drove around the airport, then several cars parked side by side. Mr. Moroz nodded a greeting to Mr. Ginsburg. After a commercial Aeroflot plane drove up, the five dissidents were escorted one by one into the central section of the plane. The section was sealed off from the others. Some 15-16 KGB agents and a doctor accompanied the five dissidents. The dissidents were told to sit in the window seats; two KGB agents sat with each of them in the other seats.

Mr. Moroz said that he had hoped the airplane would fly over Ukraine so that he could once more see the Dnipro River. Instead it flew to the north, and Mr. Moroz saw the Latvian coast.

Mr. Moroz asked a KGB agent if they were flying to Switzerland and was told, "you'll see".

At some point, the stewardess announced that the route would take them to Gander, Newfoundland, and then to New York.

Mr. Moroz recalled that the first piece of free land that he saw was Sweden.

Jaroslav WASYLUK

MOROZ'S LITERATURE OF RESISTANCE

*"Avengers strong will make my weapon bright,
And with it bravely rush into the fight . . .
O sword of mine, serve thou those warrior bands,
For better than thou servest these weak hands!"*

These words were written by Lesya Ukrainka in 1896, but today they are still relevant as the day they were written. The 'sword' which Lesya Ukrainka writes about is the 'word', the 'word' which may serve as sword in the hands of others. This word, is not as many may think, simply a battle-cry. It is more than that. It is a profound, self-searching analysis of one's predicament — in this case the predicament of one's people, one's nation. Only when one's awareness of this situation is made clear would one rush into battle.

A great deal of positive probing and constructive planning needs to be done first. I would add to this that probably the main achievement of such writers as Taras Shevchenko or Lesya Ukrainka has been the extent to which they were able to make a lucid analysis of Ukraine's predicament and, as a result, heighten the awareness of their compatriots in their darkest hour. In fact much of Ukrainian literature has been written with this one idea in mind. So one does not find it surprising that Valentyn Moroz writes in this tradition.

Valentyn Moroz began to write at a time when Ukraine and its people had indeed been through a dark hour, at a time when the "word", so important to a writer, who wants to change it with meaning and moral strength was devalued. The new totalitarianism which reached its peak during Stalin's time demanded from the writer works on certain prescribed themes — socialist construction, odes to the party, and its so-called 'far-sightedness', poems and novels about work on the collective farms and so forth. What is more, innovation was seen as 'ideologically suspect' and even a simple poem about one's love of Ukraine could be seen as having "nationalist undertones" as was the case with Volodymyr Sosyura's celebrated poem *Love Ukraine*.

But the devaluation of the "word" had very grave bearings on other aspects of human life. Valentyn Moroz wrote in his essay *Among the Snows*:

"Devaluation of the word resulted in a terrible devaluation of all notions. Aim, ideal, heroism, heroic feat — all found themselves in the category of fancied notions. Firmly separated by his nihilism from anything spiritual, the working man threw everything overboard. Tychna was known only as a poet who "writes in verse, each time worse".

For Ukraine the tragedy was double, as was the case with all "nationals" (i.e. the non-Russians) of the Soviet Union. For such concepts as nation, patriotism, native language, motherland, also found themselves in the register of the "fancied", "bookish" fictions. A person who did not believe in anything was bound to become indifferent to them too.

Just how deep the tentacles of Stalinist totalitarianism reached into the soul of human beings and where in the people lies the power that has the potential to resist their clutches is the main theme of his remarkable essays, such as *A Report from the Beria Reserve*, *Amidst the Snows*, *Moses and Dathan* and *Chronicle of Resistance*. At the centre of the re-birth which came about at the beginning of the sixties in the works of such poets and writers as Vasyl Symonenko and Lina Kostenko stands the individual who has gained his self-respect, dignity and national pride. Valentyn Moroz wrote about them:

"And so to this cold, burnt-out place, from where even the ashes have been swept away by the wind long ago, there came the poets of the sixties — "Symonenko's generation". Not everything was of value or profound in their first works. Nevertheless their arrival was an epoch. For they restored the lost weight to words and concepts, they compelled people to believe again in the reality of the spiritual word. Their's was a genuine feat: in an atmosphere of total loss of faith to believe in something and to kindle the faith in others".

One could say without doubt that Moroz carried those developments which were began in the sixties in Ukraine a stage further — what was in the shade is now brought into the open — the censors and the critics could snip out lines of Symonenko's poetry of which disapproved but they would be helpless when faced with Moroz's writings — such is their force and openness. His criticism of the Soviet system is incisive and devastating. In English literature the force of his works perhaps could be compared with the invective of Swift's essays (against British policy in Ireland in the 18th century).

Moroz exposes and mocks the contradictions inherent in the Russian domination of Ukraine and does not falter when analysing such sensitive issues as Ukrainian nationalism. When Ivan Dzyuba, one of the most outstanding literary critics of the sixties in Ukraine,

himself an author of a brilliant critique of the Soviet system, *Internationalism or Russification* showed signs of weakness which led to his capitulation, Valentyn Moroz wrote his essay *Amidst the Snows* in which he argues for the "rehabilitation" of the concept of nationalism, pointing out that the entire world uses it in a positive sense and fights under its banner.

In such a spirit he criticises Yevdokia Los' claim to love her native Byelorussia in *Moses and Dathan* when at the same time she states she equally loves Moscow. Moroz finds this contradictory as he believes that all nations are equal, one's nation is special and best in one's own eyes.

In his essay *A Chronicle of Resistance*, Moroz analyses the threat to Ukrainian culture, tradition and religion in Kosmach, a village in the Carpathian Mountains. The culture of the inhabitants of that region, the Hutsuls, is threatened on a scale unseen before. Not only are these threats represented by modern technology in the shape of oil exploitation but there is wanton plundering of many works of art, which characterize the spiritual life of the Hutsuls. This gives Moroz the opportunity to ponder on the meaning of the concept of tradition. For him it means the organic blending of the old and the new, a constant process of growth through the ages without losing a minute shred of what has been created.

One could say that according to Moroz, the whole basis of the national rebirth is the individual fired by a "profound faith" which he calls "oderzhymist". This "oderzhymist" is not logical persuasion, a person is not convinced by reasoned arguments but by a deep-rooted faith. Moroz writes: "From the outside it looks as if a person is first being persuaded and then he begins to believe. In actual fact it is precisely the opposite; at first a person catches fire, is infected with faith, and only then arguments are selected for the already held conviction. In order to believe, arguments will be found. Sometimes they are naive, but this does not matter".

Moroz's essays will do much to continue the struggle carried on in Ukraine today. They will in Lesya Ukrainka's words be a "sword" for future "warrior bands" a morally reinvigorating strength for future generations.

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George A. PERFECKY

AN ENGLISH-UKRAINIAN DICTIONARY FOR THE WESTERN USER: PAST AND FUTURE

The following text is taken from a talk given at Harvard University by Professor George Perfeky.

The talk was in the form of a review of existing Ukrainian-English dictionaries and suggestions for future improvements.

This article presents a review of four English-Ukrainian dictionaries that have been published in the past, followed by my views of what an English-Ukrainian dictionary should look like to be of benefit for the western user. Here I must add that I am not too happy with this limitation of the dictionary's usage strictly to the West, which has been placed upon my topic, for what will be said of the English in the four dictionaries under review will also be of benefit for the consumer of English-Ukrainian dictionaries in Soviet Ukraine. My review is based on a close examination of the letters *A* to *E* in each of the four dictionaries, since that is how far I have progressed in my own compilation of an English-Ukrainian dictionary.

The first dictionary under review is that compiled by Lew and Werbianyj and published in Nuremberg-Bayreuth in 1947.¹ Intended, according to the preface, to be primarily "for those learning English",² it did not and could not accomplish its purpose of teaching its readers English (whether it be British or American), for its compilers simply did not know English. Examples of such incredible mistranslations as: 1) *abdicate* (p. 1) rendered by *zarikatysja pyty* (swear not to drink any more); 2) *apply* (p. 6) given the preposterous meaning *svataty divčynu* (seek a girl's hand in marriage through a matchmaker); 3) the rendering of *back up* (p. 9) by *sidaty na konja* (mount a horse); and 4) the translation of the sentence "I have a disease" (p. 27) by "*ja je xvoryj (lehko), nedysponovanyj*" — i.e. I am sick (in parentheses: slightly), indisposed — all bear initial witness to this fact. The compilers in very many cases had no idea or at the most a poor idea of what the most common everyday English words meant, as shown also by renderings of such words as: 1) *bore* (p. 12) by *neščastja* (unhappiness; misfortune); 2) *crumb* (p. 23) by *robyty kotlety* (make cutlets); 3) *edge* (p. 29) by *niž* (knife); and 4) *editor* (p. 29) by *vydavec* (publisher).

1) *An English-Ukrainian and Ukrainian-English Dictionary. First Part: English-Ukrainian* by Dr. Wasył Lew and Iwan Werbianyj, Nuremberg-Bayreuth, 1947.

2) *Ibid.*, p. V.

Equally annoying was their unwitting use of archaic and obsolete English meanings: e.g., 1) *attempt* (p. 8) defined as *spokušaty* (tempt)³; 2) *conversation* (p. 20) — as *povodžennja* (behaviour)⁴; 3) *converse* (p. 20) — as *rozмова* (conversation)⁵; (4) *despite* (p. 26) — as *pohorda* (contempt, disdain)⁶; and finally 5) *evil* (p. 32) defined as *xvoroba* (illness or disease).⁷

However, not any less annoying was the presence of what may be generally termed poor English usage. This ranged from incorrect phrase-entries like: 1) “tired *by run* (p. 14), *stomlenyj bihom*” instead of “tired *from running*”; 2) “*dress-making* (p. 28) *švalja*” instead of “*dress-maker*”; and 3) “*electric ironer* (p. 30), *elektryčne zalizko*” instead of “*electric iron*”; to specific grammatical mistakes like the wrong choice of a preposition: e.g., “*in* (instead of *on*) the contrary” (p. 20) and “to despair *on* (instead of: *of*)” (p. 26; or the omission of an indefinite article: e.g., “I have headache, *mene bolyt’ holova*” (p. 2).

Remembering the compilers’ goal that this dictionary was written “to fill the needs of those learning English, first and foremost those in schools” (p. V), one cannot help but wonder what kind of English these students were learning, when, in addition to the defects already mentioned, certain entries were glossed by wrong parts of speech. E.g., 1) *apparently* (p. 6), an adverb, was glossed as an adjective: *naočnyj* (evident, visible); 2) *appear* (p. 6), an infinitive, was glossed as a third person singular present tense: *vydajetsja, nače by* (it appears as if); and 3) *cutter* (p. 24), a noun, was glossed as a verb: *vykrojuvaty* (cut out). One need not even say anything about certain obvious mis-translations present here. Sometimes an entire phrase was distorted — this time not through glossing by a wrong part of speech, but through the misunderstanding of a part of speech in the original English. Thus, instead of the phrase “a fair (i.e. clean) *copy*, *čysta kopija*”, in which *copy* is a noun, the compilers wrote “to *copy* fair, (p. 21), *pysaty na čysto*”, treating *copy* as a verb and thus creating a phrase which does not exist in English.

In their well-intentioned attempt to help Ukrainian students learn English, the compilers have included certain parenthetical remarks which are not only totally wrong, but occasionally also quite ludicrous e.g., p. 5: “*although (stojit’ zavždy na počatku rečennja* — i.e. is always found at the beginning of a sentence);” p. 8: “to *attend* a school, *včytysja v školi (pravyl’no)* — i.e. to study properly in school”; and p. 21: “*country, selo (ne misto)* — i.e. a village (sic!), not a city”.

As far as the choice of Ukrainian lexical items is concerned, the

3) Archaic according to *The Oxford English Dictionary* (henceforth abbreviated OED), Oxford, 1933, vol. 1, p. 547.

4) *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 941.

5) Archaic both in noun form and meaning according to *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English* (henceforth abbreviated COD), Oxford, 1964, p. 267.

6) OED, vol. 3, p. 253 (obsolete or archaic).

7) *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 350 (obsolete).

compilers were not averse to including dialectal Ukrainian words in their dictionary. Thus, one finds such items like *nahannyj*⁸ (instead of *dohannyj*) for *exceptionable* (p. 32) and *očna halka*⁹ (instead of *očne jabluko*) for *eyeball* (p. 33). Of dubious value is the word *stolec*' (instead of *stilec*') for *chair* (p. 16), which although recorded in the *Hrinčenko*¹⁰ and *Andrusyshen*¹¹ dictionaries, certainly must be outdated by now. (In fact here the *Andrusyshen* dictionary as an independent source must be disregarded, since it is based on the *Hrinčenko* dictionary). Far more annoying, however, is the use of the compilers' "poetic license" to make up their own words like *vidkryvec*' (instead of *vidkryvač*) for *discoverer* (p. 27) and erroneous remarks about Ukrainian grammar as, for example, in the definition of *according to* (p. 2) — the statement that the preposition *po* (which is given as one of its definitions) is used with the instrumental case in Ukrainian: *po (z orudn. v.)!*

Occasionally Ukrainian items were misspelled, as in the case of *proklattja* (instead of *prokljattja*) for *damn it!* (p. 24) and *tarcjuryst* (instead of *tancjuryst*) for *dancer* (p. 24), yet in the overwhelming majority of cases the misprints occurred in the English rather than the Ukrainian. However, because these "misprints" occurred almost consistently in the words being defined, one doubts whether one can think of them as true misprints. They should be viewed rather as the final conclusive evidence of this review that the compilers — Lew and Werbianyj — simply did not know English. Thus, *approach* and *develop* are spelled with a final *e*, while *definite* appears without it: *approche* (p. 6), *develope* (p. 26), and *definit* (p. 24); *association* appears with a *t* instead of a *c*: *assotiation* (p. 7); *bicycle* has *k* in place of the second *c*: *bicykle* (p. 11); *afraid* and *caress* are spelled with a double *f* and a double *r* respectively, while *choice* and *disappearance* appear with an *s* in the final syllable: *affraid* u. 6), *carress* (p. 15), *choise* (p. 16), and *disappearanse* (p. 26); *crafty* ends in an *i*: *crafti* (p. 22); and finally *dinner-wagon* and *diphtheria* are spelled with a double *g* and without a second *h* respectively: *dinner-waggon*, *diphtheria* (both on p. 26).

The second dictionary under review is that compiled by Salastyn and published in Richmond Hill, New York, in 1956.¹² A much more ambitious effort than the Lew-Werbianyj dictionary just discussed; when one compares the 33 pages for the letters *A* to *E* with the 422 pages for the same letters of Salastyn's project,¹³ one would think that finally here was a serious attempt at an English-Ukrainian

8) This is the adjective from *nahana*, which is glossed as dialectal for *dohana* in the *Slovnyk ukrains'koj movy*, Kyiv (Akademija Nauk URSR), vol. 5, p. 47.

9) Anrusyshen, C. H. and J. N. Krett, *Ukrainian-English Dictionary*, Toronto, 1957, p. 135.

10) Hrinčenko, B., *Slovar' ukrains'koj movy*, Kyiv, 1958 (reprint of the 1907-9 edition), vol. 4, p. 209.

11) Andrusyshen, p. 1010.

12) *English-Ukrainian Dictionary* compiled by John Salastyn, Richmond Hill, 1956.

13) In all fairness to Lew and Werbianyj, one must keep in mind that Salastyn included a great amount of scientific material which the former had no intention of including.

dictionary. Its Ukrainian title, *Anglijs'ko-Ukrains'kyj slovnyk* (spelled with a *g* and a capital *U*), was a hint, however, of the total disappointment that was to come, despite the compiler's proud remark in the preface that "when one plans to publish an English-Ukrainian dictionary, one must produce a monumental work".¹⁴

The main defect of Salastyn's dictionary is the fact that the compiler had no concept of what constitutes a dictionary. Rather than consistently trying to find Ukrainian equivalents for English words, Salastyn very often preferred to explain their meanings in Ukrainian. Thus, for *abolitionist* (p. 12), instead of the single word *abolicionist* one finds an explanation with examples: "toj, xto aktyvno provadyv borot'bu proty rabstva abo panščyny, jak os', prym. (sic!) Džon Broun v Ameryci (1859 r.) Abraham Lynkol'n i Tiris Ševčenko ai Ukraïni (one who actively struggled against slavery or serfdom as, for example, John Brown in America (1859), Abraham Lincoln, and Taras Shevchenko in Ukraine)". Occasionally the explanation results in a narrow meaning as in the case of *accompanist* (p. 17) rendered by "toj, xto *akompanuje*,¹⁵ *suprovodyt' pryhraje* do spivu (one who *accompanies* someone's singing — with the verb "to accompany" translated for some unknown reason by three Ukrainian equivalents!)" instead of simply one word — *akompan'jator*, which does not limit the accompaniment to singing only. When he did give single word equivalents — e.g., *acid* (p. 21), rendered correctly by *kyslota* and *kvas*¹⁶ — Salastyn often could not help supplying additional information — in this case the listing of the common properties of acids!

Quite often Salastyn's method of "explanations" resulted in poor definitions, as in the case of "*astigmatic* (p. 104), *dotyčnyj neduhy očej* (concerning an illness of the eyes — *sic!*)" instead of *astyhmatyčnyj*, or in that of *baseball* (p. 130), which was given three equivalents: 1) *hra u m'jač* — which is simply "a ball game"; 2) *hylka*¹⁷ — a Ukrainian ball game; and finally the correct equivalent which was misspelled: 3) *bezbol* (*sic!*) instead of *bejsbol*. And sometimes there was no definition at all, when one considers the order in which it was given: e.g., *Russian Bath*, (p. 132), "de vžyvajeťsja horjača para, natyrannja i zanurennja v xolodnij vodi (where hot steam is used, a rubbing down and immersion in cold water)".

Because Salastyn quite obviously had no idea what to include in and what to exclude from his dictionary and preferred to include everything that seemed important to him rather than to keep something out, his dictionary also became a storage place for all kinds of "words of advice" which had nothing to do with the words being

14) The language of the Ukrainian original for this — "*nakoly* (*sic!*) vy pljanujete vydaty anhlis'ko-ukrains'koho slovnyka, to potribno vydaty kapital'nu pracju" (p. III) — also leaves something to be desired. Salastyn's Ukrainian will be discussed later in this review.

15) The spelling for this word follows Soviet Ukrainian orthography.

16) *Slovnyk ukrains'koj movy*, vol 4, p. 131.

17) *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 61.

defined: e.g., *sun bath* (pp. 132-133), "sonjašna vanna. Sonjašne svitlo v litnju poru potribno zhyvaty duže oberežno: počynajučy vperše til'ky 15 xvylyn; vdruhe pobilšyty do 30 xvylyn, oberežno i rozvažlyvo pobilšujučy, ihe *nakoly*¹⁸ (*sic!*) zamytnyj škidylyvyj vplyv to zmenšyty. (Sun bath. Sunlight in the summertime should be used very carefully: starting at first with only 15 minutes, the second time with an increase to 30 minutes, [thus] increasing [the amount of time] carefully and cautiously, or decreasing it when a harmful effect has been noticed)". Thus, it was only occasionally that one found an incomplete definition: e.g., *dragoman* (p. 374), "perekladčyk, tlumač, perekladač" (i.e. an interpreter — again rendered by three Ukrainian equivalents!) What Salastyn failed to add was that *dragoman* is limited in meaning; it does denote an interpreter, but *only* of Arabic, Turkish, or Persian.¹⁹

Since Salastyn's dictionary was published in America, one would think that some of the mistakes found in the Lew-Werbianyjn dictionary would not be repeated here. Unfortunately, that is not the case. As in Lew-Werbianyjn one finds here grammatical mistakes like the wrong choice of a preposition: e.g., p. 220: "to care of (instead of *for*)"; or the use of a preposition where it is not needed: e.g., p. 62: "ample of time"; as well as the omission of the indefinite and definite articles, which strangely enough occurs more frequently here than in the Lew-Werbianyjn dictionary: e.g., p. 18: "to accredit ambassador" (instead of *an* ambassador); p. 23: "acquitting person of a charge" (instead of *a* person . . .); p. 226: "to catch train" (instead of *a* train); and p. 136: "to bear brunt of burden" (instead of *the* brunt of *the* burden). Occasionally such an omission is complicated by wrong word order as in the case of the phrase "arises question (p. 91), vynykaje pytannja" (instead of *the* question arises). What one also finds in Salastyn — but not in Lew-Werbianyjn — is the ridiculous juxtaposition of an English plural noun with an indefinite article which precedes it: e.g., "*an* air currents" (p. 47) and "under *a* given conditions" (p. 275) or the definition of an English plural noun by a noun which is singular in Ukrainian as, for example, *clergyman* (p. 253) rendered by Ukrainian *svjaščenyk* — i.e. "priest" (*sic!*) This can be attributed only to very poor editing, which cannot be said of the Lew-Werbianyjn dictionary, whose compilers, writing their work in very unfavorable conditions in Germany, committed most of their mistakes simply due to a lack of knowledge of English rather than an unprofessional approach to their project, which characterizes the Salastyn dictionary. Here the poor editing occasionally borders on the ridiculous, as in the case of an example on p. 285 where there is no Ukrainian meaning and the English appears first in Cyrillic letters: "džinerals konspajr egenst Hitler" and then in English "Generals conspire against Hitler" (*sic*) — for which there is really no excuse.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. 5, p. 107 (dialectal for *koły*).

¹⁹ *OED*, vol. 3, p. 635.

Neither can one find an explanation for the glossing of certain lexical entries by wrong parts of speech as, for example: 1) a noun by an adjective: e.g., *absence* (p. 12) by *neprysutnij* (sic!)²⁰ — i.e. "absent"; 2) a participial phrase by a noun: e.g., *aided by* (p. 47) by *pomich* — i.e. "help"; or 3) a noun by a prepositional phrase: e.g., *chairmanship* (p. 234) by *paid provodom holovy* — i.e. "under the guidance of the chairman"; nor is there an explanation for the liberty Salastyn occasionally takes with the English language, e.g.: *Cossack*, (p. 299), spelled with a double s, is used to denote a Russian Cossack, while the same word spelled with a single s, according to Salastyn, is a Ukrainian Cossack. No such distinction was ever recorded in English dictionaries.

Compared with Lew and Werbianyj, who because of their lack of knowledge of English unwittingly listed archaic and obsolete meanings of current English words, Salastyn found nothing wrong in going one step further and listing archaic and obsolete words themselves, which, however, were not marked as such and could mislead the unsuspecting user into accepting them as part of current English usage. Thus, one finds, for example, the obsolete²¹ *acknow* (p. 21), which was used once in the meaning "confess the knowledge of", misdefined in Salastyn by *podaty do vidoma* (make known), as well as the obsolete²² *addor* (p. 32), correctly defined by *pry dverjax* (at the doors), and the archaic²³ verb *affright* (p. 41), also rendered correctly by *pereljakaty* (to frighten). However, what Salastyn failed to take into account was the fact that he was assigning modern Ukrainian equivalents to obsolete and archaic English words!

And finally one would wish that Salastyn's Ukrainian be more precise in following literary spelling norms²⁴ and in excluding or at least marking archaic and dialectal forms. Such spellings as *Anglija* and *anglijs'kyj* (with a g!) and *Anglijec'* with a g and a capital A-) — on p. 400; and *koljega*, *koljegija*, *koljektor* (p. 262) and *dijaljektyka* (p. 348), with a je instead of an e after the l — are all orthographic reflections of Western Ukrainian pronunciation, with the obvious exception, of course, of the writing of nouns or for that matter adjectives of a given nationality with a capital letter. They are not part of the literary language. Neither are *Kanadijs'kyj* and *Kanadijec'* (p. 213: both spelled with a capital instead of a small letter!) instead of the literary *kanads'kyj* and *kanadec'*. Moreover, Salastyn was also

20) Instead of *neprysutnij*.

21) Webster's Third New International Dictionary of the English Language Unabridged (henceforth abbreviated WU), Springfield, 1966, p. 17.

22) OED, vol. 1, p. 124.

23) Ibid., vol. 1, p. 162.

24) On the other hand, the spelling errors that occurred in English were relatively few in number and hence must be viewed simply as misprints due to poor editing: e.g., p. 23: *acquited* (with a single t); p. 85: *arcangel* (without an h); p. 229: *seased* (for ceased); p. 225: *clumsilly* (with a double instead of a single l); p. 269: *competibility* (for compatibility); p. 289: *contractokwise* (for counter-clockwise); and p. 336: *demoniak* (spelled with a k instead of a c).

not sure of the literary language's use of the apostrophe, which he omitted, used and misplaced apparently at his whim: e.g., *obov'jazqiv* (p. 10), *zv'jazku* (p. 13), *im'ja* (p. 45) and *v'jazka*, *v'jazanka* (p. 112) — all without the prescribed apostrophe, but the same word *v'jazanka*, spelled correctly with an apostrophe on p. 132. Occasionally the apostrophe was either misplaced: *z'obov'jabannja* (sic! p. 16) or used where it was not needed at all: *z'oseredžuvaty* (sic! p. 231). There is also no excuse for listing such archaic Ukrainian words as *Xynec'* (sic! p. 242), normally spelled *xynec'*²⁵ (i.e. with a small *x* and an *i*), as if it were a modern equivalent of *Chinaman* (sic!), which too is somewhat dated and very often offensive for the more regular *Chinese*,²⁶ and the archaic *Xyny* (sic! p. 242), normally spelled *Xiny*,²⁷ as the first equivalent of *China*, rather than the modern *Kytaj*, which is found in second position in Salatyn's dictionary.

The last two dictionaries under review are those compiled by Podvez'ko and published in Kyiv in 1948²⁸ and 1974²⁹ respectively. Since most of the entries are the same in both the first edition, authored by Podvez'ko alone, and in the second updated edition, which he most recently co-authored with Balla,³⁰ the basis of this review will be the recent 1974 edition, the first edition being cited only where it differs from the second. Without a doubt the best of the English-Ukrainian dictionaries being reviewed, the 1974 Podvez'ko is based on British-English, and as will be shown in this review, there is no differentiation between that which is current and that which goes as far back as the time of Dickens and sometimes even further. The compilers also claim to have paid much attention to the inclusion of American-English vocabulary, unfortunately again paying no heed to that which is current and that which is already quite outdated.

The British English ranges from such easily recognisable items as *bathing costume*³¹ (p. 65) for American *bathing suit*,³² and *class-book*³³ (p. 112), glossed as *pidručnyk*, for which the American term is *textbook*, as well as the first edition's *have a battle* (p. 67) for American *take a bath*³⁴ to much more complex differences in usage. These include sentences like: "the experiment (or the first edition's plan, p. 41) has not answered" (p. 42), in which the verb *answer* carries the meaning "to succeed",³⁵ not found in American usage, and

25) *Andrusyshen*, p. 1107.

26) *WU*, p. 390.

27) *Andrusyshen*, p. 1107.

28) The copy available to me was the *English-Ukrainian Dictionary* by M. L. Podvesko (sic!), New York, 1958 — a reprint of the first edition published in Kiev in 1948.

29) *English-Ukrainian Dictionary* by M. L. Podvez'ko and M. I. Balla, Kiev, 1974.

30) Podvez'ko compiled the letters A to K and U to Z, and Balla the letters L to T. Compared to the first edition which carried no stresses on Ukrainian words, the 1974 edition rectified this oversight.

31) *COD*, p. 99.

32) *WU*, p. 185.

33) *OED*, vol. 2, p. 467; not recorded in *WU*.

34) This difference is recorded in *WU*, p. 185.

35) *OED*, vol. 1, p. 351; not recorded in *WU*.

"I cannot *away* with this"³⁶ (p. 97), for which the American equivalent would be "I cannot bear, stand, or endure this". Occasionally the British English is quite puzzling to the American speaker as, for example, the sentence "How goes the enemy?" (p. 181) in the meaning "What time is it?" or to restate it in British word order "What is the time?"³⁷ This sentence is of colloquial usage, but unfortunately has not been marked as such in the 1974 Podvez'ko. Another puzzler for the American speaker is the sentence "His plan was unhappy in the event" (p. 187), which is truly without meaning for him until he finds out that the phrase *in the event* means in British English "as it turns out"³⁸ and *unhappy* is used here to mean "unsuccessful".³⁹

At times the usage is dialectal British, as in the case of "to look for a needle *in a bottle* (*sic!*)⁴⁰ of hay" (p. 82; p. 91)⁴¹ instead of the normal *in a haystack*, found in both British and American English. This dialectal British usage includes single words like *barnacles*⁴² (p. 63) in the meaning of "*glasses* or the older *spectacles*", and phrases like *dull of hearing*⁴³ (*sic!* p. 171), rendered by the Ukrainian *ščo nedočuvaje* (i.e. *hard of hearing*), and even *dull sight* (*sic!* p. 171) in the meaning of "poor eyesight", the last of which is not even dialectal, but simply poor English — both British and American. In all cases the dialectal status of these words and phrases is simply not marked. Occasionally the dialectal phrase is not even of British origin and limited in the area in which it is used as in the case of *to cry barley*⁴⁴ (p. 63; p. 65), which also shows Podvez'ko's sloppy use of sources — in this case Barancev.⁴⁵ Unlike Podvez'ko, who included this phrase in both editions of his dictionary without any comment beyond its Ukrainian definition *prosyty poščady abo peremyr'ja* (to ask for mercy or a truce), Barancev marked it as Scottish and as a term used in children's games. Apparently this term was brought here by Scottish immigrants since it is known in American English⁴⁶ with the same usage.

Podvez'ko's British English also includes the language of the 18th and 19th centuries. Thus, one finds sentences like "he abandoned to despair (p. 21), *vin vpav u rozpač*", taken uncritically from Defoe's *History of the Plague* written in 1722.⁴⁷ The reflexive pronoun *himself* (i.e. *abandoned himself*...), found in the *History*, did not make it into the 1974 Podvez'ko and may serve as one more example

36) *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 593.

37) *COD*, p. 401.

38) *WU*, p. 788. Here the source cited is the *London Times Literary Supplement*.

39) *OED*, vol. 11, p. 211.

40) *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 1014; *WU*, p. 258.

41) Whenever two page reference are cited, the second is to the first edition of Podvez'ko.

42) *WU*, p. 177. The last current usage for this word recorded in the *OED*, vol. 1, p. 675, is the year 1823!

43) *WU*, p. 700.

44) Scottish or northern dialectal British according to the *OED*, vol. 1, p. 674.

45) *English Ukrainian Phrase Book* compiled by K. T. Barancev, Kyiv, 1969, p. 253.

46) *WU*, p. 177.

47) *OED*, vol. 1, p. 6.

of his careless use of sources. This 18th century usage of the verb *abandon* used reflexively in the meaning "to give oneself up without resistance to the mastery of a passion or unreasoned impulse"⁴⁸ is still in use today, although it does not belong to the more common meaning of *abandon*. However, one does find also 18th century meaning which no longer exist today: e.g., *against* in the meaning "near, adjoining"⁴⁹ as in the sentence "the house against the cinema (p. 30), *budynok poruč z (bilja) kino*" which is presented as if it were current English. The last example for use of such a meaning of *against* in the *Oxford English Dictionary*⁵⁰ is from 1725 — a line from Defoe's *Voyages around the World*: "Three of their ships lay *against* the walls", which is the type of sentence that may have served as a model of Podvez'ko's use of this *preposition*. On the other hand, most of the examples of 19th century English — again not marked as such — are taken from the works of Dickens,⁵¹ e.g. "accidents will happen in the best regulated families (p. 25), *u sim'ji ne bez vyrodka* (a proverb)" and "be advised by me (p. 30; p. 26), *posluchať mojej rady*" (i.e. listen to my advice) — to mention just a few.

Far more annoying, however, was Podvez'ko's inclusion of unmarked archaic and obsolete English words, meanings, and uses: e.g., *abed* (p. 21),⁵² *go a-begging/go a-hunting* (p. 21; p. 13),⁵³ and *bettering house* (p. 71)⁵⁴ (i.e. reformatory); the meanings of *bedlam* (p. 67) as "a lunatic asylum"⁵⁵ and of *chance* (p. 106) as "to happen";⁵⁶ and the use of *collegiate* (p. 116) as a noun.⁵⁷ A rather humorous example was the term "*coming woman* (p. 135) *žinka lehkoji povedinky*" (p. 135, first edition), which, although not recorded in any English dictionary available to me, must be archaic since *coming* in the meaning "forward" is archaic.⁵⁸ Their uncritical inclusion in any English-Ukrainian dictionary will only hinder those learning English in Soviet Ukraine. Of special interest here are sentences and phrases like: "it ill beseems you to complain (p. 70; p. 76), *vam ne lyčyt' skaržytys*" and "beshrew me! (p. 70; p. 76), *čort mene zabery!*" — found in both editions of Podvez'ko's dictionary. For although without question archaic in American English,⁵⁹ there seems to be some doubt as to their status in British English. In fact British English sources contradict themselves. Thus, although both are recorded as apparently still in use in *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English* (the verb *beseem* is not marked archaic, and the above phrase seems to be

48) Loc. cit.

49) OED, vol. 1, p. 173.

50) Loc. cit.

51) Barancev, pp. 14 and 65 respectively.

52) OED, vol. 1, p. 15 (somewhat archaic).

53) Ibid., vol. 1, p. 3 (archaic or dialectal).

54) WU, p. 209 (archaic).

55) Ibid., p. 196 (archaic).

56) OED, vol. 2, p. 263 (somewhat archaic).

57) Ibid., vol. 2, p. 624 (obsolete).

58) WU, p. 455.

59) WU, p. 206 (both marked archaic).

the only relic left of the verb *beshrew*),⁶⁰ both verbs, spelled *besseme* and *beshrew*, are listed in a reliable dictionary of obsolete words published in the middle of the 19th century and recently republished in the United States.⁶¹ Apparently, the British always like to keep a bit of antiquity in their current usage.

In the preface of the 1974 Podvez'ko, the compilers claim to have paid much attention to the inclusion of American-English vocabulary. However, the difference between British and American English lies not only in the presence or absence of certain lexical items, but also, among other things, in the meaning of words found in both variants of English. The 1974 edition reflects on the whole only British usage, as illustrated, for example, by the definition of the word *armless* (p. 49; p. 47) which in American-English means only "lacking arms, i.e. the upper limbs of the body"⁶² (Ukrainian: *bezrukyy*), while in *British English*⁶³ it also carries the additional meaning "unarmed" (Ukrainian: *neozbroynyj*). The 1974 Podvez'ko simply records both meanings found in British-English, paying no attention to to American usage, which knows only the first, while the earlier edition carried only the second "British" meaning — i.e. "unarmed" — which is unknown in American-English. Thus, in both editions of the Podvez'ko dictionary the American usage of *armless*, despite the compilers' declarations to the contrary, was totally disregarded. Another example pointing to the care that must be taken in compiling a dictionary based on both variants of English is the use of the word *bruit*. Both the 1974 and the earlier Podvez'ko mark the use of *bruit* as a noun (p. 88; p. 103) as archaic, which indeed it is in both British and American English. It was used in the meaning "report, rumor" (Ukrainian: *čutka, poholoska*). However, they failed to mention that the same word used as a verb, usually coupled with *about* and in passive constructions in the meaning "to spread rumours" (Ukrainian: *rozpuskaty/počyrjuvaty čutky*), is archaic only in British English, but still current in the United States.⁶⁴ The absence of any kind of marker in both dictionaries leads one to the erroneous impression that it is in current use both here and in England.

Neither did the compilers fare much better the few times they did mark lexical item as restricted to American-English, as, for example, in the case of the sentence "I should admire to know (p. 29), *ja duže xotiv by znaty*", in which, according to Podvez'ko *admire* carries the meaning "to want very much (to do something)". Such a usage of *admire* is indeed recorded, but only for the 19th century.⁶⁵ However, the best example of their lack of knowledge of current American

60) COD, p. 112.

61) *Dictionary of Obsolete and Provincial English* by T. Wright, London, 1857 (republished in 1967 in Detroit), p. 201.

62) WU, p. 119.

63) COD, pp. 61-62.

64) *Ibid.*, p. 152; WU, p. 285.

65) OED, *Supplement and Bibliography*, p. 7 (U.S. usage) has the year 1886 as the last recorded use of *admire* in this meaning.

English and a fitting conclusion to this review⁶⁶ is the inclusion of the word *escapist* (p. 184) as an Americanism to mean "draft-dodger/— evader" in their dictionary. Not only was the term *escapist* not found in this meaning in any dictionary of American-English available to me,⁶⁷ but it also served as proof that the compilers wrote their work "in an ivory tower" far removed from the reality of recent American life. Yet in all fairness to them, perhaps this is also the best they could do, in view of the current restrictive atmosphere in the Soviet Union.

This brings us to the question of an English-Ukrainian dictionary of the future — specifically what it should *include* and what it should *exclude*, and perhaps more important *how* it should present that which is to be found in it. Whether one takes British or American English as the basis of one's dictionary — my preference quite obviously being American — the other variant must be clearly marked and well-represented. Moreover, the English must be *current* — not outdated, nor very limited in usage, which means that no archaic, obsolete, or dialectal words, meanings, or uses be included. In place of these I would prefer to see colloquialisms and slang words and expressions as long as their status in the English language is clearly indicated as such. If at all possible, I would like to find Ukrainian colloquial and slang equivalents for them.

As far as the Ukrainian part of this dictionary is concerned — i.e. which Ukrainian should be included and which excluded — here the answer is much more complicated, due to the current political situation in Soviet Ukraine and the complex historical development of Eastern and Western Ukraine prior to World War II. Without a doubt it will reflect a much greater degree of subjectivity than in the choice of English to be included. Although Soviet Ukrainian vocabulary will serve as the basis of the Ukrainian equivalents to the English we have chosen, for we cannot close our eyes to reality, we need not limit ourselves to this vocabulary alone. First of all, we should mark those "Ukrainian" words and expressions borrowed from Russian without any need for such a borrowing, whose inclusion in the present-day speech of Soviet Ukraine results in an obvious Russification of the Ukrainian language. Because I had devoted an article to this very problem in the September, 1976, issue of *Sučasnist'*,⁶⁸ I will not delve any more into the problem of Russification here, other than to mention that for this very same reason I would employ the 1928 žarkiv orthography in this dictionary, noting

⁶⁶ Items of a technical nature (misuse of articles and prepositions, totally wrong definitions, etc.), which were relatively few in number compared with the Lew-Werbianyj and Salastyn dictionaries, were not included in this review to avoid the tediousness of repeating very similar material.

⁶⁷ Besides the *WU*, I checked Sir William A. Craigie's *A Dictionary of American English*, Chicago, 1968, and *A Dictionary of Americanisms*, compiled by M. Mathews, Chicago, 1951.

⁶⁸ *Perfect'kyj, Jurij, "Movne vzajemobahačennja čy rusyfikacija ukraïns'koï movy", Sučasnist', Munich, Sept. 1976, pp. 34-49.*

the differences that exist between it and the present Soviet Ukrainian orthography. This could be done either in the preface of the dictionary, or by means of double spellings, as I had started to do in my own dictionary. Secondly, although excluding obsolete and archaic Ukrainian words, I would include Western Ukrainian lexical entries, not only because of my origins, but also because of the fact that in the relatively liberal conditions of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Western Ukrainian played an extremely important role in the development of the Ukrainian literary language, especially when printed Ukrainian was banned in the Russian Empire in the second half of the 19th century, and because the ancestry of Western Ukrainian can be traced back without interruption to the time of the Galician-Volynian princes, which cannot be said of the literary language of Eastern Ukraine. Quite obviously the Western Ukrainian origin of any lexical item would be clearly marked as such, as well as that of any Polonism included in the dictionary, although to be quite frank it is sometimes very difficult to decide whether one is dealing with a Polonism or a Western-Ukrainism. I would also include and clearly mark emigré Ukrainian neologisms, whose vitality and originality have been clearly demonstrated by Prof. Strumins'kyj in a recent article in *Sučasnist'*.⁶⁹

An English-Ukrainian dictionary is a vehicle not only of learning English, but also of learning Ukrainian. This the compilers whose dictionaries have just been reviewed did not seem to consider, omitting very important morphological and syntactic information for Ukrainian — which brings us to the “how” of compiling such a dictionary in the future. Not only should it mark the stress on Ukrainian words, especially where it is mobile and difficult to predict, but it should also give the genitive singular, nominative plural and genitive plural of nouns, both imperfective and perfective aspects of verbs, together with the first and second person singular and third person plural of the present tense (for imperfective verbs) and of the future tense (for perfective verbs) as well as the grammatical cases these verbs govern. Illustrative sentences showing the usage of these cases would be extremely helpful here.

Of equal importance is the fact that the future English-Ukrainian dictionary should also take the guesswork out of choosing the right Ukrainian equivalent for a specific meaning of a given English word with several meanings, for indeed, what good is a dictionary which just lists Ukrainian words (as in the case of *Salastyn*) or even one which sets off different English meanings with different numbers (as in the case of *Podvez'ko*), when the user does not know which meanings the compilers had in mind for these numbers in the first place? In the dictionary I have begun to compile, I have remedied this situation by first listing the specific English meaning of a given

69) Strumins'kyj, Bohdan, “Ukraïns'ka mova na emihraciï”, *Sučasnist'* Munich, March-1977, pp. 89-100.

word in parentheses and then supplying the Ukrainian equivalent. In the case of several Ukrainian "equivalents" for one English meaning, their synonymy was checked by using each word in the same sentence and observing whether the meaning of the sentence changed through such a "slot substitution". If it did, then further differentiation was required and indicated in English within parentheses. Such a "pinpointing" of various meanings of a given English word — which in effect spells out the different contexts in which it is used, *before* Ukrainian equivalents are assigned — will only encourage the student in his study of Ukrainian, rather than turning him away from it, as is the case unfortunately today with the study of foreign languages in general — a major reason for this being the inadequacy of bi-lingual dictionaries which leave the student at a loss in choosing the right word *the first time* he looks for it. In a world used to the precision of computers such a situation is indeed deplorable.

This then in effect is the state of my research into compiling an English-Ukrainian dictionary. It has convinced me of the crucial need of such a project *now* in view of the present centrally imposed Russification policy in Soviet Ukraine. However, due to today's unprecedented expansion of knowledge in all fields of human endeavour, one person cannot accomplish such a feat alone. This is an ideal occasion for a co-operative effort between Ukrainian-American scholars of the older generation whose Ukrainian is impeccable and those of the younger generation, whose entire education has been here, and for whom English is in fact a native language. Fifteen years from now may be too late, and to expect any kind of help on this project from the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kyiv is simply unrealistic, since it is today simply a branch of the Russian Academy — and, what is most ironic — aiding it in the implementation of linguistic Russification.

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PROTEST IN UKRAINE CHARACTERISTICS AND CONSEQUENCES

Mr Kowalewski is a Professor of Political Science at Benedictine College, Kansas, USA. He has contributed a number of professional papers and articles on the topic of political protest.

In his paper, printed below, Mr Kowalewski analyses protest demonstrations in Ukraine and provides some interesting statistics which shed light on the diverse nature of the protest movement in Ukraine.

Although foreign observers of the Soviet scene have begun to pay increasing attention to the phenomenon of dissent in Russia, particularly in Moscow, protests in other regions of the USSR have been relatively ignored in the international media. Whereas foreign correspondents — thankfully — have ceased referring to the Human Rights Movement in the Soviet Union as “a small and dwindling band of Moscow-based dissidents”, protest outside the Russian republic has still not received the recognition it deserves. Certainly travel restrictions on foreign correspondents and visitors can partially account for this disproportion in emphasis. However a regretful ignorance of non-Russian areas of the USSR, particularly of the long history of dissent against Russian rule by non-Russian nationalities, must also be cited as a salient reason.

Of special importance in dissident activities outside the Russian republic is protest in Soviet Ukraine.¹ The frequent and intense resistance of citizens in Ukraine against the Soviet regime in the past has continued into the present. Evidence of this dissent in recent years is the large body of *samvydav* (dissident) literature, particularly the periodical *Ukrainskyj Visnyk*, which has reached foreign audiences. This body of documents offers a unique opportunity to chronicle the efforts of courageous citizens in Soviet Ukraine to secure their human rights.

Dissident Initiative in Ukraine

From this dissident literature (see appendix), information on a large body of protest demonstrations occurring in the USSR in 1965—

1) A listing of the literature on dissent in Soviet Ukraine can be found in George Liber and Anna Mostovych, *Nonconformity and Dissent in the Ukrainian SSR, 1955-1975: An Annotated Bibliography* (Cambridge: Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 1978).

78 was collected.² The importance of dissent in Ukraine is witnessed by the fact that out of the total of 497 demonstrations reported, 95 or almost one-fifth occurred in Ukrainian localities. Clearly Moscow is only one locus of a wider polycentric movement for human rights in the USSR.

Moreover, a wide variety of groups³ participated in protest activities. Ukrainian Jews have demanded emigration visas;

| <i>Demand Group</i> | <i>Percent</i> |
|------------------------|----------------|
| Jews | 24.8 |
| Ukrainian Nationalists | 23.2 |
| Crimean Tatars | 22.1 |
| Baptists | 12.6 |
| Uniate Catholics | 8.4 |
| Orthodox | 4.2 |
| Civil Rights | 3.2 |
| Factory Workers | 2.1 |

nationalists have protested restrictions on ethnic autonomy; Tatars have attempted to register in the Crimean peninsula from which they were deported by Stalin; and Baptists and Uniate Catholics have dissented against regime refusal to register their communities. Orthodox believers have also protested the lack of separation of church and state; civil rights protesters have demanded greater democratic freedoms; and factory workers have dissented against wage cuts and intolerable working conditions.

The broad social basis of dissent in Ukraine is not only indicated by the number of large groups which protested against the regime, but also by the class structure of the demonstrations. The most frequent classes to organise protests were workers and intellectuals (33.7 percent), peasants (14.7 percent), and workers (13.7 percent). Certainly protest in Ukraine is far from a purely intellectual

2) On the authenticity, accuracy, objectivity, and completeness of the sources, the representativeness of the sample, and the coding reliability of the scales utilized, see the author's "Protest Uses of Symbolic Politics: The Functions of Symbolic Resources for Protest Groups in the Soviet Union", Ph.D. dissertation, University of Kansas, 1978. The following inclusion criteria were used. An event was selected if a disfranchised group engaged in an open and public, unconventional or non-institutionalized expression of dissatisfaction against Soviet regime policies in the period 1965-1978. All events selected were physical rather than merely verbal expressions of dissatisfaction such as letters of opposition, organizational declarations, and the like. All protests were made by social groups. Expressions of dissatisfaction by lone individuals or families, unless specifically delegated by a larger group, were omitted. All events were public; protests conducted in private apartments or in prisons, labour camps, or psychoprisons were excluded. Also omitted were protests by non-Soviet citizens. All the events were made openly by group members making their identities known; anonymous protests, such as the secret hangings of flags or banners, distribution of propaganda leaflets and the like were not included. All the protests were targeted primarily at regime officials or public opinion. Thus border-escape attempts, public press conferences with foreign correspondents and so forth were excluded. Finally, cases with insufficient data were eliminated.

3) Space considerations do not allow a description of the many protest groups. An excellent comprehensive survey can be found in Edward Corcoran, "Dissension in the Soviet Union: The Group Basis and Dynamics of Internal Opposition", Ph.D. Dissertation, Columbia University, 1977.

| <i>Class</i> | <i>Percent</i> |
|--------------------------------------|----------------|
| Peasants | 14.7 |
| Peasants and Workers | 10.5 |
| Workers | 13.7 |
| Peasants, Workers, and Intellectuals | 11.6 |
| Workers and Intellectuals | 33.7 |
| Students | 7.4 |
| Intellectuals | 8.0 |

phenomenon. Although the intelligentsia is active in many aspects of political protest, their dissent is not isolated but rather has a deep resonance in the masses. Finally, in 89.5 percent of the demonstrations the majority of the demonstrators were over thirty years of age. Although dissidents in Ukraine are frequently criticized by the regime as "young hooligans", the movement for human rights is clearly not a pure "youth movement" or "student movement", but rather embraces citizens of all ages.

The demonstrations are also geographically widespread. Although most occurred in oblast capitals (84.2 percent), less than half were conducted in Kyiv. Over one-third were held in localities over 480

| <i>Distance from Kyiv</i> | <i>Percent</i> | <i>Urban Location*</i> | <i>Percent</i> |
|---------------------------|----------------|------------------------|----------------|
| Kyiv | 45.4 | Village | 11.6 |
| 1-240 km. | 6.3 | Town under 40,000 | 3.2 |
| 241-480 km. | 13.7 | 40,000-99,999 | 1.1 |
| Over 480 km. | 34.6 | 100,000-499,999 | 24.2 |
| | | 500,000-999,999 | 14.7 |
| | | One Million or over | 45.4 |

* 1970 Census

kilometres from the republic capital. Further, whereas most of the protest events occurred in cities with 500,000 population or more, 40.1 percent were conducted in smaller localities. Thus although political and population centres have produced the greatest volume of dissent, citizens in the Ukrainian countryside have also been active in attempting to secure their human rights.

The cause of human rights has attracted large numbers to protest

| <i>Size</i> | <i>Percent</i> |
|----------------|----------------|
| 1-19 | 8.4 |
| 20-49 | 27.4 |
| 50-99 | 13.7 |
| 100-149 | 13.7 |
| 150-499 | 21.1 |
| 500-999 | 10.5 |
| 1,000-4,999 | 5.3 |
| 5,000 and over | 0.0 |

demonstrations. Slightly over one-third of the events were held by

less than fifty citizens. However, one-half (48.5 percent) attracted from 50 to 499 demonstrators. Certainly the Human Rights Movement in Ukraine must be considered a mass, albeit not yet universal, movement. No longer can dissidents be characterized as "small and dwindling bands" of dissatisfied citizens.

The overwhelming majority of demonstrations have been peaceful. Almost one-half have been quiet, stationary attempts to obtain redress of grievances. The sources reported not a single case of assault on

| <i>Militancy</i> | <i>Percent</i> |
|--------------------------------|----------------|
| Quiet Stationary Demonstration | 47.4 |
| Noisy Stationary Demonstration | 30.5 |
| Moving Demonstration | 4.2 |
| Obstruction | 9.2 |
| Economic Sanctions | 4.2 |
| Direct Action | 4.2 |
| Assault | 0.0 |

regime officials by demonstrators. Given the large numbers of demonstrators, this low level of militancy reveals a high level of discipline in the ranks of dissident groups. This discipline is further reflected in the small proportion of demonstrations which were spontaneous (7.4 percent) rather than planned protests. The protesters have attempted to negate the violence of the regime by remaining nonviolent themselves. The figures suggest that thus far they have been eminently successful in implementing this general ideological tenet.

Regime Reaction

The sample was divided into instrumental and expressive demonstrations. Instrumental demonstrations are those at which protesters attempted to present their demands directly to decision-making targets at regime office buildings. Expressive demonstrations, on the other hand, are those at which citizens protested in public parks, squares, streets, and the like in an indirect attempt to persuade the regime by means of gathering the support of domestic and foreign third parties. The sample was about evenly split between the two types of events, with instrumental demonstrations accounting for the greater proportion (61.1 percent).

Regional (60.3 percent) and local (31.0 percent) political structures were the major targets of instrumental demonstrations. Only rarely did demonstrators protest at republic and all-Union structures (6.9 and 1.7 percent respectively). The vast bulk of instrumental demonstrations took place at state (87.9 percent) rather than party targets. Whether this distribution reflects a widespread disillusionment with the party as the "leading organ" for controlling the state bureaucracy and responding to citizen demands cannot be ascertained from the sources. However, one can speculate that if citizens in Ukraine

sincerely believed in the willingness and ability of the party to redress their grievances, they would have protested much more frequently at party targets than the figures indicate.

In general the regime was unresponsive to citizen groups in Ukraine at instrumental demonstrations. In less than half (43.1 percent) of the events were demonstrators granted access to regime buildings. In the great majority (86.2 percent) of cases the demands of citizens went completely unmet. In only 5.2 percent were demands partially met and in only 8.6 percent were they completely fulfilled.

Likewise at expressive demonstrations the regime was highly unresponsive. In only 16.2 percent did the regime allow the demonstration to make place for the duration decided by the protesters without harassment. The regime allowed demonstrations to take place but harassed the participants in 32.4 percent of the cases. In most instances the demonstrators were dispersed. At 24.3 percent of the events the regime allowed the demonstrators to hold their event for a short while but later sent police to disperse the group. The regime dispersed the participants immediately in over one-quarter (27.00 percent) of the cases. Thus at both instrumental and expressive demonstrations, in spite of the peaceful behaviour of the participants, the regime granted only few concessions.

The same pattern appears when repressions are examined. In seven out of ten events (70.5 percent) of the total sample, no participants were detained by police. However at 20.00 percent of the events some but less than all of the demonstrators were detained; in 9.5 percent, all the participants were detained. Further, in 13.7 percent of the cases at least one citizen was given a judicial sentence of at least fifteen days incarceration; in 3.2 percent, at least one participant was sentenced to more than fifteen days (usually to a number of years in labour camps). Finally, protesting in Soviet Ukraine can often lead to physical attacks by the regime. In 11.6 percent of the demonstrations at least one protester was injured.

Conclusion

Political protest by dissident groups in Soviet Ukraine is presently a mass phenomenon embracing citizens of all ages and classes and interests in localities of all sizes and in all regions, who express their dissatisfactions at all times of the year. Generally, dissident groups show a high level of non-militant discipline. Nevertheless, the regime has shown little tolerance in dealing with the dissidents. Concessions are extremely rare and repressions all too common.

In short, the party-state apparatus has revealed little softening of the political arteries in its reaction to growing citizen demands for human rights in Ukraine. It has indicated little willingness to allow a pluralism wide and deep enough to accommodate the interests of an increasing number of dissatisfied citizen groups. Likewise,

however, it has been unwilling or unable to launch a full-scale re-Stalinization campaign to preclude open dissent effectively. Rather it has allowed the escalating dialectic of citizen protest and ineffectual police suppression to continue. However, if anything is clear from dissident literature, it is that the dissenters will not be the first to de-escalate the conflict without substantial changes in regime policies toward their human rights.

APPENDIX

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MEMOIRS OF OKSANA MESHKO

Oksana Meshko is a well-known patriot and political activist who has been persecuted by the Russians for her nationality and beliefs.

Recently the handwritten manuscript of her memoirs reached THE UKRAINIAN REVIEW and the first part of these memoirs is presented in translation below.

PART I



Oksana MESHKO

This is what happened to one "human individual" in the course of the socialist construction of the Country of Soviets, Ukraine, during the period 1917 to 1977.

I begin my "memoirs in short" from the Pentecost of the year 1917, a date etched into my being, and one that became a watershed in my teenage consciousness. It was the time of the return of my maternal grandfather, Oleksander Yanko. In 1907, when he was 25, the Kharkiv District Court had sentenced him to life imprisonment for his membership of the Socialist Revolutionary Party and for his revolutionary activity in the town of Poltava.

A mass of people, villagers from the little town of Stariy-Sanjary in the Poltava Region, came to witness the great political process that was his trial. Wept over by his parents and sisters, he was embedded forever in the consciousness of his frightened countrymen.

My grandfather's appearance in his native village after ten years, like one resurrected from the dead, was a fantastic event for the villagers who were expecting a blissful, regenerative torrent of change from the Revolution.

The picturesque little town of Stariy-Sanjary, with the river Vorskla running through it; with its farming population in neat

cossack dwellings; smallholders who had never been forced into serfdom — this was my village, the place where I was born in 1905.

My parents, like most of the other villagers in that densely populated region of Ukraine, worked on the land, eking out their existence with various other small extra jobs such as trading.

For the first three years of the Revolution my father, grandfather and family were not affected by repressions or expropriation and confiscation of goods but in the Autumn of 1920 a Red Army detachment drove people into the Eastern districts. As a punishment for the district not fulfilling its tax on produce, they took hostages.

— My 40-year old father, Yakiv Meshko, found himself as one of the hostages, no-one knows why: maybe they were taking one in ten and he was tenth, or maybe he was standing nearby, possibly one of the bandits just happened to see him. Those arrested were taken to Hubchenka. They shot my father in December 1920 (at least that is what the official notification said). After my father's arrest began the persecution of my family and relatives by the town administration — illegal requisitions of produce, cattle and farm implements. My brother, Yevhen Meshko, a 17-year old boy, was especially harassed. He was an active member of the "Prosvita"* and the director of its literary-artistic-dramatic group.

Within a short time my brother fell victim to the hostility fostered by the bandits. It is perhaps pertinent to mention that out of those same bandits (for some reason they were called "activists") — three young men were taken away to Hubcheka in 1921 for pillaging, and destroying a Jewish family in the village.

The harassed and persecuted section of my family, two sisters, Vera and Katerina, and my brother Ivan, dispersed all over the world, each going their own way.

In 1927 I entered the Institute of National Education in the town of Dnipropetrovsk. From the time I started at the Institute to the time I finished in 1931 I was expelled numerous times from the Institute in the course of socialist purges for my "social origins", with a subsequent re-instatement because truly my social origins, according to the laws of the country, should in no way have hindered my being able to obtain higher education. That is what happened every time, and I was forced to remain independent of student organisations, the komsomol etc.

Four years of continual harsh, personal attacks, four years of fighting for the right to study and finish the University course — it was an irrational waste of young energy and a destruction of nerves. I studied without the benefits of student's privileges, a grant, halls of residence etc. But I did not get disillusioned. When I was expelled I continued to study on my own. When I was re-instated I went to take the exams, almost like an external student, the only difference being that I had no seminars, tutorials or financial support. And all

* Educational Society.

this in the milieu of post-revolutionary ruin, general disorder and unemployment.

Poverty and misfortune were the companions of my youth.

In 1930 I married Fedir Serhiyenko, a former member of the Ukrainian Communist Party. He had been locked away in Kholodna Hora in Kharkiv for a year because of his membership of the Ukrainian Communist Party, which had been officially recognised. In 1925 all the members of the Party were rounded up and put into the melancholy-sounding Kholodna Hora prison. There, all the Ukrainian Communists with "nationalist deviations" were subjected to "re-education". Afterwards, on the directions of the Third Comintern, the rank and file members of the Party were released from prison as members of the All Union Communist Party (Bolshevik) but their former leaders never saw the light of freedom again.

Serhiyenko worked in several institutes in Dnipropetrovsk as a lecturer in socio-economic disciplines (political economy, economic-politics, the history of revolutionary movements etc.)

My two sons, Yevhen and Oleksander, were born in 1930 and 1932. They grew up during the evil days of the artificial famine in Ukraine, the ration-card system, and in the stranglehold of Stalin's lawlessness, which produced an atmosphere of fear and general apprehension in the social and community life of the country.

In 1935 they arrested my husband. His second arrest was as unexpected as it was unfounded. After his interrogations and before the trial we were allowed to see him in prison. We were separated by a continuous net in a long narrow, room which had the appearance of a cattle shed. At the same time other people were visiting the men imprisoned there. During the visit he affirmed there was no reason for the arrest and nothing to substantiate any guilt on his part. I travelled to Kyiv to the General Procuracy in order to try and save my husband's life. (This was during the administration of Yagoda when one could still reach high officials and they could hear one out without an official pass.) As a result of my complaint Serhiyenko's case was returned to the regional court after a court hearing. In time, following a nine month long investigative process, he was released after the NKVD had got his signature to an agreement to secretly work with them. My husband kept this a secret even from me. Because he did not keep his part of this "mephistopholic contract" — informing on people — he did not get a job for almost a year, not just as a lecturer but as an industrial economist although they were crying out for qualified personnel. In a moment of despair he revealed to me the reason for his forced unemployment and I advised him to go and seek his fate, living and working beyond the borders of Ukraine, in distant Ural. He left without the promise of contracts or privileges linked to his future work, leaving behind a family he hoped to return to, a family which had been divided by force.

Together with my two small children, and mother-in-law, I was plunged into poverty. My husband did not have the opportunity to send financial support because of the valuelessness of the Karbovanets (Ukrainian currency). He found casual employment that did not tie him down and moved around: from Magnitohorsk he went to Chelyabinsk, trying to find a place to live which climate-wise was better suited to bringing over his family. Our sons fell ill.

I myself worked in the Scientific Research Institute of the grain industry as a junior scientist in a chemical analysis laboratory. For several years I was protected at work by the scientific co-ordinator, later the director, Mykola Huthercz.

Then during the administration of Yezhov in 1934, when the very foundations were beginning to shake under the director's feet, I was dismissed from work on the pretext of "redundancy". Unemployment and the winter were driving me into a corner.

I was not afraid of persecution, or of being punished despite my innocence. My grandfather, Oleksander Petrovych Yanko, a member of the Kyiv Union of Political Prisoners, like almost all the members of such unions was arrested at the beginning of 1936. The Union was dissolved for not being "watchful" enough. Yanko, who had been a political prisoner in tsarist times, (a member of the Central Council and a worker in one of the ministries of the Government of the Directorate), was a person of dominating spirit and body; he had his teeth smashed out by the torturers and was later transported to some unknown place without the right to receive visitors. The rehabilitation notice certified that he had died a "free person" in 1946. My own first cousin, Yevhen Meshko, was shot in 1937 after a military tribunal condemned him for agitation whilst he was doing his military service. My other grandfather, Dmytro Yanko, an invalid, was also arrested in 1937 in Kharkiv, but his family were not informed of his fate. They did not search for him, they did not write. Probably the rehabilitation documents were held up and then lost somewhere by the relevant bodies.

I separated my children: I left my youngest son, Oles, with my mother whilst I myself, with my older son, Yevhen, asked to go to Tambova in the RSFSR. My mother had to remain behind in our "family nest" so it would be warm when we returned... we always planned to return one day.

Serhiyenko joined us in Tambova, to start a new life together again in an empty place among strangers. Here we were not denied work but our earnings were so low they hardly served to cover even our modest needs. In time we brought over our other son, Oles, and amalgamated ourselves into a family core. My husband avoided contact and acquaintance with other people because of his binding, soul-destroying 'contract' as an informer. I wanted contact with other people, I wanted friendship, but he shunned and avoided it.

The Second World War engulfed us while we were living in Tambova. Although we were far away, this great evil did not pass us by either. In the second massive bombing of the town our quarters were struck by a direct hit and my first-born, Yevhen, was killed. My husband was mobilised and all contact ceased with my mother in Fascist-occupied Ukraine.

The two of us, Oles and myself, found ourselves alone in an ocean of people, lashed by war and surrounded by hunger, fear, epidemics, bombing and death.

The war dragged on into its fourth year . . .

I thought: these evil times will bring people to their senses, those at least who remain whole and alive. There cannot be a return to the past with its enmity and contempt for other people, all members of the same country. There cannot again be punishments for the innocent, repressions and deportations in our own country.

After six and a half years, in May 1944, I left my place of exile in Tambova, which was forever to be carved in my memory, with pain for the loss of my son and the wasted years in a foreign country. Alone in the world with Oles, I returned to our native Dnipropetrovsk, which was like a step-mother to us. Out of our large family, all we found was our mother, Maria. In the chaos and bloodshed of the war it was hard to guess what fate had prepared for each person and who would return whole. My husband returned an invalid to Kyiv. There he found work and the three of us journeyed to Kyiv at the beginning of 1945 to be re-united.

The war which we thought would never end, finished and a new descended upon us; it was as if misfortune were persistently knocking at our door. In the autumn of 1946 my elder sister, Vera Khudenko, appeared. She came from Rivenschena. The black days of war had hacked down her two sons, daughter-in-law and husband she remained alone like a single finger on a mutilated hand.

She had gone to Rivenschena to her son, Vasyl, who was with Bandera's partisan groups, fighting against the Germans and sandwiched between two enemies. Left to his own devices in the Western territories his fate was tragic — and the same fate befell Nadya Kandyba's husband and Mychaylo's father — they all died in Stalin's labour camps. His brother, Yevhen, a lieutenant-topographer, who had served loyally in the Red Army even at the time of his brother's surveillance, was transferred from the Gobi Desert to a punishment battalion near Kharkiv in 1943. After a prolonged exposure in the waters of the river Lopan he contracted tuberculosis and died after 3 weeks. It goes without saying that this history of my sister's family only became known to me afterwards, as it did to her.

But some things I did know and others I guessed. I know for certain that my nephew, Vasyl, a fourth year student at the Dnipropetrovsk Ship Construction Institute and not eligible for military

call-up, had been guarding the Dnipropetrovsk Bridge during the retreat of the Soviet Army in 1941. It transpired that the mechanism controlling the mines planted on the bridge went off more quickly than expected, or perhaps because of the slow pace and disorganised nature of the withdrawal not all of the regular army had time to cross, and its rearguard found themselves prisoners-of-war in the hands of the Germans. Vasyl escaped from the Germans and chose the alternative way of fighting the occupier, by entering the ranks of the nationalist movement. We did not have the heart to refuse Vera temporary shelter — in any case the situation she found herself in was not of her own making. I found her work, a place to live and lodged her documents with the town hall.

At the same time as this was happening, two secret informers — our neighbours Kuvaldin and Shechtman in fact — were voicing their suspicions to the KGB. Somehow they picked my sister up on the streets and held her for three days and nights; then they arrested her without informing us. For more than ten days I searched for her, but she had disappeared without trace. I looked for her in the hospitals and morgues and enquired about her in the militia stations. In the end one of the informers, Kuvaldin, moved by my mother's anguish (my mother had always been friendly with everyone), whispered to her that she should go to the procuracy — and that her daughter was alive.

That is how my trekking to the prosecutor's office and the reception rooms of the KGB buildings began. Later this was followed by trips to the prison in Irenska Street, waiting under the wrought iron gates with parcels for my sister.

I did not realise just how bad it would feel to be separated from my mother and my son. I do not have any pleasant memories concerning my confused and psychologically ill husband; the KGB used him to provide some testimonies they needed against my sister and myself. My concern for my sister, a natural reaction to another human being in difficulty, determined the tragic direction of my fate, the fate of my thirteen-and-a-half year old son and my defenceless old mother.

On February 19, 1947, in the Lviv Square, in broad daylight, three men in white fur coats grabbed me by force, pushed me into a van and drove to the central KGB prison on Korolenko 33. They presented me with an arrest warrant, and after a vicious "body" search pushed me into a box, about the size of a clothes cupboard but taller, dark with a covered top section and a small electric lamp. Then came the first interrogation and afterwards a prison cell, a dark, solitary dungeon.

My clothes unbuttoned, and without any of the female requisites like a bra, suspender belt or hair grips, accompanied by a guard, I was brought into the office of my interrogator, Staff Captain Kutsenko.

I was accused of involvement in a terrorist attempt to kill the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the CP in Ukraine, Nikita Khrushchev. According to the KGB the attempt was to have been carried out by two people, myself and my sister, Vera.

When I asked about any proof in this matter, the reply, in the words of the interrogator was: "We do not need the evidence of others, all we require is your own admission". But I stubbornly refused to admit any guilt. I did not even break after 21 days of interrogation without sleep. The interrogations were carried on in the following fashion: they began 30 to 40 minutes after the night curfew and finished an hour, or sometimes a shorter time, before reveille. (Sometimes those in charge of the following shift would phone up the interrogator Kutsenko's office reminding him that it was time for me to return to my cell "so as not to disturb the prison routine". They were very concerned with "order" and that the movements of the prisoners carrying their slop buckets to the toilets should be carried out in accordance with the laid-down schedule.)

During the day I was watched over through a spyhole in the cell door to make sure that I did not drop off to sleep. I was allowed to sit on the bed but not to lie down on it. For "turning up my nose" I would be put into a solitary confinement cell, a cold dungeon, and my warm top clothing removed. The cell would be without a bed and I would get a diet of 300 gr. of bread and hot water twice a day. Sometimes for dropping off to sleep they would put me into the "box" where I would quickly become starved of air and become unconscious. Then they would open up the top section, which led onto the corridor, and the warder would berate me in brutal terms for my "stubbornness" and "indiscipline". That was the way in which the interrogator "took a break" for himself. But I continued not to admit complicity.

When IA began to suspect that my sister was beginning to break I begged one of the warders, Maria, in whom I had detected a ray of sympathy for my sufferings (she was the one who had searched me on the day of my arrest), to take me to the toilets (where one was allowed obviously in extreme situations) past the cell where my sister was imprisoned, perhaps alone, and to open the spyhole for one minute.

I spoke a few words to my sister and left her speechless in the cell. At a very critical time during my interrogation, when the interrogator was threatening to arrest my mother with all the consequences of such a step, in the moment of a mother's infinite pain for her orphaned child, Maria reassured me. She told me that my mother was not in prison, that each visiting day she brought me a parcel, that was not accepted.

I managed to hold out without sleep for 21 days. I walked around the cell asleep on my feet, and fell down and injured my knees. The scabs grew, but tore when I fell again. Pus trickled from my knees.

and stuck to my stockings, but not once did the prison doctor examine my injuries or bandage them. At my behest, he spoke to me through the spyhole and advised me to be "more co-operative" with the interrogator in as much as "it did not concern" her anyway. Then I told her to get out and was punished. The prison punished one for everything — even "material damage to cell property". This happened because once, after taking a bath I tried to dry out my slip by propping it up (with some little sticks about the size of matches which had been swept in by winds from the exercise yard, which was enclosed by four brick walls the height of a standard one-storey building) against a metal mesh-guard which protected a battery.

The chief of the interrogation unit, Lt. Col. Tsybkov, once approached me in the interrogation room and was about to hit me when I shouted at the top of my voice "Colonel, don't hit me!" then I broke into an almost animal cry, high pitched in its misery and hopelessness. Tsybkov walked out of the room, saying to the interrogator as he left: "Don't do it it can be heard out on Irynska Street".

The interrogator prodded me because I had fallen asleep on the table. Then he sat down near me, rattling the massive prison keys on the walls of the cupboard, changing his beat each time. I was blinking my eyes in sheer terror, I even forgot where I was . . .

The interrogator began and finished with these words: "Just the one question — openly admit your intentions to kill the head of the Ukrainian Government, Nikita Sergeevich Khrushchev". I no longer smiled, or even argued, I just stared, not at the interrogator, Kutsenko, but at his flexible, round mouth. His mouth was even more rounded on one side, where near to his lips he had a scar about the size of a morello cherry. Somehow the idea sprang into my mind that it was time at last, to stop these absurd and intolerable little discussions, these tortures. It was enough to tear apart his mouth, to suddenly push my index fingers down his mouth and jerk them apart with all my force . . . This "thought" obsessed me to such a degree that all desire to sleep vanished without trace. I grasped onto the idea and measured out every movement, the distances involved, and tensed up my muscles . . .

I did in fact make an attempt, but not surprisingly I failed, not even reaching his face with my hands . . . Kutsenko started up, frightened, he called for a guard and had me taken to my cell. For two weeks they did not summon me for questioning. Then I was acquainted with a new interrogator, Popov. The interrogations started again at night. He at once adopted his usual tack — threats followed by the promise of rewards if I co-operated. Once more I was subjected to brutal invective and threats.

I remained unmoved — I was prepared for the worst; if only I did not tell them that which they had been demanding from me for so

long. The collective ages of my sister and myself was nearly 90, a respectable enough age to end our wandering over this mortal earth, but it had to be done with honour and dignity.

Therefore, when Popov tried to demonstrate his limitless power over me, hypnotising me with his enraged eyes, suddenly opening a drawer in the table and without taking his eyes off me miming the use of "something" on me which was to put an end to all his "troubles" I calmly got up, turned around to face the wall and knelt down . . .

Popov would have given me a good beating up, because he was angry to the point of being at his wits' end, but his hysteria was cut short by the telephone ringing.

Just before reveille I was taken back to my cell. My demands that the interrogations be concluded in the presence of a lawyer were acceded to. During the day I was questioned in the presence of of the Procurator, Yurchenko. He knew me from the times when I consulted him in connection with the arrest of my sister, Vera Khudenko.

Yurchenko fooled me. He persuaded me to sign several protocols concerned with the interrogation and a "formal declaration" that everything had been carried out correctly at the end. Smiling pleasantly he assured me: "You have nothing to fear, sign. You well know yourself that there are no grounds for a case and we have to finish with this matter at long last".

After seven months of torture in the Lukyanivsky prison, a KGB lieutenant read the verdict of a closed court of the Ministry of Internal Affairs — ten years in a hard labour camp, and the same for my sister.

At the expense of a seven-day hunger strike I got the visit I was entitled to from my mother and my son, Oles. We stared at each other through two sets of nets. Trying to maintain an appearance of calmness, I entrusted my son to the caring hands of my mother — an old and ill lady. My mother bore herself bravely. I only answered my son's oft-repeated question of how long I was imprisoned for at the end of the visit. Oles slowly mouthed the words "ten years" and then suddenly started to cry aloud; my mother snatched open the door to the room and then all three of us embraced tightly, broken down and crying. The warden barely managed to separate us. My mother and son left, my mother stumbling and bowed.

They fooled my mother — I was not brought any warm clothing and left for Siberia in the shoes and light winter clothing in which I had been arrested. They transported us out of Kyiv on one of those beautiful, September days when the skies above Kyiv are clear and blue, taking us past the Lukyanivsky market. Close by the windows of the prison van happy mothers with their children drifted past, women from the bazaar walked by carrying baskets laden with fruit

and vegetables, engrossed in those "everyday" worries which through the prism of a prison window look like undreamed of happiness.

They brought us to a railway spur in a deserted section of the station as if we had been kidnapped, hiding us from the eyes of our fellow countrymen. When we were being transported from the prison my sister and I were the only women present; the men there were German prisoners of war and military criminals. All of us were terribly exhausted. We all had one thing in common — we had been condemned under the same statute of the criminal codex of the USSR, section 4, Statute 48 — terrorism.

Obedying the command "link arms in fives" we trekked along the railway sleepers to a passenger wagon standing apart from the rest of its train on a spur. My sister and I found ourselves in the first five, with me on one of the flanks. A thought flickered in my mind: make a run for it. If I was shot in the legs I would be kept in the Lukyanivsky prison and would see my mother and son once more, which was the best I could expect in my hopeless situation. I stopped my first 'five' and the whole column halted. Vera squeezed my hand and begged me; "Go on, please go on". Something stopped me, although I was torn with the desire to get back to my mother and my son.

Something always holds the reins on free will. And to satisfy themselves and justify their slavishness humans think up various arguments like "common sense", "he who laughs last, laughs best", "God rewards those who suffer", "take it like a man", etc.

Together, separated by a wire net, my sister and I travelled to the North, always with the same group of military criminals complemented with some KGB men we had picked up in Kyiv. They transported us at a fast pace in the "Stolypin" carriages; they took us by a route we did not know, into the unknown. They transported us to a transit point — a giant, densely-packed place for those under sentence; at such places the convoy changed, delousing took place, with checks, searches etc. To this transit point we were led by a convoy with rifles slung across their chests with dogs trained to go for "zeks" (political prisoners) in their quilted jackets. We went along passively aware of the dogs' barks, tensed up, we listened for the orders for our convoy: "Get undressed in fives, keep hold of each other's hands, listen to the orders, forward march!" We went along like cattle destined for the slaughterhouse.

The attitude of dulled perception and acceptance which permeated our whole convoy got hold of me — I lost touch with that morally binding thread which drew me to my son and my mother, Maria, now left on her own. I was not burned up with a desire to escape any more — and from the very depths of that inferno someone invincible and so obviously forceful became the ruler of all my actions. With a vicious, satanic laugh he threw my life around as if it was a set of

dice and became the arbiter of my young son's and elderly mother's fates.

In Voronezh we were taken out of the train just as the morning rush hour was beginning and the streets were crowded with workers who on the command "Citizens to one side, go through, to one side" parted, giving us a clear path; the dogs barked angrily at us and at that dark wall of "citizens" in their quilted jackets jammed onto the platform on the station. When the command was given we hurried along at the double across the railway lines into a siding. I did not see any of the people because I was too busy looking at the ground to make sure I did not trip up; I do not know how they viewed us women "enemies of the people" in the company of those German soldiers.

My sister and I did not exchange a single word with the soldiers, not only because of the shouting of the guards ("No communicating!"), but because of the language barrier. Neither they nor we had the strength or even the desire to communicate by mime or gesticulation. One of the Germans was always falling down and the rest of his 'five' was continually helping him up, although they were all exhausted.

At the Voronezh transit point we were sorted out and our relevant documents checked. One of the people in the administration, after reading that we were from Kyiv, said with a smile: "So you have come from the new Jerusalem". That was all that these people, set above us, knew about Ukraine.

On a scrap of paper and with a stub of a pencil (treasures that one could not always count on finding at a transit point, which were given me by a collective farm worker woman prisoner who was finishing her term of imprisonment for stealing two kilos of tomatoes) I scribbled down a few happy words to my mother. I stuck the scrap of paper together with a piece of chewed up bread. I wrote the address on it and as the guard led us to the station I threw it into the crowd shouting "People, just drop it in a letter box!" My first letter did not reach its destination: that was the reaction after the war of a people who had suffered too much and were full of resentment.

In Moscow I was separated from my sister. Exhausted, we said our final goodbyes, because we did not think we would ever see each other again. Our eyes were dry and our speech clipped.

My way led to Uhta Koma in the subtundra regions whilst Vera's destiny was the Kermovsk district of the Southern part of the limitless stretches of Siberia.

At the Vyatinsk transit point I was led along together with a large group of people, accused of different things, sentenced under different statutes and for different terms of imprisonment, both women and men. The Vyatinsk convoy was guarded by Russian soldiers with a mixture of "aliens" thrown in. This convoy could not be exceeded in

its severity — as the prisoners' folklore puts it: "the Vyatinsk guards don't like to joke about". This convoy did not try to avoid puddles, ditches, ravines or snow drifts and always took the "direct route" regardless of the old, the very young, or the ill. The guards drove the convoy along as if they were cattle, swearing and shouting and prodding those unable to go on.

The Vyatinsk transit point was at that time full to overflowing with people. From here they were sent into exile or to camps and prisons in every corner of the gulag. The people in charge at these transit points were the old timers and the ordinary criminals. There was not enough room for everybody on the two-tier bunk beds.

I stood around for a while listening to the people talk and than made for the biggest group of women from western Ukraine, who were sitting around in holes in the ground as if they were pillows filled with dust. They made way for me and welcomed me, and there was no end to the relating of our stories and the tears that flowed.

They told me how a woman with a small boy had been waiting to be assigned to a new group of prisoners for transit: the person in charge, reading out the roll-call, asked what the little boy's name was. The mother replied "Stepan". "So you're Stepan are you?", they asked the little boy. The little boy replied, terrified, "No, well I mean yes, I'm called Stepan but not that one, not Bandera" and then hid himself behind his mother. Even the little ones knew that they were punished for that one name which became the excuse for persecuting three generations of people; it also did not need any proof of guilt just like my own "terroristic intentions"... For that name they punished on a massive scale — whole villages in Western Ukraine paid for it with their freedom — even with their lives.

My third and last transit point on this journey was the one in Uhta — truly a black spot for people on the long prisoner haul from Pechorsk to Uhta. On a patch of land, surrounded by barbed wire, there were several long, grey barracks, standing low on the ground; in the corners of the compound there were towers with armed guards in them; the zone was patrolled.

I found myself in a half-empty female barrack with bare, wooden, two-tier bunk beds, polished to a shine from the dirt and in addition liceridden. The white lice crawled over the planks, not hiding in the cracks like the fleas but instead feverishly searching for a host.

I had to get into the top bunk but because my legs could no longer carry my weight I collapsed and did not undress.

Ragged, dirty skeletons wandered around the grounds of the transit point like people in a trance; with the glazed eyes of those who have lost their souls, they came into the women's barracks. They were repulsive to look at — one was overcome by a feeling of repugnance that could not be stemmed: that is how bad they looked — to say un-aesthetic is an understatement, they looked terrible and inhuman.

One man, who looked like an old beggar, started talking to me so that my attention was distracted. From a feeling of pity for him I got down from my bunk and understood that he was just longing for a welcome word from the mouth of a woman, something he had dreamed of after forgetting what they sounded like after so many long years of imprisonment, on the very edges of spiritual and physical exhaustion. We went out of the barracks and he told me his story, like a testimony — he was looking for a fresh listener, someone from the freedom outside.

His story was a typical one, a banal tale, so to speak, as the injustices of Soviet reality had become so widespread. After the 1932 famine in Ukraine, the destruction of the Ukrainian intelligentsia began in 1934-35. He had been a teacher in a small town and was punished for his conscientiousness as a teacher during the campaign against Ukrainian "nationalism". In 1935 he was sentenced without evidence at a secret trial run by the Ministry of Internal Affairs (MVD), to ten years without the right to communicate with the outside world. After he finished this first term of punishment he had been given another term of imprisonment by the MVD for "matters" brought to their attention by the camp administration. He was once again given a ten year sentence confirmed by a secret court. A Ukrainian from Dnipropetrovsk, the same age as myself, he had been reduced after 13 years to a state akin to an animal.

The trickle of people arriving at the camp sparked off his memories and linked him with the past which now seemed to him if not completely a fairy-tale, then something akin to one. That was what he had ended up as after being ground through the mill-stone of this 'perfect solution' to the problems involved in the destruction of the human being.

When I first arrived at the Uhta transit point I lost something of myself. I became afraid; life had diminished in attractiveness, and how I had loved life! A week later I was being transported in a dark, barred van along dirt roads to a camp beyond Uhta — a collection of barracks built on mud. The camp was for women and had a mixture of people in it; "Banderites", ordinary prisoners and criminals. These criminals were feared by everyone, including the camp administration, kitchen staff and warders. The administration tried to bribe them into order. In the hands of these "trusties" was placed the dining room, kitchen, bathroom, laundry, boiler room and all other work places in the zone. That was how pressure was exerted from all sides by the camp administration on those prisoners labelled as "Banderites", or what the work detail leaders called "navvies".

The political prisoners had their own barracks and this was a great privilege for these peaceful, hardworking people. As far as the work details went, they were organised in a mixed-up way as if according to some pedagogical principles: we were supposed to set a good

example to the ordinary prisoners and the criminals in our work and our behaviour, but in actual fact the politicals had to fulfill (above the norms) not only their own work quotas but also the quotas of those who did not work (and sometimes even did not bother to turn out to work), relying instead on the "Banderites" to earn the rations for everyone, and trying to avoid punishment for non-fulfillment of the quota work.

In the women's zone there was also a guarded zone for some men, in a large square compound surrounded by a high fence with a locked gate. This is where the skilled workers lived, without whom the camp's industry could not function. These were people who worked in the hot-houses and fruit gardens which provided the administration at Uhta with its fresh fruit and vegetables. The navvies only saw what these fruits looked like through the greenhouse windows because they were never allowed in during the seasons when they could benefit by taking something. The workers were fed with the leftovers of fruits that reached the kitchens. We got a thin soup made of unpeeled, rotting potatoes, mixed in with some pressed remains of surita. In the morning we were handed a piece of bread with a mug of bread soup and a bit of barley porridge or more often than not groats with a scrap of boiled cod. Twice a day there was the rattling of mess-tins as the women queued up by the kitchen hatch waiting for their miserly prisoners' rations. The conditions were scurvy-like and we worked all year in the fields. Only at winter was there nothing to do, but our work detail was sent out all the same. We were put to scattering peat all over the fields, and frequently moved the peat from one pile to another, guided as always by the saying: "do anything but sit around".

The weather was always wet and the piercing wind would change direction several times during the course of the day, so it was impossible to stay on one's feet. However, they would not allow us to stop working before the scheduled time — even if stones were to start raining out of the sky.

My strength and spirits started to fail me. I looked with contempt on those zealous workers who wanted to live at any cost; they fulfilled their barbaric work quotas doing work that often was of no use to anyone.

My behaviour and alienation did not go unnoticed in that densely packed group of people. I no longer wanted to await the death of a slave. This attitude became firmer after I had a discussion with three zeks who were coming to the end of their term, people who had been arrested in 1937. The head of the sanitary unit and the doctor tried to push me in with these half-wits, but I refused to work in the brigades. However, I was not allowed by the administration to work in a laboratory beyond the zone. The eighth section of the Criminal Code in my sentence — terrorism — scared them off. Life was intolerable because of this endless robbery and utter hopelessness.

Some of the well-meaning people, village women, tried to keep up my spirits but instead themselves ended up in despair after listening to my convincing arguments. One of the members of my team, a young teacher from Uzhorod, started to debate with me. It was easier for her. To begin with she based her arguments on religious grounds: a person was not allowed to end their own life because it was given them by God and everything is in God's hands. He would help to overcome this evil. Secondly, time goes on and the world changes. Thirdly, we had not the right to leave our brothers alone without help.

I argued back that we did not have the right to live just for the sake of existence. There was only one means of protest left to us against the inhuman conditions and tortures inflicted upon us, and that was to die by our own hands instead of waiting for a planned death through harsh punishments.

I wrote to my mother full of praise for how I was being cared for. I told her I had nearly everything I had at home and in order that I could return sooner I asked her not to write to me any more or search out my whereabouts. I said I would get into contact with her when the time came myself. I was preparing my mother.

Unexpectedly the camp doctor ordered me to the Uchtansk clinic. There it was like some unspeakable bog, a morass of the depths of morality. The people were like those cast out by God and left naked before their own fear of death, trying to exist at any price. I was taken, bedridden, to be put temporarily in a sealed off section of the great camp. Even here women found themselves "admirers" for their own ends. Here women were for the taking.

In the morning corpses were taken from the morgue under escort. The bodies were covered in sheets with their blue legs protruding. They were taken along the central pathway to the main gate and thence to the prisoners' cemetery. There were no coffins or crosses and it was forbidden to dress the corpses even when they owned their own clothes. The horses did not hurry, people did not react or break their camp routine, they did not take their hats off. This was a normal "banal" everyday occurrence in the clinic.

All the workers and the sick ate together in the dining room. The dining room was large and packed. On the doors stood "bouncers" who would not admit the crowd of people straining to enter. They also got in the same way as everyone by showing their coupons but once they were in they did not want to leave. Those giving out the food clattered the aluminium utensils, running around with trays among the tables. A small boy server stopped beside me. He took my coupons and looked at me with a careful look which turned into amazement. Afterwards he brought me several dishes and some medicine with the words: "These are for you Oksana Yakovlevna". "No, I did not give you enough coupons for all this", I said confused.

"You are mistaken, eat". When I was leaving the dining room he stopped me for a moment and said: "You did not recognise me. I'm Kolka, your neighbour, Maria Petrovna's son. You remember, from Tambov". Yes, this was the mischievous son of Maria, my workmate. He had been caught with others for stealing and wounding a person. Than he had been a minor now he was a youth. He asked me: "What are you in for?" When I replied he said: "I thought you would be a political".

He fed me up, this lad, with special medicinal dishes and extra rations. And all of this he did discreetly and humbly. I did not stay in the clinic as the doctor wanted. I did not even want to visit it. Life was so horrible there that even the advantage of not being herded out to work could not keep me there.

With the beginning of the Uchtansk spring I was taken back to the agricultural centre. We cut grass in the subtundra mud and waded about in the water all day long so that our feet were squeezed by our shoes and our ankle joints twisted. We planted cabbages, potatoes and root crops. Day turned into night, the sun went down, and within an hour or two rose again. We were supposed to work in two shifts but there was no precise timing of the shifts and no one had a watch. When the guards woke us it seemed like the middle of day and the sun was always high in the heavens. We were driven into the fields because (according to the weather forecasts) they were expecting frost and we heaped soil onto the potato shoots. We were abused, urged on, and threatened by our brigade and team leaders who promised to put us on punishment rations for our "uncaring attitude and non-awareness" of what would happen to the potato shoots if they were caught by the frost.

We went to and from work like zombies, stupefied and hungry. Hunger got to one so much that one could not think of anything else. Trade flourished in the camp. A 600 gram ration of bread commanded a high price. The kitchen staff stole from us. Somehow I managed to trade for a piece of bread. I ate the one that I was entitled to and than the second one but I did not feel any relief of my hunger. A student called Halya received a parcel and brought me her bread ration. When I told her that I had already eaten two and looked with hungry eyes at this one now offered me she took it away, fearing the consequences if I ate it. She led me to her barrack and fed me on a hot, delicate dish. She could afford to do this because she received food parcels regularly and helped the guards, although remaining a human.

People escaped their hunger in different ways. One group of young girls were attached to a sanitary brigade. They emptied the lavatories in the town of Uchtansk, and took the effluent to the fields on planks. During the winter they mined the "gold" with picks and crowbars. In the vicinity of the barracks one could smell them from a long

way off, but they were not hungry and were allowed to send letters home as often as they pleased. In our circumstances this counted for something.

It was regarded as a stroke of luck when our brigade was sent to dig up potatoes or pick fruit in the orangery. We ate the potatoes raw or secretly baked them in the stoves. We stole potatoes but it was difficult to carry them into our living quarters because of the double search. We would cut the potatoes up and put them in our soldiers' boots like a sole or in some other place where they would be hard to find; in the evenings we would cook them.

At first I could not steal them; When one of the guards tried to search me at the exit, I stopped her and waved her aside with my hand saying: "Take your hands away — I don't want any potatoes or to be touched by you". She became confused and the overseer who stood by always at this operation said; "Let her go, Halya; don't search her".

This became the normal course of events and they left me alone. The brigade members always offered me potatoes but I refused them; all the same when the potatoes were cooked at night they were always offered to me either by one person or another.

This was now unfair. I ate what others stole. So one day I tucked several whole potatoes away under my coat and got through unsearched as normal — although walking past I involuntarily stopped by Halya: somehow I could not allow myself to get away with it so easily. I continued to carry the potatoes till someone tipped off the guards as to what I was doing.

At one time, and totally unexpectedly, I was saved by my sentence for 'terrorism'. This was in 1949. The authorities were concentrating all the dangerous criminals for transportation in one camp. I was deemed as one of those from our camp. Everyone was surprised, me more than anyone. So it came to pass that I once again had to go through the Uchtansk transfer point. We were transported in a great mass in a goods wagon which was fitted with a stove and a container for water which was filled sporadically — on some rare occasions with boiling water. We were transported like cats in a bag. At some stations two of us were allowed to jump out to collect water and empty out the slops.

We journeyed for more than a month in the wagons with only a scrap of bread — which must have been manufactured by some special technology — a piece of rotten herring, and (not always), a ladle of hot water daily.

I finally found myself amongst the "dangerous criminals" on a grey Irkutsk day towards the end of spring 1949. People were still being transported for work so we were not driven out of the compound. The food was markedly better; we got "state" rations. At last we were getting free of the subjugation of the ordinary criminals. Things improved slightly.

The camp administration got acquainted with the captive women. Our group consisted mainly of young or middle-aged women but there were also others older and even some old grannies. Everyone relaxed after the journey; I rested a little.

The administration was considering something and moreover waiting for orders and work plans from their superiors. Meanwhile our long grey barracks, meant for 80 but packed with 100 people, hummed like a bee-hive. People crammed themselves into their little holes. Lying down they talked and dreamed of their release, because people talk about that which pains them. This thought pained everyone; everybody waited for freedom, and at least in this we were all equal.

Things came to fruition by way of rumours. People walking from one barrack to another (there were 9 or 10 such barracks in the compound and about 1000 people) spread these rumours as if they were passing on the most reliable of information: "undoubted truths from the mouths of those in the camp administration, the very camp administration!"

Someone had been sweeping up in the camp chief's office or someone had been tipped off by a "good" and "sympathetic" warder (the girls, of their own accord, even wanted to embroider, knit or sew something for the warders. Oh, you slaves!) and that is how the rumours started to spread. They crept along, radiating among the mass of morally dispirited, dis-informed womanhood, acquiring form and content along the way, some of it unbelievable, like a fairy tale.

Driven into a remote part of the Irkutsk region, we were a lost mark on the map. And our job was to make inhabitable and build-up these deserted, unpopulated islands for the free people of the slave-forming empire to come and occupy, all ready and waiting for them. We were allowed to write twice a year, just twice. That was the norm laid down for us "dangerous criminals".

The moral strength of the rumours had a miraculous effect. No one truly believed in the rumours to the contrary because they were based on a healthy sense of being a nation — we were one people and this feeling never left us: we were a mass. Our court cases and sentences were so absurd that on holidays and snowed-in days when we were free of the strength-sapping work, they were the subject of humour and the prisoners' angry sarcasm, a truly Ukrainian national folklore.

Reality turned the salutary rumours into mere butterflies which flew for a day. Every day new rumours emerged from cocoons and flew around.

In the Irkutsk camp the newly arrived or transported women were found hard physical labour of the following kinds:

1. Lumberjacking, with very high work norms. (On checking it was found our work norms significantly exceeded those of the Demersk lumberjacks in Kyiv in 1956, and they were all men)

2. Laying down railways.

3. Quarrying. Irkutsk was being built and needed stone. We loosened the stone cliffs with the aid of explosives. Then we crushed them using hammers, pick-axes and crowbars. The women carried the tools in long boxes with lengthened handles on their shoulders.

We got no training in this dangerous work, nor did we get safety instructions. Everything was quite straightforward; our brigade leader was given her orders by the volunteer workers and she pressed us into carrying them out. We, with a crawling surrender like ants, moved the Irkutsk rock all day long throughout the summer season, following commands. Not only did we quarry the rock but we had to transport it first of all on to trucks then to the railway station. The brigade leader poured on the pressure all the time and the threat of punishment ration bred dissent and arguments among the brigade members. Sometimes people suspected that someone was just holding on with their hands, fooling the others; they were having an easy time at their neighbours' expense.

My health failed in the quarries. I was taken with serious bleeding to the medical post (a place with just a few beds) instead of being taken to the women's clinic. That was because we were working on some "secret" contract. Transported for the spring-summer period far from our camp and even further from the nearest women's clinic, the hospital trains did not come to us. And added to this the authorities seemed to have forgotten about us; they did not inspect us and our own camp administration, but merely explained: "Finish your work quota and you will return to the camp".

In the medical post the prisoners' doctor was not only unhygienic but an altogether doubtful worker. She was 'in' with the administration, she did not ask for anything, and the sick were reduced to extremes because there were no medicines, proper food or care. But that is enough talk of complaints. My only cure was to lie on a bed in clean and light premises, which compared to the barracks seemed like a health resort.

It was quiet here and you could read or think. Nobody was complaining about not carrying out work norms, you got a full ration of bread and the food was a bit better, where before you could not even put it in your mouth. Our doctor was not concerned with our external appearance because there was no possibility of any clinical tests. There were no laboratories here or medical preparations; we were given up to the hands of our exploiters, servile medics, and to the will of God.

The women from western Ukraine brought me grass from the fields from beyond the zone. They made me eat the boiled grass. And thus I was "witchcraft" healed by those knowledgeable in folk cures; I got a bit better, although I walked around in a daze.

There were no more griefs, fears, longings for loved ones or children. There was only hunger, there was a semi-consciousness, that

transitory stage between spiritual extinction and insidious apathy. At last we were returned to our camp, by the railway that we and other women had brought to its present condition.

We were forcibly deprived of the natural functions which make up the formula for the "woman-mother" but there continued to live on in us the internal strength that makes one preserve female individuality and seek out the subtle and beautiful in nature and people. The young girls wrote poems and composed songs (they realised their creativity on friends' birthdays or those of other prisoners who were dear to them). They did embroidery or knitted beautiful things out of poor quality material because there was no other. Lastly, they sang songs with such feeling and emotion that my pen is not up to the task of describing it. They carved a place for themselves in my heart with their songs of an unfulfilled responsibility, that responsibility which cannot be fulfilled on one's own. The verses were not preserved. They were presents for name-days, read aloud or written down on a scrap of the paper in such short supply, which either eventually got destroyed or confiscated in one of the searches. People were punished because of them.

In contrast to today in the camps (they are now called establishments) the KGB workers, having packed us off to 'Siberia' (I use the term generally because God knows where they did not send us) for terms of up to 25 years, did not bother about us any more. They did not count on the possibility we would ever return, more — they did not consider they would ever come face to face again with their innocent victims.

And so, with the coming of summer, they took us all out of that zone — the young, the old and the sick — and closed the gate.

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Documents and News from Ukraine

KVETSKO RENOUNCES SOVIET CITIZENSHIP

Dmytro Mykolayevych Kvetsko, a long-term, Ukrainian political prisoner, wrote last year to the Presidium of the USSR exposing the suppression rampant in Ukraine and renouncing his Soviet citizenship.

Dmytro Kvetsko is aged about 50. During the Stalin regime he was imprisoned in a concentration camp, and before his last arrest he was a teacher in Ivano-Frankivsk.

He was arrested in 1967 and charged with being the leader of the Ukrainian National Front. Dmytro Kvetsko was sentenced to 5 years in prison, 10 years in a hard-labour camp, and 5 years' internal exile. He served his sentence in Vladimir Prison, then in the Perm camps.

His statement to the Presidium is re-printed from a samvydav document which reached the West last year.

"For 11 years now I have rotted in prisons and concentration camps, isolated from the world and normal human life as if I had been buried. And all this because I dared to write some articles in the samvydav journal, 'Volya i Batkivschyna', citing the bare truth about events in Ukraine in the fifties and sixties.

I was forced into this move by life itself. Injustice went unchecked before me, like a spectre, a dumb witness to the hopelessness, collapse and desolation in which Pidhirya, the place where I was born and lived, found itself. The disarray of Pidhirya's farms, the misery and utter poverty of her inhabitants are the State's way of paying back the people for the unequal fight for an independent life waged by the people of Pidhirya — with weapons in their hands — against their subjugators. The occupiers destroyed, burned and cut down the most precious asset of the country — the forests — so that partisans could not find shelter there. The inhabitants from whom the State had taken away the land were forced to wander all over the world so as not to die of hunger. The once populated, well-off villages became deserted. This desolation, like the silence of the grave, sparked off a despair in me and gave rise to an angry voice of protest.

Driven by poverty, the villagers went to non-Ukrainian towns in search of work; but the road was barred to them there because the towns were populated by foreigners. They were forced to go to foreign lands in their search for a means of existence. Often they were taken there by force to work underground in mines or in factories. They found themselves in reservations — to get out of which it was, in practice, impossible. That is how Ukrainian ghettos arose in Vorkuta, Mahadani, Kolyma, Karaganda and all over Siberia. Their inhabitants, stripped of their own language and other elements of their national culture, were russified and assimilated.

Those who stayed behind were squeezed by high taxes and state requisitions. Their constant companions were poverty, shortages and under-nourishment. I wrote about the terrible lot of the down-trodden Ukrainian villagers of Pidhirya. I also wrote about the destruction of Ukrainian culture and the intelligentsia, about the fall of national spirit and consciousness amongst the creative intelligentsia that remained, belittling the history of their nation, becoming scoundrels and buffoons, prostituting their talent.

For these activities I was sentenced under Statute 56 of the criminal codex of the Ukr. SSR as a "traitor to the fatherland", although my publicistic work was not related at all to this law but pertained wholly to statute 62, "Anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda". But the court, or rather the KGB, determined that, to "turn the screws" it was even worth breaking their own laws. One of my co-defendants, Mykhaylo Dyak, could not stand the mental tortures and suffering and died prematurely. Another, Zinoviy Krasivsky, was transferred from the Vladimir Prison to a psychiatric clinic in Smolensk and has recently been taken to Lviv. I was given 15 years' imprisonment, (the first five to be served in a prison) five years' internal exile and the confiscation of my property.

In fact I became a victim of the punishments and terror meted out to everyone who has decided to speak out in defence of the persecuted and down-trodden and for the national rights of a subjugated nation. This terror has been almost continuous in Ukraine since the time of her national re-birth.

The fact that I have been labelled "traitor to the fatherland" does not give me any pangs of conscience or any feelings of embarrassment. I know the price of that so-called "fatherland" which I "betrayed". From history, I know that every occupant brought us Ukrainians, on the point of his bayonet, not only new colonial shackles but also their own fatherland which they forced us to "love and defend".

My grandfather lived under the Austrians. My father under the Poles. Poland was his fatherland.

I found myself under the Soviets. The USSR became my fatherland. My grandfather fought for Austria in 1914, my father for Poland in 1939 and I "betrayed" the USSR. Not only this, but I even

want to leave the USSR altogether. Nothing ties me to the USSR, no bonds of any kind. In addition I believe the title of Citizen of the USSR brings shame on me, it lowers my dignity as a person, it stains my national honour. Why? Because there are no elementary human rights in the USSR; brutal force, arbitrariness, spiritual subjugation and complete lawlessness reign supreme in the USSR. In these circumstances life becomes an intolerable suffering. In these circumstances life loses its preciousness and allure. Only by escaping from this Babylonian imprisonment can a person again assimilate those values which he is denied every day and every hour by this totalitarian system, and which he rightly expects in the short existence that God has given him on this earth.

I have turned more than once to the Presidium of the USSR with an appeal that the fabricated charges against me about "betraying the fatherland" be examined and re-qualified from statute 56 of the Criminal Codex of the Ukr. USSR to statute 62, in order to truly put a stop to this breaking of Socialist legality in the way it is always written about in the newspapers. But it has all been a waste of time. In reply to all my complaints, addressed to the highest judicial bodies, I received mere formal replies. In other words arbitrariness is enshrined in the law; it is justified.

I have been convinced on the basis of numerous proven facts that under the Soviet regime any person who does not hold Marxist-Leninist views but has his own, different from the official doctrine, has a place guaranteed for them behind bars or barbed wire. Therefore, in the year the new Soviet Constitution has been adopted, on the 29th anniversary of the adoption of the declaration of Human Rights, December 10, 1977, I ask the Presidium of the USSR to strip me of my Soviet citizenship and to allow me, after completing my sentence, to emigrate from the Soviet Union.

LEV LUKYANENKO

Lev Lukyanenko, a founder member of the Kyiv Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords, was sentenced on July 20, 1978 by a Soviet court to 10 years' imprisonment plus five years' exile for his activities in disclosing the abuse of national and human rights in Ukraine.

Prior to his sentencing, Lukyanenko's colleagues from the Kyiv Group issued a plea to the West to save the life of the 51-year-old lawyer.

Entitled "Freedom for Levko Lukyanenko", the statement said: "The tragic and noble life of Levko Lukyanenko should attract everyone's attention.

"The Ukrainian Public Helsinki Group appeals to the international community, jurists, and believers in God to stand up in defence of

Lev Lukyanenko now, without waiting for a new 15-year sentence to be handed down. This evil, against which Lukyanenko so courageously fought, can meet each and every one unless its path is blocked", wrote the Group's members.

The appeal also contained new facts about Lukyanenko's life, his role in the Kyiv Group and his rapport with his colleagues in the rights movement.

In 1944, when Lukyanenko was 16 years old, he was drafted into the Red Army. He served eight years, during which he graduated with honours from high school. He also joined the Communist Party of the Soviet Union at that time.

After he was discharged in 1953, he enrolled in the School of Law at the University of Moscow. He completed the course in 1958.

Upon graduation he worked as a legal consultant in the Vynnytsia oblast CP and the Hlyniane region, Lviv oblast, party office.

While working in the Hlyniane party office, Lukyanenko met another lawyer, Ivan Kandyba, and other attorneys and party officials with whom he discussed many problems which they felt were pressing in Ukraine.

Lukyanenko displayed a keen interest in the socio-political conditions in Western Europe and compared them with the situation in the Soviet Union, particularly in Ukraine. At the University, Lukyanenko studied different legal systems, political economy and comparative government. He had access to the university's research libraries and was able to acquaint himself with the platforms of pre-revolutionary political parties.

The information became the basis of Lukyanenko's plan to reorganise the socio-political system in the Ukrainian SSR. It later became the platform of the Ukrainian Worker's Peasant's Union.

The fundamental precepts of Lukyanenko's ideas are: socialism with government ownership of industry; private enterprise permitted in light industry, commerce and distribution; a radical change in the agricultural system with genuine voluntary co-operation; a government built on democratic principles and free elections; the official language of Ukraine, Ukrainian; and a national referendum to decide the question of Ukraine's secession from the USSR.

Lukyanenko and six of his friends discussed these principles at a meeting in November 1960 in Lviv. Present at the meeting was a person named Vaschenko, a student of the higher party school who was later revealed as a police informer.

On January 20, 1961, Lukyanenko and his colleagues were arrested and secretly tried in a KGB building in Lviv.

Lukyanenko was sentenced to death for his theories about 'building socialism with a human face'. After sentencing, Lukyanenko waited in chains for 67 days for his execution. But the Soviet Supreme Court finally commuted the sentence to 15 years' hard labour in a special regime concentration camp. He was offered several chances

to recant but refused to co-operate.

Lukyanenko's experiences led him to reject all Marxist beliefs, saying they were inhumane. He became a devout Christian. He spent four and a half years in the Vladimir prison, some two years in KGB prisons in Kyiv, Lviv and Chernihiv, an undetermined amount of time in the Rybinsk psychiatric hospital, and was finally sent to the concentration camp.

After his release, Lukyanenko defended his friends independently of the Kyiv Group, and in joint appeals. He wrote appeals in defence of Petro Ruban, the woodcarver who designed a Bicentennial statue in tribute to America and was later arrested, Bohdan Chuyko, Kuzma Matviyuk and others.

After he was again arrested, investigations into Lukyanenko's case spread into the Magadansk oblast, the Krasnodarsk area, the Koma ASSR and to many other cities in Ukraine. The Kyiv Group members wrote that young and old were terrorised in connection with the questioning, and Lukyanenko's wife and family were also subjected to numerous interrogations.

OXSANA MESHKO PROTESTS AGAINST ILLEGAL ACTS BY THE KGB

Oksana Meshko sent this protest against the arbitrariness of the KGB to the Presidium of the Ukr. SSR. It was also published in the March-June 1978, issue of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group's "Information Bulletin".

"THE HISTORY OF THE RUS PEOPLE IS ALSO AN ANTI-STATE DOCUMENT"

On February 9, 1978, representatives of the Republic's KGB searched my home in connection with the "case" of the lawyer and publicist L. Lukyanenko, a member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group. In a similar manner to last year's search, this one was conducted after psychological pressure had been exercised and an atmosphere of fear created. At dawn a KGB agent got into my apartment after letting himself in, burglar-fashion, with my lodger's key. One opened

the flat up whilst eight others hid in the doorway of the neighbouring house; as they were breaking into house I was in bed almost undressed.

At this point I have to say that I have been kept under surveillance for two years now by people in the neighbouring, unoccupied house: a whole group of "civil servant" types keep watch, photographing me, recording conversations on tape, and listening.

So nine people from the KGB made a search for 20 hours, turning everything upside down. This was the seventh search in the past few years.

As with the other searches, this one was also without justification. Its "trophies" were note books containing addresses, personal correspondence with I. Kandyba, a document from the Ukrainian Helsinki Group concerning the arrest of L. Lukyanenko, a rough copy of a letter to the Chairman of the Supreme Council of the Ukr. SSR about the illegal persecution of the ex-political prisoner K. Matviyuk, a copy of a complaint by the imprisoned artist P. Ruban, to the deputy attorney of the Ukr. SSR, Okonenko, and my own petition in defence of L. Lukyanenko to the 35 countries which took part in the Belgrade Conference.

They took everything, things that did not have the slightest bearing on politics or the Lukyanenko case. In their protocol they wrote notes like "a piece of paper beginning with the words" and naturally forgetting to note what words it finished with. There were 30 such "pieces of paper". They took a film with a type-written text with it which they did not read, and if they read it later I have not yet been informed. They even took a list of international conventions which had been signed and ratified by our government!

I have written to you (the presidium of the Ukr. SSR) on more than one occasion stating that I do not have in my possession any anti-soviet material. As a member of the Helsinki Group I am anxious to preserve the reputation of our Group as one working within the law. So only the KGB and those concerned with secret trials view the documents of our legal Group as "anti-soviet actions, calculated to harm the prestige of the Soviet Government", and so on.

This time Captain Prystaiko and Lieutenant-Colonel Hanchuk turned my hidden "cache" in the snow drifts into a sensation. They photographed it and documented it. In the cache lay my personal letters, two documents from the Helsinki Group and a book, *XX Century*, by the Marxist Roy Medvedev. And how delighted they were — not by the find itself, for it had no intrinsic value, but by the very fact of discovering this "cache". To some degree this was a compensation for all their troubles.

Should I be ashamed of the illegal acts committed by the Government? "... Soviet law expresses the freedom of the nation and the essential directions to be taken by the Party and the country ..."

(L. Brezhnev). Yes, citizens of the Soviet Union have not had their right to live in fear curtailed — and people are forced to hide things which are not even eligible for confiscation under the Soviet Constitution.

On February 14, 1978, after a five-day interrogation, I was read a KGB "warning" written on a printed form also containing selected documents from the case of my son, O. Serhiyenko, sentenced in 1972. Of course I was not given a copy of the document, and I refused to sign it, denying the charges of "anti-sovietism" presented in it. Because how, for instance, can one regard *The History of the Rus People* — a work concerning the history of Ukraine in feudal times (the work of an unknown author and on the shelves of public libraries) published many years before the Revolution — as an "anti-soviet document"? Or, in the same way, a copy of an official declaration to the attorney of the Ukr. SSR made in 1971 by B. Antonenko-Davidovych, Ivan Dzyuba and V. Chornovil about the trial of V. Moroz?

The tag of "anti-sovietism" attaches itself excessively easily to this or that document. The KGB are diligently trying to prepare charges against me, interrogating my friends and acquaintances, asking them not only about me but about my imprisoned son, Oleksander. They are questioning people, probing them and looking among them for future prosecution witnesses. At the same time they are spreading groundless rumours about me — that I belong to OUN (Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists), that I am a Banderite and that "her hands are stained with blood". At the same time they categorically deny that I was rehabilitated by the Ukr. SSR Attorney's office in 1966. They frighten people, forbid them to visit me, or help me in my domestic chores when I am ill — something which at my age is not good news. In other words, they are using every means possible to exert pressure on everyone with whom I have the slightest connection.

With this I am turning to the highest judicial appeal body in the Ukrainian Republic to put a stop to the illegal persecution of myself and my son.

I, as a member of the Helsinki Group, have a responsibility to defend justice as guaranteed to us under the Constitution and the Helsinki Agreements. I have done nothing illegal and am not engaged in any subversive work. So why do the KGB "workers" give me so much of their "attention"?

I also ask for directions to be given to the KGB (if this is within the competence of the Supreme Council of the Ukr. SSR) to return to me all the items taken from me and my son, Oleksander Serhiyenko; all the personal letters, literary-publicistic articles, notebooks containing the poems of Soviet poets, the photographic copy of *The History of the Rus People* and other records taken illegally from me during the above-mentioned searches, in as much as they do not apertain to any court and are not anti-soviet.

MATVIYUK'S APPEAL TO THE PRESIDIUM OF THE UKRAINIAN SSR

My name is K. Matviyuk. I was born in 1941, a Ukrainian. I have had higher education. Until February 27, 1978, I had a position as a senior laboratory worker in the Rovensk Region Agricultural research station.

In 1972 when I was working as a lecturer in special subjects at the Umansk Institute for the Mechanisation of Agriculture (Cherkask Region) I was arrested by the KGB and sentenced to four years in a severe-regime hard labour camp. In 1976 I returned from the camps after completing the full term of my punishment.

I searched half a year for work until I was fortunate enough to get a job in the Oleksandderiisk TB no. 21 (in the town of Oleksandria, Kirovohrad Oblast) filling a temporary vacancy as a construction worker without any hope of getting living-quarters or any possibility of progressing in my work.

In the summer of 1977 I turned to the Ministry of Agriculture with a request that they give me a job in a research establishment. I was offered a job in the Rovensk research station where for a long time there had been a vacancy left by an elderly assistant in the mechanization laboratory. I was accepted for the post on August 27, 1977.

I was promised a research post in my chosen subject in the mechanization branch of agriculture, the right conditions to write a scientific work (a Ph.D. dissertation), and some living quarters (within two months). At the instigation of the director my family passed up a chance of living quarters in Oleksandria (otherwise it was said the question of living quarters in the village of Shubkovi could not be looked into) and moved to Shubki where they stayed temporarily at a hostel.

By October 14, 1977, after one and a half months all agreements made by the director had been broken (the living quarters were refused. I was dismissed from my scientific work). In its place began an unjustified harassment by the administration.

An unknown person, purporting to be from the militia, rang my mother at a clinic for the seriously ill and told her that I had disappeared without trace and asked her questions about my intentions, leaving the old, sick, lady to worry herself almost to death about her son's fate.

The director of the research establishment called me in for an interview and told me (on October 14 and 17, 1977) that my work and living quarters now depended on my work and behaviour, that I had to show myself somehow, I had to make an appearance...

I was shifted from my scientific work and transferred to assembling equipment in the neighbouring village, where quite often

because of the lack of personnel I had to carry out the work of assistant welder. Then at last on February 13, 1978, five months after I started work (of those I had less than one month to get acquainted with the literature for my research) a ballot took place and on February 27 I was dismissed on the orders of the director, according to Statute 40 "as one who was not suitable for the post". Thus my family of five lost their only bread-winner.

When the administrative pressures and terror towards my mother began I approached the KGB with a request to halt the persecutions or at least to explain why they were occurring. The KGB denied any knowledge of persecutions but nevertheless started a long discussion where I had to give explanations to endless questions and to explain my attitude to this or another event, and to give my opinion on this or that person. The KGB from their side were pushing a very defined line in a provocative and harsh manner. (In point of fact these conversations were in no way different from those with the Kirovograd KGB in Oleksandria).

In these discussions the KGB willingly agreed that the position I and my family found ourselves in was intolerable; they proposed a means of extricating ourselves from this position; they promised to help but only if certain conditions were satisfied; they threatened me with dire consequences if the conditions were not accepted.

All of this was carried out with provocative remarks always accompanied by "Look, you are an educated man, you should understand..."

To extricate myself from the situation (nowhere to live and no means for existence) in the words of the KGB representative "You have to start from yourself" (and with this they showed me yellowed, old newspaper cuttings from 1972-73 containing declarations by Z. Franko, M. Kholodny, Seleznyk and L. Dzyuba). I had "to start with my ABC's", "rehabilitate myself". They "could be of assistance" but the KGB had first to be sure of me and therefore it was for me to come and declare "I have become a new person...". "Come down to earth", they proposed to me. At the last meeting they told me: "Ruin your own life and that of your children".

When to the proposition "start from yourself" I replied that I wanted to concern myself with scientific work, when at their instigation I told them about my arrest, how it happened in reality, when they told me the names of Y. Sverstiuk, V. Lisovy, V. Chornovil, and I replied that I know them from my times in the camp as honest and noble people, nothing that I said seemed to satisfy the representatives of the KGB and they kept giving me their disappointed answer; "One feels that you have not understood as yet..."

In other words for my own and my family's benefit I am being asked to say things that are false, I am being asked to lie, I am being asked to forego all moral norms?

In as much as I could not agree to their propositions I remained an honest person; in as much as the situation in which I and my family find ourselves in intolerable, and damaging to our health and one can only remain in it for so long; and in as much as from the words of the KGB I understand that my persecution can be inherited by my heirs, — I appeal to the highest governing body of the Ukr. SSR with this request:

1. Reply to the whole series of pertinent questions which have been raised.

2. Protect me and my family from the KGB (I will limit myself to those prohibitions and threats which were made by the KGB).

1/1 In my discussions with the KGB they reiterate: *"start from yourself"*, *"we have to be sure that you have become a different person"*, *"rehabilitate yourself..."*

I came to the research laboratory with the firm intention of immersing myself in scientific research. Working as a senior scientific worker I was in no way different from the other workers. This however did not satisfy the KGB. There had to be some difference in behaviour otherwise I could not be accused of anything (with my living quarters), be punished without cause (administrative surveillance, the orders concerning the Rovensk research station No. 286 of February 1, 1977), be shifted from my scientific work and finally to be dismissed from work, labelled "unsuitable". And all this was done openly and without anyone being punished.

In connection with this arises my first question:

If all these words spoken to me were not calculated to make me a co-worker with the KGB, then why was my right to work along the lines of my specialism and to lead a private life taken away from me? Why should I have to pay for the right to work by lowering myself morally?

1/2 On April 3, 1978, the attorney of the Rovensk district told me I would not be allowed to work within my profession of lecturer or a scientific researcher (I had wanted to concern myself with scientific work, I had sat my candidates' exams and it was only because of my arrest that I did not carry on with my doctorate). *"That is what you deserve"*, — said the prosecutor then. Why have I been denied the opportunity of working as a lecturer or scientific worker?

1/3 *"You have to start with A,B,C"*, *"rehabilitate yourself"*, in the words of the KGB. My blame before the community is doubtful. For after having served my term even the KGB men in Cherkask who carried out the investigation in my case should hold nothing against me. In what sense should I rehabilitate myself and for what am I being blamed today?

1/4 *"Ruin your own life and that of your children"* — that is what was said by the KGB. It is said that even in the tragic year of 1937 children did not have to pay for what their fathers were. Why do they try and bring my children into this affair?

2. I am familiar with the KGB from 1972. I know from my own experiences that everything that is said there has a double meaning, it gets perverted and can cause great misfortune to more than just the individual concerned. I cannot but react to the words of the KGB spoken with an artificial tone of sympathy: *"... you know, I will tell you honestly Kusma Ivanovich, I feel sorry for you..."* When I had refused to do what the Cherkask KGB wanted of me, the chief of the administration there, Colonel Dyachenko, told me in a kind and sympathetic voice: *"You are a strange person Kusma Ivanovich... you will have to be cured..."* These words heralded a great misfortune for me and my family. Today when I wanted to work in the scientific field just like anyone else they propose to me to *"start with your ABC's"* *"rehabilitate yourself"*, *"become a different person"*, they warn me that *"you are ruining your life and that of your children"* — for me these are more than enough grounds for feeling apprehensive.

Neither in the Constitution or the Criminal Codex of the Ukr. SSR have I found any grounds for such administratively instigated harassment as I am suffering or for the demands and threats of the KGB.

From another point of view, the KGB is not yet the highest government body and I still have hope of some protection from them. I am therefore appealing to the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the Ukr. SSR with the request that you protect me, as a citizen of the Ukr. SSR, from KGB approaches to me and my family.

In the event this request of mine is refused I ask you to send me an official sanctioning of the KGB's behaviour.

DEATH OF MYKHAYLO MELNYK

On March 12 activist sources in the USSR reported that Mykhaylo Melnyk, a Ukrainian historian and poet had committed suicide by poisoning himself shortly after a KGB search at his home. According to reports 13 other searches at the homes of political activists in Ukraine and other parts of the USSR took place on March 6 and 7. Mykhaylo Melnyk was associated with the Ukrainian Helsinki Group.

The searches in Ukraine are believed to be connected with a case being prepared by the authorities against Oles Berdnyk, a well-known Ukrainian writer and one of the founding members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group. Nine searches were made in Ukraine.

Homes searched included those of Oksana Meshko, Raisa Rudenko, wife of Mykola Rudenko, who was the leader of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group till his sentencing on July 1, 1977, to seven years in a strict regime camp and five years of internal exile.

Mykhaylo Melnyk was married and the father of two children. He was about 40 years old. He was a nationally conscious Ukrainian who annually visited the Shevchenko monument in Kyiv on May 22. This day, commemorating the date of the return of the national poet Shevchenko's body from St. Petersburg to his homeland, has become a traditional day of commemoration among activists in Ukraine despite harassment by the authorities.

The circumstances surrounding Melnyk's death are as yet unclear although his friends suspect KGB involvement. It is reported that prior to his death Melnyk had stepped-up his involvement in the Ukrainian Helsinki Group and this may have precipitated increased KGB pressure.

Below we print a statement by Mykhaylo Melnyk which was first published on May 11, 1978, in the Ukrainian Helsinki Group's *Information Bulletin*. In the statement Melnyk discusses the way Russian chauvinism attempts to stifle any manifestations of Ukrainianism.

"From the day I first realised exactly what significance May 22 has for Ukrainians (and this was some 12 or 13 years ago now) I have commemorated this day every year. The culmination of this commemoration used to be the placing of flowers on the pedestal of the Shevchenko monument in Kyiv. But for some time now the commemoration of this anniversary has been accompanied, to put it delicately, by various strange happenings directed at those taking part. For instance, the commemoration of the anniversary in 1972 is linked for me with my not being allowed to continue my doctorate. In 1973 it is linked with my being dismissed from my work at school number 109 in Kyiv, with my being excluded from the Party and with the circulation of various calumnies against me in the village where I was born and my parents live. Because of my commemoration of this anniversary I have, to a significant degree, earned for myself the everlasting attention of the militia, and KGB. For instance, on the eve of May 22, 1977, the directors of the Brovar Region Education Department called in my wife, who works in a school, and the school's director for questioning on the orders of the Regional Communist Party. There they reminded her that she studied at the University (some students had been expelled for going to the Shevchenko monument on May 22), that she worked in a school, and that she was my wife. They said she should use her influence with me to prevent me going to the Shevchenko monument on May 22. On the morning of May 22, 1977, I was summoned by district militiaman T. Mayorko who, after long delays, prohibited me from placing flowers on the Shevchenko monument that day. This year I intend

to go to the Shevchenko monument on May 22 even if I am again subjected to similar pressures. Therefore I feel it is pertinent to explain why I commemorate this day.

May 22 is the day our poet-revolutionary was buried in accordance with the wish expressed in his will: "in sweet Ukraine", after his remains were brought from St. Petersburg. From that time Shevchenko's tomb became a sacred place for every Ukrainian, and not only Ukrainians.

Now, what kind of barbarity on the part of the powerful ones in our world and what kind of beggarliness and slavish grovelling on the part of our own nation is it that forbids the commemoration of this day?

As usually happens in such cases, the prohibition was explained on the grounds that it was in the interests of the state, socialism and so on. After hearing the arguments (an example of which was that the anniversary is commemorated abroad by Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists) the cynical sincerity of Barbarossa comes to mind: "Let my soldiers make war on whoever and my historians and jurists will find a way of justifying it". If someone suggested that the marking of Marx's birthday be prohibited because it is commemorated by various Left and Left-wing terrorist groups the idea would seem ridiculous and absurd, would it not?

So why is it not ridiculous and absurd to prohibit the commemoration of May 22 on the pretext that some 'odious' persons, living abroad, also commemorate this day?

These arguments are groundless when we are asked: "Why particularly May 22? Why not Shevchenko's birthday or some other important date connected with his life?"

If the transportation of Shevchenko's body to Kyiv and his burial on May 22 had not been an important event, why then did the Ukrainian and Russian cultural activists of the day do it? The prohibition to commemorate this day is tantamount to pillaging Ukraine's cultural-historical heritage and an outrage on the name of Shevchenko. And this prohibition to commemorate May 22 is not the only instance in the systematic limitation of the Ukrainian culture and the Ukrainian people. For example a highly-placed functionary in education, from his exalted position, attacked the famous Ukrainian poet O. Oles merely due to the fact that at one time the poet had been the ambassador of the Ukrainian National Republic to Austria. (See M. Shamota's article in "Kommunist Ukrainy", 1972, no. 5). In our better moments we just remain silent and do not print the works of people who made valuable contributions to our culture, such as V. Vinnichenko and M. Hrushevsky, under the pretext that they were leaders of the Ukrainian National Republic; schools and universities teach almost nothing about Ukrainian history, and history textbooks completely pervert our past; our Ukrainian language is the second language in the republic; our Republic's newspapers

are just provincial-stereotyped affairs, which do not even have correspondents beyond the Republic's borders; the contemporary Ukrainian cinema is at best fodder for Perets (a Soviet-Ukrainian satirical magazine); the systematic and ubiquitous Russification which, together with brutal but refined methods (the attainments of socialism and scientific progress on the authority of Lenin and others) the Russian Tsars did not even dream about (for instance in Brovar only two out of eight nursery schools are Ukrainian language, and the intervention of Mykhaylo Stelmach in this matter did nothing to help). The position as fixed in the new constitution concerning "The new historical community of peoples — the Soviet nation", is the screen from behind which larger and larger encroachments are made on the national rights and cultures of the various nations of the Soviet Union (with the exception of Russia).

The Republican newspaper "Literaturna Ukraina" circulation can serve as a typical indicator of the direction culture is taking. It is the largest of the mass circulation organs which links contemporary Ukrainian literature with its readership. If we look, we see its circulation is almost the same as that of the paper for the deaf and dumb, "Nashe Slovo". Let us not hide behind the general indicators for economic and material growth, because although they are very important indicators which have some influence on spiritual culture, they cannot change it. And let us not hide behind quotes from various authorities, because Lenin wrote in an article about "The National Pride of Great Russians" that feelings of national pride are not foreign to Bolsheviks.

Also, one cannot negate Nationalism with Socialism. Socialism — in principle in the process of its adoption in this or any other country — takes on marked characteristics which flow out of the historical, economic and cultural-psychological aspects of the given country. And socialism whilst solving the more important questions of humanity (food, peace, moral-ethics, society, the nation, religion, etc.) on a higher level as compared to the previous regime does not however solve all these questions completely, and understandably life always sets before the citizen of a Soviet community various problems, among them the national-cultural ones. And the best guarantee for a satisfactory conclusion to such problems is the active involvement in solving them of broad sections of the community on the basis of co-operation, mutual trust and, ultimately, mutual tolerance — a tolerance which allows us not to kill, not to injure and which does not bring despair to our fellow citizens. But in Ukraine there does not exist that elementary tolerance towards those who have taken to heart their nationality and human dignity, those who cannot but be disturbed by the fact that in this most advanced of communities there exists much of what has been said above, but also some exceptions. Among our Ukrainian intelligentsia there are a particularly high number of unemployed

professionals and a significant section of this intelligentsia (among them the famous Ukrainian author M. Rudenko) find themselves in one way or another incarcerated in Soviet prisons or labour camps (in fact over 50 per cent of the inmates of the severe regimen camps are Ukrainians). Not only was P. Shelest dismissed from his post and publicly subjected to calumnies merely because, in common with communists in Russia, Italy, and France he was conscious of his nationality and his responsibility to his nation, but in the Soviet Union, aliens, among them Ukrainians, have in recent years been taught what they should regard as their motherland (something not even the various colonists in Africa had thought up). Numerous similar instances can be cited and they all have a direct bearing on the culture of our people and its future. And these above-mentioned facts, which I do not even dare call by their true name (instead I call them persecution) did not take place in the transitory period (the 20s and 30s) when there was an incredibly difficult and complicated situation in the domestic and international arena; they did not take place during the Great Patriotic War or in the uneasy post-war period, but they are taking place a full twenty years after the historical 20th Party Congress when Socialism had achieved a complete victory (a victory to which Ukraine had greatly contributed) and the Soviet Union had become the most powerful country in the world. In other words, the conditions are ripe for focusing attention on the question of the meaning of life for which earlier there was not the time, resources or conditions.

And so no militia or servants of "humanism and progress" in civilian clothes, no prohibitions or the most barbarous forms of the destruction of human dignity, no court sentences can prevent the commemoration of May 22. Just the mere fact of this barbaric prohibition makes this day stand out, and elevates it to the status of a proving ground to test the strength of the Ukrainian nation's spirit in the fight for its own existence, for its strengthening, and for the prolongation of its race — emerging from those attainments which socialist Ukraine now has. This prohibition will set the ordinary man in the street to thinking and sooner or later will even force thought in those who believe that to think without orders from above is harmful and dangerous. The criterion of truth (and that includes the veracity of the new constitution) is practice. Naturally, brutal force can appropriate for itself the role of defender of humanism and progress but the thing for which it fights will then no longer be humanism or progress.

Mykhaylo Melnyk, historian-guardian, Pohreby, Brovar Rayon, Kyiv Oblast. May 11, 1978

THE SNYEHIROV AFFAIR

The following article is taken from a *Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty* press release.

Last October the Kyiv evening newspaper Vechirnij Kyiv, which as normally unavailable outside the Soviet Union, published what it claimed was a statement by the wife of the dissident Ukrainian writer Helii Snyehirov. The statement was, according to the newspaper, prompted by Radio Liberty broadcasts about a recantation bearing Snyehirov's signature that appeared in the Ukrainian republican press and in Moscow's Literaturna gazeta. In view of the fact that the statement in Vechirnij Kyiv was not reprinted in the republican press, it may well be that it was intended exclusively for internal consumption, presumably to dispel doubts within dissident circles in Kyiv about authenticity of Snyehirov's recantation.

At the end of October, 1978, the Kyiv evening newspaper *Vechirnij Kyiv*, which has only recently become available in the West, carried an article criticizing Radio Liberty and adding further confusion to the controversy surrounding the alleged recantation of the deceased Ukrainian dissident writer Helii Snyehirov.¹

Snyehirov was arrested on September 22, 1977, for "anti-Soviet activity" after a night-long search of his home. For the next several months, there was no further information about his fate except that he was awaiting trial and had rejected the services of a lawyer with the intention of conducting his own defence.² Then, on April 1, 1978, *Radyans'ka Ukraina* published a statement dated March 31 and entitled "I Am Ashamed and I Condemn" bearing Snyehirov's signature.³ The statement was preceded by an explanatory note from the editors. It read:

H. I. Snyehirov, in conformity with Soviet law, was under investigation in connection with his criminal anti-Soviet activity has sent a letter to the editors of our newspaper.

In the letter he reveals the reasons that led him to his ideological and moral downfall, condemns his acts, and exposes

1) "Fakty i vyhadky. Z pryvodu odniyei brekhlyvoi insynuatsii amerykans'koi radio-stantsii", *Vechirnij Kyiv*, October 21, 1978.

2) RL 18/78, "Helii Snyehir'ov's Reply to *Literaturna Ukraina*", January 25, 1978.

3) "Soromlyus' i zasudzhuyu", *Radyans'ka Ukraina*, April 1, 1978. The recantation was broadcast by *Radio Kyiv* on the same day. On April 2 it was published in *Kul'tura i zhyttia* and on April 12 in *Literaturna gazeta*. Cf. "Les attaques contre la politique américaine se multiplient avant la visite de M. Vance", *Le monde*, April 13, 1978. *Visti z Ukrainy*, a weekly for Ukrainians abroad, reprinted the recantation on April 6 but omitted the passage that included the reference to "qualified medical assistance". On April 14 *Radyans'ka Ukraina* published a follow-up article on the recantation entitled "Words of Warning" that included what were said to be readers' responses expressing their "ardent love for their native Soviet Fatherland, wrathfully condemning those who, for the sake of their own egoistic interests, take the path of infamy and treason, and think little of the honour and conscience of a citizen of the Land of the Soviets".

the false insinuations by centres of ideological diversion and political renegades abroad who try to exploit his name for a hostile purpose.

At H. I. Snyehirov's request we are publishing his letter.

The statement is an excellent example of the genre of self-criticism and recantation that flourished in the Soviet Union in the 1930s. As in Stalin's time, the victim expurgates his soul by linking his inner weaknesses to "pernicious influences" of internal and external forces — in this case, Viktor Nekrasov and Petro Grigorenko — and "the false and hostile information" of foreign radio stations. The statement also contains a passage warning "anti-Soviet centres and all kinds of political traitors abroad" that they should

not resort to that stereotyped trick, alleging duress. I reject such allegations in advance, as I reject your insinuations in connection with the investigation of my case.

Towards the end it is stated that Snyehirov received "qualified medical assistance" and was "exempted from well-deserved punishment".

It is, of course, impossible to determine whether Snyehirov was in fact the author of the recantation. Shortly after its publication both Nekrasov and Grigorenko expressed doubt about its authenticity.⁴ Grigorenko also revealed that information had reached the West from the Ukraine indicating that Snyehirov was paralyzed and had been transferred from a KGB prison to a hospital.⁵ On April 17, two days after the publication of Grigorenko's statement, Ukrainian Helsinki group member Oksana Meshko told Western correspondents at a news conference in Moscow of Snyehirov stating to his wife during a visit that he had signed a letter asking to be transferred to a hospital but not the text that appeared in *Radyans'ka Ukraina*.⁶ Meshko also stated that in November, 1977, Snyehirov had gone on a hunger strike but that after nine days had lost consciousness and was moved to a prison sick bay. There the authorities began to force-feed him and after that he became paralyzed from the waist down. She added that the interrogations continued even after the paralysis had set in and that they lasted for four months. She said that shortly before the recantation was published Snyehirov was taken to a civilian hospital and later to a neurosurgical institute because it was thought he was suffering from brain cancer.⁷

More details about Snyehirov's illness and the recantation were

4) "Pis'mo P. G. Grigorenko. Po povodu 'raskayaniya' Geliya Snegireva", *Novoe russkoe slovo*, April 15, 1978. See also Viktor Nekrasov, "L'important, c'est de salir..." *Le Monde*, April 19, 1978; and Viktor Nekrasov, "V redaktsiyu 'Russkoi mysli'," *Russkaya mysl'*, May 4, 1978.

5) Grigorenko, *op. cit.*

6) Reuter and AFP, April 17, 1978, and UPI, April 18, 1978. See also David Satter in the *Financial Times*, April 18, 1978; *Le Monde*, April 19, 1978; and *International Herald Tribune*, April 21, 1978.

7) UPI, April 18, 1978, reported Meshko as saying that Snyehirov was force-fed twenty times "in a humiliating way" during a twenty-nine day hunger strike.

made available by the Ukrainian Helsinki group in its *Information Bulletin*, No. 2, dated March-June, 1978. The group confirmed that Snyehirov had become paralyzed while under investigation and stated that he was transferred from the KGB investigative prison to the Oktyabr' Hospital in Kyiv on March 30⁸. With regard to the recantation, they wrote:

As has become known, Snyehirov is not the author of the recantation that was published in the newspapers.

The fact of the matter is that, being in the investigative prison and already paralyzed, he wrote: "I promise not to participate in any kind of political activities and ask to be transferred to a hospital for treatment".

According to the *Information Bulletin*, no members of Snyehirov's family and none of his friends were permitted to visit him in the hospital. His wife was only able to catch a glimpse of him through a window. After several days he was moved to the Scientific Research Institute of Neurosurgery where on April 10 or 11 he underwent an operation for a cancerous tumor in the spinal region. Snyehirov was then returned to the Oktyabr' Hospital, and at this point his wife was given permission to visit him.

In a separate open letter dated April 7 to the General Prosecutor of the USSR, the International Red Cross, and the UN Human Rights Commission, the Ukrainian Helsinki group states that Snyehirov went on a hunger strike on October 29 that lasted for twenty-nine days; force-feeding, the letter reports, was begun on the ninth day of the protest and resulted in the paralysis. Then, the letter goes on to say:

Taking advantage of the writer's catastrophic state of health, the interrogator Chernyi and his associates forced him to write a recantation and then transferred him to the Oktyabr' Hospital in Kyiv. Friends and acquaintances are prevented from visiting him, and there is reason to believe that H. Snyehirov is near death.⁹

The central question here is, of course, that the above passage contradicts the group's earlier statement that Snyehirov was not in fact the author of the recantation.¹⁰

In the months that followed, Ukrainian sources in the West issued news releases that, if anything, raised even more questions about the circumstances under which the recantation was written. In early May one source cited reports from Kyiv stating that the recantation was fabricated after Snyehirov had been operated on and

8) AS 3387, pp. 38-39.

9) *Ibid.*, pp. 39-40.

10) The *Chronicle of Current Events* repeated virtually the same information as contained in the *Information Bulletin*. In addition, it stated that at first no one, not even Snyehirov's wife, was permitted to visit him in the hospital; that his wife managed to pass him a note; that as a result of Snyehirov's protests she was eventually permitted to visit him; and that the operation was performed on April 10. *Khronika tekushchikh sobytii*, No. 49, May 14, 1978, p. 92.

that the writer had undergone a second operation sometime in April.¹¹ In mid-June another Western source claimed that "it has become known in Kyiv that H. Snyehirov in fact wrote the statement recanting his views to which KGB agents added certain emphatic words and entire sentences". It was also pointed out that the Snyehirov affair had prompted a spirited polemic in Kyiv similar to that which had developed following the statements made by Ivan Dzyuba.¹² One month later, still another news release was issued stating that Snyehirov had been operated on in March and that the KGB had utilized this occasion to stage a provocation:

They prepared "a statement of recantation" and signed it with Snyehirov's hand while he was half conscious. They announced this presumed statement in the press on April 1 and 2 of this year under the title "I Am Ashamed and I Condemn".

After the operation, Snyehirov, having learned of this coercion perpetrated against him, strongly protested and announced a hunger strike that lasted for fifteen days.¹³

A new element was added to the controversy at the end of July when a Western source announced that Snyehirov told one of his physicians in the latter half of May that he was withdrawing his recantation and asked that this information be passed on. According to this source, Snyehirov made the request while he was being moved to the Oktyabr' Hospital after his operation, although more than a month transpired before the physician in question actually relayed the information to dissident circles in Kyiv.¹⁴

It is now clear that the Soviet Ukrainian press, albeit "internally", reacted to the controversy over Snyehirov's alleged recantation at the end of October. Rejecting "the new insinuations of the saboteurs at the infamous radio station 'Liberty'," *Vechirni Kyiv* stated that it would not have been necessary to respond to *Radio Liberty's* broadcasts had not the name of Snyehirov's wife been tarnished. According to the newspaper, "Halyna Anatoliivna Snyehirova in no way wishes to be a 'coauthor' of falsehood. In a letter to the editors H. Snyehirova completely rejects the fabrications of the radio station 'Liberty'." This was accompanied by the following text attributed to Snyehirov's wife:

As far as I know, she writes, Western radio stations on several occasions cited information allegedly received from me in their broadcasts about my husband. I categorically deny these kinds of fabrications. Because I did not give any information about this matter.

11) Z UHVR News Release, 55/78, May 9, 1978.

12) Smoloskyp News Release, YO 336, June 17, 1978.

13) ZP UHVR News Release, 87/78, July 19, 1978.

14) Smoloskyp News Release, YO 338, July 24, 1978.

On April 1 H. I. Snyehirov, my husband, was admitted to the Oktyabr' Hospital. On April 7, 1978, after a series of examinations, he was transferred to the Institute of Neurosurgery, where he underwent an operation on April 12. After that he requested the administration to move him to the hospital where he had been prior to his operation, which was done.

I visit him at any time. His friends also see him. My husband is being very well cared for. He is in a separate ward.

As I have learned, the radio station "Liberty" announced that my husband is in a prison hospital and cited me as the source of this information. In addition, they stated that I am not permitted to see my husband. All of this is outright slander.

As for the "hunger strike". While he was in the hospital my husband did not announce any hunger strike. These are also slanderous fabrications of the "Liberty" radio station.¹⁵

The article ends with the assertion that the Oktyabr' Hospital is one of the finest medical institutions in the Ukraine, where Snyehirov, like all Soviet citizens, receives free medical services — "which, unfortunately, are not guaranteed to citizens by those [governments] that pay for the propagandistic sabotage in the 'human rights campaign'".

Approximately two months later, on December 28 according to dissident circles in Moscow, Snyehirov died of cancer in the hospital to which he had been transferred in March, 1978, and where he remain in the custody of the KGB.¹⁶ The *Vechirni Kyiv* article was not reprinted in the republican press and was therefore inaccessible in the West. It may well be that it was intended to dispel doubts within dissident circles in Kyiv about the authenticity of Snyehirov's recantation without at the same time providing additional material for further speculation in the West.

15) *Vechirni Kyiv*, October 21, 1978. It should be noted that *Vechirni Kyiv* incorrectly states that the recantation was published on March 31.

16) *Reuter*, January 3, 1979, and *AFP*, January 4, 1979; and RS 9/79, "Smert' Geliya Snegireva", January 5, 1979. For commentaries on Snyehirov's death by Nadiya Svitlychna and Petr and Zinaida Grigorenko, see *Svoboda*, January 11, 1979. See also *Russkaya mysl'*, January 11, 1979, and *Svoboda*, January 20, 1979.

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Borys POTAPENKO

HUMAN RIGHTS, NATIONAL RIGHTS AND THE DECOLONISATION OF THE USSR

At several plenary sessions of the Third World Congress of Free Ukrainians, the question of human rights and national rights was raised and debated. The following is an analysis of the relationship between these two issues in the context of the campaign to decolonize the USSR initiated by five world organizations — World Congress of Free Ukrainians, Lithuanian World Community, Conference of Free Byelorussians, Estonian World Council and World Federation of Free Latvians.

Introduction

One of the most salient features of the human rights movements in the USSR, particularly, but not exclusively, in the non-Russian nations, is the priority placed on the struggle for national survival, self-determination and independence.

Some human rights activists in the free world have become exponents of a position more closely allied with the political policies and social institutions of their adopted countries, which in some instances are different from the primary goals of the human rights movements in the Soviet Union.

Some Western countries, most notably the United States, have in the recent years adopted a policy of support for human rights. Simultaneously, these governments continue to emphasize the humanitarian aspects associated with human rights: re-unification of families, the release of individuals arbitrarily imprisoned, closer contacts and exchanges, emigration, etc. These approaches have found the greatest degree of consistency if not effectiveness. Western governments have spoken out on these issues in reference to Chile, Uruguay, Brazil, Argentina, the Philippines, South Korea, Uganda, Cambodia and the Soviet Union, among others.

In the context of the Soviet Union, the shortsightedness of such a policy is borne out by an example of the position adopted by the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote Implementation of the Helsinki Accords, which in its Memorandum No. 18 discusses the question of emigration and stresses that virtually no Ukrainians are allowed to emigrate. The question of emigration, in the context of that document, is not simply the goal of the group, but also a means of exposing the

discriminatory aspect of the Kremlin's policy in this area. The group further points out that the reason for the vicissitudes in the Kremlin's emigration policy is the fear that if Ukrainians and other non-Russians were allowed to emigrate, the spectre of the genocidal nationalities policy pursued by the USSR would be exposed before the world.

This brief example of the Ukrainian group's stand on emigration should provide some indication that the thrust of its activities is based on the defence of the value and dignity of the Ukrainian person and nation, and of this nation's right to equality in the world community.

The refusal of the major international human rights organizations and Western governments, which profess support for human rights and advocate self-determination in southern Africa, to support or to even recognize the national character of the human rights movements in the USSR necessarily raises questions of their genuine commitment to human rights.

Self-determination and human rights

After all, equality, national self-determination and independence are parts of universal human rights and fundamental freedoms. Its recognition is the ineluctable logical consequence of the recognition of human rights. They cannot be separated. Without political freedom, civil rights cannot be fully respected, and the equality of all individuals before the law cannot be assured unless nations to which these individuals belong are also recognized as equal. Consequently the right of nations to self-determination and independence has the same universal validity as all other human rights.

Recognition of the right of nations to self-determination, as one of the most fundamental human rights, is bound up with the recognition of the dignity of nations, since there is an inherent connection between the principle of equal rights and self-determination of nations, on the one hand, and respect for fundamental human rights and justice on the other. The principle of national self-determination is the natural component of the principle of individual freedom, and the subjugation of nations to alien domination constitutes a denial of fundamental human rights.

The corollary between national self-determination and human rights has been confirmed no less than eight times by the United Nations. In these resolutions, the General Assembly reaffirmed the right of all nations under a colonial and alien regime to liberation and self-determination. In resolution 32/14, "Importance of the Universal Realisation of the Right of Peoples to Self-Determination and of the Speedy Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples for the Effective Guarantee and Observance of Human Rights", the General Assembly reaffirmed the importance of the universal realisation of the right of peoples and nations to self-determination, national

sovereignty and territorial integrity as imperatives for the enjoyment of human rights. The General Assembly also recognized the "legitimacy of the peoples' struggle for independence, territorial integrity, national unity and liberation from colonial and foreign domination and alien subjugation by all available means, including armed struggle".

It is particularly important to note that the principle of national self-determination was one of the key elements of the founding document of the United Nations, the Charter. The Charter of the United Nations expressly states in article one, paragraph two that one of the purposes of the United Nations is: "To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination". The principle is again mentioned in article 55, and the procedure of its implementation is elaborated in article 73 of the Charter, "Declaration Regarding Non-Self-Governing Territories".

An authoritative interpretation of the principle of national self-determination and independence is provided in the "Declaration on Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Cooperation Among States in Accordance With the Charter of the United Nations".

This document confirmed that the territorial integrity or political unity of independent states shall be recognized only insofar as these states are conducting themselves in compliance with the principle of equal rights and self-determination of nations and are thus possessed of a democratic government representing all the people. Therefore, it would appear that on the basis of the aforementioned documents, the United Nations has taken upon itself the obligation to not only observe the right of all nations to self-determination and independence, but, more importantly, to investigate, promote and implement this right in cases where nations are under foreign occupation.

But to observe the United Nations today with its 150 member-states, the vast majority of which were created without the benefit of this right and with a significant number under the direct or indirect influence of other states, it would appear that at the United Nations the principle of national self-determination is observed more in the breach.

However, it should be acknowledged that the United Nations has gone farther and accomplished more in codifying the ideals and principles of human rights than any other past or present international organization. Today, the somewhat vague references to human rights and national rights contained in the Atlantic Charter, the United Nations Charter and the more specific, yet not legally binding, provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, have been incorporated into internationally recognized legal codes of conduct binding all United Nations member-states.

The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights spell out the obligations and duties of the United Nations Organization, member states and their citizenry in this area. These two documents encompass 58 provisions on human rights which, for the most part, are unqualified legal statutes binding all signatories to their implementation. The first item in both documents is the right of all nations to self-determination.

If the analysis of U.N. actions on human rights and national rights was to end at this point one would reach the logical conclusion that the United Nations is in the forefront of implementing these rights. Indeed, if the plethora of United Nations decisions in this field was the single source for reviewing the status of human rights in the world, one would have to conclude, as have numerous U.N. bodies, that human rights violations exist only in Israel, South Africa and South America and that the right to national self-determination and independence is denied only in a handful of island territories, South Africa and Palestine. Also, one would discern from the documents that the United States and Western Europe represent the greatest obstacle to the implementation of U.N.-recognized rights.

The perception of the USSR by the United Nations is that of a champion of the national aspirations of colonial peoples and a model of human rights implementation. Recently, the United Nations Human Rights Committee, established to oversee the implementation of the human rights covenants, had only high praise for the USSR. The United Nations Human Rights Commission and the Committee on Decolonization have never seen fit to investigate reported rights violations in the USSR, much less question the sovereign status of the Ukrainian SSR or the Byelorussian SSR.

The willingness of the USSR to accede to international human rights instruments and to, in some instances, champion their adoption, must be viewed in the context of the machinery established for their implementation. Just as the Constitution of the USSR, properly called a bastion of individual and collective liberties, is not endowed with any meaningful mechanisms to ensure its observance, United Nations declarations and conventions on human and national rights are void of even a modicum of authority to enforce compliance.

This should not be taken to mean that the Human Rights Committee, the Commission on Human Rights or the Committee on Decolonization cannot launch investigations and issue condemnations of regimes which violate human and national rights, but rather that the United Nations is structured in such a way that any attempt to seek remedies for the repression or subjugation of an individual, group or nation does not simply follow an impartial set procedure. It must first become an international issue outside the United Nations and then gain the active support of a majority of United Nations member-states. This tacit rule operates on all levels of human rights

considerations, whether they are of a humanitarian consideration, such as the release of political prisoners, emigration or torture, or whether it is a "political" consideration such as the right to independence, the denial of self-determination, subjugation or domination. In the final analysis, the power relationships in the United Nations decide which countries will be called to task on their human rights records and which will be given a reprieve. For example, an individual who has been arbitrarily arrested and tortured in Chile will have his case reviewed by the United Nations since that country has become the sacrificial lamb for "universal" human rights, but the thousands of individuals who have been murdered in Cambodia or the millions of individuals living under siege of the KGB have no recourse to the United Nations because their governments are within the dominant bloc at the United Nations or adherents to the principle of "socialist solidarity". These consideration taken in conjunction with the continued erosion of influence, lack of co-operation and sense of common purpose on the part of the West at the United Nations should indicate a position of unqualified authority and security for the USSR with regard to human and national rights issues.

Therefore, the lofty pronouncements of the universality of human rights contained in the Universal Declaration on Human Rights, the International Covenants on Civil and Political Rights, and Economic, Social and Cultural Rights as well as the declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples have been subverted to a status of diplomatic weapons wielded by the USSR. As a result, close to 81 percent of the individual cases reviewed under the confidential procedures of the Commission on Human Rights and the Committee of Human Rights concerned the Americans and Western Europe. Virtually all of the so-called trust territories, territorial possessions of a country not officially integrated into the mother country and considered colonies, are in the West. Furthermore, this year the United Nations devoted two weeks of hearings on the question of U.S. imperialism and colonialism in Puerto Rico at the request of Cuba.

But the United Nations has inadvertently contributed to the ferment in the USSR. As a result of Soviet dominance in the United Nations, the Moscow regime has utilized that forum to cover its true colonial nature. Simultaneously, the previously discussed United Nations pronouncements on human and national rights helped stimulate the activities of the national movements in the USSR and have provided, to a greater or lesser degree, a heightened awareness of the rightful place of those nations in the world.

No longer do Ukrainian and other activists speak of their struggle only in the context of the Soviet Constitution or "Socialist solidarity". The thrust of their argumentation does not simply seek equality among the nations of the USSR, but equality in the world community of nations, i.e. independence, sovereignty and statehood.

Perhaps no other rights movement in the USSR has been as outspoken on this issue as the Ukrainians. The Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords, in its Memorandum No. 2, issued only two months after the founding of the organization, establishes that their struggle is to have Ukraine regain all of the sovereign rights presently accorded to countries of Western Europe. They indict Soviet Russia and reject the constitution on the basis of the fact that the rights confirmed in the constitution are only paper rights and that national rights exist only in the form of "convention of protocol", while the true nature of the Soviet Union continues in the form of "reproduced tsarist authoritarianism".

They state further: "And in recent years, chauvinistically inclined officials of the Russian federation, whom no one ever punished for their militant chauvinism, contemptuously disregard even this pitiful convention" (the founding document of the USSR — December 27, 1922).

Their striving for sovereign equality is stressed in the following: "From an administrative-juristic standpoint, the Soviet Union should be compared not to the United States, as is sometimes done, but to a united Europe. It is precisely here that equal, allied states strive to unite their efforts. Precisely here is created an all-European parliament which, through its prerogatives, reminds one of the all-union government in its original form. But, a united Europe was never a single empire, while the Soviet Union was created in place of the Russian Empire which existed for several centuries. This is why that which was formed after October 1917 was burdened with all the horrors of the past... However, the imperialistic past of Russia hangs like a dark shadow over the allied peoples..."

Furthermore, the Ukrainian group charges that "in its legal foundations, the USSR is, after all, still an empire". Therefore, the Ukrainian public group's political position with regard to Ukraine's status is: a) Ukraine continues to be a colony of Russia, and b) that the USSR should be transformed into independent sovereign states, which on the basis of sovereignty equality may engage in social and economic co-operation similar to the western Europe model.

In its Memorandum No. 5, issued in February 1977, the Ukrainian group further elaborates its position on national rights. Under the heading "Statehood", the authors establish the continuity of the national struggle against alien domination and exploitation: "All of the historical cataclysms that the Ukrainians lived through during the past few centuries were born of the idea of statehood. The will of a nation aspires to nonsubordination, to sovereignty, to the building of its own independent life; at the same time, neighbouring imperialistic predators do everything in their power not to allow such sovereignty, but to preserve the nation chosen as victim in the form of a raw material — as a source of food, of spiritual force, of energy, of everything else. This is what happened to Ukraine".

Later, in the same memorandum, they question Ukraine's sovereign status and membership in the United Nations: "Sometimes it even seems strange why Ukraine still exists on geographical maps, why a Ukrainian word can still be heard now and then. And the strangest of all is that Ukraine is a member of the United Nations and therefore is considered a sovereign state. We will not be playing blindman's bluff; this statehood of ours is nothing but a paper mirage. And the time has come to dot all the i's, to end the incessant and insidious game with our sovereignty, as well as with the sovereignty of all the other union republics".

Also, the group again indicts Russia for its imperialism and chauvinism: "But why should Moscow be making the decisions for us at international forums as to these or other problems, obligations, etc.? Why should Ukraine's cultural, creative, scientific, agricultural and international problems be defined and planned in the capital of the neighbouring state? We are not naive simpletons. We understand that at work here is that very same spirit of imperialism and chauvinism, about which our bard Taras Shevchenko wrote with such clarity and anger..."

One need not only look to the Ukrainian group for positions demanding the sovereign rights of their country. In a document issued by Oleksa Tykhy and Father Vasyl Romaniuk, a detailed list of proposed actions is outlined by the two authors which are to assist the struggle to oppose the imperialistic and chauvinistic policies of Moscow. The rationale for their struggle is included in the following excerpt:

'Moscow's chauvinism justifies the continuation of the spiritual genocide of our nation through Marxism-Leninism in the form of Stalinist bolshevism, the most terrible and reactionary idea of the contemporary world.

"The situation in which Ukraine finds itself, obligates all Ukrainian patriots in the homeland, as well as those beyond its borders, to take upon themselves the responsibility for the fate of their nation. The highest principles of social and national life are the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the United Nations and the conventions and documents of the United Nations with regard to the sovereignty and independence of nations and peoples. We divorce ourselves from the policies and practices of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union with regard to the nationalities question.

"We understand and share the aspirations of all nations for independence and the assistance from democratic countries and the United Nations to such aspirations.

"We are grateful to all nations, governments, parties and individuals in the world for their support of the struggle for the independence of nations, particularly Ukraine. First of all we are grateful to the United States and Canada.

"We believe, that through the strength of the Ukrainian nation, the

moral support of other countries of the USSR, including Russia, democratic countries and the United Nations, Ukraine in the not too distant future will achieve independence and will assume its rightful place among the great democratic countries of the world".

The writings of these and other contemporary Ukrainian patriots all lead to one unmistakable conclusion: the struggle for the liberation of Ukraine and other nations in the Soviet empire is part and parcel of the universal movement toward human rights. The ultimate goal of world peace and freedom will not be achieved through a false and inequitable "amalgamation" of nations or through the establishment of a world order founded on bi-polar or tri-polar spheres of influence and domination, but rather through respect for the equality of all nations which in the final analysis can only be achieved through respect for national sovereignty and independence.

Decolonization of the USSR

It is in keeping with this latter goal that the World Congress of Free Ukrainians, Lithuanian World Community, Conference of Free Byelorussians, World Federation of Free Latvians and the Estonian World Council initiated the campaign for the decolonization of the USSR. In issuing their joint 148-page memorandum entitled "To The United Nations General Assembly: A Resolution with Appended Documents Concerning the Decolonization of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics" (Toronto — New York, 1978), the coalition points out that, "Freedom, national independence and human rights are the highest values and aims of every civilized nation and people in the world. Although these were enunciated in the United Nations Charter, covenants, declarations and resolutions and applied by the United Nations since 1946 to many colonial nations and peoples in Africa, South Asia and South America, they were never applied directly by the United Nations to Eastern Europe and Northern and Central Asian territories particularly to the 34 distinctive nations and peoples under the domination of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics... It (the decolonization of the USSR) will herald a new era based on a new positive and constructive approach to solve the problems of mankind on the principles of humanism, which will substantially reduce the destructive forces of nations and concentrate on the peaceful uses of the economies and resources of our globe for the well-being and happiness of people throughout the world".

The five sponsoring organizations of the decolonization memorandum, representing the diaspora communities of the three Baltic countries, Ukraine and Byelorussia as well as the aspirations of their brethren in their respective homelands, were chosen on the basis of the unique standing of these countries in the international arena. The occupation and annexation of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia by Soviet Russia has never been recognized by the United States and other Western states, while Ukraine and Byelorussia have been

recognized as separate and distinct countries on the European continent by the United Nations. These considerations "provide a modicum of legitimacy for pursuing the true emancipation of these countries on the multilateral plane", maintain representatives of the coalition. They add that efforts are underway to gain the support of other organizations which represent disparate groups in the Soviet empire.

The memorandum

The memorandum is a compilation of the resolution for decolonization and six sections of appended materials which contain 91 specific documents. The resolution, in its operative paragraphs, calls for: a) The establishment of a distinct Russian national state within its ethnographic territory; b) The establishment in the 14 non-Russian national colonial territorial units free, independent and separate national states; c) The implementation of the right of self-determination for the presently designated "autonomous republics" and all other recognized national groups within the present territory of the USSR; d) The withdrawal from all non-Russian republics and regions of all Soviet political, administrative and police apparatus and personnel, and all military forces and personnel of Russian nationality; e) The creation of a United Nations Supervisory Commission and Field Commission to supervise and implement United Nations resolutions and directives relating to the above provisions.

The six sections of appended materials range from an analysis of "The Continuity of Russian Colonial Imperialism in the USSR", to specific documents concerning interventions on behalf of the subjugated nations by various governments at the United Nations. Other sections include 26 treaties and declarations of the once free countries, 21 specific documents, appeals and statements from the dissident movements in the USSR and a lengthy section on testimonies, documents, reports, declarations and statistics on Soviet Russian colonial policies of genocide and the struggles of national resistance.

The decolonization campaign was formally initiated during the Third World Congress of Free Ukrainians held in New York on November 24-26, 1978. It had an immediate impact on the USSR Mission to the United Nations, whose protests to the United Nations forced the cancellation of a meeting between the president of the five sponsoring organizations and a representative of the secretary general of the United Nations, Dr. Kurt Waldheim. Despite continuing Soviet protests, Yuri Shymko, former secretary general of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians, held a meeting with the president of the U.N. General Assembly, Indalecio Lievano, who accepted the memorandum and transmitted it to the human rights and decolonization committee of the United Nations.

On November 23, 1978, a special press conference was held in New

York at the Church Center for the United Nations with numerous members of the United Nations press corps in attendance. Along with representatives of the five sponsoring organizations, Leonid Plyushch, Gen. Petro Grigorenko, Nadia Svitlychna and Simas Kudirka were in attendance and endorsed the decolonization memorandum and called on the United Nations to immediately implement its operative provisions.

The four former dissidents and representatives of the five organizations held lengthy meetings with U.S. representatives in the U.S. Mission to the United Nations and met with the ambassador of Canada at the Canadian Mission. They called for U.S. and Canadian support for the decolonization resolution.

Also, during the Third WCFU, over 10 delegations of Ukrainians from outside North America visited their respective missions to the United Nations and transmitted the decolonization resolution to appropriate representatives of their governments. Finally, on November 26, 1978, over 8,000 individuals joined the representatives of the five organizations and the former dissidents in a political rally for the decolonization of the USSR which was held at the Soviet Mission to the United Nations. The rally was widely reported in all of the New York papers, television stations and radio programmes.

The coalition for the decolonization of the USSR reports that the memorandum will be distributed to key members of the U.S. Congress, and Canadian Parliament as well as to the legislatures of all countries where their communities exist. Efforts are underway to secure the sponsorship of one or more members of the United Nations Decolonization Committee, which will meet in the spring of 1979. Also, there are plans for a symposium on the Soviet Russian empire in New York in the fall of 1979.

Representatives of the WCFU explain that this effort is in conformity with the hopes and demands of the liberation movement in Ukraine. They cite the Ukrainian Herald No. 7-8 which states in part: "We address this work to Secretary General of the U.N. Kurt Waldheim and we appeal that: The question of the liquidation of Soviet Russian colonialism be taken under consideration during the next session of the U.N. General Assembly; and that U.N. observers be sent to Ukraine during preparations for election to a supreme body of government in Ukraine".

The authors of the Herald further state: "It is possible that there will be some U.N. members who will call our demands utopian. We reply to them that we do not delude ourselves by thinking that the Soviet regime will yield to our demands without a struggle and will give up its colonial and chauvinistic policies. But a worldwide indictment of Soviet colonialism would provide us with great support in our sacred struggle for the ideals of freedom, while the members of the U.N. would at the same time be rid of their moral culpability for their pernicious silence".

FOR UKRAINE'S INDEPENDENCE FROM RUSSIAN COLONIALISM

The following resolution was passed by the delegates of the Twelfth World-Anti Communist League Conference, held in Paraguay from April 23-27, 1979.

WHEREAS the Ukrainian nation and other subjugated peoples are fighting for national independence, realization of social justice and other human rights:

WHEREAS the so-called policy of detente has turned out for the West to be a complete failure and to the Russian imperialists a convenient opportunity for making further advances such as in Afghanistan, Cambodia and in some areas of Africa;

WHEREAS the "new" USSR constitution is in essence the constitution of a cruel empire which while creating an artificial structure, i.e. a "Soviet people" in reality places the highest authority into the hands of the Politburo and Russian government in Moscow and officially sanctions terror as the governing system by investing the General Public Prosecutor (the KGB) with uncontested rights and privileges;

WHEREAS the said constitution deprives the subjugated nations of realizing national and human rights through subordination of these rights to the interests of "the Soviet people" (Russian people), the Communist party, "the working class" and the USSR;

WHEREAS the introduction of the "new" imperial constitution and massive propaganda for the artificial "new historical entity" called "the Soviet people" together with extreme regime centralization have strengthened a bold and Pursuing russification with the Russian language being given the status of a privileged language aiming at denationalization and assimilation of Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Lithuanians, Georgians, Latvians, Estonians, Turkestanis, North Caucasians;

WHEREAS the severe and relentless russification is being forcibly imposed upon Ukrainians and other subjugated peoples by the perfidious method of discrimination against non-Russians, by decreeing the teaching of the Russian language to Ukrainian children *en masse* starting with the first grade of school, by increasing the numbers of Russian teachers inside the entire Ukrainian educational system and other methods as reported in the newspaper *Soviet Education* — Novem 1978;

WHEREAS forced deportation of many young and grown up Ukrainians from Ukraine to distant parts of the USSR (e.g. Siberia and Gulag), and mass Influx of Russians into the Ukrainian regions of

Donbas, Kharkiv, etc. are designed to produce various aspects of russification and Russian colonization together with ample means of persecution of Ukrainian patriots and atheistic demolitions of Churches (Ukrainian Catholic, Orthodox and Protestant) which as a whole lead to the annihilation of the ethno-national, cultural and religious, ideological and philosophical, folkloric and traditional and linguistic substance of the Ukrainian nation and other nations subjugated by Russia;

WHEREAS the cultural, ethnic and physical genocide is systematically carried on by the Russian invaders inside USSR be it resolved that:

1) WACL strongly supports the national liberation fight of the heroic Ukrainian nation for national independence and human rights;

2) WACL condemns all acts of the imperialistic subjugation of Ukraine and other peoples enslaved by Russian communists and imperialists;

3) WACL condemns the acts of the KGB and other agencies of the Russian regime imposed upon Ukrainians, Georgians, Byelorussians, Lithuanians, etc. who perpetrate atrocities to break the will of nations so they accept the artificial structure of the so-called "Soviet people";

4) WACL strongly protests against the persecution of Ukrainian writers, cultural workers, poets and philosophers such as Yuriy Shukhevych, Valentyn Moroz, Viacheslav Chornovil, Ivan Svitlychnyj, Ivan Hel, Sviatoslav Karavansky, Father Romaniuk, Vasyl Stus, Ihor Kalynets, Oksana Popowych and many others, especially members of Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) condemned to 25 or more years of imprisonment;

5) WACL appeals to the US Congress and Government as well as to all free nations to apply by means of proper policies and channels pressure upon the Soviet Russian and communist regimes to halt russification.

6) WACL appeals to the Government of the U.S.A. to apply the UN Resolution on World Decolonisation, the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples of December 14, 1960, not only to the areas of Asia or Africa but also to the USSR which means the dissolution of the Russian empire into national independent states of the subjugated nations;

7) WACL appeals to the US government to include in its foreign policy as its integral part the US Congress Resolution of 1959 on support for the liberation of the subjugated nations.

THE GREAT FAMINE IN UKRAINE

JOURNALIST'S EYEWITNESS ACCOUNT

Malcolm Muggeridge is well known in Britain as a respected journalist in all branches of the media, an author and a commentator on public affairs.

In the thirties Malcolm Muggeridge was the *Manchester Guardian's* correspondent in the Soviet Union. Although he is now a devout Christian, Muggeridge had come to the Soviet Union as an enthusiastic supporter of the Soviet regime. At one time he and his wife had planned to settle permanently in the Soviet Union to help build Communism.

The articles reprinted below first appeared in the *Manchester Guardian* on the three days March 25, 27 and 28, 1933. They were written after Muggeridge, tired of the censored information, lies and propaganda fed to foreign correspondents in Moscow, went on an unofficial trip around the Soviet Union.

The articles formed part of the source material in two studies also printed in *The Ukrainian Review* — Anna Bolubash's "The Great Ukrainian Famine of 1932-33 as an Instrument of Russian Nationalities Policy" *The Ukrainian Review* 1978, no. 4; 1979, n. 1) and Askold Krushelnycky's "Treatment of Ukraine in the British Press between 1914 and 1939" (*The Ukrainian Review* 1979, no. 1).

THE SOVIET AND THE PEASANTRY: AN OBSERVER'S NOTES

1. FAMINE IN NORTH CAUCASUS.

Whole villages exiled

Living in Moscow and listening always to statements of doctrine and policy, you forget that Moscow is the centre of a country stretching over a sixth of the world's surface and that the lives of a hundred and sixty million people, mostly peasants, are profoundly affected by discussions and resolutions that seem, when you hear or read of them in the press, as abstract as the proceedings of a provincial debating society. "We must collectivise agriculture", or "We must root out kulaks" (the rich peasants). How simple it sounds! How logical! But what is going on in the remote villages, in the small households of the peasants? What does this collectivisation of agriculture mean in practice in the lives of the peasantry? What results has the new "drive" produced? What truth, if any, is there in the

gloomy reports that have been reaching Moscow? That is what I wanted to find out. I set out to discover it in the North Caucasus and the Ukraine.

If you fall asleep in Moscow and then wake up and, looking out of a railway carriage window, find yourself in the Ukraine you suddenly feel gay and light-hearted. There are great sweeps of country, and you realise that Moscow is sombre and shut-in. Now you breathe again; now you see a horizon. Only, the way to go over the glistening snow would be not in an overheated railway compartment, with a gramophone playing stale jazz music, but in a sledge drawn by swift horses with silver bells round their necks and with the cold wind against your face.

A market town

A little market town in the Kuban district of the North Caucasus suggested a military occupation; worse, active war. There were soldiers everywhere, — Mongols with leaden faces and slit eyes; others obviously peasants, rough but not brutal; occasional officers, dapper, often Jews; all differing noticeably from the civilian population in one respect — they were all well fed and the civilian population were obviously starving. I mean starving in its absolute sense; not undernourished as for instance most Oriental peasants are undernourished or some unemployed workers in Europe, but having had for weeks next to nothing to eat. Later I found out there had been no bread at all in the place for three months, and such food as there was I saw for myself in the market. The only edible thing there of the lowest European standards was chicken — about five chickens, fifteen roubles each. No one was buying. Where could a peasant get fifteen roubles? For the most part, chickens — the few that remain — are sold at the railway stations to passengers on their way to the mountains in the South for a holiday or for a rest cure in a sanatorium.

The rest of the food offered for sale was revolting and would be thought unfit in the ordinary way to be offered even to animals. There was sausage at fifteen roubles the kilo; there was black cooked meat which worked out I calculated at a rouble for three bites; there were miserable fragments of cheese and some cooked potatoes, half-rotten. A crowd wandered backwards and forwards eyeing these things wistfully, too poor to buy. The few who bought gobbled their purchases ravenously then and there.

"How are things with you?" I asked one man. He looked round anxiously to see that no soldiers were about. "We have nothing, absolutely nothing. They have taken everything away", he said and hurried on. This was what I heard again and again and again. "We have nothing. They have taken everything away". It was quite true. They had nothing. It was also true that everything had been taken

away. The famine is an organised one. Some of the food that has been taken away from them — and the peasants know this quite well — is still being exported to foreign countries.

A stricken land

It is impossible adequately to describe the melancholy atmosphere of this little market town; how derelict it was; the sense of hopelessness pervading the place, and this was not just because of famine but because the population was, as it were, torn up by the roots. The class war has been waged vigorously in the North Caucasus, and the proletariat, represented by the GPU (State Political Police) and the military, has utterly routed its enemies amongst the peasantry who tried to hide a little of their produce to feed themselves through the winter. Despite hostile elements, however, the North Caucasus distinguished itself by being 90 per cent collectivised, and then this year by fulfilling its grain delivery plan. As a result, this double effort has turned it into something like a wilderness — fields choked with weeds, cattle dead, people starving and dispirited, no horses for ploughing or transport, not even adequate supplies of seed for the spring sowing. The worst of the class war is that it never stops. First individual kulaks shot and exiled; then groups of peasants; then whole villages. I walked from street to street watching the faces of people, looking at empty shops. Even here a Torgsin shop; good food offered for gold; useful for locating any private hoards that organised extortion had failed to detect.

Deserted villages

The little villages round about were even more depressing than the market town. Often they seemed quite deserted. Only smoke coming from some of the chimneys told they were populated. In one of the larger villages I counted only five people in the street, and there was a soldier riding up and down on — a rare sight now in the North Caucasus — a fine horse. It is literally true that whole villages have been exiled. In some cases demobilised soldiers have been moved in to take the places of the exiles; in some cases the houses are just left empty. I saw myself a group of some twenty peasants being marched off under escort. This is so common a sight it no longer even arouses curiosity. Everywhere I heard that the winter sowing had been miserably done, and that in any case the land was too weed-ridden to yield even a moderate crop. Though it was winter, in some places weeds still stood — taller than wheat and growing thickly. There were no cattle to be seen, and I was assured that in that part of the North Caucasus at least, there were none at all. They had been killed and eaten or died of starvation.

Occasionally along the road I met with little groups of peasants with rifles slung over their shoulders; men in fur caps, rough looking;

a kind of armed militia that has also been mobilised on the kulak front. I wanted to find out about future prospects; whether the change from forced grain collections to a more moderately assessed tax-in-kind was going to make things better; what chances there were even now of retrieving the blunders of the last two years. It is difficult, however, to get people who are starving and who know that whatever happens, they must go on starving for at least three more months, and probably five, to talk about or take any great interest in the future. To them the question of bread, of how to get the food to keep just alive today and tomorrow, transcends all others. Starving people are not in a general way loquacious, particularly when to talk may be to qualify as a kulak and so for exile or worse. I was shown a piece of bread from Stavropol. It was made, I was told, of weeds and straw and a little millet. It seemed inconceivable that anyone could eat such bread; actually it was in the circumstances a rare delicacy.

"Reserves"

The peasants in this region had to provide exports to pay for the Five-Year Plan; they had to be — to use an expression of Stalin's in a lecture on the peasant question — "reserves of the proletariat"; and the "reserves" had to be mobilised, made accessible — that is, collectivised. It was not difficult for the Soviet Government to make collectivisation, in the quantitative sense, an enormous success — so enormous that even the Communist Party grew a little anxious and Stalin issued a public warning against "business from success". In the event about 60 per cent of the peasantry and 80 per cent of the land were brought into collective farms; Communists with impeccable ideology were installed as directors of them; agronomes were to provide expert advice, tractors to replace horses, elevators to replace barns, and the practice of America combined with the theory of Marxism was to transform agriculture into a kind of gigantic factory staffed by an ardently class-conscious proletariat.

As things turned out the Communist directors were sometimes incompetent or corrupt; the agronomes, despite their scientific training, were in many cases a failure in dealing with the actual problems connected with producing food: horses died off for lack of fodder much faster than tractors were manufactured, and the tractors were mishandled and broken; the attitude of the peasants varied from actual sabotage or passive resistance to mere apathy, and was generally, to say the least, unhelpful: altogether in the qualitative sense, collectivisation was a failure. The immediate result was, of — course, a falling off in the yield of agriculture as a whole. Last year this falling off became acute. None the less the Government quota had to be collected. To feed the cities and to provide even very much reduced food exports it was necessary for the Government's agents to go over the country and take everything, or nearly everything, that

was edible. At the same time, because the policy could not be wrong and therefore individuals and classes had to be at fault, there took place a new outburst of repression, directed this time not only against the kulaks but against every kind of peasant suspected of opposing the Government's policy; against a good number of the Communist directors and the unfortunate agronomes. Shebboldaev, party secretary for the North Caucasus, said in a speech delivered at Rostov on November 12;

"But, you may urge, is it not true that we have deported kulaks and counter-revolutionary elements before? We did deport them, and in sufficiently large numbers. But at the present moment, when what remains of the kulaks are trying to organise sabotage, every slacker must be deported. That is true justice. You may say that before, we exiled individual kulaks, and that now it concerns whole stanitzas (villages) and whole collective farms. If these are enemies they must be treated as kulaks... The general line of our party is to fight dishonesty by means of the extreme penalty, because this is the only defence we have against the destruction of our socialist economy".

It is this "true justice" that has helped greatly to reduce the North Caucasus to its present condition.

2. HUNGER IN THE UKRAINE

My train reached Rostov-on-Don — a fairly large town, capital of the North Caucasus — in the early morning before it was even light. I had been travelling "hard" and trying to find out from some of the peasants in a crowded compartment where they were going and why. Many appeared to have no particular object in view; just a vague hope that things might be better somewhere else. In Russia, as in most other parts of the world, there is much aimless movement just now from one place to another. One peasant however had a specific object; he wanted to join the army because, he said, one was fed in the army. On the platform a group of peasants were standing in military formation; five soldiers armed with rifles guarded them. They were men and women, each carrying a bundle. Somehow, lining them up in military formation made the thing grotesque — wretched looking peasants, half-starved, tattered clothes, frightened faces, standing to attention. These may be kulaks, I thought, but they have made a mighty poor thing of exploiting their fellows. I hung about looking on curiously, wanting to ask where they were to be sent — to the North to cut timber, somewhere else to dig canals — until one of the guards told me sharply to take myself off.

In Rostov I had a letter of introduction, which I presented, and found myself in a large car with a guide. "There we're building new Government offices, eight stories high; there a new theatre and opera house to seat 3,000, with living quarters behind for the actors; a

new factory that three years ago didn't exist, blocks of flats for the workers, the latest machinery and sanitation". I began to forget the desolation of the North Caucasus and the group of peasants being lined up in military formation on a cold railway platform in the very early morning. Showmanship — most characteristic product of the age — worked its magic. "Have you got bread here in Rostov?" I asked weakly. "Bread? Of course we've got bread; as much as we can eat". It was not true but they had a certain amount of bread). One might go all over Russia like this, I thought — on a wave of showmanship. It explained something that has often puzzled me.

Fundamental fact

How is it that so many obvious and fundamental facts about Russia are not noticed even by serious and intelligent visitors? Take, for instance, the most obvious and fundamental fact of all. There is not 5 per cent of the population whose standard of life is equal to or nearly equal to, that of the unemployed in England who are on the lowest scale of relief. I make this statement advisedly, having checked it on the basis of the family budgets in Mr. Fenner Brockway's recent book *Hungry England* which certainly did not err on the side of being too optimistic.

In the evening I joined a crowd in a street. It was drifting up and down while a policeman was blowing his whistle; dispersing just where he was and re-forming again behind him. Some of the people in the crowd were holding fragments of food, inconsiderable fragments that in the ordinary way a housewife would throw away or give to the cat. Others were examining these fragments of food. Every now and then an exchange took place. Often, as in the little market town, what was bought was at once consumed. I turned into a nearby church. It was crowded. A service was proceeding; priests in vestments and with long hair were chanting prayers, little candle flames lighting the darkness, incense rising. How to understand? How to form an opinion? What did it mean? What was its significance? The voice of the priests were dim, like echoes, and the congregation curiously quiet, curiously still.

I dined with a number of Communists. They were so friendly and sincere. "About this peasant business?" I asked. They smiled, having an answer ready. "As the factories were in 1920 so now the farms. We've built up heavy industry; the next task is agriculture. Fifteen collective farm workers have gone to Moscow to a conference. Comrade Stalin will address them. This year we will plant so many hectares which will produce so many poods of grain. Then next year..."

"Are you quite sure", I wanted to ask, "that the parallel is correct — factories and land? Isn't agriculture somehow more sensitive, lending itself less to statistical treatment? Will people torn up by the

roots make things grow, even if you drive them into the fields at the end of a rifle?" It is, however, as impossible to argue against a General Idea as against an algebraic formula.

The Ukraine

The Ukraine is more a separate country than the North Caucasus. It has a language of its own and an art of its own; southern rather than eastern, with white, good houses and easy-going people. Even now you can see it has been used to abundance. There is nothing pinchbeck about the place; only, as in the North Caucasus, the population is starving. "Hunger" was the word I heard most. Peasants begged a lift on the train from one station to another, sometimes their bodies swollen up — a disagreeable sight — from lack of food. There were fewer signs of military terrorism than in the North Caucasus, though I saw another party of, presumably, kulaks being marched away under an armed guard at Dnipropetrovsk; the little towns and villages seemed just numb and the people in too desperate a condition to even actively resent what had happened.

Otherwise it was the same story — cattle and horses dead; fields neglected, meagre harvests despite moderately good climatic conditions; all the grain that was produced taken by the Government; no bread at all, no bread anywhere, nothing much else either: despair and bewilderment. The Ukraine was before the Revolution one of the world's largest wheat-producing areas, and even Communists admit that its population, including the poor peasants, enjoyed a tolerably comfortable standard of life; now it would be necessary to go to Arabia to find cultivators in more wretched circumstances. Here, too, there are new factories, a huge new power station at Dnieprostroi, a huge new square at Kharkov with huge Government buildings — and food being exported from Odessa.

A kolhoznik's life

In a village about 25 kilometres from Kyiv (old capital of the Ukraine — enchanting town — now Kharkov is the capital) I visited a collective farm worker or *kolhoznik*. His wife was in the outer room of their cottage sifting millet. There were also three chickens in the outer room, and on the wall two icons, a bouquet made of coloured paper and a wedding group, very gay.

"How are things?" I asked.

"Bad", she answered.

"Why?"

"Only potatoes and millet to eat since August".

"No bread or meat?"

"None".

"Were things better before you joined the collective farm?"

"Much better".

"Why did you join, then?"

"Oh, I don't know".

She opened a door leading to an inner room to call her husband. He was lying on the stove, but got up when she called and came in to us carrying one child and with another following him. Both children were obviously undernourished. I told the man that I was interested in collective farms, and he was ready to talk. "I was a poor peasant", he said, "with a hectare and a half of land. I thought that things would be better for me on the collective farm".

"Well, were they?"

He laughed. "Not at all; much worse".

"Worse than before the Revolution?"

He laughed again. "Much, much worse. Before the Revolution we had a cow and something to feed it with; plenty of bread, meat sometimes. Now nothing but potatoes and millet".

"What's happened, then? Why is there no bread in the Ukraine?"

"Bad organisation. They send people from Moscow who know nothing; ordered us here to grow vegetables instead of wheat. We didn't know how to grow vegetables and they couldn't show us. Then we were told that we must put our cows all together and there'd be plenty of milk for our children, but the expert who advised this forgot to provide a cow shed, so we had to put our cows in the sheds of the rich peasants, who, of course, let them starve".

"I thought you'd got rid of all the rich peasants?"

"We did but their agents remain".

"What about the winter sowing?"

"Very bad".

"Why?"

"Again bad organisation. People lost heart and stopped working. Weeds everywhere, and, with the cattle dead, no manure; no horses to transport fertiliser, even if it was available". He hushed his voice. "There are enemies even on the Council of the collective farm. Now, they wouldn't elect me to the Council".

"Some grain must have been produced. What happened to it?"

"All taken by the Government".

"It'll be better in that respect this year. You'll only have to pay tax-in-kind — so much per hectare — and not deliver a quota for the whole district. When you've paid the tax-in-kind you'll have about two-thirds of the crop left for yourselves".

"If we get as big a crop as they estimate. But we shan't — not with the land in such bad condition and with no horses. They'll take everything again".

He showed me his time-book. His pay was seventy-five kopecks a day. At open market prices seventy-five kopecks would buy half a slice of bread. He said that for the most part he spent the money on

fuel. Sometimes he bought a little tobacco. Nothing else. No clothes, of course, or boots, or anything like that.

"What about the future?" I asked. He put on a characteristic peasant look; half resignation and half cunning.

"We shall see".

When I got back to Moscow I found that Stalin had delivered himself of this opinion to a conference of collective farm shock-brigade workers:

"By developing collective farming we succeeded in drawing this entire mass of poor peasants into collective farms, in giving them security and raising them to the level of middle peasants... what does this mean? It means that no less than 30,000,000 of the peasant population have been saved. from poverty and from kulak slavery, and converted, thanks to the collective farms, into people assured of a livelihood. This is a great achievement, comrades. This is an achievement such as the world has never known and such as not a single State in the world has ever before secured".

3. POOR HARVEST PROSPECTS

Stalin's new slogan

All the available evidence goes to show that conditions in the Upper, Middle, and Lower Volga districts are as bad as in the North Caucasus and the Ukraine; in Western Siberia they are little, if at all, better. No one knows what supplies of grain the Government has at its disposal, but as I have already pointed out, the food situation cannot improve before the summer and is likely to deteriorate. The spring sowing will be a critical time; all the resources of the Government and the Communist Party are to be used to make it a success. Already intensive propaganda is being carried on, and "political departments", manned chiefly by the military and the GPU, have been brought into existence in all parts of the country. These will be responsible for executing the Government's policy and, of course, vigorously carrying on the class war.

Even so, will it suffice? Will it suffice, even assuming the best possible conditions — good weather, the peasants propagandised, cajoled and coerced into working well, sufficient tractors repaired and properly handled to make good to some extent the lost horses, everyone, including town populations, mobilised for clearing weeds, enough seed made available and so on? As one says complacently of so much else in Russia, it will be an interesting experiment — interesting, that is, for the onlooker; for the actual participators often more disagreeable than interesting. In any case, it is certainly true that, unless the decay of agriculture that began when the collectivisation policy was first started and that has gone on at an increasing rate ever since is stopped; unless, that is to say, the Government is

able to produce a better crop this year than last, there will be famine not merely in certain districts but throughout the country.

A curious tyranny

It was strange in a way to return to Moscow, where the General Idea reigns supreme and where you have no alternative but to take it for granted. There can seldom have been in the history of the world a more curious tyranny than the Soviet regime — not just personal, based on an individual's or a group of individuals' appetite for absolute power; not an autocracy like, for instance, the British Raj in India, based on expediency, on there being no other way of dealing with a particularly confused set of social circumstances; but a tyranny that developed inevitably out of a General Idea and that can, by its very nature, only become more and more absolute. The Dictatorship of the Proletariat has come to mean the Dictatorship of the Communist Party; and the Dictatorship of the Communist Party has come to mean the Dictatorship of the Polit-Bureau; and the Dictatorship of the Polit-Bureau has come to mean the Dictatorship of Stalin; and the Dictatorship of Stalin has come to mean the Dictatorship of the General Idea with which he is obsessed. If the General Idea is fulfilled it can only be by bringing into existence a slave State.

The tendency in Russia is towards a slave State. First the old aristocracy and bourgeoisie were enslaved. Who cared about that? They had had their day, abused their privileges, and it was fitting that they should cut timber and dig canals for the proletariat they had tyrannised. But when the old aristocracy and bourgeoisie had been enslaved the General Idea was as far from fulfilment as ever. It can only be fulfilled when it dominates the lives of the whole population. And since the vast majority of men resist such a domination they must be forced to submit. Fear forces them — fear of losing their bread rations; fear of being driven from where they live; fear of being informed against to the police. The present battle is between the General Idea and the peasants.

I arrived back in Moscow to find the newspapers full of reports of speeches by various members of the Government about the agricultural situation that had been delivered to a Conference of the Collective Farm Shock-Brigade Workers. It is impossible, through the censorship, to comment on these speeches, which bear no relation at all to the realities of the situation. 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. In both the Ukraine and the North Caucasus the grain collection has been carried out with such thoroughness and brutality that the peasants are now quite without bread. Thousands of them have been exiled; in certain

cases whole villages have been sent to the North for forced labour; even now it is a common sight to see parties of wretched men and women, labelled kulaks, being marched away under an armed guard.

Neglected farms

The fields are neglected and full of weeds; no cattle are to be seen anywhere, and few horses; only the military and the GPU are well fed, the rest of the population obviously starving, obviously terrorised. There is no hope — at least until the summer — of conditions improving. In fact, they must get worse. The winter sowing has been neglected. Only a small area has been sown at all, and that badly.

The general condition of the land and the lack of transport make it unlikely, whatever efforts the Government may make, that the spring sowing will be much better.

At the conference there were violent outbursts against the kulaks. Where failure existed they were responsible; they had falsified the accounts, hidden grain, broken machines, organised sabotage and passive resistance against the Government. But for them the peasants would have faithfully yielded up all they had produced and then have waited patiently through the winter, with little or nothing to eat, to do the same things again this year. Our new slogan, Stalin said, must be to make every collective farm worker well-to-do. It is an admirable slogan; to judge, however, by the facts of the case, the Government's slogan would seem to have been hitherto to take from every collective farm worker everything he had — even the minimum amount of food required for his own and his family's consumption.

In any case, the Government's policy is based not on persuasion or concession but on force. "Political departments", manned chiefly by GPU and military, have been set up all over the country, and these will be responsible for raising and collecting a harvest. They will drive the peasants into the fields; they will make them work; they will collect most of what they produce. If necessary they will mobilise town populations for work on the land, as, by a decree published in an Archangel newspaper, the whole population in that district was mobilised to cut timber because the export quota was unfulfilled. The spring sowing will be carried out, if at all, as a result of coercion. The Government realises at last how serious the situation is, and, to deal with it, employs its familiar tactics — speeches, slogans, enthusiastic conferences in Moscow; in the villages, ruthless, organised force.



The
UKRAINIAN
REVIEW



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STEPAN BANDERA
(1909-1959)

V. MYKULA

STEPAN BANDERA

*A Tribute dedicated to the memory of a warrior-revolutionary
on the 70th Anniversary of his birth.*

Throughout the Ukrainian nation's age-long struggle against foreign domination, innumerable fearless men and women have laid down their lives to achieve the right of existence on their own land, to achieve independence and freedom. Their idealism, willpower, leadership ability, indefatigable efforts and dedication have served as an example for future generations. Stepan Bandera stands out as one of the most brilliant figures of Ukraine's most recent revolutionary struggle, fought against the tutelage of foreign empires. Stepan Bandera, leader of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists, (OUN), has become a symbol of that period and his name has become a symbol for the present generation.

This year, 1979, also sees the twentieth anniversary of his tragic death at the hands of a Russian KGB agent. October 1959 — an ill omened date. The trees shed their yellowing leaves under the force of the autumn winds, and like tears, are absorbed by the wilted grass. In Waldfriedhof, a cemetery in Munich, a long procession silently makes its way to bid farewell to a man beginning his last journey: to a man in whose name thousands went to battle; to a man whose name gave hope to millions of oppressed people thirsting for truth and freedom; to a man whom the enemies of the Ukrainian nation feared and despised. The flags, bowed in sorrow, rustled in the wind, paying tribute to the dead man. Far away, in the bloody Kremlin, the red butchers celebrated their success in dealing a severe blow to the Ukrainian liberation struggle. But the mourners at the cemetery and thousands of Ukrainian patriots throughout the world now strengthened their resolve to "establish the Ukrainian Nation, or to die in battle for her".

Stepan Bandera dedicated his whole life to this cause. Since his youth to the time of his death at the age of 51, he was in the front lines of the revolutionary struggle fighting to gain Ukraine's independence.

Bandera was born on the 1st January, 1909, in the village of Uhryniv Stariy, in the Carpathians, into the family of a priest. He received a patriotic and religious upbringing. The example set to him his father, the Reverend Andriy Bandera, who had volunteered for service in the Ukrainian Halychian Army and organised his village community, gave the young Stepan the inspiration to dedicate his

life to the cause of freeing his country from enemy occupation. While studying at the Striyskiy Ukrainian secondary school, meeting friends who as he, were infuriated by the humiliating position Ukraine found herself in after her defeat in her struggle to gain independence during and after the Ist World War, Stepan formed his views, character and will, and began his activities in the underground movement opposed to the occupation. He became an active member of the underground movement organised at his school, of which one of the cells was later the founding basis of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists. He was soon to become one of the most active members of the Association of Ukrainian Nationalistic Youth.

When OUN was founded in 1929 through the unification of the Ukrainian Military Organisation (UVO) with other nationalistic organisations, Bandera was studying agronomy at Lviv Polytechnic. He became a member of OUN from its outset, and initially worked for the propaganda section of the Regional Executive Committee of OUN for West Ukraine. Having fulfilled his duties brilliantly, he was promoted to the position of a member of the Regional Committee and the head of the propaganda section. He introduced new methods of mass propaganda, as for example the cult of burial mounds for those who had died fighting for the Ukrainian cause and an action against the Polish monopoly over the sales of alcohol and tobacco. He also organised student opposition. These actions led to the popularisation of OUN's ideals, and the mobilisation of the Ukrainian masses.

In January 1933 Bandera was elected as the head of the Regional Executive Committee of OUN for West Ukraine. Under his leadership the Ukrainian Military Organisation was fully integrated into OUN's organisational structure, and more emphasis was placed on military action, with the introduction of individual acts of terrorism committed against the representatives of the occupying regime and national traitors. The culmination of these actions came with the assassination of the Polish Minister of Internal Affairs, Bronislaw Piracky in Warsaw on the 15th June, 1934.

During the Polish occupation of Ukraine, OUN developed into a leading political force, dealing a severe blow to the Polish government. The trial of Stepan Bandera and other leading members of OUN, arrested for the murder of Piracky, developed into a protest against the Polish occupation of West Ukraine, which had an important impact both in Ukraine and abroad. Bandera's conduct at his trial became an example to the other defendants and caught the attention of the Ukrainian nation and even gained the respect of foreigners. Bandera had become a national hero. Although he was sentenced to death (this sentence was later cobmuted to life imprisonment to be served in the Svyentokrzyhyska prison) Bandera did not

cease to be the symbol of Ukrainian anti-Polish opposition and revolutionary determination.

With the outbreak of the World War, Poland fell and Bandera was released. With other members of the Regional Executive Committee of OUN, Bandera attempted to reduce the excessively pro-German line adopted by the Party of Ukrainian Nationalists led by colonel Melnyk, and attempted to have those people who had compromised, demoted. However, Bandera could not find a *modus vivendi* with Melnyk. As a result of this, in February 1940, the representatives of OUN both in Ukraine and abroad, established the Revolutionary Leadership of OUN, electing Stepan Bandera as its head. The Second Extraordinary Congress of OUN, which took place in the spring of 1941, confirmed this choice. After the split in OUN, a sensitive and complicated matter, Bandera followed a strictly uncompromising line on the question of OUN's independence from foreign aid. This policy was later shown to be the only possible solution in the given international situation. As a consequence of this policy, the Independent Ukrainian Nation was proclaimed in Lviv on the 30th June, 1941, and led to the concomitant struggle of OUN and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) on two fronts — against the Germans and Bolsheviks. If this line had not been taken, the Ukrainian cause would inevitably have been severely compromised through its dependence on foreign elements. Stepan Bandera's victory and that of the revolutionary OUN lay in the fact that they did not allow the honour of the Ukrainian nation to be besmirched during the most difficult conditions and deprivations caused by the Second World War. Bandera was arrested by the Germans with the members of the Provisional Government, under the leadership of Yaroslav Stetsko. Bandera, because he categorically refused to denounce the Act of the 30th June, was interned in a concentration camp, where he remained almost until the end of the war, emerging with his resolve and will intact. He was released in December, 1944, but was kept under police surveillance. He rejected all German offers to enter the German backed Ukrainian National Committee, and the President of the Ukrainian Provisional Government, Yaroslav Stetsko, manifested their political far-sightedness and understanding of Ukrainian national needs.

In February, 1946 the Regional Conference of OUN re-elected Stepan Bandera, now abroad, as its head, and Roman Shukhevych-Chuprynka was elected as Bandera's deputy in Ukraine. Yaroslav Stetsko was elected as the third member of the Leading Bureau of OUN. Despite the altered conditions of a Bolshevik occupation of all Ukrainian lands, the widespread military actions of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, the emigration of thousands of Ukrainians, Bandera still directed the activities of OUN towards an uncompromising struggle with the enemy in Ukraine. Even after suffering severe

losses at the hands of the enemy and even without the support and understanding of the free world, OUN-UPA did not capitulate, it merely changed its tactics in order to adapt to the new circumstances, and Bandera strove to popularise the Ukrainian liberation struggle abroad, and to mobilise the free world against Moscow.

Bandera's strong character and political far-sightedness were demonstrated more than once, particularly when he defended the necessity for the purity of national positions against erroneous, opportunistic tendencies. He systematically defended the independent line of the Ukrainian liberation cause. He did not capitulate in the face of attempts to integrate the policies of OUN with those of the West towards Moscow. He rejected any form of compromise. He condemned any deviations from nationalistic ideology. Bandera's conscience would not allow OUN to become imbued with deviatory ideology or opportunism, since he believed that OUN was responsible for the historical fate of the Ukrainian nation.

Stepan Bandera was murdered by a KGB agent dispatched by Russia, who through this action, intended to strike a mortal blow to the Ukrainian liberation-revolutionary movement, and its leading exponent — OUN. However, the enemy miscalculated, and became entangled in its own crime: the murder plot became the knowledge of the whole world when the murderer himself gave evidence in a free country against his own and Moscow's crime. Hence, Bandera, even by his own death inflicted a severe blow to the enemies of Ukrainian independence.

The seal of this courageous man imprinted itself on a whole generation of revolutionaries, on those who had inherited the traditions of the liberation struggle. For them, as for Bandera, the words "You will not allow anyone to besmirch the honour and glory of Ukraine. Remember that you are the heir of the battle for the honour of Volodymyr's Tryzub! Neither pleas, nor threats, nor torture, nor death shall force you to betray our secrets!". With the example set by Bandera leading them, the soldiers of UPA, of OUN, of the Vorkuta concentration camps, the heroic women of Kingiri, entered an unequal battle.

The all-national uprising in the post-war years, and its participants were labelled "banderites" by Ukraine's enemies, as they had similarly labelled the participants of the liberation struggle of 1917-1921 "Petlurites" and those fighting against the tsarist yoke — "Mazepites". Even today, the enemy labels every Ukrainian striving to achieve Ukrainian independence "Banderite". This is merely an indication of the fear felt by the occupier for the uncompromising attitude of those who serve the ideal of national independence, as Bandera had served it his whole life. Although Bandera and his followers did not achieve their aim — the independence of Ukraine, their actions and ideals serve as an example to those who continue

in the struggle to achieve that same end. New circumstances demand new methods. Present conditions dictate the precedence of an ideological struggle against the physical strength of the enemy. The legacy of Bandera's lofty idealism, determination, dedication, faith in the ideal of the nation, invincibility will lead the long-suffering Ukrainian nation to its Promised Land.

Stepan Bandera left another important legacy in his works, where he left invaluable directives on the strategy and tactics for the Ukrainian liberation struggle against Russian imperialism. True to his idealism, Bandera considered armed struggle as only one method of opposition. In his essay "Fundamental Factors in the Life and Development of the Nation", written in 1955, he outlined the main elements for the liberation movement: "The most important factor to guard against is mergence — the loss of the basis for the life and development of a nation, that which constitutes its essence as a collective unit. To be precise, this constitutes faith in God, belief in the right of freedom, of dignity, in the right of the free development of the nation and individual. The liberation struggle seeks to implement, safeguard and develop these rights".

The opposition movement, reformed after Bandera's death, continues to adhere to these principles, although without the use of armed struggle, and is led by the best representatives of the Ukrainian intelligentsia.

Those who knew Stepan Bandera, remember him as a sincere, even tempered, pensive man, totally dedicated to his nation and the liberation struggle. He was a freedom-loving man and decisive, but also exceptionally modest and friendly. He was small in height, with unexceptional features. He dressed modestly, in somewhat worn clothes, which enabled him to pass unnoticed. On looking closer, one would notice his exceptionally bright, steely grey eyes, where some source of courage and determination seemed to burn, giving him the strength to lead a nation, and survive all the deprivations he suffered in prisons and concentration camps.

Stepan Bandera was a deeply religious and honest man. He would always try to attend Sunday mass wherever he was. His family life was peaceful, although he had to use a pseudonym, and his children did not know his true name. He showed sensitivity and understanding towards his friends and colleagues, and if by chance, he discovered they were experiencing difficulties, he would try to help as far as he was able. He was extremely thrifty, especially when it came to OUN's budget, ensuring that these funds were not squandered. Although Bandera had good relations with his working colleagues, he retained his position of authority, always leaving a certain distance between himself and others. One reason for his early death was due to the fact that he cared so little about his personal safety: on the day of his assassination, he dismissed his body guard before he had

reached his home, where his murderer, Stashinsky, awaited him. He was irritated by the presence of a bodyguard, and would often try to avoid using one. Bandera did not abuse OUN's funds by setting up a comfortable home for himself and his family, and indeed, he and his workers received a minimum living wage. Bandera avoided the use of restaurants, hotels and expensive transport. Bandera was not a brilliant speaker or demagogue, but he spoke calmly, soberly, comprehensively, analysing issues at stake from various positions. His decisions were always based on firm and logical reasoning. Bandera was not vindictive, and more than once forgave those who had plotted against him, sometimes to be only bitterly disappointed. However, when questions of principle arose, he was firm and unyielding, regardless of any consequences — from the loss of friends to the defamation of his character. When Bandera believed that truth was on his side, he was immovable.

It is with great sorrow and regret that we are forced to confess that the cause for which Bandera fought and was killed, has still not been achieved, and Ukraine is still under foreign domination. However, the organisation which Bandera led and the whole Ukrainian liberation movement still survive and are active. Now new generations are joining the ranks of those struggling to achieve Ukraine's independence. The soul of the Ukrainian nation, nourished by faith in God, still lives, and new revolutionaries are fighting with great vigour against the Russian dictatorship and tyranny, encouraged by the spirit of Bandera to achieve freedom. We wish eternal glory to Stepan Bandera, a hero who dedicated and gave his life to his nation's struggle against its occupier.

*Translated from Ukrainian
by Lessia Dyakivska*

Taras LYSENCHUK

FIFTY YEARS OF THE ORGANISATION OF UKRAINIAN NATIONALISTS

The ideological basis and aim of Ukrainian nationalism became more and more pronounced after the First World War. Under Colonel Konovalets of the Sich Riflemen (Sichovi Striltsi) the Ukrainian Military Organisation (Ukrayinska Viyskova Orhanizatsiya — UVO) was set up in 1920 for the continued fight for the ideal of a Ukrainian national state, a fight which then had to be carried on under enemy occupation of the country. This organisation used individual action and revolutionary underground activity which consisted of armed attacks, acts of sabotage, liquidation of administrative institutions of the occupying power and their exponents, widespread agitation and propaganda. This action supported and strengthened the spirit of resistance among the broad masses of the Ukrainian people and demonstrated to the world the Ukrainian people's desire for freedom and independence.

Stimulated by the influence of the UVO, fresh forces arose among Ukrainians at home and abroad and particularly among young people, whose ideology was closely related to that of the UVO. Inspired by Ukrainian nationalism they became active in many legal or semi-legal youth associations and unions formed by youth at schools and universities. It was absolutely essential to combine and co-ordinate all these forces into a single organisation, under a single leadership. However, such a centralisation of all Ukrainian nationalist forces could not be fitted within the framework of UVO. Thus the First Conference of Ukrainian Nationalists, held in November 1927, passed a resolution forming a single centralised organisation of Ukrainian nationalists with Colonel Konovalets as the Chairman of the Leadership of Ukrainian Nationalists. On the 29th January to 3rd February 1929, that is 50 years ago, the First Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists met at Vienna, and formed the "Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists" (OUN). Within a short time all UVO cadres and other nationalist associations and groups were merged in the OUN which elected Colonel Konovalets as its president.

The foundation of OUN was without doubt the work of Colonel Konovalets and through his exceptional administrative ability and competent leadership it rapidly developed showing itself to the world as the organising force for the fight for freedom of the Ukrainian people. The official publication of the OUN was the monthly journal "The Building of a Nation" (Rozbudova Natsiyi) which was widely

distributed and secretly read. The purpose of this publication was to make known to the Ukrainian people the ideology and programme of Ukrainian nationalism and the work of the freedom movement. Konovalets as president of the OUN, extended and perfected the work of the OUN in the homeland and abroad whereby OUN gained influence in all spheres of life of the Ukrainian people. In contrast to the UVO period, armed action no longer took first place or importance, stress was now laid mainly on the ideological and political mobilisation of the broad masses of the people. The OUN aimed at the constant undermining of foreign rule and the systematic preparation of the people for the decisive battle against the imperialists in the war for the final liberation of Ukraine and the creation of an independent state.

In ten years under the leadership of Konovalets, the OUN spread and elaborated its organisation throughout the whole of Ukraine. For tactical reasons it often had to work under the cover of legal societies or associations.

The structure of OUN depended on the existing possibilities in each region and, therefore, varied in strength. Nevertheless, the OUN became everywhere the mouthpiece and true representative of an independent Ukraine and of the interests of the Ukrainian people.

In addition, to its revolutionary activity against the Polish oppressors of West Ukraine, the OUN also began fight for freedom on the second front — an anti-Bolshevist fight in all the Ukrainian territories — against the Communist Party, its propaganda and agents, as well as against the diplomatic representatives of Bolshevist Russia.

The central and eastern parts of Ukraine under Russian occupation presented the greatest problem to the OUN. There conspiracy was required to be absolute. The numerous proceedings against UVO and OUN members in Russian-occupied Ukraine and the inflammatory writings in the Russian press against "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists" in general and UVO and OUN in particular, are all proof of Konovalets' success in strengthening this organisation there.

The OUN demonstrated the unity of the Ukrainian liberation front and the solidarity of the Western Ukrainians with the anti-Bolshevist fight in the central and eastern territories by means of attacks on Soviet diplomats and leading Communist functionaries.

In 1933 Stepan Bandera was appointed Chairman of the Executive of the OUN in Ukraine. It was during this period that the OUN reached the height of its development.

In order to prevent the continuation of Polish colonisation in West Ukraine the OUN carried out a sabotage campaign. Poland dealt harshly with the members of OUN and resorted to ruthless measures against the Ukrainian people in order to "pacify" them.

The Polish police carried out mass-arrests amongst the Ukrainian

population and in the course of investigations discovered the headquarters of the OUN in West Ukraine. In 1934 Stepan Bandera was arrested and in 1936 was sentenced to death in Warsaw as being responsible for the entire activity of the UVO and OUN: this sentence was later commuted to life imprisonment.

The Ukrainian people and the OUN suffered a number of heavy blows during the years that followed. Stepan Bandera was imprisoned and completely isolated from the outside world and in 1938 Colonel Konovalets was murdered in Rotterdam by a Bolshevik bomb. One might have assumed that the revolutionary movement, whose ranks had been decimated by the Polish mass-arrests, would now cease to exist, or would at least for a time, limit its activity. But it very soon became obvious that this movement was so deeply rooted in the hearts of the Ukrainian population that it could only be eradicated by exterminating the entire Ukrainian people. In spite of the fact that many members of the OUN leadership had been arrested, there were still enough other leading members who continued the uncompromising fight against the enemy as was apparent when an independent Carpatho-Ukraine was formed on 15th March 1939 with members of OUN from every district of Ukraine.

The German-Polish war which broke out some months later also brought considerable changes for the Ukrainian people. Russia had occupied Galicia, Polissia and Volhynia, whilst the regions of Kholm, Lemky and Pidlyasha came under German occupation. The ranks of the OUN swelled anew when countless numbers were released from Polish prisons and concentration camps. The reinforced OUN then began to set up combat groups again, which took over the task of protecting the Ukrainian population and setting up ammunition depots for the future fight against Bolshevik Russia. The attitude of the OUN to Germany was that it was convinced that sooner or later a conflict would ensue between Nazi Germany and Bolshevik Russia and that such a conflict might provide a chance to re-establish the Ukrainian independent state.

After his release Stepan Bandera managed to get through to Lviv, where, together with members of the Home Executive Committee of the OUN and other leading OUN members, plans were elaborated for the further activity of the OUN in Ukraine. It was decided to extend the OUN network to all the Ukrainian territories under Russian rule, to make the necessary preparations for the revolutionary fight in the event of the outbreak of war, and to take the necessary defence measures against the planned Russian annihilation of the national forces in West Ukraine.

After the death of Colonel Konovalets, Colonel Andriy Melnyk had assumed the leadership of the OUN. However, in 1941 the 2nd Congress of the Ukrainian Nationalists elected Stepan Bandera as the new leader of the entire OUN. The Congress affirmed that the

OUN should continue to fight for freedom of the Ukrainian people with all the means at its disposal and regardless of any political or territorial changes. The OUN then began to enlarge and strengthen the organisation network in all the Ukrainian territories under Russian occupation; at the outbreak of the German-Russian war it had at its disposal in these territories over 20,000 organised members who had a thorough military and ideological training. Since conditions were more favourable in the Ukrainian territories which were occupied by the Germans, the OUN occupied itself there with preparations for an armed fight in the event of war. Within a relatively short time military training courses were organised there for OUN members and in addition, ideological and propaganda material was prepared for the expeditionary units of the OUN, who were already standing by in readiness. The OUN ordered its members in German occupied Ukraine that immediately after the outbreak of the German-Russian war they were to intensify their revolutionary activity and revive the independence of the Ukrainian people.

A few days before the outbreak of the war well equipped expeditionary troops which included numerous leading members of the OUN had already advanced towards the appointed destinations in Ukraine. Upon the arrival of the Ukrainian troops in Lviv, where the Bolshevik NKVD had left behind dreadful traces of their rule, the restoration of the independent Ukrainian State was proclaimed on June 30th 1941, and a provisional government was set up with Jaroslav Stetsko, a leading member of the OUN as its Prime Minister.

However, as the independent policy of the OUN and its proclamation had obstructed Hitler's plans with regard to Ukraine, mass-arrests were carried out by the Gestapo. Stepan Bandera was arrested and eventually imprisoned at a concentration camp in Sachsenhausen. In Lviv, Jaroslav Stetsko and various members of his government were arrested when they refused to resign and to revoke the proclamation. On September 15th 1941, the Gestapo arrested over 2000 Ukrainian nationalists in Ukraine, who had participated in some way or other in setting up the Ukrainian state. The leader of the Units Abroad of the OUN, Stepan Lenkavsky, and a hundred leading members of the OUN were taken to the concentration camp in Auschwitz or imprisoned. Many were shot. The Commanding Officers of the Ukrainian Legion under the command of Roman Shukhevych were arrested but Roman Shukhevych and many of his comrades managed to escape and joined the underground movement. 'The Reich's Commissariat of Ukraine' with the assistance of the Gestapo, began to depopulate Ukraine by means of mass-deportations of the Ukrainian population to Germany for the purpose of forced labour.

The members of the OUN once more resorted to underground activity. They already possessed completed plans for the revolution-

any fight for freedom and for defence measures and within a short time they started their counter-action. At the end of 1941 and beginning of 1942 the first defence units were set up. Roman Shukhevych, alias General Taras Chuprynka became the Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) which eventually numbered 200,000 well-equipped and trained soldiers and who occupied large areas of Ukraine. The UPA enjoyed the wholehearted support of the Ukrainian people, who regarded it as their protector and defender not only against Nazi terrorism but also against the onslaughts of Bolshevik partisan units. In 1943 a secret conference of the representatives of the peoples who were supjugated by Germany and Russia was held in Ukraine. It laid the foundation for the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN). A year later the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR), the revolutionary government of Ukraine, was founded. It consisted of leading representatives of various political trends and played a decisive part in determining the course of the fight for

At the end of 1944, when there was no longer any doubt that Germany would lose the war, the Gestapo released Stepan Bandera, Jaroslav Stetsko, Stepan Lenkavsky, and many other members of the OUN from the concentration camps.

For Ukraine, which once more fell under Bolshevik rule, the fight did not, however did not, however, end with Germany's capitulation. The Ukrainian people and the UPA soldiers continued their fight, which is indeed unparalleled in history, against the Bolshevik oppressors. Without allies, without reinforcements, and without any support at all from the free world, the UPA continued its heroic fight against the Russians until 1952. The proportions which this fight assumed can be seen from the fact that in 1947 Russia was forced to make a pact with Poland and Czecho-Slovakia regarding joint measures to combat the UPA. In the course of this relentless fight, the OUN and UPA suffered heavy losses including the loss of General Roman Shukhevych who was killed on March 5th 1950. The Ukrainian people and the UPA continued their fight for freedom but the latter was then obliged to alter its fighting tactics, and once more resort to underground activity instead of open fighting.

As a result of the renewed Russian occupation of Ukraine countless Ukrainians of all social classes were forced to leave their native country and emigrate. As exiles abroad they met many members of the OUN once more, who had been released from concentration camps and prisons. Under the leadership of Stepan Bandera, they united to form Units Abroad of the OUN whose main task became the general support in every way of the fight in Ukraine. The Units Abroad extended their organisation network to cover all the countries of the free world in which Ukrainian emigrants had settled. They established constant contact with the leadership of the OUN and UPA

in Ukraine and began an active campaign of support for the underground movement in Ukraine. In the course of time the Units Abroad of the OUN began to inform and enlighten the free world of the Ukrainian fight for freedom and of Communist Russia's aim of world domination. At its initiative the activity of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) was resumed, and 16 peoples of East Europe and Asia, subjugated by Moscow and on friendly terms with Ukraine, joined this organisation as members. Jaroslav Stetsko, the former Prime Minister of the Ukrainian government of 1941, was elected President of the Central Committee of the ABN.

In the Ukrainian emigration, the OUN strengthened the fight against Russian Communism, exposed the activity of enemy agents resisted russification and the attempted annihilation of Ukraine's culture, tradition and language. Regardless of social and political differences amongst the Ukrainian emigrants, countless groups have supported the OUN and in this way also the fight for freedom of the Ukrainian people at home. Proof of this support is the Liberation Fund, which has enabled the OUN to conduct a liberation policy free of all foreign influence during the past 34 years.

The lively activity of the OUN amongst the emigrants and the name of Stepan Bandera, who became the symbol of the fight for freedom, was regarded by Moscow as a danger and a threat to their imperialistic and colonial policies. Moscow tried to destroy the OUN and discredit Stepan Bandera amongst the population. Eventually on 15th October 1959, in Munich, the KGB succeeded in murdering Bandera but this did not succeed in breaking the Ukrainian people's desire for freedom.

Ukrainians like Valentyn Moroz, Vyacheslav Chornovil, Lukyachenko, Mykola Rudenko, Svyatoslav Karavansky, Olexa Tykhy and many many others have through their courage and self sacrifice shown that the brutal oppression of Ukraine by Russia will not succeed in destroying the desire for freedom for Ukraine and her people. The OUN's policy of striving for the dissolution of the Russian Empire and the restoration of full national independence of all the enslaved peoples is not only the salvation of the subjugated peoples but also of the Free West. Without the captive nations and their fight for freedom under the leadership of Ukraine and OUN the inevitable nuclear war would arise between the Free West and Russia as the latter amasses its military strength. But with the support of the Free West the Russian Empire can be destroyed. That is why Moscow tried to destroy OUN and murdered Bandera. However this did not break the OUN and under its leader Jaroslav Stetsko the OUN continue to fight and is fully confident of the final triumph of Ukraine over all her enemies, who are also enemies of the Free World.

STATEMENT DELIVERED BY VALENTYN MOROZ AT THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, JUNE 18, 1979

Ladies and gentlemen,

I would like to take this opportunity to express my gratitude to all those in the United Kingdom who aided in my release.

I come to you as yesterday's prisoner, who in the span of 48 hours was transported from a labour camp in the Mordovian forests to the headquarters of the Ukrainian National Association in Jersey City.

I stand before you as an author and a university lecturer who after 14 long years will soon have the opportunity to sit behind a desk at Harvard University and once again pursue that which gives me the greatest pleasure, writing.

But above all, I come to you as a Ukrainian.

Ethnology teaches us that when a nation loses its independence, it loses its voice. Foreigners then speak for that nation; it no longer speaks for itself.

Unlike Eastern Europe, where for example, the Polish nation is able to speak for itself to the West, things are different for the Ukrainian nation. When Ukraine lost its independence it lost its voice and Moscow began to speak for Ukraine, spreading misconceptions.

Today you have given me the opportunity to tell you the truth about Ukraine, and perhaps in these times no other Ukrainian has such an opportunity. But with this goes a great responsibility. Circumstances have made me the voice of Ukraine and my first words may startle some of you.

The tragedy of Ukraine lies in the fact that the world's attention is focussed on the struggle of blacks for the decolonisation of Africa. If Ukraine were a part of black Africa, it would be by this time independent.

No one in the world questions the right of the black African nations to independence. The United Nations continues to routinely take up the question of discrimination against black Africa. But is it not time to put the question of repression of non-blacks on an equal footing? How easy it is to pass a resolution in the United Nations calling for the decolonisation of southern Africa; yet how difficult it is even to speak about the decolonisation of the Soviet Union.

A strange imbalance has developed in the world; Africa seeks to be itself and has a lawful right to be so, Britain also seeks to be itself and has that right. No one challenges the right of Africans to self-determination. When Ukrainians seek their rights they are labelled as "fascists". Yes, there are many strange inconsistencies in the world today. Much in the world has changed — we no longer hear of an Uncle Tom, but apparently the West continues to think along the lines of the antiquated logic of Harriet Beecher Stowe.

The world's geopolitical makeup has changed greatly over the past century. During that period two powers confronted each other: England vs. France and Germany vs. the Entente powers. At that time Russia was still a marginal factor in the power struggles. This has long since changed. Russian is no longer marginal.

Today it has the force to seek out its own conquests. And using that power it transformed the European powers into pawns which it manipulates on its chessboard. The view that Russian can be used opportunistically or as an ally is outdated and dangerous. To consider Russia as an ally is as foolish as to force an alliance between a wolf and a tiger.

Russia's most useful allies in the West are not Communists but short-sighted and naive people.

One should recall the testament of Tsar Peter I which spoke of his desire to annexe Eastern Prussia. Short-sighted, naive people long considered this testament a forgery. All I know is that today Eastern Prussia is a part of the Russian Empire. These same people labelled as pure fantasy the notion that Russia intended to conquer Europe to the Elbe River. Today, Russian forces stand along the Elbe. Even now there is talk of a "peace-loving" Russia.

Russia has conquered Angola, Ethiopia and Afghanistan. It controls one-sixth of the world. It has been the foremost aggressor of the 20 century and short-sighted and naive people will say that Russia poses no threat. And when the same people are told that unless the status quo is changed, Russian tanks will roll to the banks of the English Channel, they reply that these are the words of lunatics.

It is time that short-sighted and naive people ceased formulating Western policy. It is time for the West finally to realise that Moscow is not one of the World's powers but a threat to the world. Moscow is not an element in the search for world stability, it is a power which seeks to disrupt.

Before the West can win the battle with Communism it must first win the battle within itself.

The release of Grigorenko, Svitlychna and other Soviet political prisoners is a battle won.

But there is yet another political prisoner who, though he was never in a Russian camp, died a captive of Moscow. His name was

De Gaulle. Yes, he was a prisoner of the illusions that Moscow weaves.

Here are some of the illusions:

One must concede to Moscow, otherwise there will be a world war. The opposite is true. Concessions only lead to new demands, as the Munich treaty enticed Hitler to new aggressions. In this case Britain was fortunate. Forty years ago Chamberlain brought home a scrap of paper from Munich, I more than once saw this paper in old newsreels. When Chamberlain stepped off the plane he stated that this piece of paper would safeguard peace for a whole generation. We now know the true value of that treaty but at that time Britain was fortunate. And now a similar document will be brought to Washington. Yes, several days ago President Carter signed the SALT treaty in Vienna. Vienna is not very far from Munich. The spirit of Vienna is even closer to Munich than its geographic distance.

Senator Henry Jackson aptly pointed out that the SALT agreement may be another Munich treaty. Again it will be said that this new agreement will ensure peace. And intelligent people will once again listen to those words with irony. Where are the guarantees that Moscow will uphold the SALT agreement? You do not have to accept what I say about SALT, I am a dilettante in these matters, but it is interesting to note that Lt. General Rowney, President Carter's advisor on SALT, has elected to retire. He believes that the SALT agreement poses a great threat for America and therefore refuses to take upon himself the responsibility of supporting it.

When will the West finally come to understand that it cannot trade with Moscow on the basis of credits. All trade agreements must stipulate full payment in advance because Moscow continuously promises but never delivers. A perfect example of this is the prisoner exchange. Soviet dissidents were exchanged for two soviet spies convicted in the United States. We were told during our flight to freedom that the terms of the exchange also included the release of our families. The spies left for the Soviet Union a long time ago, but our families continue to be held in the USSR. Yes, this confirms once again that Western compliance should only be forthcoming after Moscow has kept its part of the bargain. You cannot trade with Moscow on the basis of credits or promises. The unprincipled and inconsistent policies of the West with regards to Moscow has lost much for the West.

The West is now committing the same mistakes towards Moscow as it has in the past towards Iran. Western politicians long argued that the Shah's regime was a stabilising factor in the region. We know what happened with the stability of the Shah's regime; it ended in dissarray. Similarly the totalitarian systems in eastern Europe and Asia are not built on a foundation of granite but on

dynamite. At their core one finds dynamite which suddenly explodes leaving no trace. The same will happen with Moscow.

It is an illusion to think that together with Brezhnev one can seek world stability; that with Brezhnev one can sign lasting agreements. I do not know what fate awaits Brezhnev; whether on the one hand he dies a natural death because he is a long-time alcoholic, or whether he will perish in the Kremlin as Allende did in his presidential palace.

But I know that tomorrow decisions in the Kremlin will not be made by Brezhnev but by others. He is sitting on a volcano and to sign agreements seeking stability with such a power is simply naive.

There is yet another illusion that Moscow weaves, it is that Moscow creates stability within its domain and that this is good for maintaining the status quo. And many say that we should not challenge this power because it may draw us into another Vietnam war. My answer to this is a firm one — there will be more wars, whether we like them or not. The question remains whether they will end in victory or defeat. And he who looks on the world honestly and realistically realises that one should not shrink from Vietnam-type wars but rather be victorious.

We are entering a new era, an era of turbulence. Reston of the *New York Times* and even a great friend of the Soviet Union, Helmut Schmidt, has stated so. Yes, the 1980's will be interesting and turbulent throughout the world, including the Soviet Union, eastern Europe and all unstable areas under totalitarianism or dictatorships because these dictatorships are built on dynamite.

When Iran fell into turmoil and the Ayatollah appeared on the scene, all believed this to be a uniquely Iranian phenomenon. We have recently witnessed the shattering effects of the Pope's visit to Poland. Has there ever been such an inspiring Pope or such a Papal mission to a communist country? It was as if there was no Communist regime in Poland. Anyone can clearly see that the Polish regime is teetering on the abyss of disaster. Yes, the Pope fulfilled the role of an ayatollah in Poland, a role beyond politics and politicians. A new turbulent world is upon us, a world where politics will not suffice; where electoral and democratic institutions will not suffice; a world that needs ayatollahs. The time of internal turbulence is also imminent for Moscow with all the turmoil and problems that presents.

The ayatollah appears comic in Western eyes, but the West must learn to co-exist and establish a dialogue with him. Tomorrow's turbulent world is the world of the ayatollah because he knows how to live amidst unrest.

The most important characteristic of the new Pope is his deep understanding of the East and ability to live in an environment of turbulence, something that the West has yet to learn. The new Pope has possibly done more for the cause of freedom than all of his

predecessors combined. The new Pope has recognised that he is the ambassador of catholicism in the world and not Moscow's representative in the Vatican.

The West does not know how to live in a turbulent world, thereby suffering defeats time after time: Vietnam, Angola, Afganistan. These defeats were caused by the inability of the West to adapt to a world environment of unrest. In this we Ukrainians can do much for the West. Ukrainians are not a poor people begging for help. We understand that true co-operation must be based on principles of mutual benefit and partnership.

We do not intend to compete with the West in the realms of theory and material prosperity, what we do have is that which the West lacks; we understand how to live in a turbulent world. A nation that has yet to achieve independence will always have a propensity to armament and not disarmament — will always bear the motto "live turbulently".

Our credo, as Ukrainian nationalists, is based on the spiritual values and deep understanding of our national heritage; that it is our duty to build an independent and better life for our country. We do not vassilate. We are committed to our goal. The first point of our credo states: "You will achieve sovereign independence for Ukraine or die in the struggle for it".

I know of Moscow's propaganda warning the West not to link itself with those who dare to struggle. Moscow argues that they will draw the West into disaster and new wars. My response to this is — as long as the world has existed so have disasters. The only question is whether we are prepared to confront them and prepared to deal with them. The West needs a Churchill and not Chamberlain. The West needs leaders who will not bury their heads in the sand, but rather leaders who face problems squarely and view them realistically, so as to overcome them with minimal cost.

Moscow and the East play a game in which they recognise no rules. This is an alien concept to the West, because the greatest achievement of Western civilisation is the rule of law.

The Baltic states were fortunate. Although they were incorporated into the Russian imperial system, they were never annexed spiritually because of their traditional orientation to Western civilisation. Ukrainians were less fortunate. Their nation was spiritually ravaged by Moscow. But, in a sense we also gained. We gained a genuine insight of what our enemy, Russia, really is. We know beyond any doubt that Russia recognises no laws, recognises no rules. No-one knows Russia as we do and this is our greatest obligation, to expose the true face of Russia to the free world.

I am often asked about SALT. I will answer with a Georgian anecdote: "A cunning fox was making its way down a road and came upon a tempting scrap of meat. While carefully inspecting the meat, the fox concluded, although there is no apparent danger,

there must be a catch. So the fox steered clear and went on his way".

We are well aware of this game without rules and therefore we will never accept that which the East gives freely. We know that the East never gives freely; there is always a catch. Brezhnev has offered SALT to President Carter. If I were Carter, I would know that this gift was not without a catch. I would not be too eager to accept SALT.

Who is capable of instigating a nuclear war? China is too weak. The West is too civilised. Only the Russian Empire would be disposed to initiate such a war. Should we therefore placate Russia, or should we strive for a democratic transformation of the Empire? But we must not be under the illusion that the democratisation of Russia will remove the Sword of Damocles which is attached by a thread to the Kremlin and hangs over Europe. The fact remains that post-Brezhnev Russia will be even more chauvinistic and a greater threat to the West. To remove the Sword, this threat, we need the dismantling of the Russian Empire. I am not advocating that bombs should be dropped on Moscow. But I believe that the West should be psychologically prepared for the demise of the Russian Empire, to think along these lines.

I am not advocating a destructive act, for to destroy the Russian Empire is progressive and constructive. By its very existence, the Russian Empire undermines the quest for stability and world balance. There was a senator in the days of the Roman Empire who would conclude each of his speeches with the words "Carthage must be destroyed". He was considered an eccentric. This "eccentric" understood that the only way to safeguard Roman authority throughout Mediterranean was by destroying Carthage. There was no room for two Romes or two Carthages in the Mediterranean. How desperately we need such "eccentrics" in our contemporary world. People who understand that there can be world stability only after the dismantling of the Russian Empire. Russian tanks moved to the Elbe in 1945, but Moscow's advance began in the 17th century.

Geopolitically, Ukraine has served as a natural counterforce for the protection of Europe's eastern flank, thereby altering the balance of power from the times of Attila and Ghengis Khan. Just as the great Barrier Reef protects the eastern shore of Australia from the ocean, Ukraine has protected Europe against invasions from the East. This Moscow understands and Hitler understood; he who rules Ukraine, rules Europe. Ukraine is the key to European stability, but pack in the 17th century Ukraine was handed to Moscow. Moscow was locked away in the depths of Asia when Ukraine was in the Western sphere, fulfilling its geopolitically stabilising role. But when in the 17th century, Moscow took Ukraine by force the balance was broken resulting in the continuing expansion and advance of Russia to the West. Moscow absorbed Poland, the Baltics and marched into the heart of Europe and now stands poised on the banks of the Elbe.

Everyone is aware of the energy crisis, but the geopolitical crisis, although less visible, is equally important. The geopolitical resources of the world have been depleted and the West cannot allow itself the luxury of ignoring the potential of the 50-million strong Ukrainian nation. Ukraine is more important to the West than the oil reserves in the North Sea. Ukraine is the natural barrier to the East and the key to European stability. It is most important for the West to understand that without an independent Ukraine there can be no stability in Europe. Ukraine is not simply a colony; it is a 50-million strong potential in the hands of the West.

We Ukrainians live within the pathos of nationalism, within the pathos of wars of liberation. It is natural for Britain, with its traditions of Empire, not to trust nationalism and trends to liberation. But it is critical to understand that the threat of national liberation has long ago diverted its guns towards the East and not the West. The decolonisation of Africa is nearly complete. The new forum for decolonisation, where genuine movements towards national liberation exist, is in the East and the Soviet Union. There one can find several dozen nations, large and small which await their liberation and decolonisation. It is these specific issues — decolonisation and liberation — which are the greatest political resources for the West.

The contemporary world is extremely complicated. It is easy to criticise the dictatorship in Nicaragua, but it remains more difficult to come to the understanding that in Nicaragua today there can only exist either a rightist or leftist dictatorship. To struggle against the rightist dictatorship is tantamount to supporting the creation of a leftist regime — a new Fidel Castro. Must we be volunteers in the army of Fidel Castro?

A Communist who languishes in a Nicaraguan jail deserves to be defended as does each and every individual. But before we begin our defence campaign we should think twice with regards to the most effective means at our disposal. We should recall a very important truth: "Today we save a Communist — tomorrow we will be saving ourselves from Communism".

These are very complex matters and Britain has always stood as a centre for unravelling such issues. It was Britain which understood in 1943 that not only must a wall be erected against Nazism, but also against Communism, to keep the horde out of Western Europe. The British strategic mind understood this. The tragedy lies in the fact that strategic thinkers were on one side of the Atlantic and strategic military power was on the other. Today the new government of Britain has the greatest responsibility in the world. This is not merely a government, but a force which can make the world understand the meaning of the term, responsibility. It is in the best position to realise that to simply resist the destructive forces in the world, which manifest themselves in the form of communism, will achieve nothing.

It is necessary to go on the offensive against these destructive forces, to develop a psychological attitude of attack. I suppose the British can best remember that the individual who established the foundations of Britain was William the Conqueror. The psychology of victory is grounded in the concept of offensive and not defensive strategy.

The contemporary world has shrunk. Strategic missiles launched in Siberia can reach California in a matter of minutes. The English Channel is no longer a defence, nor is the vast Atlantic. We should finally cast off antiquated ideas. Britain should not delude itself into thinking it has created a stability where there are no threats. In our shrinking world the problems that have beset Ukraine are equally important to Britain. If the British want to maintain their way of life then this necessarily means that they must join the struggle for freedom in Ukraine — the struggle for the right of Ukrainians to be Ukrainian.

Valentyn MOROZ

NINE HOURS IN THE TWILIGHT ZONE

On that special night, I did not dream.

I always *dream*, when something is to happen; long ago I came to believe in such dreams.

Only what was to happen this time, belonged in a different dimension, — even in a different world, — no dream could reach that far.

I had my breakfast and, as always, laid down to rest on the floor covered by my old coat. To lie down for ten minutes after eating — it is something I have to do; it is more important to me than food itself. (Afterwards, I prayed for a long time — another one of my old customs. Here, in America, I broke that custom; there is simply not enough time for lengthy prayers.) Always I had to nap with “one eye open”; my sleeping board was hinged to the wall during daytime, and I had no right to lie down, even on the floor. One is allowed to lie down for only eight hours, from 10:00 p.m. to 6:00 a.m. When the key started to turn in the rusted door lock, I quickly jumped up, pretending I wasn't lying down at all. In the time necessary to turn the key, open the door (and then the bars in front of the door — containing three locks), I hung my coat on a nail and picked up my gloves, which I had placed under my head. I thought that it was the regular morning exercise walk and was surprised at the early hour, however, the young guard, on duty that day, at once shouted: “Take your things. Transport”.

Where to? It's Wednesday — that means Saransk (capital of Mordovia); the camp KGB-man, who appeared at once, confirmed my thought: "To Saransk". Then more of them came. One, who spoke Ukrainian, was new to me. Later, I discovered, that he was a new KGB-man from Ukraine, assigned specifically to duty with Ukrainian prisoners in Mordovia (it is the procedure, the previous KGB-man had just completed his "banishment" and returned to Ukraine). Well, the new one immediately started looking through my papers. Later, colonel Romanov, chief of this detachment, did the same. Then another man walked in, dressed in civilian clothes, issued some order, and I immediately realized that he was really in charge. The door kept opening and closing, and every one was sharply demanding of me: "Bystro, bystro (on the double, hurry)!"

For some reason, there was more tension than is required by the simple fact of moving one prisoner from here to Saransk. The camp commander asked me about the sizes of my clothes and shoes — it seems they were going to give me some new ones for the journey. Everyone was irritated by the massive amount of my papers and advised me to leave all of my books behind. We argued about almost every single notebook. "Hey, what do you want with all this?" They attempted to read my notes, but, for some reason, time was short and they just perused some of them here and there. Perhaps, at that time, I should already have started wondering, where I was going, if I would have had enough time to analyze anything. The KGB-man from Ukraine wanted me to give him my novel, "And I saw the animal . . .", arguing that I had two copies of this manuscript. I asked the logical question: "Why do you want it? You can read it after my return from Saransk". He seemed lost for an answer; to say, that I would not come back, was forbidden, and there was no time in all this hurry for him to find some plausible excuse. All this, I did not notice then, realizing the significance of it only now. Well, after a long and hard bargaining session, they let me take all my papers. One hundred and twenty-two notebooks, sixty books, some letters and drawings of my son and others. I filled my old suitcase and a large back-pack, throwing my personal belongings into a smaller bag. They were not easy to carry around, which I found out almost at once. The corridors were unusually quiet and empty, even the service people disappeared. There was no one in the wide courtyard either. On the porch, stood a guard, who once served in the German police, and stayed a policeman in the camp also! My escorts motioned him away, and he too vanished. At the entrance to the camp store, one guard kept the door closed, so no one would be able to get out and see me. All I could manage, was to cry out to my fellow prisoners as I was passing through the corridors: "Good luck, gentlemen!"

Those were my last camp "utterings". Surrounded by guards, I reached the guardhouse at the entrance to the camp, where they directed me to put my things down and strip. Thorough search! My

old shoes, taken from my barracks, were already here, with their soles gaping open. They gave me new shoes. New clothes too, black instead of the stripped ones (although also a prison uniform). Everything is ready. They remove some pieces of paper from the pockets of my old clothes. A KGB-man tells the camp commander: "Take these as souvenirs".

As souvenirs... I couldn't help noticing something different in their treatment of me. And what souvenirs had they had *back in* 1961? Eighteen years ago, the same Nekrasov, and at this same camp (but behind a different wire) officiated at the release of Josyf Slipyj... (Now Ukrainian Catholic Cardinal and Patriarch in Rome). At that time, Nekrasov was only a young paramedic. In the camps, medical officers very often switch to prison service. Now, as a major and camp commander, he was sending me on my way to America.

I sign a receipt for my new clothes. Looking down at the list... I see the names of Ginzburg and Kuznetsov! Finally, I said to myself: "Oh, oh, that is a somewhat different path... Such a trio isn't being sent together by accident". And there, in that narrow corridor, I felt for the first time something resembling a *drift of Freedom*.

Did I have any *hope*? Did I expect an end to my Golgotha (Calvary)? Yes, I had such hopes. There are not any prisoners without hope. What keeps a prisoner going through all those long years? *A belief in miracles*. A belief (contrary to everything) that tomorrow *something* will happen and the prison gates will burst open. And this is absolutely not in discord with sober realism. Of course, every prisoner knows (the criminal as well as the political) that one has to stay in prison or camp for so or so many years and somberly calculates his energies to survive his stretch. This is called *prison arithmetics*. But there exists another level, another plane of consciousness; no hard matter, nor hard reality there, only a continuous tremor: Would it be soon...? How soon...? On that level, the golden peacocks of dreams fly around, awakening with their beautiful colors the everlasting hope. This is the *prison mystique*.

One who does not believe in miracles, will do so in prison. Yes, I knew that my latest term was for nine years and I was prepared for the harshest treatment; yet, every day I was ready for that moment, when they tell you: *Get ready. End of captivity*. Everyone is ready for this — but no one wants to admit it.

My golden cuckoo called only in my ninth year...

... The train arrives at rail station Potma. I am alone in my compartment. No trace of Ginsburg or Kuznetsov. The three of us carefully isolated. This is a *prison train* — a feed line from Potma to Barashev, ending in a deep forest, with camps, camps all alongside the tracks — nineteen in all. I am escorted by "*spetsconvoy*" — guards, who are to deliver me to my destination. A guard is stationed constantly outside my compartment. When some other prisoners are

led along the passageway, the guard shuts down the steel blinds in my compartment, and I sit in total darkness.

In Potma, in front of the prison — a stop. I am standing on the train steps; two guards with sub-machine guns to the left and right of me. The safety catches are off — ready to fire. Another holds a watch dog on a short leash, ready to jump at a word. But, after long years in prison, this makes no impression on me whatsoever. For the first time, after some months in the isolation chamber I am seeing the outside world.

The spring is in full swing, the blazing sun in the heavens. Snow is disappearing in a blink of an eye, everywhere a lot of water. On the other side of the road, a kindergarten, with some caged animals for the children. I see a wolf, behind a tight wire mesh. In the Caucasus mountains, it is believed that to see a wolf is a good sign. A Tshetshen will call you a wolf, to express his delight at meeting you. Well, I saw stuffed wolves many times before; now I saw a live one — a good sign for a good road.

In Potma, I experienced once again, how very hard it was to carry along my mass of paper, two hundred and twenty-two notebooks, sixty books; I could feel the weight of each one of them. It is a long way to the transit prison, all around the camp — about three hundred meters. Red and black circles appear before my eyes — but I manage to drag myself and my papers along.

At the transit prison, they kept me only a few hours. I was just trying to rest a little, when again I had to get ready for the road.

I continued to carry my stone-weight. All the guards and overseers took me for some kind of a crackpot. What does he need those papers for? For a lengthy period of time, about four hours, I am locked in a small cell. Considering everything, I have my doubts, whether I am on my way to Saransk. The train to Saransk left some time ago. I stay in my box-cell, one meter square; can not get up and straighten my body. It is very cold and I have no chance to move to warm up my chilled bones; all I can do is stamp my feet on the floor and rock between the walls. But, I decided to say nothing; I had got used to this a long time ago; besides, I knew, that my protests would bring me no relief, just a risk of getting beaten up by the guards. The guards talk to me, if there is no officer around. They have strict orders not to talk to me and that, understandably intrigues them. They ask all possible questions, but grow silent when an officer appears. In the transit prison, a few times, in the corridors, I heard sharp orders: "Do not talk to him". A criminal prisoner-trustee, who distributed meals and cleaned the corridors, wanted to speak to me through the door, the usual: "Who? Wherefrom?" He was severely reprimanded and chased away. It was my impression, that the guards themselves did not know up to the last minute where I was going; only, when at last the train started moving — did they realize that it was Moscow. But I did not know, and my questions went un-

answered. I slept for about three hours, and then all my attention was directed toward the window: Where am I going? I tried to catch a glimpse of the names of railway stations. More and more high platforms at stations, which convinces me that we are passing through the suburbs of Moscow. And when I read the station name *Bykovo* — I had no doubts, we are nearing Moscow.

... For a long time, my car was moved around the Moscow railway station. It was already the second day of my journey, Thursday. Then again a prison car and again my thoughts gather around questions: Where to? Quo vadis? To *Presnia*, a transit prison? To *Butyrki*, where I had already been in 1976? Or to *Lefortovo*, a KGB prison? The KGB-man in civilian clothes was with me at the railway station in Moscow, when I was led out of the train car. The last time I saw him was in front of the prison gate. He was the one responsible for my transport, but his name and rank I shall not know soon; only, at the time when they open the archives of the KGB in *post-Brezhnev* Russia.

There are no signs over prison gates. In Lviv, the KGB prison on Loncky Street is masked as a militia branch. But they carry their shakos. After seeing the first guard at the gate, I knew — *Lefortovo*. They search me very thoroughly and make a list of all my belongings. Two elderly guards, a tall, sinewy one and a short, fat one. Both behave mildly, they treat me without malice. The tall one dictates, but the fat one cannot write as fast. Lazily, without anger, but with a kind of mild irritation, he says: "Who do you think I am, a meteor, or what?"

In the prison — a surprise! I shall not be alone in my cell. A young Muscovite, a *black-marketeer dealing in monetary exchange*, is there already. I certainly do not need any blackmarketeers sharing my cell, because *I have things to hide!* For some time, I kept myself at the ready to leave the prison, knowing that I could be released before the end of my term on June 1st, and that is why I rewrote some of my works on the thinnest paper available, in a very small print, enabling me to keep them always on my person. (This cost me a lot of effort; to write and safeguard from searches; because such work demands special caution, my nerves jumped as if some one touched me with a live electric wire every time I heard a noise behind the cell doors. However, my nervous system reacted very well indeed, instead of suffering from insomnia, I learned to sleep quite soundly.) So, right at the cell door, I announce: "I will have a cell all to myself — otherwise I am going on a hunger strike".

My new room-mate asks, where are they taking me. What to answer? I have known for quite some time that efforts demanding my release from prison have been undertaken in the West: in addition, I notice, that all procedures seem somewhat out of order, everything for some reason seems very tense, but... I have learned to *exist in an armour*. I know, how painful could be the wounds, when

one removes ones armour. Once before, in 1976, I was taken in a hurry to Moscow. I was already envisioning Freedom, — but wound up in the Serbsky Psychiatric Institute . . .

No, I shall not remove my armour . . . The dream has to be kept on a short leash, like a hunting falcon, no matter how strong its desire to soar to the heavens . . .

So, I answer him: "Maybe to Ukraine? Before release, they often transfer prisoners to their respective countries". Perhaps... Perhaps... I will talk about everything, but not about Freedom.

I postponed my hunger strike until the next day — no one begins a hunger strike in the middle of the day — and went to sleep. But, it was not meant for me to sleep this whole night in Moscow. First, in the middle of the night, a guard entered, woke me up and asked my name. I do not particularly like to be awakened in the middle of the night, so I answered sharply, to let him know that I wanted to be left alone. However, my sharp tone of voice made no impression on him. He just wanted to make sure that I was still there. Then, around 5:00 a.m., (when the rest of the prison was still asleep), they came again, told me to put on my clothes . . . and to shave! Well, that meant that I was to take another trip. Afterwards, they brought my breakfast, prepared the evening before. I stated that I was beginning my hunger strike and refused to eat.

In half an hour, they call me out again. The guards take me up the stairs, open a door — and there sits a colonel with two civilians in side chairs. I address the colonel. "You are the prison commander. I wish to have a cell all to myself, otherwise I am announcing a hunger strike . . ."

One of the civilians interrupts me:

"For hostile activity, you are being banished from the Soviet Union".

Perhaps they expected me to fall to the floor on the spot from surprise. All of a sudden, I realized, that those words affected me less than I expected. I had awaited those words far too long! And besides, I was not alone; with me there was another prisoner, whose fate claimed more of my attention than my own: *my writings*. I do not know about others, but for me, I feel, that *there is more of me in my writings than in my own self*, and the fate of my writings is dearer to me than my own fate. Honestly, I am not exaggerating when I say that, if they would have told me, that I could take all my papers with me, but I would have to stay in prison for three more years — *I would have accepted that condition without hesitation*, despite my knowing that they would have been three years of hell.

Therefore, first I asked, with whom do I have the honour to converse. "Gavrilov, from the USSR Prosecutor's Office". — "May I sit down?" — "Nyet, you shall stand". This was pronounced with deepfelt hate; they had to release someone, whom they would have liked to swallow live. Then, standing, I announced, that without my

papers I would not go anywhere. The colonel informed me that my papers would be delivered to my family. This did not satisfy me.

There was no more talk about the hunger strike, since they did not return me to my cell; instead they led me to another room, where they had new suit and shoes ready for me. The inner pocket in my new jacket had a trademark sign "Vistula" and a thought crossed my mind that I was going to the West, so to say, with a Polish passport (in a suit made in Poland). The shoes were Czech-made; *only the uncivilized brutality was Russian.*

Nothing else, except an electric shaver (not even a tooth-brush) was supplied us for the journey.

I put on a real suit jacket — my first in nine years. They gave me a tie — but I had forgotten how to tie it . . . The fellow with me could not do it either. He found some young guard in the corridor who helped him.

I have kept this *Russian* noose with me as a souvenir. But no one can place it around my neck again, and I will not even touch it anymore. Some time later, I noticed in the State Department a copy of the Russian newspaper "Izvestiya" — and I found that I did not even wish to touch it.

. . . We step out into the corridor; there two men in civilian clothes direct us to the car . . . I repeat, that I will not go anywhere without my papers. They unceremoniously twist my arms behind my back and drag me on the floor out with them. In the moving car, when I put my hand on the back of the front seat, one of them hit my hand sharply: "Don't touch!" (When they were dragging me toward the car, I noticed that they were quite drunk! Although it was only seven o'clock in the morning. They smelled not unlike a distillery. And, they were officers. But, naturally, they were also Russians.) They sit on either side of me, I in the middle. The long strain of our relationship is becoming tense — slowly, we are beginning to talk. About soccer, naturally, what else can you talk about with them?

That night, there was no sleep . . . There was only a *premonition*, funny, a *premonition* that I will be free on a *Friday*. And it happened — Friday, the 27th.

We are travelling through Moscow. Although, I am not too familiar with Moscow, I try to guess at which airport we will arrive. From a sign "Chimsky" nearby, I understood that we were traveling toward Sheremetyevo. In front, three automobiles. The first, a small one, full of security personnel. Then another one, and another, and then the fourth, the one I am riding in. Wonder, who is traveling in the preceding car? Can not guess. It was pastor Vins, but I was not acquainted with him personally. We are passing the River Moscow; blocks of ice are drifting on the current, but by the shore, the ice is still solid; here and there we see fishermen. Finally, Sheremetyevo. At the airport, masses of people in *civilian clothes*. Also militiamen; but I do not count them. Running, issuing commands . . . We are

moving into the farthest corner, where the asphalt ends. The automobiles come to a halt in a line, and I notice Ginzburg to the right. I nod to him, he returns my nod — since talking is forbidden. I am asked, “why are you so sad? See, Ginsburg is much more cheerful”. True, he was already conversing happily with the chauffeur and the guards. Alik (Alexander) can always find a common language with everybody — that I know from experience. Why am I “sad”? I am not sad, I am worried, but I certainly will not tell them why. I have with me those tiny notes, that they would love to get their hands on, and I silently pray: “God, please let me get them through”! I managed to hide them during many, many long days — only a few more hours left. During those last few hours, my whole being concentrated on the responsibility of getting them through. Where are we going? And how many? To Switzerland? It seems, they do not know themselves. “Well, we’ll see”.

Passengers are entering the plane, all Americans. In our section, in the middle, no passengers. Just the five of us, sixteen KGB-men and a physician. We are sitting by the windows, in the middle two “guardians” for each one of us. They do not take their eyes off us, if one of us has to leave his seat, one of them follows by our heels. More and more, you notice in their behaviour their *feeling of inherent inferiority*. Somehow subdued, they ask: “Why were you sentenced? What are you going to do in America?” They will return to continue being slaves (although slave-drivers, but still slaves themselves); I, on the other hand, am going to a world, where all the chances are so much higher than the ones they might count on, or even imagine.

Two men from the American Embassy enter the plane. One is Mr. Smith, the other one’s name I can not recall. They proclaim that our families are to leave together with us, and write down the names of our relatives. Later, I observe them through the window. Such a colossal difference from the Russian public, although they are dressed in similar coats and shoes. It is the way they stand, the way they keep their hands in their pockets, the way they move — even from this little evidence, you can see that they are Americans. Something about them is so much more energetic, so very definite. You will not find in them the lack of clarity, the *grey-smeared sameness*, that will identify a Russian anywhere.

... Last movements on the ground, and the plane rises. At last it broke away from the land that constitutes prison for innumerable generations of Ukrainians.

Goodbye Russia! Will I ever return to you? *Better not look forward to meeting me again*... Because, if I ever return, it will not be in shackles. Not only shackles are forged from *steel*... As long as Russia is occupying Ukraine, our dialogue can only consist of *steel striking steel*.

At the airport, the stewardess informs us (in English and Russian)

that our flight plan is Moscow — Gander — New York. Nine hours of flight. Therefore, no Switzerland. For a long time, I had thoughts about going to the West; but I always dreamt about first strolling through the Carpathian meadows, bowing my head in front of Shevchenko's monument in Kaniv . . . Will I be able to see the Dnipro River from the plane? No, I will not be able to see this great Ukrainian river, because we are flying toward Sweden in a northwesterly direction. Among the clouds, we see the greenery of Latvian shores, and then the Baltic Sea. On the left, we catch a glimpse of an island, all covered in white. It's Kichnu — a piece of Estonia.

As if to greet us, there suddenly appeared, the islands east of Stockholm — then everything disappeared again under the white coverlet of clouds. I took a nap and when I opened my eyes, we were flying over the tops of Scandinavian mountains, snow covered — the seat of old Germanic gods, those, who together with Nibelungs once tried to conquer the world. From high up, the Norwegian fiords look the same as on a map. A few more islands, individual cliffs — and farewell, Old World! In front, the Atlantic, so awesome and boundless, like the expanse of the Russian tiger, which I tried to measure in my prison train-car. (But today, I am going away from Siberia, not toward it.) The "Aeroflot" plane — my last prison, and it seems there never were so many guards near me before. First, we have our dinner, later the guards; the only difference — we are not allowed any knives.

We are already flying for some hours, however, outside it is constantly noon. The plane is traveling at the same speed the world is turning. Time is immobile; everything stands still in the waiting, in the *twilight zone*: the spies in New York are waiting for their release, we, here, over the ocean, are waiting for freedom, and our guards are waiting to finally get rid of the heavy cloak of responsibility. They realize that if something happened not in accordance with the scenario — they would find themselves in Siberian camps, taking our places.

Even the sun stood still in the sky, like during the time of Christ the Saviour.

We are not in land of the Soviet's anymore, but we are not free yet either just hanging over the ocean in timelessness, spacelessness; wherever we should land, then everything will start, from the beginning.

. . . The first Canadian land which I saw consisted of tundra and the forests of Newfoundland, with lakes and pathways. The forests becomes more dense and finally in the sea of greenery — the geometric square of the airport — Gander. The plane landed, and the first thing I saw was a flag with the maple leaf flying on a building. Airport mechanics and servicemen are nearing the plane. I am seeing my first Canadians — *my first free people on a free land*.

Curious feeling; I am on the American continent, yet.. in a Soviet

prison! Among all the things Russia exports to the West... finally — *a prison for export!* Flying prison. Even if they tried to take us back — they could not be allowed to do it. The skies over Newfoundland are dominated by “Phantoms” not “MIGs”. Therefore, I am no longer in their hands. But... I cannot take a step without their permission. And so in the twilight zone, in twilight imbroglio — for nine hours! Possibly, they lasted longer than the nine years in prison, although I was wearing a suit made in Poland, not prison striped rags. A polite KGB-man is much more frightening than the brutal one, his affect is more serious on your nervous system. Sixteen polite KGB-men and a physician. Also from the KGB...

... The farther south in Canada we fly, more meadows appear among the forests, more farms. Then again clouds, clouds, and the voice of the stewardess announcing, “In twenty minutes we will land at Kennedy Airport”. The land is covered by a fog. Careful lowering of the wheels and finally the first feel of solid concrete, after the long hours of softness of air. Speed is reduced and the plane stops... No, the plane is continuing over concrete runways. It stops again, all passengers and stewardesses leave the plane. Now, we? So very long, so terribly long...

The plane continues to move near some buildings, signs, gasoline reservoirs... Is this the end? No, another turn.

Moving, moving, moving — impossibly long.

Why does it take so long?

To be in a KGB prison in Moscow is hard; but to sit in a KGB flying prison on American land, where all around you see freedom — is harder, much harder. We arrive in some out of the way corner; I see, we cannot go any further. Thank God! Near the plane, a lot of movement. A sportsmanlike, not very tall young man appears holding a walkie-talkie near his ear and talking into it. It was the first time I had seen anything like it, however, I realised right away from where he came.

There seems to be no hurry to remove us from the plane. What now? I am ready for anything. I remember, one man brought some gold from Kolyma. Everywhere he managed to avoid all dangers, until his arrival in his own village in Ukraine. There he was taken to the militia! There they really searched him... The last time he saw his gold was on the militia commander's desk...

A few more minutes. I am feeling true mystical terror; could something happen in those few minutes? On the outside, I appear very calm, — however, that calm always takes a lot out of you.

Movement around the plane increases, but we are still sitting in our places. It seems, all the clocks in the world have stopped and will never start again, and we are going to sit here until the time for the Armagedon. A trap-ladder is placed near one exit, and then near the other.

And then, at a time when our consciousness finally became stoic

and we were unable to react toward anything — entered Americans! Ms. Jessica Tuchman Matthew, Mr. Reginald Barthelemy from the National Security Council, and Mr. Robert Barry from the State Department. Mr. Barthelemy greeted us with our newfound freedom and welcomed us to America. First surprise, those who met us were as moved and excited as we were. Ms. Jessica Matthew inquired whether we were tired. I answered that not so much physically, as from psychological tension. "There was no less tension here" — she said. Actually, she did seem nervous and excited, as if it were she, and not us, who flew all the way from Moscow with KGB-men surrounding us. Mr. Barthelemy did not seem any calmer. I never imagined that an official of such high rank could be so forthcoming and human. In Europe it is different. The "order" broke down completely; although the KGB-men were still in the plane, we were walking around where we wished and talking to whomever we wished.

... When we were leaving the plane, it was grey and cloudy outside; but it was the sunniest day of my life. What can I say about my first step on the land of Washington? I can not remember. We were too tired, too stunned, too stupefied to remember anything. We did not even notice that at the time we were disembarking through one exit, two Soviet spies entered the plane through the second one. That is how the exchange took place. Immediately, pastor Vins and I were joined by Mr. Ferrand from the State Department, who invited us to his car.

For the first time in my life I am travelling through the streets of New York. Mr. Ferrand is trying to interest us and cheer us up, pointing out everything. He apologetically explains that due to the fact that New York sanitary workers are on strike, we see the masses of black plastic garbage bags on the streets. I smile, what can he know about garbage? What can he know about real dirt? If only he could imagine the amount of dirt where I came from — the dirt on the faces, the souls, the consciences, in that greatest garbage dump in the world, contaminating whole continents... That dirt and garbage could not be removed by all the sanitary workers of New York, during a whole year. Mr Ferrand continues to point out the city's famous landmarks, some of which we knew from photographs. He speaks Russian, or what he imagines is Russian. Trying to explain something, he could not find a word in Russian — we could not understand. Finally, I asked him to say it in English. He says: "*Manager*". We all laugh. In Ukraine, every child knows the word "manager", it is used constantly without having ever been translated into Ukrainian.

... At the end of a long street, suddenly appears before us the tall and flat U.N. building, reminding us of a huge transistor. We disembark close to the U.N., at the Plaza Hotel. Elevators here are much faster than in the Soviet Union. Very quickly we find ourselves on the 37th floor. I am shown to my room. Immediately, I take a piece

of paper and write down the number — 17. In my stunned and dreamlike state, it will be easy to get lost.

I close the door — finally I am alone! I take out my treasure — the thin sheets of paper completely covered by miniature writing. For a while I look at them and lovingly straighten them out. In the end, I outwitted them, I won, not they! Now I can relax and rest for a time after my strenuous experience. However, just for a while... Again, I carefully hide my treasure. I understand that the KGB can not arrest me in New York. Yet, everything else can happen, the same as in Moscow. The United States does not realize yet what the KGB is, and most likely will not learn for a long time. One day we will destroy their strength, but for now... Brutus was a descendant of a noble family, but in the end revealed himself to be only Brutus. No, I will not take off my armour, like Ceasar did...

(Only later, when I found myself in a Ukrainian haven, symbolized by a flag of two uncompromising colours, with a cross of victorious knighthood on its field, — I realized that my "treasure" would be completely safe.)

... Curious feeling, like in Aida, the underground kingdom of Greek Myths, everything is as solid as on earth, yet everything seems only *shadows*. *Physically*, I am standing with both feet on American soil, however, somehow, *psychologically*, I am still there. I walk around the room, handle objects, in order to make myself believe in what I see — no, they still do not seem to be real. (Later, a television commentator told me that Americans also *could not believe* that I was actually here.) Later, on Long Island, there will be cherry blossoms, just like in Ukraine... swans in the large park of Glen Cove, and the ocean, so majestically alive with its salty freshness. Little by little, everything enlivens me and tears away the roots of my thoughts, emotions and feelings from the *other* land. Only in dreams, sometimes I have problems, arguing with someone *there*, at the KGB. Then I awake and tell myself, "Ho, ho, I am already in America! Why should I argue with them?" As yet, I have not had any dreams about the West and probably will not for a long time. Dreams belong to the *ghosts*, and every land has its own; the old Indian gods guarding the dreams in their old wig-wams, have not found their way to me yet...

We all gather in one room to decide what to do. There will be a press conference, and we have to prepare a joint release. We are all so tired and realize that today we will not be able to decide on anything intelligent. Better wait till tomorrow. However, our sense of humour did not desert us. Kuznetsov said that if his wife calls from Israel to tell her this and that. Well, somebody on the spot changed that version to: "If my wife arrives, don't let her in." All laugh. Finally, we sit down by the table. With great effort, we are trying to string together a few sentences for the press release. Ginzburg ran away — he had to get some sleep. I also deserted.

Kuznetsov was the only one who worked on the text of the release till morning. But, sleep was not as near as we thought...

Enters Mr. Ferrand and informs us that we will be visited by representatives of Ukrainian and Jewish organizations of America. I ask: "Who?" He answers: "From the Ukrainian Association". At first, I did not realize that he meant the Ukrainian National Association, I thought that he was speaking about the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America. The lobby is full of correspondents, but the security forces do not allow anybody up; the press-conference is scheduled for tomorrow. Later, I am informed that there are Ukrainians downstairs. Should some be invited up and how many? I shout back that all Ukrainians should be invited, whoever wishes to come. In a second, they are in the room — the first three Ukrainians that I saw in the freeworld. All speak with Western Ukrainian accents, their language beautifully preserved. But, did they preserve Ukraine in their souls as well? I knew that in New York, Ukrainians would come to me. But, would Ukraine also come? How much of Ukraine will I see in their eyes, their movements, their feelings? After half an hour, I realize, I had nothing to fear. Everything around me was full of Ukraine; and those people brought with them so much honesty, so much fire, that if anybody would look down from space on this spot near the East River, they would see a great, blinding light, not unlike the one over Bethlehem.

It is so much easier for women, they can cry, when they feel like crying. Men do not know how and can not. My soul was full of tears — but I could only look, not knowing what to do with them. I do not know how to cry. During the last nine years, my tears turned into hard crystals, harder and sharper than the sword of Toledo, the one that, from this moment, will constantly hang on the wall, at the head of my bed.

It is better to stay away from people who cannot shed tears... From unshed tears, crusades and St. Bartholomew nights are born...

They came, more and more of them; with each second, Ukraine around me was growing. A dark-eyed, handsome young man with the features and nature of the Hutsul Mountain region of Ukraine — although born here, in America... A mature woman, with statesque, heroic presence, so like the Great Mother of Kyiv — Oksana Meshko... Tall, lighthaired youth, with eyes that reminded me of my son's — and so much of the youthful faith in those eyes! Dear God, how similar is the young generation in Ukraine to the Ukrainian one in America! A girl, so unbelievably beautiful, in embroidered blouse, so astonishingly Ukrainian in this far and foreign land. First Ukrainian girl that I saw since being free, after nine long years, and bringing so much of Ukraine with her.

"You can expel a Ukrainian from the Ukraine, but you cannot excise Ukraine from a Ukrainian".

The red and black flame of Ukrainian embroidery, like volcanic

eruption, thawed my cold and stupor, and for the first time, I felt that I was not *among the snows* anymore. My twilight time ended. I realized that time was moving again. I tried, automatically to look at my watch and, together with me, the people around me realized that I did not possess one. Three were offered me. I reluctantly accepted one from a broad-shouldered man, with an open smile, who came from Ukraine quite a few decades ago, and never lost her in the great expanse of Manhattan.

... After a while, everybody left, and I realized how tired I was. When it is day here, it is night there; a whole twenty-four hours without any sleep. And so much that was new... Happiness is more tiring to me than pain... I directed my steps to the bathroom and lay down in a tub of warm water up to my neck. Now, finally, I will sit alone, without tension, and think about nothing, nothing... And in such heaven I remain for approximately forty seconds. Until the knock on the door...

I did not intend to move on the first knock, thinking that possibly it is somebody who arrived with me, and they will go away and come back later. The knocking continues, it is somebody very persistent. I dress and open the door. An energetic, blonde woman flies into the room. She greets me in proper Ukrainian, but with a heavy american accent; and immediately, without any preliminaries, starts telling me about Ukrainian conditions in America. "Moroz is free; — what is the Committee for Defence of Moroz to do now?" (Since then, she has not been silent — and neither have I.)

Exhaustion and the need for sleep disappear. At last I awake completely from nine hours of my existence in the "twilight zone" and say to myself: "You came to New York, probably the least calm place in the world. What quiet? What rest? Who needs it? You already "rested" enough in prison.

So, go to it, man!

May 29, 1979

*Translated from Ukrainian
by Zena Matla-Rychtycka*

MEMOIRS OF OKSANA MESHKO

Part Two

We stayed in the green enclosure of our purgatory — the camp, under the scorching sun from morning until evening. Initially we were overjoyed with this freedom.

We had the sun and space. Behaving as if we were in our normal surroundings, we had a picnic with the friends of our choice. We comfortably settled where we chose. This was the first time that we had had such freedom for several years.

In that heady moment, in the bosom of nature, we felt “freedom” in the way that only a luckless prisoner can... And false hopes suddenly flooded the numped people crammed together in the green enclosure: the most optimistic conjecture was that the zone had been freed not because a group of wood-cutters was to be transferred, but simply because we were being prepared for our release.

This notion seemed credible, and was moreover, the logical outcome of our absurd situation: slaves in the second half of the XX century.

Led astray, oppressed by hunger and work and by the arbitrary and brutal treatment dealt out to us by the camp authorities, all we could do was put all our trust in God, and sometimes we behaved like children...

People began to grow weary: the Irkutsk sun blazed down on us, and when it rose directly overhead, it was merciless. We ate our mean rations and swilled the rotting herrings down with water (I have to admit that at least we had plenty of water). Time crept on, the sun rose higher in the sky until it was really scorching. People began to ask for the toilets, but there were none in the enclosure and the gate leading to this beneficial place, was locked.

The zeks asked the guards to unlock the gate of the empty zone so that they could use the toilets. There was also a considerable number of old and ill people who needed to use these facilities, not to mention those who were suffering from varying degrees of dysentery, further complicated by diseases of the bladder, kidney and so on.

The only reply we heard was the categorical refusal: “It is forbidden”, which we understood as meaning that although we could not use the toilets at that moment, we would be allowed to use them later.

The words “it is forbidden” in the vocabulary of the Gulag authorities strangled all common sense and human mercy.

The sun was beating down upon us. We begged and prayed that somehow those dreadful words “it is forbidden” would change. Old peasant women and the sick wept. The “workers” demanded and

pestered their team-leaders: these only swore, insulted them and sent them to plead with the authorities themselves to gain permission for this seemingly, sensitive matter.

The women went in groups, or rather delegations to the authorities responsible for our dispatch from the enclosure, but only received the heartless reply "it is forbidden, it is a prohibited zone".

We were guarded at this transit stage by a large group of young soldiers. What could we do? It is impossible to hide from the eyes of your own guards.

In the centre of large group of about 1000 people, we made a provisional "human wall", with which we shielded and separated "those brazen pigs and cattle" who in their need, violated the rules laid down by the authorities.

We did not lack emotional provocations. Many of the women on this "Irkutsk route" knew that in a neighbouring camp their men — fathers, brothers, husbands, fiancées, friends, neighbours, acquaintances, were being punished.

Sometimes, by chance, on the way to or from work, our paths would cross on the narrow roads leading to the forest. At these moments, it seemed that an electrical current was generating between us. Living side by side, families were broken up for ever and could not even visit or write to each other! Uncle Tom's misery was nothing in comparison with this.

Whenever our two long columns caught sight of each other, our guard would stop the women with the shout: "Stop, don't move an inch! . . .

The oppressed men, however, would run as fast as they could be driven by the command: "Faster, don't look round, faster, faster . . .". The distance between our two groups increased. Only then were we women allowed to move, stealthily watching, with racing hearts, the men with their drooping shoulders and down-cast heads buried in their filthy, grimy collars. (They soaked their shirts in a stinking prophylactic to protect themselves from the midges — this was just one of those innumerable discomforts that plagued us. The midges crawled into our eyes, noses, into the corners of our mouths, eating through the mucous membrane and drawing blood. Our bodies swelled and temperatures rose from the intoxication: not many of us were immune and few of us had been inoculated.)

When we chanced to see the twisted, 500-metre long column of men somewhere in the distance, moving forward in a single sluggish motion, doomed in their shirts, we were immediately reminded of some monster from a fairy-tale . . . This horrific apparition must surely have been a reflection of our own column . . . Seeing the men, we knew at once how we must have looked . . .

Even so, this chance sighting of the men, seemed to release us: our tears of pain and fear were dispelled. All that remained was

hunger, exhaustion and that agonisingly slow transition into a spiritual void, caused by physical fatigue, and its ensuing apathy.

We were always assigned heavy manual labour. We were assigned different work groups in accordance with our "work capacity". Our fitness for the first second or third groups, was decided by a medical commission, which periodically examined us, but which always assigned us to more arduous labour than we were capable of fulfilling.

This medical commission was composed of three people: a doctor (a zek) from the camp's medical unit, a doctor serving voluntarily and some official from the camp (who could always be recognised as he or she would wear a white coat). Their work was simple — they did not conduct any examinations, or refer to any notes. Our "fitness" for the different categories of work was decided simply on the basis of our physical appearance and weight: if one's body was not blue and one's ribs were not held together by skin alone, one was assigned work with the second or third group (either work as wood-cutters or on the land). "Work capacity" was assessed arbitrarily, and women already exhausted to the limits of their endurance were forced to clear the snow-swept dirt roads which connected various working points in the forest, by hand.

The weakest were assigned the third group and worked helping to clear the roads: some favour!

I was assigned to this group so that I could "regain my health": we spent the whole day in the frost and snow storms shifting the snow with spades and breaking up frozen hillocks. Our "special work clothing" was inadequate for the frosts. We were not allowed to rest, even to chew on the scraps of bread that we kept close to our breasts, and which were the elixir of our lives in the camp.

Some news spread around the camp — a new camp had just been opened for grafting reed (necessary for the development of "the motherland's aviation" — "... Your proud work won't go to waste!...").

Those totally exhausted by forest work were prepared for transit to the new colony. However almost three quarters of the colony's prisoners were practically exhausted so the selection was made most assiduously: only the youngest and those under 25 were chosen, since this new work required nimble hands and keen eyesight.

The work was described as being exclusively women's: it was light, done in the warm (and we were always so cold), brightly lit buildings and we would be allowed to sit! Moreover, it was well paid and the working norms had been described as being completely "realistic".

In contrast, working as wood cutters, we were not paid one penny and when we could not fulfill our norms, we were punished by having our rations reduced. The working norms in the Gulag were so high, that they were impossible to fulfill, no matter how hard those wretched women worked.

Our wood-cutting team was enlarged by middle-aged female workers and young girls. Our team leader (nicknamed "earless" because he had lost half his ear "fighting in Smersh's frontlines") was energetic and imaginative: to make us perform extraordinary physical feats he would promise us "an early release for our efforts", when we would be able "to return to socialist society" — a comment he always added to this "promise" to keep his nose clean so to speak.

The authorities demanded that we become "conscious of our guilt" and that we "recant" for the sake of the "humane motherland".

Some women from the first working group and some from the teams were lured by this "offer". (The team leaders were well aware that the working norms were totally unrealistic — 95 percent of the wood cutters could never fulfill them).

Then they doubled the pressure on each member of their team. They threatened to reduce our food rations even further as a punishment. They incited the workers against the "lazy", the "saboteurs" and threatened to inflict punishments on us. The moral atmosphere in the zone became unbearably stifling: We argued over scraps of bread; complained; there were rumours of revolt; people became obsequial to their team leaders.

A blackboard hung by the watch tower where the results of the "work efforts" of each team were displayed daily. These results were absolutely incredible — they were the efforts of exhausted, sick and hungry people — people who still believed in "freedom" as the alternative to the fate that inevitably faced them — death.

In the rush to fulfill the norms, elementary human consideration was brushed aside. But these were God-fearing people, who still retained their peasant characteristics of politeness and compliance.

They became careless; unconcerned about industrial safety, of which there was very little anyway, and it certainly was not taken seriously by the authorities.

Everyday brought its own industrial accidents — the medical trains collected the injured and transported them to the only women's hospital in the area; very few women returned from there — they would usually become complete invalids.

The record for this insane contest was achieved by the enthusiasm of a young girl from Khmelnytska oblast, and will surely never be surpassed: in her fervour, she was killed in the forest felling trees. This she was doing with such vigour it looked as if she was simply cracking nuts.

"The godfather" organised the funerals in the camp for those killed trying to fulfill their work norms. Or more precisely, he arranged the farewells, as the bodies of prisoners were always taken to the hospital for post mortems and the signing of the death certificate. All this was in accordance with MVD procedures (and was in fact, an additional precaution taken to prevent the escape of a prisoner feigning death).

First of all an official funeral ceremony was held, when respect was paid to the "hard worker". Then she was washed and dressed and laid out on a table covered with a red cloth in one of the barracks. The whole zone mourned, i.e. no one was forced to work. With so many people, it was difficult to find a place in the barrack. When we were all assembled, someone from the administration delivered his speech of mourning and sorrow. He emphasised the girl's courage and honesty in such a way that he expected us to take up work in memory of the dead girl... And then he left, and the onlookers followed.

The "godfather" did not object to us holding a religious service over the body of the dead girl, if only as a way of trying to dispel the terror which had spread through the women's zone.

The dead girl had been a tall, well-built Ukrainian. She was a born athlete and had had a good physical education. When I looked at her body, the thought: "Oh Slavs, how I grieve for your fate! The only heroism that you know, is found in captivity"... crossed my mind.

The dead girl had not been well-liked. People swore and cursed her because due to her exertions our work norms were increased, and simultaneously, we were punished with a reduction of our rations when these were not fulfilled. What was even worse, more industrial accidents occurred, increasing the numbers of those crippled.

We burnt candles for her all night long and the Christians amongst us sincerely prayed to God, begging Him to grant absolution, both for the dead girl and themselves for their harsh words of condemnation of her senseless work.

The "godfather" miscalculated. After this tragic death people lost interest in the "work contest". Something suddenly united all the workers and team leaders. Without having made any sort of pact, they worked harmoniously together.

The reed-grafting colony enticed us all as if it were some sort of panacea for all the troubles we had in the camp.

After the next medical examination, people from the third group of workers were selected for transfer. The wood cutting teams urgently needed to be supplemented with "healthy" young women, but there were few of these: most women were physically exhausted.

This was how I found myself, with another 150 women in front of the master's gate on a March morning in 1951.

Encircled by guards, we passed between long tables spread with red cloths. We were received in the reed grafting colony by the authorities in accordance with set procedures. We were impatient and hurried to meet the intriguing unknown...

In accordance with established procedures, we had to clearly and coherently give our particulars: surname, forename, patronymic, nationality, year of birth, the article under which we had been sentenced, the name of the sentencing judge.

I have been to so many transit camps, that I can recite my particulars as easily as The Lord's Prayer, and like everyone else, I was in a great hurry to get through this degrading process. As I was giving my particulars, I was just aware that I wanted to get to the zone as quickly as possible, and was curious to know which bunk bed I would be able to get (the lower one was best).

We were greeted at the gates by former woodcutters who now worked in the reed grafting colony, and had found a sort of paradise in a camp.

But why were they so terribly pale and physically weak? The girls laughed callously, clearly not sharing our delight and expectations.

The regulation scrap of bread was not delivered into our hands in the mornings as is customary, but lay sliced on the dinning-hall tables. There was so much gruel that it was left in bowls. The women here barely touched their food. They had lost their appetites. They were broken by their work in this colony. They worked in three shifts, shared barracks with different shift workers due to administrative inefficiency so never had a good night's rest.

The women worked at long benches in make-shift workshops, which had no ventilation, were low and badly equipped. The prisoners sat almost on top of each other while they cut the stems of the reeds with long, sharp knives into thin strips.

The "workshop" was brightly lit with powerful electric lights and was completely silent except for the sound of the women scratching the reeds with their knives. The work, which was extremely fine, demanded great dexterity and concentration. It made us extremely irritable and nervous (a machine should have been doing this work, but no, the system was stuck at the stage of elementary manufacturing processes in its development of capitalism).

As in the colony I had just left, several people excelled themselves at their work and in the "work contest". Their monthly earnings were between 30-70 karbovantsi! These people deserve praise and respect. There were between 25-30 such women in the whole zone, and their working neighbours tried hard to keep pace with them. But again the axe fell and they became servile to their team leaders and fell prey to the Siberian frosts.

I did not wish to test my motor reflexes and asked to join the women's carpentry teams, which laid down prefabricated huts along the length of the Tashkent railway. We worked on the sleepers in groups of five. We hauled all the building materials we needed on our backs, walking 5 kilometres or more along the uneven ground with the greatest of difficulty.

It did not even occur to our team leaders or the free workers to transport these materials by truck or even to leave them in some safe place. It was difficult enough to walk along the tracks with empty hands, let alone with all our materials.

We had to saw boards, make sure the men had finished building the little huts, and always, we had the norm to fulfill. We were always being promised that we would be paid, but we never received anything, and no one ever asked. We learned to live without anything and did not complain about our slavish existence.

Our work required concentration — we had to catch up, recount, saw wood and so on. We had to saw many boards and I grew to like working with wood. It was interesting to see the way the resin developed, to see the patterns on the wood and to contemplate the mysteries of nature.

As the wood shavings, which smell of pine, softly fell, one's thoughts involuntarily became more calm and peaceful... We worked in small teams beyond the zone, where we could relax away from its noise, its overcrowding, its cramped conditions, its disputes.

There were always raids, searches, transfers from barrack to barrack in the camp, in other words all that we could not accustom ourselves to, although it was all part of some systematic plan, which was implemented month after month, year after year, without reason or advantage, but with the sole intention of making people suffer.

More transfer camps, more displacements, partings with good people and unexpected reunions with old friends in new colonies.

I arrived in yet another wood-cutting colony, which, as the others, was full of either very young or extremely old exhausted women.

We would lay on our bunk beds in the evenings, whispering and uttering prayers with our bruised mouths — we all prayed sincerely and had great faith.

Officially our free days were Sundays, but we were not allowed to rest on all four of them. At the most we were permitted three rest a month, but on most "rest days" we were forced to collect wood for the "voluntary workers".

The West Ukrainian girls in the camp knew how to make those "happy" Sundays something special. They would save their breakfast food — gruel and scraps of bread, until noon, when they would carefully lay it out on their beds. They would make themselves look as pretty as possible, and combed out their plaits and let their hair hang loose. It was only then that they would sit at the long table and furtively pray, and sing hymns with their beautiful voices. Their prayers and the religious service made them spiritually secure, and gave them strength and energy.

There was always an attempt to drive any onlookers away as these communal services were always carefully observed. There was always a group of informers who promptly reported everything to the administration, and yet were afraid of the zeks.

Nothing passed unnoticed from the observant eye of the "god-father".

With the intention of making us suspicious of one another the

"godfather" spread rumours about innocent people through his informers. This was intended to isolate those people who were respected in the camp, and make others fear and disrespect them. I have experienced this myself in two colonies. I was summoned by the "godfather" in the middle of the night to talk. He tried to persuade me to help him, or rather the Soviet regime (all the officers proudly identified themselves with the Soviet regime and one had the feeling that they had tried really hard to convince themselves of this).

In response to my negative reply the "godfather", rather tediously, insisted that I explain myself. He tried to convince me that it was imperative that I report any "ominous" ideas I heard, which as a "Soviet citizen" was he claimed, my duty. He promised me a reward for these services, namely, work as a team leader, extra rations, work in the zone itself and other such incentives.

After I had categorically refused, I was placed in a punishment cell, but still had to go to work. I couldn't sleep well because of the cold (the cell was only heated once every three days). I was so weak, that I could barely lift the axe to work. I would have stretched out my legs if I could, but couldn't because of the religious prisoners in the cell. There were always several of these to be found here as they refused to work. They shared their rationed scraps of bread with me and other workers. They took off their scarves, dirty jumpers, waistcoats and lay them in the centre of the roup during the night.

This was the first time that I had met with such sincerity, and with people who did not demand anything in return for their favours. They were even thinner and more tired than I was. They also ate less and it seemed that they needed less nourishment than anyone I had seen, and incredibly, they seemed to withstand the physical deprivations caused by hunger and the cold very easily. I was astounded and reproached myself and felt ashamed. Although their "fanaticism" was not appealing to me, I was envious of their evident endurance, which I lacked. They yearned for death, while I could never stop passionately loving life. "Life" was my "other world" even though I was physically very weak. The commanding officer had me transferred to a strict regime colony.

Although I was no longer young, I always caught the attention of the authorities and was forced to work with the younger women. My friends tended to be young women from West Ukraine: with them I somehow felt morally stronger.

After my talk with the "godfather" and my categoric refusal, the rumour that I was an "informer" was spread around as a reprisal. This rumour spread like wild fire. The gullible avoided me but my closest friends rallied around me. I was accused of being "an Easterner and Easterners are known to be unreliable and untrustworthy people".

Our carpenters teams were inoculated against typhoid — one shot between two. Both I and Maria, a washerwoman from Volyn, were inoculated with one shot and we had both fallen ill by evening. Our heads ached unbearably and our temperatures soared. We were both taken to the camp's medical unit and after a couple of days, transferred to the hospital.

I was carried to the medical train on a stretcher (a railway, closed to public use, ran through our women's "quarters").

The arrival of the train, bringing both medical and general supplies, was kept quiet: the doors of the carriage opened for one minute and this was where all came together . . .

The staff on duty in the medical unit refused to accept sick people from the camp on the basis of some secret order concerning the temporary ban on zeks, guards, and so on moving from colony to colony.

My young friends, seeing that I was dying, again took me to the train, and succeeded in opening the doors of the waggon. Then in a single violent movement, thrust me inside on my stretcher . . . The doors shut and I found myself to be the only passenger on the floor of a dark waggon . . . I was taken to the hospital, but Maria was not as fortunate as I: she died from a blood infection. Many people needing medical treatment could not reach a hospital in time because of someone's stupidity.

It was May, 1953.

After the death of the "generalissimo", Stalin, we discovered that the ruling elite had suddenly burst into activity. One of the officials controlling the slave colonies, had timidly peered into the horizons of the new future, and stupidly, put an end to any transfers from colony to colony without considering what effect this would have on the sick who needed to be transferred from their colony to a colony with a hospital.

I arrived in the hospital and was diagnosed as having sepsis of the blood. However the hospital did not have any antibiotics to treat zeks. My friends found this out, and only through their help, was I able to avert the illness that my former team partner died from. In exchange for their own belongings, they managed to obtain some medicine for me. At that time medicines could still be sent to camps, and there were no restrictions on the number of parcels prisoners could receive.

However, not many prisoners received parcels from home — postwar poverty afflicted everyone. I needed penicillin. German, Lithuanian and Polish women received penicillin in their parcels, but the Ukrainian wretches, both those living outside the colony system, but especially those living in it, could only look jealously on.

The duty officer of the medical unit, the army doctor Helha, did though give me a little penicillin simply from the goodness of her heart. She was probably the only freely employed doctor who had

any trace of humanity in her, at least as much as was possible to have in those terrible conditions. She defended the sick more than once, she was sympathetic to the Ukrainian women and stood her ground in the medical commissions and opposed the absurdity of allocating manual labour to sick people. Almost all the doctors in the hospital were zeks and had great respect for her. Although she did not exert herself, she was fully aware of everything that went on.

Of the zek doctors who helped me to recover, I would like to mention doctor Heyko. In 1947 she served some time in Kyiv with my sister Vira. My sister complained a lot about her: she thought she had told investigator Popov something that she had confided to her in a frank discussion.

I recall doctor Khorkova Ksenya Petrivna, from Leningrad, with great respect and amity. She had been sentenced to 25 years. She had worked as a surgeon on the front. She had received the maximum penalty. I met her when she was brought, already ill, to the hospital. Our encounter was a joyous one.

She was diagnosed as having cancer of the womb, which she had already diagnosed herself, and had come for an operation. They opened her and left her: it was already too late . . .

She and I had friendly and pleasant relations with several people from the tree-felling colonies. She had sometimes helped me in the sense that she would say my temperature was over 37.4, which meant I did not have to work (in the Gulag though, one could have a temperature over 37.5 and still be forced to work).

It was not easy for the doctors to do this. They had a strict limit on the number of people they could pronounce too ill to work, although the true number of sick people was always between 50-100 percent. She once slept next to me in the same barrack, but she would only come to sleep in the barrack just before the "all clear". For some reason she was not allowed to sleep in the medical unit, where as a rule, all doctors slept.

This privilege was a traditional part of the Gulag system: zek-doctors paid for it progressively by abusing their humane profession and helping our cruel torturers.

Ksenya Petrivna, a conscientious and honest doctor, did not feel at ease with the system but in order to remain in the medical unit, some of her principles had to give.

At Christmas she shared her own supper with us. The girls set the table not with the traditional courses but with their own mean food rations and the scraps that they had saved especially from any parcels they received. They sang beautifully, although mournfully, and prayed: the solemnness of that moment, intensified by their anguished faces and their spiritual suffering, shown clearly in their eyes, created a feeling impossible to describe. When Khorkova first saw this, she felt she was looking at a painting showing a secret

supper shared by intelligent and spiritually strong women, women with such strength that they could survive their inhuman conditions. She said she liked her patients, "reincarnations", very much and said "how beautiful their religion is, how much beauty there is in this celebration. I have never seen anything similar amongst my own people" . . . Although she was quite strict with all her patient, no one ever argued with her or cursed her.

Many people remember how she rescued a large colony of prisoners from an outbreak of dysentery in Angara, and they remember her appearance.

Another group of people arrived in the zone, and it was with this group that she came. Our team leader (whom we teased because he had lost half his ear) froze when he saw the brown-eyed Khorkova walk past him. This was the very army surgeon that had operate on him during the war. The patient clearly remembered his doctor although she was only to remember him later.

Two young medical assistants worked in the medical unit at that time, clinging to their positions. They had neglected all elementary hygiene and medical care in the zone. These two women had the backing of someone high in the administration, which was why they did not have to surrender their places even to the best doctors, and this included doctor Khorkova. However, an epidemic of dysentery broke out in the zone. There was no medicine and they tried to cure us using magnesia. However to no avail, and it was only when the dysentery took on dangerous proportions and some officer was in danger of losing his stripes, that it was finally proposed that doctor Khorkova take charge of the medical unit.

Although she had extremely hard work in the laundry, she would not take up the offered opportunity until all her demands had been met. Two barracks and the quarter master's mess were converted into temporary hospitals, medicines bought, the nursing staff enlarged and so on. All her demands were medical and ethical. This was how she rescued 1200 from death. After this epidemic had passed she remained in the medical unit until the arrival of a new officer in the zone, who, unable to stand her independence, had her transferred back to the colony. She was though again to take up medicine work.

When she was ill in hospital, I would visit her and once invited her to come and join us in the barrack for the October celebrations, which the girls were preparing and would sing some Ukrainian songs which had so charmed her before. I was horrified when she quietly, but calmly, thanked me saying: "No, by October I will no longer have the strength to stand up without help". She took an unfinished letter, kept under her pillow, addressed to her brother and young son and read me a section from it — it was a farewell . . . During her life, she had arranged for all her things to be sent home: she had written out prescriptions for her own medicines and submissively went to meet the end of her physical life, without any hope that better times

would come, without any belief that our slavery would ever come to an end.

There were several of her former patients in the hospital and together we buried her and mourned deeply at her departure . . .

Neither Helha, the head doctor, nor the "godfather" protested: say what you will, because of her privileged position, she was a sword the workers could threaten the authorities with.

I hope that she has been rehabilitated if only for the reason that her son, who maybe filled with false shame for his mother, should know that his mother was an honest woman, a sacrifice taken by our regime.

She was buried in hospital cemetery number 24 (for political prisoners) in Bratsky rayon with a small inscribed board over her grave . . .

Neither the most realistic, nor the most impassioned nor the clearest description of imprisonment in women's camps could ever recreate their internal reality or the meaning of slavery in the Gulag prison.

It is only possible to give a vague description, something akin to a mirage. As for more precise information, this should be sought in the bloody history of the Soviet Union, "the first land of Soviets, with its 'humanistic' laws", and in the secret archives buried with the citizens of this republic, naked and without coffins.

Some information can be gathered from those who miraculously survived camp conditions, although such people are few and although they would not be able to recount the experiences of those who died in the wide expanses of Siberia and the borderlands of "the boundless Russian lands".

Man can learn anything, he can try to understand everything, but he could only understand this tragedy by living through it himself.

I will not exaggerate: our camps were not equipped with furnaces to burn live people as the Nazi concentration camps in Poland, women's hair was not shorn to manufacture felt, we were not shot arbitrarily... We were simply "made to work" on the principle "If you can't do it, we'll teach you, if you don't want to, we'll force you".

The fact that someone was simply too weak to work was ignored. Their physical inability was interpreted as meaning they "did not want to work".

The women in the Gulag were forced to fulfill the following categories of work: lumber work, stone-quarrying, transportation and digging sewage canals.

The only difference between our camps and the Nazi camps was in the methods used, and the length of time it took to die.

Our hair was not used to produce felt, but our bare hands (the most futile and expensive form of energy) were used to extract the "rich pearls" in the Siberian waste lands.

I would rather that they be destroyed, than see those "riches"

extracted at the price of millions of human lives in this "technological" age.

One of the numerous women's quarters stood in the Irkutz oblast, near Chuna station. It was intended to produce a new workers' hive in the great Gulag apiary, but instead, was more like a baby with teething troubles.

This camp, barren and grey, was concealed behind high wooden fences, which were liberally laced with barbed wire. Between the fence and the forbidden zone was a non-man's land — bare soil, where not even a single blade of grass was allowed to grow. As if it were a sacred place, no one was allowed to violate this land without permission of the guards.

This strip of no man's land was carefully guarded. From time to time, under the watchful eyes of the guards, feeble women would smooth and rake the earth that earth, weeding out even the tiniest blades of grass, making sure the earth was completely barren — this in order to ensure the footprints of any escapist would be clearly ingrained!

At each change of duty, armed guards carefully checked the zone from both sides and even examined the earth in no man's land. This changing of the guard was effectedly serious and pretentious.

Why did they do this? I don't think that a single escape from the women's zone has ever succeeded. As a rule, people did not try to escape (escape (maybe there were occasional successes from the men's zones) because of the futility of these attempts: trying to escape in full view of guards sitting in watchtowers was out of the question.

The guards were changed every four hours so that their concentration would not slacken, and that their eyes would not tire of guarding our lives.

Once this procedure had been implemented, it was carried out by our "soulguardians" most pedantically, it was almost as if they were automatons. After they took their vow "... I will faithfully serve the Soviet Union...", everyone of them sincerely believed that "people weren't imprisoned without good reason". Only the very best of them were selected for this duty, and only rarely was any of them from the West, the lands that had been so devastated by the war in 1942.

Two escapes by young women, or rather escape attempts, were permanently ingrained in people's memories. These though, were not made from the zone itself, but from the forest during work. One of these women was a Ukrainian from Kryvorih who had been sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment for espionage, and the other woman, a Lett, had been sentenced to 6 years for "revealing secrets". These attempts were made from different camps and at different times.

The "spy" tried to escape on a bright, hot Irkutz day. She went unnoticed from the guarded section where we were working, close to an opening in the forest. She went wandering through the ancient forest amongst the trees and animals. She clawed her way through

the undergrowth, petrified by her solitude and the beasts of prey. She had not been able to find any roads, so when she stumbled across a lake and saw people standing on the opposite shore, she became inexpressibly happy. She just had the strength to call out for help before she fell unconscious . . . She had found a camp! She was taken to prison in rags, almost naked and grey-haired. After an investigation and trial she was transferred to our strict regime camp to serve a 25 year sentence. I knew her from the special Kyiv prison in Volodymyr Street, 33. She had been sentenced in 1947 by the MGB who had detained her in their prison as a "stool pigeon". She had been set up by investigator Kutsenko to try to make his work on me me "easier". She spent about a month in the same cell as me, acting as Kutsenko's eyes and informer. What an uproar I created when I realised I was transferred to another cell — which was cold, dark and had a damp wall (this was the connecting wall to the prison toilets). They let her stay in a cell on the second floor, which was warm and had a proper window. This was "her" cell and prisoners were brought to her for "observation". She was a patient, sympathetic, compliant woman . . .

I was indeed surprised that this women had such a love for freedom that she overcome all her other instincts, or maybe it was precisely this that pushed her into co-operating with the authorities. (After her second sentence. she somehow managed to get into the good books of the camp authorities and took advantage of the various privileges offered to her).

The Lett also tried to escape from the forest, but during the autumn months. However she did not succeed in getting past the guarded section. She hid, instead, in one of the numerous piles of brushwood that were collected in clearance work. By sunset when we were counted, it was realised some one was missing. We were counted several times, divided into our work teams and recounted. This, however, did not show who the missing person was. The officer in charge ordered one section of the guards to search that immense area, while the other was ordered to march us terrified women back to the camp. The search was unsuccessful — the woman had vanished. For three days we had to stay in the camp. They made it hell for us, accusing us all of helping her.

The search continued. They searched for a long time, checking each pile of brushwood. Still, they could not find her. After dinner, they took all the "brush-burning teams" into the forest and announced the decision to burn down the forest so loudly, it echoed . . . There was no response.

The first few piles of brush wood were set alight by the team leaders themselves. (The rest of the piles were ignited on the orders of the team leaders by the workers). The frightened women lit the piles of brush wood, and soon the whole forest was filled with smoke, the wood started to crackle, and the fire flared up . . .

Dirty, with smarting eyes, the petrified but brave woman was smoked out . . . This was a moment of triumph for the angry officer and the guards: they had captured her, and shoving her, led her from the forest. She was beaten and ridiculed by them. She fell and could walk no further, but they continued beating her. Eventually she was taken to prison for an investigation. After six months had passed, she was seen in the hospital. She had received a 15 year sentence. She was extremely ill, and had paid dearly for trying to remain human . . .

Close to the railway there were several camps, both men's and women's. The camp closest to our zone about 2 km away, and was a lumber camp. Teams of weak women often worked close to that camp, sawing fire-wood. They worked all day with their saws, trying to chop wood. This work was considered "easy" . . . While working, they could hear the whirring sound of some primitive machinery coming from the men's section, where those primitive little wooden huts were being constructed for us to then lay along the Tashkent railway. Everyone who could still walk or drag their swollen legs, was forced to work. During the day, there was hardly anyone left in the camp itself — everyone was at the "workfront".

A strict female orderly cleaned the barracks. She had plenty of work. However, this work was considered to be a privilege. The camp authorities would only assign a woman who had a strong character and would keep them happy by letting them know all that went on between the workers and team leaders. During winter months those who were sick were ordered to help the orderlies.

It was always quiet in the camp, and it was only on the seventh day that there seemed to be any life at all.

We were allowed to visit other barracks although not many did this, as the weak and exhausted would simply lay on their beds making the most of this opportunity to take a rest.

In the winter, when the temperature fell below 40° C., we did not have to work. These were "unofficial holidays" when we rejoiced in the same way that school children rejoice when they hear that their teacher has fallen ill. On these days, it seemed that nature herself had taken pity on us: we were legally, only allowed to rest on one day out of seven (we had no holidays). However, the camp authorities seemed to think that even this one day of rest was too much for us, and on these "holidays" they forced almost half the workers to collect firework for three or four hours, and even on Sundays, we were often forced to do additional work. Those team leaders, servile to the authorities though could rest, and sometimes they would even eat — albeit secretly, with them. This personnel was dreaded by the zeks, and even the authorities could not always cope with them . . . They were tainted with all kinds of evil.

*translated by Lesia Dyakivska
(To be continued)*

Anatoly RADYGIN

ON, TO THE PASTURE, CALVES...

The colonel from the Moscow Centre was a small man, but well fed and choleric in his movements. He burst into the prison carpentry shop of Vladimir jail, a clown, with a tornado of smiles and pleasant words, radiating benevolence. With a majestic gesture of his hand, he pushed the gang of prison officers out the door: "Go, enjoy yourselves! I have a lot to talk about with the boys!" Just like that. Father figure, a real friend, one of a kind.

— "Boys! As you all know, I belong to that leadership, so hated by you. You can curse me, you can call me names, but I would advise you to use the time we have for serious complaints. I am not minimizing my position — I have power. Just like an English Skipper: First after God and the King! Well, who will be the brave one?"

For the old Gulag wolf, this tactic was nothing new. It has been tried many times, researched in practical use, proven to give the bosses many advantages. It always had the effect of a surprise, with nothing really said or promised. The colonel knew that everybody would sing, like a choir.

And he was so right. They all screamed at the same time. The experienced prison administrator had heard all of it before, but paid attention only to things he wanted to her.

— "There is no cheap sausage in the store? Of course, that's terrible! We'll fix it! What, the towels in the baths are torn? I shall take care of this personally!"

Of course, those, who had real complaints against the prison system were screaming too, trying to get their facts to the colonel's attention. Drastic irregularities in the prison regime and during convoys; prosecutor's (procurator's) degrading control; deadly conditions in isolation cells; absolute negligence of the prison medical system... The colonel pretended not to hear all this. He jokingly fenced around with those, who wanted to improve their "motherly prison", leisurely laughed at the opponents, ironically talked about the prison authorities, and expressed vulgar statements about the female section of the prison. The greedy, hoping for cheap sausage, even without the colonel's help, cried down the "principalists", "Can't you wait, you guys?"

However, when the "principalists" stubbornly got through, when they put their requests forward, the colonel showed his claws. And what claws! Although he saw us for the first time he impressed us

immensely with his faultless knowledge of our names, cases, etc. He knew all our complaints, even personal ones, and he shut us up with short, but cruel and cynical, rejections. He proved to us that he knew all our written complaints and memoranda, he knew all our personal letters, he even could recite verse of our poetry. Without the slightest hesitation, he cited the names of our dearest, our friends and acquaintances on the "outside".

Time, which was mainly spent on talk about the cheap sausage, ran out. His job done, he disappeared back into the KGB fold.

Say, a writer wrote a book. Then another. And a third. And more. But it would have been better, if he didn't write even the second one! He started from a sound, solid, rational base, but deteriorated into primitive anti-semitism, into diabolical pamphlets about his prison friends and fellow writers... But the original idea was quite new, maybe even unique. What happened? In the Moscow KGB Centre, they created the Thirteenth Directorate, which started digging in diabolism, in protocols of ancient inquisitions, in histories of burned or drowned witches and, of course, in biographies of professional revolutionaries. This Directorate, after discarding everything useless, found correlation in mutinies, insurrections and rebellions of all kinds, and the psychological roots of any political and creative activity, plus some hereditary factors and defects, including the relationship, if any, between minds of geniuses and those with some psychological anomalies. Why go to all that troubles? Simply, to find out about the behaviour of any human being from barely noticeable symptoms sooner than the human being in question could find and understand its own creative, revolutionary or counter-revolutionary susceptibility. H. Klimov's book "King of the World" led us to look deeper into the fascinating differences between clumsy Kremlin words and their almost faultless actions.

Actually, any of the Kremlin's "leaders" can change blessings into curses on the march, without halting, can take off their shoes to pound the highest tribunal of the world, ex academia can announce one idiotic doctrine after another, and, at the same time, somehow miraculously, one nation after another are becoming Moscow's satellites, peoples after peoples turn into recruits of communist aggression, democracy after democracy being to try to follow the "master's" example. Maybe, behind the Kremlin curtain, there lives a diabolical mind, which can even force the Chairman to stage small "defeats", in order to destroy the more easily all those, who lightly heartedly fall victim to such deception.

Some politically maniac persons think that the world "is ruled by masons". Or by "blue internationale, namely homosexuals". Or "everything is ruled by gangsters". They might say that the Soviet power was reared by American giants of the Dow Chemical, Boeing or Standard Oil type in order to spur the arms race and war profits. Or even something like, "Hitler was a Zionist tool, destined to kill less

worthy Jews, in order to tilt the world's sympathies to the rest of them...".

I am not one of those paranoiacs who believe in invisible armies of paid agents.

In the Twenties, Poland wholeheartedly pursued an infamous policy of "polonization". Ukrainian activists were jailed by the thousands, all traces of Ukrainian literature and philosophy were destroyed. At the same time, in contrast, Kremlin pursued and gave its blessings to a so-called "ukrainization". In the occupied Ukraine, the blue and yellow flowers of Ukrainian flags blossomed as never before. Warsaw forced Ukrainians underground, and Moscow allowed the best and most independent Ukrainian minds to rise. Those minds — together with the heads — were later mowed down with one swift movement of the Russian scythe. In such a way the Ukrainian elite perished, and the others were then killed by an artificial famine manufactured by Russia. Today, the western Ukrainians are blaming the eastern ones for too little activity and lack of leadership...

The red eminency behind the iron curtain grins.

Khrushchev's thaw undoubtedly came against the wishes of the red cardinals of Kremlin. But even this inconvenience did them some good... One well known KGB man said quite openly: "The loudmouths, who want to emigrate, we shall kick out; the ones who don't we will put into prisons. The rest shall be bought or scared". There is no doubt today, that sometime at the end of Khrushchev's time and the beginning of Brezhnev's the list of the three categories mentioned were ready.

According to Klimov's books, dissidents and freedom-fighters are nothing but vile psychopaths, hysterics, degenerates, unclean inside and out, idiots and racial invalids. However, on the other hand, in all this world, dominated by diabolic forces, the only overworked wisemen, the only physicians, healers and helpers are the Tchekists, who, it seems, are only pushing the buttons of psychological needs of the people (but, of course, he never says a word about the buttons on grenades and the triggers on sub-machine guns!).

Klimov might have a point there. After disinfecting his writings of outright slanders, after cleaning them up of pathological anti-semitism, you can find, that he might be — after all — even right! It is true that the Tchekists are even more energetic, more intense toilers, and much more efficient and professional than we are. They have only one dark purpose — and we? We have dozens of enlightened, unique ideas! They have fantastic forces at their disposal, and we aren't even collecting ours. They are extremely well organized — in contrast to us, in the past as well as in the present. The red cardinals know perfectly well the highs and lows of the human mind. Using the limitless experimental human material (and possibly even the Inquisition records), they long ago calculated the elements of human resistance against death, shock and torture. They have already

calculated the different combinations of national and racial characteristics, and they are duly prepared to meet head on the infinite religious deliriums as well as the bottomless zoological excesses of human nature.

Mirage of Helsinki

At the time when Silesia belonged to Germany, the local Poles were severely persecuted; when it was transferred to Polish domination, the Germans complained of persecution; when Alsace was ruled by France or Germany, the discontented and dissatisfied only changed places. But neither Bismarck, nor the French kings, nor Russian tsars, nor even Hitler ever envisioned the idea, so brilliantly simple, just to clean out the disputed territories of people; kick out the Poles from Western Ukraine, the Tartars from the Crimea, the Prussians from Prussia, including even the elimination of the name of their country. Only today's Moscow could get that brilliant idea. Besides, why not? The Fuhrer, the Duce, Daladier and Chamberlain are not with us any more; formally Sudetenland is ruled by the Czechs, practically by Moscow. The unruly Germans were thrown out of Sudetenland, but the Kremlin continued for twenty long years to patiently look for Germans and Czechs "who would in the Kremlin's opinion, never have agreed to take part in any Munich plot from the very beginning". Why? Because in Moscow, they know very well the price and potential of a piece of paper, of a license to oppress and punish . . . On the other hand, during this century alone, legalistically, on the battle fields and in the fire of uprisings, Ukraine was proclaimed twice as an independent and free nation and as such renounced and denounced the Pereyaslav treaty. However, today, if any Ukrainian, no matter whether he be a peasant or a state minister, would just try to say a word about the sovereign rights of the Ukrainian nation, every Russian, starting with a marshal down to a corporal, would tell you without hesitation: "They (Ukrainians) wanted it!". Such Russians would regard it as ridiculous if a contemporary Ukrainian would demand his freedom rights based on the guarantees of Cossack rights enumerated in the Pereyaslav treaty. And we?

Let us realize for how many years (almost fifteen) Moscow stubbornly and persistently demanded the convocation of the Helsinki conference. She insisted on it up to a point of ridicule. Didn't they realize in Kremlin how the freedom-loving people would grab at the "Basket Three . . .? Let us be frank about it, European liberals are very forgetful about Russian treaty-breaking, the American ones are simply naive and uneducated, but how about us? We were beaten hundreds of times by Russian cynicism, and we should have raised an alarm and rejected this treaty out of hand, at once, the treaty which is nothing less than an all-European Pereyaslav.

I believe that if the human rights articles were not included in the Helsinki treaty, the Kremlin itself would have put them there. Why?

Just to enable us all, beginning with presidents of great nations down to nameless prisoners, to start fighting with misplaced joy for such rights, which, of course, Moscow cannot give, because national suicide is not fashionable just yet!

So how do we dare, struggling for personal rights, even the miserly ones bestowed by nature, to defend (and *eo ipso* to ratify a document which, in itself, condemns great nations to slavery, without even bestowing the right "to watch for implementation" of one of the most scandalous treaties of our time! The impertinent and brazen orders of Moscow Gauleiters were turned, with the help of the Helsinki treaty, into respectable laws, that from now on should be safeguarded even by great world democracies. In the end, as you see, not only Polish and German Quislings justified Russian annexations, but so also did the great free nations of the world, that approved of the vassal situation in Eastern Europe, the occupation of Baltic nations, the existence of two Germanys along with Berlin's case. No one even talks about the fate of fifty million people of Ukraine or about the five thousand year history of Armenia. The signatories of Helsinki are obligated, on their own initiative, to stop the political activity of exile governments, emigre parties and groups. And, of course, they should continue to pass anti-colonial resolutions, blaming South Africa, Pinochet, trying to convince the Israelis to leave Israel, and "watching for implementation". That's how we got stuck with the new motives for protesting, because the previous ones — pointing out the Constitution and Declaration of Rights — became too old. To me it looks like a display of crucifixes by the unfaithful.

How must the red cardinals laugh about our political infancy. If the Vladimir prison could find it possible to always give us new towels, they would from time to time issue some old and dirty ones, just to give us a motive for protest, for fight, for "victories". And we would heroically fight for the right to be shot with bullets of smaller calibre!

Ocean of Information

Almost in every issue of Russian emigre newspapers and magazines we find articles and materials from behind the iron curtain. These are trial minutes, descriptions of police searches, authentic speeches of defendants, etc. Sometimes, even news about arrests of exactly the people who were collecting this information. This is a dangerous job, very courageous activity.

Simas Kudirka, who was returned to the Russians by an American ship captain, was devastated by a Russian trial, raked through prisons and camps, and finally saved by outraged world opinion and diplomatic intervention at the highest levels. Victory? Absolutely. But at the same time when his defenders celebrated his and their victory, ten Catholic priests in Lithuania were literally kidnapped by

security organs. Now, who knows their names? Where they tried and for what? Where are they now? Why did our information system in this case prove to be so inadequate? Why do we know nothing about Kalinin, who was shot? Who can tell us something about the fate of the sailors-mutineers of the Baltic Soviet Navy? How come, we receive the minutes of the Sinyavski or Ginsburg trials so quickly, yet now we know nothing about them? How do we explain such selectivity?

In the camps we never met any persecuted censors, any special troops commanders, any judges, or heads of secret departments. But according to the Soviet laws (remember, it is not America), for leaking vital secret information, heads would roll. Somehow, I, a small fish in my opinion, was tried in a locked room and during my final speech, all sergeants and soldiers were removed from the courtroom, having been replaced by officers and trusted KGB agents. However, during Yakir's trial, hundreds of people in Moscow knew all the details of the investigation and progress of the trial. Face-to-face witness confrontations, texts of questions, demands and refusals were at once known to the widest circle of people...

No one doubts the personal courage, civility, high jurisprudence and culture of Valery Tchalidse. Anyone could tell with absolute certainty, that if he were put behind bars (and according to Tchekists scales, he earned lots of sentences), he would have been a very principled and exemplary prisoner. But, with what efforts and pressures the red cardinals pushed him out of the country. They knew that Tchalidse would persistently collect and print everything that might be received from court benches and from sentenced persons... And then, when you happen to be looking through thick volumes of documents, collected with such efforts and risks by "Chronicles" and other publications, you might find yourself wondering about the unanimous choir of those pages: "We are not against the Soviet regime!", "We are for socialism!", "We are for the Soviet Constitution!", and going as far as "We are against American capitalism!", "We have nothing in common with Israeli militarism!".

On the other hand, you couldn't compile even a thin brochure from the documents, where you might read: "I am an enemy of the Soviet system!", "We reject socialism totally!", "We are enemies of Soviet-Russian imperialism!", "Leninism is a cannibalistic doctrine!"... Yes, such words are extremely hard to find.

The Israeli Air Force won all the air battles in all four Arab-Israeli wars. It was like God's whip upon their enemy — on land, on sea and in the air. But half-illiterate Egyptian infantry, inside one hour with the help of SAM-rockets, destroyed half of this outstanding force... Even the majority of Soviet military personnel did not know about the existence of those rockets until the Yom Kippur war. Well then, how does the secrecy in the matters described above look now...? The discovery of those secrets was the aim of the Israeli

Secret Service, not of dilettante dissidents! We laugh at the crude KGB-ists, thinking that we can perforate their shields without their consent. The examples of Kozlov, Penkovsky, Belenko and Stashynsky only serve to support the principle. The Soviet system kept millions of peoples for decades without any communication, in or out. I have already written about the hundreds of thousands of prisoners in camps, who received the first news about World War II as late as 1943...

The amount of real information and truth is measured out in proper doses by the Department of Propaganda of the Central Committee, under the auspices of Andropov and Yepishev.

Calves and Oaks

In Russian folklore, the notions about "oaks" are represented quite variantly. They are not only symbols of persistent hardness, although immovable; the "oak" with all its synonyms is a symbol of a strong, but limited, almost mindless, human being.

But, maybe there are some true "oaks"?

In the school of my former Naval Corps, the professors and lecturers formed the top layer of the Navy. It was composed of rational, intelligent, educated people, in some cases even descendants of old Russian sea-faring dynasties, who enjoyed our attention and respect, in addition to the required discipline. One could learn a lot from them and we all had dreams of following their examples. But the administration and lower echelons of sergeants and petty officers belonged to a completely different social group. They managed very quickly to get rid of the "liberal front-officers" and, literally in front of our eyes, those weak-minded buffoons changed the school into a stuporous and stupid barrack camp. They liked to tell us anecdotes, only proving their limited brainwaves, but required from us approval, based on their power. We knew their hinterland war-heroics to no lesser degree than we knew the real battle of our front-heroes. However, at times, this crowd of half-idiot suddenly changed its attitude, and then they would work in harmony, in an atmosphere of pseudo-humanity, which is hard to describe. That happened, when there arose a need to construct some accusation against someone, of course, an accusation based on nothing, but made to fit everything! Then we learned to really fear them.

Another detail. They announced, half-wittingly, that they would start to teach us some creative writing and editorial tasks. I too happened to fall into this business somehow, in order just to see and learn what those expert cooks of social realism were doing. Some of them I knew personally. Almost no one was a shining talent, their prose excelled with helplessness, their poems were pitiful, their articles shone with mindlessness. No erudition, no vocation, no moral self-search. But in the West, I found real books and only then I realized what those cooks did to the books of the world, namely, how,

with some kind of animal instinct they changed a word here, a phrase there. You had to search for a full chain of such changes, to realize how the real text could be damaged and modified to fit the needs of the ideological desert of their own minds.

Oaks? Absolutely. Every one of them, personally. But why, when they all come together, do they surrender to some diabolical spirit, almost pathological in its nature of super organization and painstaking servitude...?

How about the calves? Solzhenitsyn conducted a long war against the Central Committee and the KGB. But now we know that they used other weapons against him, besides the graphomans from Riazan and editors from Moscow. The "oaks" were thinking more seriously, analyzing more deeply, observing more profoundly and — sorry, Mr. Nobel-laureat, — they knew more.

They knew why the stunning book of the imprisoned Zionist G. Margolin was never printed in Israel and never even translated into Hebrew.

They knew how Arkady Belinkov would be greeted — and buried — by Russian emigre literature and American liberal professors.

They knew why Marina Tsvetayeva wandered around Europe, so lonely and poor.

It was not so hard to envision the future social and personal beliefs of Solzhenitsyn, Nekrasov or Maksimov, particularly when they made no secrets about their creative plans. Alexander Arkadiyevitch Halitch remained a nice person, a good poet; but, for some reason, he was not the sovereign of human mind any more, a man whose every word was being sought, learned, repeated from house to house, from camp to camp...

It was not so hard to guess, that the main principles of independence from any social, national, party-line or even anti-party requests, and his relationship only to and with the Divine Word, which was believed and taught by Andrei Donatovitch Sinyavsky before his imprisonment, would be met in prison and during his banishment with no less hate, even on the other side of the border. The Lubyanka experts of the international press knew perfectly well, who among those, who danced around the Sorbonne for thirty years and were never invited inside, would attack Sinyavsky in such hooligan articles, that even Zhdanov did not have the nerve to write.

From under the curse, believed by no one, the Masters were pushed into infamy, that could still be believed by many...

The red cardinals let Medvedev leave at exactly such a time, when his grass-roots socialism was desperately needed by European merchants. They freed Amalrik exactly at such a time, when his version an inevitably Russian-Chinese conflict was as never before needed by American disarmament believers and all protectors of detente, isolationists and deserters.

At the time, when a GULAG-colonel freely cited amateurish

prison verses, could not the really serious socialists rightly guess, when and for what would Ivan Ivanovitch name Ivan Nikiforovitch a "goose" . . . ? It was not so hard to imagine, that the young literary colts, who — as they saw it — slapped the face of Soviet community, should have even less success in the West than at home and, in the end, would begin to hate this "decadent" Western world much more than their former East, simply because it is quite safe to do so!

You can rightly guess that propagation of Plekhanov-socialism in today's Russian society leads to prison and in the minds of lower strata it never reaches beyond "primitive misunderstanding" and open hate. But here, in the West, where such socialism became a rainbow dream of university professors and do-gooder businessmen, Marx could be defended more actively than it is done by comrade Marchais and imperialism can be cursed even more angrily than it was done by comrade Mao!

Was it so long ago, that all of us were reading with limitless gratefulness books issued by "Posev"? Did we not receive from the pages of this magazine our first political indoctrination? However, no one counted how many articles in this magazine and how many books from this publisher not only did not correspond to, but were outrightly contrary to, solidarist doctrines. Then who is really more tolerant? Who "works for the TCHEKA"? Beautiful, although cruel, was the method used by Russian thieves, groundless accusation counted for irreversible suicide . . . Knife or hatchet got its victim everywhere, no matter, how far or how long he was hiding.

And what about us? Just a little pressure, a little remark from Moscow, an innocent question from a pink congressman, first rumor about liquidation or limitation, and without any "spies", the life and work of Radio "Liberty", becomes a dogfight, full of mutual accusations of fascism, anti-semitism, anti-americanism and russo-phobia . . .

How come, so suddenly, yesterday's victims of Soviet oppression are showing such medieval boatsfulness not unlike the British barons of old, who despise their own intelligence service no less than the hostile ones? Just listen to what you hear: "You know, he is working for . . .", "Did you hear, she is in the service of . . .", "And his house, P. bought with the money from . . .". It is shameful, how far the fear of spies and tendency to gossip can go.

The group lieutenant enters his barrack office and exclaims loudly: "Sidorov, come in here". Sidorov follows him, sits for a full hour, while the lieutenant keeps looking through some papers and then says: "Okay. Next time. Go." Outside a crowd formed in the meantime. "What did he say? What did he want to find out?" Answer: "Well, nothing . . .". Perplexity on the surrounding faces. Some time next week. "Sidorov, Ivan Pyotrovitch, come in!" And the same story. Another week. "Pyotrovitch, step in!" And then . . . what then? A growing uneasiness, distrust, estrangement, unjust and unearned

contempt, destroyed good name... In such a way, the KGB keeps creating psychopaths, jealous and stupid enough to see spies everywhere — with clear profit for the system. "Andrei Donatovitch, you can take your icons with you!", "Alexander Ivanovitch, we are not confiscating your archives...". O, you blind defenders of emigre vestments.

The red cardinals grin behind the curtain. They are already bringing the sword to the Kremlin toreador! Oh, calves, how about changing into bulls? How about stopping the hits on the mullet, painted to look like an oak? How about aiming somewhat more accurately? How about hitting the heart...?

Those Poor Prisoners

During the war, on the Soviet side of the front when a military unit of Asian or Caucasian recruits appeared, the Germans would organize a real circus. They would designate one sniper and bring closer one mortar unit. The sniper would shoot one of the Asians and all his friends at once would assemble around him. The Germans just waited for this to happen. Then the mortar unit would go into action, resulting in the Soviets having to take many wounded to field hospitals...

All, absolutely all former prisoners, after leaving the Soviet Union, keep talking about prisons and camps, about fellow prisoners and camp inmates. Constantly and repeatedly. All appeals to senators, diplomats, the United Nations, and the churches; all demonstrations and hunger strikes — all of it centres around the prisoners. However, to talk about unrelenting Soviet aggression and traditional diplomatic treachery — there is not enough time left over.

The red cardinals threw us out to the West in quantity and quality and we, in our Babel-tower noisemaking, often politically quite semi-literate, most likely once and for all time truly compromised the political emigration from the USSR by becoming deadly boring... Even now, all you hear about is indignation about old towels...

I remember, how one very well known political prisoner always ended his protestations. He kept sending his many-page memoranda to all prestigious and not so prestigious institutions, with pathetic accusations against world atheism, world injustice, always finishing them off with words, "... and, therefore, I am asking for an additional CARE-package". How much effort, how many dangers on the road to Western tribunals, and once there, in self-justifying anger, we are trying to move foreign hearts with reports about inhumanly unjust cancellations of our communist party cards...

Large and small committees, large, merium and quite small movements. A particularly satanic smell is coming from one of them; the "Komitet Pomotschi Sovietskym Spiw-witchyznianykam" — Committee to Aid Soviet Compatriots — KPSS. Funny, the same

letters are carried by "Kommunisticheskaya Partia Sovetskavo Sojuza" — KPSS — the Communist Party of the Soviet Union... And all those micro-demonstrations confusing already confused reporters... For instance, the New York Jews managed to organize a hundred thousand strong demonstration on Fifth Avenue, but did it spare Israel a slow cooling-off of American public opinion? And the local gays gather their thirty-five thousand to march in exactly the same way. How can we possibly match them in numbers and organization? Who can we influence or frighten? And everywhere sheep gather together separately from the rams...

My friend, a professor at a great American university, slavish expert, anti-communist and author of anti-Kremlin books, got into a fight with his son because he joined the U.S. Army. And, when it came out that he joined the Green Berets, his family locked him out of the house for good. But we, in order to preserve the good will of such "allies" (and the professor is one of the best), in order to find "understanding", in order to "avoid Belinkov's mistake" — are wholeheartedly agreeing with spineless American liberals and, together with them, are cursing the rightists more than the leftists, the white racists more than the black ones, we tolerate student hooliganism and, in defending our prisoners, we are using their arguments, even their rhetoric.

Defence of all political prisoners... Really, all of them? Well, tell me, who are those poor martyrs, who deserve the same defence efforts as Moroz or Superfin? What are they suffering for? Maybe for the same kind of deeds as my neighbors in Vladimir prison, the the generals of Beria? Who knows their names? What jobs did they have when their governments were in power? And terrorists, such able executioners of sportsmen and children? Even the United Nations declared their acts "political"! And was not Lenin a political prisoner? And Stalin? Adolf Hitler was a political prisoner too! And Gomulka? And Bela Kun? And Husak? And how many "Fidels" and "Iidi Amins" are now behind bars, planning their future cannibalistic moves? I think, it is better for me to join the thieves union!

Do not scorn me, gentlemen dissidents!

Defence of heterodox prisoners of conscience. Beautiful formulation. And so absolutely defenseless in front of KGB cynicism, "We punish you not for heterodoxy, but for hetero-activities!" Real prisoners of conscience are probably only the religious ones. What about Kuznetsov and Zossimov with their almost-hijacked planes? Should we leave them without a defence? What about those whom they catch crossing frontiers? What about those, who distributed leaflets? We are talking about activities — brave, courageous, but are they beyond heterodoxy (different thinking)...? Should we turn away from Brazinskaus? Germans are being killed with machine gun fire at the Berlin Wall, in Batumi every day some would-be border-crossers fall into the hands of KGB. They are killing us anytime and

anywhere they wish to do it, and we are afraid to mention one dead stewardess!

Save the sick prisoner! Help the delicate woman-prisoner! Well, and if he or she is not sick yet? Shall we rescue sick Volodymyr Sypov, and leave Volodymyr Bezyhlyj in the starving Vladimir prison just because he is not terribly sick yet?

True, they are looking for a way out — in the free world, in the camps and abroad. In Amnesty International they are shuffling files. Politicals? Counter-revolutionaries? Who should be given preference? A pale youth with feverish eyes is blubbering about “the just Plekhanov way” or “the right Trotsky way” to overthrow the world bourgeoisie — that is a real political. And the Lithuanian freedom-fighter, who fought against two mighty armies — Soviet and German — during World War II? A long camp sentence, five years isolation, injuries from camp uprisings, and now what, should he be considered a “bandit”, the way the KGB label him?

Another real problem — Yuriy Shukhevych. What was he sentenced to thirty years for? During the war he was just a child, too young to be a freedom-fighter, but he was “thinking differently”. What is more, he refused to renounce his father, Commanding General of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army — UPA — a real “Banderist”. Well, what slot to put him in — the clean or dirty one? Should he be defended, or is he a bandit?

We should demand and threaten, not meekly entreat! We need to have a minimum of senile cries and a maximum of iron in our voice!

And what happens when we will be victorious? Moscow might screech a little bit, but it will let all prisoners go. Many thousands with official signs “especially dangerous to the state” and maybe even a good hundred thousand of those so-called real criminals from the Archipelago. What would we do then? Should we sing in unison, “You are the victor. O, Galilean!” Or maybe we should begin to love the Soviet Union? And the Kremlin — will it love us? Will we return in marching columns to the USSR? Should we bathe with our joyous tears the party cards returned to us? And what about a reduction in the number of tank divisions poised over Europe’s frontiers? Will the Soviet rockets reduce their range? Will Soviet African and Asian “safaris” be stopped? Maybe, they will even let Ukraine secede from the Soviet Union? Or, maybe, after talks with Turkey, they will also let the ancient Armenian nation re-emerge in freedom?

Well, gentlemen, after the the “prison question” disappears, those problems shall present themselves and those problems shall conquer our hearts and minds. If we lose now our shiny armours, our law-defenders’ togas, and our martyrs halos, who shall we become?

Do not worry. The “prison” problematics shall not disappear. If, suddenly, the political prisoners should die out, like dinosaurs, the red cardinals shall teach their actors with more persistence and talent than ever, how to suffer for the “right” socialism and how to send

appeals to UN-servants on behalf of their generals... The Kremlin likes it, when a dissident vegetates on a miserable camp ration and in iambus pentameter sends his curses against South African racists. The Kremlin likes it, when the prisoner, after exhausting all available appeals, suddenly receives a food package from some foreign communist nest.

We, self-adoringly believe, that we grew into a power, which forced the Kremlin to look at us with fear in their minds. But could not the red cardinals find enough experienced ways to get rid of us, once and for all, without leaving a trace? Valery O. crossed the Norwegian border. In those time, in the fifties, Moscow enjoyed some measure of trust in the world. They wanted Valery back. So, during one night, one night, mark you, they prepared the case about Valery being a murderer. Tens of officers of the KGB and BVD created a thick file with numerous testimonies by reliable witnesses, with material proof, photos of the murdered man, Valery's fingerprints, with statements from medical and ballistic experts, even with transcripts of interrogations of Valery himself, although he was never in their hands before! They crowned this materpiece with a report from the militia about Valery's flight from his guards, resulting in infraction of the Norwegian border... And all those documents were scrupulously and chronologically assembled as if it all happened months ago... The Norwegian authorities were overwhelmed. Valery was returned to the Soviets. But when they got him behind KGB bars, he was not accused of any murder. They even let him read his own "case"! The KGB officers, one of the authors, wanted to show-off, and Valery — well, he had a sense of humour...

Could not the red cardinals go to this little bit of effort to provoke, simulate or outrightly compose similar stories about any one of us? Would they have had very much trouble in burying Sakharov ceremoniously in the Kremlin wall, at a time when he was still talking to them privately? Who injured Arkady Belinkov in Italy — a negligent Italian chauffeur, or an experienced KGB racing driver? If it were not for Stashynsky's confession, Bandera and Rebet would not have become martyrs, they would have just died from heart attacks... They can either liquidate in a clean way, or they can do it in a "wet" way, as they did with Michaelis — no one knew for sure, but everybody got the wind and became scared! The presence of political prisoners supports terror inside the Soviet Union occupies reporters' time, and fills up space on the pages of the Western press. And the presence of as yet not arrested dissidents creates the impression of "some changes". The existence of "peaceful ways" paralyzes action, bold or desperate. "When salutary evolution is possible, why risk your life?" In addition, it creates angry suspicion, "I am in prison, and Peter somehow enjoys freedom", or "Chaim, the engineer, long since lives in Israel, and I am sentenced for Zionism".

No, we have not as yet learned to defend ourselves and to defend our comrades!

I am not going to humiliate any decent prisoners (even the weak ones) and the dissidents (even the leftist ones). In the end, the pale juvenile and the redneck partisan are getting the same sour, rotten bread. I think that dissidentism is a courageous demonstration of not participating in evil-doing. But, how to become a participant in the good, without waiting for big revolutions and lucky chances? There are people, who do not write books, are not creating new philosophies, do not organize underground cells of resistance. They do not contemplate being invited to presidents' White Houses. But — to assemble children of prisoners to a modest Christmas tree; to send a package into the depth of a Siberian mine; to bring a semi-literate peasant mother to a rare camp visit; to send the prisoner books, magazines, a nice birthday card for a day forgotten even by him — this is almost a samaritanian sacrifice, heroic modesty and . . . danger, danger no less deadly than the danger of noisy protestors and demonstrators. I salute them!

On the first day of World War I, a German submarine, U-9, sank three English line cruisers. One after another. Because instead of an immediate, tenacious attack against the submarine, the English halted to help pick up the crew of the previously torpedoed ship, which resulted in themselves being hit by more torpedoes. From that day, in all navy manuals appeared a cruel sentence, printed in red ink, "During battle action, navy ships do not halt to save crew members".

Many people found it painful, that, in defending Ginsburg, his chief Solzhenitsyn, used only a few words. But Ginzburg was not a novice — he knew what he was doing. Solzhenitsyn, the old soldier, the hardened prisoner, in a soldierly way just took off his soldier's cap. If this is not a game but war, losses are unavoidable and no one knows whose fate might be the worse yet . . .

From stupid teenagers, the war sculpted cold-blooded and manly fighters. They learned to retaliate for every loss with murderous fire. They learned how to organize "asian wakes", knifing a battalion of amateurs, without a single shot being fired. They learned to put off their moans for later.

And we — we did not learn.

Some time before the Yom Kippur War, I had a chance to show Israel to one of the fresh newcomers from the Soviet Union. He was doubly "fresh" because in a very short span of time he experienced both the so-called "Small" and "Big" Zones; they sent him to a criminal camp just for his application for emigration to Israel. His hair, cut to almost nothing, had not yet had time to grow back . . . He asked me, if they drafted people to the army here (in Israel). Already knowing Israeli customs, I told him that he was the lucky one; they placed me into "Home Defence" because of my age, but he,

being young, he would have a chance to serve in the Army! But my remarks missed the point completely, he said: "I wouldn't like to join the Army! They'll send me to the front, there will be shooting and by chance, one could hit someone of ours!" "Ours?" — I trembled with indignation and anger. "Who do you consider ours, you dog? The Russian interventionists? I, for myself, would not use my last bullet on Arafat himself, in order to get one of such 'ours'!"

So, who and where is ours? And who is the enemy?

Enemies? And suddenly I realized that in Soviet Russia there are no enemies! Meaning that there might be some left, but certainly not from the dissidents' milieu; from the third emigration can not be recruited any assault battalions of the first line nor rear guards to cover the retreat... Opponents, heretics, dissidents, opportunists, revisionists, critics of all colours. Ideology, religion, national demands, moral non-conformism, technocratic ambitions, scientific scepticism — any one you might wish, you can find everyone in this anti-Soviet choir — but not enemies! There are no enemies!

You can find enemies neither in Solzhenitsyn's books and novels, nor in Voynovich's, nor in Galych's, nor in Grossman's. There are sufferers, martyrs, apostles, but no enemies! I found just one in Maksymov's book, and this one was a hunchback! With great embarrassment, self-justifiably, the Nobel-prize author describes the criminal dreams of tortured prisoners — about foreign bombers in Russian skies.

An Italian, who became a fascist, does not deserve any mercy; an inhabitant of Kioto, who put on the uniform of "Japanese militarism" — the same. A German in a brown shirt of Nazism should be destroyed. But, somehow, the Russian, Soviet enslaver, secret policeman or convoy soldier — he is not to be touched! And the world should patiently wait until the above-mentioned Russian machine-gunner or tank crewman changes his mind, becomes a good man, starts believing in God, is reborn in spiritual enlightenment... So, for some the golden tresses of Orthodox priesthood, for others the cradle of socialism, even if a completely miscarried variant, still for others the camp for political hostages, endeared to everyone of us.

But they call us their enemies and even hiccup!

I remember, how during a "retrial" they were releasing one very old prisoner. As a teenager, he fought in Denikin's Army, then in World War II, as a Cossack in the Cossack Division of the German Army, he fought the Soviets at Balaton Lake in Hungary. He never lost his military bearing and Vlassov's vocabulary, not even in the camp. The order for his release came from such high quarters that at the camp level no one dared to change it. But, just for the record, they asked him some questions: "Do you confess to what you were doing?" — "Yes, and I am proud of it!" Then: "What can you say about the accusation against you?" — "I am bearing them as medals

of valour!" Enough. They read very fast: "Release from imprisonment". His answer, "You shall be sorry for that".

Now, Amnesty International, what have you to say to that? We should all, gentlemen dissidents, borrow from him such manly posture and such enmity.

In the sixties, some stubborn prisoners were called into the office and asked this attractive question, "And against China, would you fight?" As for me, I found a way around, "Yes, but not under your colours!" but the majority just drowned in philosophical, religious and other deceptions and self-deceptions, in dozens of doctrines and futurologies just to avoid the possible next question, "And against Russian brothers, would you fight?" I can answer for all of them: They shall not!

In an essay of the late Yuzovsky entitled "Journey to Zlazova Vola" there is an unforgettable episode. A few hundred arrested persons were unloaded at a rail-platform just opposite a death camp. Suddenly, one of the camp inmates came running to this crowd and shouted, "This is Auschwitz! Half of you will be cremated at once!" The crowd started a turmoil, noise, screams, almost a riot. Behind the back of this camp inmate, appeared an SS-man, in lacquered boots. If he had hit the inmate over the head, or used his gun on him, everything would be quite understandable considering the times and the place. However, he did not hit the prisoner, he did not shoot him, he did not even look at him. He just said to the rioting crowd, smiling benignly, "Who are you listening to? Who are you believing? Just look at him!" And the people looked at the two men, there they were, one an elegantly uniformed, cleanly shaved, military man, and the other a hopelessly dirty inmate, with drawn face and thin throat, unwashed, in rags. The first one was smiling quietly — the second, grey from fear, with terror-stricken eyes... The crowd felt secure, even good humored. And the crowd started walking... toward you know where...

We were not shot with a parabellum, or Makarov pistol. There were even times when they did not beat us. Just like this SS-man.

We try to preach, we try to predict, we even try beseeching mankind, crowded on this rail-platform. But right there, next to us, the eager West sees smiling, good-natured diplomats, cosmonauts with two rows of white, shiny teeth, elegant musicians, We — prisoners. not beaten, but pitiful in our silence and pitiful in our rhetoric repugnant in our mutual quarreling, unpleasant in our hunt for available jobs, in our affectatious erudition about privileges, loans and gifts. One girl translator can manage to describe us, completely in ten minutes to the Western listeners and viewers.

And, in the meantime, the still free world calmly walks past us toward crematoriums and gas chambers...

*Translated from Ukrainian
by Zena Matla-Rychtycka*

Newsbrief

CHINESE CONDEMN ANNEXATION OF UKRAINE

Below we print excerpts from a commentary by the New China News Agency made earlier this year and entitled "A mirror that reflects the new tsars — on Soviet revisionism's celebration of the 325th anniversary of tsarist Russia's annexation of Ukraine".

This year marks the 325th anniversary of tsarist Russia's annexation of the Ukraine. According to Soviet newspaper reports, the Soviet authorities held a so-called "celebration meeting for the 325th anniversary of the merger of the Ukraine and Russia" in Kyiv . . . In addition, the Soviet leading clique sent a "congratulatory letter" and the Soviet journal 'Kommunist' also published a commemorative article making a loud noise for the occasion.

To defend the annexation, the Soviet revisionists have even tampered with many facts to distort history. They described the annexation by force as a voluntary "merger". The "congratulatory letter" said that "the merger of the Ukraine and Russia . . . manifested the aspirations of the two sides for unification". The 'Kommunist' article said: "The 'special feature' of the entire history of the Ukrainian people is the hope to unite closely with Russia" . . .

The 'Kommunist' article trumpeted that "the merger was the climax of the liberation war", and that the "liberation war received Russia's continuously assistance and support".

To defend tsarist Russia's colonial expansion, the Soviet revisionists also vigorously trumpeted "the tremendous historic significance of the merger", alleging that this merger "had enabled the Ukraine to shake off national and religious oppression by big landlord and aristocratic Poland eliminated the threat of being annexed by Turkey" and that "it was helpful to the development of the Ukraine's productive forces". But, in a speech, Lenin clearly pointed out that since tsarist Russia annexed the Ukraine, "national oppression has continuously brought about bad results". In 1652 "almost all the inhabitants of the Ukraine, including not only men but also wives and children, could read" but "a general survey in 1897 showed that in Russia, the Ukraine had the largest number of illiterate people and the cultural level of the Ukrainian people was the lowest of all" ("Complete Works by Lenin", third Russian edition, Vol. 16, page 689) . . .

Since it usurped Soviet Party and Government power, the Soviet leading clique has taken over the mantle of the old tsars' Great-Russian chauvinism and has peddled a policy of national oppression, thus intensifying more and more seriously the Soviet Union's national contradictions, enabling the non-Russian nationalities to see more and more clearly the fact that the new tsars and the old tsars are jackals of the same lair, and bringing about greater and greater development of the non-Russian nationalities' resistance and struggle. The new tsars defend the old tsars so that the new tsars can defend themselves. They attempt to use "supporting liberation", "merger", "voluntary submission" and similar words to paralyse the struggle of the non-Russian nationalities to oppose Great-Russian chauvinism.

VATICAN'S U.N. REPRESENTATIVE MEETS UKRAINIAN DELEGATION

Report by Borys Potapenko, director of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians Press Bureau in New York.

The Ambassador from the Holy See to the United Nations, Most Rev. Archbishop Giovanni Cheli, received a delegation of Ukrainian Catholic clergy and representatives of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians to discuss human and national rights violations in Ukraine.

The delegation, headed by Most Rev. Basil Losten — Bishop of Stamford Connecticut, included Rev. Robert Moskal — Chancellor of the Archeparchy of Philadelphia and vice-President of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America.

During the meeting, held at the Mission of the Holy See on April 6, 1979 and which lasted over one hour, Rev. Moskal cited the Pope's letter to Patriarch Slipyj on the occasion of the 1,000 anniversary of Christianity in Ukraine by quoting the Pontiff on the principles of religious liberty . . . "which form one of the basic principles of the U.N Universal Declaration on Human Rights and which are contained in the constitutions of many governments. Based on that principle to which the Catholic Church makes frequent reference, every believer has the right to proclaim his beliefs and to be a member of the faith to which he belongs".

Bishop Losten assured Archbishop Cheli of the continuing and growing concern of all Ukrainian faithful in the United States as well as the Free World for the embattled Ukrainian Churches in Ukraine which have been forced into the "catacombs" since World War II following the mercilous liquidation of ecclesiastic and lay leaders by the Soviet Russian regime.

Having now served seven years as the representatives from the

Holy See to the United Nations, Archbishop Cheli recounted his efforts to prod the United Nations towards acceptance of a declaration on religious rights. He stated that the Holy See is opposed to the politization of this issue and would support only an unequivocal reaffirmation of the right of all individuals to pursue their religious beliefs. Based on the long standing opposition by the USSR, its satellites and other authoritarian regimes to the drafting of a meaningful declaration on religious rights, he held out little hope that it would be completed in the near future, particularly in light of the dismal record of UN attempts to draft such a document over the past two decades. He also said that the Holy See is seeking to alleviate the plight of religious believers by utilizing "quiet diplomacy" through bilateral contacts with governments.

The World Congress of Free Ukrainians representatives acquainted Archbishop Cheli with their efforts at the United Nations on behalf of human, national and religious rights activists in Ukraine. The representatives stressed the historic linkage between these three areas in the struggle of the Ukrainian nation for freedom and independence. They explained how the Soviet Russian regime pursues simultaneous and parallel policies of repressing religious, cultural and national rights in Ukraine because of the mutually reinforcing character that these movements hold for the ultimate emancipation of the Ukrainian nation.

The Archbishop was given several documents prepared by the World Congress of Free Ukrainians, including: "Persecution of Religion in Ukraine", "List of Ukrainian Political Prisoners in the USSR", "Memorandum on the Decolonization of the USSR", "Ethnocide of Ukrainians in the USSR", and background materials on the WCFU.

Since the Holy See has an observer mission and therefore is not a full member of the United Nations, the Ukrainian representatives directed considerable attention to the review conference on the Helsinki Accord, which will be held in Madrid in November, 1980. The Holy See is a signatory and therefore a full partner with the other 34 states which signed the accord. They stressed the need for close cooperation and a common stand by the West on principles 7-human rights, 8-self-determination and Basket II of the Accord; that the failure of the West to stand together on these issues in Belgrade caused a major set back for the Helsinki Monitoring Groups in Ukraine and other countries in the USSR. The failure to adopt a meaningful final document at the Belgrade Conference allowed for massive reprisals against the Helsinki Monitors by the KGB which has decimated their ranks through arrests and long sentences.

Archbishop Cheli pledged to work with the World Congress of Free Ukrainians and that lines of communication will be established between the Mission of the Holy See and the WCFU Human Rights Bureau in New York.

CHRISTENING — THE GROWING FASHION IN UKRAINE

An article in the December 10, 1978 issue of "Radyanska Ukraina" (Soviet Ukraine) reveals Government anxiety at the continuing (and in some cases growing) practice of christening babies in Melitopol Ukraine.

The article attacks those Communist Party functionaries specialising in preaching atheism, for failing in their task.

The article focuses, in the main, on a community of workers responsible for the up-keep of railway lines. It was ostensibly sparked off by an indignant Communist activist who, whilst at a party to celebrate the birth of a fellow worker's child, suddenly realised he was attending a christening party.

A "special correspondent" for "Radyanska Ukraina", V. Desyatnykov, interviewed people concerning the christening. One of the people he interviewed was Oleksander Resnyk, a worker in the railway maintenance department at Melitopol and a member of the Komсомol, the Communist youth movement. Desyatkov writes:

"He (Oleksander Resnyk) was looking after his youngest child Anatholy (they have three children), and was not in a hurry to go anywhere. He made an attempt to give a "theoretical" basis to why he and his wife, Tetyana, were drawn to the Church even though they are non-believers. His argument can be summed up as follows. First of all they are doing the same as "everyone else". Secondly christenings are an old tradition which people do not want to give up. And thirdly — well, parents always want to do the best for their children and christening can sometimes help in life. Anyway, it can never do any harm".

Desyatkov writes that another young couple, Mykola and Lyudmilla Zaptotsky, told him christening gave their three children an "additional chance" in life.

He says the statistics for those who have their children christened are "frightening" . . . religion in the region is quite high and "in some cases on the increase".

The Communists have tried to replace churches with their own ceremonial establishments for events such as weddings and births. These places are called wedding palaces but Dyesatkov says they are used infrequently by couples to celebrate the births of new children. "this particularly applies to the ceremonial registration of births. The figures given me by the director of the Melitopol wedding place L. Chebotar, say a lot. This year for instance, the workers at the wedding palace officiated at 616 weddings but only 5 (!) birth celebration ceremonies".

Dyesatkov says: "I was interested in why religion has been revitalised in the Melitopol Region. The word that I heard the most was "fashionable". It is fashionable amongst the youth to have religious weddings and christenings".

THE POPE AND THE UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

In a long letter addressed to Patriarch Slipyj, the Pope has made an indirect appeal to the Soviet authorities to recognise the right of the Ukrainian Catholic Church (Uniates) in Ukraine to worship according to their conscience, pointing out that the principle of religious freedom "constitutes a basic element in the Human Rights Declaration of the United Nations and in the constitutions of individual states". The letter, dated March 19, was only published by the Vatican newspaper *L'Osservatore Romano* in June, but the Pope had quoted from it during a speech in April.

In the context of the turbulent history of Ukraine, the Pope's words seem to represent a considerable change in the Vatican's Ostpolitik... According to some reports, the Patriarchate of Moscow, soon after the contents of the Pope's letter became known last April, cancelled the visit of an Orthodox delegation to the Vatican. If these reports are correct, the Russian Orthodox Church evidently interprets the Pope's action as contrary to the spirit of understanding between the two churches which was a feature of the Vatican's policy till now.

Pope John Paul's intention to pursue a more active policy in support of the Catholic believers in the Soviet Union is also apparent from his frequent references to the Catholics of the Latin Rite in the Baltic republic of Lithuania whom he mentioned on several occasions during his visit to Poland.

The Soviet reaction was summed up recently by Vladimir Scherbitsky, First Secretary of the Communist Party in Ukraine who spoke of the "urgent task" of stepping up atheist propaganda in the Soviet Union.

MOROZ INTERVIEW BROADCAST TO USSR

During his recent visit to London Valentyn Moroz had an interview with BBC journalist, Janis Sapiets, which was broadcast to Ukraine.

In the interview, which was conducted in Russian, Moroz mentioned some of the interesting ways in which Ukrainians express their nationalism and hostility to the Soviet Russian occupiers.

Below we print a summary of the interview.

Valentyn Moroz said Moscow is in a difficult position at the moment. The world is divided into five power centres, and four of them, America, Europe, Japan and China are increasingly joining hands against the Kremlin, and that is why the Kremlin is feverishly trying to find some way of showing that it, too, can find ways of co-operating with the West. It's an attempt to gloss over the successes

of Chinese diplomacy, which have recently been considerable. And the West doesn't yet realise just how much it could get from Moscow if it would only stand firm. Moscow has no other way out.

Valentyn Moroz pointed out that quite apart from political considerations, economics has an enormous role to play as well. The Arab nations, he said, have realised the power of oil as a weapon and the United States and Canada could also refuse to supply wheat if they disliked certain Soviet measures. But he feels that the West has failed to understand that it is playing against an opponent who doesn't play by the rules.

Mr Moroz said that Ukrainian nationalists envisage the future of their country only in the context of the dissolution of what they call the Russian Empire; this would lead to the establishment of relations between Russian and non-Russian nationalities on an entirely new basis. Here Moroz welcomed the stance taken recently by some Russian dissidents such as Vladimir Bukovsky, who not only demand democratic freedoms, but also support the demand for self-determination for the nationalities of the Soviet Union. And since, for Moroz, Ukrainian nationalism is closely identified with the Catholic church, he welcomed the words and deeds of the new Pope, John Paul II, who, he said, had already achieved more for East Europeans than all his predecessors put together. He added that a Pope who understood the East and the way it has to be dealt with, has long been awaited in Ukraine.

Mr Moroz concluded his interview with a message, in Ukrainian, of greeting and support to listeners in Ukraine.

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL ON HELSINKI MONITORING GROUPS

Amnesty International have recently issued a useful document entitled "*Imprisoned Soviet Helsinki Monitors*" which includes a section on the Ukrainian group's monitors.

Short case histories are given of Mykola Rudenko, Oleksa Tykhy, Myroslav Marynovych, Mykola Matusevych, Lev Lukyanenko, Olek Berdnyk and Pyotr Vins.

Valentyn MOROZ

“HARD MELODIES” — IN MEMORY OF MYCHAYLO SOROKA

Mychaylo Soroka was born in 1911 in Western Ukraine. Arrested as a member of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) by the Polish police, he spent 7 years in Polish prisons prior to 1939. He was rearrested by the Soviets in 1940 and sentenced to 8 years imprisonment for being a member of the leadership of the OUN. He was released in 1949, then rearrested and sentenced to 25 years of imprisonment. Shortly before the completion of his final term of imprisonment he was murdered on June 16, 1971. The authorities refused permission to take his body away from the camp and bury it in Ukraine.

Proud, we carry your coffin, and there is iron in our footsteps.

One does not weep on the grave of a Koshovyi¹. People like you are beyond weeping, beyond pain, and the customary word “sorrow” is not for them. You are not dead. While still alive, you became a monument; people came to touch the monument to feel its strength. I was one of them.

A black eagle soars above Ukraine. The body of the Koshovyi is being carried to its rest. According to the law of the living, your heart was bound to stop a long time ago — yet it was beating still. An iron heart forges its own laws for itself. It could not stop beating — it was moved by the *Commandment*. It could not stop beating — you were the heart of our community. You were the Koshovyi. Your years had been counted long ago but you went on living — beyond your time — and you kept an iron heart in your breast. You were not sure to whom to hand it over.

Where would you find a breast that would not be burned through by it?

Where would you find hands capable of carrying this weight of stone?

You were the Koshovyi. And your forces were camped beyond the Danube, under foreign stars. There, in the far off distance, the tallest were falling under the cold winds of nostalgia. But you supported them with your shoulders of steel because you were the Koshovyi. Many would have fallen were it not for your shoulders of steel. The Koshovyi's task is more difficult than the Hetman's², even in the Great Dnieper Meadow³, in our native land, both by day and by night

1) Ukr. “koshovyi” — Chief of the Sich camp of the Ukrainian Zaporizhian Cossacks on an island below the Dnieper rapids (16th-18th C.).

2) Hetman — Head of the Cossack State; Commander-in-Chief.

3) The Great Dnieper Meadow (Ukr.: “Velykyi Luh”) — the region on the Lower Dnieper where the Ukrainian Zaporizhian Cossacks had their main base.

— among people who are suddenly very strong or very weak; like a mountain stream fed by rainfalls, which knows no middle course: it either roars menacingly in a swollen flood or vanishes, powerless, in shallows among dry pebbles.

You knew how to be a Koshovyi. You were ment *to lead*. And it was not people who made you the Koshovyi of the Cossack Camp but the voice of the *Commandment*. People do not worship the idols which they put up themselves for very long. In times of both bitter frosts, and of fierce rainlessness, your springs breathed in an ever pulse — with the strength of a leader. Their strength was not born of a rainfall. You were not dependent on weather, and because of it you were a *Leader*.

We, who came to the camps from university benches, knew all about wisdom and evaluated everything in the world by that criterion. But we did not know the meaning of *strength*. You upset our criteria. You were different although you were not one who drew attention to himself. You differed from the others but we could not recognize by what, because our university education did not set aside a place for you in the front row. We saw a leader but did not know what it was, because in the world from which we came, *there were no leaders*. There were only slavedrivers there, and we thought that the leader and the slave-driver were Siamese twins, and we hated them heartily. To us you pronounced the word *Leader* cleansed from dirt, and it rang out to us like a psaltery unused for a thousand years. We brought to you our golden hearts, but we knew nothing about the iron heart because the world from which we came did not have iron hearts. That was the kingdom of deadened hearts, and we were accustomed to think that an iron heart was a rusty heart, and hated them both. You showed us an iron heart cleansed from rust, and for the first time we believed that iron could shine brighter than gold. A thick-skinned palm was not a rarity for us, but we always associated a thick-skinned head with it and firmly believed that thick-skinned palms and thick-skinned heads were inseparable. O, there was no shortage of calloused palms in our world! Our entire reality was a kind of wooden symphony, with callouses instead of sharps and keys. And every time that children wanted to have something, they would be shown wooden fingers. And every time when they wanted to see, the world would be screened by a wooden palm. We would ask but they did not know how to answer us and hid behind toiling hands. Callouses replaced everything. Callouses replaced everything: heavy bovine callouses from the long rubbing of a wooden neck by a wooden yoke. In this heavy woodenness one forgot that this had been caused by the yoke.

Bovine necks are usually strong, but never beautiful.

You had beautiful hands. You had the calloused hands of a *fighter*, and we liked them despite their callouses.

Callouses may be beautiful — but not those formed by a yoke.

And everything was not as we had construed it. Everything in your world seemed to be very hard — this was because our hands were soft and incapable of holding.

Everything in your world appeared to be coarse — just as the heavy monumentality of the ancient idol from the river Zbruch⁴ appears to be coarse to one whose tastes have been cultivated on the variety of Baroque. We knew much but our palms were not covered by hard skin. We knew and imagined that our knowledge had a firm foundation. Time winnowed off the feathers — there remained but a heap of broken pieces on a tavern yard brought there by unexpected guests. Anyone had thrown whatever he wanted upon that heap and our home became a tavern in which anyone spat on the floor; our souls became like our home. We learned that we had no foundation and that our erudition was merely a huge storage heap of rusty scrap metal which we would have to remelt to obtain a hard monolith. A heart was needed which would be able to melt iron — but we did not have it. Fire was needed — but we were unable to light it. We just looked on that heap of broken pieces and went on fetching more. But there was no more joy.

We had come upon some barrier — we had to proceed, but farther there was fire. Like the hero of the Edda, we had to get to the middle of the circle, to the world of the hardened, strong, and sound, where Odin the warrior god of the gods, was ruler. And we clearly saw that no amount of slyness would help us because there was a circle of fire, the world of the strong was within that circle. There is only one path to the world of the strong — through the fire.

We had been searching for you for a long time. Without believing that you were possible — we had been looking for you. To take off for a flight, one has to turn up along a hard path first.

Such was our wandering to the water of life. A foreboding told us that *someone* would come and would strike a fire to ignite us.

You, who are cold and have wooden foreheads — do not rejoice! You knew that the heaviest apparel to wear was dirt, and that children would overstrain their legs before they would crawl out upon a clear spot if they have inherited a dirty path. You would have forgiven everything if only one would allow you to dab his conscience with just one, just a single spot of dirt. For the most precious inheritance (you knew this well) is left by those who leave a pure path after themselves.

And he, powerful and strong, made a deep mark upon your consciousness, like a meteor that flew in from deep space.

You have departed.

You have departed in white robes, like Svyatoslav⁵.

4) The idol of Svyatovyd (Sventovit), an ancient Slavonic deity, hewn out of a square block of stone, with bas-relief images of the god looking four ways.

5) King Svyatoslav the Conqueror (960-972), ruler of the Old Ukrainian Kyivan Rus' State.

A huge glow was burning in mighty pillars at the funeral feast, and golden eagles rose from them toward the sun.

The huge pyre at your feast was roaring with its mighty wings, and white horses, dedicated to the gods, galloped toward the sun.

And we, the young ones, stretched out our hands to harden them — and they became hard as diamonds. And we, the young ones, raised our swords, and they rang out clearly, and we understood the meaning of *golden swords*. We crossed the bonfire with our swords and our horses, and emerged renewed. And the spirit of the fire spoke with in us, and we recited the oath, and the fire became our god — the pure fire of Ivan Kupalo⁶, and that spring fire through which the Hutsuls drive their cattle. We drank from Svyatoslav's springs and heard the sweet sound of "Idu na vy".⁷

The fact that a wild eagle is powerful is not his fault. He is powerful because he has strength. And as long as eagles live in the world the healthy voice of "Idu na vy!" will not grow silent

- because strength cannot wither away unused;
- because something cannot be nothing;
- because the sweetest music in the world is born from iron . . .

The huge columns of fire at the funeral feast burned themselves out; the white smoke from your body rose in wisps and disappeared, like Svyatoslav's sacrificial offering, but your heart did not die — it was fireproof, immortal — and we recovered it from the ashes. For it has been beating for a thousand years, since the grey premeval times when the legendary Bozh was king. Your heart cannot stop beating; and it must search for a breast through which it cannot burn through; it must search for palms which can carry heavy rocks. It must do so because a nation in which no one is capable of carrying an iron heart disappears, because God will become angry and take away the sword from the feeble who are incapable of wielding it.

We threw some black Ukrainian soil upon your grave . . . it's time to move on. As a blessing, we lift your iron heart upon our rifles. We know that this is a great burden, but you have taught us the great majesty, which is heavier than all the stone crosses in the world taken together — *the majesty of hardness*.

The years of tempering did not pass in vain.

Our palms have hardened. From your hands we accept the iron heart.

*Translated from the Ukrainian
by Volodymyr Mykula*

⁶ Midsummer Night — in Ukraine it is known as Ivan Kupalo's Night and is connected with customs the origins of which go back to ancient pagan times: bonfires are lit near river banks, young men try their skill in jumping over them, girls make wreaths of flowers and set them adrift on rivers.

⁷ "I am coming at you!" — this was the message which King Svyatoslav used to send to his enemies when he set out on a campaign against them.

THE HEWER

Below we present an exclusive translation by Wolodymyr Slez of Ivan Franko's short story, The Hewer.

Ivan Franko ranks with Taras Shevchenko as one of the most important influences in modern Ukrainian literature, his prose and poetry helping to stimulate Ukrainian national consciousness.

During my long and arduous journey I entered a huge, dense forest and lost my way. The forest chill usually so refreshing, now weighed down upon my breast as a doubt weighs down the spirit. Huge, black branches hung menacingly above, their leaves rustling ominously. Here and there the sharp contours of roots crept up from out of the ground laying snares for my feet, like the hands of mysterious domons of the dark their claws trying to clutch me. Dry, fallen branches crackled under my sandals. To my nervous imagination it seemed to be the very cracking and splintering, the woeful whispering of my withered and wasted youthful dreams. Meanwhile, above this spectacle there reigned a dumb silence, interrupted by the occasional chirr of a squirrel coming from a small branch, or the roar of a bear in the scrub.

I walked on anxiously, numb and speechless, as if some invisible power were driving me forward, but I did not know where. The thick forest completely barred my view of the sun, that bright, unerring wayfarer who, nevertheless, had long since ceased to be the guiding force of my terrestrial path. My heart beat with frantic power in my breast; my ears were tormented by the enormous silence of the ancient primeval forest, and caught the sound of some uncertain stirrings which rang from the very deepest inner layers of my own being: for a moment I could hear the hollow, long-forgotten peal of village bells, the next, the painful, heavy sigh of a dying mother, now a child's naive, warm-hearted prayers, the vibrancy of horrific storms of life, the grating of prison keys, then snatches of cursing and outrage, the silent weeping of jilted love, the harsh ring of despair and the cold laughter of resignation. Under the influence of a melancholy song my mother used to sing, my consciousness sank into somnolence, drowned by the cold darkness, erring in the dense forest. I walked slowly, evermore slowly, though nevertheless continuing to move forward, unceasingly.

I was in a state similar to that of a heavy, painful sleep, made all the more painful by the absence of any visions. A certain feeling of emptiness, that I had lost my way, that there was no exit in sight, that sooner or later my strength would fail me in this terrible solitude, that I might become living prey to the animals, which catch

every scent of life in this primeval forest, — that same feeling did not desert me for one moment, tormenting me and causing me endless pain like a thorn in my foot. Apart from this solitary feeling of pain, I felt nothing else, neither sorrow nor hope. A certain torpor held me in its embrace and had frozen every human quality I possessed save that half-crazed sensation of pain and alarm.

With a desperate effort I leapt over tree trunks which had been blown over in a storm, forced my way through decaying thickets, and scrambled up steep inclines in order to catch a mere glimpse of a wider prospect. It was all in vain. The primeval forest surrounded me on all sides and seemed to be whispering to me through its myriad leaves, the crackling of its branches, the chirr of squirrel and the roar of bears:

— “You won’t escape. Whoever enters the forest must bid farewell to hope!”

It grew dark. The sharp contours of the surrounding features merged with the darkness, forming a complete, solid wall around me. I could not take another step forward, it felt as though my chest, the head and legs were beating against a bolted door. Deathly anxiety almost at one fell swoop tore my eyes from their sockets, but it was useless: my pupils could not detect a single glimmer of light. Tired, I fell to the ground. At that moment the wind, which during the daytime had lounged in the treetops, stirred and gave out a long, doleful cry, like an envoy bearing dreadful tidings to a distant land.

For a moment I lay completely stiff and it seemed to me that the dark demons of the desert quietly whispering their satisfaction, were surrounding me, bending over me, and stretching out their long arms in order to press them against my breast and stop the loud beating of my heart. I jumped to my feet as though a snake had touched me, and in unspeakable dread my eyes strained in search of any glimmer of hope that I might be rescued from this darkness.

And I saw something.

I thought a pale half-moon was slowly passing through the forest piercing the gloom. Occasionally it twinkled and at that moment a kind of hollow creeping sound echoed through the primeval forest like subterranean thunder, and as it went, behind it, a huge forest tree crackled falling earthward. Then, all was still again, and the mysterious crescent shape drifted along an even path through the primeval forest. My eyes thirsting for light were glued to its torpid, tranquil lustre.

Here it came closer and closer and then I realised that there was a perfectly natural explanation to this mystery. Along an untrodden path through the forest walked a man clad in a coarse woollen peasant coat carrying an axe, which gave out sparks that from a distance seemed to be the gleam of a half-moon. I could not make out the man’s face in the dark; the hazy contours of his powerful figure were only dimly visible while his eyes sparkled with a strange fire

amid the gloom. In my anxiety I fell down on my knees in front of him and from a constricted throat could barely manage to say,

— "Help me, I'm lost!"

— "Follow me!" — replied the unknown wanderer in such a quiet, gentle though decisive voice, that I immediately felt new strength pour into my muscles and new hope into my spirit.

And so I followed him. The darkness somehow melted away before him. His path was straight, turning neither to the right nor the left, as if far away in the distance he saw a goal which he had to reach at an appointed hour. On he went not hurrying, without wasting any time, with an even, heavy, but certain tread. The dust shone in his path. Walking behind all I saw in front were the dark contours of his back and shoulders, which, the closer I viewed them the greater they appeared to me to be, growing to enormous thugh in no way unreal proportions.

Presently a dark trunk, giant of the forest, barred our way. Without a moment's hesitation, my guide raised his axe high in the air and with both hands struck it against the mighty obstruction. The forest let out a cry that echoed resoundingly, and with a hideous crackle the tree toppled over as though felled by a thunderbolt, stripping off its branches and those of its neighbours. The owls and ravens that had nested in its arid crown called out, the bats that had lived in its fissures flapped their wings above out heads, and for a while yet the primeval forest had difficulty in calming itself after the loss of one of its sons. But my guide went on ahead without a care, quietly and calmly, and I followed.

And now we were confronted by a black mass, a steep cliff which stood in our way. Its broad columns shot skywards cutting out crude, awensome silhouettes against the dark sky, here looking like gigantic pillars, there like gothic spires, and further still forming vague figures: a sphynx its paws crossed, a hooded monk knelt in prayer, a dromedary its neck stuck out. And again, calmly and without hesitating my guide raised the axe and dealt a powerful blow. A million sparks flew out from under the blade, a clap of thunder shook the earth and the ancient cliff split apart and began to splinter, breaking up and crumbling into small slabs which with a mute rumble went crashing down again somewhere into the gorge, breaking up violently, disintegrating into smaller fragments, levelling out our path. And onward, calm as before, without a moment's diversion from his straight path, marched my guide, and I followed.

Presently a cold breeze blew across my face, ahead coming from underground we could hear the dull rumbling and roaring of a raging torrent. A few steps further a dark gorge gaped before my guide's feet, the chasm of the steep hang of a ravine in whose pit there seethed and spumed a furious current. But even this obstacle did not stop my guide. The blade of the axe flashed, the huge felled tree crackled and its trunk toppled over and across the gulf forming a

convenient pontoon bridge. In rabid, imputent rage the demons of darkness and destruction howled from below, the foaming waves seethed, spraying us with cold foam, however, this did not stop us, we quietly crossed the bridge.

Finally the darkness began to dissipate and the primeval forest started to thin out, shortly we emerged from the trees into open fields and my eyes joyfully greeted the first gleam of the rising sun suspended above the purple, gilt-edged cloudlets. Now I began a close reconnaissance of the immediate surroundings which spread out before us.

It was a sad scene, a huge, endless plain whose borders disappeared somewhere far off in the late morning mist. Not a hillock, bush, nor any trace of a living soul, just the black wall of the huge forest stretching from the north, from one end of the horizon to the other, and around us nothing but the steppe: sparse, dry grass, and the rolling creepers of weed which comprised the solo vegetation. My gaze took off over the plain somewhere into the distance far away, disappearing into the infinite, taking my soul with it, leaving in its place a vague sense of grief, a certain feeling of emptiness, of unfulfilled desires, of boundless endeavour. Foundering under the burden of these feelings I followed my guide silently, and did not look back, however, my gaze scoured the horizon all the more vigilantly for even the slightest of signs, watching out for something which might break this morbid monotony.

And there far away in the distance against the pall of a scarlet skyline, I thought I saw the dim outline of some gigantic bird, which appeared to be sitting in the steppes, its neck stretched out in the air, letting its long beak hang down. Was it a crane on the alert? The closer I came to it the longer its neck seemed to be as it grew and straightened itself; not very far from it another appeared, further on a third, then a fourth . . . They stood in a line, which as I came nearer I saw continue running, stretching; endless, limitless it disappeared somewhere far off in the transparent haze. My eyes, weary of the uniformity of the steppe did not for one moment leave this enigmatic creature. And the closer I came to it the more fearfully my heart beat, the more clearly I discerned the frightful spectacle which this creature represented. The crane's long neck was in reality a long black post, what had appeared to be a bird's head, was in fact the crosspiece of a gallows, and the beak hanging down was someone who had been hung, swinging from a rope to and fro with each gust of wind.

I was paralysed with fright. It was a horrible sight: the corpse was still fresh though half-stripped of its flesh by a bird of prey; there were stains of congealed blood underneath the gallows; the joints of the corpse bore traces of terrible mortal suffering: eyes burnt out, arms baked to a cinder, leg-bones shattered. I glanced

at the gallows further on, it was the same sight, the only difference being that the corpses were older, bare or semi-skeletons; under the gallows lay horrible instruments of torture rusted by blood: thumb-screws, tongs, iron maidens, horrific iron masks, toothed wheels, chains and winches. Further still on the gallows there hung the very last remnants of skulls through which nails had been driven, tarred shirts and crowns of thorns, broadswords and iron claws, and futher . . . no, my eyes could not bear to follow this horrible line of gallows to the end, which now vanished, lost in infinity.

— "My God!" I cried, covering my eyes with the palms of my hands, — "are they all criminals?"

— "No, replied my guide. They are all martyrs".

And laying his axe to one side, he knelt down under the gruesome gallows of a freshly hung corpse. Sustained by a mysterious power I followed his example.

— This is our sacrifice, said my guide bowing his head. Let us pray that this the latest victim, tortured for truth and freedom's sake, will be the last, and from now on there will be no need for such sacrifices".

And falling with our faces to the ground we prayed with our souls, our emotions and our tears, kissing the earth steeped in the martyr's blood. When we stood up again, my guide took the axe in his hand and walked up to the gallows again.

— "Our shrine is in our spirit and in truth", he proclaimed.

— "Those who by their blood have attested to this should be our guiding light not our idols. We shall worship before their victories not their relics".

And so saying he raised the axe and struck. The gallows fell and crumbled to dust, as did all the gallows to the uttermost limits of the horizon. Only a broad belt of fertile, verdant land bore witness to the buried sufferings, battles and victories long since past, of countless generations of human beings. An oppressive, uneasy feeling began to grow in my heart; with increased courage and renewed strength I walked on in pursuit of my guide and felt as though every atom of that ground, the very air, imbued my being with new strength, new thoughts and fresh feelings of growing freedom. I felt myself a true member of that same family, one of the products and heirs of those millennial conflicts and torments, one of the fortunate inheritors of those victories.

Suddenly a huge, dark cloud with sharp, shiny spikes rose from the east, spread itself menacingly, and eclipsed the sun before our eyes. For a moment it seemed that it would drawn us in utter darkness, but it failed to do so. On the contrary, the closer we came, the smaller it became, its contours shrank.

Presently, we saw that it was not a cloud but a huge statue standing in the plain. On a plinth of black couched in a billow of clouds sat the marble effigy of a man, with a long, curly beard, sparkling eyes

and a sheaf of golden arrows in his right hand which was raised high in the air. His head was adorned by a wreath of golden shafts of light, while in his left hand he held a convex shield. The plinth was like a mountain which formed a barrier in our path. The colossus sat on the plinth his head resting in the clouds. At the foot of the statue we saw a countless host of people in the most diverse dress and deportment. Some wore long white coats with garlands on their heads, they danced to the din of monotonous music; while others roasted burnt offerings on flaming bonfires; still others with worried looks, crawled on their knees over sharp stones in order to kiss the black marble with their lips; to one side, clad in irons, slaves, their heads bowed, waited to see whether they would be taken away to be butchered in honour of the colossus.

— "Who is this?" I asked my guide.

— "A symbol. The petrified fruit of their own imaginations which has made itself their ruler and tyrant. It is in his honour that they dance, burn incense, and shed tears and blood. In the name of the future which they do not know, they kill the present, that which they see and hear. In order to save themselves from fictitious, dubious suffering they inflict upon themselves and their brothers real, boundless suffering. But the hour of freedom is at hand. See how the dancers stop; joking, they laugh at themselves. Look at the sacrifices extinguishing their fires. See how those who went to beg mercy from the black marble kick out in revolt and rebellion, throwing stones at the marble. Watch the chains fall from the slaves who had been doomed to bloody sacrifice. We are approaching the time".

Having said that my guide took the axe in both hands and struck is against the black pedestal. The entire edifice shook, the tremor reaching the very summit of the stone colossus; the gilded halo tumbled from his head, the arrows fell from his hand. Then came a terrifying roar all round as the colossus crashed down, breaking up and covering the ground far and wide with fragments of its stone body. Dumbfounded and afraid, groups of people stood in silence, except for the people dressed in ceremonial garments with wreaths on their heads, who uttered terrible cries of grief, shouting:

— "The world order is ruined! The foundations of all existence have been destroyed! How terrible, how terrible!"

But my guide, without paying any attention to their lamentations addressed the people:

— "Do not worry! Know how to be free and you will be free! Desire to be brothers and you will be brothers. Know how to live, and you will have life".

And he left clearing a path amongst the ruins. In dumb amazement I followed him.

— "Who are you?" I asked him finally.

Then for the first time he turned to face me and said benevolently:

— "Do you recognise me?"

I did not answer. I felt as though the sun had risen where he was standing and I had to lower my gaze before the gleam of triumph which shone from his countenance.

— "I know you with all my heart and all the strength in my body, but I can't pronounce your name", I replied.

— "I am the hewer, who breaks the fetters on the path to humanity, fetters laid there by barbarity, darkness and malice. You have witnessed part of my work".

— "Yes, I have".

— "Do you know the source of my strength?"

— "I have a feeling . . . I think so".

— "Do you recognise it. And do you understand the aim?"

— "I do, and I desire though it be only from afar, to see its reflection".

— "Learn to deny yourself that desire, then the aim will be closest to your heart. Your fate is not to see but to make way the paths of truth and freedom. Do you want to take part in this work?"

— "I do".

— "Will you take the thorny path without wavering?"

— "I will".

— "Then go!"

And he gave me an axe.

*Translated from the Ukrainian
by Wolodymyr Slez*

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Professor Stephen HALAMAY

SOVIET INTERNATIONAL LAW

For over three hundred years to the western theorists and legal minds the law of nations or international law was and in most cases still is a term which has been used to record certain observations about the conduct of human beings grouped together in what we call states.¹ Although there are many definitions of the law of nations (Grotius called it "ius gentium") and international law and some scholars doubt very much if such a thing as international law exists at all, but a general agreement prevails that the independent states are said to be the subjects of international law and individuals only as its "objects".

Ukrainian statesmen and among them Yaroslav Stetsko as well as students of the law branch of scientific endeavours are thoroughly convinced that starting with the period of 1918-21 when the West through its indifference permitted Russia to overpower the independent Ukrainian state together with many east European nations such as Georgia, Armenia, Caucasia and others, Kremlin leaders promote neo-colonialism, subversive activities with the definite plan to overthrow legal democratic regimes and not only disregard moral values constituting the very foundations of international legal order but spare no money, men and efforts to introduce their own concept of the law of nations "made in Moscow".

So far the Russian Communists have not succeeded in persuading the Western powers to completely recognise all their conquests legally through a post war peace conference and a peace treaty or treaties. Therefore they have resorted and continue to resort to a specific legal form shaping it as a novel theory of dependence of states and peoples, unknown to the traditional doctrine of free and independent state which by their own free will decided to cooperate among themselves and respect their legal orders in their mutual inter state relations.

On the contrary the Soviet leaders have created through revolution (Ukrainian sociologists call it counterrevolution — S. H.) a state founded upon violence and militarism, economic exploitation of Ukraine and the other subjugated nations in the USSR.

Thus the Russian communist entire internal and foreign policies as well as those of the Communist bloc are permeated with suppression, militarism, subversion and aggression. Abroad the Communist imperialists are instigating social unrests, revolutionary uprisings, guerillas, intellectual subversion (brainwashing) mass demonstrations, physical killings of their opponents and generally of freedom fighters who do not wish to subscribe to Russian domination.

1) Philip. C. Jessup: A Modern Law of Nations. New York, MacMillan, 1948, p. 7.

In this way the Soviet as well as any other types of Communists are constantly undermining the moral and legal foundations on which the international relations were built in the past. In real practice i.e. by their deeds and activities the Communists contrary to their lofty declarations in front of the international community of independent nations reject the principle of acquired rights, equality, legal security, replacing respect for treaties among the nations by violence and subversion. Instead of the classical concept of law of nations complemented by the moral principle that man should not be treated as an object of communal existence they introduce the totally false concept of law that anything which tends to promote the expansion of the Communist Party's powers hails as legal and instead as illegal whatever tends to hinder the achievement of the Communist domination of the world. Communistic "major design" endeavours to replace the concepts of political independent statehood by the international dictatorship of the proletariat.

Even a rather sketchy overview of the activists on the one and the pronouncements of the Soviet Union on the other hand from the time of its inception up to recent times presents ample evidence that the Soviet Russians in the field of the law of nations persist in twisting the meaning of independence, sovereignty, international legality; they disregard the International Court of Justice and its decisions and as a rule often pronounce not binding those treaties not favourable to their own ends which are the colonisation of the entire world.

INTER-WAR PERIOD AND AFTER WORLD WAR II

At the outset of the so-called October Revolution in their proclamation they admitted the parallel existence of the two systems of the law of nations (of international law) namely the one that they (Russian Communists) were about to develop or in short the Communist system and the one which has to be changed (destroyed) i.e. the Capitalist system. About 1924 they stated that special norms might apply to inter-state relations.² during this over "transitional" period in which capitalism was being transformed into Communism, naturally by revolutionary methods.

Naturally, according to the Russian view, the interpretation of the above-mentioned special norms has to be done exclusively by Soviet law decision-making bodies (CC of the Party) also it is understood that such an interpretation must be advantageous to the good of the USSR.³

F. Kozhernikov among others in his book "Sovetskoye Gosudarstvo i Mezhdunarodnoye Pravo", Moscow, 1924, p. 25, declared that

2) E. Korovin, *Mezhdunarodnoye Pravo i Perekhodnago Vremeni.*, Moscow, 1924.

3) E. Pashukani, *Ocherki po Mezhdunarodnamu Pravo*, Moscow, 1935.

the USSR accepts or recognises and conforms to such institutions in the area of international law which can be helpful in carrying out its objectives, but it rejects those institutions which are a hinderance to that end in any possible way.

According to A. Vyshinsky (*Mezhdunarodnoye Pravo i Mezhdunarodnaya Organizatsiya* in "Sov'yetskoye Gosudarstvo i Pravo" no. 1, Moscow, 1948) the international law is the totality of the norms that regulate the relations among states in the process of their conflict and cooperation; the expression of the objectives of the ruling classes of those states, safeguarded by individual or collective coercion. Not always and not all the analysts and jurists realize that Soviet legal minds interpret their word differently or in their special way 1. e by "conflict" is meant the attempt to destroy democracy and freedom in the Free World and by "cooperation" is understood the dominant role of the Russians in their dealings with the subjugated nations. In other words the chance of compromise between the USSR and the rest of the world is nil, for Soviet Russia persists in the state of actual or at least potential "cold" or "hot" war in order to "liberate" the countries that remain under the capitalist system. The communist strategy maintained that sooner or later capitalism must undergo revolution and be liberated or sovietised.

The above concept of international law prevails in the plans of the Kremlin leaders, although there is much to do about so-called "peaceful coexistence". Nothing essentially new has developed in the Russian conception of international law through the periods of "containment", "libration" (Dulles-Eisenhower), "Coexistence and building bridges" (Johnson), "cooperation and negotiation" (Nixon-Kissinger), up to Carter's "cooperation instead of confrontation", "human rights" policy. While these slogans represent the softening up of Western leaders they facilitate future Soviet aggression. Slowly but surely the Soviet leaders switched to emphasising the principle of the limitation of the natural law of nations by the special form of so-called "Socialist Internationalism".

Kozhernikov (in "Mezhdunarodnoye pravo", Moscow, 1964) interpreted the Soviet concept of the international law in such a way that its function is to secure international peace and, above all, "peaceful co-existence in some cases and socialist internationalism in others . . . Under the conditions of peaceful coexistence, the element of coercion is greatly limited but not excluded. In the world system of socialism, all legal principles and norms, are invariably observed . . .".

His definition of international law stems so to say directly from the CPSU program adopted at 1961 Congress. The above mentioned definition and the resolutions adopted many times by the highest body of USSR (CC of CPSU) prove beyond reasonable doubt that "peaceful coexistence" of states with different social systems is regarded as a temporary expedient, designed to avoid war while history's great design (i.e. conquest of the world — S. H.) is taking

shape. As Brezhnev stated in 1971 (at the Party Congress) ... the Soviet Communist Party will continue to pursue the line in international affairs ... to invigorate the world-wide anti-imperialist struggle ... the full triumph of the socialist cause all over the world is inevitable, and we shall not spare ourselves in the fight for this triumph ...

The so called "peaceful coexistence" or "detente" has to serve for Mr. Brezhnev and his collaborators as a shield behind which he wants to have a free hand in persecuting even those like Lev Lukyanenko who by legal means and legal interpretation of the Soviet Constitution itself tried to properly establish the principle of a free secession of Ukraine from the Soviet Union. For mere interpretation of the principle which is included in the body of the USSR constitution he was sentenced to death which later on has been commuted to 15 years of imprisonment.

To us who had a good chance to familiarize ourselves with Western law systems it seems very clear that "peaceful coexistence" made in Russia is incompatible with the natural norms of international law and with the Soviet conception that "unequal treaties" are void ab initio.⁴ If an international treaty happens to be unfavourable to USSR interests, the Kremlin would declare it to be void on the ground of "inequality". There exist a number of books which contain long lists of the treaties violated by USSR.⁵ Then Soviet tactics follow the rule not to deny the requirements of international law but instead they interpret and reinterpret them in their own way, to their own good and advantage. In such a way they constantly keep the outside world in a state of permanent doubt as to their true motives and good faith. At the time of signing of the 1954 agreement which divided Vietnam into northern and southern part it did seem that the signatories (Britain and the West and Russia and China) understood in the very same way the wordings of that agreement but later on it appeared that to the Russians this agreement meant that the whole of Vietnam was to be taken over by the Communists. A conclusion can be drawn that Communists by interpreting international law as something transitory and by introducing revolution as a legal mode of action are in fact transforming the essence and the spirit of the natural law, of the law of nations into something which has nothing in common with traditional meaning of international law. The limitation of state sovereignty and the right to overthrow it by revolution, abusing (over one hundred times) the veto in the Security Council of UNO and now the fact of admission to the UN of Communist China with simultaneous expulsion of Taiwan (Nationalist China) which gave the stimulus to the Tanzanian delegate to perform an exotic dance in mid-Assembly — all this creates the impression and almost a con-

4) International Law, Academy (sic!) of Sciences of the USSR, Moscow, 1960.

5) Soviet Violations of Treaties and Agreements, U.S. Dpt. of State Bulletin vol. 23, No. 574 a o.

viction that the international order is not based on law, but it is ruled by crude force.

Throughout the history of the international relations many rather complicated situations among nations were resolved through the careful interpretations of the so called "precedents". The very unjust replacing of the Republic of China (Taiwan) by the Chinese Communist Republic creates by itself a very dangerous and ingnomious precedent, namely, if Nationalist China could be expelled from the UN and renegaded by USA we have no assurance at all that one day in the future there will not be a majority of votes for the expulsion or exclusion of any other Western country such as the United Kingdom, France or for that matter even the USA.

We can understand that the trend in international relations leads from bipolarity (meaning two bloks as represented by USA and ground Red China has been admitted to the community of international law-abiding nations or by what kind of suppranatural power has a former totalitarian and dictatorial regime been transformed into a democratic one respecting the norms of international law? USSR) toward multi-polarization or i.e. appearance on the international scene of additional centres such as Japan and China. As of the present time we cannot foresee what in the future such a development will bring in international law development. But it does matter that the rule of brute force which these powers present be replace by the rule of justice and law which is in a position to guarantee the respect of the natural law of nations; in other words the respect of treaties and agreements among the nations and especially that the rule of justice and law be respected by the Kremlin leaders also in relation to nations such as Ukraine, Georgia a.o. that are at present brutally occupied and terrorized by Russian imperialists.

Konstantyn SAWCZUK

THE UNITED STATES IN WORLD POLITICS: RECENT PAST AND IMMEDIATE FUTURE

Since the middle of the 16th century, Europe emerged as a political power base. Spain and France, Great Britain and Germany, to name just four of the most prestigious and powerful countries, spread their influence far and wide; their fleets and their soldiers, their religion and their culture, their economies and their inventions reached the farthest corners of the world. Courageous, proud, imaginative, with a lust for power and glory, these European nations, together with others, made history on a grand scale. Although not always magnanimous to the conquered, the governments of these countries still tried to bring civilization into the most desolate places; mission and purpose together characterized the European endeavours.

But the power and grandeur of the European states did not last. In the two extremely costly, suicidal wars of the 20th century (usually referred to as World Wars) the European states destroyed themselves. After 1945, power shifted to the United States, herself an offshoot of European colonization. Born during the struggle against the British Empire at the end of the 18th century, the United States became a world power by the beginning of the 20th. It played an important role in the defeat of Germany in the Great War and its construction to the destruction of this same country in the Second World War was decisive. In fact, due to the decline of such states as France, Germany, Japan and Italy during World War II, the United States emerged as the strongest country on earth. Great Britain, too, was soon to begin its imperial twilight. As a result of the Second World War, which at first was an entirely European affair, the West was left with the United States as its only Great Power. The possession of atomic weapons bestowed upon the American military overwhelming and unique strength, giving rise to many speculations and prophecies about America's future. It was taken for granted by some that United States preponderance in world politics would last for a long time; bold comparisons were made between the political fortunes of the Roman Empire and the new colossus of the West. It was recalled that the pre-eminence of some European states had lasted for centuries and it was thought that at least the second half of the 20th century would be the American one. Yet the American century was not to be.

New Russia

The American century did not materialize because of the existence of the Soviet Union. Created by the Bolsheviks under Lenin and Trotsky, new Russia entered the world political arena with a belligerent rhetoric directed against the entire international system.

Barely surviving in the midst of appalling misery following the October Revolution, the Russian Communists nevertheless spoke about the coming victories of their Marxist ideals and about the forthcoming Marxist millenium not only in Russia, not only in a Soviet state composed of many nationalities, but throughout the entire world. The Civil War, which came after the Bolshevik Revolution, almost put an end to these dreams; there was distinct possibility that Lenin's regime would collapse. However, the Communists survived the civil war, and after Lenin's death in 1924 and the resulting struggle for succession culminating in Stalin's victory, the Soviet Union embarked on a drastic road of collectivization and industrialization. While it was difficult to criticize the need for such industrialization of a backward agricultural state, the collectivization drive was another matter. Even today the collective farms cannot be rationally justified, for besides representing a new kind of serfdom, they are unsound economically. Yet under Stalin's persistent proddings, collectivization was realized, even in the face of stubborn opposition of millions of peasants. In some areas collectivization degenerated into a war waged by the government against its own citizens; (that was especially true in Ukraine) it was a grim and terrible sight. In spite of this the state was saved because the industrialization program, implemented with an almost frantic passion, eventually paid off and within several years the Soviet Union became an industrial giant.

While these twin pillars of the Stalinist revolution were still being built, Stalin plunged his country into an agony of purges and mass arrests. The Great Terror had begun; and when it ended in the late 1930's many highly capable people and droves of less talented ones, disappeared, including most of the old Bolsheviks of the October Revolution. The slaughter of the military was macabre in its totality; and the Gulag Archipelago swelled to its limits. In the midsts of this unbelievable massacre, Stalin was praised for his wisdom and kindness; words lost their meaning and people their dignity; the Soviet Union evolved into one of the most perverse states in history. It was with some relief, therefore, that people heard about the German invasion of their homeland; perhaps the Communist nightmare might come to an end.

But the hopes of millions of people were dashed for two reasons: the Soviet state refused to crumble and the German policies in the occupied territories of Eastern Europe were hardly an alternative to Moscow's policies; Stalin's brutalities were replaced by Hitler's.

However, in 1941 and again in 1942 the might and fury of the German military machine was such that few believed the Soviet system would be able to survive for long. Indeed, the defeats of the Soviet armed forces in these two years can hardly be matched in military annals, and even the incessant Soviet propaganda cannot conceal the disasters. Yet the Communist regime survived. As in the

Civil War, a threatening Bolshevik collapse was averted because of German military and political blunders, American and British assistance, and, finally, the undefinable stamina of the Kremlin. By May 1945 it was Germany, and not the USSR, that lay in ruins.

Stalin was obviously gratified by events, but as a realist he knew that the Soviet political system and his personal rule had been gravely endangered and that without the United States the war against Germany would have been lost. After the capitulation of Japan, American supremacy in world politics could not be disputed, and while Stalin had to hide the appalling war damage of the Soviet Union from the West, the strength of the United States was visible to everyone. The Kremlin dictator worried about the immediate future of the USSR, for it was only logical to expect that a country that had fought for democracy and freedom would not tolerate the existence of the last big totalitarian state. In retrospect, it is painfully clear that the fears of Stalin and his entourage were groundless.

On the Road to Retreat

For more than twenty-five years after the end of the Second World War, the United States was considered to be the most powerful country in the world. Only a few years ago the evidence of American decline on the international scene became more visible. However, even during the years of American superiority, there is evidence that retreat was underway. For example following the war, East Central Europe became a preserve for Soviet political and military power. Apparently, the enormous military strength of the United States, with its atomic arsenal, could not force Moscow to withdraw from such countries as Poland, Hungary, and Rumania, to mention a few. In 1948 Czechoslovakia entered the Russian Communist orbit and in the same year Stalin put pressure on the West to abandon Berlin. Soon the division of Germany became an established fact and the idea of unification today is scarcely a hope. All these developments in East Central Europe, which occurred at a time when the Soviet Union did not possess a single nuclear weapon, demonstrates a genuine triumph for Soviet foreign policy and an equally genuine tragedy for the West.

The retreat of American power in the Far East was no less dramatic. By the end of 1949 the Communists won the civil war in China. It is immaterial to argue that in the long run the victory of Mao Tse Tung over Chiang Kai-shek proved to be a curse rather than a blessing to the Kremlin leaders; the point of the matter is that the side supported by the United States was the loser. This, of course, meant that American policy in China was in a shambles. The Korean War, unleashed by the Korean Communists in June 1950, developed into another retreat for American foreign policy. Although the troops led by General Douglas MacArthur, through his brilliant Inchon strategy, were close to a convincing victory over the North Koreans, the

intervention of the Chinese Communists changed the military picture and made it more difficult to achieve that victory. The General was ready to accept the additional military task but the President of the United States was not. Truman decided to compromise with the enemy and it became necessary to relieve MacArthur of his command. What might have been a great victory for the United States and the Korean people was unfortunately negotiated away. This unhappy conflict revealed that in the United States there was little correlation between military power and political will. The political leadership of the country refused to deal with Communists in the same way it dealt with the Germans and the Japanese during World War II. The negative strategy displayed during the Korean War established a "no win" pattern that became Washington's sad and disturbing legacy in confronting future crises.

The Crises were always present and solutions were near at hand, but the decisive action dictated by the urgency of events was seldom taken. One such opportunity for the United States, for instance, occurred in 1961 in Cuba. In April of that year the Cuban nationalists tried to overthrow the Communist regime of Fidel Castro. Backed and encouraged by the American political and military leadership, the nationalists had a real chance of success. Since the Soviet Union had neither the strategic missiles nor the naval capability to intervene, Khrushchev and his associates had no right to hope that they could any longer preserve Communism in Cuba. However, when the real test of American commitment to the nationalists arrived, the leaders of the New Frontier found themselves to be strategically and politically bankrupt. In the critical hours of the invasion, the Kennedy administration did not extend help to the Cuban patriots, and the whole undertaking ended in disaster. Had President Kennedy ordered military support for the invading Cuban forces, the Castro regime probably would have collapsed and the so-called Cuban Missile crisis of October 1962 would never have taken place.

This event, which might have led to war between the Soviet Union and the United States, ended in an American tactical victory when Moscow was forced to pull out its missiles from Cuba. However, the strategic advantage still rested with the Kremlin, for Cuba remained in Communist hands. 16 years later, Castro is not only firmly in control in Cuba — (*Pravda* calls it "the island of freedom") — but his troops are in faraway Angola and Ethiopia. Indirectly, their presence there is proof of an unprecedented Soviet infiltration of parts of Africa. It is also a frightening symbol of Soviet successes and American failures on an island a mere 90 miles from the shore of the United States.

When the White House decided to send troops to South Vietnam in 1965, the prospects of saving the Republic of Vietnam from Communist aggression were good. American soldiers fought well, but, as

in Korea, military victory was denied to them by their own government. Contrary to all reason a clear military victory was not sought. For it was believed naively that Hanoi, feeling the mounting pressure of America's military might, would be persuaded to abandon its aggrerssion in the South. However, Hanoi was not so convinced and eventually Washington's policy bogged down in an endless and indecisive war. The result: protracted negotiations with the enemy; withdrawal of American troops from South Vietnam; the cease-fire of January 1973, which left parts of South Vietnam in Communist hands; inadequate American help to Saigon; and finally, a debacle in April 1975. It took three administrations, the fall of a President and the intervention of the United States Congress to end the tragic war and abandon the Republic of Vietnam. In his book *A Soldier Reports*, General William C. Westmoreland writes: "Despite the long years of support and expenditures of lives, the United States in the end abandoned South Vietnam. There is no other true way to put it".¹

In the early years of American combat in Vietnam, the United States was still the foremost power in the world. After the Communist take-over of South Vietnam, as well as Cambodia and Laos, this was no longer true. It cannot be doubted that the Vietnamese experience had its effect upon the recent decline in American prestige. Nevertheless, even before that, United States power was on the wane. The Soviet Union's build-up of a strategic nuclear force, matching that of the United States, and the emergence of its strong navy, challenged long-held American superiority in these vital fields. The Nixon Doctrine, which signified the slow retreat of the United States from its previous commitments, plus President Nixon's seemingly frantic trips to Peking and Moscow in 1971, and the exaggerated air of dtente with the USSR, as well as the inability of the Nixon-Kissinger-Ford foreign policy to make any meaningful headway in the perennial crisis in the Middle East — all of this clearly indicated that Washington's political elite were about to abdicate the country's primacy in the world. This happened rather ominously just as the American Republic was approaching its Bicentennial celebrations.

To speak about the future intelligently, one has to deal with the past and present; one can try to predict the future course of certain events on the basis of past and current happenings, taking into consideration various trends. Yet speculations about the future must remain at best a precarious undertaking. It is with this attitude in mind that the following observations about the future of the United States in world politics are being made.

Change is constant factor in the development of nations; this also holds true for the United States. The American position in world

1) William C. Westmoreland, *A Soldier Reports* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1976), 497.

affairs is not likely long to remain as it is at present. In terms of future power relationship, the United States will either grow stronger or weaker. Such an alternative obviously oversimplifies the complexities of the future, but in general it points out the broad possibilities that we must consider as we look ahead.

Is it possible that the recent decline of the United States on the international scene will soon reverse itself, and that it will again, become as it was in 1945, the strongest power in the world? The answer is probably yes. It seems to me that the U.S. decline is not organic and does not have to end in a total eclipse. With all due respect to Oswald Spengler, some of whose pessimistic predictions about Western civilization have come true, it is dangerous to follow his argument that societies resemble living organisms. Nations, unlike plants or animals, do not have to go through the cycle of birth, growth, maturity, decay and death. However, people who hold such a view have no difficulty in envisaging the future of the United States. In his book *On Watch, A Memoir*, Admiral Elmo Zumwalt, the former Chief of Naval Operations writes: "Dr Kissinger feels that the US has passed its historic high point like so many earlier civilizations. He believes that the United States is on the downhill and cannot be roused by political challenge. He states that his job was, Zumwalt continues, "to persuade the Russians to give us the best deal we can get, recognizing that the historical forces favour them".² Unfortunately, Kissinger's muddled thoughts are shared by some of the American leadership and seem to symbolize the dreadful political malaise in which we find ourselves.

One must state that there are no exterior historical forces to contradict man's intelligence, experience and will. The monotonous Soviet assertions that history is on their side apparently has captured the fancy of Washington's detente enthusiasts. However, this deterministic approach to history is not inviolable; man has a free will and the future is not predetermined.

A significant aspect of the contemporary American position in world affairs is that, while a decline is underway, the military power of the country is constantly on the increase. This is a paradoxical and strange situation; how can a country decline if its military forces are as strong as ever? Since a nation's military power generally determines its ultimate strength, the explanation of America's ills must be blamed on the political leaders who wield that power. If this leadership is replaced by a more realistic one, a real improvement in America's international status should be expected. A leadership with a vision, with a sense of purpose, not afraid to take risks when necessary, and disdainful of an enemy that waits only for an opportunity to destroy, could restore dignity and confidence to the nation. A new imaginative and courageous leadership could reverse

2) Elmo R. Zumwalt, *On Watch, A Memoir* (New York: Quadrangle, 1976), 317.

the trend of recent decay and lead the country to new heights of prestige, influence and strength.

Such a course of future events is one possibility for the United States. But there is another possibility, far less attractive. It is the road of further atrophy of the American position in the world and the loss of confidence in the nation at large. One can argue that it is quite unreasonable to cherish high hopes about the future of the United States in international politics because the recent past discourages such expectations. In *The Necessity for Choice: Prospects of American Foreign Policy*, Henry Kissinger wrote: "... The United States cannot afford another decline like that which has characterized the past decade and a half. Fifteen years more of a deterioration of our position in the world such as we have experienced since World War II would find us reduced to Fortress America in a world in which we had become largely irrelevant".³ Kissinger's book, in which these words appeared, was published in 1962; then Professor Kissinger was still far away from the corridors of power. It is ironic that in those last 15 years or so referred to by Kissinger, it was precisely his strong impact on American foreign policy that indeed contributed to "a deterioration of our position in the world". Fortunately, the United States has not yet been "reduced to Fortress America" and has not yet "become largely irrelevant".

The leaders in government are not the only ones who may cause a further decline of the United States. The news media, with power to influence millions of people, can become abettors of defeatism just as easily as they become advocates of victory. In too many instances, however, the television networks fail to comprehend and therefore confuse the differences between United States gains and losses in international affairs. Television's selective reporting and, even more, its selective filming often distort complex realities; its coverage of the Vietnam War I would venture probably damaged the American resolve more than Communist propaganda. Had there been such a television invasion of American homes during the Second World War, it is hard to imagine what incalculable damage would have been done to the war effort.

A nation, no matter how strong or weak, does not exist in a political vacuum. There is always a plurality of states in the world community, and the leading countries are constantly being challenged by the others. Since 1945, the persistent challenger and opponent of the United States has been the Soviet Union. Without the existence of this communist state, with its messianic ambitions, the United States, even under poor leadership, would not be so endangered as it is now.

From its very inception, the Soviet state preached hatred and destruction of the capitalist countries. No one can doubt that it still

³) Henry A. Kissinger, *The Necessity of Choice: Prospects of American Foreign Policy* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1962), 1.

does. The nature of the Soviet social, economic and political system is incompatible with that of the United States, the leading free enterprise nation. Whether there is Cold War or detente, whether there is an era of confrontation or negotiation, the basically hostile relationship between the USSR and the United States remains unchanged. In its effort to further weaken United States power in the world, the Soviet Union hopes for America's ultimate collapse. The Soviet hope is not unreasonable; one only has to examine the fortunes (or rather misfortunes) of states like Japan, Germany and Great Britain, who just several decades ago individually, not to mention collectively, were stronger than the Soviet Union. Where is the power of these states today?

But even with its aggressive foreign policy the Soviet Union is not without its own difficulties and grave problems. The perennial failure of agriculture, the well known dissent against the repressive policies of the government, the rising tide of national expectations among the various nationalities, for example, in Ukraine, the Baltic countries and Central Asia, and the ever-present Chinese problem, confront the Soviet leadership with disturbing, if not critical issues. And here is where we might find worthy goals for United States foreign policy to exploit these difficulties, to crack Soviet tyranny, to stand for freedom of individuals and nations, and to find a meaningful understanding with Peking against Moscow. Such policies must be pursued to challenge openly the Kremlin's continuous menace to this country. Indeed, it is the duty of American foreign policy makers to try to weaken and bring about the demise, short of nuclear war, of Soviet power in the world. This is an inspiring mission for a political leadership and offers an honorable alternative to detente.

But one should not delude oneself with great expectations. The detente theme, beloved by Moscow, will be played as before an infinitum, ad nauseam. The White House and the State Department will do their outmost to extricate Moscow from its various difficulties. Grain will be sold to help Soviet agricultural in distress, the opposition movement will receive only sympathy, if not indifference, and national strivings for freedom and independence inside the USSR and in the satellite countries will be discouraged.⁴

4) That the Soviet satellites have no hope of being helped by the United States is attested to by the Helsinki accord, concluded in the summer of 1975, as well as by the so-called Sonnenfeldt Doctrine, an incredible appeasement declaration of modern times. Any thought of aiding the non-Russian nationalities in the Soviet Union is taboo in Washington.

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His Beatitude Josyf Cardinal Slipyj, Patriarch of the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

I. ZWARYCZ

THE NATIONAL-LIBERATION STRUGGLE OF UKRAINE

In the 20th century, history has more than once proven that the greatest force of all current historical processes has been the irresistible dynamism of the national idea. We are witnessing the burgeoning growth of independent nation-states and sovereign integral national governments, coupled with the concurrent total dissolution of existing colonial regimes and megaempires. Despite the threat of total thermo-nuclear annihilation and in the face of the chauvinistic aspirations of certain states to establish a feudal-type hegemony over the world, whether they be communist or capitalist states, the spirit of the nation is asserting itself throughout the world; national sovereignty inevitably cannot be denied, just as history cannot be terminated. Their technological advances and military might notwithstanding, every imperialist state was formed to capitulate to the irresistible force of the national ideal, lest it become an anachronism in itself. The material means of the subjugated were incomparable to the existing imperialist machinery, and yet they persevered, because their spiritual vibrancy, which itself emanated from the spiritual indestructibility of the nation, the metaphysical subjective quality of the national genius. One cannot defeat a non-physical substance, an "idea" through physical means, regardless of the wide array of terroristic implements one may utilize. To attempt to "kill" a nation is, at best, a most dubious, forlorn venture.

And so, the English, German, French, Spanish, Portuguese and Austro-Hungarian empires were destroyed, for such was the demand of the existing "zeitgeist" (the spirit of the time), the primary subjective characteristic of which was the national ideal. Yet, one empire still remains, and it constitutes the most glaring, savage aberration in the entire history of mankind, this being the Russian-communist USSR — the last "Imperium". This historical anachronism must be resolved.

In relation to this, it cannot be denied, that Ukraine and the vision of a Free-Kyiv represents the most potent, self-motivating, revolutionary force of all mankind, which can irretrievably destroy this final empire. Hence, the Ukrainian national liberation struggle constitutes the most progressive force of current historical processes, since it in itself is the zenith, the highest apogee, of the most progressive ideal of man's history, this being the idea of a nation.

The major combatants in this struggle are firmly resolved to the fact that Ukraine does not lie on the distant periferies of a wider world order. Ukraine's fate will not be determined in consequences to a world wide competition between the so-called "super-powers" to establish their dominance over the rest of the world. Instead, Revolutionary Ukraine is indeed exploding in the very nucleus of a global-in-acope titanic struggle between two diametrically counterposed worlds, both which embody a contradictory to each other ideal of life. This is the meaning of the slogan — "Kyiv-vs. Moscow" by which Kyiv represents the national ideal against the imperialistic aspirations of Moscow and her lackeys in the so-called "Soviet Republics". On the one hand, there is beauty of a unique national culture, replete with the spiritual indestructibility of a nation's traditional heritage, whereas on the other hand, we have the typically Russian chauvinist policy of ethnolinguual-genocide, the brutal policy of Russification, which is geared to the ultimate destruction of the national ideal.

Our struggle embodies a struggle for a nationally-heroic concept of life and a national mode of organization in the world, which, we believe, is the ultimate harbinger of complete freedom and peace in this world is the establishment of a global order based on the national ideal, which concretely posits a world of nationally sovereign and independent states. The communist ideal can only bring perpetual conflict and, ultimately, total destruction.

Not only is the Ukrainian struggle for freedom national in scope, but it is also a struggle for individual freedom and human rights, based on certain democratic principles and a belief in certain inalienable, God given rights of man. The Russian-communist ideal of "Soviet" man (ie., a completely Russified individual) is, in reality, an anonymous, nameless entity, stripped of all human dignity. Furthermore, the Ukrainian liberation struggle encompasses a cult of heroic Christianity, a Church in catacombs, against the savage atheism persued by the blood-soaked regime in the Kremlin.

One may, of course, make the claim, that the Russian-communist empire the USSR, is a highly developed, centralized and a powerful authoritarian collosus, against which it would be only futile to engage in struggle. We point out to such pessimists, that ours is a struggle to the death. Despite our temporary military, or physical weakness, we remain spiritually strong in our faith. In the words of one of the current leaders of this struggle, Levko Lukyanenko, who was recently sentenced to ten years of hard labour in a concentration camp, — "Even if I was the last remaining Ukrainian on this earth, I would continue to fight for a Free-Ukraine". What we ask is that the rest of the world come to perceive a fact, which we have realized long ago, namely, that the USSR is indeed a collosal empire, of clay feet, built on a foundation of mud and the blood of thousands, nay

millions. The only thing holding this anachronistic colossus together is a wide-spread policy of terror, designed to, in the words of Valentyn Moroz, "Build a giant refrigerator for human minds". Nevertheless, terror has definite limits. There is a point where terror, as a concerted effort on the part of the regime to induce unquestionable acquiescence to existing policy, becomes counter-productive and breeds even greater opposition, precisely because man, as an individual, is enjoyed with capacity of thought. One Ukrainian poet in Ukraine, Vasyl Symonenko, once wrote: "you can execute the brain where ideas are born, you cannot execute an idea".

Being that the USSR is a reactionary system of novel type of colonial exploitation, which utilizes the limited exigencies of terror as the primary psychological implement of its bankrupt authority, this over bureaucratized empire finds itself at present in a dangerous position. Where even regularly-systematic reforms, necessary for the future stabilization of the system, have little, if any, effect. The system has become incapable of resolving a countless number of internal contradictions, all of which together constitute a most volatile revolutionary situation. Need we emphasize the fact, conveniently ignored by certain powers of the yet Free-World, that the USSR is made up of numerous subjugated nations, headed by Ukraine, each of which are more than ready to destroy the erected but faulty columns of this imperialistic structure and consequently establish themselves as separate national entities in a new global order of independent and sovereign nation-states. We realize, of course, that this empire will not simply fall apart, as of itself, or of its own accord. The Russian-communist rulers are as ruthless, as they are desperate to hold this historical aberration intact.

However, the subjugated peoples of the Soviet Union are no less desperate. Numerous uprisings and countless protests have taken place throughout the USSR. For every person arrested, persecuted and sentenced, two or more stand in the place of their fallen, or temporarily incapacitated brethren, taking up the responsibilities of leading the struggle further. The growth of national consciousness continues and it cannot be abruptly terminated by the brutal whims and designs of an illegitimate ruling minority. The year 1978 has shown the Free-World the true face of Russian-communism, as exemplified in the arrests, persecutions, closed trials and sentences of the Ukrainian patriots and freedom-fighters. Today, everything in the Soviet-system is based on deception and fraud, its ideology, economy, politics and everyday life. The Russian-communist ruling class is lying to the world, both to its enemies and friends.

Waves of arrests and harsh oppression, especially of prominent Ukrainian individuals, by the Russian-communists were carried out in the past year. With all these arrests and waves of oppression, Communist-Russia has not been able to silence the voice of the Ukrainian

nationalists. The nationalist spirit of the Ukrainian people, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, OUN, is the "Achilles-Heel" of the communist regime. Led by the Ukrainian intelligentsia the people raise their voice against Russification, genocide and ethnocide, and on the other hand supporting the Ukrainian culture, language and national traditions. For these so-called "crimes" many have been arrested. Of the known arrested Ukrainian patriots, the majority have been brought before the Courts and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment in concentration camps, and banished from their beloved Ukraine. The majority of the known court proceedings were conducted behind closed doors, a number of defendants were not allowed to defend themselves and several were tried and sentenced to life terms of imprisonment in absentia. Yet nearly all the accused were charged with Section 62-1 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR, or equivalent section of the Criminal Code of the Russian or other Soviet Republics. In the majority of the cases the charges were for "anti-soviet propaganda and agitation", for possession of literature from abroad, for having "underground" publications or for their literary works found during searches of their homes by the KGB and classified as "anti-soviet".

Among the vast number of people who have become Ukrainian Political Prisoners in the USSR over the past years, there are a number of very important individuals who are being ruthlessly persecuted. There is the case of Yuriy Shukhevych who has spent over 20 years of his life in Russian prisons. He was first arrested at the age of 15, his crime was that he is the son of the commander-in-chief of the Ukrainian Partisan Army, Taras Chuprynka, killed in 1950, and that he refuses to renounce his father.

In 1975, after the signing of the Helsinki Accords, numerous monitoring groups were created in the Soviet Union, with that in Ukraine, to implement the agreed upon provisions of human rights. Although, it was known that the Russian-Communist regime would not allow the implementation of various reforms, the Helsinki monitoring groups allowed the Ukrainian patriots to bring their quest to the World-wide stage. Shortly after the announcement of the creation of the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group, Prominent members of this Kyiv based group were arrested. Among those arrested were Mykola Rudenko, Oleksa Tykhy, Myroslav Marynovych, Mykola Matusevych and Lev Lukyanenko. In May of 1978 Rudenko, the incarcerated head of the Kyiv Public Group to promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords, announced that he had begun a hunger strike and would take part in protest action because concentration camp authorities confiscated his poems and continuously harassed him. On December 12, 1977 Lukyanenko, a member of the Kyiv Group was arrested. This was Lukyanenko's second arrest. In the 1960's he was arrested and sentenced to 15 years imprisonment for

advocating a national referendum on Ukraine's secession from the USSR. On the day of his arrest, Lukyanenko's apartment was searched by the Secret Police from 7 a.m. to 11 p.m. All written material was confiscated. In most other cases, the living quarters of Lukyanenko's friends were also searched for several hours by the KGB. Ihor Kalynets, a Ukrainian poet and victim of the 1972 KGB arrests of Ukrainian rights activists, wrote: "I have no hope that my appeal will alleviate the plight of twice arrested Levko Lukyanenko, but my conscience does not allow me to remain silent when the arrests do not end". In November of 1978 we received word in London, England that The Writers in Prison Committee of the International P.E.N. recently appealed to Soviet authorities asking them to release the Ukrainian political prisoners, Danylo Shumuk, who spent 34 out of his 64 years in concentration camps.

In December of 1978 we received information about the arrest of Petro Sichko and his son Vasyl, which testifies to the fact that in the Soviet Union when the KGB persecutes a person for what it considers to be violations of the law, this harassment is oftentimes also faced by the children. The Sichkos are members of the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords. It was further revealed in December that the Soviet Secret Police were waging a campaign of inciting hatred toward Vasyl Stus, a Ukrainian poet who was arrested and sentenced in the aftermath of the 1972 KGB crackdown in Ukraine. It was also learned that the KGB tortured to death a young Ukrainian Baptist for his refusal to renounce his Christian faith, the name of this freedom fighter was Sedletsky. His death was similar to a whole succession of murders, as for instance the murder in 1972 of another soldier, Ivan Moiseiv, who was also tortured for his defence of the Christian faith. On November 3, 1978, Oksana Meshko, a 70 year old woman and member of the Helsinki Monitoring Group of Kyiv, was the victim of a KGB attempted mugging. 1978 was also marked with a new wave of Russification in Ukraine. The targets of this renewed attack on the Ukrainian language are Ukrainian schools, beginning with the first grade through the universities. In November 1978, the journal "Radianska Osvita" (Soviet Education) published a list of instructions from the collegium of the Ministry of Education which directed all educational institutions in Ukraine to bolster the teaching of the Russian language. It was also learned that a 51-year old Ukrainian writer, Heli Snehiriov, while in KGB custody died in a hospital. Informed sources in the West stated that Snehiriov was murdered by the KGB. In January of this year we received information about the arrest of Myroslav Marynovych and Mykola Matusevych who were the third and fourth members of the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords to be arrested by the KGB after Mykola

Rudenko and Oleksa Tykhy. They were arrested on April 23, 1977 and sentenced on March 27, 1978 to seven years, incarceration and three years, exile, each. In February it was learned that the KGB continues to harass a former soldier of the UPA, Myron Symchych, who was sentenced in 1940 to 25 years of imprisonment and five years, curtailment of rights. After Symchych was sent to serve his sentence, the Khabarovch court sentenced him to an additional ten years, he was convicted of being a member of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists — OUN. Vasyl Striltsiv, a member of the Kyiv Group, has become the 7th Ukrainian Helsinki Monitor to be arrested and sentenced. Vasyl Ovsienko, a philologist and instructor of the Ukrainian language and literature, was sentenced in the Zhytomyr oblast to 3 years of imprisonment, for his refusal to allow KGB agents to conduct a search of his apartment. Two documents that we recently received in the West point to the continued destruction of churches in Ukraine by the communist authorities and their intimidation of workers who wish to practice their religion. One of the documents is an appeal from Vasyl Kobryn, a faithful Ukrainian from Bibrika in the Peremyshl region. Kobryn was an eyewitness to the destruction of a century-old church in the village of Liubaanky. The other document is a transcript of a meeting of a factory committee at which Kobryn is accused of violating the work orders by staying home from work on Easter Sunday. In March 1979 it was reported that Mykhailo Melnyk, a participant of the Ukrainian Rights Movement for many years, was found dead in the village of Pohreby, near Kyiv. The death was under mysterious circumstances and there was no reason given for the cause of the death. In April of 1979 it was learned in the West that Oles Berdnyk, one of the original members of the Helsinki Group was arrested in March. In early March the homes of several freedom fighters were searched by the KGB in connection with the renewed harassment against Berdnyk. All these arrests point to the fact that the opposition is growing, the people are rising out of their shells facing the threat of arrests and long sentences, and will soon end in the inevitable.

In the Free World Ukrainians do not forget the call of their brethren and also raise their voices in the call for freedom. Ukrainian organizations hold rallies, demonstrations, strikes, boycotts and hunger strikes to better inform the world of the cruel injustices found in Ukraine today. Prominent Ukrainian leaders as the Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko meet with influential world leaders in order to gain support for the Ukrainian liberation movement.

Recently we have seen the result of the actions of Ukrainians in the Free World, by the release by the Soviet authorities of three Ukrainian dissidents. In 1978 Ukrainian communities held demonstrations in the following cities: New York, Washington, Toronto, Philadelphia, Chester, Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, London, Paris, Munich and Los

Angeles. The following will be brief description of these events. In Cleveland a group of over 50 students held a 24-hour vigil and hunger strike on January 12th to express their solidarity. In New York, Ukrainian students organized a demonstration where 10,000 Ukrainians marched down the streets, demanding freedom for their country. A similar demonstration held in front of the United Nations got acclaim in many major newspapers of the world. This year observation of Captive Nations Week, which was proclaimed by President Carter, was also a great achievement for all the nationalities which participated. Finally, this years' public demonstration culminated in the demonstration held in New York during the World Congress of Free Ukrainians, where 8,000 Ukrainians stormed the Russian Mission to the United Nations.

This process will ultimately culminate in a series of simultaneous national revolutions throughout the USSR. This is the only existing alternative for all mankind: the total destruction and annihilation of this historical and political anachronism; otherwise, the currents of history will become frozen, and man will find himself in a new dark age. Hence, the irretrievable dissolution of the Russian-Communist Empire is the manifestation of the final triumph of the national ideal in the world. In this perspective, the establishment of an Independent and Sovereign Ukrainian Nation-State is the highest zenith of this progressive and dynamic, revolutionary process; Ukraine itself is the apotheosis of the national "idea" in the world, since its very essence signifies the destruction of the most brutal, albeit "last Imperium" in the history of mankind — the USSR.

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NEWS FROM UKRAINE

UKRAINIAN COMPOSER MURDERED

Earlier this year (1979) the people of the Lviv area of Western Ukraine were shocked and angered to hear of the murder of the young Ukrainian composer Volodymyr Ivasiuk.

Ivasiuk, who composed exclusively in Ukrainian won the hearts of Ukrainians in the Soviet Union and abroad with his unique blend of traditional Ukrainian musical influences combined with rock.

The 30-year-old Ivasiuk's mutilated body was found by a militia-man hanging from a tree in a restricted zone outside the city of Lviv on May 18.

He had disappeared on April 27 and was last seen being forced into KGB car by two men. Ivasiuk had been under KGB surveillance from the beginning of the year and always told his parents when he would return before leaving his home.

When his parents reported him missing to the militia they were told in ironical tones he would "be found soon".

Ivasiuk's songs were very popular amongst the youth and his compositions include "Dva Persteni", "Pisnia bude z Namy", "Chervona Ruta" and "Vodohray". He was reportedly working on an opera about the Ukrainian cossack period at the time of his death.

After his body was found the authorities tried to defuse the people's anger by spreading rumors that Ivasiuk had been involved in currency smuggling and had slandered the state. A five-man team of non-Ukrainian doctors performed a postmortem and stated Ivasiuk had committed suicide.

However, underground sources reported that Ivasiuk's body showed considerable bruising and signs of torture. His eyes were gouged out and his tongue cut out. He had been dead three weeks.

Ivasiuk's funeral on May 22 turned into a massive protest against the regime with more than 10,000 people attending.

His grave was covered with flowers, wreaths and photographs of himself. Participants read poems dedicated to Ivasiuk, sang songs and delivered eulogies. Militia cordoned off the cemetery in an attempt to quell the manifestation of grief mingled with anger at the perpetrators of the murder.

On June 4 the grave was desecrated by KGB-encouraged vandals who set fire to the grave.

The next day the grave was again covered in flowers and two members of the Ukrainian Public Group Monitoring the Helsinki Accords, Vasyl Striltsiv and Vasyl Sichko, addressed a rally at the graveside.

Ivasiuk earned himself the death sentence from the KGB because his music instilled a sense of pride in the Ukrainians who listened to it. He had proved Ukrainian culture was not just a "museum piece" but something that could be developed and was capable of winning the hearts and minds of young Ukrainians.

Volodymyr Ivasiuk did not compose songs in Russian. Not because he hated the music of others but because he loved the melodies of Ukraine.

A. K.

A number of prominent Ukrainian dissidents have died in "mysterious circumstances" in recent years. In 1970 *Alla Horska* an artist who was a leading member of the Ukrainian renaissance of the 1960's and had worked with other artists on the construction of a stained glass window to commemorate the 150th anniversary of the birthday of Ukraine's national poet, Taras Shevchenko, was found murdered, near Kyiv. Officially the murder remains unsolved.

In 1975 a priest called *Lutsky* was murdered in the Mykolaiv district in Western Ukraine. His sermons combining Christian and national sentiments had displeased the authorities. The militia apparently know the identities of the killers but are unwilling to arrest them. Official verdict suicide.

In 1975 *Volodymyr Osadchy* 33-year-old brother of imprisoned author Mykhaylo Osadchy was killed. The postmortem claims the death was due to heart failure and alcoholism. Volodymyr's death came after a long campaign of intimidation by the KGB. Mykhaylo was actually warned by the KGB that his brother would be killed because Mykhaylo refused to cooperate with them.

In 1976 *Ivan Vytenko* a young mathematician was found dead after being dismissed from his doctoral studies when it was revealed his parents had been political prisoners. The death in Uzhorod, Transcarpathian Ukraine was hushed up by the authorities with undue haste.

In 1978 *Rostyslav Paletsky* a 42-year-old Ukrainian artist was killed at his home in the Odessa region after a suspicious looking man visited his home.

VASYL OVSIENKO LASHES OUT AT KGB

On February 8, 1979 Ukrainian linguist Vasyl Ovsienko, a member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group was sentenced to 3 year imprisonment. Following is his closing statement at his trial.

"Everyone present here — from the procurator, who showed his lack of familiarity with the case, from the court to the public — all of them are well aware of what is taking place here. We all understand perfectly that Ovsienko did not create any resistance to the militia. This entire "case" is fabricated in a manner worse than in the times of Stalin and Beria. And, once again, the principal director here is the KGB. It was on the express request of the KGB that Slavinsky, Smahly, Bazlenko, Sytenko, Diachenko and others created the scenario for this primitive and hypocritical comedy.

This trial does not decide anything. My case was previously decided, regardless of what was said here. I have already undergone four years of "rehabilitation" for something unknown to me, and now I am to undergo "rehabilitation" through hard work and a severe regime among hooligans, killers, rapists and other dregs of society. There it will be very simple to fracture my non-standard head so that it would not have any undesirable thoughts, especially in "sincere language". But I won't last long there, because I am still suffering from a myriad of diseases as a result of my first "rehabilitation".

Why am I being destroyed? Because I have a heightened sense of justice and human dignity. These qualities are truly dangerous to our society. I always tried to help people everywhere, to help the people obtain justice. It is for this that I am being destroyed. But I will try to survive, so that I will live to see the day when the defendant's bench will be filled by real criminals. I will be an honest witness. I will not have to fabricate anything. I will tell only the truth, as Hryboiedov said: "I will tell the truth about you, the kind of truth that will be far worse than any lies" And God will help me survive.

It is considered proper to ask the court's mercy. But I have no reason to ask for it. I regret the expression "bandit-like actions". I did not know that in doing their duties, they were acting as the militia should. I am not a criminal. The maxim of my behaviour is to obey the Soviet law. It is another matter that some of the things I do, displease the authorities. But I look at the laws, not at the authorities. I will tell the court this: You are called the people's court. You were chosen by the people. But it was the people whom you did not let into this courtroom, because lawlessness and actions against the people are created here, and the people are in the square. You are afraid to look into the faces of the people. Hear out the voice of the people. And look through the eyes not of the regime, not through hypocritical eyes, but through human eyes into the eyes of my mother. Long live justice!"

Yuriy BADZYO

... THE RIGHT TO LIFE

In its relentless campaign against Ukrainian dissident intellectuals the Soviet secret police on April 23 arrested Yuriy Badzyo, a former journalist and long-time member of the Literary Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR. According to the fourth issue of the Information Bulletin of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, Badzyo was subjected to a 10-hour interrogation by the KGB on February 5. A former editor of the Kyiv publishing house "Youth of Ukraine", Badzyo was expelled from the communist party in the mid-sixties for his protests over the arrests of other Ukrainian writers. Since then he worked as a common labourer in Kyiv, but continued his literary activity clandestinely. Following is an open letter by Badzyo written to the "Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Foreign Communist Parties and Democratic Citizens of the World" in 1977:

Somehow, a letter addressed to such a large mailing list is looked upon sceptically by people and though I did not wish to address my letter in such a manner, my situation leaves me little choice.

Behind me are six years of intense work which resulted in more than 1400 single-spaced typewritten pages. Suddenly, I was hit by a catastrophe, a terrible tragedy for me. My manuscript disappeared. In all likelihood, I have this one evening of freedom left to tell people what I have been relating in conversation over the past six years. My work is of strictly scholarly nature, although it includes general social analysis which is not limited to the framework of the national situation of Ukraine.

The political arrests of Ukrainian intelligentsia in 1972 dealt a severe blow to the national interests of Ukraine. I had intended to voice my views on these arrests in an open letter to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) and to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. I wanted to conduct a matter of fact discussion about the national situation of Ukraine within the framework of the Federation of Soviet Republic.

What originally began as a letter grew into a scholarly research project dealing with various aspects of national life in Ukraine. The title of the work is *The Right to Life*, where I conclude that the great power, chauvinist policy of the CPSU has denied the Ukrainian nation its right to life.

Chapter I. "The Future of a Terrorist Concept of National Extinction"

The official party ideology with respect to national relations denies my people and all non-Russian peoples their future. The highest party leadership of the Soviet Union, in essence, the political representative of Russia implementing Russian nationalist policies, utilizes the

Marxist thesis of the amalgamation of all peoples as a theoretical justification for its great power policies which systematically assault the national interests of non-Russian peoples and prepare the theoretical base for the formal liquidation of the state sovereignty of the non-Russian peoples of the USSR. The concept of the merging of nations is used to justify a broad propaganda war against national patriotism of non-Russian nations and results in an assault on their ethnic integrity and political autonomy. This concept is treated as an historically inevitable law, as a scientifically justified policy. Actually, it can only be considered as an hypothesis — an hypothesis which past and contemporary history contradicts. Reality does not offer any examples of a nation voluntarily rejecting its ethnic integrity and political independence. On the contrary, today the spirit of national revival and liberation has spread throughout the world. The concept of the merging of nations is unscientific and not true to life. It is a reactionary idea based on ideology to be used as a weapon in the hands of the chauvinists in Russian Soviet communist society. Its political existence is made possible only by our anti-democratic social conditions. Today, the condition of the so-called internationalization of Soviet society is not a result of the free development of the nations of the former Russian Empire, but rather a severe distortion of the national relations of the peoples of the USSR toward the direction of Russian great power politics and the era of Stalinist despotism. Leninist social-political and national ideology has not prompted material well-being nor has it strengthened the national liberation of the peoples of Russia. Certainly, it was the Bolshevik-Leninists who announced the slogan declaring the rights of nations to self-determination to the point of secession and the creation of independent countries. From the very beginning, however, Lenin, in opposition to his own propaganda, firmly differentiated between the issues of national self-determination, the creation of independent countries and the question of the advisability of that national separation. It is clear that the right to decide the advisability or inadvisability, in practice was reserved for the centralist great power Russian forces. Not by accident, did Lenin come out strongly against demands to actually realize the right to self-determination as outlined by the Russian Social Democrats. He decisively rejected the principle of a federated structure which would create a party of parties. This, of course, denies the non-Russian peoples their own organized Social Democratic political leadership. Initially, Lenin also denied the federalist principle of international relations among the nations that comprised the Russian Empire. Only the powerful national liberation movement of the non-Russian nationalities, particularly the Ukrainians, forced Lenin to alter his views on the national question, after assessing its strength in the given historical situation. It is my view that Lenin's plan for the structure of the USSR, rejecting Stalin's proposal for an "autonomous" Russia, was more than a strategic ploy. The point is,

that above the theory and practice of the Bolsheviks, there constantly loomed the spirit of a nationally indifferent Leninist communism. Psychologically and politically, it neutralized the concept of free national development of the Soviet peoples. Even more important, the idea of the merging of nations fell on the fertile soil of the great power traditions of Russia and the nationalist psychology of broad layers of Russian citizenry...

... The national revival of the oppressed nations was so powerful however, that for some time after the death of Lenin, the international forces of the party and society were able to build the Union only as a federation of separate countries. Stalinist repressions, however, put an end to that. A destructive blow, which we have still not fully comprehended to this day, was dealt to Ukraine, to which the Russian chauvinists have always responded with exceptional vehemence. Ukrainian nationalist party cadres were physically destroyed along with the bulk of Ukraine's intelligentsia — people who constituted Ukraine's finest individuals. In 1933, a year of good harvests, several million Ukrainian peasants were tortured to death by famine. The Twentieth (1956) and Twenty-third (1966) Party Congress of the CPSU (Communist Party of the Soviet Union) did not place the national question in its proper place and did not properly assess Soviet national relations as they developed during the era of Stalin. Following the removal of Nikita Khrushchev from power, (actually it was a coup d'état), the policy of the CPSU continued on its course of Russian great power assaults on the non-Russian peoples. A false, reactionary concept was introduced, proclaiming one Soviet nation as a new historic community of people. This concept was devised to prepare the foundation for the liquidation of national statehood for the non-Russian peoples. It is characteristic that these propositions were made during the discussion of the project constitution. It is also characteristic that the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU made reference to them. Even more interesting was his response to the propositions: we should not hurry the process for it is proceeding to that condition. There is no need to accelerate an "objective process". Indeed. As a matter of fact, it is being accelerated in many ways. The latest evidence of that is the thesis, announced in the latest Soviet constitution, of a monolithic, unified country. This contradicts elementary logic: if the USSR is a federation and not a country, then it cannot be a "monolithic, united country". If a country is a union, then it is no longer a monolith. The concepts of "a monolithic, united country", of "one Soviet nation" are the political concretizations of the ideas of the approaching merging of nations.

... In order to ensure the Soviet peoples equal justice and the conditions of free development as nations, the CPSU must reject Lenin's hypotheses of the merging of nations, the nearing of peoples,

one Soviet nation, etc. and return to the national program based on the idea of the rights of nations to national self-determination. In short, the theory of one Soviet nation sounds irrational in view of the constitutional right of the member republic to secede from the federation. A theoretical and historical analysis of these and many other questions comprises the first chapter of work . . .

Chapter II. "The Concept of an 'Ancient Rus Nationality' "

The specifics of Ukraine's national circumstances are such that the nightmare of national annihilation looms not only in the future, but in the past as well, for the official historiographic concepts of Ukraine's history raise doubts about the historic credence of the Ukrainian people. The unscholarly theory, sewn with political threads, about a "single ancient Rus nationality" creates an overbearing inequality between the Russian and Ukrainian peoples. It would seem that the concept in general is valid: until the 14th Century there was one ancient Rus nationality from which three East Slavic peoples were formed. In fact the concept is not based on equality, but is grossly chauvinist. 1) Russian scholarship and propaganda speculate on the terms Rus, "Rus'ian" — the ancient Ukrainian ethnonym — which in time became the national self-apellation of the Russians. As to Ukraine, it is forbidden to use the term "Ukraine" when referring to the pre-14th Century era. Russians, on the other hand, can calmly speak of "Russian History", "Russian people" and "Russian culture" referring to the era beginning in the 9th Century and even as far back as the 6th. All discussion is carried in the tone and spirit of Russian patriotism. 2) The issue is not one of terminology and double meanings: Russian historians do not divide the history of Russia into an "ancient Rus'ian" era that was prior to actual Russian history and into Russian history by itself which began in the 14th Century. They view Russian history as one uninterrupted historical process, beginning not only with the era of Kyivan Rus, but from the emergence of the Eastern Slavs on the historical arena. Clearly, they include in Russian history the entire history of the Eastern Slavs to the 14th Century. Ukrainian society is educated in the consciousness that prior to the 14th Century, Ukrainians did not exist and that, in fact, they emerged as a people as a result of the invasion of Eastern Europe by the Mongol-Tartars who disunited the "Rus'ian lands". After the 14th Century, it seems, the Ukrainian people were struggling not for national independence but for "reunification" with Russia. The concept of ancient "Rus'ian" nationality and "reunification" with Russia, as formulated by the theoreticians, logically renews to its full extent the pre-revolutionary Russian chauvinist historiography, which did not recognize the national exclusiveness of the Ukrainian people and did not permit their existence outside the perimeters of the Russian state. In the second chapter, I cite a great deal of factual material,

drawn almost exclusively from Soviet sources (from the works of Soviet scholars) which shows the lack of scholarly foundation for the concept of "one ancient Rus'ian nationality". I also discuss the political basis for the idea of "reunification" and the overbearing inequality of the historiographic circumstances of Ukrainians in comparison with Russians. The idea of "reunification" begins in the 19th Century and is now supplemented by the idea of struggle against so-called Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism. The lack of genuine historical scholarship and the political tendentiousness in this area are unbelievable. In all nations, the bourgeoisie are acknowledged the historic right to lead a national liberation movement, but the Ukrainian bourgeoisie are denied that right by Soviet historiography. The Ukrainian national liberation movement is painted as nationalist (in a negative connotation) while its representatives and members are vulgarly contrasted to the "revolutionary democrats" who supposedly fought against nationalism and for "reunification" with Russia.

Chapter III. "The Past Versus the Future or the Myth of Ukrainian Bourgeois Nationalism as a Mask for Russian Chauvinism"

In the third chapter I examine the theoretical problem of nationalism based on an analysis of the works of T. Shevchenko, I. Franko, P. Hrabovsky and L. Ukrainka (late 19th and early 20th Century Ukrainian literary figures, now depicted in Soviet Ukraine as pre-revolutionary, socialist visionaries — trans.) as well as other documents. In Chapter III, I show how contemporary "internationalists" who "wage war on Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism" are the same as the pre-revolutionary Black-Hundreds (an ultra-nationalist Russian organization in Tsarist Russia — trans.) while T. Shevchenko, I. Franko, P. Hrabovsky and L. Ukrainka would be considered genuine "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists" according to the criteria of today's party propaganda. In particular, they never opposed the idea of an independent Ukraine. On the contrary, I. Franko clearly announced that goal as a program for the Ukrainian national liberation movement. In fact, discrediting the idea of an independent Ukrainian state by party propaganda and historiography has an anti-constitutional character, since the right of Ukraine to create its own separate independent state is guaranteed by the constitution of the USSR.

Soviet historiography also grossly falsifies historic truths when it examines the question of the bourgeois nature of the Ukrainian nation and its peasantry — allegedly the theoretical base for Ukrainian nationalism. Incessant official propaganda against so-called Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism has long since become a psychological war against the national consciousness of Ukrainians, against the whole Ukrainian nation. It is a powerful ideological tool for the Russification of Ukraine.

Chapter IV. "The Present or the Right to Merge with Death"

I have only begun writing the fourth chapter. A subjective individual would probably have a difficult time imagining the true situation of contemporary Ukraine, a nation of 50 million living in the centre of Europe. Propaganda will maintain that Ukraine has its own statehood, that there are Ukrainian schools, newspapers, radio and television and books published in million-copy editions. First of all, some things do exist, but they are not attributable to the Russian internationalists but are rather the fruits of the Ukrainian struggle for national independence. Secondly, everything cannot be "merged" and "internationalized" at once. Thirdly, our visible conditions are far removed from those that would be basically satisfactory. Most importantly, between the official version of Ukraine's past and "future" which the chauvinist will of the CPSU has perverted into wastelands, there is no room for the normal historic life of a people. Our "present" (which I place in quotation marks because the consciousness of the future and past are the most important aspects of the contemporary life of a nation) is not very enduring. With us, in essence, the process of national consolidation has not yet been completed (that is how our history has developed). The hostility of Western and Eastern Ukraine to one another is still discernable, while party ideology and propaganda perpetuate that state. Our inheritance from Russian imperialism is a defective national organism. Our national rebirth was unable to sustain itself. Today's cultural circumstances are difficult to the extent that Ukrainians have developed an inadequacy complex. This is a result of our history of enslavement and amounts to a serious anti-Ukrainian historical factor. The prestige of Ukrainian culture is very low. This is not surprising for its development has been one-sided. Scientific literature is usually published in Russian.. There are very few Ukrainian schools in Eastern Ukrainian cities. Their content is actually anti-Ukrainian, for they educate Ukrainians in the spirit of "reunification" and "united peoples" — at one time as "ancient Rus'ians" and now "Soviets". Films are made in Russian and only a portion of the releases are also produced in Ukrainian for the villages. Television and radio are also mainly in Russian. Most basic is the question of quality. Ukrainian culture has been reduced to the level of a propagandistic supplement to Russian culture. To add to it all is the total persecution of nationally conscious Ukrainians, especially those who even faintly express demands with respect to the national status of their Homeland. A person who only sees the showy facade of a "sovereign" Ukraine, would be horrified at the extent and measure of national persecution of Ukrainians in the Soviet Union.

Chapter V. "Perspectives or a World About the Unity of Human History"

But this chaotic and pale discussion about the contemporary situation in Ukraine must come to an end, for it will soon be morning and I still have to briefly recount the text of my final and, in some respects, most important chapter... I was able to complete it and managed to edit nearly all of it. It consists of 366 single-spaced typewritten pages and is essentially a philosophical, socio-political and sociological analysis of the political ideology of today's CPSU and Marxist theory of communism. My basic argument is that in the area of sociological theory, Soviet society is based on class antagonism. The CPSU, in reality, is not a party, it is a separate class, a ruling class which exists in an adversary relationship with other classes of socialist society. The political power in the USSR is in the hands of the party and not in the hands of the elected soviets of workers' deputies. The idea of the leadership of the party illustrates this plainly. "Soviet" power, that is, the power of the soviets (councils) in the USSR does not exist. What we have is a dictatorship of the party. My conclusion about the political status of the CPSU as a ruling class in Soviet society is carefully based on the sociological theory of Marx and Engels. The economic and spiritual conditions that constitute a soviet society demand the democratization of the country to the grass roots. Such a democratisation is impossible without political freedom, which, in the case of the Soviet Union, I perceive along the ideological lines of Eurocommunism: a multi-party system with intellectual and cultural pluralism and a non-ideological government.

I classify my social and political position as democratic socialism, a social-economic system (general social and co-operative ownership of the means of production) plus a democratic political structure which ensures the right to political opposition, free criticism of government policies and so on. In my view, democratic socialism is an alternative to an antagonistic bourgeois society as well as the one-party, anti-democratic Soviet socialism.

... I base the antagonistic nature of the Soviet society, the status of the CPSU as a ruling, exploitative class on the Marxist categories of private ownership — in its broad meaning — as labour that is divided and expropriated. The point is that the CPSU views its political leadership of society as a separate form of labour, therefore, its private property. As a result of this formulation, the CPSU has established itself as the ruling class of society and it does not share its political power with anyone. In a capitalist society, the right to private ownership formally belongs to every person regardless of political, religious, philosophical and other views. The CPSU chooses its members according to their political positions. Therefore, political

democracy in Soviet one-party socialism not only has not yet surpassed bourgeois democracy, it has not yet matched it. That is how Marx and Engels characterized the gross barracks communism, whose ideas have found their realization in Soviet society.

... It is now forty minutes until 7:00 A.M. I must finish. I feel terrible because I do not have the opportunity to explain to people more convincingly about the catastrophic position of my Homeland, Ukraine. I hope people of good will take me at my word: Ukrainians in the USSR live in conditions of total national suppression, experience constant persécution and repressions from the force of Russian great power chauvinism. I appeal to the world democratic community to take an interest in the national-political and cultural situation of the Ukrainian people today. The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR should draw the proper conclusions about the social-political and national situation in the Soviet Union.

Kyiv, 1977

Yuriy Vasylovych Badzyo,
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apt. 16

PRISONERS AGAINST SOVIET RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM

Fifteen political prisoners of various nationalities incarcerated in the Soviet Union signed a document supporting the fight against Soviet Russian imperialism and colonialism.

The 1979 statement was addressed to the secretariat of the Group 72, the Moscow and Ukrainian Helsinki monitoring groups, U.N. Secretary General Kurt Waldheim, the 35th session of the U.N. General Assembly, governments which signed the Helsinki Accords, and all citizens of the free world.

The document was written and signed by six inmates of the Chystopol special prison: Razmik Zahrobian (Armenian), Anatoly Shcharansky (Jew), Vladimir Balakhanov and Michail Kazachko (Russians) and Vasyl Fedorenko and Yuriy Shukhevych (Ukrainians).

It was co-signed by nine prisoners of the concentration camp near Sosnovka in Mordovia: Balys Gajauskas, Aleksandr Ginsburg, Nikolai Yevhrafov, Sviatoslav Karavansky, Lev Lukianenko, Bohdan Rebryk, Oleksa Tykhy, Danylo Shumuk and Edward Kuznetsov.

Castigating the Soviet Union for being a "prison of nations" and for its "savage despotism", the political prisoners called on the governments of the world, all political parties and the Churches "to firmly raise the question of the liquidation of all forms of national and colonial subjugation — the inseparable companion of mankind's final empire, the Soviet Russian — the prison of nations, which today

near the end of the 20th century, is the principal retarding force in the world's development".

One of the first points raised in their statement was the "suffocation of the national liberation struggles of the non-Russian nations". In protesting against the deportations to the eastern-most regions of Siberia, the prisoners demanded to be returned to their original native lands.

The political prisoners declared a day of silence on July 26 in protest against national discrimination. They objected to the camp administration's refusal to allow them "to fraternize with the camp's administration, personal and business correspondence, to speak in languages other than Russian during meetings with family members, to read books, to listen to the radio, to watch movies in their native language, to observe national holidays and dates, to foster their national customs and rituals, to organize along national lines".

August 3 was designated by the political prisoners as the day to commemorate a nation's right to decide its own future. On that day the 15 political inmates marked the signing of the Helsinki Accords by "protesting against the brutal violation by the Soviet government of Article VIII of the declaration of principles of the Final Act and demanding the immediate implementation of its most important international principle concerning all prisoners of Soviet Russian colonialism and imperialism on the territory of the USSR and beyond its borders".

Their motto was "For the freedom of each of our nations" and "For your and our freedom".

"However we realize that solidarity among the captive nations is not enough and we are therefore counting on the support and sympathy for our cause of all freedom-loving countries on Earth, first of all from those which recently attained their independence, and the entire Third World as well as all democratic countries of the West".

Writing that their reality is in constant threat of becoming a statistic, denationalized and unified into one entity called the "new historical community of people — the Soviet nation", the political prisoners warned the countries of the world that "our today would become your tomorrow" and that "civilization could be trampled under the boots of the Kremlin's global hegemony".

MEMOIRS OF OKSANA MESHKO

(FINAL PART)

On Sunday at the morning roll-call, a camp officer announced that a medical commission was to examine those chronically ill or crippled and that they would be released into exile before the completion of their sentences. He went on to say that elderly women would be sent to their families for care if these gave their consent in writing. When he finished everyone practically threw themselves at him, inundating him with questions, to which he merely replied: "The ice has moved, the river will flow" . . .

In the spring of 1954 I was declared "ailing" — at last they had found a formula to fit! My son confirmed that he was prepared to support me. (The post brought such pledges signed by mothers and other relatives everyday).

But for some reason nothing more was said about this matter in the zone. Meanwhile the deranged people waited, their peace disturbed, flitting from one barrack to another.

A photographer arrived to take pictures for documents. Whoever was sent to him, was considered to be exceptionally lucky.

My photos were taken. All the newly prepared documents were kept in the camp safe, and weren't even shown to those for whom they had been issued. People were thus dispatched from the zone — without the necessary documents and without even knowing their purpose. Those "released" were escorted to a freight train by a guard and female warder, without being told their destination.

Food rations were distributed and we were told that the warder would give us each some money when we arrived.

The huge Krasnoyarska prison greeted us — built of iron, echoing every sound — a legacy of the "great" czarist empire.

We spent about two weeks in the prison cells, emptying the locally-made wooden latrine buckets, eating soup tasting like dish water from aluminium bowls served from a feeding trough, hiding our well-licked spoons in our bags.

The warder took our documents away and pocketed our "daily allowances" — without even thanking us or saying good-bye.

Buyers came and studied the small print. They summoned the live wares for viewing and little by little, bought them up.

I alone remained from our herd. I began to hammer at my cell door, but had to wait a long time before I was granted an "audience". When I was finally seen, I described the type of work I had done while at liberty and said that I had learnt carpentry while in the camp.

I was taken to the wood-cutting combine. At first I was given to understand that I would be working in a laboratory but for some reason I was made to work on a hand-machine, cutting thick boards

for German planning machines... I asked to be informed of the conditions of my "freedom" — only to be dismayed to learn that the words: "... and five years exile..." had been arbitrarily added to the paragraph stating the length of my sentence. Beneath, the words "... the exchange document is not valid..." had been typed out.

I began transporting logs in a cart, but couldn't earn enough to pay for bread or a bowl of warm food... Imprisonment had affected me so much, that I was terrified of all "free men". I was unable to adapt. Somehow I summoned enough courage to go into the general store (before I had just stood in front of the window) to satisfy my curiosity. There were few people inside, although their number was doubled by their reflections in mirrors. As I wandered around I happened upon my own reflection — dressed in a warmjacket, old felt boots — a reflection of a clumsy, confused woman... I fled from the store... I had seen myself for the first time in eight years (guards put girls into isolation if they were found with mirrors). I would sometimes look into some fragment of metal and examine my face piece by piece, but there was never any real reason to want to do that.

In the spring, having recovered somewhat, I began to wander around the town and Yanisey. The countryside was severe but beautiful, and its reawakening stirred my own suppressed strengths and desires. As an exile I had to register with the town's officials once a month, and was by now accustomed to being without a warden and guard, but I found that I still avoided busy streets and sought out empty places — and there were plenty of these in this feverishly built town. I walked alone along the sands, collecting grasses and gathering them into bouquets, then hiding from people because of my shame for my own and the bouquets' wretchedness.

In spring I was issued with a well-fitting black satin overall, which I used as a summer coat to cover my pitiable clothes.

*

"Dressed" in my overcoat, I began to look for a job. The Krasnoyarsk hydrolitic works were the practical realisation of the theoretical work conducted in the analytical laboratory under the direction of Mykola Guthertz, and was part of a scientific collective, of which I had been a member for four years.

There were not enough "cadres" working at the plant and posts for chemists and laboratory technicians were being advertised and I applied. The personnel manageress rejected me after she found out who I was. When I persisted, she retorted: "You'll never find work anywhere". The plant director didn't even want to speak to me, referring me to the personnel manageress.

I went to the KGB and made an appointment with someone from from the investigative section. When my interviewer discovered that

I had come to complain that I couldn't get a job related to my profession — he merely expressed his astonishment at my "simplicity and insolence".

I then demanded to see the head of the section "over a serious matter". An appointment was made, and when I attended several days later, I declared my intentions: Because I had been released before the end of my sentence due to the state of my health to care for myself, being made to work on the wood-cutting combine doing heavy physical work, meant that I was unable to earn even a minimum living wage. Thus I demanded that I either be sent back to the camp or be given work related to my qualifications on the plant. It transpired that they weren't authorised to grant exiles work, and that this wasn't in their sphere of duties at all.

I then threatened that I would make a public statement in the Krasnoyarsk market place as soon as possible, when I would tell the general public that I wished to be sent back to the camp, where as an invalid, I would at least be guaranteed a full pension. All that happened in 1955 — when I didn't have access to newspapers. I was determined to fulfill my resolution, and they promised to contact the plant.

It was thus that I secured the position of laboratory technician in the plant. After telephoning, I met Kucherenko, the director and his deputy — Honcharenko — my countrymen — fellow Kyivans who had been evacuated here to help in the rebuilding of the plant, in which matter they often consulted Guthertz. They gave me much help — giving me their support and allocating me a separate room in the hostel. How time fled! I was issued with a passport and no longer had to register with the town officials. My son wrote and told me to drop everything and to return to Kyiv. I resigned from work and in June 1956, I went to the Krasnoyarsk railway station with my ragged possessions and my ticket for Kyiv. The station was packed with people waiting in groups. The echoes of everyone's voices sounded like some Ukrainian dialect. For a minute I froze, then pushed my way through the crowds towards the place where I had heard some one calling me: "Oksana Yakivna". Then I was called from another spot, then another . . . I was being called by the familiar voices of my dear friends from the camp!

This was that contingent of people that I worked with in the years between 1948-1953 in the forests and fields of Irkutsk, that constructed roads, mined in the quarries, and that had promised to return (home) if only they could . . .

Not all could return, and many of those who did, came with heavy hearts . . . My fellow countrymen hastened to recount the following:

1. In 1956 Commissions from the CC CPSU worked in the camps examining the especially dangerous cases;
2. The Commission examined about 1000 cases within 2-3 days

(there were approximately 1000 prisoners in each camp unit), from which about 1000 women prisoners were released, leaving almost 1½-2% of the examined cases imprisoned in the camps. Those women on whom the gates of the emptied camps closed, went wild...

3. That governmental favour came too late. Many of those sentenced to ten-year terms, had already served their time, and others were approaching the end of their sentences. Some were nearing the end of 15 year sentences and those serving 25 year terms, didn't believe that they would be detained for so long anyway...

4. Many people were "released" from hospitals, but these were invalids without pensions. (The only "others" that remained were "housed" in a field of graves, marked only by numbered pieces of plywood).

5. Periods spent doing hard labour weren't taken into account. Only rehabilitation accounted for this.

All these dejected people were journeying to various places, most trying to reach their families in exile. Some returned to Ukraine. I later discovered that many women, having served their sentences travelled to serve their exile sentences with their families, but then found themselves under police surveillance.

The spring of 1956 sneered at me — granting me a restricted passport (and thus status) but it at least meant that I no longer had to register with the town's officials and meant that I was granted some, but by no means all, citizen's rights.

The summer blossomed with rehabilitations, and some good fortune saved my son Oles. We met on the day of his 24th birthday in Kyiv, after having been separated for 9½ years.

Oles no longer lived with his father. (The ill, shell-shocked Fedir Serhiyenko, crippled in World War II, had been used by the investigative section of the KGB in 1947 as a witness testifying against me. Thus he lived on his own — having disgraced his own family, with an embittered conscience...)

I paid my respects at the grave of my long-suffering mother (who had died 5 years after I had been sentenced).

My splintered family — a mother and her son — slowly revived.

My son was suffering from tuberculosis of the lungs. But I was so elated and optimistic that I believed there was nothing I couldn't accomplish — I even believed that I could cure my sick son.

My son did not have a rapid physical recovery, but became healthy in a "practical" way. He had been prevented from having a normal education and from leading a normal life because of his illness and because he was orphaned. However he loved reading and even when he was small he studied with enthusiasm. Not having yet discovered his calling, he gave precedence to the humanities and in particular to the history of Ukraine and her national literature, and was erudite in Ukrainian matters.

He also had a hobby — reciting Ukrainian classical poetry and the poetry of the “shestydesyatnyky”. He had built his personal library around these tastes.

He was always immersed in a book and read in every free moment that he had, avoiding any domestic duties I asked him to do. This made me feel both angry and sad.

He shared all the impressions he gained from books and his accumulated knowledge with everyone with the sincerity and spontaneity of a child. He would recite to anyone willing to listen. This he was able to do with great artistry.

The rhythm of ordinary life slowly numbed the memory of all the horrors I had lived through. Fear for my son was now my dominant concern; my enemy now — his illness. I used everything in and beyond my powers to try to restore him to health and make him happy, although this was not an easy task. He had lived on his own in a 4.5. m. sq. room in a seven-storey building for several years after the death of his granny. This was the “ceiling” attained by a deputy in 1948 when both my son and his grandmother were deprived of a home and were evicted to the back yard of a bank in October Street in Kyiv.

Between myself and my son there lay not only the distance of time, but also a completely unnatural psychological barrier, confounded by the eternal problem of the “parent and child relationship”, and by this sick society that splits families. This, if it does make relatives into enemies, makes them absolute strangers.

I had to overcome these problems in a very short space of time. My son's enforced “bachelor habits” endangered his condition even further. To treat him successfully it was necessary to immediately change the rhythm of his life and all his habits. My son was not studying. He had been forced to leave the fourth year of the Agricultural Academy because of the state of his health and because of the covert pressure exerted by the “comsomol active”, which has a detrimental effect on the healthy, not to mention the effect it can have on an ill child, left alone in the world.

Neither did he work. He received some help from his sick father who had spent years of his life in hospitals trying to cure his tuberculosis. Thus Oles lived in a temporary state of insecurity.

In 1958, as a rehabilitated person, I was allocated a 12 m. sq. room in a communal flat. Then after Serhiyenko's death in 1958, we lived on my father's private homestead, situated in a complex of orchards at Kurenivtsi, where it is warm all season long.

I forced Oles to work in the orchard. As a city man without the stamina for physical work, it was difficult for him to adapt to the routine of work required in an orchard. Then there was his illness to consider — he had always to shield himself from cold winds.

He had to be trained to do physical exercise and weaned into good

health. But he always had a temperature and was afflicted with misfortune. He regarded me (so he told me) as some strange woman "who comes here to clean".

Slowly though, and with great difficulty, we established spiritual contacts. Despite the difficulty of life, because of the joy we felt, and because of all our accomplishments, we felt continually optimistic.

Finally we accomplished much. And if my son ever weakened either physically or spiritually, I would pull him up again. And with every critical moment in my son's life, my strength grew in proportion to his downfall.

In 1963 Oles began to study at the Kyiv medical school, where he was an active participant of both student and community life, which at that time seemed to be awakening from a deep sleep.

Khrushchev's liberalisation policies had the effect of reawakening community life in Kyiv in the most innocent of ways. Literary evenings became somewhat less uniform in their style and content. Collective choirs now appeared with somewhat altered programmes and repertoires.

In the Writers' Union Club the anniversaries of newly rehabilitated writers and artists who had been purged during the despotic personality cult, were celebrated. Slowly, grudgingly, the curtain on our shameful past was lifting.

Students, teachers, the general public began to gather by Ivan Franko's and Taras Shevchenko's memorials on the dates of their anniversaries.

They came of their own initiative, motivated by their own desire to pay homage. They recited Ukrainian classical poetry, the works of the "shestydesyatnyky", their own works. All this was incredibly new, neither officially accepted nor prohibited.

This was how in 1964 the tradition of commemorating the removal of the Great Kobzar's body to Kaniv began. This was always celebrated on the 22nd May by the Shevchenko memorial. People packed the park on this day. A mountain of flowers was built from the bouquets brought by everyone. On the 22nd May, 1966, my son was amongst those paying their respects to Taras Shevchenko at his memorial.

Oles Serhiyenko recited Shevchenko's poetry from the pedestal of the monument.

However, this year was different from the previous two years: every detail of the evening was recorded by cameras, tapes, police and KGB divisions (in civilian dress) — strategically placed in the park and in the university square opposite the Shevchenko park. The most unforgiveable aspect of the evening was the very recital of Shevchenko's poetry. Neither could those who had recited the verse, nor those who had listened in the park in perfect silence, be absolved.

At the end of the evening police spies guided Nadiyka Svitlychna and Oles right to their homes. They were already sharpening their claws over Oles. Then on the evening of the 28th May, Ivan Franko's anniversary was celebrated at the Kyiv Conservatoire. Attendance was by invitation only. The hall was half empty and the gallery completely so. For some reason those who wished to attend but had no invitation, were turned away by the hall attendants.

Some of the students, standing in front of the locked doors, wanted to overcome this artificial barrier and enter the gallery and hall through an emergency door. But there they were greeted by people in civilian dress who stopped them, demanded to see their documents, checked their passports.

Thus several people, instead of attending the anniversary concert, found themselves in the Lenin rayon police station in Kyiv.

This was how Oles Serhiyenko was detained, while Mykola Khododny, an engineer and a medical student were arrested at the Franko memorial, where they had gone after the concert to recite poetry. All four were made to serve 15 days for "hooliganism" in the Lukyanivsk prison.

They announced a hunger strike in protest against this treatment, against the violation of man's rights and his dignity.

The procuracy did not react to their protest statements — they were force-fed with fluids given through rubber tubes, applied through their noses. They were forced to sleep on the bare ground — without mattresses or any other form of bedding.

Procurator Samayev was relentless, even after I had submitted my personal plea. This marked the beginning of the attack on my son: not long after, he was expelled from the third year of the Kyiv medical school for "low achievement". This despite the fact that he had in fact done well and had attained good marks for his work.

When an individual is dismissed from an educational establishment in this way, he is automatically deprived of the right of re-admission. This method is particularly applied to individuals persecuted for their beliefs.

My son had been knocked off the rails for a second time.

A trying time began, complicated with Oles' forced unemployment, under the control of the KGB. Life is made even more difficult for an individual who has no formal qualifications but who still wishes to work on the basis of the calling of his heart and intellect.

In 1969 Oles secured a post in a secondary school teaching drawing and art. Unexpectedly he discovered a calling in this work and found he had a gift for teaching, hence his contact with children transformed the difficult work of a teacher into a joy.

But he was not to work for long in the school. He was dismissed in the middle of the school year because he had read the necrology at the artist's Alla Horska's funeral in December 1970. On the 1st June,

under pressure from the head of the school, he issued a statement declaring that "he left of his own accord".

1970 stared us in the face and smiled evilly at us. In connection with Valentyn Moroz's arrest on the 1st June the KGB conducted a search of our home on the 2nd June. They were looking for letters written by Valentyn Moroz, for anti-Soviet literature and "other items banned from general circulation" — as noted in the search warrant.

Many people who personally knew Valentyn Moroz wrote letters in his defence and attended the Ivano-Frankivsk regional court where Moroz was on trial. However, no one was allowed into the court room; the trial was held in camera. Everyone who came to be present at the proceedings was sent out of the very court building by the militia, who scattered people even further by the use of water hoses.

Not long after Oles managed to get a job in the republican museum of Ukrainian architecture and found accomodation with an art restorer (March 1970).

He worked with enthusiasm and with an understanding of the historical importance of the newly opened museum, and contributed much to it.

He would often visit the esteemed communist-artist Ivan Honchar's private historic-ethnographic museum and often consulted him about his own work. Honchar's museum was open to everyone who wished to see it — in accordance with an old Ukrainian custom.

Ivan Honchar loved young people, and they him, and his yard, by the Pecherski banks, was always packed with people.

And not far from Ivan Honchar's museum, by the Dnipro rapids, the choir "Homin", under the direction of Leopold Yashchenko, learnt Ukrainian national songs, a somewhat forgotten and partly lost legacy. Leopold Yashchenko, a collator of Ukrainian folklore, composer and teacher, was dismissed from the Institute of Folklore at the Academy of Science in 1968 because of his deep love for Ukrainian music and his deep understanding of his responsibilities as a teacher and conservator of the Ukrainian musical and lyrical heritage.

When he found himself unemployed, he was already well-known and spontaneously a group of enthusiasts gathered around him and later organised themselves into a choir.

The choir wasn't formed on the basis of any formal rules and had no set meeting place, thus in winter it met in any available school rooms and in spring and summer — on the banks of the Dnipro, by the rapids.

The authorities and the ever-watchful KGB could not tolerate the spontaneity of Ivan Honchar's work nor of Leopold Yashchenko's "wandering" choir; The museum was closed forever... The choir

was scattered after its members were questioned, threatened, dismissed from work, universities and so on. No more literary-artistic evenings were held publically...

Thus began a brutal attack on the youth reviving Ukrainian cultural and community life, a revival which began in Kyiv in the 1960's. This onslaught resulted in the mass arrests of the Ukrainian creative intelligentsia and cultural workers in 1971-1972.

My son Oles also found himself caught in the fabricated political processes taking place in Ukraine in 1972.

The unfounded arrest of my son was as unexpected as incomprehensible. His arrest was made at the same time as searches were conducted by the KGB, searches which usually lasted for at least several hours, and sometimes from early morning to late at night. The first wave of these came on the 12th January, the second on the 4th February 1972 — seven men were taken.

The third wave came on the 20th December (the search in which 17 people were involved, lasted 13 hours). This was almost two years after the arrest of my son — when he was already serving his sentence in the Perm camps.

Serhiyenko had not committed any constitutional crimes nor was there any evidence to prove that he had been involved in "agitation and propaganda with the intention to overthrow the Soviet regime".

During the first two months of his investigation, the KGB tried to persuade my son to publically recant. They would, naturally, prepare the text of this themselves. My son's reward in return would be a formal trial and a lenient sentence.

Oles rejected this bait — his honesty and principles dictated the course of events — the maximum sentence. The very life of a sick man was endangered.

Neither did Oles keep silent about this proposition. He told his lawyer, Serhiy Martysh, about it in his investigation cell in the presence of KGB general Hanenko, just at the time that article 218 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code was being drawn up.

The KGB's motto was upheld: "find us a man, and we'll find the case"; thus a case against Serhiyenko was drawn up. The following formed the basis of his incrimination:

1. The correction of the first 33 pages of Ivan Dzuba's work "Internationalism or Russification?", as if the title, and in particular as if the words "or Russification" were composed by Serhiyenko himself. As experts confirmed (whose opinion was no doubt based on KGB criterion) "the corrections and the very title of the work emphasise the anti-Soviet nature of I. Dzuba's "Internationalism or Russification?". (The court stipulated that Serhiyenko was to pay for the costs of this expert advice! — 383 karbovantsi).

2. His condemnation of the international military intervention in

Czechoslovakia in 1968 and "because of slander against Soviet reality and democracy in the USSR".

3. His claims that Ukrainian cultural life is being russified.

4. The material printed in the journal "Ukrainian Herald" was used as "material evidence" as it published the speech Serhiyenko read at Alla Horska's funeral, and also printed information about his dismissal from school.

And secondly the note book confiscated during the search conducted in 1970 was used as evidence against Serhiyenko. The note book in question was empty except for five pages with notes on Koestler's "Darkness at Noon", two pages on the first edition of the "Ukrainian Herald", published in January 1970, and a list of the following titles:

1. "The effects of russification on the pages of Ukrainian Soviet publications;

2. "Notes from Ukrainian Community Life". The investigation and jury were allowed to study the above "titles" and considered them to be titles of articles written for the "Ukrainian Herald".

Thus this note book was presented as "material evidence". A recording made by Serhiyenko describing his visit as a delegate to the CC CPU in 1967, listing demands for the use of Ukrainian and not Russian in Ukrainian academic institutions, was also presented as evidence. Serhiyenko was further incriminated for his use of the term "an independent Ukraine" when presenting his views on the absolute necessity of the geographical separation of Ukraine's frontiers in order to consolidate Ukraine as an ethnic unit and in order to contain the Ukrainian population.

Along with the above evidence, further "material evidence" proving Serhiyenko "thought differently" lay on the prosecuting bench. This consisted of:

1. The book: "Lenin on national politics in Ukraine", where the KGB investigator claimed pages 304, 335 and 387 were marked with "contemptuous remarks";

2. The newspaper "Youth of Ukraine" from the 2. 5. 1971, containing a speech by L. Brezhnev, was marked in the margins with the comment: "And what if it is really our path...". This "evidence" was taken from the report made about the search conducted on the 4. 2. 1972.

The Supreme Court of the Ukrainian SSR ratified the decision passed by the Kyiv regional court, sentencing Oles to 7 years' to be served in corrective labour camps and to 3 years' exile.

A closed and secret meeting of the three (correct in accordance with court procedure as the defence and prosecutor were present) first sentenced Oles in Kyiv in 1972. Then a year later he was resented in the camp by the regional Chusovsky court in Perm for "disciplinary reasons" to three years' imprisonment without the right of appeal.

The political repressions conducted in Ukraine in 1971-1972 and

the arrest of my son disheartened me, but did not convince me that the situation was hopeless.

It wasn't feasible that this reactionary wave was of a local nature, but it had to be the result of sanctions passed by top government officials.

I had such a strong desire to believe in the good promised by socialism, especially in the post-Stalin period — the age of numerous rehabilitations and admission of "errors".

The human tragedy which we had lived through — which we were promised would never return, was returning as a farce!

The government mocked its own decisions by condemning despotism and undemocratic acts in the resolutions passed by two party congresses of the CPSU.

My young grandson — Ustym — had in turn become the fourth generation of the Meshko-Serhiyenko family to be innocently oppressed.

What is even worse is that these people hold positions in fiscal and executive government, albeit on the basis of secret orders" from above", and consciously commit inhumane and illegal acts, treating the numerous volumes of Soviet law as if they were some ball merely to be kicked around on a football pitch.

Thus in my search for legality, I found myself confronting the investigative section of the KGB, though now separated from my son by the wall of a prison, the very same prison where my case had been investigated, an investigation which resulted in me being sentenced in absentia . . .

I was well acquainted with the dark interior of that prison, situated in the very centre of the capital, abreast the ancient Cathedral of St. Sophia and its iron gates leading into Irynska Street, opening into that nightmare world . . .

But modern methods have changed since the time I experienced them, at least superficially. Not only do they not heap abuse on people any more, they are even quite well behaved and restrained in their behaviour towards the families of the arrested, almost kind, ingratiating towards "people from the streets". These were the rules of behaviour to be followed when dealing with people called in for questioning in connection with those arrested and their families (yes, yes, even their families). They summoned those people, listed in some report, who had visited Ivan Honchar's museum, who sang in Leopold Yashchenko's choir and all their former acquaintances. They also summoned fellow students, medical personnel who had given any of the above treatment, caretakers, neighbours, chance acquaintances met on beaches, in hotels, on journeys and so on.

You would have thought that nothing could be left unearthed about an individual using such methods, that nothing less than the truth would be revealed, but this is infact far from the case.

The KGB's blood hound methods are its way of trying to find potential witnesses for the construction of a case against an individual that they already have detained behind bars.

The questioning of these hounded witnesses is not always reported to the court. More often than not, these interrogations result in the "celibacy" and "starvation" of the individual being questioned, with the KGB trying to find his "weak points", "errors", his biography, problems in finding accomodation, academic difficulties, employment problems and so on.

First of all *everything* about the individual under investigation is described, with allusions that help will be provided with complicated questions that cannot be understood without some form of advice. The KGB is all-powerful, and its resources — limitless — as anyone who has ever had any contact with them will know (for bending under pressure, the KGB pays generously).

The KGB rewards information and co-operation with financial compensation (paid through money orders) and will bend over backwards to pay for services rendered — for example, by securing university places for students who have once been dismissed.

In this general atmosphere of fear and obvious illegality, having discovered the "weaknesses" of the individual brought in for questioning, the investigator files a report, twisting the testimony in addition.

After signing such testimonies, witnesses often feel totally disorientated, ashamed of their moral downfall.

In the actual court proceedings, such witnesses often refuse to testify to their previously made statements i.e. those composed within the confines of KGB cells.

However, the judge (obviously an "expert", as are the defence and prosecution with their orthodox "dossiers" — checked and passed by the appropriate institution) — always refuses to take this into account.

He opens the file, and reads the testimony himself. If the witness still denies the truth of the testimony, he'll call another such bludgeoned witness and force that poor wretch to read the testimony of the first, alluding to his illiteracy.

The testimony is practically whispered... The judge asks loudly: "I'm asking you if this is your signature-"...

It must be noted that such a "trial" is held in camera, in a biased atmosphere, without the right of defence.

The court attendants fulfill the duty of the militia during the hearing, and forbid access to the court room and even the court building, chasing the public out into the streets with the words: "The authorities have taken their seats, you have no right to enter".

In this way, practically every witness conceivable was called to testify in Oles' case.

But these still did not satisfy the court and towards the end of

Oles' investigation, I was summoned by the KGB to be a witness. I again had to prepare a statement: "... my son's case has reached the courts; only the court can call me as a witness. I cannot be a witness in any other case".

I finally responded to lieutenant Tkach's summons: I was afraid of being searched. Oles' trial was due to begin in two days time — they could have taken me by force to answer their questions, and that could well have been at the very time when I should at least have been standing by the walls of the court house where an illegality would be perpetrated against my son in the name of the national court!

Such an act of force was to be expected at any second — especially in view of the treatment I received on the 22nd May, 1972, on that sad day when we commemorated the transference of Taras Shevchenko's body from Petersburg to Kaniv — a day traditionally celebrated by Kyiv democrats. On that day I had been walking along Shevchenko boulevard, carrying three red peonies. I was walking slowly; sad, deep in thought...

As I passed Ryepin Street, a large black luxury car pulled up by the pavement and three young men leapt out, one of whom called out in a friendly manner — "Oksana Yakivna, hello — don't you recognise me—" and within a split second, he had dragged me into the car. I was left by the door and immediately shouted from the window: "Good people, save me!". But everyone hurried past... One of the men grabbed me by the thighs: Instinct took over — I sat down, the door slammed shut and we drove off...

They asked me: "Do you know who we are?"

— No, I don't.

— We're from the KGB.

— Ten why didn't you tell me that at Ryepin Street, then you wouldn't have to have forced me to get into your car — I would have got in myself.

— What did you think had happened?

— I thought I'd been kidnapped, and that in a couple of days time, posters would have been displayed on police notice boards asking: "Help us trace this woman".

In the meantime we had driven up to the KGB headquarters on Volodymyr 33. The man who greeted me as if he had been a friend of mine, jumped out of the car, vanished through the main entrance of the building and reappeared within a second brandishing a scrap of paper. We then drove round the corner and the magic of that scrap of paper swung open the huge wrought gates of the KGB prison yard. They opened and closed in the same way that they had in that February of 1947, when I, a young mother, brimming with life and energy, was engulfed...

The car stopped by that familiar investigation building and I was led along the same path I walked in 1947 to the second floor . . .

I could have been taken into the building through the main entrance, leaving the car in the street, but instead was forced to go through this unnecessary ritual.

What was it all for, I wondered. Arrest? Not impossible — one didn't have to commit a crime to be arrested. It was reason enough that my son was under investigation, and apart from that I had committed some "errors" — I had been organising public literary-artistic evenings with a Ukrainian theme.

I felt neither fear nor pity for myself. I only felt that this had happened at the wrong time — it would be difficult for Dzvinka to bring up her young child alone. And I so wanted to help to bring up my small grandson — Ustym . . .

My heart tightened and I felt absolute revulsion for this infernal machine destroying human life . . .

Without fear, without despondency, without hope, I prepared for my unnatural end . . .

The man who had kidnapped me in the streets, announced in his office that from this day on, he was my investigator (major Didukh).

He took some paper, pushed it towards me on the small desk I was sitting at (I was placed at an interrogation desk!), and ordered: "Explain why you had those anti-Soviet materials and documents we confiscated". (This sentence — a stereotype — is used to cover all confiscated materials). — Which ones, — I asked.

The major started to read a list naming all the confiscated items: literary articles by Vasyl Stus and Yevhen Sverstiuk; Zinovia Franko's article on her grandfather; Lina Kostenko's poetry; poetry by Stanislav Telyuk, Mykola Kholodny and Vasyl Symonenko; various statements made in response to the arrests of political prisoners and Valentyn Moroz's trial — all signed by the Rev. Vasyl Romanyuk, Ivan Dzuba and the writer Antonenko-Davydovych; the text of the speech delivered by Oles Honchar on the occasion of his anniversary; "The House" by O. Dovzhenko and so on.

I pushed the paper back to my new investigator and asked him to call his superior or the chief of the KGB headquarters in order to file a complaint against this unprecedented incident of violence and derision perpetrated against me in Kyiv's very centre in broad daylight. I refused to answer any questions until such time that my demand would be fulfilled.

He would not give up, talked incessantly, threatened me.

I pushed my flowers aside — now wilting on an office desk instead of ornating Shevchenko's memorial, rested my head on my folded arms, and let my thoughts drift to Taras' memorial, where I had been physically prevented from going; to Oles in his prison cell and to all

his compatriots and good and honoured friends — broken by the black death...

My behaviour completely threw my investigators of balance (there were two other men in the office — my guards?) — it didn't match the role I was expected to play.

They refused to call their superiors, and I said nothing in response to their persistent questions.

Three hours later the chief — Oleh Mykolayevych (he didn't give his surname) came and listened to my impassioned complaint. He replied that "the boys were doing their job" and that they would now drive me home.

I protested and said I would make my own way home.

— But what if you go to that place you were originally heading for? — asked Oleh Mykolayevych.

— It's too late for that, — I replied.

— So they'll drive you home.

— I refuse to get into that car which you used to kidnap me. If you don't trust me, let them escort me to the tram stop, but I don't want them walking by my side, but behind me as is their custom.

I was led to the prison yard, now filled with dull light and a guarded silence. The four-storeyed building, its windows covered, impenetrable by day-light or human vision, was visible in the background.

Built from brick, radiating cold and callousness, it looked almost insignificant, concealing its evil purpose. How much longer can it survive?

They tried to convince me that as I had arrived by car, I also had to leave by car.

Recklessly I replied that I would either walk in front of the car, behind it, at its side, I would even sit on the roof — anything, but I would not get inside. So we stood arguing by the car — they in whispers and I in a normal voice.

I looked over this memorable yard — a relic of the middle ages. A concrete slope — which led to the isolation cells, built against a terrace. Those cells weren't there in my time and neither was that fruit-shaped tree. I wondered what sort of tree it was, crossed the yard and went straight over it. The "boys" worriedly called out "don't go, it's not allowed".

I tore a leaf from the tree and returned to the group of investigators standing by the car and one of them sarcastically asked me: "Do you want to keep it as a souvenir?"

— No, I want to study it in daylight and see what sort of tree can grow in prison!

Although it was frightening to be in this yard, I didn't feel any fear: my son was somewhere within these prison walls, with people

who fought this infernal system — people who only had their souls as weapons.

At one o'clock, when all the public transport had stopped running, on the instructions of one of the guards, and with my permission, I was driven home.

To avoid the repetition of such an incident I obeyed the summons issued by lieutenant Tkach and went to the KGB headquarters. There I was questioned about my friendship with Dr. Mykola Plakhotnyuk and about all sorts of irrelevant matters. Some sort of information was twisted from the things I said.

As I got up to have a drink of water from a jug standing on the far side of the desk, I looked from the window and happened to see Ivan Dzyuba being led to the prison. He walked with his hands behind his back, sedate, erect, his head held high... The short warden escorting him seemed to have been especially selected to emphasise Ivan's stature: a parody.

At that very moment I suddenly remembered that just before all these repressions began, Oles Honchar, with the intimacy of a father, had described Ivan Dzyuba as "our academic" in the presence of a guest from Moscow's RCP.

What would he say now- That they i.e. our literary elite, know about what takes place behind closed doors?

It is understandable. They did not punish the predecessors of the KGB either in national courts or by military tribunals or by public trial.

The criminal activities of the dismissed state security organs were concealed by the official formula "the liquidation of the personality cult and its heirs".

The armies of those who had grown fat on it were secured by obtaining posts in Soviet institutions and in huge cultural organisations, where their privileges were safeguarded, as for example KGB workers could retire early; yesterdays procurators, investigators, judges are today's defence lawyers working in barristers offices.

The "new" generation filling the ranks of the KGB are identical to their predecessors and absolve themselves by claiming "We didn't commit your crimes, we weren't around then". But they are duplicating exactly the actions of the past...

Demoted to the level of a committee in a Soviet ministry, they yearn for their lost positions and crave to increase their power in government ranks, thus they opened a new page of repressions, arrests, searches — concentrating on Ukraine between 1971-1972.

And they are all generously rewarded with military promotions: yesterday's lieutenant-colonel is today's captain, the captain — today's major, major — today's lieutenant-colonel, with the general's stripes glowing in this anti-national "people's militia".

Similarly the expert judges who conducted political trials behind

closed doors — in total secrecy and illegally, have climbed the ladder of promotion.

Trials of "especially dangerous state criminals" are conducted without any respect for the constitution, which infact forbids such trials, and which violate criminal codes.

And lawyers? Under article 62 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR (which refers to the different grades of "especially dangerous state criminals) defence lawyers are assigned by the state, thus depriving families of their own choice of lawyer. This law can't be read anywhere in black and white, yet this what one comes up against in practice.

The way that this is done, is extremely simple: you are sent to the Presidium of the Regional Collegiate of Lawyers in order that they "assign" a defence lawyer. It transpires that there are extremely few lawyers "allowed" to deal with such cases. They will propose someone that they have on their list. If you insist, perhaps they will suggest two, maybe even three other possible candidates — this from sheer politeness.

After they have defended such political cases, many lawyers lose the right to defend such cases again, these include: I. Yezhov, S. Martysh, I. Rudenko, M. Marchenko and others.

In 1973 the very Presidium of the Collegiate of Lawyers received a severe shock: Kuprishyn — its head, was dismissed from his post.

A lawyer who defends political cases is probably in the most vulnerable of positions and is an extremely sad figure — he will usually have no influence on the course of a trial. And if he adopts the plebian position of neutrality after he has acted in one or two cases, his position in the Collegiate is annuled. The defence of the accused is reduced to nothing and the role of the lawyer — an empty seat in the dishonest quartet.

And his dossier then will weigh heavily on him — paralysing his right to practice within the framework of the law.

Whilst in transit and in camps the KGB introduced me to numerous citizens of persecuted Ukraine. During the war years, Ukraine's occupiers "did not trouble" themselves with the resistant local population.

1) In September 1939, within a month of being released from the Polish yoke, people were imprisoned again on the basis of lists left by the Polish gendarmery.

2) In 1941, as the war began, the local intelligentsia — teachers, doctors, engineers and so on, were dismissed from their posts in the national soviet apparatus and evacuated to the East. Many were transported to Uman, where they discovered the murdered corpses of their families. (Petro Turylo found the corpse of his murdered brother Pavlo, who was then buried in Ternopil, but most remained buried there in Uman).

3) A mass evacuation took place between 1945-1947.

4) As a result of the Halan affair a mass evacuation of peasants took place between 1951-1952. This was conducted during the night and in accordance with preprepared lists (some of which were selective, others purely arbitrary). The evacuations were conducted forcibly, with no legal backing. People were forced into freight vans — like cattle, and transported into deepest Russia: Kemerovske, Novo-Sibirsk ...

Those from West Ukrainian regions were stricken with panic and terror, but there was no one who could rescue them ...

As during the Tartar invasion, people awaited death. And at night, when the vans drew near the villages, announcing their presence by the roar of their engines, people fled from their homes into the woods and tried to hide in the thickets.

KGB detachments caught the unfortunate ones in unexpected raids on railway lines, at stations. They arrested people at work, in the fields. In the main, these groups were sent to transit camp prisons in Drohobych, Ternopil, Lviv, Zolochiv, Skole. Nothing and no one could stop the hand of the persecutor.

In 1945 an epidemic of typhus broke out at the transit camp at Skole. The scythe of the reaper smote all indiscriminately ...

The already overfull hospitals were forced to close their doors ... The few survivors were allowed to return to their homes ... But they were soon trapped a second time: they were loaded into freight vans and transported into exile to Omsk, where the Skole settlement was founded.

In Lviv, on the 23rd November 1947 the St. Bartholomew Massacre was re-enacted when every active citizen (known to the KGB for their participation in Ukraine's struggle against Poland) was evacuated. The town folk were taken at night, the villagers by dawn, and packed into freight vans, several of which were standing waiting at Lviv station, while all other train movement was stopped.

The operation had been prepared and planned well in advance. The KGB used the information provided by caretakers, doormen, Polish informers, stool pigeons and any other means they could think of to prepare their lists of people to be evacuated. This dreadful operation was conducted quickly. It had horrific dimensions in towns and seemed even worse in and around Lviv. Neighbours and relatives ran screaming and crying. The roar of the vans, the rattle of arms, the heart-rendering cries of people, the screams of the "liberators", the barking of dogs, the bellowing of cattle filled the air ...

About 80-90 people were shoved into one waggon, which was then locked. As there were no officers in the waggons, holes were soon broken in the wooden floors. Hot food was provided once daily. The whole journey to Ural was suffered in locked waggons.

They were transported to the Kemerovsk oblast, to the town of

Sudzhensk: to the coal mines at Kuzbas. Everyone, in turn, was provided with "the security of work" — everyone had to work either in mines or on building sites — regardless of sex, age or health.

The St. Bartholomew Massacre entered the annals of history as an illustration of the establishment of a new order over sections of Ukrainian lands liberated from the fascist invaders.

As a result of the Halan affair (after his assassination) the evacuation of peasants was organised between 1951-1952. These were people who knew nothing about this matter and had only heard of Halan when they were arrested. These peace-loving men and women had the meaning of the word "terror" pounded into them through the experience of terrorism itself.

The well-meaning intentions of the XX-XXII Congresses of the CPSU to correct the errors committed during the personality cult against the innocent citizens of West Ukraine, were only half-hearted: Exiles and those released from their terms of imprisonment in 1956 were allowed to return to their native homes. They immediately began to return, and there was a mass movement between 1956-1958. However, the first exiles returning to their villages found their homes broken: they were not allowed to live in their original homes and farms because:

- 1) Some had new owners — Ukrainians who had settled there after Ukraine had been partitioned by Poland by the Peace Treaty;
- 2) Others had been confiscated and handed over to local collectives;
- 3) Some had been sold to other local residents.

Like the first swallows of spring, the returned exiles lived through great difficulties (they had sold everything trying to scrape enough together to cover their huge transportation costs). But they were forced to move again — to East Ukraine, to Dnipropetrovsk, Kherson, Kryvorizha — with no help, no travelling expenses, with no guarantee that they would have any means of livelihood or suitable work when they arrived.

People who believed in the words of the leaders and returned to their motherland, soon found that Soviet law did not apply to them:

- 1) They were not allowed to settle in their old homes;
- 2) They were not registered in towns;
- 3) They were refused monetary loans to build co-operative housing.

There were instances where previously requested and legally formulated loans for co-operative housing were granted. However, at the end of 1957 the very right of returning to our motherland was removed. That was how far Khrushchev's remorse for Stalin's crimes extended. Those innocent people, of the stateless Ukraine, were forced to yet bear the burden posed by the personality cult.

The towns of Horylsk, Komsomolsk, Mahadan, built on the bones of those sentenced and exiled, are even now expanding under the hands of those who have by some miracle survived, and been forced

to remain there, without even having the benefit of the laws reigning in these northern waste lands. For example, they are not allowed to choose where they live, even after having spent the requisite amount of time there for this privilege to be granted.

Commissions for Releasing Camp Detainees in 1956

These commissions were selected by the Central Committee. One question remains unanswered: did they work from prepared lists? No doubt they did.

The process of "release" took place extremely quickly. The Tashkent camps, in the Irkutsk oblast, included numerous colonies, of which I know of the following:

1, 4, 6, 7 — male tree-felling colonies, and 3, 9, 12 — female tree-felling colonies situated at st. Chuna, Bratsky rayon; 17 — female farm workers at st. Chuna, Bratsky rayon; 21, 22 — female pit workers at st. Chuna, Bratsky rayon; 31, 32 — female tree-felling colonies at Angara; male mineral-condenser workers somewhere between Chuna and Bratsky rayon.

People in the camps in the Mordovian ASR were "freed" between June-July 1956. Lists were compiled by the KGB and the procuracy, although the numerous so-called Central Committee commissions were in charge of the actual process. The work of these commissions was conducted without any prior investigation, in an atmosphere of terror and uncertainty. Because the prisoners, after serving long terms of imprisonment, could no longer believe anything was good, the pressure arising from this addvent was such that every woman, after being summoned and questioned by officers sitting at long tables covered in red cloths, emerged seemingly deranged. They were asked whether their "views had changed" or had been "corrected", or they were asked about their brothers, fathers, fiances — about those, in other words, who had received some sort of sentence . . .

The answers that the women gave, varied — some frank, others caustic. As far as the majority were concerned, imprisonment had so affected them, that they hastened to supply the desired replies . . .

There were some women who didn't believe that any good come of all this and thus they refused to respond to any of this process, refusing to have anything to do with people they believed had contributed, either directly or indirectly, to their personal misfortune and to that of the whole Ukrainian nation.

Marta Mikhnyak and Halyna Fordyha handed short statements to the commission declaring that: "I will not attend your trial as it debases human rights and the rights of my nation". Marta Mikhnyak had added the following: " . . . and a violation of God's laws".

Both women had been sentenced to 25 year terms of imprisonment and had suffered as we all had, but they had not been compromised

in any way. However, their "impudence" had no effect on the commission's decision as it did not have the authority to alter the already-made decision to release certain people. Thus both women were released.

Bratsk Camp no. 9 (penal, tree-felling colony)

In the early spring of 1951 the snows melted earlier than usual, they flooded the roads and washed them away — leaving a debris of branches and twigs. It was agony walking along those roads as they were virtually unusable yet somehow we dragged ourselves along them. Women, columns of them wearing frozen felt boots, straggled along.

The last brigade — of old, weak women, whose duty it was to burn the brushwood, was totally unable to walk in the slush. The first column fell, causing the second to lose their balance and fall on the first. The vicious orders of the guards caused even more confusion, causing more women to slip and fall. Because of this, the guards with their dogs, were forced to draw alongside the women, and angered by the unforeseen chaos, they let their dogs loose on the women. The dogs tore at them, snapping at their hands and faces. The first column of women immediately reacted to the dreadful screaming of the women and barking of the dogs, and left their fives. Some threw themselves to help the old women, shouting, pleading, cursing, and lifting the women, carried them back. The guards shot in the air, swore, shoved and threatened to shoot everyone... No was allowed to move, but finally human kindness overcame and all the unfortunate women were taken back to the zone.

*

Life was difficult in all the colonies, but even more so in the penal camps, and especially for the faithful, who included, amongst others, Seventh Day Adventists, Judaics, Tenth Day Adventists.

The sectarians, in accordance with their faith, did not wish to have their Christian souls counted by the devil. Thus they stubbornly refused to go for roll calls. The practically illiterate and uncultured guards were infuriated by the faithful as they made them make errors in counting the numbers of prisoners. They physically dragged these sincere people from their barracks to stand "in line", hauling them by their arms, dragging their limp, bruised and bloody bodies across the stony ground. This, though, had little effect. They were forced to spend the winters in unheated cells and had all their warm clothes confiscated. They were forced to sleep on bare prison beds, received a daily diet of 300 grammes of bread and a mug of boiling water, but despite the harsh treatment they received, they believed that their "hellish" punishment was unavoidable and brought their souls closer to salvation.

The guards first tried to use every legal means of punishment available, then those permitted by the regulations of the internal prison system, and then employed everything that "God had given them".

As far as our guards were concerned, their duties had been divided in such a way that some of them were responsible (on the entreaty of the administration) for punishing the faithful in our section — and these would be physically hauled to roll calls, to the dinnig hall, to work.

A Ukrainian woman from the East of our motherland — a dedicated atheist, a former active Komsomol member arrested for spying for the Germans, and now a foreman in Angara, excelled herself in her sadism. We all wondered why she had not been released before completing her sentence. However, she was on intimate terms with the administration...

Appendix to "Life in the Camps"

*"A PERSON WITHOUT A MOTHERLAND,
IS AS A NIGHTINGALE WITHOUT SONG".
(THE NATION ON PATRIOTISM)*

News reached the zone: a new contingent of women had arrived and was waiting at the gates. At long tables, spread with red cloths and regulations, the camp administration sat questioning and checking the new arrivals in accordance with the strict rules imposed by the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

In the meantime, the barracks hummed with life. Everyone hurried to meet the new arrivals and crowded by the watch tower, fearing to come closer to the gates and thus incurring the wrath of the guards and subsequent punishment.

They waited impatiently for the new prisoners to "be allowed in" to see who they were. Maybe they were destined to meet a relative, or friend — it wouldn't be the first time that that had happened...

Then the gate creaked open and closed, and the camp engulfed women carrying small bundles on their backs, exhausted from their investigations and transportation... The old prisoners surrounded the new questioning them, asking where they were from, what and how long they had been sentenced for.

"Because of Yaroslav Halan", they replied, "they gave us 25 years". The writer Halan had been murdered in Lviv by banderites, and now the KGB in their reprisals were arresting innocent people.

Among the newly arrived — those sentenced in connection with the Halan case, were people from various Western regions of Ukraine — Lviv, Ivano-Frankivsk, Drohobych, Ternopil, Kolomeya. They included teachers, the middle classes, young and old peasants, grandmothers. All talk of a terrorist conspiracy planned by these women — sentenced to 10, 15 and 25 years, was nonsense as they

didn't even know each other and had only heard of Halan during their investigations. The only link between them all was that they had been sentenced under article 54, section 8 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR — accused of the murder of a man they had never known.

All these arrests were the ingenious work of the Ministry of State Security which wished to destroy the population of West Ukraine — not because they were guilty of anything, or had committed any crime but because of their national consciousness, for opposing first the Polish, then the Germans and finally the Soviets during the war.

It is difficult to estimate how many women were imprisoned, accused of Halan's murder — whose assassination was used to justify the numerous arrests of his innocent countrymen.

His assassins — I. Lukashevych, T. Chmila, M. Stakhur, R. Shchepansky and others (how many "others" remains a secret of our cruel history) were sentenced to death, which the press, meetings and so on publicised to the full — not only in Lviv, but throughout the whole Soviet Union. But the Soviet press never reported the repressions committed against Ukrainians and in particular, those committed against women, as those involved in the Halan episode.

No one was ever punished for repressing these peace-loving people, and they are still at large, boasting about their "heroic deeds" on the pages of the Soviet press — untainted by either trial or government.

Ivan Dzyuba

On the 16th May, 1974 I had arranged to meet Ivan Dzyuba. As I waited for him, I couldn't have felt worse. I couldn't imagine what our meeting would be like at all.

Dzyuba's "recantation" (printed in the paper "Literaturna Ukraina" on the 9th November, 1973) totally degraded him. By rejecting that which was inherent in his nature, he not only humiliated himself, but threw a dark shadow on the honour of the Ukrainian creative intelligentsia — a small group of people which had evolved in the 1960's.

As Ivan physically tore himself from the prison, he pledged his soul, his creative ability and future to the claws of the KGB.

Thus in sentencing the former "prisoner", I didn't feel an iota of forgiveness.

In the past he had belonged to a group of people greatly respected by the Ukrainian community. He had gained the respect of both people who knew him, those who had heard of him and those who had read his work "Internationalism or Russification?". This composition had acquired much publicity and popularity among people of different groups in Ukraine and beyond.

I have known him for several years, and we grew closer after the

mass arrests of the 12th January, 1972, after which, only he from the Ukrainian intelligentsia retained his liberty.

Despair and confusion drove me to this attractive, calm and sensible man — I turned to that which offered me comfort.

In February (1972), when I next visited Ivan, he said "Consider that I am already there. I only spend the night at home". And this was true. Although Ivan wasn't arrested on the 12th January, (he was only searched and subjected to a 10 hour interrogation), from that day until the day of his arrest, he was summoned almost daily by the KGB for questioning. His "privileges", so some say, arose because of Petro Shelest's sympathy for him (believable as Shelest was familiar with "Internationalism or Russification?" since 1965, and the work had not been decreed "anti-Soviet" by academic experts. And even when Dzyuba was dismissed from his editorial post at "Dnipro" during his investigation, he was allowed to resume his work there at Shelest's behest.)

As I. Dzyuba emerged from the metro, I searched his face for that new element which had undoubtedly grown in him. Whether it was exhaustion, or indifference, or maybe bitterness for our common fate and his shameful contribution to it — was difficult to tell.

We spoke for four hours and were followed all the time. I was very aware of our tails, but Ivan ignored them and asked me to do the same.

I told him of Oles' poor health, who was now rotting in Vladimir prison simply because he had read "Internationalism or Russification" and had made notes on the first 33 pages. How ironic that the author of this book should be walking about freely... I gave him M. Stelmakh's petition — a plea to review Oles' case, addressed to the Supreme Court of the Ukr. SSR, to read. It stated that the accusation of "co-authorship" with Dzyuba over "Internationalism or Russification" be corrected and reviewed in as much that the major defendant of this part of Oles' accusation — Dzyuba, was not even called for questioning by the regional court.

Dzyuba agreed with the text, and promised to give me his statement on the 20th April.

I then asked him if he knew anything about his friends, his short-lived allies.

— No, nearly nothing. No one comes to see me. I only receive anonymous letters — Ivan replied.

I gave him a section of Evhen Sverstiuk's letter, written in April 1974, to read, the part where he wrote: "... As for me, how am I? Well, it's not easy, and shouldn't be. The most difficult thing to bear is feeling the foreign, uncomfortable labels against your naked skin. They seem to distort all those familiar concepts which shape your soul...".

Ivan read the letter carefully and silently returned it to me.

— This is how Evhen understands the situation. Doesn't it sound like a reproach? — I asked.

Although Ivan remained silent, I could feel that he was uncomfortable.

He asked about Nadiyka and Ivan Svitlychny.

— They are all unwell. Life is difficult for everyone. They too want to live. They all have families, children and men have young wives... You — are only a father, but Nadiyka is a mother. It's more difficult for mother to bear.

Ivan remained silent throughout all of this.

— And how do you feel now? — I asked.

— Not well, — he replied. — Not everything depends on me.

— How could you have done it? — I asked again.

— What?

— What sort of answer is that Ivan Mykhaylovych! Shall I tell you what good people are saying about you?

— I know from the anonymous letters I get.

— I'm not talking about those who write to you. I mean others — those that wouldn't stoop to anonymous condemnation, but would tell you to you to your face what they think. You'll hear from them when the time comes.

Dzyuba wanted to know, and I roughly described these opinions as follows:

1) That Dzyuba should prove that he changed his mind of his own volition; that he realise how absurd the work "Tertium non datur" (written under contract) is;

2) That Dzyuba admit that "Internationalism or Russification?" was written quite independently, and that he admit that it achieved its intended positive results, and that it remain a valid document reflecting our age, for which thanks are expressed to Dzyuba. As far as Dzyuba's "recantation" is concerned, it negates him as a citizen, and thus as an individual.

3) That all Ivan's attempts at justifying the writing of "Internationalism or Russification?", culminating in his "recantation", reflect an absence of social responsibility at an extremely critical moment. That given the choice of prison and spiritual non-existence — he selected the latter.

It's so difficult to loose some one. It seems that at any moment he'll go to the homes of all his old friends and say what they are all waiting to hear...

— I'll be glad to see anyone who comes, — Ivan interrupted.

— They say that you didn't write your letter of recantation. M. Kholodny admitted that he chose the best of several such letters presented to him — I provoked.

— That's not true. I wrote that letter myself, and wrote it sincerely. I had a lot of time to think things over in prison. Why

doesn't anyone — you, the KGB, the CC CPU — believe me? — he asked with difficulty.

— You still ask why? I don't believe that you had your heart in that letter.

— Why not Oksana Mekivna? You didn't know much about my plans, things I was preparing, what had influenced me . . .

— Ivan Mykhaylovych, for people to believe in the sincerity of that "recantation", you should have served those five years you were sentenced to. Your term was short. What scared you off? You should have faced the wolf face to face, then recanted — and then people might have believed you.

— That's what I thought at first — replied Dzyuba awkwardly.

— Then why didn't you do it? . . . Nothing to say? I'll tell you why — because you never intended to serve a prison sentence. Your trial was a set-up. Some of those present (specially selected) said that you behaved very loyally, thanked the KGB investigators, and then appeared totally confused when they read that you had been sentenced to five years'. The KGB tried to persuade all those arrested at the same time as you, to recant. But apart from you four — you, Zinovia Franko, M. Kholodny, and the engineer Seleznenko, no one was prepared to pay such a high price for their freedom. Oh yes, you'll live — sleep and eat, but you know, don't you, that you'll never write anything worth while again?

— Why do you say that?

— You know why. After a long pause, I asked — How could you?

— Oksana Yakivno, there were so few of us. Well, how many — between 300 and 700? You wanted something from me that I couldn't give. You made into a god — he replied.

— You're wrong — I said. — Who made you into a god? Those who you were closest to, didn't. Others had great respect for you, but didn't consider you a god. I admit there may be some who read "Internationalism or Russification?" who thought of you as some sort of heroic figure, but that's because you opened their eyes, widened their horizons, reawakened their national pride. You say 'there were so few of us'. How dreadful that sounds coming from you — because if not you, who knows the reason why there are so few nationally conscious Ukrainians here? Are we to understand that your internalisation of this fact, is the reason for your moral downfall? You, Ivan Mykhaylovych, have stabbed your friends in the back.

Ivan said nothing and we continued to walk in silence. For some reason, probably to justify himself, he began to talk about the stability of our socio-political system, about its perspectives, taking the example of the spread of communism in Italy, Portugal . . .

— If only our economy were not such an obstacle — I replied, using one of his earlier arguments.

— That's an old tune, he said. — I work at the Antonov Plant,

where all the workers are satisfied — they are all materially secure and are happy.

— Is this semi-military, privileged and heavily subsidised plant an objective example to use? And how does the development of materialism solve the problem of the development of national culture? Or doesn't the question of enforced denationalisation trouble you anymore?

— Many of the workers speak Ukrainian to me.

— What sort of Ukrainian? — I retorted.

— Well, not the sort you and I use . . .

Thus ended my conversation with Dzyuba.

*

I'd arranged to meet Dzyuba at the same meeting place on Monday and again had to wait for him. He came late, apologising, and handed me his typed and signed statement, addressed to the Supreme Court of the Ukr. SSR concerning Oles Serhiyenko's case. I read it and then asked him to add that he should be called as a witness in the review of Serhhiyenko's case, to which he agreed. I thanked him.

Our conversation did not flow — we were both deep in thought. As I was about to leave, I quickly asked: "Did you know, Ivan Mykhaylovych, that I saw you in the prison yard on the 14th June, 1972 from the window of the investigation bureau?"

— No — he replied disbelievingly.

— I tell you, I saw you.

— What was I wearing?

— Grey trousers, a black shirt with the sleeves rolled up.

Ivan seemed moved.

— Oksana Mekivna, did you know that I was silent for 6 months after my arrest?

— And then? Were you ill?

— Yes, very — he replied quietly.

— What, with your lungs?

— No. Just imagine, with my heart and nerves. I was kept in isolation in the hospital.

— Did they give you injections?

— Yes.

We stood for a moment, and then bid each other farewell. Will it be forever?!

*

Esteemed Mykhaylo Panosovych!*

I appeal to you to listen to me once again, as I cannot believe that you have refused to support my plea to appeal to the Supreme Soviet of the Ukr. SSR to have my son's Oleksander Serhiyenko, case reviewed.

*) (Mykhaylo P. Stelmakh, writer and deputy of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR — ed.

I originally intended to appeal to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, but you, Mykhaylo Panosovych, rejected this idea and said: "Let's leave the Supreme Soviet as the highest court of appeal".

I not only depended on your authority as deputy of the Supreme Soviet but you yourself considered that your support would act as a prompt for the Supreme Court of the Ukr. SSR to review my son's case without the need to initiate any formal proceedings (as happened on the 5th September, 1972, when the sentence of the Kyiv regional court was unjustly upheld).

Further, the chairman of the Supreme Court, Yakymenko, summoned you to the Supreme Soviet in May this year as a direct result of the statement you received on the 29th April — concerning the case of my sentenced son. Yakymenko forced you to "believe" him that there was "no evidence" which justified reviewing Serhiyenko's case. (Serhiyenko's trial was conducted behind locked doors — his mother and wife only being allowed to hear sentence passed).

I can't be sure that Yakymenko convinced you, but I am left without doubt that his special summons to the Supreme Court acted as a barrier of caution. But did Yakymenko tell you that not long after my statement arrived, Ivan Dzyuba sent one — taking a contrary position to yours? Dzyuba corrected the baseless accusation pointed against Serhiyenko, pointing out that he had not been a co-author of "Internationalism or Russification?".

And that is the main accusation for which my son has been sentenced. And Dzyuba, the main defendant, was not even questioned at Serhiyenko's trial.

Further, the lawyer, M. Ya. Lindy who had come to Kyiv from Leningrad at my request to fight Serhiyenko's case, was not allowed to do so, having been told that: "The case has been handed to the 10th section of the KGB, but the head of the department is ill, and no one can delegate without his permission".

This is the position to date. This is "the no evidence to review the case". Meanwhile Yakymenko stresses that my son is behaving "badly" (or does he mean "incorrectly"?). This word — in the lexicon of the administrative personnel of "corrective" camps is used a justification to punish ordinary human behaviour).

Judge for yourself: the head of the Kotiv camp (Permska oblast, Chukovsky rayon, pos. Kuchyno, Uch. VS 389/36) reported that for "violating the camp regime" the Chusovsky court had *decided* (not sentenced) to imprison Serhiyenko in the Vladimir prison for 3 years. (This is the worst prison in the USSR — the floors are built of concrete, the windows boarded up with planks allowing only thin shafts of sunlight to filter through).

On the 10th April, 1974 the deputy of the camp reported which camp regulations O. Serhiyenko had violated, and which formed the basis of the Chusovsky's court decision:

- 1) He did not fulfill his work norms;
- 2) He did not attend political education classes;
- 3) He behaved incorrectly: he did not wish to be corrected nor did he consider himself guilty;
- 4) He was slow in coming to work.

An innocent man, chronically ill with an incurable illness was imprisoned . . .

These are the "facts" — with no exaggeration, no embellishment: the truth which has been swept under the carpet . . .

Decide for yourself, and by the dictates of your conscience decide, whether you, esteemed deputy Mykhaylo Panosovych, should concern yourself with the defence of a man threatened with death, whom you have the power to save.

I remain grateful to you. Grateful for even that short time that you deceived and thus raised a mother's and citizen's hope.

Your action in this matter is without doubt an act of humanity, and before God and mankind, will be considered the noble act of a noble man. I pray that the act be completed . . .

I wrote my memoirs realising that it was my duty to record that which I had experienced in my difficult life — a life in which I had known neither a happy childhood nor a peaceful old age.

The period from which I began writing my memoirs was a most inauspicious time. I began my task remembering how close I was to death and recalling the grey and murky future facing my motherland Ukraine, and the suffering of my fellow country men.

Recording my memoirs was something forced upon me by the constant attacks and repressions perpetrated by the regime, and in particular by the KGB.

The conditions in which I was forced to write dictated both the speed and weakness of my work, such conditions that those not acquainted with Soviet reality, find difficult to comprehend or imagine.

I wrote everything from memory, and was helped by people who had suffered a fate similar to mine. This was because the KGB had confiscated nearly all my notes between the 2nd June, 1970 and Valentyn Moroz's arrest, and again from the 5th February, 1977 when six thorough searches of my home were conducted by the KGB because of my membership in the Kyiv Helsinki Group. In this period I personally destroyed many of my papers, notes, addresses and diaries. Thus I began to write . . .

NEWSBRIEF

THE KARAVANSKYS FREE IN THE WEST

On November 30, 1979, Ukrainians all over the world were happy to learn that former political prisoners Svyatoslav Karavansky and his wife Nina Strokata, had arrived in the West.

They were among a group of Soviet emigres who arrived in Vienna, Austria, and had only been informed they were to leave the Soviet Union a fortnight previously.

Svyatoslav Karavansky was released from imprisonment on September 13, 1979 after long years of incarceration.

Svyatoslav Karavansky was born on October 24, 1920, in Odessa. He is a poet and Journalist. In 1945 he was sentenced to 25 years imprisonment for membership of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists.

He was released under an amnesty in 1960 but rearrested five years later to serve the rest of his sentence. No reason was given. In 1970 whilst he was still in prison he was sentenced to another five-year term.

Karavansky's wife, Nina Strokata Karavansky was born on January 31, 1926, in Odessa. She is a doctor and worked as a medical researcher at the Odessa Medical Institute. She has published research work.

She was arrested in December 1971 and charged under section 62 of the Ukrainian criminal code and drew a four-year sentence. After her release Nina Strokata Karavansky was forbidden to return to Ukraine and forced to live in exile.

The Karavanskys plan to settle on the North American continent but spent time in Britain enroute to the USA.

They were welcomed by members of the Ukrainian community in Britain when they arrived in London and their first semi-public meeting was at the headquarters of the Association of Ukrainians in Gt. Britain. Both husband and wife were obviously happy at being in the West, although their happiness as they said was tinged with the sadness of leaving Ukraine.

Svyatoslav Karavansky appeared tired and his wife shouldered the burden of answering numerous questions.

This meeting was followed by a public meeting near the Houses of Parliament in London on December 8 and a question and answer session with young Ukrainians on December 9.

At all three meetings the Karavanskys repeated the same theme. Both of them, but especially so Nina Strokata Karavansky, are passionate supporters of the Ukrainian Public Group Monitoring the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords.

Nina Strokata Karavansky is deeply involved in the group and will soon be issuing a document relating to the group's current activities. She believes part of the reason for her and her husband's release is the Soviet Russian authorities' intentions to dismantle the Helsinki Group before the Moscow Olympics.

But she is convinced the Russians will not succeed and said even if the group was physically dismantled it was now too late to smash the spirit of the group.

She said Ukrainians intended the Helsinki Group to be a forum for the examination of the nationality question in the same way as Lenin used the Communist Party as a platform for his ideas.

Both the Karavanskys emphasised the importance of the spirit and consciousness as something without which life was incomplete.

Both were surprised at the extent of Ukrainian life in Western Europe. They placed importance on the flow of information to the West and said it was morale-boosting for Ukrainian political prisoners to know that their works are being published in the West.

It was important they said for Ukrainians to broaden links with organisations such as Amnesty International and to press for a Ukrainian language service at the BBC.

Organising a steady flow of letters and parcels to Ukrainian political prisoners and their families provided a great source of practical as well as moral comfort they said.

Nina Strokata Karavansky talked about the difficulties faced by women whose husbands are in prisons or camps. She said in the difficult economic conditions the women found themselves in it was hard to bring up children to speak Ukrainian and have a Ukrainian consciousness. She expressed admiration for Raisa Moroz who succeeded in doing this against all odds.

UKRAINE'S BIRTH RATE THE LOWEST

New Soviet census figures show Ukraine, Russia and Byelorussia have the lowest population growth rate in the USSR — 6 per cent as opposed to the highest — 31 per cent — in Tadzhikistan, closely followed by 30 and 28 per cent in Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan respectively.

Overall the population of the USSR has increased by 8.6 per cent — 20,722,000 — to 262,442,000 since 1970.

MOROZ ON THE UKRAINIAN LANGUAGE

During his visit to Munich Valentyn Moroz visited the Ukrainian section of Radio Liberty and during an interview he spoke about the discussion between emigre academics in the West some of whom support "official" Ukrainian as it is propagated in the Soviet Union and whose regard that form of its usage as another means of Russifying Ukraine.

Mr Moroz said spelling depended on political factors. For instance the letter "g" was being manipulated in Ukrainian spelling so as to effect the maximum convergence between the Ukrainian written language and the Russian he said.

He said this was the path towards the destruction of the Ukrainian language and expressed surprise that anyone living and working in the West should want to defend the Soviet policy.

He agreed that two different Ukrainian language styles did exist and suggested a symbiosis of the two must be found in the future, with the emphasis firmly on the version which had its roots in the Ukrainian not the Russified form.

MICHIGAN WELCOMES MOROZ

The Michigan State Legislature passed the following resolution on learning of the release of Valentyn Moroz: —

HOUSE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION NO. 235

Offered by Representatives Thaddeus C. Stopczynski and Stanley Stopczynski and Senators Plawecki and Miller

A CONCURRENT RESOLUTION OF TRIBUTE TO VALENTYN MOROZ

WHEREAS, On April 25, 1979, Valentyn Moroz was one of five Soviet dissidents released in exchange for two Russians convicted of spying in the United States. The arrival of these political prisoners in the United States marked the culmination of negotiations which began in the fall of 1978; and

WHEREAS, Born on April 15, 1936, in Kholoniv, in the Ukraine, Valentyn Moroz attended the University of Lviv and upon graduation pursued a career as a history teacher. While teaching modern history and working toward his doctorate, he was arrested, charged, and

sentenced to four years of hard labour for anti-Soviet propaganda; and

WHEREAS, During his incarceration, Valentyn Moroz authored "A Report From the Beria Reserve", an expose of Soviet Totalitarianism, and was promptly committed to solitary confinement. Upon his release, he was unable to find work due to his "criminal record" and was subsequently arrested for criticizing the Russification of the Ukraine. A mock trial was held, reminiscent of the Stalinist purge trials, and he was sentenced to nine more years of imprisonment; and

WHEREAS, Since 1970, Valentyn Moroz has persevered despite the Soviet government's barbaric attempts to break his will and spirit. Subjected to the modern Soviet methods of intimidation, humiliation, and terror, he managed to survive, and, today, stands tall as a champion of free speech. Indeed, it is truly a pleasure and a privilege to welcome one who has sacrificed so much in behalf of so just a cause and to wish him a happy and healthy stay in the United States; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED BY THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES (the Senate concurring), That a unanimous accolade of praise and tribute be hereby extended to Valentyn Moroz for his remarkable courage in the face of extreme pressure and hardship; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this tribute be transmitted to Mr. Moroz as an enduring testimony to the high esteem in which he is held by the Michigan Legislature.

Adopted by the House of Representatives, May 23, 1979

Adopted by the Senate, May 24, 1979

FORMER UKRAINIAN PRISONERS ASSESS SAKHAROV HEARINGS

On Sunday, September 30, over 350 persons gathered at the Ukrainian National Home in New York to hear reports by six Ukrainian dissidents about the third International Sakharov Hearing, held on September 2629, in Washington, D.C., and their descriptions of the tragic situation of the Ukrainian people.

This meeting was sponsored by the Committee for the Defence of Soviet Political Prisoners whose representative at the session, Taras Lishchynsky, chaired the meeting, while Vera Kachmarsky reported on the work of the committee.

Subsequently, Roman Kupchinsky of the committee, gave brief history of the Sakharow Hearings and their previous sessions in 1975 in Copenhagen and in 1977 in Rome.

One of the most important points of the previous Sakharow conference was the presentation of a statement by Gen. Petro Grigorenko on the plight of the non-Russian nations in the U.S.S.R. He

made his declaration on behalf of the Ukrainian Helsinki group in Kyiv, and also to protest that the nationality question was not included on the agenda of the Washington Sakharov Hearings.

Mr. Kupchinsky further stated that the Ukrainian group was well prepared and reported extensively on the Ukrainian resistance movement and the oppressive rule of the Soviet regime in Ukraine. He also added that Ramsey Clark, former U.S. attorney general, and attorney Robert Weinberg, defended the cases of Mykola Rudenko and Lev Lukyanenko, respectively.

In his report Gen. Petro Grigorenko, at the outset, declared that the primary objective of the Kremlin is to destroy the Russian, Ukrainian, and Georgian Helsinki groups. Thus far, he said, the Ukrainian group has suffered the largest casualties, because out of the 11 original members, six were sentenced to heavy punishment terms, two were expelled from the USSR, and three are still "at liberty" but under permanent police surveillance. But the Ukrainian group, he added, is being replenished with new members despite continuous arrests by the KGB.

Gen. Grigorenko criticized the agenda of the Sakharov Hearings in Washington because it ignored the nationality question and the tragic situation of the non-Russians nations in the USSR, especially the Ukrainian nation.

He said that the official policy of the Kremlin now is that of "the fusion of nations", which he characterized as pure racism and colonial racism and colonial domination. Ukrainian political prisoners are being murdered or led to suicide, as happened with Heliy Snehiriv, Volodymyr Ivasiuk and Mykhaylo Melnyk. He further stated that Soviet diplomats are making strenuous efforts in the West to sabotage the Helsinki conference to be held in 1980 in Madrid. The other Ukrainian witnesses, represented by Gen. Grigorenko, also expressed their dissatisfaction that the nationality problem was not included in the program of the Sakharov Hearings.

Mykola Badulak-Sharyhin, a British subject of Ukrainian descent, who while on a business visit to the U.S.S.R. in 1968 was arrested and sentenced to 10 years at hard labour and released in 1978, spoke about political prisoners in the U.S.S.R., among whom the Ukrainians constitute a majority.

Nadia Svitlychna reported on her part in the hearings, during which she discussed the cases of Mykola Matusevych and Myroslav Marynovych. She also spoke on the constant persecution and harassment of Ukrainian Helsinki members, and criticized the hearing for omitting the nationality question from its agenda. She also criticized the American mass communication media for playing down news reports on Ukraine and other non-Russian nations. At the conclusion, Mrs. Svitlychna appealed for moral and material support for the Foreign Representation of the Ukrainian Helsinki group, headed by Gen. Grigorenko.

Igor Pomarentsev, a Russian dissident who completed his studies at the University of Chernivtsi and speaks Ukrainian, spoke about his friend, Yosyf Zisels, a Ukrainian Jew, who has been arrested for gathering material on the work of the Helsinki groups in the U.S.S.R.

Viktor Borovsky, one of the youngest former Ukrainian political prisoners, spoke about the use of "psychiatric methods" in breaking the spirit of political prisoners in "psychiatric wards", where he was confined for some time. He mentioned that Yosyf Terelya and Dr. Mykola Plakhotniuk, known Ukrainian political dissidents, have been kept in "psychiatric wards" for years.

Raisa Moroz, in criticizing the Sakharov Hearing, said that Ukrainians certainly deserve more mention at such international conferences than they receive. She then described the persecution of the newest members of the Ukrainian Kyiv group. Petro and Vasyl Sichko, father and son. The father, as a former member of the UPA, spent long years in prison. Now he has been arrested again for allegedly trying to form an "underground" Ukrainian organization. His son, Vasyl, was arrested for refusing to inform on his student friends at Kyiv University.

Mrs. Moroz also reported on the persecution of families of political prisoners: efforts are made to induce wives to divorce husbands in prison, wives are harassed at work or deprived of work, boycotts are organized, children are harassed, and so on.

She exhorted the audience to increase its aid to Ukrainian political prisoners by sending them packages, medicine and letters, all of which raise their spirits and help them persevere. She also proposed one coordinating centre be established so that all relief assistance be adequately channelled to most needy Ukrainian political prisoners.

At the conclusion, Prof. Hryhory Kostyuk, head of the Ukrainian Writers' Association "Slovo", appealed to those present to support the Foreign Representation of the Ukrainian Helsinki group.

Mr. Kupchinsky reported that the collection from admissions brought a total of \$1,300, while collections inside netted \$350. This money, he said, will be used for publicity in defence of Mykola Rudenko and expenses for the newly-formed International Lawyers Committee, which will defend Lukyanenko.

DESTRUCTION OF HISTORICAL UKRAINIAN ARCHIVES

A Ukrainian samvydav document received recently in Finland details the burning and destruction by other means of Ukrainian archives, book collections, libraries and specimens of Ukrainian culture, reported the *Smoloskyp* Ukrainian Information Service.

The document points to the abnormality of conditions for the cultural development of the Ukrainian socialist nation, the oppressed

status of Ukrainians in the USSR, and the political dependence of the Ukrainian SSR on Russia which continues its chauvinistic policies under the cover and form of the federation of Soviet republics.

Among the examples of destruction of Ukrainian culture cited in the document are the following.

In 1964 there was a fire in the public library of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR. The fire somehow started in the Ucrainica division of the library, and many valuable works and rare publications of the pre-revolutionary period were burned.

Several months later the Vydubetsky Monastery's library of the Kyivan Academy was destroyed by a blaze. Among the items lost were 17th and 18th century treasures of European literature.

In the early 1970s a rare books collection was created by Prof. S. Maslov at the library of the University of Kyiv. The literary collection was stored in the basement of the student dormitories and was flooded by water from broken pipes.

In late 1974 there was a fire at the department of ancient Ukrainian literature at the Institute of Literature of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR. Many valuable books and the catalogue of researcher V. Kolosova were destroyed.

The library of the Institute of Linguistics in the building of the Academy of Social Sciences was flooded in the mid 1970s.

Because of a leak in the roof, the Ucrainica contained in the library of the University of Kharkiv is being damaged by water.

In July 1977 the Ivan Franko Ukrainian School in Kyiv was the site of a fire. Two children died. This incident was preceded by a struggle of the Ukrainian community to keep the school open in opposition to the wishes of city authorities. In the eyes of the Ukrainophobes of Kyiv, the school is a "nationalistic lair", because a Ukrainian-language atmosphere prevailed, children learned about Ukrainian literary figures, and nationally conscious Ukrainians wanted to enroll their children there.

At the beginning of this year in the Porokhovtsi village near Kaniv the memorial museum of renowned 19th century Ukrainian scholar M. Maksymovych was burned to the ground.

Somehow the Ucrainica from the library of the Museum of Ukrainian Art disappeared.

Valuable art works from the Kyivan "Pecherska Lavra" were sold for high prices.

At the Museum of National Architecture and Customs the necessary conditions for preserving ancient valuables are not maintained. Historic garb is moth-eaten, churches and houses are covered with fungi, ancient icons are smashed. The director of the museum is a person who does not care at all about these matters, the collective is staffed by incidental workers, and honest workers-enthusiasts are deliberately persecuted by the administration.

In January 1978 an attempt was made to rob the rare books division of the Historical Library. A young researcher at the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR, Vadym Kriukov, combined his involvement in the development of Ukrainian culture with robbery of the institutes' library. Thanks to the favorable conditions created by the institute director, A. T. Shevelev, Kriukov was able to sell on the black market nearly the entire Ucrainica collection of the library — all the periodicals of the pre-revolutionary period and the 1920s, Kozak chronicles of 16-18th centuries, works by D. Bantysh-Kamensky, M. Markewych, P. Kulish, M. Kostomarov, D. Yefymenko, O. Levytsky, V. Antonowych, M. Maksymovych, M. Hrushevsky, D. Bahaliy, A. Krymsky, O. Kistiakovsky, D. Yavornytsky and others. The Kyiv oblast court terminated the "cultural" activity of Kriukov by sentencing the "scholar" to 10 years of imprisonment. However, the court did not denounce those general political and local social conditions that made such a crime possible; it did not denounce the unbelievable statement by Shevelev that the works stolen were "nationalistic rubbish".

The works of M. Hrushevsky were taken out of libraries and deleted from bibliographical catalogues as if there had been no such scholar. This is the treatment for a person who wrote 10 thick volumes of the history of Ukraine, was an authority for the St. Petersburg Academy until the revolution, and became a Soviet scholar.

The catalogue of Ucrainica at research libraries was weeded out. For example, at the Central Research Library there were seven file drawers of bibliographical references on Taras Shevchenko. Now these references fill only one-third of one drawer. Thematically they are limited to literature about the friendship of nations, atheism and Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism. All Ucrainica, including periodicals, was transferred from this library to an affiliate library in Podil which is not open on Saturdays and Sundays and during working days is open only until 6 p.m. Previously the Central Research Library was open on Saturdays and Sundays until 11.30 p.m., now it is only open until 5.45 p.m. In other words, everything has been done to limit the accessibility of the Ucrainica collection to readers.

MONUMENT TO UKRAINE'S SOLDIERS UNVEILED IN BRITAIN

A monument to the thousands of Ukrainian soldiers who gave their lives in the struggle for Ukraine's independence was unveiled on August 5, 1979, at the Ukrainian Youth Centre, "Tarasivka", Weston-on-Trent, Britain.

The monument, an imposing eight-foot wooden cross set in a stone base on a raised earth mound, was built under the auspices of the Ukrainian veterans' organisation in Britain.

POPE'S MESSAGE TO UKRAINIANS

On Monday evening, November 12, in the Sistine Chapel, the Holy Father, in a solemn concelebration in the Byzantine-Ukrainian rite, conferred episcopal ordination on Archbishop Myroslav Lubachivsky, the new Metropolitan of Philadelphia of the Ukrainians. The coconsecrators were Cardinal Josyf Slipyj and Archbishop Maxim Hermaniuk of Winnipeg of the Ukrainians. Pope John Paul preached the following homily.

1. With deep emotion I come to the altar today in order to confer, together with you, Venerable Brothers, *episcopal ordination* on the new *Metropolitan of Philadelphia of the Ukrainians*.

A short time ago, during my journey to the United States, I had the joy of visiting his cathedral in Philadelphia. My meeting with the Archbishop-elect and the Bishops of the ecclesiastical Province of Philadelphia, and with the priests, sisters and members of the faithful who had gathered in great numbers with their Pastors, was for me a profoundly moving event. I am indeed well acquainted with the history of your people, the history of the Church that for centuries has been linked with this one, and this is the reason for my readiness today to lay hands, together with you, Venerable Brothers, upon the one whom the Holy Spirit calls to the episcopal ministry. At the same time the Holy Spirit calls him to union with the Successor of Peter and with the whole hierarchy of this Church to be a sign of God's own fidelity to his covenant, a sign of Christ's undying love for his Church. And this is the ministry that is entrusted to you today: to offer unceasingly to the faithful the bread of life, which, in the words of the Second Vatican Council, is taken from the table both of God's word and of the Body of Christ (cf. *Dei Verbum*, 21).

Yes, by word and sacrament you will sustain your people in their fidelity to the Gospel, and guide them in the way of salvation. The word of God will be a lamp to their feet and a light to their path (cf. Ps 119:105). And all your pastoral endeavours will be directed to this aim: that the word of God may be the practical norm of Christian living, and bring forth fruits of justice and holiness of life in the community over which you preside and which you serve. And through the celebration of the Eucharistic Sacrifice you will continue to sustain your people in joy, confirming them in peace and unity and in the bond of charity. This, Venerable Brother, is a great mission, in which you find yourself the inheritor and guardian of a great tradition, which is both Catholic and Ukrainian. In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, therefore, go forward in apostolic continuity and fidelity to proclaim to your people the Gospel of salvation.

On your return to your See, I would ask you to convey to your faithful my cordial greeting and my Apostolic Blessing.

6. May our special assembly here today, before the majesty of Almighty God in the Blessed Trinity, be a fresh confirmation of this

path being followed by your Church and your people, *in connection with the great thousandth anniversary of Baptism* which you have this year begun to prepare for.

May the love of God the Father, the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ and the fellowship of the Holy Spirit, through the intercession of the Blessed and Immaculate Mother of Christ and of Saint Josaphat and of all the saints, be with you all. Amen.

L'Osservatore Romano

November 19, 1979

— * —

50th ANNIVERSARY OF OUN IN MONTREAL — CANADA

On September 28-30, a unique symposium on the history of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) was held at Montreal's Concordia University. The symposium, held on the occasion of the 50th Anniversary of the formation of the OUN, was sponsored by the university's Department of Political Science. It was the first of its kind to have taken place at major North American academic institution.

During the three day symposium 16 specialists, many of them active participants in the modern Ukrainian liberation struggle, presented 22 papers which dealt with the general history and development of the Ukrainian national movement after the First World War, as well as with specific aspects of the OUN itself.

The first group of topics was introductory in nature: Dr. A. Bedriy presented a general outline of the 50-year history of the OUN and of some of the problems related to its study. Mr. O. Pytlar, Dr. V. Bolubash and Dr. R. Kukhar respectively explored the historical, psychological and philosophical basis of the emergence of the OUN in Western Ukraine.

A second group of papers dealt with some of the key figures who played a leading role in shaping the OUN as an ideological political and, above all, as a revolutionary organization. These papers, presented by Prof. Y. Kelebay, Mr. O. Pytlar and Dr. M. Klymyshyn — focussed on Dmytro Dontsov, a leading nationalist theoretician and ideologue, on Evhen Konovalets and Stepan Bandera, two leaders of the OUN who were assassinated by Soviet Russian agents. Dr. B. Stebelsky spoke on the formation of nationalist philosophy and its practical and theoretical application within the youth cadres of the OUN.

The third group of presentations explored specific aspects of OUN activity: Mr. S. Rychtyckyj explored the actions of the OUN in 1940-41 and the re-establishment of Ukrainian independence on June 30, 1941, following the outbreak of the Soviet-German war. Dr. V. Kosyk described the co-operation between the OUN with other East

European nations in the face of German and Soviet aggression during WW II, while Dr. Klymyshyn described the role of the clandestine task forces (Pokhidni Hrupy) which the OUN sent into Russian occupied Ukraine in 1941. Prof. L. Shankowskyj and Col. Y. Krokhmaluk discussed the formation and struggle of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and on General Roman Shukhevych-Chuprynka. Mr. S. Golash prepared a paper on the underground printing presses of OUN-UPA.

The fourth series of papers dealt with the influence and expression of the Ukrainian nationalist movement on Ukrainian literature and culture in general. Mrs. A. Stebelsky explored the views of D. Dontsov on Ukrainian literature, Mr. O. Pawliw analyzed the works of Yevhen Malaniuk a nationalist poet and essayist while Dr. R. Kukhar provided a general overview of Ukrainian literature of the sixties and seventies within the context of modern Ukrainian nationalist traditions. Dr. D. Shtohryn presented a bibliographical study about the OUN in Soviet and her East European satellites' publications.

Dr. R. Senkiw and Dr. M. Bohatiuk dealt with the topic of economic and demographic issues relating to the Ukrainian liberation movement and presented some interesting projections for possible future developments in the 1980's.

In spite of the scope and length of the three-day proceedings, the symposium in effect dealt with the history of the OUN until the first years of the Soviet-German War. Thus the symposium can be said to have been an introduction to the study of the history of the OUN and the liberation processes it has spearheaded since 1929. The crucial stages of the OUN-UPA struggle against Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia lend themselves as topics for separate symposia. In fact, even the papers presented at this meeting can be viewed as introductions to the many areas which deserve further study and research.

Attendance at the symposium was an average of 60 per session, somewhat disappointing. For those who were unable to attend, the proceedings will be published in book form early in 1980. The papers were presented in either Ukrainian, English or French, with English language resumés of each paper available to the listeners. Each session included a sometimes lively question and debate period during which many points pertaining to future research were raised. It is hoped that the symposium has provided the impetus for just such research.

Much credit for the symposium must be given to Prof. Lesli Laszlo of Concordia's Political Science Department. Mr. Laszlo, who presided over all of the sessions, showed stamina and perseverance admirable even for a veteran of such proceedings.

WRITERS DEFEND RUDENKO

A full-page advertisement in defence of Mykola Rudenko, chairman of the Ukrainian Public Group to monitor the Helsinki Accords appeared on November 22 in *The New York Review*.

The advertisement, reprinted below was sponsored by the Committee for the Defence of Soviet Political Prisoners and the Freedom to Write Committee, PEN American Center.

On June 30, 1977, Mykola Rudenko, a Ukrainian poet, novelist and essayist, was sentenced by a Soviet court to seven years imprisonment and five years exile on charges of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda". More than a full year before the sentencing of Alexander Ginzburg and Anatoly Shcharansky, the Rudenko trial served as an indication of Soviet disregard for the terms of the Helsinki Accords on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

The decision to sentence Rudenko to twelve years deprivation of freedom is particularly unfortunate when one examines the writer's personal history and the nature of his "crimes".

From 1935 Rudenko was active in the Communist Party, first as a member of the Komsomol (the Young Communist League) and later as a member of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. During the Second World War, Rudenko, despite a physical disability, enlisted for military service in the Red Army and was awarded the order of the Red Star. In 1941 he was seriously wounded during combat and was left an invalid.

As the author of numerous novels, collections of essays, and a volume of poetry, Rudenko was an officially sanctioned and approved writer. His books attained widespread popularity and were published in editions of tens of thousands. He is the author of over thirty books published in the USSR and was an honoured member of the Ukrainian Writers' Union.

In the early seventies, Rudenko began questioning the direction of Soviet policies openly, and became an active member of the human rights movement. Of particular concern to him were Soviet violations of human rights and the denial of national rights to Ukrainians. Rudenko also actively participated in the Soviet group of Amnesty International and served as the Chairman of the Ukrainian Public Group to Monitor Compliance with the Provisions of the Helsinki Accords.

All these activities made him the subject of official sanctions; his works stopped being published; he was expelled from the Writers' Union, and finally in February of 1977, he was arrested by the Soviet secret police.

After nearly half a year of imprisonment awaiting trial, Rudenko was subjected to what can mildly be characterized as a mockery of justice. His family was told of the inception of his trial only three

days after the court proceedings had begun. The trial occurred in the city of Druzhkivka, hundreds of miles from Rudenko's home city of Kyiv. There, the proceedings were not conducted in a courtroom, but rather in a makeshift facility in the offices of a Soviet trade organization. Rudenko's wife, Raissa, was rudely refused entry to the trial and humiliated by six men dressed in civilian clothes, who were guarding the entrance to the criminal proceeding. Requests to allow former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark to serve as the accused's lawyer were denied, and Rudenko's own lawyer behaved in an unprofessional manner, stating at one point in the proceeding: "I cannot deny and dispute the guilt of my client".

All of these mitigating factors in the Rudenko case lead us to conclude that a great miscarriage of justice has occurred. Therefore, we writers, publishers, and editors urge the world literary community to forcefully and actively take up the defence of Mykola Rudenko, a forgotten victim of Soviet repression.

We likewise appeal to our Soviet counterparts, writers and editors to speak out in defence of an unjustly repressed member of their own community.

In recent years, great numbers of writers have become the victims of repression throughout the world. Countries such as Chile, Iran, Argentina, Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union have been particularly guilty of excesses against their most talented poets, novelists and essayists. In defending Mykola Rudenko, we as one add our voices of solidarity on behalf of all writers throughout the world who suffer at the hands of repressive regimes of the left and right, merely for wishing to think and write freely and openly.

The advertisement was signed by: —

| | | |
|--------------------|--------------------|-------------------------|
| Walter Abish | Talat Halman | Henry Robbins |
| Edward Albee | Elizabeth Hardwick | Michael Roloff |
| Donald Barthelme | Nat Hentoff | Muriel Rukeyser |
| Robert Bernstein | Irving Howe | Nora Sayre |
| Hortense Calisher | Lucy Kavalier | Harvey Shapiro |
| Olga Carlisle | Alfred Kazin | Sam Shepard |
| Joseph Chaikin | Herbert Kohl | Gary Snyder |
| Noam Chomsky | Lucy Komisar | Ted Solotaroff |
| Ronald Christ | Robert Lifton | Dorothea Straus |
| Arthur Cohen | Bernard Malamud | Silvia Tennenbaum |
| Norman Dorsen | Nancy Meiselas | John Uudike |
| Rosalyn Drexler | Leonard Michaels | Jean-Claude van Itallie |
| Frances Fitzgerald | Arthur Miller | Aileen Ward |
| John Gardner | Grace Paley | Roxanne Witke |
| Allen Ginsberg | Harriet Pilpel | Helen Wolff |
| | Grace Schulman | Richard Sennett |

Members, PEN American Center

ATTACK ON SOVIET VEHICLES IN PARIS

French newspapers reported that three vehicles belonging to the Soviet diplomatic corps in Paris were destroyed by Molotov cocktails on the night of November 26-27, 1979.

A short while after the attacks, carried out in two locations, a telephone caller to L'Agence France-Presse claimed the bombing were carried out by "Ukrainian nationalists".

ODESSA'S GREAT TRAIN ROBBERY

The Times carried the following report in its issue of November 30, 1979. The article was filed by reporter John Binyon in Moscow, under the title "Great Train Robbery to fulfil plan in Odessa".

The Soviet railway system is in chaos. President Brezhnev told senior party officials this week that troubles on the railways, more than anything else, were responsible for bottlenecks and shortages in the Soviet economy. One small example from the little republic of Moldavia, close to the Romanian border, illustrates his point.

In August, responsibility for the line from Kishinyov, the Moldavian capital, to the nearby port city of Odessa in the Ukraine was divided. On the first day of the new arrangement a train set out from Kishinyov, crossed the border into the newly independent Odessa administrative zone and disappeared.

When the locomotive failed to return to its home depot in Moldavia the alarm was raised. Inquiries were made, there were telephone calls, telegrams and so on.

Matters were becoming urgent: Moldavia had just harvested a large crop of fruit and vegetables which had to be shipped quickly before they went bad, and a full complement of locomotives was needed to transport them to Siberia and the Far East.

It turned out the train had not just disappeared. It had been captured. The moment it crossed into the Odessa railway zone, the railway workers had seen their chance, they commandeered the engine, and set it to work on their lines. Now they could easily not only fulfil their plan, but overfulfil it and win a handsome bonus.

It was not the only locomotive to disappear. Not a single train that set out for Odessa ever came back.

So the Moldavians appealed to the locomotive factory for help. The factory responded by sending three of their newest models. The snag was that the line to Moldavia passed through the Odessa network. Not surprisingly locomotives ZTE10V numbers 0001 to 0003 never turned up. They had also been kidnapped en route.

The Moldavians then telephoned the head of the Odessa railway system. "I don't know anything about this", he replied. "I'll certainly

look into it". But all he did was twiddle his thumbs. So in despair they contacted the Ministry of Transport in Moscow.

That brought a reaction. Sparks began to fly. A telegram was immediately sent to Odessa with a copy to Moldavia. It read: "Despite the ruling of the Ministry of Transport, engines ZTE10V numbers 0001 to 0003 are working on the Odessa network while they are legally registered at the depot in Moldavia. Unless they are returned within 24 hours, this matter will be referred to the highest authorities for a full investigation".

Nothing happened. The Moldavians waited in vain for their trains. They sent more telegrams, telephoned Moscow again. There was consternation in the ministry. It was quite unheard of to ignore an order that had come from the highest authorities. Thunders began to roll, action was taken and locomotive number 003 was released from captivity.

But, the Moldavians protested, more than one train had disappeared, where were the other five? It appears the Odessans had hidden them on branch lines.

Pravda recently revealed the story of the Odessans' piracy on the main lines. Reflecting on the great train robbery, the newspaper asked: "How is it possible that the ministry of Transport is unable to enforce its decrees, even those delivered with thundering threats".

It is a question Mr Brezhnev himself asked, in a tone just as ominous, two days ago.

A. K.

THE GUN AND THE FAITH

Religion and Church in Ukraine
under the Communist Russian Rule

A Brief Survey by

W. Mykula, B.A. (Lond.), B.Litt. (Oxon)

Ukrainian Information Service,
200, Liverpool Road, London, N1 1LF.

1969

48 pp. + 37 illustrations.

Price: £1.50 (USA and Canada \$3.50)

order from:

UIS, 200, Liverpool Road,
London, N1 1LF

or

UBP, 49, Linden Gardens
London W2 4HG.

Ulana CELEWYCH

THE ISSUE OF RUSSIFICATION OF UKRAINE

Future objective historians and researchers of present social and political movements and processes in the world will have to conclude that today Ukraine is in a state of specific decisive war against Russia. As is the case in every war, no matter whether cold or hot, it possesses its own particularities, so Ukraine has to fight its particular battle for existence in today's time of Communist-Russian enslavement and ethnocide. One of the fronts of Russian attack on Ukraine is the front of russification.

Vitaliy Kalynyenko, who completed his ten-year sentence in April, 1976 and presently lives under constant KGB surveillance in Dnipropetrovsk Region of Ukraine, in his declaration of rejection of Soviet citizenship, mentioned the tragic state in Ukraine. "Ukraine was turned into an economic colony of Russian. Part of the official governmental politics is russification. In all phases of Ukrainian administrative life the Russian language is predominant, namely in such phases as manufacturing, education, science, culture, government. Ukraine is threatened with the same kind of national annihilation as has occurred among the more than ten million Ukrainians living in the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (R.S.F.S.R.)".

Facts strengthen V. Kalynyenko's prophesies and fears. The open official policy of russification in all of the U.S.S.R. was enacted by the 25th Congress of the Communist Party and the so-called "Brezhnev Constitution" made it law in October, 1977. This gigantic conspiracy by Russia against enslaved nations, particularly Ukraine is the more dangerous because it encompasses all spheres of the population, peoples of all ages, professions, classes or educations, — the aim of which is to annihilate the native language, the mother language, as the means of communication between individuals and as an indication of national, specifically Ukrainian, separability and identity.

The politics of russification, particularly in Ukraine, is a large and multi-faceted concern. Because 1979 was the International Year of process of russification of Ukrainian children, namely the one dealing thousands of Ukrainians to Asiatic and other so-called Soviet Child, this analysis will cover only one facet of the attack and with russification of education in Ukraine. In the Soviet Union, the home, kindergarten, school, youth organizations and institutions of higher education are under obligation to produce standard Soviet citizens, denationalized and separated from their native countries

Against these politics of russification, a war must be waged for retention of the Ukrainian child by its nation, for the unbreakable bond between a Ukrainian child and its mother, its home and its family.

Woman — Mother — Family

The problems of russification of the Ukrainian educational system and the fate of Ukrainian child cannot be separated from the fate of Ukrainian woman, mother and family as such. Historically, Ukrainians, based on their inbred high Christian morality and national conservatism, have always considered the family as the foundation of existence and development. Marriage was considered a religiously sanctified unbreakable bond. Ukrainian nationality factor in marriage was safeguarded by the Church, family and Ukrainian environment. Mixed marriages in Ukraine were very rare. Ukrainian family life was based upon traditional bonds, respect and love of everything native, parents, land, language and culture. This, as outlined by Dr. Vasyl Shymoniak, professor at Marquette University, in his book "Woman in Communist Reality", was the foundation of the Ukrainian idealistic outlook, the strength of Ukrainian resistance, and the source of Ukrainian nationalistic patriotism. Presently, under Communist-Russian occupation, through destruction of the Church and forcefully inflicted atheism, through annual deportations of thousands upon Republics, and through the mass influx into Ukraine of foreign, predominantly Russian, element, these foundations were shaken and partially destroyed. The changing position of the Ukrainian woman went hand in hand with these changed circumstances. A new phenomenon appeared and spread on the Ukrainian horizon — a phenomenon of mixed and so-called progressive marriages, which, according to U.S.S.R. statistics is very wide-spread in Ukraine (for each 1,000 marriages — 58 in rural areas and 262 in cities are mixed). Prof. R. Yendyk states that 80% of the mixed marriages involved male Ukrainians and 60% female Ukrainians. When in the past, most mixed marriages were between Ukrainians and Byelorussians, presently, for most part, Ukrainians marry Russians or Asiatics. As a result, the dominant language in those homes is Russian. The existing situation in Ukraine today demands from the Ukrainian woman-mother great effort and faith in her nation in order to safeguard her family and resist russification. Even in these harsh circumstances, it is the Ukrainian family, for the most part, that stands as the stronghold of everything Ukrainian — Ukrainian language, faith in God, pride in its national origin and culture. These values, taught to the smallest children by their mother remain with them as their guideposts — as "maternal blessings", using the words of one of our famous writers Mykola Ponedilok, through their whole

lives. In spite of all the efforts and endeavours of our enemies, temptations of great careers, pressures and terror, a generation of Ukrainian patriots-nationalists grows and multiplies in Ukraine.

School and Child

A further important factor in the russification of Ukraine is the school. A child's school years are the most critical and decisive in the lives of the Ukrainian mother and child. The whole educational system of the U.S.S.R. is aimed, pursuant to Article 36 of the Soviet Constitution, "... at cultivation of citizens in the *spirit of Soviet patriotism and social internationalism* through the Russian language and the languages of other republics of the U.S.S.R." Meaning that schools, universities, youth organizations of "Pioneers" and "Komsomol" are obligated to train a "Soviet" not Ukrainian patriot, with orientation upon the imperial capital of Moscow and not on Kyiv, capital of the Ukrainian Republic. Here, the Ukrainian mother must realize her responsibility of safeguarding her child and its soul. From the first step a child takes into the foreign day-care centre, from the first day of kindergarten, through all the following levels of schooling, a Ukrainian child must live through a process of spiritual division, doubts and choices — who constitutes the greater authority — parents and home or teachers and school; who is the child supposed to love and obey; what road should it choose for its lifetime. The school is obliged to supply the child with the necessary education and knowledge, however, it is the parental responsibility to inject the child with respect toward its origin and the necessity to maintain national loyalty toward its native country for the rest of its life.

To go through the Soviet educational system and not to lose one's soul — is a great test for the Ukrainian child. Statistics show that in Ukraine Russian-language schools are on the increase and Ukrainian on the decrease. School is the predominant instrument of russification. On April 17, 1959, the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian S.S.R. enacted an educational law, Article 9 of which states, according to *Education in Soviet Ukraine* by John Kolasky, as follows: "Instruction in the schools of the Ukrainian S.S.R. is conducted in the *native language of the pupils*. Parents decide to which school with what language of instruction they wish to send their children. The study of one of the languages of the peoples of the U.S.S.R., in which instruction is not conducted in the given school, is realized upon the application of sufficient number of the parents and students". The meaning is clear — in Ukraine the Ukrainian language is not obligatory in all schools — on the other hand, the Russian language is obligatory in all the schools of Ukraine. The Minister of Education of the Ukrainian

S.S.R., I. K. Bilodid, discloses the following data for the school year 1961/1962 in Ukraine:

| | |
|--|---------------------------------|
| 1. Ukrainian-language schools | 33,309 (82. 11 ⁰ /o) |
| 2. Russian-language schools | 6,292 (15. 51 ⁰ /o) |
| 3. Other language school (Moldavian, Hungarian, Polish, etc.) | 963 (2. 38 ⁰ /o) |

In the same school year 1961/1962, in accordance with information supplied by official of the Ministry of Education of Ukrainian S.S.R. Alla Bondar, the chosen language of instruction in Ukrainian schools was as follows:

| | |
|----------------------------------|--|
| 1. Ukrainian | 4,170,900 students (64.49 ⁰ /o) |
| 2. Russian | 2,000,100 students (30.93 ⁰ /o) |
| 3. Other | 52,400 students (0.81 ⁰ /o) |
| 4. Two different languages | 244,200 students (3.77 ⁰ /o) |

In the school year 1966/1967, pursuant to Alla Bondar's information, Ukrainian-language schools totalled 23,900 — a decrease of 10,000 Ukrainian-language schools in Ukraine during a five-year period.

As technical and other schools of higher education are located in cities and not in rural areas, it is self-evident that, with minimal exceptions, they are all Russian-language schools.

Attack on Pre-School Facilities

The politics of russification by the Communist Party and Communist-Russian regime in Ukraine and other captive nations characteristically appear in declarations of the 25th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union enumerating the responsibilities of pre-school training, and in the proclamations and edicts of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, of July, 1978, to all subordinate Committees to concretely "... in the shortest time possible, in each city and particularly in each village" increase the work of, and establish where they do not exist, "pre-school facilities" (day-care centres and kindergartens). All this is done, understandably, to separate the child from its mother, to weaken the mother's training and influence during these most formative years, to relieve the mother for long hours of exhaustive work outside the home, and to supply an identical, russified colour to the educational system for future generations. Following these proclamations and edicts from Moscow, the servile, obedient Party Committees of Ukraine and other captive nations forcefully and hurriedly organized contests between cities and villages for "over-performance" of the instructions even before the conclusion of the Five-Year-Plan terminating in 1980.

An example of this intensified process of russification of pre-school facilities in Ukraine is the Crimean Region of Ukraine, where the above mentioned edict from Moscow more than fulfilled "... in pursuit of Communist training of Ukrainian children", according to an article in *Soviet Woman*, No. 1, 1979, there are intensely working "... 990 pre-school establishments at various collective farms (kolkhozes), industrial and other facilities, where attendance amounts to 114,000 children". Today, these Crimean pre-school establishments employ over 8,000 specially trained and indoctrinated teachers, in addition to a number of various party inspectors of the Ministry of Education of the U.S.S.R., whose responsibility consists of making sure that all the plans and edicts from Moscow regarding the indoctrination of Ukrainian pre-school children are carefully fulfilled and over-fulfilled.

The obligatory language in all of these pre-school establishments is, of course, Russian. The magazine *Soviet Ukraine*, wrote that in Kyiv, capital of Ukraine, even before the edicts of July, 1978, there were sixteen kindergartens, and only four of which were Ukrainian-language ones. The result is clear — in the event a Ukrainian child did not learn from its mother its native language, Ukrainian, before going to such a school, it is forced first to learn a foreign language, namely Russian, before being able to learn Ukrainian as a second language.

School Books

To illustrate the politics of russification in education, the following numbers of school books printed are statistically annotated: In 1964/65 in the U.S.S.R. there were published 205,500,000 school books in Russian for 54.65% of Russian students in U.S.S.R. and 78,805,000 for 45.35% of students of all other nationalities. Next year, the number of Russian school books published was increased again by four million.

About the principal obligations of schools teachers in the Ukrainian S.S.R. the magazine *Soviet Woman* writes, No. 9, 1978, "Over 700,000 teachers of Ukraine greeted on September 1 close to 8 million students of the Republic. It is they, caring tutors, who will teach our children reading, writing and the virtues of citizenship, to love their homeland, who will help our children choose their professions, or even in schools, to specialize". Further, this magazine supplies the news about the establishment of "educational-production combines" in accordance with "the complex plan of industrious education and training" of pupils, the so-called "Child Five-Year-Plan". Today, there are more than 170 of such combines and by 1983, the number should be increased to more than 600. Therefore, one more factor is added to the russificational Communist-Russian machinery in Ukraine. In addition, the educational system in Ukraine is supplemented

by Communist organizations such as the "Pioneers" and "Komsomol", through their hundreds of thousands of groups, kindergartens, places, playgrounds, youth camps, uniforms and tempting prizes, insignias and promises of shining careers. All this has a tremendous effect upon youthful romanticism. Enormous effort in influence and training is necessary to help a young person withstand these kind of temptations.

Teaching Collective

The magazine *Soviet Education*, of November 11, 1978, informs about an edict of the Ukrainian S.S.R. Ministry of Education calling for intensified attacks on the remaining Ukrainian-language schools, to strengthen the Russification of Ukrainian youth. This edict planned and put into effect such means of russification as obligatory teaching of Russian language from the first grade in all elementary schools in Ukraine, increase of teachers of Russian nationality, establishing in Ukraine special institutes of the Russian language, filling of Ukrainian libraries with Russian literature, organizing contests in excellence of Russian language and literature, etc.

Although the russification situation in Ukraine is very grave, it is worse for the approximately 10 million Ukrainians and their children living in the U.S.S.R., outside Ukraine. They are sentenced to annihilation, though, by law, they should have all opportunities of Ukrainian education. In Ukraine, in contrast to foreign territories, as much as possible, we find activities of resistance to russification and in defense of Ukrainian language. As an example, known facts of protests of young mothers against russification of kindergartens for Ukrainian children in Dnipropetrovsk. Or again, letters of the so-called creative youth of Dnipropetrovsk in 1969, which were followed by the arrests of poets Ivan Sokulskyj, Mykola Kulchyckyj, and engineer Victor Sawchenko. The well-known Dr. Mykola Plakhotniuk, author of the letter *Truth is With Us! — Answer to Liers*, who for the last eight years has been imprisoned in a Communist-Russian so-called psychiatric clinic — "psykhuszka" — also took part in this 1969 creative youth protest.

Ukraine is trying to preserve her rights to native language and education, but needs all the help she can get from political forums of the free world.

The bases of our action of help are predominantly international decrees, agreements and proclamations, whose participators and signatories include the U.S.S.R. and Ukraine, namely the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 and United Nations Declaration of the Rights of the Child of November 20, 1959.

In the Preamble to the Declaration of the Rights of the Child, the United Nations reaffirmed their faith in fundamental human rights, and in the dignity and worth of the human person, and further the

United Nations has determined to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom.

Taking into consideration the results of the First and Second World Wars, members of the United Nations, by this Declaration, asserted that the most innocent victims of wars are children. Therefore, a need arose to proclaim a special Declaration of the Rights of the Child that in its ten Principles defines the basic rights of children. The most important of these Principles are:

Principle 1. The child shall enjoy all the rights set forth in this Declaration. All children, without any exception whatsoever, shall be entitled to these rights, without distinction or discrimination on account of race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status, whether of himself or of his family.

Principle 2. The child shall enjoy special protection, and shall be given opportunities and facilities, by law and by other means, to enable him to develop physically, mentally, morally, spiritually and socially in a healthy and normal manner and in conditions of freedom and dignity. In the enactment of laws for this purpose the best interests of the child shall be the paramount consideration.

Principle 3. The child shall be entitled from his birth to a name and nationality. (Therefore, in Ukraine, the child is entitled to Ukrainian nationality and not a Russian identity).

Principle 6. The child, for the full and harmonious development of his personality, needs love and understanding. He shall, whenever possible, grow up in the care and under the responsibility of his parents, and in any case in an atmosphere of affection and of moral and material security; a child of tender years shall not, save in exceptional circumstances be separated from his mother...

Principle 7. The child is entitled to receive an education...

Principle 10. The child shall be protected from practices which may foster racial, religious and any other form of discrimination. He shall be brought up in a spirit of understanding, tolerance, friendship among peoples, peace and universal brotherhood...

Our request for help from the free world to counteract the russification process in Ukraine are principally based on the above enumerated Principles of the Declaration of the Rights of the Child.

In connection with celebration of the Year of the Child, the Director-General of UNESCO appointed Mr. D. Najman, Assistant Director-General, Cooperation for Development and External Affairs Sector, as Commissioner of the International Year of the Child, the

official responsible for the planning and coordination of relevant supporting activities, particularly at the level of policy guidance. The Commissioner appointed directors for separate sectors and established bureaux in Geneva and the United Nations in New York.

At the Commission's meeting in August, 1979, the following resolutions were adopted:

1. Educational programme — namely general-educational schools for the development of children in social, economic and cultural direction. Special attention is to be given to pre-schools (day-care centres and kindergartens) and methodical stimulation of educational interest of the child in science, technological concepts and environment.
2. Improving the protection of rights of children, particularly the ones of migratory families and those whose parents, due to different reasons, do not possess permanent living quarters (such as children of Ukrainian political prisoners and the ones living in exile in various Republics of the Soviet Union). Here are included also research studies on the role and effect of changes of living conditions upon the process of psychological and physical development of the child.
3. Help to, and increase of, children's cultural programs, such as television, theatre, shows, literature, libraries and creative talents.
4. The Commissioner of the International Year of the Child of United Nations is to cooperate in realization of the adopted plans and resolutions with governmental agencies of various countries.

The subjects of the second meeting of the Commission of the International Year of the Child in 1977 were the legalistic aspects of the rights of children:

1. It was resolved to organize a Convention of the Rights of the Child and present before it recommendations against discrimination in aspects of education, national and cultural identity of children of different countries and underdeveloped groups or tribes.
2. It was resolved to organize research and take practical steps to safeguard national and cultural identities of nations and peoples, which are represented by national freedom movements, and on the basis of such research, to prepare for, and disseminate among, children books and publications.
3. Children may not be discriminated against for actions and criminal or political records of their parents.

4. Special commissioner will be appointed for safeguarding and broadening the teaching of the child's native language, particularly concerning migrants' children. The Commission of the International Year of the Child asserts that children should obtain their education in their native languages, because only the child's native language assures full facilitation of the child's learning abilities and secures the free manifestation of the child's creative talents.

5. The family has the right and obligation of bringing up the child. The mother may not be forcefully separated from her child and her first and foremost occupation and interest should be her child's upbringing.

In conclusion, Ukrainian children are appealing to the Council General of the United Nations and to the countries of the free world to intervene on their behalf with Chairman Brezhnev to cease and desist the politics and policies of russification of Ukraine and return to the Ukrainian children their inalienable rights to their own nation, language and culture.

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UKRAINE IN 1918: THROUGH A BRITISH REPORTER'S EYES

It is ironic that in 1918 the British press seemed to know more about Ukraine than it does seventy one years later.

That year a correspondent for *The Manchester Guardian* wrote a feature article for his paper which duly appeared on January 2, 1918, (page 4), under the title "The Ukraine and its People".

It is a short history of Ukraine and Russia and also provides an interesting character sketch of Ukrainians as the correspondent saw them.

The article, reprinted below, was published a few weeks before Ukraine's proclamation of independence on January 22, 1918, in the form of the "Fourth Universal".

A. K.

THE UKRAINE AND ITS PEOPLE

The Ukrainian question, well known to the political student, has long been obscured from the gaze of the general public, thanks to the clever manoeuvres of the ethnographical and historical "science" of the old Tsarist regime, which had turned the Ukrainians into a subordinate branch of the Russian people under the name of "Little Russians", had proclaimed its language — in the teeth of the findings of its own Academy of Science — to be a mere local dialect, and above all, had, with an unparalleled coolness appropriated the entire Ukrainian history as part of the history of its own Empire. As a matter of fact, the Ukrainian people — at present counting, in Russia alone, about 30 million souls, — though akin to the Russians, was and has ever been as distinct from them, physically, mentally and culturally, and for many centuries politically, as the Poles or the Bulgarians, and its history was, down to the 17th century, that of an independent political community whose earlier stages figures in the Russian historical textbooks as the Kieff period of Russian history.

For Kieff, with its long line of Princes — from St. Vladimir, who adopted Christianity in 988, through Vladimir Monomachos, whose wife was Gytha, a daughter of Harold of England, down to Danilo, the father of Lev, who founded the city of Lvoff (Lemberg), — was never the capital of a Russian state. It was the capital of a Ukrainian

feudal state, extending from the Don to the Carpathians, and from the Pripet to the Black Sea — an agglomerate as large as, or even larger than, present France or Germany. The Tartar invasion of the 13th century was a mortal blow inflicted on that state, whose centre of gravity now shifted to the West, to the present Galicia and Volhynia, with its capital cities of Halich (hence the corrupted name of Galicia) and Vladimir. This part continued its independence for another hundred years, until it fell under the power of the Lithuanian princes, and finally, through the union of Lithuania with Poland in 1536, under the Polish kings.

What became of Eastern Ukraine? For a long time trampled under foot by Tartar horses, it gradually evolved a military state, the republic of the Cossacks — the real, the original cossacks, of which the subsequent Cossacks of Russia were mere imitations, — which, in incessant fighting against the Tartars, then the Turks and the Poles, gradually recovered for that part of the Ukrainian people security and independence. Kieff once more blossomed forth — this time chiefly as a cultural centre with a remarkable academy, libraries and hosts of savants, — and Hetmans of the Cossacks became the rulers of the non-Polish Ukraine. The pressure of Poland, was, however, very great, and in the end the Hetman Bogdan Khmelnytsky, in 1654, applied to the Tsar of Moscow for protection and concluded with him a treaty for joining the Ukraine to the Muscovite State on the basis of a personal union and with the preservation of the full autonomy of the Ukraine.

That was the end of the Ukrainian State, because no sooner was the Muscovite Tsar's protectorate established than he began to encroach upon the rights and liberties of the Ukrainian people. A series of unsuccessful revolts ensued, and finally Peter the Great and Catherine II, made a formal end of Ukrainian independence by abolishing all the laws and institutions of the country and assimilating it in every respect to the rest of their Empire, down to the introduction of serfdom. Even the Ukrainian language was placed under a ban, and even the history and ethnography of the Ukrainian people were gradually annexed to Russia.

The memory of these lost liberties has survived. The Ukrainians are a highly gifted race. Cool and slow, almost phlegmatic in their exterior they are possessed of a lively imagination, of a profound depth of feeling, and of a keen sense of humour, which make them superb in all branches of art. Gogol, great founder of Nationalism in Russian fiction, was an Ukrainian; Taras Shevchenko, their greatest poet, was the equal of Pushkin or Lermontoff; their actors Kropivnitsky and Mme. Zankovetzka would have been an ornament on any European stage; and what best there is in Russian music has been derived from the Ukraine whose people are not less musical than

the Italian. In addition, they are of a most gentle and malleable disposition, accesible to the highest cultural influences.

But the Russian Tsars, by their methods of oppression and supresion, prosecution and persecution, took good care that the national memories of old should be kept alive and burning. To this day the Ukrainian popular songs sing of Catherine, who suppressed the independent Cossackdom and turned the Ukrainian peasants into serfs, and envisage the time when "our hands may, perhaps become free from shackles, and then, oh! blood for blood and pain for pain to our tormentors".

Such are the facts underlying the Ukrainian question, which, however, is viewed differently by the different sections of the Ukrainian people. There is the peasant who is absorbed above all in his land, and to whom a sufficient land allotment and freedom from misrule of officials are the sum total of happiness. To him, as the peasant in Russia proper, the overthrow of the Tsardom and a democratic Constitution form the main contents of the Ukrainian problem. Then there is the industrial worker of the town, who follows the flag of social democracy and, in addition to the satisfaction of his economic demands, dreams only of home rule. But the "intellectuals" and the commercial classes — the bourgeoisie — go much further in their desires. They want a separate state — federated or not with Russia — in which they could have the monopoly of power and exploitation of the rich mines and cornfields of the country. Their dream is a blend of the romantic with the materialistic, and, being more alert than the other sections of the community, they succeeded, early in the Revolution, in grasping the reins of power by calling to life a National Council (Rada) and in formulating a series of nationalist and semi-separatist demands, of which the segregation of the Ukrainian soldiers into a separate army under the Rada's control is practically the most important.

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J. B. RUDNYCKYJ

ON 40th ANNIVERSARY: 1939-1979

Carpatho-Ukraine and its Ethnolinguistic Problems

The political significance of the proclamation of independence of Carpatho-Ukraine of 1939 was twofold:

First, it manifested very clearly the undeniable historical will of the Ukrainian people everywhere, even on the outskirts of their ethnolinguistic territory, to live freely, without foreign interference or subjugation; and secondly, it emphasized by the very name "Ukraine" that the so-called "Pidkarpatska Rus" (Subcarpathian Rus') was in fact Subcarpathian Ukraine, i.e. a part of the Ukrainian national territory. These two implications of the act of 1939 were of profound importance. True, Carpatho-Ukraine was occupied by Hungarian military forces with Hitler's consent soon after the proclamation of its independence; true, the long aspired for and finally achieved self-determination cost much effort and sacrifice; yet the year 1939 went into history as a culmination of modern ideology, which exalted the independent state as the ideal form of political organization and social order in this part of the world.

Apart from the heroic struggle of the Sich-army and the Carpatho-Ukrainian people, besides international diplomatic action to find understanding for this manifestation of the Ukrainian independist and integralist movement, the intellectual efforts in this respect should also be taken into consideration the more, that some of them remained little or entirely unknown. It refers in particular to the field of linguistics.

* * *

Since the publication of works by Ivan Pankevych, namely: "Vidnoshennia pivdenno-karpats'kykh hovoriv ukraïns'koi movy do vsikh ynshykh ukraïns'kykh hovoriv i peredovsim do pivnichno-karpats'kykh" (The relationship between South-Carpathian dialects of the Ukrainian language and all other Ukrainian dialects primarily the North-Carpathian ones), published in *Memoirs of the Shevchenko Scientific Society in L'viv*, Vol. CLV, 1937, pp. 173-189; "Lemkivs'ko-boikivs'ka hranytsia v Chekhoslovachyni" (Lemkian-Boikian border in Czechoslovakia), *Annales Boikoviae*, Vol. X, Sambir 1938, pp. 87-92; and finally of his *opus magnum: Ukraïns'ki hovory Pidkarpats'-koi Rusy i sumezhnykh oblastei* (Ukrainian dialects of Carpatho-Ukraine and the neighbouring territories), Published by the Slavic

Institute (Slovansky Ustav) in Prague in 1938, the hitherto "controversial" problem of the character of the South-Carpathian dialects was definitely solved. Thanks to his comparative-historical analysis of the three main dialectal groups there: Lemkian, Boikian and Hutsulian, the author firmly established the integrality of the Ukrainian ethnolinguistic territory on both slopes of the Carpathian mountains and its linkage with the rest of it. The highly scholarly dialectological maps attached to Pan'kevych's study, gave a very adequate and, at the same time, undeniable repartition of the Ukrainian language not only in Carpatho-Ukraine but also in neighbouring Slovakia, Hungary and Romania. Those maps followed the example established by J. B. Rudnytskyj in his book *Ukrains'ka mova ta yiyi hovory* (Ukrainian language and its dialects), Lviv 1937, and still earlier by I. Zilynskyj in his *Carte des dialects ukrainiens avec explications* (The map of Ukrainian dialects with explanations) Warsaw 1933.

Despite its high scientific value Pan'kevych's volume became known only to those who knew Ukrainian, or understood this Slavic language passively, i.e. to Slavists of that time. In this connection the statement of Volodymyr Komarynskyj might be quoted:

The first chief of the Carpatho-Ukrainian schools was Josef Peshek. Peshek was a Czech pedagogue coming from a little in Bohemia. When he was appointed chief of the so-called School Referate in Uzhhorod by the Ministry of Education in Prague, he knew neither Ukrainian nor Russian. Representatives of the Ukrainians and of the "great-Russians" claimed Ukrainian or Russian for instruction in the Carpatho-Ukrainian schools; Peshek openly declared that he did not know what kind of language was used by the local population and he applied to the Czech Academy of Sciences for help in this respect. A tri-member Commission, of Weingart¹, Polivka and Nejedly, replied after two weeks that all the South-Carpathian dialects are idioms of the Ukrainian language.²

All three prominent Czech Slavists, Weingart, Polivka and Nejedly, had doubtlessly a passive knowledge of Ukrainian; they had also the opportunity to call on Pan'kevych personally in Prague. Therefore their judgement was scholarly, sound and sufficient for a Czech educational bureaucrat in Carpatho-Ukraine. However, for the Western intellectual world Pan'kevych's works, written in Ukrainian, were unknown. For them the Carpatho-Ukrainian language was "Russian" (in the best cases "Little-Russian") and Carpatho-Ukraine itself — "Pidkarpatska Rus", falsely translated into "Subcarpathian Russia" in English, "Russie Subcarpatique" in French, "Karpato-

1) Named erroneously by Komarynskyj "Weingarten".

2) Cf. Volodymyr Komarynskyj "Pro formuvannia natsional'noi identychnosti" (On "formation of the national identity"). *Visnyk — Herald*, No. 11, New York, 1978, pp. 20-22.

Russland" in German, and so forth. In other words in the Western public intellectual opinion it was part of "Russia" and not Ukraine. The scholarly confusion led to political one, and finally caused the downfall of Carpatho-Ukraine as a sovereign state of 1939.³

* * *

In order to correct this confusion and misunderstanding the present writer undertook a project in 1938 at the Ukrainian Scientific Institute (Ukrainisches Wissenschaftliches Institut) in Berlin to publish a scholarly book in one of the Western languages which would elucidate the real state of things in Carpatho-Ukraine and, at the same time, would serve as an objective reference work in the forthcoming eventual international negotiations regarding the status of Carpatho-Ukraine, its ethnolinguistic identity and *eo ipso* its right to national-political self-determination.

The academic climate for such plans in Berlin at that time seemed if not hopeless, at least unfavourable. The administration of the "German Harvard" — the W. von Humboldt University was under Nazi-control. Yet there were quite a few outstanding professors who were opposed to Hitler's regime and pursued their objective research work in various fields.

One of them was Max Vasmer, a noted Berlin Slavist, Chairman of the Slavic Seminar of the University. We first met at the Second International Congress of Slavic Philologists in Warsaw in 1934.

The other one was Dietrich Westermann, Director of the Institute of Phonetic Sciences at the same University. I had an opportunity to meet him in Lviv when he was guest lecturer there in 1937. To both of these scholars I had confidential letters of reference from my Professors W. Taszycki and J. Kurylowicz from Lviv. When I came to Berlin early in 1938, I contacted both of them and found very far-reaching support. Vasmer invited me to contribute to his journal *Zeitschrift für slavische Philologie*, while Westermann was helpful in the field of phonetic studies. Both favoured my South-Carpatho-Ukrainian plan. Westermann not only gave me permission to use his magnificent Phonogramme Archiv with records of texts from various world languages, including Carpatho-Ukrainian texts, but also assured the help of his assistant-secretary Miss Hanna Nakonetchna, Vasmer's student. We started our work on Carpatho-Ukrainian dialects in autumn 1938. It took hours of "after-office work" to prepare the dialectological transcription of the texts, their comparison with the Ukrainian literary language and their translation into

³ "Karpato-Russland" was the usual designation of Carpatho-Ukraine in the Nazi-governing circles of that time.

German. Finally, in February 1939, we were through with our work and the manuscript was sent to the printers (Franz Steiner in Grafenhainichen near Leipzig). We were pleased with the progress of the production of the book: during the decisive days of the struggle for independence of Carpatho-Ukraine we read the first proofs of the volume which on the academic front had to help the young Carpatho-Ukrainian state in its fight for self-determination. The book came out in print in the late spring 1940 with the title: *Ukrainian Idioms: South-Carpatho-Ukrainian: Lemkian, Boikian and Hutsulian* — (in German: *Ukrainische Mundarten. Sudkarpato ukrainisch: Lemkisch, Bojkisch and Huculisch*).

Besides the introduction the book consisted of the following parts: a general characterization of the Ukrainian language and its specific phenomena in various dialects, the classification of them into three main groups: Northern, South-Eastern and South-Western, and the division of the South-Carpathian dialects into Lemkian, Boikian and Hutsulian. Then the rules of transcription were offered. Finally three corresponding texts were analyzed: one from Kamiunka in Lemkivshchyna, another from Uzhhorod in Boikovia, and the third one from Vovchynets' in Hutsul-land. A vocabulary and maps were added. The latter were designed by V. Melnychuk (signed "Mel" on maps), the Secretary General of the Ukrainian Scientific Institute in Berlin. No doubt his maps increased the scholarly value of our book: one of them (on p. 9) showed the repartition of the Ukrainian dialects on the whole Ukrainian ethnolinguistic territory with an indication of the place of the South-Carpathian dialects, the other one specified the Carpatho-Ukrainian idioms only.

After its appearance the book received a very good response from professional circles, journals, and even the Ukrainian press. But it was too late to help the Carpatho-Ukrainian state which was occupied by the Hungarian army and incorporated temporarily into Hungary (1939-1945). In 1945, as is known, it became part of the Soviet Ukraine.

* * *

On the 40th anniversary of the proclamation of the independence of Carpatho-Ukraine and at the same time, of our efforts in the scholarly field in 1938-40 some conclusion can be drawn:

The "German Harvard" — the W. von Humboldt University in Berlin though under Nazi control and interference through its imprint on our book gave *urbi et orbi* a scholarly evidence of the true ethnolinguistic situation in Carpatho-Ukraine of that time.

It is therefore more than strange that in the 1970's under the

imprint of the "Ukrainian Harvard" books and articles have been published which not only are based on false premises and confused ideological background but are harmful to the Ukrainian national efforts to identify the South-Carpathian territory as a Ukrainian territory. Those publications are as follows:

Carpatho-Ruthenica at Harvard: A Catalog of Holdings by Paul Magocsi and Olga K. Mayo;

Let's Speak Rusyn — 'the first Rusyn-English phrasebook by the Harvard scholar Dr. Paul R. Magocsi';

The Shaping of a National Identity: Subcarpathian Rus' — 1918-1948. By Paul R. Magocsi. Harvard University Press, 1978;

Proceedings of the Conference on Carpatho-Ruthenian Immigration. Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute. 1975, and others, of which one item has a rather grotesque catalogue description of the "Transworld Publishers", viz.

The Problem of National Affiliation among the Rusyns (Ruthenians) of Yugoslavia. By Dr. Paul Magocsi, Harvard University: "The almost unbelievable (sic! J. B. R.). story of the less than 25,000 Rusyns living in Bachka". Quite true: "almost unbelievable" stories for a Harvard scholar!

* * *

In this connection one should underline the following three, regrettable, facts: First, the author, or the authors respectively, do not pursue the findings of the previous research in this field, in particular the book by Hanna Nakonetschna and J. B. Rudnyckyj although it is available in American and Canadian Libraries. Secondly, the above named "Carpatho-Ruthenian" or "Rusynian" publications appeared under the imprint and/or auspices of the Harvard University, otherwise known in the world as a prestigious school of sound, unbiased, scholarship. Thirdly, they were subsidized to a greater or lesser degree by the funds collected and donated to the Harvard University by the Ukrainian people in the US and Canada, in the hope that the scholarly level of the Harvard Ukrainian publications be as high as other publications of this institution. With regard to Magocsi's and Co. this is not the case.

TO THE UKRAINIAN PILGRIMS IN ROME

In September, 1979, thousands of Ukrainian pilgrims from all over the world converged on Rome to pay their respects to Patriarch Josyf Slipyj in the fortieth year of his beatitude and to celebrate the beginning of the decade which marks the run up to 1000 years of Christianity in Ukraine.

Numerous speeches, concerts, and liturgies celebrated the dual event. One of the most moving addresses came from a Dutch priest, Rev. Verenfried Van Straaten. His speech is reproduced below.

Your Beatitude, Esteemed Eminences, Excellencies,
honoured guests, dear Ukrainian Brothers,
so numerous gathered in Rome.

In studying the history of the Christian Church, we see that from its very beginning there have always been martyrs and confessors of the faith who have not been rendered to oblivion as is often the case in our present times, but who are on the contrary, honoured and exalted as the light of the lamp.

How movingly the Gospel describes the execution of St. John the Baptist. How painstakingly St. Paul writes about his many sufferings in his Epistles. How accurately St. Luke describes the misfortunes borne by the apostles and St. Stephen in the Book the Acts of the Apostles. How precisely the torments suffered by persecuted Christians are described in the Acts of the Martyrs. The first Christians had great respect for the tormented and persecuted. The act of martyrdom sufficed for holiness to be recognised by the first Church. Holy Liturgies would be read at the graves of the martyrs as testimony of the close relationship between martyrs and Christians (as close as a reason and its consequence); the blood the martyrs was the seed of Christianity.

In addressing you today, dear Ukrainian brothers and sisters, in studying and summarising your almost a thousand year old Christianity, we can confirm that from the time you first adopted Christianity you were and are to this day true witnesses of Christ.

The chronicles of ancient Rus'-Ukraine describe how the apostle St. Andrew, brother of Simon-Peter, travelled to the place where the city of Kyiv now blossoms and blessed its hills, prophesying the spread of the Gospel in those lands. If this legend is true, then the crucified St. Andrew was the first martyr of your land.

Soon after, the Emperor Trian exiled St. Peter's third successor, Pope St. Clement (88-97) to Kherson. He is a man with whom the history of the Ukrainian Church is very closely tied and to whom your Beatitude dedicated the Ukrainian Catholic University situated at via Boccea, Rome. St. Clement became a martyr through his

witness, and his relics rested in your land until the time that the Slav apostles St. Cyril and Methodious removed them to Rome.

Almost five hundred years later, St. Martin I (649-655), Pope and martyr, died on the shores of southern Ukraine after having served a harsh exile sentence, imposed because he strove to achieve the unity of the Church. His fraternal brother, St. Maximus, from the Eastern Church, and ardent defender of the Orthodoxy of the Universal Catholic Church, was crippled, exiled and died during the disputes between the heretics in the Kavkaz Mountains and was thereafter called the "Confessor". Here, dear Ukrainian brothers and sisters, lie the true foundations and the mighty Titans of your faith and Christianity.

A thousand years ago St. Volodymyr the Great (980-1015) established the Christian religion as the national religion (of Ukraine), but this faith had, from the very start, been secured and blessed by the blood of the holy martyrs Borys and Hlib (1015). To this day their relics are revered in the town of Vyshorod.

After the tragic division which took place in the Eastern Church, and which caused half the Christian world to be separated from the throne of Peter, and when Ukrainians, or Ruthhenians as they were once known, proved the incredible strength of their faith. Indeed the Bishops of the Metropolies of Kyiv, Halych and of all Rus' renewed their allegiance to the Universal Church of Christ through the Treaty of Berestya (1595-1596) while retaining their individuality and the rights of the Eastern Church.

This Union had to be protected and was by St. Josaphat (1623), a Bishop and martyr who dedicated his life to implementing God's words: "Ut omnes unum sint" (that they may be one — John 17, II). It is not without good reason that his relics now rest in the Vatican Basilica by the sanctuary of St. Basil the Great.

But Ukrainians had to pay dearly for their allegiance to the Universal Church. Russian czars, persecutors, spilt the innocent blood of Ukrainian Catholics, for whom especially cruel torments were prepared under the rule of Peter I, Catherine II, Nicholas I and Alexander II. Under the rule of the latter, the union in the eparchy of Kholm was forcibly destroyed. During the time of these tragic events, many simple peasants gave their lives for their faith in the Catholic Church.

And thus we enter our own century, in which God's providence allotted the suffering Ukrainian nation two spiritual leaders of great spiritual strength: Metropolitan Andriy Sheptytsky and Your Beatitude.

When the First World War erupted, God's servant Metropolitan Sheptytsky was arrested, exiled and spent more than three years under the arrest of the czarist government in a monastery in Suzdal. When he returned to his fatherland with the help of good-willed

people, including the young rector Dr. Josyf Slipyj, he completely reorganised Church life. But in September 1939 the Golgotha of your Church began. Metropolitan Sheptytsky wrote: "One page of our history has been turned, a new era has begun. We greet it with our humble prayers, firmly believing in the boundless love and mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ, who will lead everyone to God's glory and for a better fortune".

In describing the tragic state that religion found itself in under atheist communism to Cardinal Tiseranov, the Metropolitan asked that his martyrdom be blessed: "I repeat my request, which I have already presented to the Holy Father, to confer on me His apostolic blessing and allow me to be graced, elected and sent to my death for the Faith and Unity of the Church... The Church will lose nothing by my death, it can only gain. And it is necessary that someone be sacrificed to that incursion; and I, as the pastor of this poor, long suffering nation, don't I have some right to die for its good and for a better fortune?"

With these thoughts and this intention, forty years ago on the 22nd December, 1939 Metropolitan Sheptytsky secretly consecrated his successor — Your Beatitude, in a private chapel. When that great weight was presented before the person of Your Beatitude, you replied: "But that's a terrible responsibility", to which the Metropolitan said: "It will be an even greater responsibility of you don't accept it". And thus the Good Friday of the Ukrainian Catholic Church began, and continues to this day.

On the 11th April, 1945 all five Ukrainian Catholic Bishops on the territory of Soviet Ukraine were arrested: Metropolitan Josyf Slipyj and his auxilliary Bishop Nykyta Budka, the Bishop of Stanislav — Hryhoriy Khomyshyn and his auxilliary Bishop Ivan Latyshevsky, Apostolic Visitor Bishop Mykola Charnetsky, Mgr. Dr. Petro Verhun, — Apostolic Visitor for Ukrainian Catholics in Germany was arrested and exiled at the same time. A few weeks later the Bishop of Pere-myshl, — Josaphat Kotsylovsky and his auxilliary Bishop Hryhoriy Lakota were arrested. Bishop Teodor Romzha was tortured to death in Carpathian Ukraine. In 1950 the Bishop of Prague, Pavlo Goydych was arrested and sentenced on the territory of Czechoslovakia with his auxilliary Bishop Vasyl Hopko. Ten Bishops, as one, proved their faith in Christ and His Church. Not long after, members of individual Bishops' Councils, rectors of the Council, rectors of seminaries and rectors of spiritual orders and the most influential priests were also arrested. Here, dear Ukrainian brothers and sisters, are Christ's witnesses — and your example and pride.

Practically all those Bishops died while in exile or prison; the only Bishop who emerged alive from the terror was Your Beatitude, sentenced to eight years of hard labour in 1946, and again in 1956 for your determined refusal to serve Moscow. In 1956 You were not only

promised Your freedom but also the patriarchal seat of Moscow on the condition that you renounce Your allegiance to Rome and deny the supremacy of the Pope. This You categorically rejected and thus You were sentenced for a third time.

From various documents and information provided by eye-witnesses, we know to what extent You were humiliated and tortured in Soviet concentration camps. They say that Your arms were broken and that You were forced to clean the camp sinks for long years.

Only You know about the martyrdom of Your brother bishops, priests and laity, the nightmarish history of Your Stations of the Cross that lasted for eighteen years in the tortures and concentration camps of the Soviet Union.

When the Synod was called, Your Beatitude was one of those forced to be absent. However, two observers from the Russian Orthodox Church were allowed to participate, and they, with the godless, were responsible for the forced liquidation of Your Church.

This was too much. Ukrainian bishops in exile protested in the name of the murdered and exiled bishops, in the name of tortured priests and in the name of millions of murdered and exiled Catholic laity. As a result of this and through the efforts of Pope John XXIII Your Beatitude, who had to bear great sufferings and deprivations, was released on the 9th February, 1963. From that time on You have stood as a silent reproach in the face of Your persecutors and have involuntarily become an obstacle in the path of the ecumenical drawing together with the Russian Church.

In his epistle "To priests, and the laity of the Greek Catholic Church in West Ukraine" (sent in April 1945), patriarch Aleksiy urged Catholic priests and laity to rebel against their Bishops and apostolate. He described Hitler as the "vassal of the Vatican", rejected that Catholic dogma which he considered stained the orthodoxy of the Orthodox faith and criticised Pope Pious XII Christmas Epistle in 1944, claiming that the Pope was a "collaborator with the perpetrators of fascism and a sympathiser of Hitler's". Further patriarch Aleksiy unjustly accused Ukrainian Catholic Bishops of being "in collaboration with the enemy", and thus he became an informer and co-participant in their arrests and sentences for "high treason and collaboration with the invader powers". Ten bishops died as a result of that sentence.

The Great Pope Pious XII places the blame for this crime on patriarch Aleksiy in his encyclica "Orientales Omnes" (1945). Let us listen to his words: "Who does not know that Aleksiy, recently elected patriarch by Moscow's dissident bishops, in a letter addressed to the Ukrainian Church openly celebrated and preached the betrayal of the Catholic Church and thus played a vital role in initiating these dreadful persecutions?"

In April 1945 after the communist government had arrested all Ukrainian Catholic bishops, and hundreds of priests, they succeeded

in terrorising two of these into serving orthodox and communist plans. These times were indeed auspicious for them and they were able to repudiate the Union of Berestya and proclaimed the unification of the Ukrainian Catholic Church with the Russian Orthodox Church.

That Lviv pseudo-Synod (8-10th March, 1946) was called by an "initiating committee" composed of three priests forced to collaborate, two of whom had been secretly ordained by patriarch Aleksiy. As all Catholic bishops had been arrested and because a Synod without bishops is inconceivable, the participation of Patriarch Aleksiy in that illegal process is manifestly obvious. The conspirators and the most important participants of the pseudo-Synod had all accepted the Orthodox faith beforehand. The pseudo-Synod decided to "annul the Union with Rome, to break all contact with the Vatican and to return to the orthodox faith".

The unjust and foolish participation of officially responsible people of the Orthodox Church, including patriarch Pimen, was directed against Your Beatitude, Your bishops, at three thousand priests and five million Ukrainian Catholic laity, and has severely damaged the bonds of love uniting Churches and has become an obstacle to ecumenical unity with the Russian Orthodox Church.

The Catholic Church will never be able to buy peace with the Russian Orthodox because of their betrayal of those five million martyrs and confessors of the faith who are to this day tied in their hearts to Rome. This should be clear to every man of good will. Every true orthodox is obviously ashamed of that ecumenical scandal.

The false ecumenism of the Synod, used to acquire more territory, provides a stark contrast to the martyrs and has destroyed all solidarity between them and the persecuted Church.

Because of what followed, the priests of the Ukrainian Church under Soviet control, were driven to despair: after the Orthodox Synod, held in Moscow in 1971, patriarch Pimen triumphantly proclaimed that the age-long unity between the Ukrainian Catholic Church and Rome was annulled. This was accepted without protest by the Vatican's delegates. On the basis of this, the priests and laity who had proved their loyalty to Rome with their blood and loss of freedom, are now described by communist and orthodox propaganda as insane, as they stubbornly continue to insist on unity — which Rome resigned itself from. The main proof for this lies in the silence of the Papal representative, who through his silence acquiesced to the forced destruction of the Ukrainian Church.

Your Beatitude has had to carry his Cross even here — in this so-called place of freedom, because, never in the whole of our Church history has there been an age in which confessors of the faith and martyrs have been so methodically hidden and forgotten as now. This is totally contrary to the spirit of the Church.

Despite the fact that the Church has been persecuted more in the last sixty years than ever before and that the methods used now are more dangerous and harmful than before, it appears that to speak of this openly is considered by many as a sign of "intolerance". In these times of a one-sided peace, in which our gradually more and more spoilt society prefers to live in "peace" with the godless and murderers instead of seeking to live in peace with God as the pain and blood of the persecuted disturb the bliss of rulers and the bureaucracy of diplomats. For this reason the persecution of the Church is ignored and the suffering of martyrs is not allowed to enter the consciousness of Christians — day or night. Thus the heart rendering but futile appeals of the persecuted to the United Nations and the World Council of Churches only find their way to the waste baskets. For this same reason, even in the large family of the Catholic Church, we witness the painful spectacle of the best and most tried of God's sons being thrown away and forgotten by their brothers.

Your Beatitude saw these things — and remained silent... But the time came that if You, Your Eminence, did not speak, then a stone would have done. At the Synod of Bishops held in October 1971, with pain in your heart, you said these memorable words: "Our Church was destroyed in the cruellest way possible. After the whole hierarchy was arrested, it was forcibly merged with the Orthodox Church. This great injustice has still not been corrected. Ukrainian Catholics, who have buried mountains of bonies, spilt rivers of blood, and are still suffering intolerable persecutions because of their belief in the Catholic faith and the apostolic tradition. Tragically no one defends them. The Soviet regime destroyed all our dioceses and forbade our Catholic faith. To serve the Holy Liturgy and give the Holy Sacrament we are forced to seek refuge in the catacombs. Hundreds and thousands of the laity, hundreds of priests and all the bishops were thrust into prison or sent into exile to Siberia or to the Polar regions. And after all that, Ukrainian Catholics, who have suffered so much for so long, as martyrs and as confessors of the faith, are thrust aside for diplomatic considerations — as if they are witnesses of an uncomfortable old crime".

Yes, Honoured Excellency and dear Ukrainians, we can proclaim along with Pope Pious XII: "We must not laugh at God".

And on this occasion we wish to express our incredulity and gratitude to that Pope who so courageously and with such faith raised his voice in defence of the persecuted Church. Now this tradition is being maintained by our dearest Pope John-Paul II, who knows too well what it means to be persecuted for the Christian faith and who said in Assissi that the silent Church would speak through his mouth.

And truly, it was with great joy that we read the esteemed letter written by the Holy Father on the 19th March, 1979 and addressed

to You, Your Beatitude, on the eve of your preparations for celebrating one thousand years of Christianity in Ukraine, and in which letter the faithfulness of Ukrainians to the Cross is emphasised. Let us ponder over those lofty words: "Truely, in all these separate issues we see elements of the Cross of Christ, which you, dear brothers, so many of you, have carried on your shoulders. This very Cross has become part of Your fate, Our Honoured Brother, and of Your numerous brothers in the hierarchy, who chose suffering and injustice for Christ's sake and who preserved their faith in Christ to their last breaths. The same must be said of the numerous priests, monks, nuns and laity of Church at present. Faith in the Cross and Church have created an extraordinary witness because of which the laity of your nation are at this moment preparing to celebrate their first thousand years of Christianity in Rus". Christianity is a faith which leads to optimism. We know that after Christ's suffering. His Crucifixion and death, came the Ressurrection. This is why we are sure that the Ukrainian Catholic Church will also be ressurected after suffering its Golgotha — if only you Ukrainians remain faithful.

You came here to celebrate the anniversary of the history of your Church.

Fifty years ago, in accordance with old Eastern tradition, God's servant Metropolitan Sheptytsky called a Synod here in Rome of Ukrainian bishops from both the fatherland and abroad in order to confirm your faith in the Catholic Church of Christ. Through this deed an impulse peculiar to Your Church, i.e. that of the Synod, was reintroduced into the life of the Ukrainian Church. Your Beatitude, despite all the obstacles, have continued that tradition and called a Synod of Ukrainian bishops. This was how you rediscovered your identity, your place and role in the Church — you found yourself! and through the mouth of your confessor of the faith, You appealed to the whole Christian world to recognise the Ukrainian Patriarchy and its rights and a thousand year old tradition.

Truely the recognition of the Ukrainian Patriarchy represents a fundamental and concrete ecumenical step in realising the equality of the Churches in their union. The recognition of patriarchal rights would not only show that the Catholic Church is universal but that it respects the individuality of the separate Eastern Rite Churches.

This is a great contribution which Your Beatitude is presenting to the present Church. One day history will say, You had a deep understanding of the holy meaning of the Church: its unity, holiness, universality and apostolism. This is why you repeatedly emphasise that the question of the Ukrainian patriarch is God's matter. If this is true then we must ignore conjecture and political speculation. The unity of the Church and the salvation of souls is the highest of God's laws. And Your Church, the largest and the most numerous of all

the Eastern Rites and Patriarchal Catholic Churches, has more right than any, as far as I can judge, to have its own patriarch.

But to achieve this, you, Ukrainians, must be united — bishops, priests and laity — in recognising the rights of your Church. If consent is achieved at the bottom, it will not doubt be achieved at the top. That is why where there is agreement — there is also victory.

The other anniversaries to which this pilgrimage is dedicated are connected with Your Beatitude. Fifty years ago you founded the Bohoslavsky Academy in Lviv, of which Your Excellency was the first rector. How many difficulties You had to overcome before this cradle of theology could blossom. And truly from a then on came seminarists filled with God's spirit, martyrs, confessors of the faith that were not afraid of sacrificing their own lives for the Catholic Church. And Your Eminence, when released, built the Ukrainian Catholic Church in via Boccea, where the work of the Lviv Academy now continues.

Today's gathering is also to celebrate the events which took place ten years ago, when your beautiful Cathedral of St. Sophia was blessed in the presence of Your whole hierarchy and the weeping Pope Paul IV. When your shrine, your Cathedral of St. Sophia in Kyiv was profaned, you, Ukrainian Catholics, built a new cathedral here in the heart of the Christian world as a symbol of the new age. The Cathedral unites you, reminds you of your faith, your fatherland and the relics of Pope St. Clement remind you of your witness of Christ.

You came on this pilgrimage to Rome to give a holy beginning to your anniversary preparations of one thousand years of Christianity in Ukraine. Through a lucky combination of circumstances, you are also celebrating the fortieth anniversary of the consecration of Your Beatitude. For forty years You have acted as a father and led your flock without ever weakening, through the wilderness of injustice and deficiencies. You bore Your Cross and served Your sheep throughout that time with great humility and dignity. Now we can honestly ask has not God's Providence forseen a special mission for Your Beatitude and Your Church? Has it not given You special strength so that You can free Your embittered Church and Nations from the "aspera" and so that You can at last reach the "astra" — stars? Has not all-powerful God given You good health and a well deserved long life so You can reap all the fruits of Your sufferings and to initiate a new era in the history of the Ukrainian Catholic Church?

Twenty years ago when You were still in Siberia, I was preaching in Germany. After giving my sermon a former German soldier approached me and presented me with a valuable XVII century cross, which he had personally rescued from the fire raging in one Ukrainian Church. Here is that cross. This is my gift to You, Your Beatitude. May God grant that You become patriarch of Your Church

and Nation and may You one day, as once did the apostle St. Andrew, bless the hills of Kyiv — with this cross, and so begin the second thousand years of Christianity in Ukraine. "For this saith the Lord God; Behold, I *even*, I will both search my sheep and seek them out". (Ezekiel 34, II). "For I will take you from among the heathen, and gather you out of all countries, and will bring you into your own land. Then I will sprinkle clean water upon you and ye shall be clean: from all your filthiness, and from all your idols, will I cleanse you. And a new heart also will I give you, and a new spirit will I put within you: and I will take away the stoney heart out of your flesh and I will give you an heart of flesh. And I will put my spirit within you, and cause you to walk in my statutes, and ye shall keep my judgements, and do them. And ye shall dwell in the land that I gave to your fathers; and ye shall be my people and I will be your God". (Ezekiel 36, 24-28).

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HISTORY OF UKRAINE

by REV. ISYDORE NAHAYEWSKY, Ph.D.

The Second Edition of this important book, written in English, which comprises 368 pages, gives a concise historical account of Ukrainians from the time of their origin until the present day....

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This enlarged Edition of the History of Ukraine in the English language ought to find its place in libraries and colleges as informative material for the enlightenment of all those interested in the history of Ukrainian people.

BOOK REVIEWS

Kolyma: The Arctic Death Camp by Robert Conquest, New York, The Viking Press, 254 pp., 1978. Reviewer — Dr. Jaroslav Sawka.

Kolyma is the huge labour-camp complex in the Arctic Circle which since 1932 has been used by the Soviet government to exploit and exterminate millions of its subjects. In the early years, before 1937, its primary function was to extract gold with slave labour. In the later period, although gold procurement was desirable, the main function was to kill off prisoners.

Kolyma was geo-economically well suited for both, gold mining and human extermination. Moscow made the conscious decisions as to which it preferred. When it needed gold, the treatment of prisoners was bettered. When a high prisoner "turn over" was desired, rations would be cut, warm boots and clothes would be confiscated, massive executions employed on any pretext — "unfulfilment of work quotas" being the favourite excuse for mass murder, forced marches through heavy snows and blizzards would accomplish the harvesting to oblivion of yet another crop of prisoners.

The first seven chapters describe the prisoner's experiences from the horrid journey to Kolyma to the struggle for survival in the camps and mines against starvation, cold, disease, impossible work production quotas, sadistic guards and criminals with a license to kill ad lib. This is not easy reading, and even though Conquest handles the prose well; the emotional content is heartrendering. By the time, one gets to the chapter on "Women", one is no longer reading in a detached objective manner; but with a heartbroken spirit clinging and grasping for the slightest humanity in the midst of unprecedented brutality and savagery.

Conquest in comparing the terror of Stalin's regime to Hitler's notes that: "Hitler's atrocities were . . . against those he . . . declared his enemies. Stalin's were random operations against his own subjects and supporters . . . Stalin found defenders among sensitive-minded liberals in Stalin's terror was one of the foundation stones of a system which, far from being part of history, flourishes to this day".(!!!)

Comparing the Soviet terror with that of the Tsars, Conquest concedes to Solzhenitsyn that it is not even a contest. He cites the fact that in the Serpantinka camp alone in 1938 more prisoners were executed "than the total executions throughout the Russian Empire for the whole of the last century of Tsarist rule".

For his documentation, Conquest relies basically on seventeen first hand accounts, along with lesser accounts, giving a total of thirtyeight bibliographical entries. For estimating the death toll he uses the *Lloyd's Register of Shipping*, 1936 through 1956, because "Kolyma

was supplied by sea" and Lloyd's Register contains "some knowledge of the number of ships in service, their capacity, and the number of trips made a year". His estimate is that Kolyma's death toll was at least three million lives (he cautions that this figure is a conservative underestimate) putting it "well in the range of Hitler's Final Solution".

It is disappointing that the author does not use any Ukrainian references (Ukrainians were overrepresented in Kolyma), e.g., the series of articles by Petro Kolymsky in *The Ukrainian Quarterly* and the testimonies found in Volume I of *The Black Deeds of The Kremlin*, Toronto, 1953, would have given this work a completeness it lacks. However, there are pertinent mentions: "Of the 10 million 'kulaks' disposed of, half died in famine (Ukraine 1932-33) and by execution, and the remainder... poured into the prison camps. Kolyma got its share... After the war... the new intake (of prisoners) consisted of hard-bitten, tough and united Ukrainian and other nationalists... In 1953, a very special group of prisoners arrived in Magadan. These were the survivors of the great labour camp rebellion which took place at Noril'sk... Executions of 'ringleaders' followed on a mass scale. The rebellion's rank and file were sent for special punishment to Kolyma... (they are described as defiantly) shouting boasts and sneering... even singing Ukrainian nationalist songs".

Another moving account describing the influx to Kolyma of Ukrainian nationalist girls aged from seventeen to twenty-two asks: "But why had Soviet officers, interrogating seventeen year old girls, broken the girls' collar bones and kicked in their ribs with heavy military boots, so that they lay spitting blood in the prison hospitals of Kolyma? Certainly such treatment had not convinced any of them they had done evil. They died with tin medalions of the Virgin on their shattered chests and with hatred in their eyes".

The most alarming chapter is the eighth — "A Clownish Interlude" which describes the disgraceful ignorance and denial in the West about Kolyma. The most blatant example is "the short stay in Kolyma of the Vice-President of the United States, Henry A. Wallace, with a group of advisors headed by Professor Owen Lattimore... in the summer of 1944". Wallace represents the ignorance and Lattimore the denial. This chapter is so important it should be required reading for every Western politician who will ever deal with the Soviets. After their brief tour of Kolyma, both men wrote glowing favourable accounts about Kolyma and the Soviet system: Wallace in his book, *Soviet Asia Mission*, and Lattimore in the *National Geographic Magazine* of December 1944.

Years later when confronted with the truth, Wallace repented (however as Conquest points out, the innocent dupe had already done his damage). Lattimore has reacted like a Stalinist hack, spouting in Pavlovian dog fashion that attacks on his integrity are the result of

(the old standby) "McCarthyism". Lattimore laments that Elinor Lipper survived Kolyma to write her story; and worse, to criticize Lattimore's scholarship. This scholarship consists of such gems as presenting Stalin's Purge as a "triumph for democracy" because "the purge of top officials showed the ordinary citizen his power to denounce even them" and "that sounds like democracy to me". It is frightful to think that this type of scholarship had influence in the White House in those crucial years.

In a similar vein, Jean-Paul Sartre argued "that accounts of the Soviet labour camp system should be suppressed even if true, since otherwise the French working class might become anti-Soviet". Conquest's purpose for this chapter was "to instruct the public and to discourage potential future offenders".

In sum, the author has succeeded in fulfilling the promise he makes in his opening paragraph, i.e., "to establish the history and the conditions of the huge labour camp complex of Kolyma". This work should be read by all because as the author states: "there are still labour camps in Kolyma, as elsewhere in Russia"... and because the political system which created the camps is still running them, is unrepentant, and is locked in a vicious cycle where change would involve dismantling the Kolyma complex thus threatening the traditional way in which the Soviet government imposes itself on its subjects. All of this will remain a world menace until Stalin's heirs "publically purge themselves of this guilt... break with this horror in their past" and thereby forsake being accomplices of the most barbarous reign in all history.

The Devil's Alternative by Frederick Forsyth, London, Hutchinson, 479 pp., 1979. Reviewer — Askold Krushelnysky.

Andrei Drach is a Ukrainian born in Britain but dedicated to the ideal of a free Ukraine. He dreams of striking one spectacular blow at the Russian occupiers which will reveal their weaknesses and spark off an uprising.

Andrei gets his chance after a shipwrecked seaman, picked up in the Black Sea, tells him of a Ukrainian resistance group.

Together they aid two members of the resistance group to assassinate the head of the KGB, an event the Politburo stop at nothing to suppress. The assassins hijack a Soviet plane to escape to West Berlin and things start to go wrong for them.

Andrei and his group of Ukrainians from Canada, the USA and Europe hijack the world's largest oil tanker to bargain for the release of their comrades unaware that their lives now form part of the negotiations in a new SALT 3 treaty which if a failure means a Third World War.

Frederick Forsyth's book is immensely readable and exciting and deserves the number one bestseller position it has held in Britain since shortly after its publication.

The Ukrainian position is approached with sympathy and portrays the hopes of the romantic nationalists in the Ukrainian diaspora. A mini-history of Ukraine at the beginning of the book will probably win more friends for Ukraine than many of the scholarly works and addresses churned out over the years.

Frederick Forsyth worked as a journalist in Britain for many years and his gripping writing style is sometimes more akin to a feature article than a thriller novel. Each page is so packed with detail it provides a do-it-yourself manual for everything from robbing a bank to steering a supertanker.

As in his previous novels such as *Day of the Jackal*, *The Odessa File* and *Dogs of War* Forsyth constructs an intricate web of numerous converging plots against a background that is entirely plausible.

The Devil's Alternative, set in the near future, has a few twists to the tale which strangely seem to mirror the tricks fate has played on Ukraine so many times.

Zibrani tvory: 1938-1978 (Collected works of Yar Slavutych) by Yar Slavutych, Edminton, Slavuta, 408 pp., 1978. Reviewer — Wolodymyr T. Zyla.

This book is divided into ten chapters and is the most complete edition of Yar Slavutych's poetry. Some poems, previously published in separate collections and in *Trofei* (1963), have been revised in this volume, and the poet considers them to be in their final form.

Reading through some 400 pages of this book, one can notice the impassioned eloquence abundantly radiating poetic ardor. The author indicates the urgency of the needs of the present generation of Ukrainians. His themes are varied: history, heroism, natural scenery, philosophical meditations, and travelling. They are presented sensibly and consciously and are viewed through the same prism: the Ukraine — a spiritual oasis of the poet's soul. He resists pathetic appeals in his verses, often giving forth with lyrical outbursts. Above all his poems are striking for their sincerity and burning patriotic love for freedom. They show a glaring light of truth. His idealism flashes back and forth on his road to progress, and yet he remains congenial to all the values of free men.

He is a prolific writer and most of his poems seem to have been written spontaneously. In reading them, one can feel that many poems were not planned beforehand. They are unexpected creations that appear when the poet is in the so-called state of grace. They present the thoughts of the lucid mind and flow directly from his tense heart.

They have in them something unique, and they reveal some personal immediacy sometimes not easy to understand until the reader enters a state of intense concentration.

Slavutych loves the history of his nation and shows for it profound admiration. Such love is implicit in the expression of every experience he attempts to describe. His many Petrarchan sonnets reveal his aestheticism, his imagery and colourful phraseology. In his sonnets there is something that reminds us of Mykola Zerov and Maksym Ryl's'kyj, whom Slavutych carefully studied and profoundly admired. His "Florentine Sonnets" (pp. 161-63) show not only technical skill but also their author's love for travel and his careful observation of many world artistic monuments. He did not miss the historic Stratford and Shakespeare's house. His sonnet "Pered xatoju Šekspira" (p. 212; In Front of Shakespeare's House) establishes Slavutych's reputation as a "lyrical painter".

A native of Kherson region in the Ukraine, Slavutych has produced some sublime poems about this region — "The Kherson Sonnets" (pp. 16-22). These are characterized by natural beauty written in a pictorial style and deeply interwoven with nostalgia. They are predominantly based on the descriptive material of nature, and they reveal that the poet is a highly refined lyric master.

The book also includes a chapter "Moja doba" (My Epoch), a long epic of 625 octaves. This work, having a cause-effect pattern, consists of 12 songs and an epilogue; it was composed between 1957-1978. It is a literary work and an autobiography and is based on the poet's experiences in relation to his country. The octaves have profound literary and psychological meanings; they cover some twenty-two years of the poet's life, beginning with his adolescence when he enjoyed a paradise at home, which soon under Communist rule turned into a hell ("Paradise and Hell" — First Song). The literal subjects of the work are the experiences of the poet himself, his companion Pavlo and the girl Ludmila in their struggle for their country. It is a fine work of poetry, a modern version of Dante's *Vita nuova* and the *Commedia*. It is also remarkable for its greatness of conception and construction. It operates with concrete imagery and unusual characters.

Here we see that the poet, besides his individual creative outbursts, consciously models a new self-image upon the example of another distinguished international poet of the distant past (Dante) and of his contemporaries (Os'mačka and Ryl's'kyj). "Moja doba" in its conception is definitely a traditional work and is written according to all of the requirements for poetry in octaves. It shows an intense personal involvement of the poet himself, who appears here as Hryhorij. The poet is not afraid of critics who may not like his performance. Therefore the epic's climactic lyric passage builds to the highest pitch of excitement and responsibility and is quite properly resolved. The

poet says farewell to his nation, which he says will not submit and he promises to carry out his responsibilities despite the obstacles he may finally meet. This epic proves that the imaginative undertaking is legitimate and that the poet is morally and psychologically strong to complete his task. The Dantean model is pursued, sometimes subconsciously, in the work itself.

A word must also be said about the chapter devoted to translations. There are twenty-two translations from Slavic (Bulgarian, Byelorussian, Czech, and Polish) and English in this volume. Slavutych superbly rendered Juliusz Słowacki's "Hymn" into Ukrainian. His translation has all the merits of the Polish original, both in its structure and ideas. Jaroslav Vrchlický's "Šekspir" also deserves a mention as a good translation. Sometimes Slavutych shows a tendency toward free translation in his choice of words, composition of sentences and in his stylistics of sound. This method becomes particularly strong in the hands of a versatile poet who is knowledgeable in other languages.

The volume as a whole indicates clearly that Slavutych maintains a consistently high standard of judgement in his poetry and tends to preserve a high scale of values.

In conclusion, one may say that if a price must be paid for this spirited publication it is that it lacks an introduction to throw light on the intricate problems of the author's creativity and his life. But as a final credit for this book, the poet is to be congratulated on having carried out diligently the labour of its publication, and it should be noted that book's fine physical appearance complements its intellectual treasury.

Ukrainian Political Prisoners in the Soviet Union by The Canadian League for the Liberation of Ukraine and Stadium Research Institute, Toronto, 128 pp., 1979.

A valuable book giving short biographies of Ukrainian political prisoners and listing their last known places of imprisonment. In many cases there is a photograph of the prisoner.

The book has a preface by Valentyn Moroz.

