

# THE *UKR* KRAINIAN EVIEW



1

1988



MILLENNIUM  
OF CHRISTIANITY  
IN UKRAINE

988-1988

**THE UKRAINIAN REVIEW**  
**A Quarterly Magazine devoted to the study of Ukraine**

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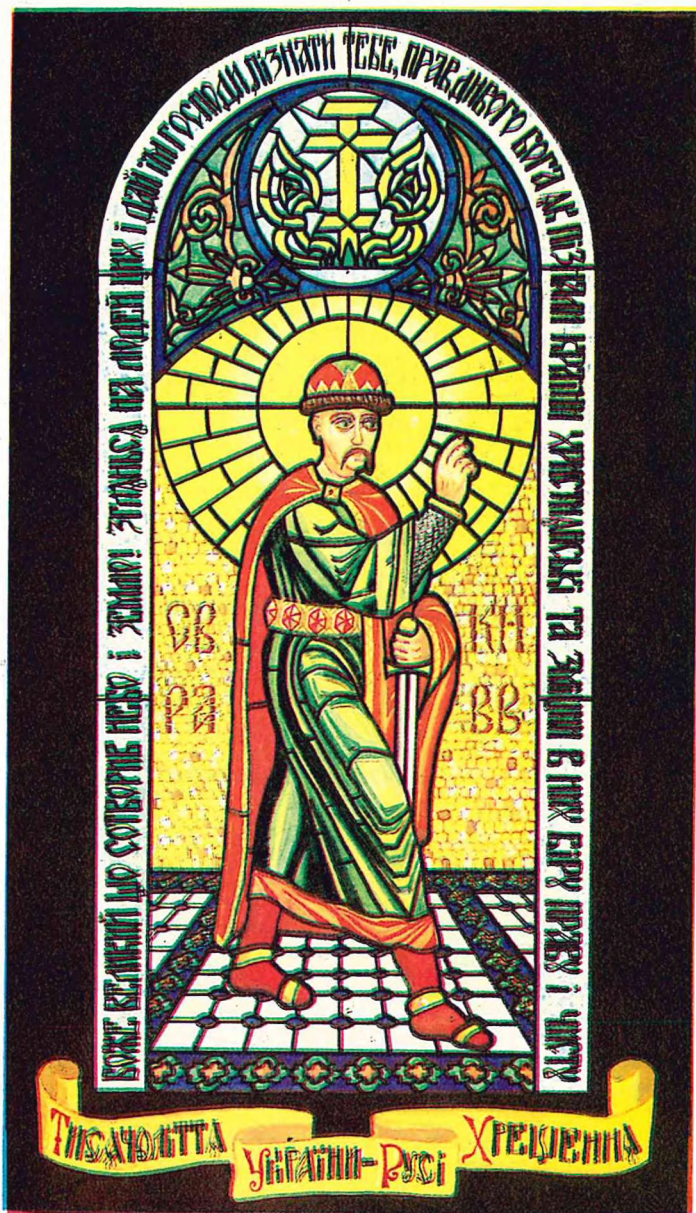
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Millennium of Christianity in Ukraine 988-1988  
by an unknown artist in Ukraine



### *The Millennium of Christianity in Ukraine*

## THE UKRAINIAN MILLENNIUM

In 1988 Ukrainians around the world are celebrating the millennium of the official adoption of Christianity in Rus'-Ukraine. In 988 Volodymyr the Great, the ruler of the mediaeval state of Rus', had the inhabitants of his capital, Kyiv, baptised. This had traditionally been taken to represent the birth of the Kyivan Church, even though Christianity had established a presence in Rus'-Ukraine several centuries earlier. The Ukrainian Orthodox and Ukrainian Catholic Churches of today are true successors of the Church established in Kyiv a thousand years ago.

Meanwhile, also in 1988, Russians will aspire to observe the thousandth anniversary of Russian Christianity. To the Westerner, unless he is steeped in the history of Eastern Europe, this may be perfectly understandable, since he probably regards Ukraine as just a part of Russia. But Ukrainians and Russians are two different nations. Furthermore, Russia, and even its predecessor, Muscovy, had not yet come into existence in 988. . .

### **So whence the "Russian Millennium"?**

The period of Kyivan Rus' is an integral part of the history of Ukraine. It is, however, often misrepresented as being the first chapter in the history of Russia, as a result of Muscovite and Russian claims to the Kyivan heritage made over the last five centuries or so.

Russia, in fact, has its origins in an independent political formation which emerged on the north-eastern periphery of Rus'. At the time, this region was inhabited predominantly by Finns, as distinct from the Slav population of Rus' proper and of the Byelorussian principalities and the Novgorod republic in the north. In the 12th century the main city of the region, Rostov, became the hereditary property of one branch of the dynasty which ruled Rus'. The first independent local ruler, Yuriy Dolgorukiy, began to colonise his lands with Slavs, who settled and intermarried with the indigenous Finns. His son, Andrey Bogoliubskiy, intensified the separate development of the area and finally broke completely with the Kyivan tradition.

During the 14th century Moscow became the dominant city in the region and gained control over most of the north-eastern territories, thus forming the state of Muscovy. In subsequent centuries the expansion of Muscovy conti-

nued in all directions. In 1713 the state was officially renamed "Rossiya" (English: "Russia") and eight years later the Russian Empire was proclaimed. Since then the terms "Rus'" and "Russia" have often been confused — unknowingly by some, intentionally by others.

In parallel with the evolution of Muscovy-Russia in the north, the Ukrainian nation was formed as the embodiment of the Kyivan heritage. The name "Ukraine" gradually replaced the term "Rus'" and now denotes the territorial and national entity of which the 9th to 13th century Kyivan state was a historical predecessor. During the Mongol invasion of Europe in the 13th century, Kyiv lost its position of pre-eminence, but the Rus' traditions and institutions were preserved in the Western Rus' principality of Galicia-Volynia.

Later Kyiv flourished once more and regained its place as the political and cultural centre of Rus'-Ukraine. Late in the 15th century, however, Muscovite publicists began to propound the theory that the Kyivan legacy had, in fact, been inherited by Muscovy. This theory was further elaborated in Imperial Russia and now forms part of official Soviet doctrine.

It is ironic that the Russian millennium celebrations in 1988 will be based on such a claim to the Kyivan heritage when, in fact, Muscovy-Russia itself was born precisely as a result of the rejection of this heritage in the 12th century.

### **Persecution of Ukrainian Churches**

The irony underlying the "Russian millennium" is compounded when one considers the fate of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church and the Ukrainian Catholic (Eastern-rite) Church, descendants of the Kyivan Church established in 988. In 1654 Bohdan Khmelnytskyi, head of the Ukrainian state at the time, entered into a military alliance with Muscovy. The latter, however, exploited this agreement in order to gain control over Ukraine. Turmoil ensued, and eventually Ukraine was partitioned: the lands to the west of the River Dniipro (Dnieper) fell to Poland, those to the east — to Muscovy. Since then the independence of the Ukrainian Churches has gradually been eroded:

— In 1685 the Orthodox Church in Eastern Ukraine was subordinated to the Muscovite Church, which had previously separated itself from the Kyivan Church.

— During the partitions of Poland at the end of the 18th century, most of the Western half of Ukraine was ceded to Russia, while the province of Halychyna (Galicia) came under Austro-Hungarian rule. Whilst the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Halychyna enjoyed relative freedom, in the lands newly acquired by Russia it was officially dissolved.

— Towards the end of the First World War, Ukraine won a brief period of independence, during which an independent Ukrainian Orthodox Church was restored. By the middle of the 1930s, however, this Church had been annihilated by the Moscow-based Soviet regime.

— Following the German occupation of much of the Soviet Union during the Second World War, Ukrainian Orthodox bishops restored an independent Orthodox Church. But when Ukraine was reoccupied by the Red Army in 1943, the independent parishes were incorporated into the Russian Orthodox Church and many of the Ukrainian Orthodox clergy and lay Church leaders were executed or deported to labour camps.

— Between the two world wars the Ukrainian Catholic Church continued to function in the Western Ukrainian lands which were occupied mainly by Poland. During the Second World War these lands were incorporated into the USSR. After the war the Soviet authorities, in collaboration with the Russian Orthodox Hierarchy, dissolved the Ukrainian Catholic Church and ordered its clergy and faithful to join the Russian Church. Those who refused were subjected to ruthless persecution, imprisonment, exile or execution.

Despite the devastating experiences of the last 300 years, the Ukrainian Church still exists in Ukraine, albeit clandestinely. . . and its faithful will undoubtedly find their own ways of celebrating the millennium along with their compatriots in the free world.

\* \* \*

A theme constantly stressed in this introduction has been the distinction between Ukraine and Russia. Owing to the centuries-old misrepresentation of the histories of these two nations, the world at large is unaware of this distinction, and Ukraine is often regarded as a part of Russia. It is true that Ukraine today is part of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, but the USSR is not synonymous with Russia: Ukraine is not a part of Russia, and Ukrainians are not Russians. The Soviet Union consists of 15 republics, of which Ukraine and Russia are but two. According to the 1979 census, only 52% of the USSR's population of 260 million was Russian, and this proportion is decreasing. Ukraine has a population of around 50 million and, with the exception of Russia, its territory is larger than that of any other European country.

## STATEMENT ON THE OCCASION OF THE MILLENNIUM OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF CHRISTIANITY AS THE STATE RELIGION IN UKRAINE

O Creator of the primordial element of life! Thou Who hast created all that is visible and invisible, Who hast endowed man with a creative spirit, Who hast given character and purpose of existence to nations, Who hast created our own Ukrainian nation, too, and Who hast placed it on the frontier between two worlds to create a new life<sup>1</sup>, which Thou has destined for it, Who hast endowed our nation with the gifts that fell upon the Earth: the plough, the sword and the golden chalice<sup>2</sup>! Thou hast sent us the plough to cultivate our soil, to sow wheat, and to be nourished by our own bread and not by plunder.

While respecting what belongs to others, Thy Ukrainian people have raised the sword in defence of their own soil, of the fruits of their own labour. And the golden chalice, o God, is the faithfulness to Thy laws and service to Thy Truth on Earth.

Not all the nations have bowed to Thy truth! The forces of the Devil have settled within man and within nations against Thee, in order to kill Thy image in man, to corrupt by crime the free will granted by Thee to them.

But Thou, o God, art not only Truth. Thou art also Love. Thy Son, and Thyself in His person, came down to us so that all the peoples would learn to know Thee and accept Thy Word of Truth. For, as there is no sun without darkness, as there is no truth without evil, so it is with nations: some have rejected Thee, they fight and crucify Thee, while others have accepted Thee and Thy Word has become their life and armament.

On the tablets of our history, the prophecy of Andrew the First-Called, the brother of Apostle Peter, stands written down in the words of Nestor the Chronicler<sup>3</sup>. Andrew stopped to rest on the hills of Kyiv and said these weighty words: "Do you see these hills? The Grace of God will shine upon them, a large city will arise there. And Andrew ascended the hills, blessed them, put up a cross upon them and prayed to God".

And the prophecy of Andrew the First-Called was fulfilled when Prince Volodymyr's golden trident was fused into a single symbol with



his cross<sup>4</sup>. For the destiny of Ukraine became intertwined with the cross — the symbol of Truth and Love.

And there was great joy in the Ukrainian land when Prince Volodymyr the Bright Sun, accepted the Christian faith himself and passed the Divine Word to his people so that they might believe.

Says Nestor the Chronicler about the day of our Glory that occurred one thousand years ago: "People went with clamour down to the river, rejoicing. . . The Prince [Volodymyr] went forth to the Dnieper with the priests of the Princess [Anna] and those from Korsun<sup>5</sup>, and a countless multitude assembled. They all went into the water: some stood up to their necks, others to their breasts, and the younger near the bank, some of them holding children in their arms, while the adults waded further out. The priests stood by and offered prayers. . . He [Volodymyr] ordained that wooden churches should be built and established where pagan idols had previously stood. . . He began to found churches and assign priests throughout the cities, and to invite the people to accept baptism in all the cities and towns.

He took children of the best families, and sent them for instruction in book-learning".

And when Prince Volodymyr's eyes were closed by the hands of death and a great lament, sorrow and mourning filled the Ukrainian land, Metropolitan Ilarion<sup>6</sup>, the first Ukrainian Church leader by spirit and blood, spoke these words at his remembrance service:

" . . . Let us also praise, as well as we are able, by inadequate praises, our teacher and instructor, who accomplished great and admirable deeds, the great sovereign of our land, Volodymyr, grandson of old Ihor<sup>7</sup> and son of the glorious Sviatoslav<sup>8</sup>, who, during the years of his reign, became famous for his manliness and courage in many countries, and whose victories and power are remembered and glorified even now. For he did not reign in a poor and unknown land, but in the Ukrainian land, which is known and heard of in all corners of the world. . . Arise, o honest head, arise from your grave, arise and banish sleep! For you have not died, but are sleeping till the day of our common awakening. Arise, for you have not died; it is not right for you to die, you who have believed in Christ — the life of the entire world. . .".

And the mission of spreading Christ's Word was carried on by Yaroslav<sup>9</sup>, the Prince, son of Volodymyr, the Baptizer of Ukraine. Nestor speaks about it thus: "... Yaroslav founded a large city, and built the Golden Gate nearby. He also erected the Church of St. Sophia, the Metropolitan's church, and later, too, a church on top of the Golden Gate. And then the monastery of St. George and St. Irene. During his reign the Christian faith began to bear fruit and spread widely; monasteries and churches began to be built and increase in magnifi-

cence. Yaroslav loved books, he read them frequently, by day and by night. He gathered many skilful scribes who translated from Greek into the Slavic script, and wrote a great many books. It is with these that the faithful are instructed and from which they are able to enjoy the fruits of deep wisdom. It is as if someone had ploughed the land, someone else had sown the seeds, and others still are reaping and consuming sumptuous nourishment. So it is here: the father of all this was Volodymyr; he ploughed the land and loosened it up, that is he enlightened it with Christianity, while his son, Yaroslav, sowed it with the words of books. . .”.

And it became the destiny of Ukraine not only to hold high the Cross, to spread the Word of Christ among the unbelievers, but also to raise a sharp sword in defence of Christ's Truth. For Ukraine had taken a stand on the frontier between the two worlds — the Christian world of Europe and the pagan, Asiatic world. She became a fortress that barred the way for the nomadic hordes from the steppes which made their living by pillage and whose trade was plunder. Their strength came from the Devil, and it threatened the entire world, for it did not know Christ's laws, only violence and war.

Thus Michael the Archangel, defender of Divine Truth, became the patron of Ukraine, the patron of Kyiv and of all the Ukrainian armed forces. It is to his glorification that Prince Sviatopolk<sup>10</sup> built a church and dedicated it to Saint Michael. It was called Golden-domed because its domes were covered in sheer gold.

And many churches in Ukraine were dedicated to Saint Michael, among them the church of the Vydubitskyi Monastery in Kyiv.

Prince Yaroslav the Wise left us laws granted to his people that became known as the *Rus'-Ukrainian Truth*; they contained no death penalty. And Prince Volodymyr Monomakh<sup>11</sup> left us the *Instruction to Children*. For these princes were wise and their laws were Christian, because they themselves were Christians, as was the entire Ukrainian nation, that was Christian by faith and not merely by baptism.

And the might of Ukraine would have been invincible had the advice of Prince Monomakh been heeded. Had the princes not attempted to sit on the Kyivan throne unlawfully, and had they not undermined Kyiv's strength.

Had it not happened, Ukrainian banners would have been fluttering over Kyiv even today, had the princes not broken the oaths sworn upon the cross to their brothers, had they not called upon enemy forces against one another — the forces of the Polovtsi<sup>12</sup> and the Varangians<sup>13</sup>.

Very late, on the Kalka river, the Ukrainian forces united again when the Tartar hordes foreshadowed death to Ukraine and the whole of

Christian Europe<sup>14</sup>. Ukraine bore the brunt of the first blow; she barred the path to Europe with the flower of her chivalry, but fell herself, together with the walls of golden-domed Kyiv and the Tithe Church<sup>15</sup>.

For many centuries, in the steppes of the Black Sea and the Crimea, the Tartar parasite choked Ukraine like a snake. It drank Ukrainian Christian blood, year-in year-out took droves of captives into pagan slavery, and turned children into Janissaries.

And no help came to Ukraine from anyone. The Christian nations of Europe, though baptised by the Cross of Christ, practised pagan customs. They plundered the Ukrainian land and grew fat on Ukrainian wealth, for Ukraine had become defenceless from Tartar aggression.

But Ukraine was not abandoned under the yoke of the infidel and gentry-ruled Poland<sup>16</sup> by the Mother of God — Our Lady and Protectress — nor by Archangel Michael, the Commander of the forces of Divine Truth.

In the Cossack fortress of the Zaporozhian Sich<sup>17</sup> beyond the Dnieper rapids, an Order of Knights of Christian Ukraine lifted up their swords against both the pagan Tartar horde and against gentry-ruled Poland, which had restored pagan slavery and trampled underfoot the Divine Commandment: "Thou shalt not kill".

And Cossack power began to grow. Cossack Hetmans<sup>18</sup> began to defend Christ's Truth; they began to restore the holy shrines — the Saint Sophia — and to erect new temples to the glory of God. And once again the light of God and the light of knowledge began to shine brightly in Kyiv.

Hetman Petro Konashevych-Sahaidachnyi<sup>19</sup> with his entire army of the Zaporozhian Order became sponsors of the Kyivan Brotherhood to protect the Christian faith. And Metropolitan Petro Mohyla<sup>20</sup> began to restore the work of Ilarion, the Metropolitan of Kyiv, and of Princes Volodymyr the Bright Sun and Yaroslav the Wise, and the Kyivan hills once again began to shine with the light of Christianity and of divine knowledge over the entire land of Eastern Europe, for the light of Constantinople and Byzantine glory went out in Turkish slavery<sup>21</sup>.

And God granted Ukraine a great field commander, Bohdan Khmelnytskyi<sup>22</sup>, Hetman of the entire Ukrainian land. And his hand rose high and punished gentry-ruled Poland for her sins committed in Ukraine.

And to the north of Ukraine there was Muscovy, which seemed to be Christian and even Orthodox in faith. And Khmelnytskyi did not know that the Christian icons concealed the pagan idols of the Muscovite people. He did not know that the Muscovites were Slavs only by language. He did not know that the Muscovites were Finnic-Tartar by blood, that they were pagan by customs — a savage tribe of hunters.

Neither did Khmelnytskyi, nor with him the Ukrainian people, know that it was in the nature of the Muscovite hunter to kill his victim, that the Muscovite was slave to his tsar, that he lived in a horde — the rural commune, without private property and without individual dignity.

Nor did the Hetman or his colonels know that the Muscovite Church was ruled not by the servants of God, but by the tsar, the despot, the messenger of the Devil. And so the Treaty of Pereyaslav was concluded between Muscovy and Ukraine, as between free nations, independent of any other power, who were to protect themselves against common enemies.

And the Muscovite Church thus became only a bait for those Christians who sought refuge from paganism, but instead fell into fetters that were even worse than those of the Tartars and Jesuits, and thus were destined to perish.

Twice the sword of Cossack Ukraine cut the Treaty of Pereyaslav. First, by the hand of Hetman Ivan Vyhovskyi<sup>23</sup> who saw through the aims of the Muscovites and their ways and punished them at Konotop, smiting forty thousand invaders. However, the Hetman did not then proceed to Moscow nor did he destroy its power at the root.

Muscovy then found allies in Poland to tear Ukraine in twain in order to subdue the Ukrainian people even more in Polish servitude and Muscovite serfdom<sup>24</sup>.

And again the sword of Ukraine in the hands of Hetman Ivan Mazepa annulled the Pereyaslav Treaty at Poltava<sup>25</sup> so that Ukraine might once again become free and independent, but that sword did not bring victory as did the sword at Konotop.

Thus, centuries of enslavement by Muscovite tsardom came to Ukraine. And Ukraine was weakened, the Zaporozhian Sich was destroyed<sup>26</sup> and the Cossack swords found themselves in exile beyond the Danube and on the Kuban River.

But God then sent Ukraine a prophet — Shevchenko<sup>27</sup> — who came from the Word of God and who enlightened Ukrainian minds with the Word of Truth, so that they might learn the Truth that was defended by their ancestors and that they might believe in it. And God planted Love in Ukrainian hearts so that the people of Ukraine might spread Divine Truth and defend it among the nations who devour one another like savage beasts.

And a great moment arose for the nations of the Muscovite tsardom when the First World War wore down the prison forces of the empire. There was a great rebirth of nations. And many nations rose to live as independent states. Ukraine rose too. There came January 22 and November 1, 1918, and the proclamation of the Fourth Universal<sup>28</sup>



which established an independent and sovereign Ukrainian state. But the Universal did not annul the Treaty of Pereyaslav because the forces of the Devil fought against the forces of Archangel Michael, and instead of Konotop there were Kruty<sup>29</sup>.

And brother did not stand by brother. Though there were the knights of the Ukrainian Army, Symon Petlura<sup>30</sup> and Yevhen Konovalets<sup>31</sup>, who created the power of Ukraine by the sword and by Divine Truth, there were also Vynnychenkos<sup>32</sup>, who trusted the Devil's lie and made peace with him, abandoning their nation to his will and mercy.

And thus the power of the Devil was victorious, for the sons of Ukraine failed to rise as one. And the Muscovite people threw off the mask of Christianity and revealed their diabolic countenance by proclaiming the laws of the Antichrist as their own. And there was slaughter in the occupied land, there were concentration camps in the permafrost zones of Siberia, and deportations beyond the borders of the Ukrainian lands. And there was the famine siege of Ukraine<sup>33</sup>. No history of any other nation records so many millions of victims as does that of Ukraine, victims for the Truth of Ukraine and of Christ. There have never been so many victims because these Truths are identical, indivisible within themselves.

Atheism was proclaimed the faith of Moscow, and Christianity has come to be persecuted just as it had been at the time of Nero, the Roman emperor. The shepherds, however, did not abandon their flocks, but went to their deaths together with their faithful, as did the head of the restored Ukrainian Orthodox Church, Metropolitan Vasyl Lypkivskyi<sup>34</sup>.

Again the Muscovites were razing Kyiv, demolishing the houses of God, wiping out the memory of the glory of God and of the Ukrainian nation! Thousands of churches, among them the golden-domed Cathedral of St. Michael, were destroyed because the occupants believed and feared it would bring them death. This is why Satan fears the very name of Archangel Michael, the Commander of the Divine Hosts and of the Ukrainian nation!

And the Ukrainian nation saw that only by the force of its own arms can it become free. And though the Ukrainian lands had been quartered<sup>35</sup>, the Ukrainian nation remained indivisible.

On the burnt-out homes and ruins of Ukraine there grew up a new generation which believed that only an organised underground force would be indestructible. And thus the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) incorporated into its law the slogan: "Thou shall win a Ukrainian state or perish in the struggle for it!".

There began a revolutionary liberation struggle, and it was led by Colonel Yevhen Konovalets. And when the hand of Moscow treacher-

ously killed him in Rotterdam, the standards of the OUN were carried forward by Stepan Bandera<sup>36</sup>.

Then came the forty-first year of our century, and the 30th day of the month of June. And a Ukrainian State Administration, headed by Yaroslav Stetsko<sup>37</sup>, was proclaimed. There was great joy, and the people's assemblies proclaimed the will of our nation. And the Government of the State was blessed by the Metropolitans of the Ukrainian Churches, Andrey Sheptytskyi<sup>38</sup> and Polikarp Sikorskyi<sup>39</sup>.

But the occupying power, which called itself liberator, did not desire liberty for Ukraine. And the terror that reigned during the rule of the first occupying power returned, bringing with it prisons, concentration camps, and new murders in Ukraine.

The shots fired by the arms of the Carpathian Sich volunteers<sup>40</sup> in defence of freedom and the independent state of Carpathian Ukraine against Hungarian occupation were the first in Europe. Later, too, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA)<sup>41</sup>, the military arm of the OUN and the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVSR)<sup>42</sup>, took up arms to defend the Act<sup>43</sup> of the Restored State Government of Ukraine in a two-front struggle against German and Russian invasion.

The armed liberation struggle was headed by Roman Shukhevych — General Taras Chuprynka<sup>44</sup>. This struggle lasted ten years; it went on long after peace had been established in the world.

It was a peace with the Devil! And there was no nation that would help Ukraine in her struggle. And again the Devil defeated Archangel Michael and his Ukrainian army.

But the struggle did not cease in times of peace. The OUN and its Chairman, Yaroslav Stetsko, took up new arms. Under the banner of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN)<sup>45</sup>, whose mission became the slogan "Freedom to Nations! — Freedom to Individuals!", the Ukrainian nation united the enslaved peoples against the Bolshevik slavery of Moscow.

And the captive fighters of the UPA set out to preach the Truth of Ukraine and Christ in the prisons and concentration camps. And their memory continues to sow the word of freedom throughout the lands of the empire of Moscow, just as the Apostles once sowed the Word of God in the lands of the Roman Empire.

The Ukrainian Church continues to live in the catacombs, and the Church, which exists in the free world, maintains its independence. The struggle for the particularity of this Church was raised by its Patriarch, Josyf Slipyj, the Confessor of Faith, just as the Metropolitans of Kyiv, Ilarion and Clement, and the creators of the Councils of Brest once struggled for the particularity of the Ukrainian Church.

And there are those who grow strong in spirit from the words of the OUN-UPA heroes and the martyrs of the underground Ukrainian Church and chase away the fear of death. And the words: "How good it is that I am not afraid of death" can be heard ever more often from the lips of the best.

For they are overcoming death by death, and true life begins with their liberation from the fear of death.

And the UPA, like the entire Ukrainian nation, accepted the Mother of God — Our Lady and Protectress — as its patron, just as the Zaporozhian Army did in the past. And the soldiers in the forests of the Carpathians, Volyn and Polissia turned to her for help, in the same way as the faithful of the Ukrainian Church, whose houses of prayer have been shut down by the occupying power that comes from the Devil, are presently doing.

And the Divine Grace of Kyiv stands against Moscow and Zagorsk<sup>46</sup>! For Thy Truth, o Lord, has become our Truth and Thy enemies have become our enemies. And those who crucified Thee, o Lord, are now crucifying the Ukrainian nation!

O Mother of God, Our Lady and Protectress, Thou Who hast lifted up thy arms in the Cathedral of St. Sophia in Kyiv to defend Thy chosen people, Thou Who hast turned back the Turkish bullets at Pochayiv<sup>47</sup>, felling the Turks, turn back the deluge of the enemy that has inundated and continues to inundate our land with our blood!

But if in Thy plans, o Lord, Thou hast chosen our people for a great trial, just as Thou hast sent thy Son, Christ, to redeem all the people of the Earth, and if Thou wishest to harden us by fire, to reforge us into indestructible steel, then harden us, o God, so that our power might wipe out the evil from the Earth, so that the Gates of Hades might fall, so that brother would never again hand over brother to the enemy, so that the knight Mykhailiyk<sup>48</sup> might victoriously re-enter Kyiv, lay down the Golden Gate at the feet of Sophia — the Divine Grace — and glorify God's victory with the sword, so that Thy Truth might carry the victory into the new millennium, and that Ukraine and Thy Ukrainian people might rise from the chains. And that all the nations faithful to Thee might pray in freedom! Amen.

*The Seventh General Congress of the  
Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists*

October, 1987

## TRANSLATOR'S NOTES

1) Reference to the "Decalogue of the Ukrainian Nationalist" which begins with these words: "I am the Spirit of the primordial element that has led thee out of Tartar slavery and has placed thee at the frontier between two worlds to create a new life".

2) A reference to the ancient myth told in the 6th century B.C. Scythia (present-day Ukraine), mentioned by Herodotus in *Histories*, Book IV (Description of Scythia), about the three gifts that fell from heaven.

3) This legend is retold in the Kyivan Primary Chronicle, *The Story of Bygone Years*, whose earliest known author was the monk Nestor of the Kyivan Monastery of the Caves, who lived in the second half of the 11th century.

4) Prince Volodymyr the Great, ruler of the Kyivan Rus' State (979-1015), known in the popular epic poems as Volodymyr the Fair (or Bright) Sun, accepted Christianity himself and established it in his realm as the state religion in 988. His dynasty's coat of arms, the trident, sometimes topped by the cross, has become the national emblem of Ukraine. The baptism of the population of Kyiv took place in the River Dnieper, according to tradition, on August 1, 988.

5) Korsun (in Greek "Chersonessos"), a city in the Crimea, which used to stand close to today's port city of Sevastopol, was an ancient Greek colony founded in the 7th century B.C. Prince Volodymyr was baptised there in 988 after capturing the city and compelling the Byzantine emperors to recognise him as an equal by allowing their sister, Anna, to marry him.

6) Metropolitan Ilarion was the first Ukrainian Metropolitan of Kyiv (his predecessors were either Greek or Bulgarian). He was a brilliant orator and author of the famous *Word on the Law and Grace*, a eulogy of Prince Volodymyr the Great.

7) Prince Ihor (d. 945), was ruler of Kyiv and son of Riuryk, the Varangian, founder of the dynasty of Riurykides. His wife, Princess Olha, was baptised in Constantinople in 956 and had a great influence on her grandson, Volodymyr.

8) Prince Sviatoslav the Conqueror (960-972), was famous for his many brilliant military campaigns.

9) Prince Yaroslav the Wise (1019-1054).

10) Prince Sviatopolk II, son of Iziaslav, grandson of Yaroslav the Wise, founded the Church of St. Michael "the Golden-domed" in 1108.

11) Prince Volodymyr Monomakh (1053-1125), sat on the throne of Kyiv from 1113 to 1125. His death ended the period of relative unity of the Kyivan Rus' State.

12) Polovtsi, also known as Cumans, were a Turkic tribe which roamed the Ukrainian steppes in the 11th-13th centuries.

13) Varangians are also known as Norsemen or Vikings.

14) The Tartar-Mongols first appeared in the Ukrainian steppes in 1223. In the Battle of the Kalka river (presently known as Kalmius), north of the Sea of Azov, the Ukrainian forces were defeated.



15) The Tartar-Mongols invaded Ukraine for the second time in 1240 when they dealt a final blow to the Kyivan Rus' State. Kyiv was taken after a siege and razed to the ground. So were many other cities. The "Desyatynna" Church (Church of the Tithe) was the last bastion to fall during the siege of Kyiv.

16) Poland first occupied the Galician Rus' principality in 1240 and exercised indirect control over the rest of Ukraine through Lithuania, which was in personal union with Poland since 1385. After the Union of Lublin (1569) the whole of Ukraine passed under the direct rule of the Polish kings.

17) The Cossack fort of the Zaporozhian Sich ("the fort beyond the rapids") was first established on the island of Khortytsia (opposite today's city of Zaporizhia) on the Dnieper River around the year 1550.

18) The Ukrainian Cossack army elected their own Commanders-in-Chief who bore the title of "Hetman".

19) Hetman Petro Konashevych Sahaidachnyi (d. 1622), led several successful campaigns against the Tartars and Turks.

20) Petro Mohyla was a great Metropolitan of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church (first half of the 17th C.). He restored many churches and founded the Kyivan Academy, which became the first establishment of higher education in Ukraine and the whole of Orthodox Eastern Europe.

21) Constantinople was captured by the Turks in 1453.

22) Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytskyi (1648-1657) led a successful uprising against Polish rule in 1648, as well as many other campaigns. He re-established the independence of Ukraine in the form of the Cossack State. In 1654 Khmelnytskyi concluded an ill-fated alliance with Muscovy, which the tsars utilised to gradually deprive Ukraine of her autonomy.

23) Hetman Ivan Vyhovskyi (1657-1659) defeated the Muscovite army at Konotop, east of Kyiv, on July 8, 1659, but failed to utilise this victory because of the dissention within the Cossack ranks.

24) By the Treaty of Andrusovo (1667) Ukraine was divided between Russia and Poland along the line of the River Dnieper. Kyiv and its immediate vicinity was assigned to Russia. This division lasted until 1793 when Right-bank Ukraine was ceded by Poland to Russia.

25) Hetman Ivan Mazepa (1686-1709) joined King Charles XII of Sweden against Tsar Peter I of Russia in 1708. Peter's victory at Poltava in 1709 sealed the fate of Ukraine for two centuries.

26) On the orders of Tsarina Catherine II, the Zaporozhian Sich was destroyed by the Russian army in 1775. The Cossacks sought refuge under Turkish protection beyond the River Danube. Some of them later returned and were resettled on the River Kuban.

27) Taras Shevchenko (1814-1861) was the greatest Ukrainian national poet and prophet of liberation.

28) In 1917, after the February Revolution in the Tsarist Russian Empire, a Ukrainian Central Council ("Rada") was set up in Kyiv. It issued four famous Proclamations ("Universals"). The first two proclaimed Ukrainian autonomy,

the third (November 20, 1917) proclaimed the establishment of a Ukrainian National Republic and the fourth (January 22, 1918) the complete independence of Ukraine,

29) At Kruty, a small railroad station near Konotop, east of Kyiv, a small Ukrainian force, including many student volunteers, put up a fight against an overwhelming Russian invading force. Their heroic deed on January 29, 1918, became known as the "Ukrainian Thermopylae".

30) Symon Petlura (1879-1926), was the Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Army and Head of the Directorate of the Ukrainian National Republic in 1919-1920, and later in exile. He was killed in Paris by Shlomo Schwarzbart, apparently a Soviet Russian agent, who wrongly accused Petlura of responsibility for "pogroms" that occurred in 1919 in several Ukrainian cities.

31) Yevhen Konovalets (1891-1938), was a colonel of the Ukrainian Army, commandant of the élite corps of "Sichovi Striltsi" in 1918-1919, later leader of the underground Ukrainian Military Organisation (UVO) and since 1929 head of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). Murdered in Rotterdam by a Soviet Russian agent.

32) Volodymyr Vynnychenko (1880-1951), a writer, was head of the first Government of the Ukrainian National Republic. He later resigned and tried to come to terms with the Russian Bolsheviks. Vynnychenko died in exile in France.

33) Reference to the artificially created famine in Ukraine in 1933, by which Stalin intended to punish the Ukrainian peasantry for resisting Russian rule and collectivisation. According to unofficial estimates, about seven million farmers died as a result of this famine.

34) Vasyl Lypkivskyi was consecrated the first Metropolitan of the restored Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in October 1921. He was forced by the Soviet Russian authorities to step down from his post in 1926, was hounded and persecuted and died in a concentration camp.

35) Between 1919 and 1939 Russia occupied Central and Eastern Ukraine, while parts of Western Ukraine were under Polish, Czechoslovak and Rumanian rule.

36) Stepan Bandera (1909-1959), was leader of the OUN between 1940-1959. He prepared the proclamation of the restoration of Ukrainian independence in Lviv on June 30, 1941. Bandera was arrested by the Germans and spent the war in a concentration camp. After the war he lived in exile in Munich, West Germany. Bandera was murdered by Bohdan Stashynskyi, a Soviet agent, in Munich on October 15, 1959.

37) Yaroslav Stetsko (1912-1986), a close co-worker of Stepan Bandera, proclaimed the restoration of Ukrainian independence in Lviv on June 30, 1941, against the wishes of the Germans. He was arrested by the Gestapo and spent the war in a concentration camp. After the war he became President of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) and lived in Munich, West Germany. He became leader of the OUN in 1968.

38) Andrey Sheptytskyi, Metropolitan of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, a

saintly and revered spiritual leader of Western Ukrainians, died in Lviv on November 1, 1944.

39) Polikarp Sikorskyi was Metropolitan of the restored Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church under German occupation (1942-1944), and later in exile, in Western Europe.

40) The Carpathian Sich volunteers were organised in 1938 to defend the autonomy of Carpathian Ukraine within federal Czechoslovakia after the Munich Agreement. When the latter fell apart in March 1939, Carpathian Ukraine proclaimed independence on March 15, 1939, but was immediately invaded by Hungarian troops with Hitler's permission. The Carpathian Sich put up a heroic resistance against Hitler's ally.

41) The Ukrayinska Povstanska Armiya (UPA — Ukrainian Insurgent Army) came into being in October 1942, first in Volyn and later in other parts of Western Ukraine. It carried on a heroic 10-year struggle against Germany and then Soviet Russia for the independence of Ukraine without any help or understanding from the free world.

42) The Ukrayinska Holovna Vyzvolna Rada (UHVR — Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council) was formed in July 1944, as a provisional underground parliament of Ukraine.

43) Reference to the Act of the Restoration of the Ukrainian State proclaimed by the Ukrainian Government, headed by Yaroslav Stetsko, on June 30, 1941.

44) Roman Shukhevych (*nom-de-guerre* General Taras Chuprynka), a leading member of the OUN, Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army and General Secretary of the UHVR, died in battle with Soviet MVD troops at Bilohorshcha near Lviv on March 5, 1950.

45) The Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) was formed in November 1943 in the forests of Ukraine as an alliance of all the nations enslaved by Moscow. Since 1945 its centre has been Munich, West Germany, and Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko was its life-long President. Its aim is the breakup of the Soviet Russian empire and the re-establishment of the independence of all the nations presently included in the USSR and the satellite countries.

46) Zagorsk is the seat of the Russian Orthodox Patriarchate, an obedient tool in the hands of the Soviet Russian authorities.

47) According to a legend, the monastery of Pochayiv in Volyn was saved from capture by the besieging Turkish army by the miraculous intervention of the Holy Mother of God whose famous miracle-working icon is kept there even today.

48) According to a legend, Archangel Michael helped to defend Kyiv against the Tartar hordes in 1240 in the shape of a knight, Mykhailiyk, and will return one day to free it from all enemies.

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*Wolodymyr KOSYK*

## **THE MILLENNIUM OF THE CHRISTIANISATION OF UKRAINE (988-1988)**

Christianity, which throughout the course of the first three centuries A.D. had become widespread in the countries along the Mediterranean basin, was already a serious spiritual force in the 4th century with which world powers had to reckon. From a religion of the oppressed and the persecuted, it transformed into a dominant religion, which, as time went by, continued to spread more and more among the wide masses of the population. In 313, the Roman Emperor Constantine rendered the Christian religion an equal status to other religions of the Roman Empire, and at the council of Nicaea in 325, the relations between the imperial power and the Christian Church were established.

Once the Christian Church had become a decisive religious force in the Roman Empire, it was just as inhomogeneous as the empire itself, which comprised various countries of the East and West. In 395, the Roman Empire disintegrated into two separate parts — the Western and Eastern Roman Empire, which later became known as Byzantium. The fall of the Roman Empire was the result of the political and social differences of the Greek and Roman worlds.

Within the Christian Church of that time, already at the time of the Council of Nicaea, there existed two patriarchates in the East — in Alexandria and Antioch. Eventually, patriarchates were established in Constantinople and Jerusalem. Only one centre existed in the West — in Rome. Already at this time, the development of the Christian Church in the East and West was taking somewhat diverse paths. With the development and growth of Byzantium's power, the importance of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, which eventually became the main centre of the Eastern Church, also grew.

### **The Beginnings of Christianity on the Territory of Ukraine**

At this time the Slavs lived to the north of the Roman Empire, beyond the borders of Christendom. However, already in the first centuries A.D., Slavic merchants and travellers had contacts with Christians in the Roman Empire. In particular, the Slavs who lived on the territory of present-day Ukraine (which was called Scythia at this time or Sarmatia or even Roxolania) constantly maintained contacts with the Hellenic colonies on the northern coast of the Black Sea and the Crimea.



Christianity began to spread in the Hellenic colonies along the Black Sea as early as the 1st century A.D. There is even a story about St. Andrew, the brother of the first apostle Peter, who preached the Word of God on the northern shores of the Black Sea, in Scythia. Travelling along the Dnipro (Dnieper) River to the Baltic Sea — to the Varangians — St. Andrew, as the Chronicle relates, stopped by the hills where later the city of Kyiv arose. Having climbed to the top of the hills, he blessed them, saying that God's Grace was upon them, and that a great city with many churches would one day be built on this spot<sup>1</sup>. Some historians consider that this story is just a mere legend, others maintain that it is almost historical truth, or that it contains a certain amount of rationality<sup>2</sup>.

At the end of the first century A.D., Emperor Domitian banished Pope Clement and his relative Flavia Domitilla to Kherson in the Crimea. It is said that in Kherson the Pope came across a community of Christians, numbering approximately 2,000 people. These Christians, who had been banished to the Crimea, were spreading their religion among the local population. Some Greek authors of the 3rd and 4th centuries wrote about the spread of Christianity in the "land of the Scythians"<sup>3</sup>. One can, therefore, assume with certainty that preachers and missionaries, who attempted to conduct missionary work among the Slavs living on the territory of present-day Ukraine, were to be found among the numerous Christians in the Hellenic colonies along the shores of the Black Sea.

Among these Slavs, there was a particular tribe or union of tribes known as the Antes, who already in the 3rd and 4th centuries were engaged in agriculture, cattle-breeding, metal manufacturing, and also took part in the Black Sea trade<sup>4</sup>. By maintaining contacts with the Byzantine Empire and fighting against it, the Antes were able to develop their social-political life, so that in the first half of the 4th century they were able to form a political union of tribes, headed by their own "king". According to F. Dvornik, this was the

1. *Polnoe Sobranie Russkikh Letopisey* — PSRL (Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles). Vol. I, pp. 7-9.

2. M. Chubaty: *Istoriya Khrystianstva na Rusi-Ukrayini* (The History of Christianity in Rus'-Ukraine). Rome-New York 1965, pp. 43-46; A.H. Velykyi, OSBM: *Z litopysu Ukrayiny* (From the Chronicle of Ukraine). Vol. I, Rome 1968, pp. 56-61; B.D. Grekov: *Kievskaya Rus'* (Kyivan-Rus'). Moscow 1967, p. 32.

3. N. Polonska-Vasylenko: "Ukrayinska Pravoslavna Tserkva do 1917 r." (The Ukrainian Orthodox Church until 1917). In: *Naukovi Zapysky UVU*, No. 11-12, Munich 1984, p. 3.

4. I.M. Shekera: *Mizhanarodni Zviazky Kyivskoyi Rusi* (International Relations of Kyivan Rus'). Kyiv 1963, p. 10; M. Yu. Braichevskyi: *Pokhodzhennia Rusi* (The Origins of Rus'). Kyiv 1968, pp. 152-156; M. Chubaty: *Kniazha Rus'-Ukrayina ta vynyknennia triokh skhidnoslovyanskykh natsiy* (Princely Rus'-Ukraine and the formation of three East Slavic peoples). New York 1964, pp. 32-38; S. Mishko: *Narys rannoyi istoriyi Rusy-Ukrayiny* (A Synopsis of the Early History of Rus'-Ukraine). New York 1981, p. 6; V.V. Mavrodin maintains that the name "Antes" is of Turkish origins and means "allies". The Antes did not only fight against Byzantium, but also against the Turkish tribe of Avarians with whom they occasionally formed an alliance (V.V. Mavrodin: *Obrazovanie drevnerusskogo gosudarstva i formirovanie drevnerusskoy narodnosti* /The development of the old Ruthenian state and the formation of the old Ruthenian population/. Moscow 1971, p. 11).

"first attempt to organise the Slavs of present-day Ukraine into some kind of a state"<sup>5</sup>.

In the 3rd-4th centuries, part of the steppes along the Black Sea and the Crimea were invaded by the Germanic tribe of Goths, who came from the north-west, from the Baltic Sea coast and from the area of the lower Vistula. Having come into contact with the Hellenic colonies and the Christian communities in the Crimea, the Goths began to accept Christianity and, in a short space of time, a Gothic eparchy (diocese) was established. The Gothic Bishop Theophile participated in the first Ecumenical Council of Nicaea in 325. An eparchy was also established in Kherson. The bishops of this eparchy participated in the Ecumenical Councils in the years 381, 431 and 451<sup>6</sup>.

The Antes waged wars mostly against the Goths until the arrival of the Huns on the Black Sea steppes who, in 375, defeated the Goths and drove them to the west. Thereafter, Goths remained only in the Crimea, where they later assimilated with the indigenous population. The state of the Huns, which had been established along the Black Sea coast, collapsed after Attila's death in 453.

### **The Beginnings of Kyivan-Rus'**

In the second half of the 5th century, numerous Slavic tribes left the land of their forefathers between the Dnipro and Vistula Rivers and moved to the south and west. They began to put pressure on the regions under Byzantine control, which were to the south of the Danube.

The Antean union of tribes continued to exist on the territory of Ukraine, with its centre probably in the western parts of present-day Ukraine, in particular during the time of the prevailing power of the Dulibians or Volhinians, perhaps even in Kyiv — the centre of the Polianians. The state of the Antes existed until the 7th century. Weakened by the war against the Avarians and as a result of a more peaceful life, which did not require a large union, the Antean union of tribes broke up into smaller unions or separate tribal organisations — that is into smaller tribal principalities — as a result of which the Polianian principality with its capital in Kyiv emerged into first place.

According to historical research, including that of M. Yu. Braichevskyi, this new union of tribes on the territory of Ukraine existed as early as the 7th century and received the name of Rus'<sup>7</sup>.

By examining the story from the chronicles about the legendary figure of Kyi, against the background of the international situation of the 5th and 6th centuries, historians assume that Kyi is an historical figure of the 6th century. He was the head (prince) of the Polianian union of tribes. During the reign

5. F. Dvornik: *The Slavs*. Rutgers 1962; French edition *Les Slaves*. Paris 1970, p. 33.

6. M. Chubaty: *Istoriya Khrystianstva*. . . , op. cit., pp. 71-75; N. Polonska-Vasylenko: *Ukrayinska Pravoslavna*. . . , op. cit., pp. 13-14.

7. M. Yu. Braichevskyi: *Pokhodzhennia*. . . , op. cit., p. 165; S. Mishko: *Narys*. . . , op. cit., pp. 106-184.

of Justinian I, Kyi conducted talks with and undertook military expeditions to Byzantium. He proposed to defend Byzantium's northern borders against attacks by the Slavs; he met Justinian I in 530 but then had to leave the Danube region and return to the land of the Polianians — to Kyiv. The town bears his name ever since<sup>8</sup>.

If one is to believe this theory, then Slavic tribes or other smaller tribal unions, which are mentioned in the chronicles in connection with Kyi, namely the Polianians, Dregovichians, Slovinians, Polotsians, Krivichians, Siverians, already existed in the 6th century. They continued to be known under the name of Antes, which was used by Byzantine historians.

The Ukrainian historian and archaeologist, M. Yu. Braichevskiy, maintains that "the Polianians were called Antes by Byzantine writers, but the Polianians are directly connected to Rus'". They played a crucial role in the creation of Rus' "<sup>9</sup>. Rus' was the Polianians (or, at the beginning, part of the Polianians). Nestor's Chronicle entitled *Povist vremennykh lit* ("The Story of Bygone Years") states that first among the Eastern Slavic tribes "were the Polianians, who are now called Rus'"<sup>10</sup>. Therefore, Rus' was a new historical phenomenon, which came in place of the Polianian (Antean) union, after its destruction, or, if you wish, a new Polianian union, which was created on the ruins of the former, on other territorial borders" of present-day Ukraine<sup>11</sup>.

The Arab geographer and writer al-Djaihani wrote at the beginning of the 10th century that previously there already existed three political unions, three lands — Kuiavia, Slavia and Artania, and that each one was ruled by an "emperor". Historians have concluded that Kuiava or Kuiavia is the Polianian union with its centre in Kyiv, Slavia — the Novgorod land, and Artania — probably Tmutorokan' or Kuban'<sup>12</sup>.

The Arab geographer and writer, Ibn-Ruste, who lived in the 9th and the beginning of the 10th century wrote that the Rus' "had an emperor called Khakan-Rus'"<sup>13</sup>. On the basis of this and other facts, historians believe that from the reign of the legendary Prince Kyi to the formation of Kyivan Rus': "in Kyiv the local native dynasty reigned throughout this time"<sup>14</sup>. In addition, there also exists proof that the name Rus' (Rhos), as the name for the Kyivan land, more precisely the land of the Polianians, was already known in the first half of the 9th century<sup>15</sup> and even earlier, beginning from the 6th cen-

8. N.F. Kotliar and S.V. Kulchitskyi: *Kiev — drevniy i sovremenniy* (Old and Contemporary Kyiv). Kyiv 1982, pp. 15-21.

9. M. Yu. Braichevskiy: *Pokhodzhennia*. . ., op. cit., p. 163.

10. *PSRL*, Vol. I, pp. 25-26; Vol. II, p. 18.

11. M. Yu. Braichevskiy: *Pokhodzhennia*. . ., op. cit., p. 164.

12. I.M. Shekera: *Mizhnarodni*. . ., op. cit., p. 16.

13. I.M. Shekera: *Drevnerusskoye gosudarstvo i yego mezhdunarodnoye znachenie* (The Ancient Russian State and its international significance). Moscow 1965, p. 397.

14. I.M. Shekera: *Mizhnarodni*. . ., op. cit., p. 17.

15. P.N. Tretyakov: *U istokov drevnerusskoy narodnosti* (The Source of the Old Russian Population). Leningrad 1970, p. 74.

ture<sup>16</sup>. M. Yu. Braichevskyi points out that the new state formation, which received the name Rus' began to emerge in the 7th century<sup>17</sup>. There are reports that the Rus' attacked the Byzantine island of Eghina (Aigina) in 813. In 838 an envoy from the Prince of Rus' came to Constantinople and, due to the dangerous situation on the Black Sea coast, the Byzantine Emperor advised him to return to Rus' across Western Europe<sup>18</sup>. At the beginning of the 840s, warriors from Rus' attacked Byzantine colonies along the Black Sea coast. In 861 the Rus' organised a large-scale military attack on Constantinople, in which 200 ships took part. They destroyed the outskirts of the capital and began to lay siege to the city.

This attack created a great stir. Patriarch Photius wrote down his impressions about the attack and the siege by the Rus'. However, when the Rus' who had lost part of their fleet heard that Emperor Michael III was approaching the city with his army, they withdrew and returned to their homeland<sup>19</sup>.

Nestor's Chronicle *The Story of Bygone Years* mentions the attack on Constantinople under the year 866 and says that it was led by Askold and Dyr, while in the Greek *Chronicle of Georgios Hamartolos* their names are not mentioned<sup>20</sup>. The Byzantine source on this attack by Rus' claims that Constantinople was saved by the Virgin Mary after the Omophorion of her icon was sunk in the sea<sup>21</sup>. This miracle caused the mass christianisation of the people of Rus'.

As seen from the writings of Patriarch Photius, as well as what most historians think, the people of Rus' accepted Christianity in 860 after the attack on Constantinople. (Some historians claim that Christianity was accepted by "Eastern Slavs" at the time when Patriarch Photius clearly writes about the Rus'<sup>22</sup>. However, probably at this time there were obstacles in the way of the further christianisation of Rus' and the whole process was fairly limited. In any case, as a result of the above mentioned attack on Byzantium, Rus' entered onto a wider international arena.

From this time onwards, the question of Christianity in Rus' and its areas of control became of vital importance for both Constantinople and Rome. From the constituent charter of the Hamburg-Bremen eparchy of 864 it can be concluded that Pope Nicholas I of Rome wanted to spread Christianity of

16. I.M. Shekera: *Mizhnarodni. . .*, op. cit., p. 25; M. Yu. Braichevskyi: *Pokhodzhennia. . .*, op. cit., pp. 161-162; see also O.F. Kupranets, OSBM: *Pokhodzhennia nazvy Rus'* (The Origins of the Name Rus'). Rome 1977; *Annales Bertiniani*, Hannover 1883, pp. 19-20.

17. M. Yu. Braichevskyi: *Pokhodzhennia. . .*, op. cit., p. 165.

18. I.M. Shekera: *Mizhnarodni. . .*, op. cit., p. 52; V.V. Mavrodin: *Proiskhozhdenie russkogo naroda* (The Origins of the Russian People). Leningrad 1978, pp. 155-156.

19. I.M. Shekera: *Mizhnarodni. . .*, op. cit., pp. 52-57; M. Chubaty: *Istoriya. . .*, op. cit., pp. 80-83.

20. Ibid. *PSRL*, Vol. I, p. 21.

21. I.M. Shekera: *Mizhnarodni. . .*, op. cit., p. 54.

22. Ibid. p. 58; M. Chubaty: *Istoriya. . .*, op. cit., pp. 85-89; N. Polonska-Vasilenko: *Istorychni Pidvalyny UAPTs* (The Historical Foundations of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church). Rome, ed. 2, 1964, p. 15.

the Roman rite across Eastern Europe, including Rus'<sup>23</sup>. However, the interests of Rus' were centred on the south — on Byzantium.

In 860 the Byzantine government sent a diplomatic mission to the Khazars who lived to the east of Rus'. Members of this mission also included the well-known preachers Cyril (Constantine) and Methodius. The mission was also most certainly interested in Rus'. It even spent some time in the Crimea. In the Pannonian *The Life of Constantine the Philosopher*, it is also written that St. Cyril came across a Gospel and psalm book, which had been written in the "script of rosh" (Rus')<sup>24</sup>.

In the north, the union of Slavic tribes, headed by the Slovincians, disintegrated into tribal units. The Slovincians, Krivichians and the non-Slavic tribes of the Chud and Meria had to pay tribute to the Norman Varangians (Vikings). Some Scandinavian historians maintain that at this time a Norman colonisation of this region was taking place but other historians reject this theory<sup>25</sup>.

Nestor's Chronicle states that in 859 the Varangians made the above-mentioned tribes pay tribute to them, but already in 862 these tribes rejected the authority of the Varangians and drove them away across the sea. However, misunderstandings arose between them and that same year they decided to invite the Varangians to rule over them. The Varangian Riuryk and his two brothers came to them. The Chronicle adds that "the land of Rus' received its name from the Varangians". Two of Riuryk's "vassals", Askold and Dyr, sailed to the land of the Polianians and began to rule over it<sup>26</sup>.

Although this report in the Chronicle has all the signs of a typical legend, it became the basis of the "Norman theory" on the origins of Rus' and the founding of the Kyivan state. This theory was first formed by G.S. Bayer in the middle of the 18th century, and developed by A.L. Schlötzer and G.F. Miller, and some historians support this theory to this day<sup>27</sup>.

Most historians consider that the terms "Rusy" ("Rosh") and "Rus'" are of a local origin and have nothing in common with the Scandinavian Varangian-Normans (Vikings), since they existed before the so-called "Summons of the Varangians" by the Novgorod Slavs (and not the Polianians)<sup>28</sup>. In any case, as M. Yu. Braichevskiy maintains, all mercenaries, irrespective of their ethnic origins were known as Varangians. Therefore, among these Varangians there were also mercenaries from Rus', Scandinavia and other countries. If we consider that Novgorod and the above-mentioned northern tribes **did not**

23. I.M. Shekera: *Mizhnarodni . . .*, op. cit., p. 58.

24. M. Chubatyi: *Istoriya . . .*, op. cit., pp. 89-96; I.M. Shekera: *Mizhnarodni . . .*, op. cit., p. 57.

25. See I.P. Shaskolskiy: *Normanskaya Teoriya v sovremennoy burzhuaznoy nauke* (The Norman Theory in Contemporary Bourgeois Science). Moscow 1965.

26. *PSRL*, Vol. I, pp. 19-20.

27. A.L. Schlötzer: *Probe russischer Annalen*. Bremen 1768; A. Stender-Petersen: "*Der Älteste Russische Staat*". In: *Historische Zeitschrift*, August 1960.

28. Besides the aforementioned authors see also: *Istoriya Ukrayinskoyi RSR* (History of the Ukrainian SSR), Vol. I, Kyiv 1967, p. 40; *Radyanska Encyclopedia istoriyi Ukrayiny* (Soviet Encyclopedia of the History of Ukraine), Vol. IV, Kyiv 1972, p. 38.

belong to Rus' at all, then clearly the Chronicle referred to the warriors of the Polianian union as Varangians<sup>29</sup>. The legend about the summons of the Varangians "from beyond the sea" was inserted into the 1113 edition of *The Story of Bygone Years* only at the beginning of the 12th century, probably in order to stress the independence of the Rus' dynasty from Byzantium<sup>30</sup>. Other sources state, for example, that Askold and Dyr were Polianians and the direct descendants of Kyi<sup>31</sup>.

### The Development of the Kyivan Empire

According to the Chronicle, in 882 Prince Oleh of Novgorod undertook a military campaign to the south, conquered Smolensk, and later seized power in Kyiv. Ascending the throne, Oleh said the following about Kyiv: "This will be the mother of all the cities of Rus'"<sup>32</sup>.

With this phrase he officially acknowledged Kyiv as the capital of Rus' and himself as the ruler of Rus', that is, the Polianian state. It should be stressed that the name Rus' referred **only** to the territory along the middle of the Dni-pro River with its centre in Kyiv. It did not refer to Novgorod, from where (according to the Chronicle) Prince Oleh had come. Therefore, the phrase "the mother of all the cities of Rus'" referred to the existing and future cities if Rus' alone, and not to Novgorod, or even less to Russia, which was formed some four or five centuries later to the north of Rus'. It should also be added that Oleh, even if he was of Varangian origin, accepted the customs and faith of the Rus', and thus became totally assimilated. Concluding the peace treaty with Byzantium, Oleh and his commanders took the oath "according to the custom of Rus'. . . with weapons and Perun, their God, and Volos, the God of cattle"<sup>33</sup>.

Oleh began to build fortified cities in Rus' and to expand the power of the Kyivan state having annexed the Derevlians and Siverians. Kyiv's power was recognised by the neighbouring Ulichians and Tiverians. Oleh freed the Siverians and Radimichians from subordination to the Khazars. The Kyivan state was already sufficiently powerful. It opposed the Khazarian Khakana-te and rose against Byzantium. Leaving his relative Ihor (who was not of Scandinavian origin) behind in Kyiv, Oleh undertook a military expedition against Byzantium in 907. He besieged Constantinople and forced the Greeks to sign a treaty with him. In 911, he undertook a second military expedition against Byzantium. The treaty signed this time was very advantageous to Rus'<sup>34</sup>.

29. M. Yu. Braichevskiy: *Pokhodzhennia*. . ., op. cit., p. 160.

30. V.V. Mavrodin: *Obrazovanie*. . ., op. cit., p. 124; *Proiskhozhdenie*. . ., op. cit., p. 152.

31. *Istoriya Kiev* (The History of Kyiv). Kyiv 1963, p. 42.

32. *PSRL*, Vol. I, p. 23.

33. *Ibid.*, p. 32.

34. *Ibid.*, pp. 32-37; I.M. Shekera: *Mizhnarodni*. . ., op. cit., pp. 62-70.

Afterwards, the Rus' undertook three military campaigns along the coast of the Caspian Sea (909-910, 910-911, 913-914). With these wars the Kyivan state was seeking to secure its control over the trade routes and gain favourable conditions for its own trade. Further campaigns of the Rus' against Byzantium took place in 941 and 944 during Prince Ihor's reign.

Merchants were not the only people of Rus' to have been in countries of the Christian Byzantine Empire. Whole units of warriors from Rus' were in the service of the Byzantine Emperor. In addition, during their campaigns the warriors from Rus' were also in contact with the Christian population. Many of them returned home as Christians. Christians were to be found both among the people and the ruling circles of the Kyivan state. The text of the peace treaty with the Greeks of 944 reveals that there were already many Christians among the envoys from Rus'. The treaty states that the Christian members of the delegation swore by the Church of St. Ellias. After returning to Kyiv, the delegation from Rus', in the presence of Greek envoys, swore an oath of loyalty to the treaty: Ihor and his pagan followers swore the oath on a hill by the statue of Perun, "and christianised Rus' was taken to swear the oath into the Church of St. Ellias"<sup>35</sup>.

According to the Chronicle, the "ecumenical" Church of St. Ellias was situated by a stream close to the lodgings of the princely retinue and court. It can, therefore, be concluded that the Kyivan prince and his government were tolerant of the Christian religion<sup>36</sup>. Christianity was also spreading across the western regions of present-day Ukraine, which were close to the regions where Cyril and Methodius were active<sup>37</sup>.

One view holds that the first princes of the Kyivan state to accept Christianity were Askold and Dyr<sup>38</sup>. According to the Chronicle, Princess Olha, Ihor's widow, who ruled in place of her under-aged son Sviatoslav from 945-964, was a Christian. She accepted Christianity around 956<sup>39</sup>. Other historians maintain that this occurred in Constantinople (Ukr. Tsarhorod) in 957<sup>40</sup>.

In the autumn of 957, Olha made an official visit to Constantinople. According to Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus, her delegation included the priest Hryhoriy. Olha probably wanted to settle the matter of declining trade with Byzantium and perhaps had some other political plans. The emperor received her with all the honours usually bestowed on rulers of powerful states, but still rather modestly<sup>41</sup>, maybe because she was the prin-

35. *PSRL*, Vol. I, pp. 52-54; M. Chubaty: *Istoriya*. . ., op. cit., pp. 169-170.

36. M.N. Tikhomirov: *Drevnyaya Rus' (Ancient Rus')*. Moscow 1975, p. 266.

37. N. Polonska-Vasylenko: *Istorychni Pidvalyny*. . ., op. cit., p.16.

38. M. Chubaty: *Istoriya*. . ., op. cit., p. 84.

39. V.E. Titov: *Pravoslavie (Orthodoxy)*. Moscow 1967, p. 37; M. Chubaty: *Istoriya*. . ., op. cit., p. 177.

40. I.M. Shekera: *Mizhnarodni*. . ., op. cit., pp. 136-137. In the Chronicle, Olha's journey to Constantinople is entered under the year 955, see: *PSRL*, Vol. I, pp. 60-62.

41. V.T. Pashuto: *Vneshnaya politika Drevney Rusi (Foreign Policy of Ancient Rus')*. Moscow 1968, pp. 66-68.



cess of a "barbarian country". We learn from the Chronicle that Olha was not completely satisfied with her stay in Constantinople<sup>42</sup>.

There is reference to the fact that Olha wanted to baptise Rus'. Maybe this was the main intention of her visit to Constantinople. However, due to some difficulties, the emperor did not take this intention into consideration and an agreement between Olha and the emperor was not reached.

Shortly after her return from Constantinople in 959, Olha dispatched envoys to the German emperor, more precisely, to the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire Otto I (936-973). A German chronicle states that envoys from Helen (the Christian name for Olha), the "Queen of Rus'" (Reginae Rugorum), came to Otto I asking him to appoint and send a bishop and priests for their people<sup>43</sup>. There is no doubt that the envoys conducted talks on economical, political and cultural ties between the two great powers — the Kyivan state and the Holy Roman Empire.

Emperor Otto I did not fully evaluate the situation and appointed a bishop with great delay, who in the end did not make the journey. Finally, in 961 or 962, the German Bishop Adalbert of Trier arrived in Kyiv with his missionaries. However, his mission in Kyiv was unsuccessful. Some historians maintain that Olha and the bishop could not agree on the form of relations between the Church of Rus' and German Church. Olha demanded independence for her Church, whereas the German missionaries demanded its subordination to the German Church authorities. Perhaps one of the reasons for this failure was that at this time relations between Kyiv and Constantinople had once again improved<sup>44</sup>.

Other historians regard that the cause for this failure was that in 962 a coup had taken place at the Kyivan court and for a while Olha was removed from power. Young Prince Sviatoslav depended on his pagan warriors. In such a situation, Bishop Adalbert's mission became unnecessary and he was forced to return home. On the way, several members of his mission were killed and, according to the Chronicle, he barely survived himself<sup>45</sup>.

Olha's son, Sviatoslav, refused to accept Christianity himself and remained a pagan, even when he became prince (957-972). The Chronicle says that when as a young boy people tried to persuade him to become a Christian, he refused but "he did not forbid anyone from being baptised if they so wished, but only laughed at this"<sup>46</sup>. Princess Olha died in 969 and was buried according to Christian tradition.

Sviatoslav was tolerant towards Christians. However, according to the Joachim Chronicle of Novgorod, after several military failures and under the influence of his pagan commanders, who put the blame for these failures on the Christian soldiers, Sviatoslav began to a certain extent to persecute Chris-

42. *PSRL*, Vol. IX, p. 30.

43. *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores*, Vol. I, p. 624.

44. V.I. Titov: *Pravoslavie*, op. cit., p. 39.

45. V.T. Pashuto: *Vneshnaya. . .*, op. cit., p. 86.

46. *PSRL*, Vol. I, p. 63.

tians, including his brother. He dispatched an order to Kyiv demanding the destruction of "Christian churches"<sup>47</sup>. This shows that Christianity in Kyiv had spread to such an extent that several churches already existed there. Maybe this was the reason for the reaction of the pagan worshippers and the attempts to stop the further spread of Christianity.

Sviatoslav conducted his wars with the aim of expanding and strengthening the southern and eastern borders of his state, controlling the Volga trade route and securing access to the Caspian, Azov and Black Seas. He succeeded in strengthening the above-mentioned trade routes, causing the downfall of the Khazar state and weakening Byzantium's influence on the Black Sea and on the Danube. These successes raised the prestige of the Kyivan state — Rus' — and secured its wealth and prosperity.

In addition, the Kyivan state maintained contacts with the Christian countries of Western Europe. During the reign of Yaropolk (972-979, whose wife was a Christian, in 974 envoys from Rus' were dispatched to Emperor Otto II. These envoys participated in the deliberations of the Imperial Diet in Quedlinburg. In 977, envoys from Pope Benedict VII were dispatched to Yaropolk<sup>48</sup>. Some historians maintain that Sviatoslav's sons, Yaropolk and Oleh, were Christians<sup>49</sup>.

### The Baptism of the People of Kyiv

The realm of the Kyivan state was considerably enlarged by Prince Volodymyr the Great (980-1015). At first he was ruler of the Novgorod principality which was essentially almost independent from Kyiv. In 980, he took over the Kyivan throne by force of arms, and strengthened both his own power and the political power of the state. He frequently undertook military campaigns in order to subordinate under his power unruly or new lands and expand the borders of his state. In 981 he succeeded in annexing the territory of present-day Western Ukraine to the Kyivan state, including the towns of Peremyshl on the River Sian and Cherven in the Kholm region<sup>50</sup>. The Kyivan state became a direct neighbour of Poland, Bohemia and, through Transcarpathia (Carpatho-Ukraine), which also belonged to the Kyivan state, of Hungary too. In 983, Volodymyr forced the Yatvigiens into submission<sup>51</sup> and gained control over the Baltic trade route along the River Neman. In 985, he undertook a military campaign against the Volga Bulgars<sup>52</sup>.

After an initial period of pagan idolatry with human sacrifice and the persecution of Christians, Prince Volodymyr accepted the Christian faith. He

47. V.E. Titov: *Pravoslavie*, op. cit., p. 39.

48. A.H. Velykyi: *Z litopysu*. . ., op. cit., p. 86.

49. *Ibid.*, p. 83.

50. *PSRL*, Vol. I, p. 81.

51. *Ibid.*, p. 82.

52. *Ibid.*, p. 84.

probably did so for political reasons. Among the Slavic nations, except for Bulgaria, which had accepted Christianity in 864, Bohemia and Poland had already become Christian in 929 and 966 respectively. Byzantium and the Holy Roman Empire were Christian and so were most of the countries in Europe. In the East, a certain fraction of the Khazars was Jewish, others were Muslim or Christian. To the north of the Khazar state, there was the Muslim state of the Volga Bulgars, who tried to dominate the Volga trade route. To the East of these two states, was another Muslim state — Khorezm, an ally of the Volga Bulgars, which wanted to strengthen its position on the lower Volga<sup>53</sup>.

If we take this international situation into consideration, it becomes clear why there is a legend in the Chronicle about envoys of various religions — Muslims, those of the Latin rite (Catholics), Jews and Greeks — being present in Kyiv. They each praised their own religion and tried to persuade Volodymyr to accept their faith. The Volga Bulgars praised the Muslim faith with its laws of abstinence; the Germans, who came “from the Pope” spoke of a “not too strict Lent”; the Khazar Jews talked about believing in one God and about Jerusalem (which by the way, had already been occupied by the Muslims), as well as about the diaspora; the Greek philosopher long-windedly and boringly related the history from Adam to Judgement Day.

According to the Chronicle, Volodymyr was not enticed by any of the arguments presented by these envoys. He summoned a Council of Boyars (noblemen), who advised him to send his envoys to the Volga Bulgars, the Germans and the Greeks. The envoys returned completely convinced that Byzantine Christianity was the best. They were charmed by the beauty of the Byzantine divine liturgy and rite<sup>54</sup>. If one reads the reports of these envoys, which are written down in the Chronicle, one notices that they do not describe the character of each different religion, or its spiritual value and power, but they present these religions from a point of view of Byzantine Christianity. The envoys were completely convinced of its superiority. This legend was probably included in the Chronicle much later.

By continuing the policy of his predecessors and by expanding the power of the Kyivan state, Volodymyr the Great strived towards closer relations with the European powers of that time. From this standpoint he regarded the acceptance of Christianity as a necessity. The constant drive of the Kyivan state for domination over the Black Sea trade route, as well as its relations and interests in the Balkans, automatically led to the infiltration of Eastern Christianity, Christianity of the Byzantine rite. The powerful and wealthy Byzantine Empire also presented a certain power of attraction. However, this does not mean that the other religions were not dreaming of their own expansion on the territory of the Kyivan state, since together with religion, there was usually a growth in the economic, cultural and political influences of the state from which it came.

53. I.M. Shekera: *Mizhnarodni*. . . , op. cit., pp. 109, 177.

54. *PSRL*, Vol. I, pp. 84-109; A.H. Velykyi: *Z liopysu*. . . , op. cit., pp. 87-101.

It is not known exactly when and where Volodymyr, the ruler of the Kyivan state, accepted Christianity. There are many views on this subject. The majority of historians consider that he accepted the Christian faith in 987 in Kyiv, or in Vasyliv near Kyiv<sup>55</sup>. Some maintain that he did this under the influence of his friend, Prince Olaf Tryggvason of Scandinavia, who was in Kyiv at the time on his way to Constantinople. The Chronicle relates that Volodymyr was baptised in 988 in Kherson. He went on an expedition to Kherson, besieged the town, occupied it with the help of a Khersonesian priest Anastasius and asked the Byzantine Emperors, Basil and Constantine, to hand over their sister Anna in marriage. The emperors agreed to this proposal, but under the condition that Volodymyr accepted Christianity. Volodymyr agreed and the bishop of Kherson baptised him and married him to Anna. However, the Chronicle adds that "those, who do not know the truth, maintain that Volodymyr was baptised in Kyiv, others maintain that he was baptised in Vasyliv, while others maintain something else"<sup>56</sup>.

The events in Kherson were of yet another significance. In 987, the Byzantine General Bardas Phokas rose against the emperors Basil II and Constantine and proclaimed himself emperor. The emperors turned to Volodymyr for help. Volodymyr agreed to help them under the condition that he be allowed to marry the emperors' sister Anna. In order to raise his prestige, he wanted to become related to the powerful dynasty of Constantinople. The emperors promised to fulfil his demand and Volodymyr sent a 6,000-strong army to the northern coast of Asia Minor, which completely destroyed Bardas Phokas' army, while he himself was captured and executed.

When the danger had passed, the emperors refused to hand over Anna in marriage to Volodymyr. Volodymyr then marched into the Crimea, conquered the strategic town of Kherson and thus forced the emperors to keep their word. At this time, Volodymyr was probably already a Christian. He married Anna and handed over Kherson to Byzantium as a dowry for his wife<sup>57</sup>.

Volodymyr's marriage to Anna was a great success in his foreign policy. The once "barbarian" country was now placed on an equal level with the Christian states of Europe; the ruler of Kyiv was the son-in-law of the Emperor of the Roman (Byzantine) Empire, and his sister-in-law was married to Emperor Otto II.

After returning from Kherson, Volodymyr began to christianise the Kyivan state and its colonies. The first to be baptised were his twelve sons and his boyars, members of his court and council. Then Volodymyr ordered the inhabitants of Kyiv to go to the river. Nestor's Chronicle relates the following

55. N. Poloska-Vasylenko: *Istoriya Ukrayiny* (The History of Ukraine). Vol. I, Munich 1972, p. 115; A.H. Velykyi: *Z litopysu*. . ., op. cit., pp. 102-106; M. Ripetskyi: *Svyatyi Volodymyr Velykyi* (Saint Volodymyr the Great). Monder 1953, pp. 11-12.

56. *PSRL*, Vol. I, pp. 109-112.

57. I.M. Shekera: *Mizhnarodni*. . ., op. cit., p. 178; N. Poloska-Vasylenko: *Istoriya Ukrayiny*. . ., op. cit., p. 115.

about this order: "If anyone should not go out to the river tomorrow, be he rich or poor, beggar or slave — he will become my enemy"<sup>58</sup>. The people gladly went to the river, according to the Chronicle, telling themselves that: "If this was not a good thing, then neither the Prince nor the boyars would have accepted it". The story is written down in the Chronicle under the year 988. Most historians maintain that the baptism of the inhabitants of Kyiv took place on August 14 (August 1 by the old calendar), 988<sup>59</sup> on the River Pochayna, close to where it flowed into the Dniro. Other authors say that the baptism of the people of Kyiv took place in the summer of 990<sup>60</sup>, which is much less probable.

Therefore, on August 14, 988, obeying Volodymyr the Great's orders, after the destruction of the pagan idols, the inhabitants of Kyiv only and not of the whole state were baptised. Only after this event, Volodymyr began to introduce the new faith into the other towns of Rus' and the other principalities of the empire. The Chronicle reads: "And he began to build churches in [other] towns [and send] priests [there] and lead the people to be baptised in all the towns and villages"<sup>61</sup>.

### The Names Rus' and Ukraine

After baptising his sons, the members of the Council of Boyars and the inhabitants of Kyiv, Volodymyr the Great made Christianity the official state religion. With regard to this, it has been recognised that the Kyivan state — Rus' — accepted Christianity in 988. What was this state?

According to the Chronicle, we have seen that along the middle of the Dniro River, in the region around Kyiv, there lived "the Polianians, who are now called Rus'". The Chronicle mentions the Polianians for the last time under the year 944, thus, before the acceptance of Christianity<sup>62</sup>. From then on the tribal name completely disappeared and was replaced by the name Rus'. The concept "Rus'ka zemlya" (Ruthenian land) is first used in the Chronicle under the year 852 and from 912 it is used constantly, as is the name Rus'.

A detailed analysis of the texts in the Chronicle reveals that the name Rus' was used right up until the 12th-13th centuries exclusively in connection with the land of Kyiv, to which mainly the territories of the Polianians and Derevlanians belonged. M. Yu. Braichevskyi maintains that Rus' is "the central

58. *PSRL*, Vol. I, p. 117; V.N. Tatishchev: *Istoriya Rossiyskaya* (Russian History). Vol. II, Moscow 1963, pp. 62-63.

59. I. Vlasovskyi: *Narys istoriyi Ukrayinskoyi Pravoslavnoyi Tserkvy* (Synopsis of the History of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church) Vol. I, New York 1955, p. 26; Archbishop Makariy: *Pravoslavya na Ukrayini* (Orthodoxy in Ukraine). Kyiv 1980, p. 7.

60. A.H. Velykyi: *Z litopysu*. . . , op. cit., p. 119; I. Nazarko, op. cit., p. 94.

61. *PSRL*, Vol. I, p. 118.

62. *Ibid.*, pp. 17, 35.

Dnipro region with Kyiv, Chernihiv, Pereyaslav and the lands which belonged to these centres"<sup>63</sup>.

This is also confirmed by Russian historians. They write: "... Rus' was only the land of Kyiv, where the Polianians lived, who are today called Rus'" (P.N. Tretyakov)<sup>64</sup>; "the name Rus' is the ancient name for the land of Kyiv, the land of the Polianians" (M.N. Tikhomirov)<sup>65</sup>; M.D. Priselkov and A.N. Nasonov also maintain that the land of Rus' "was a region which was situated around three towns — Kyiv, Chernihiv and Pereyaslav-Rus'kyi"<sup>66</sup>. In his conclusion, P.N. Tretyakov wrote: "The Eastern Slavic state was formed here much earlier [one or two centuries earlier] than the appearance of the Rurikides in Kyiv. It arose in that part of the central Dnipro region known as Rus'. And for many years to come, right until the 12th-13th centuries, only this region bore the name Rus' or "Rus'ka zemlya". . . A great deal of evidence in the chronicles reveals that until the 12th-13th centuries neither the lands of Novgorod, nor Smolensk, nor Rostov-Suzdal, nor Galicia-Volynia were called Rus'"<sup>67</sup>.

In other words, during and after the christianisation of Kyiv, only the central part of the territory of present-day Ukraine was called Rus'. According to the borders of Rus' determined by historians, this was the territory situated between the following present-day towns: Novgorod-Siverskyi in the north, Kremyanets in the West, which lies to the west of Horyn (today's Ternopil region), and Kremenchuk on the Dnipro in the south<sup>68</sup>. Besides this Rus', there was no other Rus' at the time. And it is this Rus' which later took the name of Ukraine.

The name "Ukrayina" first appeared in the Chronicle under the year 1187. Since then it was used in connection with various regions of present-day Ukraine. It became established particularly in the 16th and 17th centuries<sup>69</sup>. Therefore, Ukrainian historians come to the completely natural conclusion that the christianisation of Ukraine took place in 988 and that the history of Rus' is the history of Ukraine.

What did foreigners call Rus'-Ukraine at this time? Princess Olha, as already mentioned, was called "Regina Rugorum" in Latin in 959. Other German chronicles, in particular that of Thietmar of Merseburg, talk about envoys from "Rusciae gentis" (the people of Rus'). In connection with the marriage of the daughter of Yaroslav the Wise with the French King Henry I on May 19, 1051, Western sources of that time and later called the Prince of

63. M. Yu. Braichevskyi: *Pokhodzhennia*. . . , op. cit., p. 162.

64. P.N. Tretyakov: *U istokov*. . . op. cit., p. 73.

65. M.N. Tikhomirov: "Proiskhozhdenie nazvaniy 'Rus' i 'Russkaya zemlya'" (The origins of the name "Rus" and "Russian land"). In: *Sovetskaya etnografiya*, Vol. VI-VII, 1947, p. 60; M.N. Tretyakov: *U istokov*. . . , op. cit., p. 74.

66. Ibid.

67. Ibid., p. 73.

68. Ibid., p. 76.

69. M.I. Marchenko: *Istoriya ukrayinskoyi kultury* (The History of Ukrainian Culture). Kyiv 1961, p. 69.

Kyiv, king, and used the following Latin names: Rex Ruthenorum, Rex Rus-siae, Rex Russorum, Rex Ruticorum, Rex Rusulorum, Rex Sclavorum, Rex Rugorum, Rex Rabastiae or Rex Rusicorum<sup>70</sup>.

In 1075, the chronicler Adam of Bremen called Yaroslav the Wise "sanctus gerzlef de Ruzzia" (the Holy King of Rus')<sup>71</sup>. The Kyivan Princess Evpraksiya, the wife of Henry IV, is called "Rutenorum regis filia" (the daughter of the King of the Ruthenians) in the Augustine Annals (under the year 1104)<sup>72</sup>. Around this time, Prince Ihor was called "Inger rex Russorum" (Ihor the Prince of Rus')<sup>73</sup>. Somewhat later, in 1134, during a description of the visit of the King of Engalnd's son to Kyiv, there is talk of a king of "terrae rugorum", quam nos vocamus Russeiam" (the land of the Ruthenians, which we call Rus')<sup>74</sup>. In the middle of the 12th century, an author wrote about one of the daughters of the Prince of Kyiv as "Ruthenorum seu Chyos regis filia" (the daughter of the King of Ruthenia or Kyiv)<sup>75</sup>. In his message to Iziaslav of April 17, 1075, Pope Gregory VII uses the term "regi Ruscorum"<sup>76</sup>. In later letters to the princes of the Ukrainian Galician-Volynian state, Rome used the terms "Russia" and "Ruthenia".

We must accept that Rus', that is ancient Ukraine, was in Latin very often, if not most frequently, called "Ruthenia". Therefore, many historians rightly translate the word "Rus'" from the Ukrainian and Russian with the term "Ruthenia"<sup>77</sup>. For political reasons and with the aim of acquiring the heritage of Rus' for themselves, Russian historians translate and interpret the word "Rus'" as "Rossiya" (Russia), and thus create confusion which is advantageous to them.

In fact, the terms "Rus'" and "Rossiya" refer to two completely different states, two completely different historical realities and epochs, an two separate peoples. Rus' arose and existed until the 14th century on the territory of present-day Ukraine. It was a European state and belongs to the history of the Ukrainian people. Muscovy-Russia emerged in the 14th century and developed in the 15th and 16th centuries on the territory of present-day Russia. It developed at a time of its dependency on the Mongol-Tartar state, from which it managed to free itself only in 1480. The Mongol-Tartars had a great influence on the development of a specific political, social and administrative system in Russia and on Russian political thought.

However, let us return to the state, which the princes of Rus'-Ukraine

70. "Continuator Reginonis — MGH SS", Vol. I, p. 624; *Kronika Thietmara*. Poznan 1953, p. 73; Roger Hallu: *Anne de Kiev, Reine de France*. Rome 1973, pp. 43-44.

71. *Quellen des IX. und XI. Jahrhunderts zur Geschichte der Hamburgischen Kirche und des Reiches*. Berlin 1961, pp. 274, 340.

72. *MGH, SS*, Vol. III, p. 133; Vol. VI, p. 207.

73. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, pp. 347, 368.

74. R. Schmid: *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*. Leipzig 1858, p. 516.

75. *MGH, SS*, Vol. XX, p. 259; Otto, Bischof von Freising: *Chronik oder die Geschichte der zwei Staaten*. Berlin 1960, p. 536.

76. *Documenta Pontificum Romanorum Historiam Ucrainae Illustrantia*. Vol. I, Rome 1953, p. 5.

77. Elie Borschak: *La légende historique de l'Ukraine, Istoriya Rusov*. Paris 1949.

created. Rus' began its expansion during Oleh's reign by subjugating the neighbouring Slavic and non-Slavic tribes. This policy was put into practice particularly by Ihor, Sviatoslav, Volodymyr the Great (980-1015) and Yaroslav the Wise (1019-1054).

This state, created and developed by the princes of Kyiv, was neither an all-national nor a homogeneous, centralised state, nor could it be. It was an empire which comprised Rus' (the metropolis) and its colonies. This view is not new and it is shared by many Ukrainian historians. In his time, Karl Marx even wrote about a rapid growth of the empire of the Riurykides<sup>78</sup>.

Several Russian historians also search for a similar explanation of interrelation on the territory of this huge empire. Thus, V.T. Pashuto maintains that "feudal Rus'" (meaning the whole empire) was a "confederation of separate lands — of Polianians, Siverianians, Krivichians and others, who were under the rule of the local aristocracy"<sup>79</sup>. It should be added here that while the tribal concepts and names of the Polianians and Derevlianians disappeared in the years 944-990, and were replaced by the name of the people — "Ruthenians", "Rusychi" — the concepts and names of the tribes on the territory of present-day Byelorussia and Russia were retained until the 12th century. For example, the Krivichians (Byelorussia) are mentioned in the Chronicle as late as 1127, and the Viaticians (Russia) — as late as 1197<sup>80</sup>.

V.T. Pashuto, just as other Russian historians, calls this "confederation of separate lands" the "drevnerusskoye gosudarstvo" ("ancient Russian state"). Pashuto maintains that the origins of the state lie in the land of Rus'. Yet, this "drevnerusskoye gosudarstvo", according to Pashuto, "administered over a widespread, multilingual sphere [zone], and held. . . in various vassal dependencies the territories of over twenty peoples"<sup>81</sup>. With the progressive development of feudalism, "the land of Rus'", as well as the current Russian state, gradually lost its unity". In V.T. Pashuto's opinion, the first crack was seen already in 1026, and in the years 1034-1054 and 1097 "the princely domain" was divided into three parts. It was joined together again during the reign of Volodymyr Monomakh (1113-1125)<sup>82</sup>, however this was followed by the "partitioning".

The dependence of the various territories of the realm on Rus' were of different forms. The social-economic conditions were also varied, as well as the interests of individual lands, which were often separated from one another by thousands of kilometres over a surface area of over 800,000 sq. km. inhabited by various peoples. Already in 970, before Sviatoslav went on his last military campaign against the Balkans, he divided power among his sons:

78. Karl Marx: *Secret Diplomatic History of the Eighteenth Century*. London 1899, p. 76.

79. V.T. Pashuto: "Cherty politicheskogo stroya Drevney Rusi" (Characteristics of the Political Order of Ancient Rus'). In: *Drevnerusskoye gosudarstvo i ego mezhdunarodnoye znachenie*. Moscow 1965, p. 15.

80. *PSRL*, Vol. I, pp. 297, 413.

81. V.T. Pashuto: "Cherty. . .", op. cit., pp. 73-74.

82. *Ibid.*, p. 74.



Yaropolk was to rule in Kyiv; Oleh in the land of the Derevlians; and Volodymyr in Novgorod<sup>83</sup>. In 988 Volodymyr did the same. Each son received his own principality<sup>84</sup>, of which there was already a dozen.

The dependencies in the north, in particular Novgorod, constantly attempted to become independent, no matter which prince resided there. Volodymyr's son, Yaroslav, did not even want to pay tribute to Kyiv (that is, to his father). The territory to the east of Novgorod, namely today's central Russia (including Moscow), was still sparsely populated. The inhabitants of this territory were mainly Ugro-Finns and not Slavs.

In the northern part of the empire, that is, on the territory of present-day Russia, during the time of the christianisation of Kyiv, there existed only the principality of Novgorod, which was to a greater or lesser extent dependent on Kyiv. Only the following towns existed in this region: Novgorod, Pskov, Ladoga, Izborsk, Beloozero and Rostov. No Russia existed there yet. The towns which later became the nucleus for the formation of the Muscovite state and Russia, arose only later: Suzdal in 1024<sup>85</sup>, Vladimir on the Kliazma in 1108 (first mentioned in the Chronicle under the year 1116)<sup>86</sup>, and Moscow in 1147<sup>87</sup>.

The Kyivan empire reached its heyday during the reign of Yaroslav the Wise (1019-1054). He behaved like an emperor and after his death an inscription was made in the St. Sophia Cathedral about the death of "our tsar" (at this time the Byzantine emperors were called tsars and that is why Constantinople was called "Tsarhorod" — the city of the emperors)<sup>88</sup>. Like his father Volodymyr, Yaroslav had to reckon with the constant strivings of the individual colonies of the empire for independence. Therefore, he divided the empire among his sons, hoping that the unity of the princely dynasty would help in keeping the unity of the empire.

"So, one can assume", says I.M. Shekera quite rightly, "that Kyivan Rus' was actually divided between Yaroslav's three sons, which is very reminiscent of the division of Charlemagne's empire by the Treaty of Verdun in 843 among his grandsons: Lothar, Louis the German and Charles the Bald"<sup>89</sup>. The short reign of Volodymyr Monomakh (1113-1125), who managed to spread his power over a great part of the empire, but not over the whole of the realm, did not halt the natural process of the development of the future independent states.

The Kyivan empire was divided into separate independent states (princi-

83. *PSRL*, Vol. I, p. 69.

84. *Ibid.*, p. 121.

85. *Ibid.*, p. 147; Vol. II, p. 172.

86. *Ukrayinska Radyanska Encyclopedia* (Ukrainian Soviet Encyclopedia). Vol. II, Kyiv 1960, p. 511; *PSRL*, Vol. II, p. 283.

87. *Ibid.*, p. 339.

88. B.A. Rybakov: *Pervye veka russkoy istoriyi* (The First Centuries of Russian History). Moscow 1964, p. 83.

89. I.M. Shekera: *Mizhnarodni. . .*, op. cit., p. 143.



palities) in the years 1132-1135. Of course, the principality of Kyiv continued to exist, but it began to lose its importance, especially after the invasion of Prince Yuriy Dolgorukiy of Suzdal. Just like the other principalities in the north, the principality of Rostov-Suzdal (in Russian historiography — the principality of Vladimir-Suzdal) also separated itself in 1132-1135 and became independent. In 1169, the army of Prince Yuriy Dolgorukiy of Suzdal, made up of soldiers from Rostov, Vladimir and Suzdal, undertook a campaign against Kyiv and destroyed it in a terrible way. For two days they plundered churches and the population; they stole all the wealth, icons, church bells; they set the town and churches on fire, and took women into captivity, tearing them away from their children<sup>90</sup>. The centre of Rus' was transferred to the land of Galicia, more precisely, the Galician-Volynian principality. Under the year 1201, the Chronicle refers to the ruler of Galicia-Volynia, Prince Roman, as "the self-ruler of the whole of Rus'"<sup>91</sup>. After the Tartar invasion of Kyiv in 1240, the principality of Kyiv disintegrated completely. The Galician-Volynian principality remained in existence until 1349-1352.

Thus, the principality of Rostov-Suzdal became independent in the years 1132-1135. In 1147, that is 159 years after the christianisation of Kyiv, the town of Moscow, around which the vassal dependency of the Muscovite principality was formed, arose on the territory of this independent state. At the end of the 13th century (therefore, nearly three centuries after the christianisation of Kyiv) the principality of Muscovy became independent. However, this independence occurred during a time of considerable dependence on the Mongol-Tartars. In the years 1300-1303 it began its expansion by gradually subjugating all of the neighbouring principalities in the north. This was the beginnings of Russia (the term "Rossiya" = Russia appeared at the end of the 15th century). Even Russian historians maintain that "the cradle of Great Russian [therefore, Russian] nationhood was the region of Rostov-Suzdal, on the foundations of which the Russian state [Muscovite Rus'] later arose"<sup>92</sup>.

(To be continued)

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90. PSRL, Vol. II, p. 545.

91. Ibid., p. 715.

92. *Voprosy formirovaniya russkoy narodnosti i natsiyi* (Problems of the development of the Russian People and Nation). Moscow 1958, p. 176.

## THE CHRISTIAN HERITAGE OF UKRAINE



The icon of Our Lady of Vyzhhorod, taken from Vyzhhorod near Kyiv by Andrei Bogolyubskiy, Prince of Vladimir and Suzdal, after sacking Kyiv in 1169.  
Now known as "Our Lady of Vladimir".



Detail of an icon from Yaroslavl, end of the 12th c.

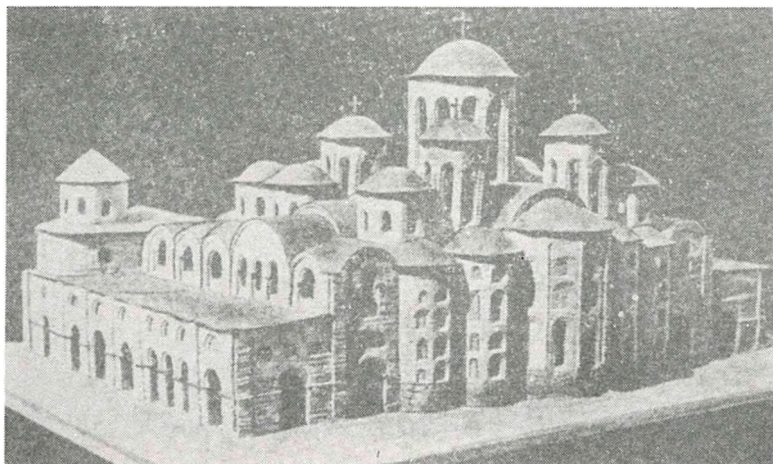


Cathedral of the Assumption, Monastery of the Caves in Kyiv, 1073-1078.  
Destroyed in 1941.





**Reconstruction of the Tithe Church in Kyiv,  
end of the 10th c.**



**Reconstruction of the original aspect of the  
Cathedral of St. Sophia in Kyiv.**



Mosaic from the central altar of the Cathedral of St. Sophia in Kyiv, 11th c.



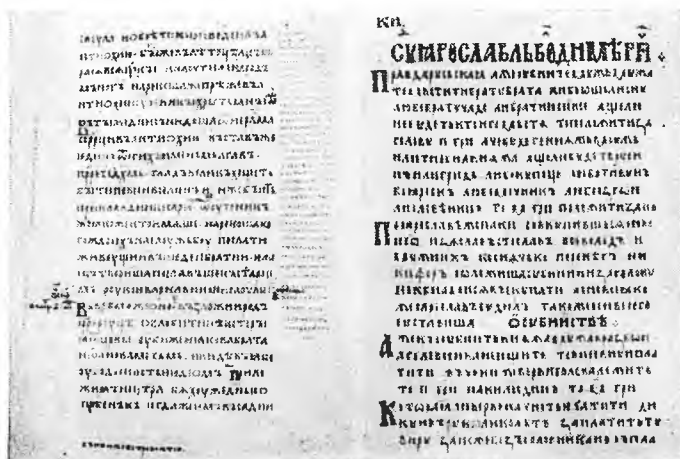


Mosaic from the central cupola of the Cathedral of St. Sophia in Kyiv, 11th c.

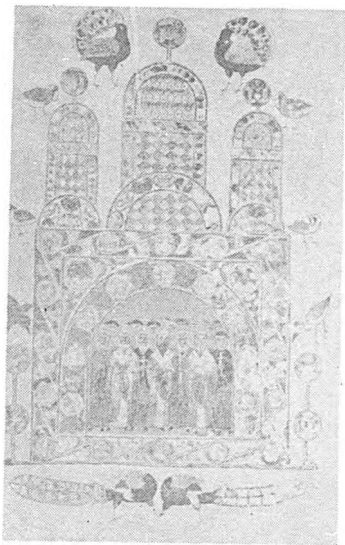


ВѢДОМОЕ  
НАПИСАННОЕ  
ГЛАГОЛИМЪ  
АТНИМЪ  
РЯГОМЪ  
ГОРЬСКОГО  
НА  
БОГЪ

Titular page of the Rus'ka Pravda (The Rus' Law)  
written by Prince Yaroslav the Wise.



Pages from the Rus'ka Pravda.



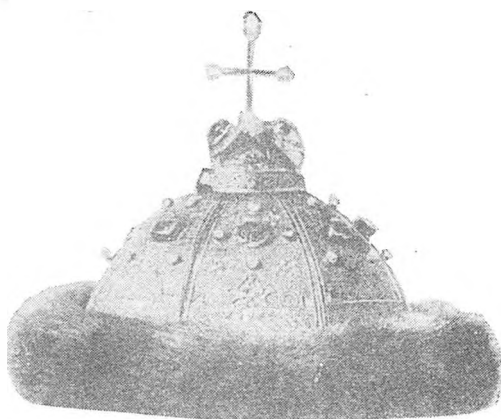
**Miniature from the Izbornyk (reference book) of Sviatoslav, 1073.**



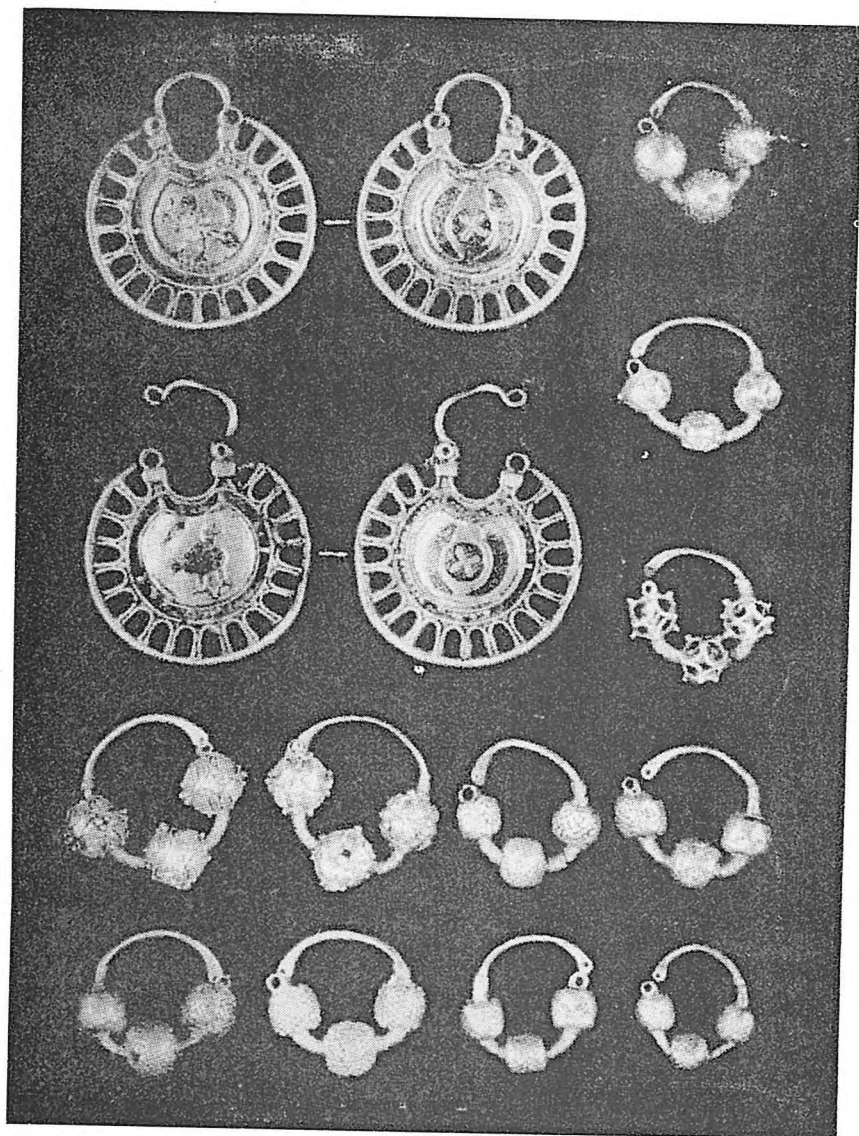
**Miniature from the Ostromyr Gospel, 1056-1057.**



**Helmet of a Kyivan Prince, 11th-12th c.**



**Crown of Prince Volodymyr Monomakh, 12th-13th c.**



Golden jewellery of the Kyivan Rus' period. Treasure found in Kyiv in 1955.

G. LUZHNYTSKYI

## THE RUSSIAN PERSECUTION OF THE UKRAINIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH

### I. Struggles for the Establishment of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church

In the memoirs of the Metropolitan of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, Vasyl Lypkivskyi, entitled *The Rebirth of the Church in Ukraine 1917-1930*, one can read the following:

"The very day of the 27th of February 1917 was the day which all-in-all began a new era in the history of the Ukrainian people and the Ukrainian Church. On that day the Russian revolution began and washed away the entire old state and government system. . . . The Ukrainian Church, after lying in a Russian coffin for more than two hundred years, rose from that coffin opened its eyes and saw enormous changes in the world. . . . The Ukrainian Church saw that, under new world circumstances, it must be neither a state Church nor a nationalised one, that it can be separated from the state, and that it can occupy such a position in the world that no other organisation could ever pretend to take. The Church of Christ must at that crucial time recollect Christ's commandments and return to Him; it must become again a heavenly kingdom on earth, and a kingdom not of this world"<sup>1</sup>.

In consequence of such a fundamental directive in the development of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, Metropolitan Vasyl Lypkivskyi posed the following three demands:

1. Freedom, autocephalous faculties and independence of the Church from any foreign church organism;
2. Popular synodal faculty and brotherhood of all the faithful in matters of the Church and its leadership; and
3. Full and complete apolitical nature of the Church with no State intervention in Church affairs, and its complete separation from the State.

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1. V. Lypkivskyi, *Vidrodzhennia tserkvy v Ukraini 1917-30*, Toronto, 1959, p. 11; also "U 60-richcha Vidrodzhennia Pravoslavnoyi Tserkvy v Ukraini", *Ameryka*, Philadelphia, February 10, 1979, No. 18. B. Bociurkiw, "The Orthodox Church in Ukraine since 1917", *Ukraine, A Concise Encyclopedia*, Toronto, 1971, Vol. II, pp. 167-177; V. Lypkivskyi, *Istoria Ukrainiskoyi Pravoslavnoyi Tserkvy*, Winnipeg, 1961, Chapter VII; *Vidrodzhennia Ukrainiskoyi Tserkvy*.

Yet, in order to enable the Ukrainian Orthodox Church to realise its ideas and plans and to carry on a normal existence and development, some external conditions such as: freedom of worship and conscience; non-interference by the State; freedom of printing, expression and assembly were necessary and indispensable; and, in general, all those conditions, which have been considered as proper faculties of every modern contemporary and civilised nation and demanded by every contemporary free society<sup>2</sup>.

One may erroneously assume that these kinds of demands, expressed by the clergy through its leader in 1917, might have been an immediate and only outgrowth of the revolution, or of the revolutionary moods in the Russian Empire, in 1917-1919. However, if one were to pay closer attention to the contemporary state of affairs in the Orthodox Church in Ukraine, one would notice that already at the beginning of the 20th century, that is immediately after the revolutionary developments in 1905-1906 in Russia, a general opposition to the Over-Procurator's regime in the Church was increasing and the endeavours to reintroduce the patriarchal structure, which was eliminated by Tsar Peter I, were gaining popularity that reflected itself in the ecclesiastical developments in Ukraine as well<sup>3</sup>.

The clergy and faithful alike, including all of the Ukrainian eparchies (dioceses) and the Kyivan Metropolitanate, demanded the convocation of the so-called All-Russian Church Sobor (Council), which had not met for more than two hundred years. Until 1917 there was no independent Orthodox Church in Ukraine in the framework of the Russian Empire of those days, while the clergy and faithful, in their thinking and demands, were only divided ideologically into conservatives and progressives. In both ideological wings there were Russians and Ukrainians. There was yet no division on the basis of national and ethnical point of view — Russian demands being different from Ukrainian ones.

In other words, the former "existence of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church as a national Church of the Ukrainian people was forgotten even among the Ukrainians themselves"<sup>4</sup>. Ukrainian church tradition was preserved only in part in the subconscious of the masses. Among the Ukrainian clergy, however, it was not preserved at all. The majority of the contemporary clergy of Ukraine was not even aware of and did not remember the national past of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church. This was a consequence of persistent oppression by the Russian Holy Synod and the St. Petersburg government by means of a ruthless Russification of the Church of Ukraine for more than two hundred years, since its incorporation into the Moscow Patriarchate in 1685.

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2. Lypkivskiy, *Vidrodzhennia Tserkvy*, p. 13; also N. Polonska-Vasylenko, *Istorični Pidvalyny UAPTs*, Rome, 1962; Mytrofan Yevdas, *Ukrainska Autokefalna Pravoslavna Tserkva 1921-1936. Dokumenty dla Istoriyi UAPTs*, Munich, 1956.

3. I. Vlasovskiy, *Narys Istoriyi Ukrainiskoyi Pravoslavnoyi Tserkvy*, New York, 1961, Vol. IV, 1, 7.

4. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, 1, 6.

Russians were appointed bishops and metropolitans. The Ukrainian language and traditions were eradicated among the young seminarians for decades; Ukrainian patriots among the priests were either deported to the distant regions of Russia or persecuted. This was a deliberate Russian policy to extinguish all traces of Ukrainian national character in the Orthodox Church in Ukraine.

On the other hand, “following the contemporary liberal, socialist, atheist and secular trends in the empire, similar to those of the educated Russians, the educated Ukrainian social strata, the intelligentsia, generally held religion and church matters in contempt as ‘clericalism’ and ‘primitivism’”. From the 1860s until the Revolution of 1917, the Ukrainian national movement in the empire, mainly limited to the organisational life of the social classes and almost entirely divorced from the broad national masses of the Ukrainian population, led a struggle for the renewal of the Ukrainian language, literature, theatre and education. Yet, within that national cultural struggle, one could scarcely find any demands or polemics, or even references to the national character of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the Ukrainian people”<sup>5</sup>.

The Russification process was so deep and comprehensive at that time that, in the above-mentioned division within the Orthodox Church of Tsarist Russia between the “conservatives” and “progressives”, there were, obviously, as Metropolitan Vasyl Velychivskyi pointed out, Ukrainians and Russians, and no references were made to any separate national faculties of individual Churches of the separate nationalities, too long oppressed and dominated by the Tsarist Russian regime<sup>6</sup>. However, at the same time as the revolutionary feelings against the despotic government rule in the Russian Empire were arising, an opposition to the serf-like status of the Church in relation to the Tsarist regime was also growing. These revolutionary tendencies in the ecclesiastical domain were increasing continually since 1906, and, in particular, since the announcement of the convocation of the All-Russian Church Council. To meet the challenge, the so-called *Peredsobornoye Prysustvie* (Pre-councilar Preparatory Commission), composed of a number of committees was established and most prominent theologians, church historians, professors of theological schools and seminaries, various outstanding secular and church activists of Tsarist Russia of that time were called to serve on these committees. The meetings of the membership of the committees and the plenary session of the whole commission agreed unanimously that ecclesiastical reform in the Russian Empire was inevitable, while the possible directives for the reform were intensely debated<sup>7</sup>. The so-called “conservative” group, numerically larger, was thoroughly loyal to the preservation of an all-Russian Church, meaning its complete “indivisibility” (*nedilymostvo*). The group

5. Ibid.

6. V. Lypkivskyi, *Vidrodzhennia Tserkvy*, *ibid.*, pp. 14-15.

7. The papers and debates were published in 6 volumes as appendices to *Tserkovni Vidomosti*.



opposed the Holy Synod and Over-Procurator system of state control, and demanded only the reintroduction of the Moscow Patriarchate. The conservative wing was headed by the Russian Archbishop of Volyn, Antonyi (Khrypovyt'skiy), a well-known fanatic of Tsarist Orthodoxy and an uncompromising enemy of Ukrainians and their national and cultural rebirth.

The second group, the "progressives", to which Vasyl Lypkivskyi, an archpriest at that time, also belonged, demanded universality in the Church structure. They called for a dorm of universality rising from below, from the first cell of the church structure, the parish, up to the supreme church authority, the Council of Archbishops.

Following the military and other conventions, held as a result of the revolutionary moods and tendencies of 1917, the urban clergy and part of the educated social strata in Ukraine began to raise ecclesiastical issues in every eparchy of the land. Regardless of the fact that, as a consequence of the said two-hundred-year-old Russification of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church by St. Petersburg most of the clergy and most of the bishops were Muscovites not Ukrainians, eparchial conventions and meetings were held all over the country. "These conventions were extremely stormy" — as the archpriest Lypkivskyi wrote in his *Rebirth of the Church in Ukraine 1917-30*<sup>8</sup>, (he was also one of the initiators and organisers of those eparchial meetings and conventions) since it was the first time during the Russian era that the laity also participated in conventions of this nature. The laity compensated for the prolonged forced silence by violently expressing its dissatisfaction with deficiencies and the laxity of the clergy by which the faithful were hurt the most. As a result of these stormy debates and meetings, according to Lypkivskyi, two leading ideas were formed: firstly, that a new more realistic order of affairs must be created in the eparchies and parishes; and secondly, that the Ukrainian eparchies could no longer remain separated from each other; but that an all-Ukrainian Orthodox authority must be established to comprise the whole Ukrainian Church, and that it could only be an All-Ukrainian Church Council.

Then, following suite to revolutionary developments of the time, marked by the formation of the so-called "Executive Committees in the framework of various institutions, organisations, associations and corporations", during one of the meetings in Kyiv, the people present formed the so-called "Executive Committee of the Clergy and Faithful of the City of Kyiv", constituting "progressive" clergymen, as the representatives of the clergy, professors of the Theological Seminary and the University, as well as the faithful.

The eparchial meetings took place in all eparchies of Ukraine, whether the particular bishop approved or not. Yet, all these meetings, according to historian I. Vlasovskiy, initially had an "all-Russian character", and the idea of a Ukrainian ecclesiastical movement was at first not accepted at that time<sup>9</sup>.

8. Lypkivskyi, op. cit., p. 15.

9. Ibid., Vol. IV, 1, 11.

Nobody thought yet of any independence for the Orthodox Church of Ukraine, although politically a Ukrainian “revolution” had already begun. This showed the enormous effects of two hundred years of Russification carried out by St. Petersburg using the Russian Orthodox Church in Ukraine as a tool of Tsarist imperialist policies to dominate this country more effectively through faith and conscience.

An example of this pro-Russian indoctrination was the request of the said “Executive Committee of the Clergy and Faithful of the city of Kyiv” that the Kyivan Metropolitan Vladimir grant his approval and blessing to its meetings. After the Metropolitan refused to comply with the request, the “Executive Committee” ignored the move of this representative of the Russian Church, a man alien to Ukraine through his Russian ethnicity and thinking, and turned to the Over-Procurator of the Holy Synod, V.N. Lvov, the last in history, in St. Petersburg. The Over-Procurator then gave his blessing. So deep was the Russification and indoctrination. Needless to say, nothing would have been legal without Russian consent, as Rev. P. Korsunovskiy pointed out in his memoirs. Metropolitan Vladimir was born in the in the Tambov *gubernia* of Russia, and could never accept the reality that the Ukrainians were not Russians, but a separate nationality.

The unfriendliness or even extreme hostility of the Russian hierarchy towards the Ukrainian clergy was openly manifested during the eparchial convention, which took place at Easter 1917. During the said meeting Rev. E. Botvynskiy suggested that the convention should be called the First Ukrainian Convention of the Kyivan region. During the vote on the name to be adopted, Russian delegates left the convention in order to underscore their protest and opposition. Subsequently, despite Russian protests, the Convention adopted a resolution about the future convocation of an All-Ukrainian Church Council of Clergy and Faithful. At the same time, a commission was formed for this purpose, headed by the Auxiliary Bishop of the Kyivan Metropolitanate, Dymytriy (Verbytskyi), Bishop of Uman — a Ukrainian. A rebirth of the Ukrainian Church was taking place.

In his memoirs, Rev. P. Korsunovskiy wrote that at that time, it was intended to restore the ancient rights of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church and to establish its autonomy. . . the autocephalous status of the Church was then not yet in mind, and the political idea of Ukraine’s sovereignty was not yet ripe at that early stage. At that time, the idea that, after the collapse of Tsardom, the Ukrainian and Russian people could and would live in brotherly harmony in a free Russian state prevailed<sup>10</sup>.

This was a tragic political misunderstanding. The cause of the misunderstanding, which advocated a harmonious life of both nations at that time, arose out of the complete ignorance of the Ukrainian clergy with respect to

10. “Tserkovnyi Rukh na Ukraini v Pershi Roky Revolutsiyi”, *Dnipro*, a periodical, 1925, as quoted according to Vlasovskiy, *ibid.* Vol. IV., 1, 13-14.

the history of the Ukrainian Church, on the one hand, and a complete underestimation of the spiritual value of the Church by the Ukrainian secular, political and social activists and leaders, on the other. Even today some clergymen refer to the union between the Russian and Ukrainian Orthodox Churches at the end of the 17th century, not realising that, in reality, this was a humiliation of the Ukrainian Church and its complete domination by the Russian one. Some of these clergymen have not even heard about the martyrology of Ukraine and her Church under the oppression of Russian occupation and terror.

The above-mentioned misunderstanding and erroneous estimation of the circumstances influenced the commission for the convocation of an All-Ukrainian Church Council, elected by the Kyivan eparchial convention, to request the Russian Synod, in June 1917, for permission to convoke a Sobor in Kyiv, which would be composed of the delegates of the Ukrainian clergy and faithful of the Ukrainian eparchies; nine of them in all: the Kyivan, Volynian, Kamianets-Podolian, Chernihivian, Poltavian, Kharkivian, Khersonian, Katerynoslavian and Kholmian. The answer of the Russian Synod was, of course, a negative one, as Metropolitan Vasyl asserted, supposedly "because it was not necessary to convoke a Ukrainian Council, as in August [1917] an All-Russian Council would be held in Moscow"<sup>11</sup>.

It was an interesting development in the whole affair. The head of the Russian Synod was, at the time, Metropolitan Platon (Rozhdestvenskiy). The Synod was appointed by the provisional government in new composition, after the pre-revolutionary one was dissolved<sup>12</sup>. Metropolitan Platon was head of the Georgian Church exarchate prior to the February Revolution in the Russian Empire. Yet, immediately after the abdication of Tsar Nicholas II, in the first days of March, the Georgians proclaimed the sovereignty of their exarchate and its complete independence from Moscow. Metropolitan Platon was imprisoned and the Georgian Autocephalous Orthodox Church came into being. It was more than a century since Russia conquered the Caucasus and annexed the Georgian Church by force into the official Russian Church organisation.

The provisional government and the Russian Synod, appointed by this government, had no other choice but to concede and to officially recognise the Georgian Autocephalous Orthodox Church. Once the recognition was granted, the Georgian government released Metropolitan Platon from prison. Platon then came to St. Petersburg and was appointed head of the Russian Synod. It is sadly ironic that the commission from Ukraine asked Metropolitan Platon to approve the convocation of an All-Ukrainian Church Council on Ukrainian soil. The answer was negative. What could one have expected from a Russian chauvinist? However, the Ukrainians desperately tried to preserve ecclesiastical legality in their undertaking.

11. Vlasovskyi, *ibid.*, IV, 1, 15.

12. Lypkivskyi, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

Referring to this incident, the historian of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, I. Vlasovskiy, pointed out that "the Georgian case did not teach the leadership of the Russian Church anything"<sup>13</sup>. Yet, it must be underscored, the Russian case was not as important. What was much more important was that the Georgian affair did not teach the leaders of the Ukrainian Church and its Ukrainian bishops as for example Bishop Dymytriy (Verbytskyi) of Uman, anything either. They all witnessed the complete disintegration of the Russian Empire and Russian domination, and still vacillated as to how to act, trying to preserve the "legality" of their ecclesiastic move. Like the Georgians, they should have taken their fate into their own hands and disregarded the chauvinist Russian attitude altogether. But only Archpriest Vasyl Lypkivskiy, a true patriot of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church who subsequently became its first Metropolitan and martyr, believed in the sovereign rebirth of his Church.

In the autumn of 1917, the Ukrainian units of the tsarist armed forces began to separate themselves from the Russian ones. Military conventions were staged. At the third All-Ukrainian Military Convention in the second half of October 1917, a resolution about the sovereignty of Ukraine, as well as a resolution about the independence of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church from Moscow — that is a resolution about the formation of a Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church — were adopted.

In order to put these resolutions into practice, it was decided to create an All-Ukrainian Orthodox Church Council, the VPTsR. The membership of this Council would include: 1) representatives of the nationally-conscious Ukrainian clergy; 2) delegates of Ukrainian military formations; and 3) delegates from various Ukrainian organisations and associations. A Constituent Assembly was called in November, after the government of independent Ukraine, the Ukrainian Central Rada, proclaimed its Third Universal, proposing a federation with Russia.

This Constituent Assembly, attended by delegates elected during the previously held Kyivan Eparchial Convention and the Third Military Convention, and by delegates from Ukrainian organisations and associations created the VPTsR. Altogether, there were thirty co-opted organisers of the All-Ukrainian Orthodox Church Council. Rev. Oleksander Marychiv, a military chaplain, was elected the head of the Council, while Col. Tsvichynskiy became the deputy-head. Bishop Dymytriy of Uman was the only one out of the whole Kyivan hierarchy (a metropolitan and four bishops) who "was not only of Ukrainian descent, but also, at times, manifested himself as a Ukrainian"<sup>14</sup>. Yet, he refused to head the Council, and became its honorary head. Therefore, the military representatives on the Council turned to Archbishop Oleksiy (Dorodnytsyn) who was living in retirement in the Pecherska Lavra, the ancient Monastery of the Caves in Kyiv. Archbishop Oleksiy was an honest man, a Ukrainian patriot and a vehement preacher, who gained the friend-

13. Vlasovskiy, op. cit.

14. Ibid., 1, 16.

ship of the military circles. With the Archbishop's assistance, the Council began energetic preparatory work for convening the Church Council (Sobor)<sup>15</sup>.

At the first meeting of the VPTsR, a resolution that the All-Ukrainian Church Sobor should decide about the ultimate constitution of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church: whether in the future it should be (according to the old pattern) subjected to the supremacy of Moscow, or whether it should become an autonomous Church under the Moscow Patriarch's supervision, or a fully independent autocephalous Church of Ukraine, was passed unanimously.

Meanwhile, an All-Russian Church Sobor, held between November 5-18, 1917, re-established the Moscow Patriarchate, and elected Archbishop Tikhon the new Moscow Patriarch according to its own resolution of October 28 of that year. The same historical error was committed once again in the history of the Ukrainian Church — "brotherly attitude" towards the Muscovite Church and the search for "legitimacy". Some members of the VPTsR resolved to send a delegation to the newly-elected Patriarch Tikhon, to explain to him the state of church affairs in Ukraine and ask him to bless the convocation of the Ukrainian Church Sobor. The delegation, headed by Rev. O. Marychiv, left Kyiv in late November for Moscow. From the report of Rev. Marychiv it can be concluded that, for the sake "of peace in the Church", Tikhon blessed the convocation of the All-Ukrainian Sobor, and promised to send a patriarchal delegation to Kyiv with a written document of approval. Later developments indicated, however, that his oral blessing was simply a "whitewash" to mislead the Ukrainians<sup>16</sup>.

Subsequently, a Russian Orthodox delegation, composed of Metropolitan Platon, E. Trubetskoy, Prince and Professor of Moscow University, N. Kotlarevskiy, Rev. O. Botvinskyi and a teacher from the Kyivan Mirovych Educational Institution actually arrived in the Ukrainian capital. Yet, after four days of deliberations, Metropolitan Platon declared that because the Ukrainian Orthodox Church had been an integral part of the Russian Church no autonomy for the Ukrainian Church would be permitted, and advised the dissolution of the VPTsR as it was illegal. This was the end of the "brotherly attitude" of the All-Ukrainian Orthodox Church to the Russian Church. The personal and oral promise to grant a "document of blessing" of Patriarch Tikhon remained a promise never fulfilled. This became yet another historical incident showing the supposedly "friendly consensus of the Ukrainian and Russian peoples".

Nevertheless, the work of the All-Ukrainian Orthodox Church Council continued, due to efforts of such outstanding individuals as Archpriest (later Metropolitan and martyr) Vasyl Lypkivskyi and his followers. Having, at least in part, sobered up from their intoxication with the supposed "brotherly at-

15. Lypkivskyi, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

16. Vlasovskyi, *op. cit.*, 1, 16-17.

titude" towards the Moscow Church, the UPTsR selected December 28, 1917, for convening the All-Ukrainian Church Sobor. However, not all delegates could arrive on that very day and so the Sobor began on January 7, 1918. Four hundred delegates, of whom about one hundred were representatives of the Ukrainian armed forces, assembled.

Immediately before the opening of the first session of the Sobor, a rather unpleasant incident took place. The Russian Metropolitan Platon suspended Archbishop Oleksiy (Dorodnytsyn) in the name of Patriarch Tikhon, and thus eliminated him from any participation in the Council. Rev. Lypkivskyi underscored, quite rightly, that it was a Russian-motivated move to harass the Sobor by removing its potential head<sup>17</sup>.

But, the Sobor could not debate for long. After it was organised internally and various commissions had been formed, war broke out. The Red armies moved against Kyiv and the Ukrainian government, the Central Rada, had to leave the capital. The deliberations of the Sobor were adjourned on January 23, 1918. A year passed, and finally, after matters had stabilised somewhat, the autocephaly or sovereignty of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church was proclaimed and the Autocephalous Ukrainian Church Synod was formed.

O. Lototskyi, church historian and minister of religious beliefs in the Hetman government in 1918, wrote the following remarks in his article "Ignored":

"The great ideological uplift of the Revolutionary era did not, however, inspire the Ukrainian intelligentsia to comprehend the importance of the religious and ecclesiastical matters. On the contrary, our intelligentsia separated itself from those new and vital trends which aimed at the rebirth of Ukrainian church traditions, which were deeply rooted in the historical past of the people and suited their national spirituality. . . .The political circles in those days were neither aware of their rights nor their responsibilities in ecclesiastical matters. . . .Having granted the foreign episcopal authority all rights and powers of a state government, Ukrainian politicians, have thus given up indispensable supervision over foreign church authority. They handed down complete freedom and possibility to misuse that power, ultimately to the detriment of Ukrainian national interests, to that hostile force"<sup>18</sup>.

## II. Two Directions in the Persecution of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church by the Soviet Russian Government

Taking full advantage of the ignorance of the Ukrainian intelligentsia in church matters, as was pointed out before, and even of the hostility towards the Church of some political leaders of these socialistically-indoctrinated strata, such as V. Vynnychenko, the Soviet Russian regime applied the first measure in its persecution of the Ukrainian Church. It successfully destroyed

17. Lypkivskyi, op. cit., p. 18.

18. *Tryzub*, Paris, 1927. No. 12.

internal unity among those who endeavoured to establish an independent and sovereign Ukrainian Church. This was actually the first step towards its complete annihilation. The "autocephalists" were branded as "nationalists" (later "bourgeois nationalists") and discord was planted among them.

According to the plans of the Soviet Russian regime and with the full authority of the Soviet secret police (then called the GPU), in May 1923, the so-called "Living Church" or "Synodal" (Conciliar) Church, with married bishops, was created. Its main purpose was to prevent any independent Ukrainian Orthodox Church from arising or existing separately from the Russian one. In this way the Moscow government intended to capture "souls" for the Russian cause<sup>19</sup>. Moreover, in March 1926, this Bolshevik inspired church organisation received permission from the regime to establish its own theological seminary. After a short period of time this Church had some 8 million followers and 33 eparchies (including Russia and Ukraine)<sup>20</sup>. Several other church denominations, organised *ad hoc*, equally contributed to the disruption of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in the 1920s. For example, the so-called "Active" or "Diyeva" Church or the "Synod of the Bishops of Ukraine" with Archbishop Yonnikiy as its head was established in Kharkiv. Other smaller Orthodox denominations were also created. The chaos was increased by the machinations of the secret police. Nevertheless, according to source materials and documents of that time, the struggle of the Ukrainian Church for its liberation produced a significant spiritual and moral uplifting, and defeated religious indifference towards the Church of Christ and outright atheism. The Christians, who were earlier unconcerned with the divine cause, became increasingly more interested in and aware of religious matters during the liberation<sup>21</sup>. The trend was particularly manifested among the educated and semi-educated Ukrainian people, who during pre-revolutionary times were indifferent or hostile towards religion in general, largely due to their political activities in Tsarist Russia. Because of their conversion to God and religion, the national and patriotic elements in the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church were of great significance<sup>22</sup>.

This very national awareness and religious concern was the reason for the implementation of Moscow's second measure towards the official and complete liquidation of the Church in Ukraine. In addition to spreading the word of God, the Ukrainian Church intended to be a Ukrainian Church for Ukrainians. In that Church the Ukrainian faithful tried to satisfy their spiritual needs and to look for Christ, fully conscious of the fact that it was not a state institution or the tool of either the Russian or the Ukrainian state. Moscow did not want this to happen<sup>23</sup>.

19. Vlasovskiy, op. cit., Vol. IV, No. 1, p. 154.

20. *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Vol. V., *Ukraine*, ct. 1341, Tuebingen.

21. *Tserkva i Zhyttia*, 1927, No. 1, p. 9, quoted according to Vlasovskiy, op. cit., Vol. IV, 1, p. 228.

22. Vlasovskiy, *ibid*.

23. *Ibid*.

A state-planned destruction of the Ukrainian Church began in 1918 with the demolition of historical monuments and memorials of Christian Ukraine, along with the simultaneous arrests and deportations of leaders of church organisations, the prohibition of the publication of the journal of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, *Church and Life*, the closing down of theological schools and the compulsory reorganisation of the Pecherska Lavra monastery into a museum of Anti-Religious Activities. Subsequently, the first Metropolitan of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, V. Lypkivskiy, was forced to resign, imprisoned and exiled to die.

However, as a last measure, a new "Church Council" was organised in order to create some semblance of a "Ukrainian Church", externally, and to act through it and have some influence over the population of Ukraine, internally. This was done with the permission of the secret state police, the GPU. The Council was chaired by Archbishop Ivan Pavlovskiy, who was arrested in 1936 and exiled to Kazakhstan, where he died a martyr's death.

Beginning on November 17, 1930, new bishops were elected so that when the new Synod or Sobor, comprising 100 parochial representatives, took place on December 9-12, 1930, a new "Ukrainian Orthodox Church" with its own statutes, canons and the like, was created to replace the previous Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church<sup>24</sup>. This new organisation, a final attempt to create autocephaly within the Ukrainian Church, which was to have been headed by Archbishop Metropolitan Ivan Pavlovskiy, was quickly liquidated by the Bolshevik government in Moscow.

The bloody persecution of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church by the Soviet Russians, which resulted in the shooting or death during torture in prisons and concentration camps, of 24 bishops, over 2,000 priests and church activists and hundreds of thousands of faithful, was completed by 1936<sup>25</sup>.

At the same time, a ruthless and complete liquidation of monasteries and the demolition of church buildings including historical cemeteries, sometimes of invaluable artistic and historical value dating from the 12th to 17th century, took place throughout the whole of Ukraine. One of the eyewitnesses of the Russian-inspired destruction of the Ukrainian Church wrote: "It could be stated, that as a result of Soviet anti-religious policies and activities, already by 1937 all churches and religious orders were closed for good, while a majority of them were demolished"<sup>26</sup>. Only ruins remained of the churches and

24. H. Luzhnytskyi, *Ukrainska Tserkva mizh Skhodom i Zakhodom*, Philadelphia, 1954, p. 547.

25. Yevdas, op. cit.

26. M. Miller, "Znyshchennia Pravoslavnoyi Tserkvy Bolshevykamy", *Ukrainskyi Zbirnyk*, Munich, 1957, Bk 10; the same, "Bolshevik Persecution of the Orthodox Church in Ukraine", *The Ukrainian Review*, London, 1959, Vol. VII; H. Luzhnytskyi, "Bolshevytske peresliduvannia Pravoslavnoyi i Katolytskoyi Tserkvy v Ukraini", *Zbirnyk Materialiv Naukovoyi Konferentsiyi K. NTSh, v Oboroni Ukrainskoyi Kulury i Narodu*, Toronto, 1966, pp. 135-148; T. Hewryk, "Vtracheni arkhitekturni pamiatky Kyieva", *Ukrainskyi Muzey*, New York, 1982.



there was virtually nothing left of the memorials of Ukraine's past and the highly-developed culture of her people.

This was the fundamental task of the Soviet Russian authorities in their fight against Christianity and "bourgeois-nationalism". It was necessary so that the new generations of the Ukrainian people would not see and become acquainted with the great religious, historical and cultural monuments created by the past generations of old Ukraine which could, and would, build up their national awareness and patriotism. It was the only way the Soviet Russians could carry on their ruthless propaganda that there had never been any Ukrainian culture in the past, and that whatever is cultural, is the sole product of Russian and Soviet cultural achievements. A similar destruction of other Christian and non-Christian religious shrines and secular monuments by Moscow was also carried out among other non-Russian nationalities.

According to most historians, 1937 is the year of the climax and completion of the liquidation of the organisation and jurisdiction of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, and the appearance of an illegal "underground" or "catacomb" Ukrainian Orthodox Church<sup>27</sup>.

It appeared that, from now on, only the Russian cross or the Soviet-Russian star would dominate Ukraine. However, the ways of Divine Providence are mysterious, for the Ukrainian Catholic Church of Galicia and Transcarpathia, in Western Ukraine, continued to defend the rights of the Ukrainian nation until 1946. Today, it too, operates as an underground Church and through common suffering, the spirit of unity and ecumenism may yet lead to the existence of the Ukrainian Church, independent of all foreign intervention, in the future.

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27. Rev. D. Burko, Rev. F. Heier, Rev. P. Korsunovskyi and others, as quoted by Vlasovskyi, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, 1, p. 326; G. Luzhnytskyi, "The Persecution of the Ukrainian Church by the Soviet Russian Regime", *World Congress of Free Ukrainians*, New York, 1972.

Eugene KACHMARSKY

Ucrainica Research Institute

## THE NATIONALITY FACTOR IN THE SOVIET ARMED FORCES: TWO PERSPECTIVES

The multinational composition of the Soviet armed forces has been a characteristic long recognised both by Soviet leaders and by Western analysts of Soviet politics. The relativity of this characteristic to the effectiveness of the Soviet armed forces is a subject that has only recently been examined. This is due to an almost complete lack of information relating to the subject in the Soviet media and in specialised sources, except on a polemical and ideological level<sup>1</sup>.

The significance of the nationalities factor in the Soviet armed forces can no longer remain an unexplored question, if Soviet military policy is to be correctly assessed. The increased significance of the nationalities factor is due to the overall demographic trends in Soviet population growth — trends indicating that the non-Russian population in the USSR is growing at a much faster rate than the Russian. “. . . In addition to other problems, Soviet military planners face the prospect that by 1995, more than one-half of the conscriptable cohort will be non-Russian”<sup>2</sup>. Until now, the Russians have been the dominant nationality in the armed forces as well as in the USSR as a whole. The rapid increase in the non-Russian population means that this dominant role can be threatened in the future.

### The Soviet Perspective

In the Soviet perspective, the armed forces are seen as a mirror image of society as a whole, and as a model for that society, but also as the best educational institution for bringing up the individual with a Soviet world view. The elimination of national differences in Soviet society is an effective method of ensuring loyalty to the common purpose of all peoples in the Soviet Union<sup>3</sup>. Subsequently, the armed forces become an instrument for achieving that goal.

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1. Alexander Alexiev and S. Enders Wimbush, *The Ethnic Factor in the Soviet Armed Forces: Historical Experience, Current Practices and Implications for the Future: An Executive Summary*, Santa Monica, California, Rand, 1983. p. 1.

2. Ibid, p. 11.

3. A.A. Grechko, *Voruzhenie Sily Sovetskogo Gosudarstva*, Moscow, Military Publishing House, 1975. p. 128.

"Our Armed Forces are the beloved offspring of the multinational Soviet people — a new social and historical community of people. . . . Representatives of all our great homeland's nations and nationalities, closely welded into an indestructible union, serve together in a single embodiment of socialist internationalism"<sup>4</sup>.

The doctrine of the armed forces is thus guided by the same principles which rule Soviet society<sup>5</sup>. The relationship between the armed forces and society is, therefore, a close-knit one.

As a result of this relationship, the Soviet perspective describes the character of the armed forces in the same light which it also considers in its description of Soviet society. According to the Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), adopted at the XXVIIth Congress, 1986, the nationalities in the Soviet Union have achieved a state of relations "on the basis of equality and fraternal cooperation"<sup>6</sup>. It continues by saying that the task of the CPSU is to ensure that national differences will not impede all "Soviet peoples" from developing a loyalty to one Soviet state and to a common goal of achieving a communist society<sup>7</sup>.

This view of the society is parallel to the way in which the Soviet perspective regards the armed forces. The relations of "fraternal cooperation" towards which Soviet leaders strive are also the goals of the armed forces. The development of such relations has resulted in armed forces whose character goes beyond that of a "national" army<sup>8</sup>. As in society, servicemen in the armed forces believe that their aim is not defined by any narrow, national interest, but by ". . . the interests not only primarily of the working class, but of the entire Soviet people. . . . Under the impact of developed social relations under mature socialism, the friendship and brotherhood among servicemen of different nationalities has grown to a far greater degree, and they have a more profound understanding of their internationalist duty"<sup>9</sup>.

Thus, the armed forces in the Soviet perspective are seen as a manifestation of the multinational character of Soviet society and the degree to which national differences have ceased being an obstacle to the achievement of a common purpose. They have been replaced by the acceptance of common socio-economic and political goals — goals that have become the aim of all people, regardless of national difference.

This description by the Soviet perspective may be more ideal than it is rea-

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4. *Current Digest of the Soviet Press*, Columbus, Ohio, American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, Vol. 30, No. 8, Mar. 22, 1978, p. 3.

5. *Ibid.*, Vol. 34, No. 50, Jan. 12, 1983, p. 5.

6. *Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, A New Edition*, Moscow, Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, 1986, p. 47.

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 47-48.

8. A.I. Sorokin, *The People's Army*, Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1985, p. 197, and also Grechko, *Voruzhenie*. . . , pp. 118-119.

9. Sorokin, *The People's*. . . , pp. 219, 226.

listic. Despite its constant reiteration of the virtues of its multinational armed forces, the Soviet perspective at the same time realises the problems inherent in this multinational nature.

One of the problems realised by the Soviet perspective is that of the language barrier. The Russian language is the language of communication in Soviet society as well as in the armed forces. Because all training, command and technology in the armed forces is in the Russian language, "... a fluent knowledge of the Russian language has become an objective necessity for every young person and an indispensable condition of distinguished service in the ranks of the Soviet army"<sup>10</sup>. This indicates that fluency in the Russian language is a prerequisite not only for the carrying out of orders, but for the advancement in rank as well. The higher the rank, the more contact with and necessity for the Russian language.

While the role of the Russian language in the armed forces is so important, the Soviet perspective admits that the teaching of Russian amongst the non-Russian nationalities is not satisfactory. Soviet sources admit that anyone who does not speak Russian "... has a hard time in the army"<sup>11</sup>. Non-Russian students in pre-induction education who display a knowledge of Russian are given special preference and opportunity to make a career in the armed forces, while those who do not speak Russian are rarely provided the opportunity to learn the language, let alone hope for advancement in rank<sup>12</sup>.

This leads to the conclusion that language poses a barrier to non-Russian servicemen not fluent in Russian. The result is the underrepresentation of non-Russians in officer or high-technology positions. While there is a realisation of this problem, all sources indicate that there is no strong effort by Soviet military planners to increase the Russian-language fluency among non-Russian servicemen. The converse seems to be true. The planners still believe that "... strict monitoring should be established to ensure that military instructors conduct all classes in elementary military training only in Russian"<sup>13</sup>. Thus, the non-Russian who is not fluent in the Russian language is at a disadvantage from the beginning of his military service.

A second problem recognised by the Soviet perspective is that posed by tensions or conflicts that arise due to national prejudice or bigotry. While one of the goals of military training is to inculcate the internationalist spirit amongst the nationalities, there are still problems existing due to the inability of military political education to eradicate national prejudice or bigotry<sup>14</sup>. While ideological works claim that no such problems exist in the Soviet armed forces<sup>15</sup>, other sources indicate that the problem does exist. "There have been in-

10. *CDSP*, Vol. 35, No. 42, Nov. 16, 1983, p. 22.

11. *Ibid*, Vol. 35, No. 22, Jun. 29, 1983, p. 1.

12. *Ibid*, p. 1.

13. *Ibid*, p. 1.

14. *Ibid*, Vol. 35, No. 46, Dec. 14, 1983, p. 13.

15. Grechko, *Voruzhenie*. . . , p. 118.

stances in the Army and Navy in which people's specific national characteristics have not been duly taken into account and certain nationalistic manifestations have not been properly combatted"<sup>16</sup>. The reason for this is described as the lack of satisfactory ideological indoctrination by armed forces political instructors. Military leaders realise this and have been forced to initiate more intense and effective education in the internationalist spirit to eliminate conflict stemming from prejudice and bigotry<sup>17</sup>.

Another problem considered by the Soviet perspective is that of the demographic trends affecting Soviet population growth. These trends (mentioned above) show no sign of changing in favour of the Russian population, meaning that the percentage of non-Russians (particularly Central Asians and Muslims) will continue to grow and eventually outnumber that of Russians in the Soviet armed forces<sup>18</sup>. Soviet sources express the concern that this growth will result in the loss of control over the non-Russian population by the Russian, and will have to result in a drastic change in policy regarding the nationalities in the armed forces<sup>19</sup>.

While the Soviet perspective praises the armed forces as a model of cooperation between the people of different nationalities, it also realises the threat that such a characteristic poses to the control of the nationalities by the Russian-dominated military authorities. The problem in discerning to what extent this fear shapes Soviet military policy lies in the lack of empirical information provided by Soviet sources, in the absence of which any conclusions must presently remain speculative and interpretative.

### The Western Perspective

While the Western perspective of the Soviet armed forces recognises its multinational character, it presents evidence that indicates the overestimation of the Soviet perspective in the cohesive nature of such a characteristic. The Western view maintains that despite Soviet claims of fostering a spirit of brotherhood among the nationalities in the armed forces, no visible practices exist in the Soviet armed forces which contribute to such an atmosphere<sup>20</sup>. The education and training processes, the language factor and the management of inter-nationality relations all seem to indicate that instead of acting as a cohesive instrument, the armed forces exacerbate the problems posed by their multinational nature.

The armed forces are seen not simply as an institution for the maintenance

16. *CDSP*, Vol. 35, No. 46, Dec. 14, 1983, p. 13.

17. *Ibid*, Vol. 34, No. 43, Nov. 24, 1982, p. 11 and also Vol. 37, No. 11, Apr. 10, 1985, p. 21.

18. *Ibid*, Vol. 35, No. 46, Dec. 14, 1983, p. 13.

19. Grechko, *Voruzhenie*. . . , pp. 129, 173.

20. Alexiev and Wimbush, *The Ethnic*. . . Summary, p. 9.

of national security, but also as the "school of the nation, and political education. . . and the training programmes are all designed to mould the multi-ethnic manpower into a unitary product"<sup>21</sup>. Rather than encourage cooperation among nationalities, the armed forces seek to eradicate any manifestations of national difference and to create a uniform society that is based on the Soviet-Russian model. Furthermore, the use of political socialisation to create this uniform state is not successful in eliminating feelings of national differentiation<sup>22</sup>. The non-Russian nationalities perceive the education process in the armed forces as an imposition of a foreign way of life at the expense of identification with one's own national background. Instead of causing the non-Russian nationalities to ignore their differences and recognise their common aim under socialism, armed forces service strengthens the identification of the nationalities with their own national backgrounds. Because of Russian discrimination against the other nationalities, the latter tend to band together in their armed forces units in order to combat the feeling of alienation created in a Russian-imposed atmosphere<sup>23</sup>.

Along with the education and training process, the language factor further exacerbates rather than alleviates the problem of the multinational character of the Soviet armed forces<sup>24</sup>. As stated above, Russian is the command and technological language of the Soviet armed forces. Any recruit wanting to adapt to the military atmosphere must therefore be fluent in the Russian language. Because all commands, education and training, and technology are in Russian, those servicemen merely forcing themselves through the two-year compulsory service must have at least a good command of the Russian language in order to obey and carry out orders. The large percentage of non-Russians who are not fluent in Russian would lead one to expect a programme for Russian-language education. Yet, rather than having a formal Russian-language programme, the military authorities depend on a forced Russian environment as the means of learning the Russian language<sup>25</sup>. Since all evidence indicates that this has not been effective, many non-Russian servicemen have limited effectiveness and vertical or horizontal mobility in the armed forces.

This situation leads to three problems which evidence indicates are existent:

a) the inability to understand and carry out orders resulting in assignment

21. Rakowska-Harmstone, Teresa, "The Soviet Army as the Instrument of National Integration", in John Erickson and E.J. Feuchtwanger, eds., *Soviet Military Power and Performance*, London, The Macmillan Press Ltd., 1979, p. 136

22. Ellen Jones, "Minorities in the Soviet Armed Forces", in *Comparative Strategy*, New York, Crane Russak, Vol. 3, No. 4, 1982, p. 301. and also Rakowska-Harmstone, "The Soviet. . .", p. 148.

23. Alexander Alexiev and S. Enders Wimbush, *The Ethnic Factor in the Soviet Armed Forces*, Santa Monica, Calif., Rand, 1982, p. 38.

24. Michael J. Donnantuono, *The Soviet Military as a Vehicle for Central Asian Assimilation*, Harvard Univ. Occasional Paper, # 24, 1981, p.4.

25. Alexiev and Wimbush, *The Ethnic. . .*, p. 33.

to menial or other non-combat units, meaning less opportunity for promotion due to poor performance;

b) even when non-Russians know the language, they often pretend not to understand in order to avoid unwanted duties or assignments — where this occurs, it is more serious than the first problem insofar as it demonstrates a lack of loyalty and discipline; and

c) those who do not understand Russian are subject to ridicule or discrimination by officers or fellow enlisted men who become irritated with the former's inability to perform well<sup>26</sup>.

These problems, depending upon the degree to which they actually exist, serve as a further obstacle to the cohesiveness of the multinational Soviet armed forces.

The management of inter-nationality relations by military authorities is a third aspect presenting a threat to the "fraternal and cooperative" relations between nationalities in the armed forces. As a source of disciplinary trouble, inter-nationality tensions leading to conflict are less numerous than problems posed by alcoholism, unauthorised leave or poor unit command<sup>27</sup>. Yet, evidence indicates that the problem does exist, and with the growing percentage of non-Russians in the armed forces, it threatens to increase in scope.

Inter-nationality conflict occurs wherever there is a high concentration of one nationality and a low concentration of another<sup>28</sup>. It is also manifest where there is a high concentration of non-Russian nationalities and a low concentration of Russians<sup>29</sup>. This would indicate that inter-nationality conflict exists not only between Russians and non-Russians, but also amongst non-Russians themselves. The tensions, which are a result of the same prejudice and bigotry described by the Soviet perspective, can lead to violent conflict. However, available evidence indicates that such incidents are low<sup>30</sup>.

When inter-nationality conflict does occur, it is often ignored by officers for the reason that their records would not read well if it was shown that they could not prevent disciplinary problems in their units. To interfere in such incidents would be an admission by the authorities that inter-nationalities conflict exists in an institution which is based on "fraternal cooperation" among nationalities<sup>31</sup>. Furthermore, inter-nationality conflict can serve in the interest of the authorities insofar as it helps them maintain control over the nationalities. Should the various nationalities in the armed forces actually achieve the goals of fraternity and cooperation, the Russian-dominated military authoritu-

26. Ibid, pp. 34-36. Some Western analysts disagree with this, saying that the percentage of non-Russians not fluent in Russian is grossly overestimated. (Jones, "Minorities. . .", p. 295.

27. Jones, "Minorities. . .", p. 286.

28. Alexiev and Wimbush, *The Ethnic. . .*, p. 42.

29. Ibid, p. 42.

30. Jones, "Minorities. . .", p. 296.

31. Alexiev and Wimbush, *The Ethnic. . .*, p. 43.

es fear that the former may begin to understand each other, and to resent the discrimination from which they perceive to be suffering at the hands of their Russian commanders<sup>32</sup>. There is no way of knowing how widespread such an attitude is at the command level of the Soviet armed forces. Even if one officer in every unit follows such a line of reasoning then it would do much to contradict the Soviet perspective of cooperation and fraternity in the achievement of a common goal<sup>33</sup>.

The Western perspective takes into consideration the multinational character of the Soviet armed forces. The Soviet perspective uses this characteristic as a display of the successful implementation of Soviet nationalities policy. The Western perspective uses the same problems posed by that characteristic as evidence that the cohesiveness of nationality relations in the Soviet armed forces (and in Soviet society as a whole), is exaggerated by the Soviet view.

The Soviet and Western perspectives both seem to agree that the multinational nature of the Soviet armed forces does have inherent problems. These difficulties cannot be overestimated, yet, they cannot be ignored<sup>34</sup>. On the one hand, the Soviet perspective must understate the problem in order to maintain the image of cohesion for the world as well as for its own society. The Western perspective, on the other hand, must emphasise this problem in order to convince the world and its own populations of the instability of the Soviet system.

Taking the above discussion into consideration, and ignoring the bias of perception and interpretation, the nationalities factor in the Soviet armed forces does pose a long-term problem to Soviet military capability and the integrity of the Soviet Russian system.

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32. Ibid, p. 45.

33. Ibid, p. 45.

34. Ibid, pp. 49-50.



*Mykhailo DRAI-KHMARA*

## IVAN FRANKO AND LESIA UKRAINKA\*

Mykhailo Drai-Khmara, *Z literaturno-naukovoi spadshchyny*, Memoirs of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, Philological Section, Vol. CXCVII, New York-Paris-Sydney-Toronto 1979, p. 239-248.

This polemic, "an episode in the relations between Galicians and Ukrainians", occurred in 1897. There were many episodes of this kind even before that time. New people came to Galicia from Central Ukraine bringing new ideas. All sorts of misunderstandings arose with great frequency between them and the conservative Galicians. Kulish for example argued with Vakhnianyn and Patrytskyi, then with Podolynskyi and Barvinskyi. In the 1870s Drahomanov appeared in Galicia arousing anger and exasperation among the Galicians. However, such episodes occurred most often in the last twenty years of the 19th century: "never before in the sphere of our world has there been such animation, such a mass of disputes between conflicting movements, polemics of various thoughts and aspirations and peaceful but profound upheavals"<sup>1</sup>.

Was this polemic based on personal relations or was it a matter of principle? Most of the evidence supports the latter. At least, Franko sees nothing in Lesia Ukrainka's article that could be regarded as some kind of personal score: "I mention only", he writes three years after the polemic took place, "that the article addressing my article and signed by the letters N.S.Zh, was written by the hand of the famous Ukrainian poetess Lesia Ukrainka who before and after often gave me very clear and valuable indications of her friendly favour"<sup>2</sup>. Likewise, it cannot be said of Franko that in his polemic ardour he wished to offend or insult anybody though sometimes he was guilty of such. He was not always a fair and impartial critic. To this much Franko himself attests in a letter to O. Pchilka: "Indeed, a person judges this way or that but mostly according to personal feelings. However, to be a critic you require not only healthy and normal emotions (mine are far from being such) but also an educated, razor-sharp mind that can analyse. It is in fact in this sphere as a sort of writer or synthesiser that I feel my biggest shortcoming. It is here that my term has been set nor shall I overstep it. Consequently, all my judgements should be regarded not as acquisitions of critical thought but rather as manifestations of temperament and not by any measure guidelines.

\* First published in the monthly journal *Zhyttia i revoliutsia*, Kyiv, Bk 5, May 1926, p. 109-115.

1. I. Franko. "Z ostannikh desiatylyt XIX v." *Moloda Ukraina*, No. 1, p. 2.

2. I. Franko. "Mizh svoimy". *Moloda Ukraina*, No. 1, p. 96.

Therefore, in my judgements I am never able to maintain a sense of proportion and always end by flying off into some extreme or other"<sup>3</sup>. Four years prior to this polemic B. Hrinchenko attacked such criticism from the radical point of view (while here Franko speaks as a representative of the Galician radical party) in his *Lysty z Ukrainy Naddnyprianskoi* calling it imprudent. Nevertheless, the facts indicate that I. Franko's articles and L. Ukrainka's article contained neither imprudence nor personal scores. They did show a principled divergence, an ideological differentiation typical of the Ukrainian intelligentsia at the end of the 19th century.

1897 was in Franko's life perhaps the year most abundant in various conflicts and quarrels both with private individuals and the community at large. That year he published in Lviv *Obrazki galicyjskie* with a foreword entitled "Nieco o sobie samym" (A little about myself) where he acknowledges his dislike of Ruthenians and that when he works for them it is only because he is compelled by "poczucie psiego obowiazku" (a feeling of canine devotion). The foreword angered Galician patriots and Franko was deluged by insinuations and accusations of lack of patriotism. In that very year of 1897 Franko fell out with the Polish section of Galician society after publishing in the Vienna newspaper *Die Zeit* an anniversary article about Mickiewicz as a poet of betrayal. As a result of this article Franko was expelled from all the Polish editorial offices where he worked and was rewarded with such rebukes as "scoundrel", "rabid dog" and so forth. This year also marked the polemic between I. Franko and L. Ukrainka.

The polemic began with Franko's article "Z kintsem roku" which appeared in Book VI of the Journal *Zhytie i slovo*, 1896. In reply L. Ukrainka wrote her polemical article "Ne tak tii vorohy, yak dobrii lyudy", signing it with the incomprehensible initials "N.S.Zh." and publishing it in Book III of *Zhytie i slovo*, 1897. The polemic concluded with Franko's second article "Koly ne po koniakh, tak khoch po ohlobliakh" which was published in the same journal that very year. In due course Franko republished all three articles in his book *Moloda Ukraina* No. 1 "Providni idei i epizody" which appeared in Lviv in 1910. Meanwhile L. Ukrainka's article also appeared in Volume III of her works which last year were published by Knyhospilka. Characterising Ukrainian life at the time, in his first article Franko compares it to a river under ice and calls it a "scandalous period". "The present time is sad and scandalous precisely because the prevailing motive forces are inveterate backwardness, contempt for one's own people and its thoughts and ideals, servile officiousness which masquerades shamelessly as political bon sens and political expediency, or feeble spinelessness which reaches out for office and promotion like a sunflower for the sun"<sup>4</sup>. Fearing the reaction which had taken hold of part of contemporary Ukrainian society Franko summoned all to systematic work among the people, to competition with the adversaries of Ukrainian ideals in the civilising work. To Franko the people were the pea-

3. I. Tkachenko. "Novi materialy pro I. Franka", *Chervonyi shliakh*, 1925, p. 4.

4. I. Franko. "Z kintsem roku". *Zhytie i slovo*, 1896, Bk. VI, p. 401.

sants which he underlines in his second article. Here therefore he is in fact expressing populist ideas although he speaks on behalf of the Galician radical party. "Lack of confidence in the people and its strength, lack of faith in the possibility of achieving a better future by one's own efforts", says Franko, "these factors are at the root of all the waverings, mistakes and apostasies with which our history abounds. It is from this source that on this side of the Zbruch Russophilism sprang followed by Nova era corrected by a new course, while on that side of the Zbruch we find Russification and some apolitical Ukrainophilism on the one hand and apopular Narodnia Volia and revolutionary Jacobinism on the other"<sup>5</sup>. In the opinion of Franko and his party which he represents, "The primary and main foundations for the development of the people are: *awakening the consciousness of the masses and arousing them and striving for their comprehensive enlightenment*". (Spacing mine — M.D.Kh.).

After expressing this political credo Franko moves on to look at Ukrainian matters and summarises what had been done hitherto. This time his interest centres not on Galicia but Central Ukraine though he warns that he has not been there recently and cannot speak "with complete certainty"<sup>6</sup>. He assumes even in advance that he is liable to error: "So that a Galician must also be free to express an opinion on Ukrainian spiritual life. Albeit an opinion, it can still be of value in the same way as Galicians once valued the critical opinions of Ukrainians who measured us as it were by their own standard and judged us without being fully aware of our circumstances".

Franko accuses the Ukrainian radicals to whom L. Ukrainka was closely allied at the time, of appearing to be "more interested in abstract questions than in practical matters". "This preference for theory", in Franko's view, "was the sign of a deep rift between the intelligentsia and the people"<sup>7</sup>. Until the intellectual community befriends the people, unites with it in one purpose and raises its awareness to spiritual and political interests, there will be no change in political conditions in Russia. We must understand that there is simply no other way out and that all hesitation, every delay on the part of the Ukrainian intelligentsia in making this rapprochement pose a grave danger to national development and the entire future of Ukraine"<sup>8</sup>. Franko does not believe that the Russian order actually prevented Ukrainian intellectuals from approaching the peasant and points to the Poles, Lithuanians and Latvians who in Russia conducted national and political propaganda campaigns among the people. He does not even believe in the existence of Ukrainian Drahomanovite radicals. "We hear about youth groups", he writes, "who argue about whether they should give the Ukrainian peasant a Russian book. We see people who are sympathetic to our radicalism. We read their appeals to save money in order to support the radical movement in Galicia.

5. Ibid., p. 403.

6. Ibid., p. 404.

7. Ibid., p. 404.

8. Ibid., p. 405.

What do we make of this? *It is a kind of infusion of radical ideas, but not genuine Radicalism*"<sup>9</sup>. (Spacing mine — M.D.Kh.)

And what is "genuine Radicalism"? It is Galician radicalism because as Franko writes, "it was not produced by money but by work and agitation among the people, two factors which will ensure its continuation. Gentleman, do the same on your own doorsteps"<sup>10</sup>.

Franko derides Ukrainians who it appears can work only "s dozvoleniya nachalstva" (with the permission of the authorities) and advises them to take the illegal path<sup>11</sup>. "The gap between the Ukrainian intelligentsia and the simple peasants", he says, "is the very wall against which a hundred foreheads should pound if necessary to demolish it and until you Ukrainian radicals make just one visible breach in this fatal wall, neither we nor anyone else in the world will take your radicalism seriously"<sup>12</sup>.

Finally, Franko surmises that the Zheliabovs, Kybalchychi and hundreds of Ukrainians of their ilk have not degenerated though he regrets that their work was done outside Ukraine. If they had been able to rediscover the Ukrainian national ideal and laid down their heads for it, the Ukrainian cause would be in a different position. "Shame on the Ukrainian intelligentsia" Franko concludes, "and in particular, shame on the young generation if it does not feel this great need, find a way to the people and lay the foundations for Ukraine to become a political force. Absolutism in Russia if not today will fall tomorrow while the constitution caters for forces prepared for competition. If the Ukrainian cause is not a prepared force by then, have no doubt that even the best constitution will treat it as a matter of course and forge a new yoke for it. Once a fool always a fool. If a man once falls all tread on him"<sup>13</sup>.

While Franko in his articles expresses populist views, L. Ukrainka replies as a radical and socialist. Perceiving mistakes in Franko's views she does not take as gospel his "sermon-instruction" à la Tolstoi<sup>14</sup>, and criticises "unverified prescriptions for the salvation of the soul and native land"<sup>15</sup>.

She is indignant at Franko for setting the Galicians as an example to the central Ukrainians: "Let Franko criticise Ukrainians but not spare his own whom after all he knows better. Most of the Galician radical intelligentsia can in no way impress the Ukrainian radical". She was always vexed by the fact that in constitutional Galicia "so few people stand under the banner of liberation while those who do, so rarely hold their ground".

L. Ukrainka knows the flaws of the Ukrainian character while Franko

9. Ibid., p. 405.

10. Ibid., p. 405.

11. Ibid., p. 406.

12. Ibid., p. 406.

13. Ibid., p. 407.

14. L. Ukrainka. "Ne tak tii vorohy, yak dobrii liudy. *Tvory*, ved. Knyhospilky 1925, v. VII, p. 120.

15. Ibid., p. 121.

speaks in didactic tone. However, it is not the flaws that matter here but the ideological differences between the Ukrainians and the Galician radicals", "since not all of Franko's tenets belong to the religion of the Ukrainian radicals nor have they sinned against all"<sup>16</sup>.

The main point of Franko's article which L. Ukrainka protests is "direct propaganda among the people"<sup>17</sup>. She uses the example not of the Poles and Lithuanians but the Russians who went "among the people" in order to enlighten them. This going-among produced no results and the movement had to change direction. "The lack of elementary right of expression and human rights", maintains L. Ukrainka, "compelled the activists to admit that it is possible to gain freedom with the aid of the peasants alone even by giving priority in the struggle to the interests of the whole people and compelled them to admit that the intelligentsia before serving its people as it should must first of all gain free access to the people. The socialists in principle become politicians in practice: Zheliabov appears with his friends to gain political freedom, the sine qua non of useful action in the interests of the most downtrodden social class"<sup>18</sup>. However, not only the pointlessness of such action forced the Ukrainian radicals not to specify in their programme active propaganda among the peasants: "some radicals", writes L. Ukrainka, "regard not the peasants but the workers as a more suitable subject for their propaganda"<sup>19</sup>.

In L. Ukrainka's view first and foremost the Central Ukrainian radicals must win over the intelligentsia, the brain of the nation, and then together with their neighbours gain political freedom which must be "regional, national, decentralised and equally democratic for all"<sup>20</sup>. Drahomanov's programme also stipulates this.

Thereafter, L. Ukrainka accuses Franko of writing quite carelessly about Ukrainians. Not knowing the facts or distorting them, he jokes about not believing in the existence of Ukrainian Drahomanovite radicals and recommending them not to be "fools" and become immediately a prepared political force without waiting for a constitution. Finally, she explains the matter of the money which was sent to Galicia, demonstrating that this was not simply "external" but friendly, brotherly aid and thereby finishes her article.

In reply to this article Franko sharpens the polemic a good deal and contradicts much of what he said in the first article. Of L. Ukrainka's polemic he says that it is "simply unscrupulously composed"<sup>21</sup>, accuses her of distorting and falsifying his words and thoughts and does not even wish to speak with her. From Franko's words it is clear that he does not know how the Ukrainian groups differ from one another. Ascribing L. Ukrainka to the group of

16. Ibid., p. 121.

17. Ibid., p. 121.

18. Ibid., p. 122-123.

19. Ibid., p. 123.

20. Ibid., p. 124.

21. I. Franko. "Koly ne po koniakh, tak khoch po ohlobliakh". *Moloda Ukraina*, No. 1, p. 119.

"those Ukrainian radicals who regarded themselves firstly as socialists and only secondly as Ukrainians"<sup>22</sup>, he asks her, "And what does it mean when Ukrainian radicals do not believe in nationality? Do they think that there is no such thing as nationality? Or perhaps they think that political work can reject all nationality? Or perhaps their incredulity extends only to Ukrainian nationality and they accept Muscovite nationality as a fact which cannot but be believed in?"<sup>23</sup>.

Winning over the intelligentsia in Franko's view was a waste of time judging by his experience in Galicia. Therefore, he again called for a link with the peasantry, "devoting oneself to lasting work among the people and serving their daily needs"<sup>24</sup>.

So much for the main points of the polemic. It demonstrates that both pupils of Drahomanov, senior and junior, did not share the same thoughts or beliefs. L. Ukrainka was closer to the teacher while Franko became estranged from him. In fact, the end of the 19th century became a turning point for Franko who moved from revolutionary socialism to apolitical literary and scholarly work. Franko himself tried several times to define his position vis à vis Drahomanov. However, the attempts sometimes lacked objectivity. Whereas in the foreword to volume two of the *Drahomanov-Franko letters (1887-1895)*<sup>25</sup> he calmly and precisely evaluates the significance of his teacher in the cultural-national life of Galicia, in the foreword to volume one of the *Letters (1881-1886)* he refers to him with anger and harshness, accusing him of partiality, egoism and intolerance to the thoughts of others. In condemning Drahomanov, Franko in fact was condemning himself.

Franko's view of some events and phenomena now differed from Drahomanov's. Thus, for example, the 1880s which Drahomanov called "Egyptian darkness", condemning them as apolitical, Franko perceived as "a time of quiet sowing and the gradual growth of new Ukrainian ideals, a time when Ukrainians cleared their ears of the noise of all-Russian broad phrases and returned as it were to their native hearth"<sup>26</sup>. In his *Avtobiohrafia* Drahomanov actually calls himself "a socialist of the Western European School"<sup>27</sup>. Franko rejects this, pointing out that Drahomanov "often warned younger, ardent socialists not to put too much faith in social-democratic constructions for the future, seeing therein a good dose of Jewish presumption"<sup>28</sup>. The rift between Drahomanov and the Ukrainians who regarded his activity as unnecessary to Ukraine and refused to help him publish the banned works of Shevchenko, was now seen by Franko as the "bankruptcy of all-Russian ideas on Ukrainian ground"<sup>29</sup>. "Drahomanov", in his opinion, "who regarded himself in the first instance as a Russian and only

22. I. Franko. "Mizh svoimy". *Moloda Ukraina*, No. 1, p. 95.

23. I. Franko. "Koly ne po koniak, tak khoch po ohlobliakh". *Moloda Ukraina*, No. 1, p. 121.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 124.

25. M. Drahomanov. *Lysty na Naddnipriansku Ukrainu*, 2nd edition 1915, p. 101.

26. I. Franko. "Z ostatnikh desiatylyt. XIX v." *Moloda Ukraina*, No. 1, p. 29.

27. M. Drahomanov. *Avtobiohrafia*, K. 1917, p. 39.

28. I. Franko. "Z ostatnikh desiatylyt. XIX v." *Moloda Ukraina*, No. 1, p. 22.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 30.

then as a Ukrainian, became the first victim of those ideas"<sup>30</sup>. Franko retained in full only Drahomanov's practicalness.

Lesia Ukrainka in her polemical article stands firmly by Drahomanovite principles. The paragraph in which she speaks of winning political freedom in Ukraine while juxtaposing the work of the Ukrainian radicals and the Galician radicals (the main point of the polemic) is in complete accord with Drahomanov's programme where we read: "Since Ukraine my homeland is split into two parts — Austrian and Russian — and since in the former there exists complete political freedom which is lacking in Russia, in my opinion the activity of socialists in each state must vary. In Austria it is in fact possible to organise a socialist party from Ruthenian workers and peasants in Union with Poles and Jews, whereas in Russia it is necessary first of all to gain political freedom. For the moment socialist ideas in Russia can be disseminated only by scientific-literary means"<sup>31</sup>.

The accusations of inactivity which Franko directs at Ukrainian radicals, stem from his incomplete knowledge of contemporary Ukrainian life and probably also from the fact that a few years before similar accusations were heaped on the heads of the radicals by the Ukrainian populists to whom in this instance Franko draws near having abandoned Drahomanov. In B. Hrinchenko's "Letters from Central Ukraine" (*Lysty z Ukrainy Naddnyprianskoi*) there are frequent references to the laziness of the Ukrainian intelligentsia which "either sits idle and just enjoys life" or russifies the people; or at best folds its arms and sighs: "Nothing can be done — it's simply our fate to become Muscovites";<sup>32</sup>. Of the Ukrainian radical party in particular Hrinchenko states that being "socialist in colour"<sup>33</sup> which is very striking to many people, "it takes a lot and does little or nothing at all"<sup>34</sup>. Its idleness stems from its rejection of nationalism, that is, it does not align itself with the peasants; whereas the Galician radicals work in a national context and therefore produce results. This is actually the main theme which Franko develops in his polemical articles. Drahomanov again refers to this laziness though he adds that "it would be unfair to regard idleness as being exclusive to radicals"<sup>35</sup>.

The critical attitude of the Ukrainian radicals to the Galician radicals in general and the critical attitude to them of Lesia Ukrainka in particular are also due partly to the influence of Drahomanov. The latter in his letters to L. Ukrainka often talks of the opportunism and instability of the Galician radicals who are "ready to split over the issue of the gentry"<sup>36</sup>. "I once thought", writes Drahomanov, "that our people would set up at home European socialism, meanwhile, Pavlyk's 'Druh' has sided with 'Shto delat' and Russian 'otshche-

30. *Ibid.*, p. 30.

31. M. Drahomanov. *Avtobiografia*, p. 39-40.

32. B. Hrinchenko. *Lysty z Ukrainy Naddnyprianskoi*, 2nd edition K. 1917, p. 5.

33. *Ibid.*, p. 110.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 110.

35. M. Drahomanov. *Lysty do Naddnyprianskoi Ukrainy*, p. 39.

36. "Nedrukovani lysty M. Drahomanova do Lesi Ukrainky". *Chervonyi Shliakh*, 1913, IV-V, p. 192.

penstvo' — now I am thinking of European radicalism, but not even the Galicians will overcome the hurdle of 'narodnichestvo'. There is no fighting God! If they could only get through this phase quicker"<sup>37</sup>. Always he reminds her not to overidealise Galicia because "there are very, very few workers there, and even less, serious workers"<sup>38</sup>.

Similarly, L. Ukrainka's critical attitude to Franko in this polemic will become clearer if we consider it in the light of Drahomanov's influence on L. Ukrainka. Drahomanov often mentions in his letters Franko and his "Ruthenian tact"<sup>39</sup>: "You are amazed by his article in Zoria", he mentions to Lesia, "However, all his life he has caused such surprises to the right and to the left. Perhaps the fault lies with his 'poetic nature'. . . The worst thing is that his jumping about harms both things in general and himself. Least of all we see here 'wretched covetousness': it is a kind of naturally naive assimilation to the circles to whose side our poet has sprung"<sup>40</sup>. The only reliable person in Galicia in Drahomanov's view was Pavlyk. Franko attributes this opportunism of his to conditions in those difficult times. In one of his letters to O. Pchilka he refers to his tactical divergence with his ideological enemies: "Open struggle in such treacherous conditions without the necessary forces would certainly lead to disaster. Since Drahomanov has long since pressed and continues to press for such a struggle he has obviously overestimated our strength. What is necessary here is long, gradual breaking and patient, tactful preparation of the younger generations. *To a great extent it is necessary to stoop also to talking politics and taking advantage of the ignorance and idleness of our leading lights*"<sup>41</sup>. (Spacing mine — M.D.Kh.). It is this "talking politics" and opportunism that L. Ukrainka is opposed to as a faithful disciple of Drahomanov.

This polemic between Franko and L. Ukrainka was of no wider social import, however, already then, it had marked out the different paths taken by the writers. At the end of the 1890s Franko changed his revolutionary standpoint, gradually withdrew from civic life and when the Radical Party disbanded did not join the Ukrainian Marxist group but stayed with the National-Democratic Party. Lesia Ukrainka in the meantime who back in 1896 together with Steshenko and others established a social-democratic group, in 1900 joined the RUP and in 1904 the Ukrainian Social-Democratic Union.

*Translated by Wolodymyr Slez*

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37. Ibid., p. 189.

38. Ibid., p. 194.

39. Ibid., p. 197.

40. Ibid., p. 194.

41. I. Tkachenko. "Novi materialy pro I. Franka". *Chervonyi Shliakh*, 1925, IV, p. 248.



### News from Ukraine

## **UKRAINIAN DISSIDENTS PREVENTED FROM ATTENDING MOSCOW UNOFFICIAL SEMINAR**

According to information provided by Leo Timofeyev, one of the organisers of the unofficial international seminar on civil, political and economic rights in Moscow between 10-13 December 1987, four dissidents on their way to the seminar were forcibly removed from the train by the KGB. The four are: Vyacheslav Chornovil, Mykhailo Horyn, Ivan Hel (all members of the editorial board of the samvydav journal the *Ukrainian Herald*) and Paruir Ayrikyan, an Armenian nationalist and member of the United National Party of Armenia. Chornovil and Ayrikyan were to chair the seminar on nationalities problems in Moscow.

Although initially charged with narcotics offences, they were released after being held at the prosecutor's office for four hours. They were warned not to attend the Moscow unofficial seminar on human rights (UPA).

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## **THE UKRAINIAN TRUST GROUP DEMONSTRATES AGAINST THE OCCUPATION OF AFGHANISTAN**

The existence of a Ukrainian branch of the Moscow Trust Group, an unofficial peace group, in Lviv has only recently become known in the West. In 1987, Mykhailo Kopot, a Ukrainian Pentacostalist and member of the Trust Group, sent an open letter to the Soviet Ministry of Defence and General Secretary, M. Gorbachev, declaring his refusal on pacifist and religious grounds to serve in the army. Another Pentacostalist member of the Ukrainian Trust Group is Ludmilla Poluninu.

On September 20 last year a demonstration by 20 members of the Ukrainian Trust Group took place in Lviv. The demonstrators carried placards with slogans such as "Glasnost", "Perestroika in the life of the USSR", "USSR-USA: nuclear disarmament" and others. The organisers of the demonstration were Oleh Olesevych and Dmytro Tishchenko. The militia tried to block the demonstration, provoke fights with the participants and wrest the placards from their hands. The demonstrators sat down and began to sing anti-war songs, which lasted 3 hours.

After this demonstration Bohdan Rudyi, from the town of Sokal, and Andriy Toranenko, from Khmelnytskyi, were expelled from the polytechnic institute where they were students. On 24 September 1987 another participant in the demonstration, Ruslan Pupynik, was arrested and beaten up by the militia.

According to the unofficial Polish publication *Przegląd Wiadomości Agencyjnych* (18 November 1987) further demonstrations took place simultaneously on 24 October 1987 in Lviv, Moscow and Leningrad. This is the United Nations Day of Peace. The demonstrations called for the removal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan and for the right to conscientious objection in the USSR. The demonstrators also called for democratisation in the USSR. After the intervention of the militia Alexander Rubchenko, a peace activist from Moscow, was taken into custody, whilst photographs were taken of another Ukrainian activist, Edward Polunina. Both were brutally arrested and beaten up in custody, but released after two hours.

Although the militia attempted to break up the demonstration, it nevertheless lasted 3 hours. The head of the militia in charge of this action was reported as saying:

"Tell your friends in Moscow and Leningrad, that here in Lviv you will not get away with this kind of activity".

Although a demonstration was planned for the following day this was prevented by the militia.

Besides contacts with the Moscow and Leningrad Trust Groups, the Ukrainian group has links with Poland's unofficial peace group, "Freedom and Peace", according to *Przegląd Wiadomości Agencyjnych*. This publication also published a photograph of Oleh Olesevych and his address (UPA).

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## UKRAINIAN ASSOCIATION OF INDEPENDENT CREATIVE INTELLIGENTSIA FORMED

The Ukrainian Association of Independent Creative Intelligentsia (UANTI) was formed in early October 1987 and the first declaration was signed by 14 former political prisoners, who include poets, writers and artists. UANTI is the second unofficial group to have been formed in Ukraine in recent months. The declaration was signed by Ihor Kalynets, Iryna Kalynets, Mykhailo Osadchyi, Mykola Rudenko, Yevhen Sverstiuk, Ivan Svitlychnyi, Iryna Senyk, Panas Zalyvakha, Vasyl Barladyanu, Stefania Shabatura and Mykhailyna Kotsiubynska. Three members of the editorial board of the *Ukrainian*

*Herald*, Vyacheslav Chornovil, Mykhailo Horyn and Pavlo Skochok, are also signatories.

The founding declaration of UANTI states that:

"It is our firm conviction that the official unions for writers, artists, theatre workers, and cinematographers of Ukraine do not fully represent the spiritual, literary, cultural, and public processes that are spreading and gathering increasing momentum among the intelligentsia in Ukraine".

UANTI plan to publish the works of their members, whose works are still proscribed, as well as literary-cultural periodicals and organise art exhibitions. A recent appeal by three members of UANTI to the International Pen Club requests that International Pen and UNESCO observe the fifteenth anniversary of the birth of Vasyl Stus on January 6, 1988. Vasyl Stus, a Ukrainian poet and dissident, died in a labour camp in September 1985. All three signatories of this appeal are honorary members of International Pen. This appeal on behalf of Vasyl Stus was also approved by the Ukrainian Culturological Club on October 18, 1987 (*UPA*).

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## UKRAINIAN CULTUROLOGICAL CLUB AROUSES DISPLEASURE OF THE AUTHORITIES

Since the vicious attack on the Ukrainian Culturological Club appeared in *Vechirniy Kyiv* another attack has appeared on 17 November 1987 in *Robitmycha Hazeta* entitled "Glasnost — it is not demagoguery". When discussing unofficial groups like the Ukrainian Culturological Club the article claims that *glasnost* is being used by those who wish to promote an "anarchic free for all", who are appealing to people as demagogues. When referring to the previous article in *Vechirniy Kyiv* it states that it was "difficult material for a difficult subject, which resulted in a resounding number of replies from readers". Within a short period of time *Vechirniy Kyiv* received 106 letters in reply to the article, many of which were printed on 14 November 1987. According to *Robitmycha Hazeta* the majority of the letters approved of the criticism directed against the Club. But others feared that these articles critical of informal organisations signalled the "end of democratisation". Despite these official attacks in the press, it is reported that most residents of Kyiv support the activities of the Club.

The Culturological Club was formed in the summer of 1987 by 200 Ukrainian intellectuals, and was legally registered with the authorities in one region of Kyiv. The Club has organised five open evenings, in which over 400 individuals have taken part in each event. On the last occasion on 18 October of

last year the participants discussed the Ukrainian artificial famine of 1932-33 and the Stalinist terror within the context of blank spots in Ukrainian history. The defamatory article attacking the Club in *Vechirniy Kyiv* appeared immediately afterwards.

The five evenings organised by the Club to date include:

- 1) Ukrainian Culture — its façade and reality.
- 2) The Ukrainian philosopher Hryhoriy Skovoroda — his life, work and philosophical views.
- 3) The actual state of ecology in Ukraine.
- 4) The problems of preserving historical and cultural monuments.
- 5) Blank spots in Ukrainian History.

The authorities are dragging their heels about the complete registration of the Club, which has prevented them from holding larger meetings because of the withholding of premises. Meetings of the Club have therefore taken place in smaller groups in people's apartments. The authorities have also tried to have inserted within the Club's statute for it to "Struggle against Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism" and that the Club upholds "Marxist-Leninist ideology". The Club's organisers have refused on both points, and have stated that members include non-party and religious individuals. When discussing the question of the struggle against "Ukrainian nationalism", the organisers told the authorities that their concern should be Russian great-power chauvinism. The authorities warned the organisers that "democracy is not anarchy" and that if it continues to operate illegally that the consequences would be on their heads. When 150 people gathered to discuss the state of affairs of the Club in the open air on 15 November 1987 a large number of militia appeared.

Oles Shevchenko, a member of the Club, and former dissident, has written an open letter to Russian literary figures protesting at the differences in the application of *glasnost* between the Russian and Ukrainian republics. In particular, he complains that the "conservatives have created in Ukraine a place reserved for [supporters of] Brezhnev" (*UPA*).

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## SOVIET UKRAINIAN NEWSPAPER REVEALS THE EXISTENCE OF UNDERGROUND UKRAINIAN NATIONALIST GROUPS

A standard attack upon Ukrainian nationalism in the newspaper *Kultura i zhyttia* on November 22, 1987, has revealed the existence of two hitherto unknown Ukrainian nationalist youth groups. The author toured Western Ukraine with an *agitprop* show that was designed to discredit Ukrainian

“bourgeois nationalists”. The standard attack describes Ukrainian nationalists as bloodthirsty bandits and traitors, working for foreign interests, who have brought nothing but suffering to their people.

But the author’s concern is that the younger generation in Western Ukraine do not share this negative view of the Ukrainian nationalist movement during the 1940s. In many cases they have a sympathetic view of this movement and are susceptible to “ideological diversion” from Ukrainian émigrés. The author warns that Ukrainian nationalism is not a thing of the past, that its adherents abroad are continuing their work and that they have targeted the youth in Soviet Ukraine.

The author provides two examples of the danger posed by Ukrainian nationalism when two underground groups were uncovered in the Ternopil region. A student at a paedological institute, whose grandfather had been punished “for contacts to the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists”, grouped together with three friends to form a “group for active struggle against the existing order”. They drew up a programme and a statute, and a draft copy of a membership card. Their first “action” was to have been the hoisting of a Ukrainian national flag over a government building.

The other group was composed of young people from the town of Zbarazh, “almost all of whom had higher education”. They decided to distribute anti-Soviet leaflets for which they had written the texts, collected addresses and printing equipment. Both groups were uncovered by the authorities and their founders were let off with reprimands (*UPA*).

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## REPRESSION OF UKRAINIAN POLITICAL PRISONERS CONTINUES

The wife of Yuriy Badzio, the Ukrainian political prisoner, has written a letter addressed to the Vienna meeting on European security and cooperation. The letter was personally addressed to the head of the American delegation, Mr Zimmerman and asked that it take Badzio into its care.

She writes: “I decided to ask your delegation along with the delegations of Canada, England, France and West Germany to demand answers from the Soviet delegation concerning the criminal charges against my husband”. She added that Badzio had spent 9 years in imprisonment solely because he had written a historical-philosophical work about important problems of our society.

Various documents were enclosed with the letter, among them a statement explaining the reasons for refusing to write an appeal for his release in Janu-

ary of this year, an appeal to M. Gorbachev and an appeal to international organisations.

Yuriy Badzio is a journalist and a philologist. He was born on 25 April 1936, arrested in 1979 and sentenced to 7 years of imprisonment and 5 years of internal exile.

### **Ivan Sokulskyi**

Ivan Sokulskyi, a Ukrainian political prisoner who is currently in a Perm camp, has been put into solitary confinement. He has been deprived of visits and the right to receive parcels.

### **Ukrainian Trust Group**

Members of the Ukrainian Trust Group have continued to be harassed in Lviv, according to the samvydav journal *Express-Hronika* (No. 8, 27 September 1987). After the demonstration on 21 September 1987 they threatened to undertake another one on 10 December, Human Rights Day. Bohdan Rudyi and Andriy Toranenko were taken to an extraordinary meeting of the Technical Institute where they studied, after which the decision was made to expel them. On the eve of the demonstration on 24 September another pacifist, Ihor Ventslavskyi, was warned that if he took part in the demonstration he would be thrown out of work. In connection with these repressions Olysevykh and Tishchenko wrote to the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the newspaper *Komsomolskaya Pravda* that these measures "were contrary to the authorities policy of glasnost".

### **Mykhailo Alexeyev**

Mykhailo Alexeyev, born in 1959, was arrested in the summer of 1986 in Korostyshev, Zhytomyr region in Ukraine. He worked in a textile factory prior to his arrest and was charged under article 62 of the Soviet Ukrainian criminal code. At the time of his arrest 40 pages of various texts and letters were seized from him in the course of a search. During the investigation he was held in a cell with criminals, who were the only witnesses at his trial. These criminals testified that Alexeyev had "called for the overthrow of Soviet power". The trial took place in December 1986 and he was sentenced to ten years in a special regime labour camp. The likelihood that the authorities regarded him as an especially dangerous recidivist can be seen from the fact that he was sent to a special regime camp (*UPA*).

## PERSECUTION OF BAPTISTS AND JEHOVAH'S WITNESSES IN UKRAINE

Yaroslav Zazhytkyi, a Jehovah's Witness from the Lviv region, was arrested in June 1987 for refusing to serve in the army. The court hearing, which took place in September of last year, had to be postponed because of the ill health of the accused, who, it is reported, could not answer questions put to him nor recognise his parents. He was transferred to the prison hospital but the doctor refused to reveal the cause of his illness.

A leading member of the unofficial human rights group "Press Club Glasnost", Lev Timofeyev, said on November 25, 1987, that the KGB had raided the Moscow flat of Halyna and Vasyl Barats, Ukrainian Pentacostalists, formerly imprisoned for their religious activities. He said they were flown to Uzhhorod in Ukraine, where they were left on the street without money or documents.

On 25 September 1987 the militia broke up a Baptist prayer meeting in Kyiv. Eight people were detained. On 12 June and 5 July prayer meetings in Zaporizhya were broken up. On 19 July Baptists gathered in a wood near the village of Tokmakova, Dnipropetrovsk region. Fifteen militiamen came and surrounded them. The meeting was broken up by shots fired into the air, militia car sirens and barking dogs. The head of the militia explained to the believers that they were carrying out "tactical training" (UPA).

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## REPRESSION OF HARE KRISHNA FOLLOWERS IN UKRAINE

On 12 September 1987 the Chernihiv newspaper *Komsomolskaya Znamya* published an attack on the Krishna follower Lev Chernyak. At the end of October 1987 the author of this article came to see Chernyak, apologised to him, and promised to assist him in every way in publishing an article to redress the harm done to his reputation. But to date no article has appeared and the journalist's whereabouts are unknown. *Desnyananskaya Pravda* and *Robitnycha Hazeta* have also published attacks on Krishna followers in Ukraine.

On 24 October three Krishna followers from Chernihiv, Lev Chernyak, Volodymyr Navrotskyi and Valeriy Shmayevskyi, were detained in Kyiv. They were taken to the militia station, searched and religious books confis-

cated from them. They were asked not to conduct further religious preaching in Kyiv.

Repressions against Krishna followers in the USSR led to simultaneous demonstrations around the world. On 15 September demonstrations were organised in 30 different cities (UPA).

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## **UNDERGROUND UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC CHURCH APPEALS SO SUPREME SOVIET FOR LEGALISATION**

In late December, Reuters reported that a group of Ukrainian Catholics, prevented by the KGB from attending an unofficial seminar on human rights in Moscow, arrived in the Soviet capital just prior to Christmas to appeal for the legalisation of their underground Catholic Church, illegal since 1946. Ivan Hel, chairman of the Initiative Group for the Defence of the Rights of Believers and Church in Ukraine, told reporters that he and two priests had handed a petition to the Supreme Soviet (parliament). Ivan Hel, released in January 1987 after serving an 18-year sentence in labour camps and prisons for his national and religious activity, said that, despite being underground, the Ukrainian Catholic Church had six bishops and hundreds of priests, monks and nuns. The priests officiated at secret masses held in apartments. Ivan Hel estimated that there were five million Ukrainian Catholics who owe their allegiance to Rome.

On the same day that Ivan Hel arrived in Moscow with the petition, the government daily newspaper *Izvestia* carried a standard attack upon the Ukrainian Catholic Church accusing it of collaborating with the Nazis during the Second World War. With Ivan Hel at the news conference was the Russian Orthodox dissident Alexander Ogorodnikov and Reverend Petro Zele-nyuk, who had recently re-opened a Ukrainian Catholic church without official permission, closed since Stalin's day. Hel stated that repression of Ukrainian Catholics continues and cited the example of Reverend Mykhailo Havrylov, who was drafted into the army and sent to undertake clean-up work at Chornobyl, despite priests being exempt from conscription.

Ivan Hel also accused the Soviet authorities of deliberately destroying Ukrainian religious relics in order to usurp the millennium of Christianity as a purely Russian affair and thereby denying any role to Ukrainians. Hel had written to the Pope inviting him to attend celebrations for this event, despite the fact that the Russian Orthodox Church has refused to invite him or allow him access to Ukrainian or Lithuanian Catholics. The official millennium celebrations will be held in Moscow — not Kyiv (UPA).

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## **VIOLENCE ON CHRISTMAS EVE: MILITIA ATTACK UKRAINIAN CATHOLICS**

According to a report by Keston College, a midnight mass being celebrated by 250 Ukrainian Catholics on Christmas eve was broken up in the village of Kalinovka, Lviv region in Western Ukraine. The church in Kalinovka was closed down in 1960 during Khrushchev's persecution of religion in the late 1950s. It has stood deserted for many years until the believers broke the locks and bolts and without asking for permission began to renovate the church themselves, where eventually they began to regularly celebrate Holy Mass. The church in Kalinovka belongs to the Ukrainian Catholic Church of the Eastern Rite (known commonly as the Uniate Church), which has been illegal in the USSR since 1946. According to various estimates, there are 5 million Ukrainian Catholics in the Western regions of the republic.

During the Mass, the local Commissioner in charge of Religion, local Communist Party leaders, a school teacher and Komsomol activists broke into the church. They began to shout loudly that the believers should immediately leave the church. The priest, Father Petro Zeleniuk, stopped the Mass. Several of these individuals approached the altar, others started to forcibly push people out of the church.

As soon as somebody attempted to protest against this act of violence the activists called the militia under the pretext that the "believers are opposing the authorities and are causing disorder". According to, as yet unconfirmed, reports some parishioners were detained by the militia and have not yet been released. Father Petro Zeleniuk belongs to a group of Ukrainian Catholic priests who have recently emerged from the underground, where they have existed since 1946. He openly declared that he was a priest of the Ukrainian Catholic Church and demanded its recognition. He recently travelled to Moscow and attended a press conference organised by the Russian Orthodox dissident Alexander Ogorodnikov. According to the Keston College report, the attack on the parishioners of Kalinovka could have been the authorities' revenge for the outspoken behaviour of Father Petro Zeleniuk (*UPA*).

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## Documents and Reports

### **GORBACHEV'S POLICIES IN UKRAINE PROTESTED**

#### **Members of Congress join rally and march to Soviet Embassy**

(UNIS) Close to two thousand Ukrainian-Americans were joined by Reps. Larry Coughlin (R-PA), Buz Lukens (R-OH), Steny Hoyer (D-MD) and Ben Gilman (R-NY) at a rally in Lafayette Park, across from the White House, protesting Gorbachev's heinous policies directed at Ukrainians who speak out in support of national independence and human rights in Ukraine.

Ten chartered buses and numerous rented vans brought Ukrainians from across the US to Washington, DC, highlighting the Ukrainian community's concern and outrage over the fact that more than 40% of all political prisoners in the Soviet Union are Ukrainian.

Following the park rally, protesters from all walks of life covering several generations of Ukrainian-Americans took their demonstration to the Soviet Embassy, where chants of "free Ukraine" and "release Ukrainian political prisoners" were directed at the Embassy where Gorbachev would soon arrive.

Joining in what was designated a "Rally for Ukrainian Rights" were also members of the Afghani and Ethiopian communities in the US. Several representatives from these communities addressed the rally.

The rally, which began at 1:00 p.m., was led by Myron Wasylyk of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America. Mr. Wasylyk welcomed all those who had gathered for the demonstration and then proceeded to explain the symbolism behind the seven black coffins, which lay before the podium and were later taken to the Soviet Embassy. Wasylyk explained that the coffins represented 7 decades of persecution in Ukraine and that each coffin separately represented a tragic event in contemporary Ukrainian history.

The first draped casket represented the 1932-33 man-made famine in Ukraine while the second represented the liquidation of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church and the murder of its Metropolitan Vasyl Lypkivskyi. The other five represented: the 1946 liquidation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church; the murder of Ukrainian leaders Petlura, Konovalets and Bandera, as well as all the others who gave their lives for Ukrainian independence in World War II; those Ukrainians who died in Siberian prisons, especially the 500 Ukrainian women killed in Kingir; the deaths of Alla Horska, Volodymyr Ivasiuk, Vasyl Stus, Oleksa Tykhyi, Valeriy Marchenko and Yuriy Lytvyn; while the last cas-

ket represented all those lives lost in the 1986 Chornobyl nuclear power disaster.

Reps. Coughlin, Lukens and Hoyer highlighted several facts known to the Ukrainian community about Gorbachev's policies in Ukraine. Congressman Hoyer, head of the US Congressional Helsinki Commission, stressed that "glasnost has not reached Ukraine".

Ulana Mazurkevych of the Philadelphia Committee for Human and National Rights in Ukraine read a letter of greeting from Sen. John Heinz (R-PA) who joined in solidarity with Ukrainian-Americans bringing attention to the rights problem in Ukraine.

Dr. Nina Strokata-Karavanska of the External Representation of the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group expressed her apprehensions regarding the Reagan Administration's signing of yet another treaty with the Soviet Government, especially when they fail to live up to the previously signed treaties, such as the 1975 Helsinki Final Act.

Following the rally, demonstrators filed in rows of five en route to the Soviet Embassy. The rally was led by five women carrying a sign, which read "national independence and human rights for Ukraine", followed by 14 students carrying the seven coffins.

Upon arrival at the police barricade outside the Embassy, protesters chanted "freedom for Ukraine" and other slogans calling attention to their plight. Following the singing of the Ukrainian national anthem, 500 black balloons symbolising death and oppression were released into the sky.

Joining the protesters at the Soviet Embassy was Rep. Ben Gilman who greeted the crowd and urged them to continue speaking out for Ukrainian independence and human rights.

The Rally for Ukrainian Rights was coordinated by the Washington office of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America. Numerous UCCA chapters joined in with members of the Philadelphia Human Rights Committee, Americans for Human Rights in Ukraine, the Ukrainian Student Association of Mikhnovskyi (TUSM) and other groups to show a united front in the effort to highlight the oppression, which Ukrainians endure.

Rally organisers recorded participants from the following communities: Washington, DC, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Wilmington, Newark, New York City, Yonkers, Syracuse, Buffalo, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, Trenton, Berkely CA, Richmond VA, Chicago, Detroit, Rochester, Long Island and Passaic.

The successful rally was carried on all network television news programmes in the US with reports of news coverage in Canada, Germany and Austria. A rally photo appeared on the front page of both the *Washington Post* and *Washington Times*.

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## **APPEAL BY 206 UNDERGROUND UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC CLERGY TO THE POPE**

The Ukrainian Catholic Church was forcibly incorporated within the Russian Orthodox Church in 1946, and since then has remained illegal. However, the strength and vitality of this Church is evidenced by the following appeal to the Pope to help the Ukrainian Catholic Church achieve legalisation on the eve of the millennium of Christianity in Ukraine. The millennium celebrations will be held in Moscow, not Kyiv, and the Pope has refused to attend. Instead, Cardinal Lubachivskyi, head of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Rome, has been invited to attend millennium celebrations in Poland next year.

This is the first appeal where large numbers of the underground Ukrainian Catholic Church have signed their names publicly to such a document.

\* \* \*

**Your Holiness, Pope John-Paul II,  
from the Bishops, Priests, Monks, Nuns and Believers of the  
Ukrainian Catholic Church**

### **DECLARATION**

We, bishops, priests, monks, nuns and believers of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Ukraine who have signed below, state that, in conjunction with the *perestroika* (restructuring) in the USSR and the more acceptable situation, which has arisen, as well as in connection with the forthcoming millennium of Christianity in Ukraine, we believe that there is no reason to continue our existence in the underground, and we therefore ask you to use all your means to legalise the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the USSR. At the same time, we turn through Your Holiness to the Soviet Government with our declaration about the emergence of a vigorous section of the Ukrainian Catholic Church from the underground.

In agreement, and with the blessing of other Ukrainian Catholic bishops in Ukraine, this declaration is signed by 206 signatures (*UPA*).

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## TWO UKRAINIAN PRIESTS APPEAL FOR EMIGRATION

Myron Mykhailovych Sas-Zhurakovskiy was born in 1934, and has been a priest of the Russian Orthodox Church since 1958. He has been sentenced twice, on the last occasion because of his insistence at retaining his German citizenship. In June 1987 he lost his parish in Western Ukraine due to interference of the security police. He is seriously ill. In 1982 the German government, through its representation in the USSR, gave him and his family firm assurances that they will grant him a visa and support in West Germany. He has not worked in any sensitive areas and consequently has never had access to any state secrets.

His wife, Hanya Petrivna, worked as a nurse until the authorities presented her with a choice: either she had to leave her employment or desert her husband. She chose the former. She also has not had access to state secrets.

\* \* \*

### OPEN APPEAL

The systematic persecution over many years of our family, even today during the period of *perestroika*, has become intolerable. Under such circumstances our family's existence is now impossible and is doomed to fall apart. With regard to this, we announce the necessity of allowing our family to emigrate from the USSR. We appeal to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet to look into our situation according to Gorbachev's statement to the world community on 29 March 1987, in the form of the French "Initiative-87". Our efforts at the Ministry of Internal Affairs have not produced results.

*Rev. Myron Mykhailovych Sas-Zhurakovskiy,  
Hanna Petrivna Sas-Zhurakovskiy,*

Kolomyia,

30 October, 1987

\* \* \*

### APPEAL

**To the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet  
Open Letter — Request**

I, the Rev. Vasyl Omelianovych Romaniuk, during my lifetime have suffered unjustified repressions, in part during the personality cult when I spent

ten years in prison and exile. In the 1970s, I was sentenced to ten years of imprisonment for criticism and I was forced to repent, even though I was not found guilty. My son, Taras Vasylovych, has not been permitted to settle down, nor has he been allowed to enter a higher education institute according to his choice, which includes the Seminary of the Moscow Patriarchate. The reason for this is solely that he is my son. Even today's policy of *glasnost* and *perestroika* cannot change the situation.

This is why we ask you to allow me to emigrate to Canada with my son and thus demonstrate your humanity, taking into account the international situation and the democratisation of our society. We have been invited to Canada many times by various religious organisations and are in possession of open visas.

For many years now we have been trying to emigrate to Canada where we have distant relatives, however, our efforts have always been thwarted, even though we have never undertaken confidential work of any kind. We know no state secrets.

We are sending a copy of this letter to international organisations so that they may be able to assist us in our efforts in realising our legal right to choose our place of residence. As is known, General Secretary Gorbachev recently announced before French representatives in our country that anyone may emigrate provided they are not party to state secrets. We ask you to include us within the category of this group.

*Rev. Vasyl Omelianovych Romaniuk*  
*Taras Vasylovych Romaniuk*

Pereulok Kobilianskoi 3,  
Kosiv,  
Ivano-Frankivsk region, Ukraine

27 October, 1987

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## V. CHORNOVIL REFUTES SLANDEROUS ATTACK BY SOVIET PRESS

In a recently obtained samvydav document written by the Ukrainian dissident, Vyacheslav Chornovil, the editor of the samvydav journal the *Ukrainian Herald*, the charges made against him and co-editor Mykhailo Horyn have been strongly refuted. The charges appeared in an article in the daily newspaper of the Communist Party of Ukraine *Radyanska Ukraina*. The attack on Chornovil was in conjunction with a video interview he gave to

an American journalist, Martha Kolomijets, in which he explained the purposes of the *Ukrainian Herald* and the lack of *glasnost* in Ukraine.

Chornovil writes that the Ukrainian community has welcomed the journal's re-emergence and that the *Herald* is the mouthpiece of independent Ukrainian thought, which has already gained considerable authority outside the republic.

The decision to re-launch the journal was taken at a press conference organised by the unofficial Press Club "*Glasnost*", on September 8. Although many foreign press organisations and foreign television crews had accepted the invitation, Soviet press representatives boycotted the gathering, including the Soviet newspaper *Literaturnaya Gazeta*.

Chornovil claims that despite the current policy of openness, the authorities in Ukraine have continued to view such contacts with the outside world as subversive, "where every foreigner is a potential agent of the CIA". This is confirmed by the incident following the interview with the American journalist, during which she was detained by the authorities. Her possessions, which included video and tape recordings of the interview, were confiscated. Chornovil states that such incidents will not prevent the editorial board from seeking further contacts with Western press representatives. This is all the more necessary because the journal has become the basis for many social initiatives; the establishment of the Ukrainian Initiative Group for the Release of Political Prisoners and the formation of a group, which planned to participate in the human rights seminar held in Moscow on December 10, 1987.

As a journal in the forefront of change it has forged links with similar organisations, such as the Moscow based Press Club "*Glasnost*", the recently established Ukrainian Culturological Club and with activists of the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

The journal, which is financed mainly by Chornovil's prize money resulting from his international award for journalism and reader's donations, has already elicited considerable response from readers. They have requested more information on literature and the arts and, as a result, the editorial board has included more of these items in issue number two. Chornovil defends the inclusion of articles about people who were persecuted during the Brezhnev years of stagnation, stating that "we are all nationally conscious Ukrainian citizens, who have only one goal and one fate. Besides, reconstruction has not managed to create such a barrier as discrimination of former prisoners of conscience". Other comments about the journal have focused on its ideological stance, specifically on references to Lenin and party documents, which Chornovil refutes.

Other questions relate to the unofficial status of the journal. Chornovil states that the editorial board applied to the Central Committee of the Communist Party in an attempt to legalise the journal, but received no reply. He

claims that the board does not intend to turn to the Ukrainian Communist Party leadership as "nothing positive can be expected from it so long as it remains in power".

The document ends with a list of contributors (*UPA*).

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## UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC CHALLENGES THE KOMSOMOL TO A DEBATE

A young Ukrainian Catholic has challenged *Sobesednik*, the weekly supplement to *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, to enter into a public debate about religion in the USSR. Ihor Klymenko, a 27 year old Ukrainian Catholic, claims in an outspoken letter to the editors that he would be "interested to cross swords with Komsomol members on the subject of religion".

Although a former Komsomol member himself, he claims that he does not understand why so many young people join the ranks of the organisation? He remembers well the meetings at his school and college and describes his opinion of them in a single word as "boring".

The letter provides an insight into how the Ukrainian Catholic Church functions in the underground. Mass is celebrated at home and usually consists of singing hymns and listening to Vatican Radio broadcasts. Religious literature is brought into the country by tourists and relatives, and is then copied by hand, and passed on to others.

He asserts his faith by saying that he would be prepared to die for it and believes that many others like him would do the same. He asks how many members of the Komsomol are likewise devoted to the ideals of their organisation? He ends his letter by stating "your silence on this subject will be treated as an attempt at evading the truth".

Surprisingly, *Sobesednik* printed the letter and invited readers to take up the offer. It poses the question of how atheistic propaganda should be taught today in Soviet schools (*UPA*).

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## UKRAINIAN INVALID FROM AFGHANISTAN OPPOSES THE OCCUPATION

"... we are not any better than American soldiers in Vietnam".

A copy of a letter written by a Ukrainian who served in Afghanistan who was crippled has been received by the Ukrainian Press Agency. The letter is



written to his mother and is mainly concerned with family and personal matters, although on a number of occasions he voices his opposition to the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan. The invalid believes that there is nothing to prove the war in Afghanistan is "necessary" as it is "neither liberatory nor defensive". Invalids like himself are treated with indifference by the authorities and the general public when they return from active service.

He remembers about the American protests against Vietnam and writes that in Afghanistan, "we are not any better than American soldiers in Vietnam". Although he was opposed to the presence of Soviet troops in Afghanistan it was difficult for him to find a way out of the situation:

"...you obey orders, go to your death, because you do not have any way out. You cannot get away over there. If the *dushman* [a Soviet slangword for the guerillas] do not get you your own side will".

The only experience one learns in Afghanistan is that of "cruelty". Although the authorities try and persuade the conscripts who return to remain silent about their experiences it "is difficult to fill the void in one's soul that remains after Afghanistan" (*UPA*).

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## UKRAINIAN DEFECTOR IN AFGHANISTAN CRITICISES SOVIET OCCUPATION

An interview with a Ukrainian defector from the Soviet army in Afghanistan, Volodymyr Ivanovych, has been recorded inside Afghanistan by a British freelance journalist. He was conscripted into the Soviet army in April 1985, trained for six months in the Russian city of Volgograd and then was sent to Afghanistan without any warning. When asked why he defected to the Mujahideen he replied: "When I came to Afghanistan what I saw changed me, because the Soviet mass media only report lies about the struggle in Afghanistan". The Mujahideen treated him well, although he was only told by his officers that they were "terrorists" and "bandits" (*dushman*).

When talking about the conduct of the Soviet army in Afghanistan he replied: "One cannot use the word "army" to describe them, because they are only a group of bandits and trained gangsters. The profession of Soviet forces in Afghanistan is to kill. They are only a group of killers. They have brought tears, blood and destruction into Afghanistan. . .". The Soviets entered Afghanistan, he believed, because they wanted to annex her, destroy Afghan religion and culture and use her as a springboard to the Indian Ocean.

The attitude of Soviet soldiers to being sent to Afghanistan is mixed. Some use the opportunity to make money by dealing on the black market, whilst others are afraid of dying at such a young age. Many soldiers "sell their weapons, ammunition and petrol to buy hashish or opium". They drink anything with some alcoholic content such as anti-freeze.

Soviet soldiers from the Muslim republics of Central Asia do not want to fight in Afghanistan because the Afghans have the same culture, religion and languages as themselves. But this hostility to the war is felt throughout the non-Russian republics of the USSR:

"Not only Central Asians share their sympathy with the Mujahideen, but many mothers from Ukraine, Lithuania and other republics are worried why their sons have to be killed in a war, which they cannot win and are not interested in" (*UPA*).

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## UKRAINIAN UNOFFICIAL ORGANISATION WRITES TO INTERNATIONAL PEN TO HONOUR VASYL STUS

The Ukrainian Association of Independent Creative Intelligentsia (UANTI) has written a long letter to the president of International Pen. The letter is signed by three honorary members of International Pen, Yevhen Sverstiuk, Ivan Svitlychnyi and Vyacheslav Chornovil and was also endorsed by the Ukrainian Culturological Club on October 18.

The authors point out that Vasyl Stus died at the age of 47 in September 1985 and his grave at "the camp cemetery is marked simply as No. 9". At the time of his death "radio stations reported the death of this Ukrainian poet in all the languages of Europe. . . The press published government statements and obituaries concerning his death. As far as we know, publications about Stus appeared in various European languages. This was his entrance onto the world arena".

During the "era of stagnation, spiritual values plummeted catastrophically. A consumerist mentality corrupted the souls of an entire generation. Fear made people petty and mean". Yet, Vasyl Stus was a "man of rare moral makeup, an unerring standard of morality in a world of shaky and eroded notions about honour, truth, and decency". The authors describe the torment that Vasyl Stus, a talented poet and writer, went through when "surrounded by a convoy with guard dogs, barred prison vans and Stolypin wagons, seven rows of barbed wires, towers with machine guns. . .".

Today only "half of Vasyl Stus' works are known to us". Stus still remains "an imprisoned poet. His literary legacy remains incarcerated even after the poet himself has been driven to death in the punishment cells of special

regime camps. His legacy has not been returned to his family. There is no legal or moral justification for this. This is both intolerable and beyond comprehension". Despite this there is "a strong interest in his poetry emerging in Ukraine and in the Soviet Union. This interest will continue to grow". They call upon Soviet publishing houses to "print a selection of his works" and ask whether "the literary legacy of an innocent poet who was tortured to death [will] now serve out the remainder of his 15-year sentence?".

The authors of the letter end by appealing to the Soviet Ministry of Culture, the president of International Pen and contemporary poets to "commemorate the 50th anniversary of the birth of the Ukrainian poet Vasyl Stus through UNESCO". This anniversary fell on January 6, 1988. They feel certain that this appeal "will be supported by literary circles in the Soviet Union and in the West":

"He is worthy of such an honour, his name has a symbolic meaning for the end of the twentieth century. He championed the traditional Ukrainian ideals of humanism, patriotism, and democracy against the prevailing current and under the harshest conditions. He nobly upheld these ideals to the end".

In a letter dated December 16 to General Secretary M. Gorbachev by Mr. King, the president of International Pen states that their members will "remember his unhappy death in a labour camp" in January 1988. The president of International Pen appeals for the release of Stus' confiscated works to his widow and the return of his body to Ukraine from its Gulag grave (*UPA*).

\* \* \*

#### **PRESIDENT OF INTERNATIONAL PEN WRITES TO M. GORBACHEV CONCERNING VASYL STUS**

In his letter dated 16 December 1987 the president of International Pen has written the following to General Secretary M. Gorbachev:

"Many of our members who appealed for this talented poet's release when he was alive will no doubt on this date remember his unhappy death in a labour camp. On behalf of our organisation, therefore, I am choosing this time to address to you a special plea. It has come to our notice that Vasyl Stus' confiscated works have not yet been returned to his widow, Valentyna Popeliuk. . . . So far permission for his remains to be moved for burial in Kyiv have not been granted. It could only contribute to your country's worthy world reputation and bring comfort to writers, not only in Ukraine,

but everywhere, if these two small but significant requests were granted.

I remain

Yours faithfully

*Francis King*, president, International Pen.

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## OPEN LETTER FROM THE EDITORS OF THE UNOFFICIAL JOURNAL THE *UKRAINIAN HERALD*

The editors of the unofficial journal the *Ukrainian Herald* have released an open letter addressed to three international bodies: the Vienna Conference on Security and Mutual Cooperation in Europe, the Helsinki Federation and the International Association of Journalists.

The contents of the letter point to the continuing harassment by the authorities of members of the *Ukrainian Herald* and criticises the slow pace of change occurring in Ukraine. The authors, all members of the journal's editorial board, state that "positive changes in the USSR have come to a halt, furthermore, a regressive movement has been observed recently". They add that this is especially apparent in Ukraine, and has taken the form of repressions against the unofficial journal the *Ukrainian Herald*. According to the editors, the authorities have in recent weeks increased their slanderous attacks in republican newspapers, radio and television and at officially sponsored meetings. To blacken them in the eyes of the public they have been portrayed as spies of foreign intelligence agencies and as supporters of terror and fascism. Recently there have also been threats of arrest and deportation from the USSR. Some members have also received death threats.

The letter appeals to the world community to support both members of the Helsinki movement and of the editorial board in Ukraine and not to allow the authorities to suppress this Ukrainian unofficial publication. Reminding the World community of the activities of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, the letter states that even during the period of the worst repressions, members of the group continued to be active despite many arrests and expulsions.

The letter concludes with a final statement that the journal *Ukrainian Herald* has now become the official organ of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, and that all members of the editorial board have likewise joined this group.

The letter is signed by: Vasyl Barladianu, Mykhailo Horyn, Pavlo Skochok and Vyacheslav Chornovil (*UPA*).

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## KYIV KOMSOMOL SEND OPEN LETTER DEMANDING NUCLEAR-FREE ZONE IN UKRAINE IN AFTERMATH OF CHORNOBYL

The Norwegian daily newspaper *Morgenbladet* (18 December 1987) and the January issue of the Russian émigré newspaper, *Russkaya Mysl* have reported Sergei Grigoryants, the editor of the samvydav journal *Glasnost* in Moscow, as saying that he has received an open letter addressed to the inhabitants of Kyiv by the Komsomol communist youth organisation which calls itself "Perestroika". With reference to the nuclear accident at Chornobyl the pamphlet, entitled *Open Letter to the Citizens of Kyiv from the Komsomol Group Perestroika at Kyiv University of Shevchenko*, is reported as asking: "How can one talk about harmless nuclear power?". Although the authors welcome the positive developments of *glasnost* under M. Gorbachev, such as the release of political prisoners, the ferment within the Writers' Union of Ukraine on the need to preserve the Ukrainian language and the release of Andrei Sakharov from internal exile, they question the fact, that it has not gone far enough:

"But is this enough? We have seen how thousands of Chinese students have gone out into the streets this year demonstrating for greater democracy in China. Is it not thought-provoking that in this area, we have not only fallen behind the Americans, but also the Chinese? Have we actually seen students at the University of Kyiv demand freedom to express opinions, freedom to print or seen them hold discussions or start debates on the decisions made by the Communist Party of Ukraine?"

The pamphlet, which according to the report was xeroxed and circulated in large numbers, goes on to raise a number of other questions. They ask whether economic reforms will be accompanied by greater political freedoms, including the "right to criticise the Communist Party and its role in society?". But the most pressing issue for them as "Komsomol members from Ukraine is the national question. . .":

"We are not isolated from Ukrainian society. We are convinced that *glasnost* offers us a chance of speaking freely and openly about the situation for the Ukrainian people under socialism. But, for the time being, we cannot support the Communist Party's benevolent statements that the "Nation is flourishing" as long as Communist Party meetings in Kyiv are held in Russian (Moreover, ninety per cent of the lectures at the University of Kyiv are held in Russian)".

Other areas that the authors address reflect their concerns after the nuclear accident at Chornobyl. With respect to the environment they "demand immediate measures aimed at solving our ecological problems". But

one of the most radical demands concerns the deployment of nuclear missiles in Ukraine:

"A large number of nuclear missiles have been deployed in Ukraine. This means that our republic is a constant target for Western nuclear missiles. Should war break out, Ukraine can be annihilated in a mere matter of minutes. We, therefore, demand an immediate and candid analysis of the defence apparatus, an analysis in which members of the Komsomol and other social organisations also participate. We suggest that Ukraine is declared a **nuclear-free zone** in the same way as our government is demanding that the South Pacific be made a nuclear-free zone. We assume that what is good for the Fiji islands could also be good for Ukraine?"

\* \* \*

#### COMMENTARY BY SERGEI GRIGORYANTS, EDITOR OF *GLASNOST*

"An exceptionally interesting pamphlet has appeared in the *Glasnost* press report. It apparently has been xeroxed in large numbers and circulated in Kyiv University. At first, it did not seem so interesting. The Komsomol Group supports Gorbachev and sets forth its views, but can they really be different from the Party's? It appears that the difference is enormous. The Komsomol members conclude that democratic institutions in the USSR are weaker than not only the United States of America's, but also China's. Part of the leadership is seeking to continue the war in Afghanistan, to destabilise Gorbachev and to preserve the full control of the KGB in the life of our country. But this life does not seem to be good at all. It is the leadership's fault, including the leadership of Ukraine, that there is such great Russification. Ecological catastrophes have caused the pollution of land and water. The most fertile land in the world is not even capable of feeding the population of the republic, which, at any time, could be destroyed as a result of a nuclear conflict. That is why, in the opinion of the Komsomol members, it is necessary to investigate the activities of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, discussions on the creation of a multi-party system and generally a discussion of the Ukrainian Communist Party's guilt before the Ukrainian nation, should be permitted. The Ukrainian members of the Komsomol demand many things, and so it is no wonder that the KGB are afraid" (*UPA*).

(*Russkaya Mysl*, 15 January 1988)

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## **PRESS STATEMENT ANNOUNCING THE FORMATION OF THE UKRAINIAN-ARMENIAN COMMITTEE FOR THE DEFENCE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS IN THE USSR**

The eighth issue of the samvydav journal *Glasnost* (September 1987) has published the following press statement, which we give in English translation:

“A working group for the defence of Ukrainian political prisoners has been formed in Ukraine. The head of this group is Mykhailo Horyn, a former political prisoner. Representatives of both this group and of the Armenian Committee for the Defence of Political Prisoners have agreed to form a joint Ukrainian-Armenian Committee for the Defence of Political Prisoners. After the final agreement will be reached with the Georgian Committee for the Defence of Political Prisoners, an all-Union Committee for the Defence of Political Prisoners will be formed. We call upon all similar Committees in other republics to organise themselves in the same manner and join us.

The basic aim of our joint Committee is the **release of all political prisoners in the USSR and the creation of guarantees to halt political repression in the future.** The activity of the all-Union Committee will be publicised in the (samvydav) journals *Ukrainian Herald*, *Armenian Committee for the Defence of Political Prisoners News* and *Glasnost*” (UPA).

Signed:

From the Armenian Committee: *P. Airikyan*.

From the Ukrainian Committee: *V. Chornovil*.

---

# THE UKRAINIAN REVIEW



2

1988



MILLENNIUM  
OF CHRISTIANITY  
IN UKRAINE

988-1988



# THE UKRAINIAN REVIEW

A Quarterly Magazine devoted to the study of Ukraine

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Prince Volodymyr

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## *The Millennium of Christianity in Ukraine*

### THE THOUSAND YEARS OF CHRISTIANITY IN UKRAINE

In 1988 Ukrainians all over the world are celebrating their millennium of Christianity. A thousand years ago in Kyiv, the Ukrainian capital, Christianity was adopted as the religion of the land by the ruler of Ukraine, St. Volodymyr. As well as being a major ecclesial event — the thousandth anniversary of the founding of the Kyivan Church — the millennium also has a national and cultural significance, for the values of Ukrainian spiritual and cultural heritage are fundamentally inspired by Christianity.

While Ukrainian Christians in their own land are not able to celebrate the millennium in complete freedom because of the suppression of religion by the Soviet authorities, 3 million or so Ukrainians outside the Soviet Union, including some 35,000 in Great Britain, are marking this important event in the history of Christianity and unique anniversary in the history of the Ukrainian nation.

#### Historical Background

It is thought that Christianity came to Ukraine in apostolic times when St. Andrew is said to have preached along the shores of the Black Sea and, according to legend, visited the future site of Kyiv. St. Clement was martyred in Khersones in southern Ukraine in the first century. Christianity spread along the Black Sea coast and in the Crimea, and the city of Dorus, on the Sea of Azov, became a Christian outpost. In the 9th century Byzantine missionaries preached the faith in the sovereign state of Kyivan Rus', the mediaeval predecessor of modern Ukraine (Chaucer referred to it as "Ruce"). In the following century Olha, the ruler of Rus', became a Christian. In 988 her grandson, Volodymyr the Great, officially established Christianity as the state religion of Rus'-Ukraine. From Kyiv Christianity spread to Byelorussia and, later, to Russia.

Ukrainians trace their Christian origins to the Church established under the patronage of Volodymyr. That Church was headed by a Metropolitan who was subject to the ecclesiastical authority of the Patriarch of Constantinople but, in fact, retained considerable autonomy. The division in the Christian Church in 1054 left the Kyivan Metropolitanate in the Orthodox realm, though it long maintained friendly contacts with the West.

Not long after the Union of Brest (1595-1596) the Ukrainian Church found itself with parallel Orthodox and Catholic metropolitanates. Soon after this Ukraine was divided between the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and Muscovy (which later became Russia). In 1685-1686 the Patriarch of Constantinople, under pressure from Moscow, transferred his jurisdiction over the Kyivan Orthodox Metropolitanate to the Patriarch of Moscow. As a result of this the Kyivan Orthodox Church was gradually russified. The Ukrainian Orthodox Church was re-established in the 1920s but suppressed in the 1930s, with a short-lived but intense revival during World War II. Underground sources indicate that the idea of an independent Ukrainian Orthodox Church remains alive among the people.

The Ukrainian Catholic Church (which has also been known as the Uniate, or Greek-Catholic Church), in union with Rome but retaining its Byzantine liturgical rite, laws and customs, established a strong base in the part of Ukraine within the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Following the partitions of Poland, more Ukrainian lands fell to Russia where the Ukrainian Catholic Church was soon suppressed. Part of Ukraine was incorporated into the Austro-Hungarian Empire where the Church thrived in the 19th century, but it was brutally liquidated upon the annexation of this area by the Soviet Union in 1945-1946. Today it survives as a persecuted catacomb Church.

There were various Protestant movements in Ukraine in the 16th-17th centuries, and Protestantism was revived in the 1850s. Despite their relatively small numbers and constant Soviet persecution, the Evangelical Baptists are the most active Protestant group in the country today.

Thus the celebration of the millennium of Ukrainian Christianity has important ecumenical overtones involving Orthodox, Catholic and Protestant Christians.

### **Ukraine's Debt to Christianity**

Ukraine is in many ways a unique phenomenon in the history of nations, a borderland between East and West, and coveted by both throughout the centuries. That it has survived as a nation must be attributed in a very large measure to Christianity and to the Ukrainian Church.

Although Christianity entered the territory of Ukraine long before 988, it was not until its adoption as the official state religion by Volodymyr that it became the most important unifying factor in the formation of the Ukrainian nation. Being at that time the sole initiating and motivating force of cultural processes, the Church brought in the Church Slavonic literary language which by itself elevated the country to a higher cultural plane. With this came the monasteries, the church schools, church architecture, icons and liturgical music. Social justice, the abolition of slavery, marital fidelity, the sanctity of the

family, respect for elders, women's rights, charity towards outcasts, orphanages, asylums — all these became, within a very short period, the hallmark of Ukrainian society. The middle of the 11th century saw the promulgation of the "Pravda Rus'ka", a legal code (the first of its kind in the Slavonic world) dealing with practically every aspect of social life. Christianity's role, therefore, was decisive in transforming what were pagan communities into a socially integrated and well-organised state.

Inevitably, perhaps, the Church in Ukraine, in addition to being a social and divine institution, became a Ukrainian national institution with distinct local characteristics. After the collapse of the Kyivan state (following the depredations of the Mongol incursions) the Church remained for many centuries the strongest bond of national unity for the Ukrainians. Whether during the period of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, into which Ukraine was incorporated in the 14th century, or at the time when the country was divided between Poland and Russia in the 17th and 18th centuries, or, indeed, throughout the entire chequered history of the Ukrainian nation reaching into the 20th century, their ancestral faith was one of the most significant factors which enabled the Ukrainians to preserve their national identity.

During the greater part of the 17th century the Ukrainian Orthodox Church enjoyed a period of great revitalisation during which it played a major role in the field of education and learning, Kyiv becoming the seat of the Mohyla Academy, one of Eastern Europe's leading institutions of higher learning. The Academy was the centre of Ukrainian cultural and intellectual life and produced a whole line of distinguished scholars, many of whom migrated north and contributed to the cultural development of Muscovy-Russia.

The Ukrainian Catholic Church, within the domain of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, had been guaranteed its existing status as an Eastern Christian Church by the Union of Brest, but had to contend with an erosion of its traditional rights and privileges which began to gather momentum in the 18th century. It survived, however, into the 19th century and played an important role in Western Ukrainian national rebirth, which has been attributed to the clergy of the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

In those parts of Western Ukraine which fell to Russia towards the end of the 18th century, forcible conversion of Ukrainian Catholics to Russian Orthodoxy took place. In Eastern Ukraine the Russian clamp on political and church life became complete. At the turn of the 19th century, however, the Ukrainian Orthodox clergy fulfilled a somewhat similar role to that of the clergy in Western Ukraine, safeguarding the Ukrainian national identity, although in much more difficult circumstances.

After the collapse of the Russian tsarist empire in 1917 both Eastern and Western Ukraine proclaimed independence which, however, was short-lived.

Following the onslaught of the Russian Red Army, Central and Eastern Ukraine was incorporated into the Soviet Union and there the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church was ruthlessly liquidated in the 1930s.

In Western Ukraine, by then occupied by Poland, the Ukrainian Catholic Church enjoyed a period of relative stability, during which it contributed to the efforts of the Ukrainians to strengthen their political and social cohesion. In the absence of Ukrainian self-rule, it became the guardian not only of religious traditions but also of national aspirations to statehood. Following the incorporation of Western Ukraine into the USSR during World War II, the Ukrainian Catholic Church was ruthlessly liquidated.

### **The Present State of Christianity in Ukraine**

Christianity in Soviet Ukraine today, faced with official anti-religious propaganda and various forms of persecution, is in a very difficult position. Nevertheless, Ukraine is still one of the most religious parts of the Soviet Union in terms of active religious communities, both official and clandestine.

Over half of the functioning Orthodox Churches in the Soviet Union are in Ukraine. But Ukrainian Orthodox Christians are denied the right to belong to their own Church, since only the Russian Orthodox Church, totally controlled by the state, is allowed to exist officially. It is clear, however, that a substantial number of Orthodox believers in Ukraine wish to restore a Ukrainian Orthodox Church, and this has led to an increase in the amount of anti-religious propaganda directed against Ukrainian Orthodoxy in Ukraine.

Early in 1945 in Western Ukraine the new Soviet administration arrested and imprisoned the entire hierarchy and many of the clergy of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. In the following year the Church was officially liquidated and now exists only underground. It was strengthened in the late 1950s by the return of hundreds of priests and two bishops who had survived imprisonment and labour camps and since then a new generation of priests has been secretly ordained and the number of bishops has increased. The Church has suffered severe repression, and there have been many arrests, unexplained murders and staged "suicides" of Ukrainian priests. In 1982 the "Initiative Group to Defend the Rights of Believers and the Church" was formed with the primary aim of achieving the official recognition of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. Several of its leading members were soon arrested and imprisoned.

The persecution of the Ukrainian Orthodox and Catholic Churches in the first half of this century contributed to an increase in the numbers of adherents of various Protestant denominations, of which the most active is the Baptist movement. At present about 60% of the Soviet Union's Baptist communities are in Ukraine. They belong partly to the official All-Union Council

of Evangelical Christians and Baptists and partly to the underground Council of Churches of Evangelical Christians and Baptists. The latter has been vigorously persecuted ever since its formation in the early 1960s and large numbers of Baptists have been arrested and imprisoned.

Although freedom of conscience is ostensibly guaranteed by the Soviet Constitution and citizens have the right "to practice any religion or to engage in atheistic propaganda" (but not religious propaganda), it is the policy of the regime "to overcome religious superstitions completely in the course of the construction of communism". Nevertheless, despite the repressive measures applied by the regime, Christianity in Ukraine remains alive and vigorous.

### **Ukrainians in Great Britain**

World War II uprooted many millions of Ukrainians from their ancestral lands. Many of them came to and remained in the West. Some 35,000 were given a chance to settle in the United Kingdom. They had few material possessions, but they brought with them what they treasured most: their Christian faith, their tradition, and their thousand-year-old culture. Within the first few years of their settlement here, Ukrainian parishes and parish centres were established throughout the British Isles. The Ukrainians settled into the British community and now, along with the second and third generations born in this country, they play their part in British cultural and political life, while preserving spiritual loyalty to their heritage, to their ancestors and to their brethren in Ukraine.

The Ukrainians are about to enter their second Christian millennium with optimism and with the hope that their oppressed compatriots in Ukraine will before long be free to profess their ancestral faith openly and to be their own masters in their own land.

On the occasion of the millennium of Christianity in Ukraine, the Ukrainians in Great Britain wish to share their joy and their hopes with all people of good will.

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Volodymyr KOSYK

## THE MILLENNIUM OF THE CHRISTIANISATION OF UKRAINE (988-1988)

(Conclusion)

### The spread of Christianity in the Kyivan Empire

The discussion on the subject of where the priests and bishops whom Volodymyr had invited to Kyiv and other towns came from, continues to this day. In the tradition of Nestor's Chronicle, some authors maintain that they came from Byzantium. Others try to prove that the first clergy and Church hierarchy did not come from Byzantium but from Ochrida (Ohrid) in Bulgaria, where there existed an independent patriarchate and where the Slavonic language, which was understood in the Kyivan state was spoken<sup>93</sup>.

There is also a hypothesis about the Roman Catholic origins of Christianity in the Kyivan state. It is true that during the reign of Volodymyr there was a notable improvement in relations between Rome and Kyiv. After capturing Kherson, the envoys of Pope John XV handed over the relics of Pope Clement to Volodymyr<sup>94</sup>. The envoys of the Pope once again came to Volodymyr in 991 "with love and esteem"<sup>95</sup>. Then in his letter to Volodymyr and Metropolitan Michael, the Patriarch of Constantinople demanded that they break off their contacts with Rome<sup>96</sup>. However, Volodymyr continued these relations, since he believed that the recognition of his authority by the Pope and the support of Rome was of great international significance. In 992 or 993, Volodymyr sent his envoys to the Pope, who returned in 994<sup>97</sup>. In the year 1000, envoys of Pope Silvester II once again came to Kyiv together with emissaries from the Bohemian and Hungarian Kings. In 1001, Volodymyr sent a new mission to Rome<sup>98</sup>.

In spite of these contacts Kyiv remained in obedience to the Eastern Christian Byzantine rite. Rome probably kept close ties with Kyiv because it wanted to create a federation of Christian states in the East and strived to unite "Kyivan Rus' — the strongest state in Eastern Europe and one of the

93. N. Polonska-Vasylenko: *Istoriya Ukrayiny*, op. cit., pp. 116-117.

94. M. Chubaty: *Istoriya Ukrayinskoyi Tserkvy* (History of the Ukrainian Church). Winnipeg 1946, p. 39; *PSRL*, Vol. I, p. 116.

95. *PSRL*, Vol. IX, p. 64.

96. V.N. Tatishchev: *Istoriya* . . ., op. cit., p. 64.

97. *PSRL*, Vol. I, p. 65.

98. *Ibid.*, p. 68.

most powerful states in the world at that time — to the Polish-Bohemian-Hungarian coalition”<sup>99</sup>.

The Chronicle gives very little information about the original structure of the Church in Rus'-Ukraine. The Laurentian and Hypatian Chronicles state that in 1037 Yaroslav established a metropolitanate in Kyiv. Under the year 1039 they mention Metropolitan Theopemptos. In 1051, Prince Yaroslav called together the bishops and appointed the Ruthenian Ilarion as metropolitan<sup>100</sup>. The Nikon Chronicle mentions three metropolitans who were appointed by the Patriarch of Constantinople: Michael (988-992), Leonteios (992) and Ioan (John, 1008)<sup>101</sup>. They were Greeks, except for Ioan, who was probably Bulgarian. The same chronicle also reports that in 1037 “Yaroslav established a metropolitanate” and under the year 1039 mentions Metropolitan Theopemptos. In 1051, on Yaroslav's orders, the Ruthenian bishops appointed “the Ruthenian Ilarion as a metropolitan”<sup>102</sup>.

The appointment and choice of Metropolitan Ilarion shows that Yaroslav wanted to extend the rights of the Kyivan metropolitanate and withdraw it from under the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Constantinople.

After baptising Kyiv and the surrounding towns and villages, and eventually the western parts of present-day Ukraine, Volodymyr sent bishops and priests together with military forces to the north in order to baptise the lands of Novgorod and Suzdal.

In the Joachim Chronicle there is a description of the forced conversion of Novgorod to the Christian faith in 991. The citizens of Novgorod, together with the aristocracy and rulers, raised a rebellion against the Kyivan troops and destroyed the church which already existed there. Putiata, the commander of a thousand men, was forced to put down the rebellion with arms, while the *voyevoda* (provincial administrator) Dobrynia ordered that the houses be set on fire. The people rushed to put the fire out and save their homes. The rebellion ended in this way.

The Chronicle states that the people of Novgorod remembered this event for many years with the saying: “Putiata converted with the sword and Dobrynia with fire”<sup>103</sup>. The rebellion in Novgorod was not only directed against the new religion, but also against the central power in Kyiv, in defence of the autonomy and independence of Novgorod<sup>104</sup>.

During Volodymyr's reign, Christianity spread only over the territory of

99. I.M. Shekera: *Kyivska Rus' XI. st. u mizhnarodnykh vidnosynakh* (Kyivan Rus' of the 11th century in international relations). Kyiv 1967, p. 60.

100. *PSRL*, Vol. I, pp. 151, 153, 155; Vol. II, pp. 139, 141, 143.

101. *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, pp. 57, 64, 69, 80.

102. *Ibid.*, pp. 80, 81, 83.

103. S.M. Solovyev: *Istoriya Rossiya* (The History of Russia). Vol. I, pp. 186-187.

104. *Tserkov v istorii Rossiya* (The Church in the History of Russia). Moscow 1967, p. 44.

present-day Ukraine, namely in Rus' and its western dependencies. In the northern colonies of the empire, Christianity spread along the waterway from Kyiv to Novgorod, which is also maintained by Russian historians. They say that opposition to Christianity was "particularly strong in the north-eastern regions, where alongside the Slavic population there lived the Ugro-Finnish peoples"<sup>105</sup>.

The first two bishops of Rostov, the centre of this territory, which was mainly inhabited by Ugro-Finns, were forced to flee. The people of Rostov also rose against their third bishop, Leontiy, in the second half of the 11th century and killed him. Only the fourth bishop of Rostov, succeeded with military aid to master the heathens and burn their idols. At this time, the town of Suzdal was built to the south-east of Rostov. In 1024, a large uprising broke out in the Suzdal region against Christianisation and the central power in Kyiv. The pagan priests made use of the famine which arose as a result of a drought, and stirred up an uprising among the population, whereby the representatives of power, the *boyars* and the local aristocracy were killed. Thereupon Yaroslav undertook military campaigns to the land of Suzdal to suppress the uprising<sup>106</sup>. Difficulties continued in the Rostov region, the population refused to convert to Christianity. The inhabitants of Murom refused to allow Prince Hlib, who had accepted the Christian faith, into the town. In 1071, a new uprising broke out in the Rostov region<sup>107</sup>.

Historians, among them Russians, assert that in the north-eastern part of the empire (that is, in present-day Russia) "Christianity began to emerge only since the beginning of the second half of the 11th century, . . . [therefore] it is hardly credible to speak of Christianity in the land of Suzdal in the first half of the 11th century"<sup>108</sup>. Christianity actually began to spread in this territory and along the Volga "only in the 11th-12th centuries, together with the appearance of the princely army in the region, the destruction of old and the appearance of new social conditions"<sup>109</sup>. "The conversion to Christianity of the [Slavic] tribe of Viaticians, that is, the inhabitants of the Vologda region, began only in the 12th century, the Chud on the other side of the Volga and the native population of the Olonets region in the 13th century, and the Zirianians [in the Perm region] in the 14th century" and so on<sup>110</sup>.

105. Ibid., p. 57.

106. *PSRL*, Vol. I, pp. 147-148; Vol. II, p. 135; *Tserkov*. . . , op. cit., p. 45.

107. *Tserkov*. . . , op. cit., p. 45.

108. I. Ya. Froyalov: "Volkhvy i narodnye volneniya v Suzdalskoy zemle 1024 g." (The Sacrificers and the National Movement in the Land of Suzdal in the year 1024). In: *Dukhovnaya Kultura slavyanskikh narodov*, Leningrad 1983, p. 33.

109. P.V. Holobutskyi: *Pravoslavyya: Khreshchennyya Rusi — pravda i vyhadky* (Orthodoxy: The Christianisation of Rus' — Truth and Fabrications). Kyiv 1981, p. 63; I.M. Shekera: *Kyivska Rus'*. . . , op. cit. p. 127.

110. *Liudyna i svit*, No. 4, Kyiv 1985, p. 31.

### The Decline of the Kyivan Empire

The acceptance of Christianity in the Kyivan state had a great influence on its further development. Kyiv strengthened its ties with Byzantium and Bulgaria, and from these lands came influences in the fields of architecture, art and education. In 996 the *Desiatynna* (Tithe) Church was completed. During the reign of Yaroslav the Wise, the Cathedral of St. Sophia with its famous frescoes and mosaics was built (1037) as well as other new churches, palaces and fortresses. A school and a library were established next to the St. Sophia Cathedral. Kyiv became the most beautiful and wealthiest town in Eastern Europe. The Bishop of Bremen, Adam, called Kyiv the ornament of the East and a rival to Constantinople. Thietmar of Merseburg wrote that there were 400 churches in Kyiv at this time (probably including small chapels), eight market places and many people. It is believed that at this time Kyiv had from 50,000 to 100,000 inhabitants<sup>111</sup>.

The Kyivan empire also established close ties with other European states. Although in 1054 the Christian Church divided into two separate Churches — the Eastern (Orthodox) and Roman (Catholic) Churches — Kyiv's relations with Catholic countries did not cease, which is evidenced by the constant marriages between members of the Kyivan princely court and members of the royal and princely courts of the Catholic states of Europe. From the 11th to 13th centuries, out of 73 marriages with foreigners, only 13 were with members of the Byzantine Orthodox court, and 60 with Catholic princes, princesses and kings<sup>112</sup>.

Although, during the reign of Yaroslav the Wise, the Kyivan Church expressed its desire to become independent, nothing came of this, perhaps with regard to the canonical side of the matter. The Kyivan Metropolitanate remained subordinate to the Patriarch of Constantinople. The Patriarch appointed the Metropolitan, who was elected by the Greek bishops. Therefore, the metropolitans were almost always Greek. Only in 1147, the vacant Metropolitan see of Kyiv was once again occupied by a Ruthenian, Klym (Clement) Smoliatych<sup>113</sup>. He was chosen upon the proposition of Prince Iziaslav without a previous agreement from the Patriarch of Constantinople. However, the new Metropolitan was not recognised in Novgorod, Smolensk, Suzdal, Pskov and Polotsk<sup>114</sup>.

111. "Kyiv", in: *Istoriya mist i sil URSR*. Kyiv 1968, pp. 28-31; N.F. Kotliar and S.V. Kulchytskyi: *Kiev* . . . , op. cit., p. 30; N. Polonska-Vasylenko: *Istoriya* . . . , op. cit., p. 121.

112. N. Polonska-Vasylenko: *Istoriya Ukrayiny*, op. cit., p. 238; *Istorychni Pidvalyny* . . . , op. cit., p. 26.

113. N. Polonska-Vasylenko: *Istorychni pidvalyny* . . . , op. cit., p. 26.

114. *Tserkov* . . . , op. cit., p. 59.

As we have seen, the Kyivan empire fell apart in 1132-1135 because it was made up of various territories conquered by Kyiv, which did not or could not create either political, ethnic or social unity. In spite of this, Russian historians have worked out their own historical conception with the aim of directly connecting Russia and the Russian people with Rus', with the Kyivan empire.

By using the term "drevnaya Rus'" (ancient Rus') for defining the Kyivan empire, they maintain that at this time on the whole territory of the state (in Rus' and its colonies) there existed an "ancient Russian people". This "ancient Russian people" was supposedly the "predecessor of three eastern Slavic peoples — Russian, Ukrainian and Byelorussian"<sup>115</sup>. This theory was developed, particularly since 1947, by V.V. Mavrodin, A.N. Nasonov, B.A. Rybakov, V.I. Dovzhenok and P.N. Tretyakov. Of course, the terms "ancient Russia" and "ancient Russian people" did not exist in the 9th-13th centuries, they were invented by Russian historians in the 19th and 20th centuries. Thus, the Russian historian, P.N. Tretyakov, writes: "the term 'ancient Russian people', just as the name 'ancient Russia' or 'ancient Russian state' are 'literary' concepts, which have been put into circulation by historians"<sup>116</sup>.

The Ukrainian historian M.Yu. Braichevskyi, considers that the widespread concept in Soviet doctrine on the disintegration of "the single ancient Russian people" into three peoples — Ukrainian, Russian and Byelorussian — is "false" because the causes and consequences are muddled in places<sup>117</sup>. Thus, the development of these three peoples occurred as a result of the ethnic composition of the empire, already at the time of the existence of the tribes, which underwent a process of consolidation "around three epicentres — the southern, north-eastern and north-western"<sup>118</sup>. Naturally, M.Yu. Braichevskyi does not use the term "empire", but "ancient Rus'" or "Kyivan Rus'".

This means that the existence of vassal principalities in the empire, the disintegration of the empire into separate principalities and the process which occurred in the 12th and 13th centuries, had both social and ethnical roots. In other words, these tendencies "were not purely of a political, but to a large extent, of an ethnical and national character"<sup>119</sup>.

Various historical facts have shown that the "Ruthenian", that is Ukrainian, people had practically formed as early as the 11th and the beginning of the

115. P.N. Tretyakov: *U istokov. . .*, op. cit., p. 3. One should add that the majority of Russian historians of the pre-Soviet period, as well as Russian historians abroad, identify the terms "Rus'" with "Rossiya" (Russia), speak of the existence of the Russian people only, and deny Ukrainians and Byelorussians the right to their own existence.

116. P.N. Tretyakov: *U istokov. . .*, op. cit., p. 5.

117. M. Yu. Braichevskyi: *Pokhodzhenia. . .*, op. cit., p. 190.

118. *Ibid.*, p. 189.

119. *Ibid.*, p. 192.

12th centuries<sup>120</sup>. This occurred on the territory which included the lands of Kyiv, Pereyaslav, Chernihiv, Galicia-Volynia, northern Bukovyna and Transcarpathia. Despite the fact that the territory of this people had belonged to different states and had been divided by frontiers throughout centuries, in particular from the 14th century, this people was able to preserve its ethnic individuality and awareness of belonging to a separate ethnic group.

The centrifugal tendencies of Polotsk and the neighbouring regions, which had become manifest at the time of the Kyivan empire, were already a sign of the beginnings of the formation of a separate people — the Byelorussian people — which underwent a process of ethnic consciousness in the 14th century within the framework of the Lithuanian principality<sup>121</sup>.

Further north, the formation of the Novgorod people was taking place, and in the north-east a slow process of the development of another ethnic substratum was occurring, in which the Ugro-Finnish element prevailed. Many historians regard that this is where the people of Suzdal-Vladimir developed<sup>122</sup>. In reality, the process of ethnic development on this territory had not yet come to an end. It was hindered and, since the 14th century, reoriented by the expansion of the principality of Moscow. This expansion was the beginning of the formation of the Muscovite people, the first step towards the formation of the Russian people. This formation of the Muscovite people entered a new stage, particularly after the liquidation of independence of the Novgorod republic in 1478.

Therefore, the centre of the formation of the Russian people, which is also recognised by Russian historians, was the land of Rostov-Vladimir-Suzdal<sup>123</sup> and this process spread to the land of Novgorod-Pskov. It began in the 14th century and ended in the 17th century.

### The Church after the Disintegration of the Empire

After the disintegration of the Kyivan empire, a confusing situation arose on its extensive territory. From a political viewpoint, there existed various independent principalities and states on this territory and simultaneously an ethnic process of the establishment and development of peoples was taking place.

However, the time between the 13th and 15th centuries was also an era when the term "land of Rus'" began to be used to define the principalities of Rostov-Suzdal, and later Muscovy.

120. M. Chubaty: *Kniazha Rus'-Ukrayina*. . . , op. cit., pp. 63-64.

121. Ibid., pp. 82-92.

122. Ibid., pp. 98, 139.

123. *Voprosy formirovaniya*. . . , op. cit., p. 79.

The reason for this was the Church. The structure of the Kyivan Church was formed at a time when the Kyivan empire was still in existence. It comprised Rus' and the "lands of Rus'", that is, those colonies of the empire which existed outside the actual Rus'. Naturally, Kyiv's domination over other countries gave the Kyivan Church the possibility to expand its activity in all the colonies of Rus'. Also, after the fall of the Kyivan empire, the Church continued to be active in all these territories, in spite of the political borders of the independent states. The Church was not interested in state borders, but in the unity of the Church and its eparchies. It was even interested in spreading the Orthodox religion beyond the borders of the disintegrated Kyivan empire.

In the chronicles, the Metropolitanate, created during the reign of Yaroslav the Wise, is either called the Metropolitanate of Rus' or the Kyivan Metropolitanate. The important fact is that the head of the Church — the metropolitan — carried the title "Metropolitan of Kyiv and the whole of Rus'". From what time, one may ask? The oldest chronicles — the Laurentian Chronicle (rewritten in 1377 and kept until 1116) and the Hypatian Chronicle (rewritten around 1292 and kept until 1292) — do not use this title for the metropolitans. However, this title is found in the Laurentian transcript in the Suzdal Chronicle from the year 1377, where under the year 1230 the following is written: "Kyrylo, the Metropolitan of the whole of Rus'"<sup>124</sup>. On the other hand, in the Patriarchal or Nikon Chronicle from the middle of the 16th century this title is given to all metropolitans, beginning from 988, where Michael is mentioned as "the first Metropolitan"<sup>125</sup>.

The question of when the Kyivan metropolitans began to bear the title "of Kyiv and the whole of Rus'" has not yet been sufficiently investigated. It is possible that this title first began to be used only after the disintegration of the Kyivan empire (probably in 1230) in order to emphasise the unity of the metropolitanate of Rus', in spite of the fact that the territory had been divided into different independent states. Whatever the case, Kyrylo (Cyril), already the metropolitan "of Kyiv and the whole of Rus'" (1224-1233) did not constantly remain in Kyiv, but travelled to Vladimir on the Kliazma and other places<sup>126</sup>. One of his successors, also called Kyrylo (1250-1281), travelled north even more frequently: he went to Suzdal and Novgorod, lived there most of the time and died in the land of Suzdal<sup>127</sup>. Metropolitan MakSYM (1285-1305) travelled to Pskov, and in 1299 left Kyiv for good "together with all of his metropolitanate's wealth and people" and settled down in Vladimir, Suzdal and Novgorod<sup>128</sup>. The reason for the metropolitan's resettle-

124. *PSRL*, Vol. I, p. 455.

125. *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 57.

126. *Ibid.*, Vol. X, p. 93.

127. *Ibid.*, p. 158.

128. *Ibid.*, p. 172.

ment, as the chronicle adds, was that he no longer wished to endure the "violence" of the Tartars in Kyiv. However, there was in fact another reason.

In actual fact, his Church had no problems at all in Kyiv, but many in the north and north-east. These problems made it necessary for the permanent presence of the metropolitan.

In the principality of Vladimir-Suzdal, where the power of the princes was very rapidly increasing, a tendency towards creating a "separate" Church appeared already in the second half of the 12th century when Andrei Bogoliubskiy succeeded in obtaining the appointment of his candidate, the Monk Fedor, as bishop, and demanded that the Patriarch should appoint him as metropolitan<sup>129</sup>. Of course, the metropolitan of Kyiv could not agree to this and harshly punished Bishop Fedor for having agreed to become appointed as metropolitan. The succeeding metropolitans did not wish something similar to happen again. Besides, the Orthodox faith was being threatened along the Baltic coast. From 1224 onwards, the pressure from the Germans in the direction of Pskov and Novgorod was markedly increased. This pressure lasted for decades.

Petro (1308-1326), the successor of Metropolitan Maksym, only travelled through Kyiv and proceeded straight to Vladimir. During his term in office, the Muscovite principality already had a say in matters and the prince of Moscow was gradually becoming more powerful. In 1325, Petro transferred the seat of the metropolitanate from Vladimir to Moscow, and Moscow became the centre of the metropolitanate of Rus'.

The transfer of the metropolitan's seat to Moscow played a great role in the development of the Muscovite principality. From then on, the threads of life within the Church of Rus' met in Moscow. Moscow began to be tied to all the lands, which formerly belonged to the Kyivan empire, or had been the colonies of Rus', and this eased the policy, which Russian historians call the "unifying activity of the Muscovite princes". The Church, which had great riches at its disposal, contributed to the economic strengthening of Moscow and the Orthodox Church helped the Muscovite princes in "gathering the Rus' lands"<sup>130</sup>.

Here a question arises, whether this Church was the same old Church of Rus' — the Kyivan Church? Numerous facts and the activity of the Church point to the opposite, namely, that it was no longer the same Church and that it now pursued different interests which were tied not to Kyiv, but to Moscow. However, the metropolitan continued to bear the title "the metropolitan of Kyiv and the whole of Rus'", although he resided in Moscow, where the seat of the metropolitanate was now situated. Therefore, already in the 14th

129. Tserkov... , op. cit., p. 59; PSRL, Vol. II, pp. 355-356.

130. V.E. Titov: *Pravoslavie*... , op. cit., p. 74.



century, the question arose in Kyiv and in the Ukrainian territory about appointing a separate metropolitan, a matter which will now be discussed further.

From the time when the metropolitanate was transferred to Moscow, events moved incessantly in one specific direction. In 1448, Jonas was elected as metropolitan without permission from the Patriarch of Constantinople and this date is regarded as the beginning of the autocephaly of the Russian Orthodox Church<sup>131</sup>.

In 1453, the Turks occupied Constantinople and Moscow began to regard itself as the one and only centre of Christianity. The metropolitans in Moscow continued to bear the title of "metropolitan of Kyiv and the whole of Rus". The temptation was too great for the princes of Moscow and since around 1336 several Muscovite princes had already begun to use the term "of the whole of Rus"<sup>132</sup>. In 1461, Jonas, the last metropolitan bearing the title "of Kyiv and the whole of Rus" died. His successor Theodosiy was then given the title "Metropolitan of Moscow and the whole of Rus"<sup>133</sup>.

In 1463, the principality of Yaroslav was absorbed by the Muscovite principality, in 1474 — Rostov, and in 1478 — the republic of Novgorod. From then on, the chronicle refers to Moscow's Prince Ivan III as "the great prince of the whole of Rus"<sup>134</sup>. In another document he is called "the tsar of the whole of Rus"<sup>135</sup>.

In 1492, Metropolitan Zosime called Ivan III "the new tsar Constantine" and Moscow "the new Constantinople". At the beginning of the 16th century, Philophei (Philotheos), a monk from Pskov, wrote to Prince Vasiliy II that two Christian centres — Rome and Byzantium — had fallen, that the third centre was Moscow, and that "there will never be a fourth". Moscow has been "chosen by God" to become a world centre of true Christianity<sup>136</sup>.

Finally, in 1589, Moscow granted autonomy to its Church by creating a patriarchate. In 1721, Peter I abolished this patriarchate and created a synod in its place. In 1918, the patriarchate was re-established. Since 1945, the "patriarch of Moscow and the whole of Rus" is once again the head of the Russian Orthodox Church.

131. (Archbishop) Makariy: *Pravoslavya*. . . , op. cit., p. 12.

132. S.M. Solovyev: *Istoriya Rossiya s drevneyshikh vremen* (The History of Russia Since Ancient Times). Moscow 1960, p. 487.

133. *Ukrayinskyi Istorychnyi Zhurnal*, No. 10, Kyiv 1982, p. 125.

134. *PSRL*, Vol. XVII, p. 135.

135. *Voprosy formirovaniya*. . . op. cit., p. 103.

136. V.E. Titov: *Pravoslavie*. . . , op. cit., p. 81; *Tserkov*. . . , op. cit., p. 86.

### **The release of the Ukrainian Church from under Moscow's jurisdiction**

The transfer of the metropolitanate from Kyiv to Vladimir, and then to Moscow, raised the question about the leadership of the Church in Kyiv and the territory of Ukraine, as well as the release of this Church from under the jurisdiction of the metropolitanate, whose seat was in Moscow.

Measures were undertaken in this respect by the princes of the Galician-Volynian state. At the beginning of the 14th century, Galicia received its own metropolitanate (1303). However, Moscow and her metropolitan demanded its abolition<sup>137</sup>.

After the Polish occupation of Galicia (1349-1366), the Polish King Casimir turned to the Patriarch of Constantinople with the request to renew the Galician metropolitanate. In 1371, the Patriarch ordained Antonius as metropolitan of Galicia. The Galician metropolitanate existed until 1404. All the other Ukrainian lands were annexed to the Lithuanian state. The Lithuanian metropolitanate was probably established in 1317. Although the metropolitan in Moscow demanded its abolition, the Patriarch of Constantinople ordained two metropolitans in 1354: Oleksiy (Alexis) for Moscow (bearing the title of "Kyiv and the whole of Rus'") and Roman as metropolitan of Lithuania, whose jurisdiction comprised the lands of Byelorussia and Ukraine<sup>138</sup>.

In 1458, when the metropolitan in Moscow began to bear the title "metropolitan of Moscow and the whole of Rus'", the metropolitanate in actual fact split into two: the Kyivan (and Lithuanian) and Moscow metropolitanates. The Kyivan metropolitanate comprised the lands populated by Ukrainians and Byelorussians. This division was finally confirmed by the Patriarch of Constantinople's ordination of Hryhoriy Bolharyn (Gregory the Bulgarian) as the Kyivan metropolitan<sup>139</sup>.

From the beginning of the 14th century, the influences of the Patriarch of Constantinople constantly decreased. Instead of ordaining metropolitans, the patriarchs now only "blessed" them.

The Synods of Brest, which took place in October 1596, divided the Ukrainian Church into two parts. Almost all of the bishops, with the exception of two (the bishops of Lviv and Peremyshl), expressed the desire for a Union with Rome. Opponents of this Union made every effort to preserve Orthodoxy. Since most of the hierarchy and even priests went over to the Union with Rome, the Ukrainian Orthodox Church was forced to re-establish its hierarchy with the ordination of new bishops. This happened in 1620. Job Boretskyi was elected metropolitan.

137. N. Polonska-Vasylenko: *Istorychni pidvalyny*. . . , op. cit.. pp. 38-39.

138. Ibid., pp. 40, 43-44.

139. Ibid., p. 48.

However, in 1589, a patriarchate was established in Moscow, which presented a new threat for the Ukrainian Church. In order to safeguard its independence, the idea arose of establishing a Ukrainian patriarchate. The project for a Kyivan patriarchate was drawn up in 1624 and was also supported by Metropolitan Petro Mohyla. However, this idea was not realised. In 1686, the Ukrainian Orthodox Church was subordinated to the Moscow patriarchate<sup>140</sup> and Moscow gradually began to limit the rights of the Kyivan metropolitanate.

After the revolution in Russia and the declaration of Ukraine's independence (January 22, 1918), on January 1, 1919, the Ukrainian government passed a decree on the autocephaly of the Ukrainian Church. The Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church (UAOC), secured by the ordination of new bishops and the election of Vasyl Lypkivskyi as metropolitan at the Church Synod in October 1921, existed and functioned in Ukraine under Soviet rule until the end of the 1920s. In 1930, the UAOC was officially liquidated<sup>141</sup>, its 33 bishops, among them V. Lypkivskyi, and 1,215 priests were arrested and most of them killed in the years 1928-1938. After the Soviet forces retreated from the territory of Ukraine, as a result of the German-Soviet war, which enabled a spontaneous rebirth of religion, the UAOC also revived. Metropolitan Dionysius, who resided in Warsaw, decided on the request of the Orthodox Church Council in Ukraine, to extend the jurisdiction of this Church onto the territory of the Kyivan metropolitanate.

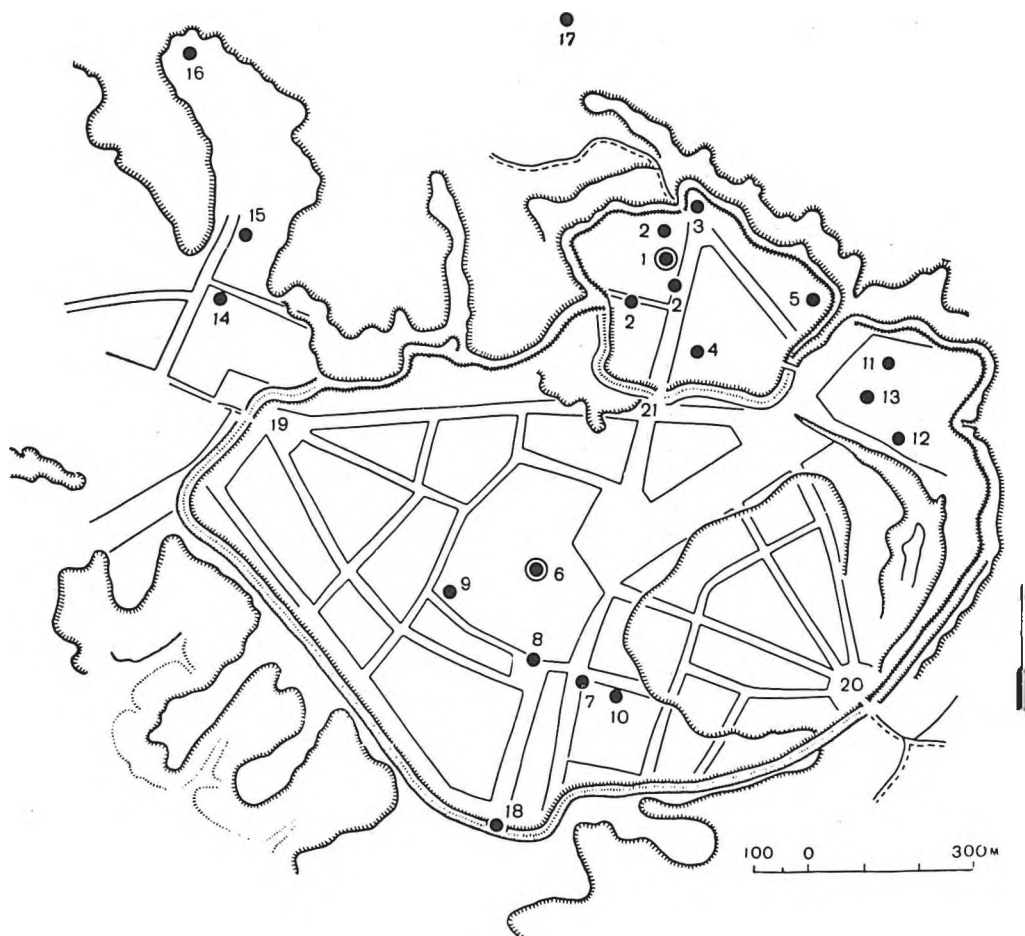
In December 1941, the Archbishop of Lutsk Polikarp was appointed provincial administrator of the UAOC on the territories of central and eastern Ukraine. In the first half of 1942, the UAOC was structurally renewed on these territories and Archbishop Polikarp became metropolitan. In addition, at this time new bishops were ordained.

Beginning in the second half of 1943, as a result of the return of Soviet Russian rule, the hierarchy of the UAOC and part of the autocephalous clergy emigrated. In Soviet occupied Ukraine, the UAOC ceased to exist. From then on, it continued to exist only abroad, in European countries, in North and South America and Australia, where Ukrainians had settled.

A similar fate met the Ukrainian Catholic Church. In addition to the bishops of the Ukrainian Church of the 16th century, who had signed the Union of Brest, the Union was later joined by the eparchies of Peremyshl (1692), Lviv (1700) and Lutsk (1702). At the Synod of Zamostia, the Uniate Church was reformed under the protection of the Catholic Church; it became the Greek-Catholic Church. After the division of Poland (1772-1795), the lands of Kyiv, Podilia and Volynia came under Russian occupation. During the reign

140. Ibid., pp. 60-61.

141. Ibid., p. 106; *Encyclopedia Ukrayinoznavstva* (Ukrainian Encyclopedia), Vol. II, Munich 1949, pp. 617-618.



**Plan of Kyiv in the 10-12th c.**

1. The Tithe Church, 10th c. 2. Palace buildings, 10-11th c. 3. Vozvyzhenska Church, 12th c. 4. Fedoriv monastery, 12th c. 5. Church of St. Basil, 12th c. 6. Cathedral of St. Sophia, 11th c. 7. Church of St. Irene (?), 11th c. 8. Church of St. George (?), 11th c. 9. Church, 11th c. 10. Palace, 11th c. 11. Church of St. Peter (?), 11th c. 12. Monastery of St. Demetrius (?). 13. Church of St. Michael (the "Golden-domed"), 12th c. 14. Church, 11th c. 15. Church, 11th c. 16. Church, 12th c. 17. Church of the Mother of God, 12th c. 18. The Golden Gate, 11th c. 19. The Lviv Gate, 11th c. 20. The Liadskyi Gate, 11th c. 21. The St. Sophia Gate, 10th c.

of Catherine II, the Russian government introduced a policy of forced conversion of Ukrainian Catholics (Uniates) to the Orthodox faith. In the years 1839 and 1875, the Union was finally abolished on Ukrainian territories inside the Russian empire<sup>142</sup>.

The Greek-Catholic Church continued to exist only on those Ukrainian lands under the occupation of Austria (1772-1918) and Poland (1919-1939), and then on the same lands during World War II (1939-1945). In 1945, it numbered 4.5 million faithful.

After World War II, the Soviet authorities decided to abolish the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church. In April 1945, they arrested its head, Metropolitan Josyf Slipyj, and the entire hierarchy (10 bishops). In March 1946, under pressure from Soviet authorities and with the help of the Russian Orthodox Church, a "Church Synod" was convened in Lviv, which annulled the Union of Brest. The Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church was abolished, approximately 1,000 priests, who refused to convert to Orthodoxy, were arrested, and all churches and the faithful were forcibly placed under the jurisdiction of the Russian Orthodox Church. However, the Soviet authorities have not succeeded in destroying the Ukrainian Catholic Church. It has gone into the catacombs and continues to exist illegally.

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142. On the separation of the Kyivan metropolitanate from the one in Moscow, on Moscow's Church policy and the religious persecution of Ukrainians see also: Cardinal M.I. Lubachivskyi: *Chy spravdi bulo Khreshchennia Rosiyyi 988 roku?* (Was it really Russia that was christianised in 988?). Rome-Munich 1986; English edition: *Was it really Russia that was christianised in 988?* London-Rome 1985.

*Yevhen KRAMAR*

## THE QUESTION OF PRINCE VOLODYMYR'S RELIGIOUS CHOICE

*(Part I)*

In 980, the great Prince of Kyiv, Volodymyr, reformed the ancient Ukrainian pagan religion. A pagan pantheon comprising six gods headed by Perun was created. The Chronicle — the “Story of Bygone Years”, compiled by the monk Nestor at the beginning of the 12th century, notes the following under the relevant year: “. . .and he set up idols on the hill outside the castle with the hall: one of Perun, made of wood with a head of silver and a mouth of gold, and others of Khors, Dazhboh, Striboh, Simargl and Mokosh. The people sacrificed to them, calling them gods, and brought their sons and their daughters to sacrifice them to these devils. . .”<sup>1</sup>.

Under the year 983, this literary source highlights a specific tragic case connected with the offering of human sacrifices to the gods of Volodymyr's pantheon. In his private life, the Prince maintained the pagan moral code. He even acquired Kyiv by stepping over the corpse of his elder brother, Yaropolk. After cunningly killing his brother, Volodymyr took his wife as his own.

On the pages of the chronicles, Volodymyr initially appeared to be an ardent pagan and his religious reform of 980 affirmed his earnest paganism. The reform set out to regulate the pagan faith and reverse its decline before the threat of other religions, principally Christianity. But then suddenly in 987 Volodymyr was baptised and the following year, by his will the baptism of his people — the christianisation of Rus' (Ukraine) — took place. For this act, Volodymyr was designated the title “Great”, and the Church acknowledged him as a saint, equal to the Apostles.

If one was talking about a simple person, such a religious metamorphosis could easily be explained: his motives lay in the personal sphere or in close parallel with it. But Volodymyr's status in 987-988 was that of a ruler of a great and mighty, well-known state — Kyivan-Rus'. That explains why the aforementioned act was not brought about by personal motives. It was marked by a complex of different circumstances. The ancient chronicles of the “life” of this prince and of the Church, and Volodymyr's abrupt rejection of paganism in favour of Christianity are explained in terms of the influence of Divine Providence, which resulted in the enlightenment of the Prince's

1. *Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisey*, vol. I. The Laurentian Chronicle, 1962, p. 79.

consciousness. In other words, Prince Volodymyr was illuminated by the light of the Christian faith.

For a long time now, attention has been drawn to the fact that the local Christian environment had influenced the Prince: his grandmother, Princess Olha, was a Christian, he had some Christian wives and an increasingly Christian armed retinue. Volodymyr's conversion to Christianity has been explained by some as conjectural, state-political, military-diplomatic and other combinations. Others reject these views and lean towards a mature state-political, socio-cultural realisation. Soviet researchers over-sociologise the situation stating that Volodymyr accepted Christianity as a class religion, because it was the best feudal-exploitative method of keeping the proletariat in submission.

It is evident that the Prince wanted to marry and indeed did marry Anna, the sister of the Byzantine Emperors (the Emperors found themselves in a critical situation and required Volodymyr's military aid). It was unthinkable for them to give their sister away in marriage to a pagan. So there is a convenient, purely personal, marital-dynastic motive for the baptism of Volodymyr and of Rus'. It is, of course, necessary for these and other possible motives to be scrutinised closely and researched individually. In this modest exploration they will be pursued, but what is clear is that the baptism of Volodymyr and all of Rus' was immediately preceded by an appropriate period of meditation on religious matters, accompanied by the consideration of the various arguments presented. This period of the choice of faith or trial of religions will become the subject of a more detailed explanation in this article.

The section of the "Primary Chronicle" for 986-988 contains a marked reference to this period. The annalist gave a detailed account of how Volodymyr received the representatives (missionaries) of Islam, Judaism and Christianity (both Roman and Byzantine rites). According to the Chronicle, the Prince listened to all of them, and then, advised by the closest members of his court, despatched his envoys to various countries with instructions to become acquainted with suitable religions in order that the best may be chosen. Upon the return of the envoys, at a council of noblemen and other distinguished members of the court, the Prince chose Christianity of the Byzantine rite. The account as portrayed in the Chronicle is also evident from other sources. For instance, the Statute of Prince Volodymyr — rewritten in 1286 in the city of Volodymyr-in-Volyn — states the following:

"I, Prince Volodymyr, have despatched envoys to all lands to learn with great diligence about all religions, in whatever language, and to consider, with all the nobles, all the religious rituals in all the lands and to choose one single true faith, the holy Christian faith. . ."<sup>2</sup>

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2. *Drevnerusskie kniazheskie ustavy*, XI-XV, 1976, p. 69.

This and other similar documents are an independent source which clarifies the choice of religion as written down in the Chronicle: they contain repetitions of the version presented in the "Primary Chronicle". In Rus', all the events prior to 988 are deemed to have occurred exactly as encountered in the Chronicle: the visiting representatives of various religions, the despatch of envoys from Kyiv, the eyewitness accounts of the envoys and so on.

Caution must be exercised at this point: accounts of the choice of religion appear in the "Primary Chronicle", in domestic and in some foreign sources. Authentic and foreign sources are silent on this matter. Statements can be found indicating that the following possibilities existed for the still pagan Kyivan Rus': to preserve paganism, albeit in a modified form; the acceptance of Islam; the introduction of Judaism; the acceptance of Christianity in its Eastern (Byzantine) or Western (Roman) rite<sup>3</sup>. It would be worth noting whether each of the prevailing religions had an equal chance of being accepted in Rus' in the last quarter of the 10th century; whether the Prince and his court had such freedom in their religious choice. And, finally, did everything really occur as portrayed in the "Primary Chronicle"? First of all, it is not apparent from the Chronicle whether the local pagans took part in the choice of faith. It is also not evident whether the adherents of paganism defended the interests of the religion of their ancestors. The fact that there was a feeling of need for a new religion testifies to the doomed fate of the pagan religion. In actual fact, paganism was already under a sentence of death and the questions were narrowed down to the specific timespan and form in which the sentence was to be carried out.

It is clear that polytheism in the form of the worship of various natural phenomena formed the basis of the pagan religion of the ancient Slavs, which included the ancestors of the Ukrainians. The Byzantine historian Prokopius (mid-6th century) described his Slav peers thus: "They believe that only one god, the creator of lightning, to whom they bring bulls in sacrifice and perform other sacred rites, is the omnipotent ruler. . . They also honour streams, nymphs and all manner of demons, offering them all sacrifices and telling fortunes with the aid of these sacrifices"<sup>4</sup>.

It was usual for pagan religious beliefs to evolve and become more refined. The source of the 12th century *Word of Saint Gregory*. . . gives the following breakdown of the beliefs of the Eastern Slavs: the worship of mermaids and vampires; the adoration of Rod; praying to Perun, Khors and Veles. Moreover, if paganism did not evolve, it would remain pagan, that is, a polytheistic religion of the worship of natural phenomena. This is explained by the tribal character of society of that time. And this character was based on tribal polycentrism, where each tribe had its own ethnographic features, separate territory, its own tribal governing body, their traditions, and more important

3. V. A. Zats: *Pravoslavie i kultura*, Kyiv, 1986, p. 11.

4. Prokopty iz Kesarii: *Voyna z gotamy*, III (VII), 1950.



— its tribal gods and demons, who exuded “power” only within the bounds of that particular tribe. Political, economic, cultural and other tribal relations were very weak. It goes without saying that, during the pagan period, Christianity was filtering through into Ukraine (other religions to a lesser extent), although all this occurred on an individual basis. There was no general inter-tribal feeling of a need for a different religion. Each tribe worshipped around its own pantheon.

With the formation of the Kyivan state in the 9th century, tribal individualism was struck at its roots. The first Kyivan princes progressively and steadily united the various Eastern Slavic and other tribes around Kyiv. The foundation, nucleus, of the newly-formed state was the middle region of the Dnieper basin — the tribal territory of the Polianians, with Kyiv at its centre. This was the most mature area in economic and cultural terms with the greatest political activity.

Already during the reign of Oleh (882-912) and Ihor (912-945), major socio-economic changes were occurring. These were even more marked during the reign of Olha (945-964) who even became a Christian. But the greatest change in all spheres of Kyivan-Rus', including its structure, took place during the early years of the reign of Kyivan Prince Volodymyr. It was then that the territorial formation of the Kyivan state was ultimately achieved. Kyiv gained control of Volyn and the province of Peremyshl as a result of Volodymyr's campaign in 981. This constituted the final territorial expansion of the state. Volodymyr introduced a centralised government and consistently minimised tribal tendencies and other centrifugal forces. As far as the ancient tribes were concerned, on entering the complex of the Kyivan-Rus' state they gradually became politically, economically and culturally assimilated. It was not only the joint state-political and administrative machinery that held them together, but also their consciousness — albeit neither altogether clear nor profound — towards their ethnic interrelationships, language and so on. Naturally, the tribes that assimilated together with greater ease were the ones that were most closely related and were members of the same group. In the process of further ethnogenesis, those of the Ukrainian group brought about a new ethnic unity of a superior quality. However, a substantial obstacle to a further drawing together of the ancient tribes of the unified state was presented by the local tribal religious beliefs whose roots stretched back to time immemorial. Religious beliefs are altogether the most staunch and conservative of human awareness. It was no problem to acknowledge the new capital, Kyiv, the Kyivan Prince and his administration, but it was difficult to be reconciled with foreign gods and their religious attributes. Consequently, opposing tendencies were at work: the all-encompassing centralisation of the state, which was opposed by the separatist, centrifugal religion. Prince Volodymyr attempted to find a solution to the problem in his religious reform of 980. One can stumble across the assurance that the Prince carried out this reform in the interests of controlling the feudal system which was gaining

strength<sup>5</sup>. This is exactly the sort of extreme sociologisation, the class treatment of all important social phenomena, which has already been mentioned. In actual fact, the reform of the pagan religion in 980 should be looked at in the context of general social and universal state interests. It is believed that the gods of the newly-formed pagan pantheon had their respective territorial-tribal ties: Perun was the principal god of Rus', that is, the Polianian tribes; Khors — of the people of Novgorod; Stryba — of the Polotsians; Simarhl — of the Dregovichians; Mokosh — of the Smolchanians<sup>6</sup>.

Possibly, such religious tribal attributes of the above mentioned gods are not altogether convincing in all their aspects, but the general idea is correct: Prince Volodymyr attempted to have all the various regions of his state represented in the new pagan pantheon. Subsequently, it was planned to unite them in the religious sense. This in its turn would substantially ease the problem of the construction of the state and its culture. One may even draw certain conclusions as to why it was Perun who occupied the principal position in the pantheon. Such a dominant position was due to the ancient Polianian tribe which inhabited the area around the city of Kyiv, which became the state capital. The chronicles tells us that when Volodymyr was making preparations for his campaign against his brother, Yaropolk, the great Prince of Kyiv, a conspiracy against the Kyivan Prince was coming to a head in the city, due to the unease about his inclination towards the Christians. So, discontent or possibly even a plot were becoming ripe on the part of the pagan population of Kyiv. Without them Volodymyr could not have defeated Yaropolk, nor could he have kept a hold over Kyiv. Hence, Volodymyr had certain obligations towards the Kyivan Polianians which he had to fulfil. These obligations depended on reconciliation with the traditional leading role of the Polianians which gave rise to the fact that the pagan Perun took up the principal position in Volodymyr's pantheon, although Volodymyr reigned in Novgorod before ruling Kyiv, and originally came from the lands of the Der-evlianians. However, Perun's superiority and the cult of polytheism were shortlived because Volodymyr's obligations were effective only so long as he felt diffident. Once he had consolidated his position in Kyiv, Volodymyr could rid himself of his obligations.

On the other hand, the former alienation between the separate territories (tribes) did not allow the worship of foreign gods, even in the general sense in the pantheon decreed by the Prince. As far as Perun is concerned, it is believed that he was not widely recognised, that his worship did not become entrenched in tradition, and that he did not replace the cult of Rod<sup>7</sup>.

Mention has already been made of the fact that new territories, which had

5. V. S. Korzun: *Russkaya pravoslavnyaya tserkov na sluzhbe eksploatatorskikh klas*, Sov: khv. — 1917, Minsk, 1984, p. 12.

6. A. V. Chlenov: "Shestybozhzhia kniazia Volodymyra", *Ukrainskyi Istorychnyi Zhurnal*, 1971, nos. 8-10.

7. B. A. Rybakov: *Yazychestvo drevnikh slavian*, Moscow, 1981, p. 604.

their own pagan gods who were not represented in the pantheon, became incorporated into Kyivan-Rus' in 981. Thus it became necessary either to reform the pagan religion once again in order to incorporate the gods of the new territories into the pantheon, or, alternatively, to introduce a different, single, state religion. Another reform could be not to resolve the situation. In fact, the very reform of the religion was already an undermining of its authority, a loss of faith in its holiness and the inviolability of its objects of worship and traditional beliefs. The weakness of Volodymyr's pagan pantheon lay in the fact that it was selective by nature, that is, it did not include all the gods of all the territories, only some representative ones. Some well-known gods were excluded from the pantheon, for example, Volos (Veles), Lado, Koliado, Kupalo and others. The worshippers of the gods which had faced discrimination were obviously unhappy. The worship of the newly-formed pantheon was obligatory not so much by the internal convictions of the people, but by the will of Prince Volodymyr and his court. However, in matters concerning religion, this is not enough.

It is clear, for instance, that there were attempts to introduce general state inter-tribal cults in pagan Rome. Apart from local cults within the boundaries of the whole empire, the worship of the Roman god Jupiter, the goddess Ram (protectress of Rome), the genius of the emperor and so on, were also obligatory. But this administrative, religious action did not produce the desired outcome. This sort of failure also awaited Prince Volodymyr's attempt in 980. Because of its inherent weakness, ancient Ukrainian paganism did not have the internal cohesion to resist other religions. It was really uncompetitive. In attempting to strengthen the pagan religion Prince Volodymyr in fact destabilised it further.

It has already been pointed out that polytheistic paganism was in no way compatible with a centralised state. This most probably became apparent shortly after the formation of this state. Suffice it to say that Prince Askold rejected paganism in 860-877 and accepted Christianity, and in the 960s Princess Olha did likewise. Ancient Ukrainian paganism had burnt itself out in all aspects including the philosophical and gnosiological. Polytheism in any shape or form is an inferior type of religion compared to the monotheistic religions of Christianity, Islam, Judaism. . . Polytheism suits a certain level of social conscience of a philosophical perception in the awareness of its environment. It suits the imagination of ancient people concerning the diversity of the world, when they were unable to draw everything to a common denominator and notice a regularity, a universal foundation of the world and when every phenomenon or group of related phenomena had their defined substance. For instance, water — snow and the specific god or demon which controlled water; thunder and lightning — again with an associated god; sun — god, moon — god; cattle — again a god and so on. On a higher plane in man's evolution, attempts were made to discover a common foundation for the surrounding environment. It is sufficient to mention the attempts of the

ancient Greek philosophers who took objects of nature to be the foundation of all things: some took water, others — fire, others still — air. At the same time, attempts were made to limit and standardise the pagan pantheons. For example, the ancient Greek philosopher Xenophanes criticised polytheism, saying everything was created by one god. The development of human consciousness and philosophy inevitably led to the idea of one universal God (monotheism).

The transition from polytheism to monotheism was protracted and national differences were apparent in the way this occurred. An intermediate phase was manifest — genotheism, where many gods were worshiped but one principal god was recognised (in Egypt this was Aman-Ra, in Babylon — Madruk, in Greece — Zeus, in Rome — Jupiter). Ancient Ukrainian paganism followed a similar pattern. It is sufficient to mention those stages in the evolution of pagan worship which appear in the *Word of Saint Gregory*. . . . The pagan reform introduced by Prince Volodymyr in 980 is a classic example of genotheism (a pantheon of six gods whose chief was Perun). Monotheism was due to follow the reform, but obviously not in a pagan form but on a fundamentally different basis. The internal and external life of Kyivan-Rus' was progressing, but its religion did not and could not hasten to catch up. They posed a substantial obstacle in the way of the development of the international contacts of Kyivan-Rus'. The neighbours of Kyivan-Rus' — the Poles, Czechs, Bulgarians — were already Christian.

The principal tendency of the external connections of the Kyivan state lay in the direction of Byzantium — an important centre of Christianity. Compared to various Christian rulers, the pagan Volodymyr was clearly inferior. He remained a barbarian, a ruler of barbarian people. It is known that the Latin "paganus" means "peasant", "commoner", "barbarian", and the Greek version "yazychnyk" basically has the same meaning. It would not be true to say that Prince Volodymyr was well versed in the history of religion and various religious nuances, but he was obviously aware that his paganism was instrumental in slowing down the further expansion of the state and its international connections. Such an awareness was formed on the basis of his personal and political experience. Contacts with other religions, Christianity in particular, played an important role. It was not necessary to go far to observe this, it was all happening in Kyiv itself.

The pagan faith had exhausted all its ideological potential in Rus'. This was highlighted in the chronicles of 983, when local pagans approached one of the Kyivan Princes, who was a covert Christian, demanding his son — also a Christian — as a sacrifice to the pagan gods. The Christian father categorically refused, resulting in the death of both father and son. Nevertheless, the motive behind his refusal should be examined. The father replied thus to the pagans:

"These pagan idols are not gods, but plain wood carved by human hands,

alright for today, but tomorrow it rots. They are without souls, dumb, created by people but cannot themselves create anything". He continued "But there is one God who created everything in the world including people".

Apart from being enraged and blinded by pagan fanaticism, the Kyivan pagans could not answer back. Monotheistic Christianity, Judaism and Islam with all their various parameters stood head and shoulders above the pagan religion, particularly in its ancient Ukrainian form.

The affirmations of some Soviet authors in this connection that gnosiologically speaking, that is, in the perceptual sense, Christianity did not produce more than paganism cannot be ignored<sup>8</sup>. The absurdity of such a statement is obvious, so does not warrant examination.

Everything so far points to the following conclusion. The state of ancient Ukrainian paganism in the last quarter of the 10th century in all its parameters was not sufficient to become the ideological platform and religious emblem of a mighty centralised state. All the mediaeval states of the time, particularly in Europe, had a religious base in the form of a distinct religious system compatible with both the state and social order. It is true that the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the mid-13th century differed from all other European states in that until 1387 it was based on its own ancient pagan religion and not on Christianity. But this is an exception to the rule for which there were specific reasons. Kyivan-Rus' could not remain without an ideological (religious) platform. However traditional paganism was (albeit in a modernised form), it was unsuitable, so it became necessary to search for an alternative. A combination of many objective and subjective factors dictated the necessity. Ancient Ukrainian society, particularly its more cultured section, was morally ready for a major religious change. It was still possible for Kyivan-Rus' to keep a hold on a paganism adapted to the new circumstances, but it was impossible to adapt the pagan religion to the conditions of the Kyivan-Rus' of the last quarter of the 10th century, because these were incommensurable, or more precisely, incompatible categories. The counter-argument which has already been made, is not strictly wrong. It contains quite a lucid attempt to degrade the later christianisation of Rus' with the view that the pagan religion of the time did not cede much to Christianity, and that it had an equal chance of remaining the official religion of Kyivan-Rus', although requiring slight modifications. But Prince Volodymyr did not deliberate along these lines. It was imperative to reject the pagan religion. Volodymyr understood this urgency. His position concerning the rejection of his pagan pantheon and of the pagan religion in general, could be classed as that of enlightened inevitability. That is why in the choice of faith, as detailed by the chronicles, the pagan religion did not and could not be considered. According to the chronicles, the choice looked like this. The "Primary Chron-

8. N. S. Hordienko: "Kreshchenie Rusi: fakty protiv legend i mifov", *Poleticheskie zametki*, 1, 1984, p. 45.

icle" under the year 986 noted the arrival of Moslem representatives of the Volga Bolgars at the court of Volodymyr: "Volodymyr was visited by Bolgarians of Mohammedan faith, who said 'Though you are a wise and prudent prince, you have no religion. Adopt our faith, and revere Mahomet'"<sup>9</sup>.

In reply to Volodymyr's questions, these missionaries explained the basis of their Mohammedan religion which allowed polygamy, practised circumcision, but forbade the consumption of wine and so on.

Following the representatives of Islam, the Germans arrived in Kyiv as envoys of the Pope. The concept "German" (nimets) did not have a specific ethnic connotation in Rus' of that time. It was used to denote various West European nations because they were "nimi" (dumb), that is, they spoke in an unintelligible tongue. But in this context the chronicler must surely have meant the Germans from the then Roman empire, in which Germany played the main role.

In turn, Volodymyr was visited by Jews from the Khazar Kaganate, who explained the basic principles of Judaism to the Prince, just as the Moslems and Christians had done. I must digress at this point in order to explain why it was the Khazar Jews, that is, from the Khazar Kaganate and not Hebrew Jews, who figured in the account. As a result of persecution in various Christian and Moslem countries, many Jews migrated to the Khazar Kaganate. Under their influence, Kagan Bulan (end of the 13th century) attempted to introduce Judaism into the Kaganate. In time, Kagan Obaria and the Khazar aristocracy accepted this religion, although the main body of the population recognised Christianity and Mohammedanism. The acceptance of Judaism by the Kagan and the Khazar social élite increased the influx of Jews into the Kaganate<sup>10</sup>. For this reason, it was the Jews who inhabited Khazaria who came to Prince Volodymyr.

The last to visit him was a philosopher from Byzantium: "Then the Greeks sent to Volodymyr a philosopher, who spoke thus"<sup>11</sup>. This missionary of the Byzantine (Eastern) rite severely criticised the Moslem and Judaic religions and pointed out several "deviations" in the customs of the Roman (Western) Christian rite. It is not possible (nor is it necessary) to give a full account of the sermon delivered to Prince Volodymyr by the said philosopher: it would take too long. It was a complete dissertation of the Old and New Testaments. According to the Chronicle, the Prince paid careful attention to the Greek philosopher and questioned him about various matters. In narrating God's Day of Judgement, the Greek gave Volodymyr a pictorial account of the Last Judgement: on the right were the righteous who were entering paradise, and on the left — the sinners who were embarking on an eternity of terrible torment. This picture made a strong impression on Volodymyr. According to

9. *PSRL*, vol. I, p. 84.

10. S. A. Pletneva: *Khazary*, 1976, pp. 61-62.

11. *PSRL*, vol. I, p. 86.

the chronicler, Volodymyr was convinced by the Christianity of the Byzantine rite. He lavished gifts upon the philosopher and discharged him with honours.

However, the Prince decided to wait a little longer, in order to study the various faiths in more depth. From the "Primary Chronicle", we learn that in 987 at a council of noblemen (boyars) and city elders, the Prince described the reports of the representatives of the different religions. The participants of the gathering replied thus: "You know, oh Prince, that no man condemns his own possessions, but praises them instead. If you desire to make certain, you have servants at your disposal. Send them to inquire about the ritual of each and how he worships God"<sup>12</sup>.

This pleased Volodymyr. The delegation comprised ten people. It made its way first to Volgo-Kam Bolgaria, returned to Kyiv, then set out to the Germans and finally to the capital of the Byzantine Empire — Constantinople.

When the legation returned to Kyiv, the Prince assembled his council of noblemen and city elders once again, where the envoys could describe everything they had seen. The Moslem faith of the Volga-Kam Bulgars was firmly rejected. The envoys did not see anything in the Moslem faith worthy of inheriting. As far as Germany was concerned, they criticised the fact that they did not find any beauty or splendor in the churches and customs. However, when it came to describing the Byzantine rite, the envoys could not praise it highly enough. Everything was to their liking: the welcome extended to the envoys, the splendour of the churches and of the religious rites, and so on. The envoys assured the council that they were in heaven, beside God himself and not on earth. Their unanimous decision was that there was no faith in the whole world which was better than that of the Greeks. It was known that Volodymyr's grandmother, Princess Olha, was baptised in Constantinople, so after hearing the envoys out, the council members declared to the Prince: "If the Greek faith were evil, it would not have been adopted by your grandmother Olha, who was wiser than all men'. Volodymyr then inquired where they should all accept baptism, and they replied that the decision rested with him"<sup>13</sup>.

So, on the strength of the reports of the envoys and on the authority of Princess Olha, the Chronicle states that the council of noblemen and elders, presided over by the Prince, decided to accept Christianity of the Byzantine rite. The Prince himself was to choose the place of baptism. This is the account of the choice of faith, which directly resulted in the baptism of Prince Volodymyr and Rus', given in the Chronicle.

However, it is apparent that several editions of the "Primary Chronicle" ("The Story of Bygone Years") exist, the principal ones being the Laurentian and Hypatian Chronicles. There are variations in their texts, including sec-

12. Ibid, p. 107.

13. Ibid, p. 108.

tions relating to the choice of faith. It has already been pointed out that this choice was also described by other sources stipulated by the "Primary Chronicle". They also contain digressions. It is necessary to note the differences so that a more complete picture can be obtained.

A later source states that the Jewish missionaries who visited Kyiv were not Khazars, but came from Khersonesus<sup>14</sup> (a town in the Crimea near today's Sevastopol). Other variations state that in Germany the envoys were shown dubious religious practices which did not appeal to them — the language of the service was not understood by most of the people and in particular they found the cult of deifying the Pope objectionable. As regards the part played by Byzantium in the choice of faith, one comes across the following. In some of the sources, the Byzantine missionary is named as Kyr, Cyril. On their return from Constantinople, Volodymyr's envoys are said to have testified that they had in fact accepted the faith of the Greeks and that if the Prince and the people of Kyiv did not accept it as well, they (the envoys) would have to go to Byzantium rather than live in a pagan environment.

Such are the original accounts of the choice of faith written down in the chronicles. Firstly, there is no basis for suspecting the chronicler of inventing everything that is written about Prince Volodymyr's choice of religion. It is most likely that he put down on paper the traditional account of this event, but as the author (editor) of the Chronicle, he edited the account in an appropriate manner. This is particularly apparent in the chronicler's opinion of various circumstances and in his treatment of them. One must not forget that the chronicler was an ardent Christian of the Eastern (Byzantine) Orthodox rite, so he viewed everything through his own religious prism. The fact remains that Prince Volodymyr accepted Christianity of the Byzantine rite, so everything possible has been done in the Chronicle to show that this act was the only correct course to take. This is evidence of the retrospective approach to the matter in hand, which does not make the chronicled account about the choice of religion watertight. In a recourse of this nature, Byzantinism, that is, the Byzantine rite of Christianity appears superior and consequently could not have had any serious contenders in the form of other religions. But the Chronicle states that Prince Volodymyr still selected, considered, hesitated. It is here that a contradictory viewpoint emerges as to who, in fact, narrated the procedure of the choice of faith. This is a contradiction between a historian, on the one hand, and an Orthodox Christian — a monk — on the other. As soon as the chronicler became convinced of the inevitability of the act of baptism, he could not and should not have written lucidly about the actual choice of faith: this would contradict the designated scheme in advance.

The chronicler behaved differently in other parts of his work when, in describing an event, he referred to others, indicating that the Chronicle con-

14. See V. N. Tatishchev: *Istoriya rossiyskaya*, vol. II, 1963, p. 231, 176, also works (pp. 58, 60: 231, note 177).



tained accounts which appeared as they were related. For instance, where there is mention of the missionary activities of the Apostle Andrew along the northern shores of the Black Sea, the chronicler uses the phrase "related as spoken". Further on, the chronicler entered into polemics concerning the customary idea that the founder of Kyiv, Kyi, was a simple ferryman on the River Dnipro. Another example concerns the place of Prince Volodymyr's baptism: some have quoted Kyiv, others — Vasyliv, close to Kyiv, but the chronicler did not consider these to be serious and quoted Korsun (Khersonesus) in the Crimea.

In the case of the choice of faith, no reference is made to other sources, to traditional narratives and so on. The chronicler obviously put forward his opinion on various conditions. This is apparent from his pious treatment of the Greek faith and his contempt for and repugnance of Islam. Although the chronicler himself does not express this attitude in his Chronicle, it is expressed by others (the Greek philosopher, Volodymyr's envoys, the participants of the conference, Volodymyr himself), it is not difficult to deduce that the words are those of the chronicler. And here is the "reality": for example, the visiting missionaries, the despatch of envoys, their report to the Prince and the council — all these are contained in the Chronicle and are beyond doubt. It is worthwhile, however, to make a deeper analysis of all the chronicled data appertaining to the religious choice of Prince Volodymyr but without straying beyond the limits of the information provided solely by the Chronicle.

So once again we come to Volga-Kam Bulgaria with its Mohammedanism, whose missionaries were the first to visit Prince Volodymyr. This country lay to the north-east of Kyivan-Rus', between the Rivers Volga and Kam, which gave rise to its historic name. Moreover, the River Volga had great importance attached to it as a trading route to the Kyivan state and all of Eastern Europe, connecting them with the countries of the East. Not only were the ancient tribes, the Viaticians and Siverians, undoubtedly connected by the Volga route via the network of rivers and streams. The north-eastern periphery of Kyivan-Rus' with Bulgaria is therefore understandable. Bulgaria, in its turn, had close ties with Moslem Asia Minor and the Near East<sup>15</sup>. Some tribes were politically divided between Bulgaria and the Kyivan state until the 10th century. The Bolgar tribes themselves were under the rule of the Khazar Kaganate and led a nomadic lifestyle. They were pagans.

In 922, Almas, the Khan of the city of Bolgar, the capital of Bulgaria, began to unite the Bolgar tribes. Through fighting internal enemies and the Khazar Kaganate, he was well versed with the Arabs and converted to the Moslem faith<sup>16</sup>.

15. I. M. Shekera: *Kyivska Rus' XI st. u mizhnarodnykh vidnosynakh*, Kyiv, 1967, pp. 60-61.

16. *Sovetskaya istoricheskaya entsyklopedia*, vol. 2, p. 563.

In accordance with conditions in the last quarter of the 10th century, Bulgaria was still in a state of Islamisation. The Moslem religion was not yet strong enough to become an "item for export". Volga-Kam Bulgaria itself could in no way surpass Kyivan-Rus' in the economic and social sense, certainly not enough for Kyivan-Rus' to adopt their new Moslem religion. We know of a series of campaigns which Kyivan-Rus' undertook against Bulgaria (977, 985, 994, 997). The superiority of Kyiv over Bolgar is apparent from their relationship. Cultural and other borrowed attributes quite rightly originate from superior cultural sources. Under such circumstances, the Moslem missionaries from Bulgaria who visited Kyiv with the intention of influencing Prince Volodymyr in favour of Islam, and the despatch of the Kyivan religious delegation to Bulgaria, seemed to be on rocky ground from the outset. The acceptance of the Moslem religion with the aid of Bulgaria would indicate the close relations characteristic of an alliance between the two and Kyiv's feudal dependence in Bolgar. The aggregate of all these circumstances gives rise to the exclusion of such a possibility. The general political inclination of the Kyivan state, apart from various ties with Volga-Kam Bulgaria, lay in other directions.

In actual fact, Bulgaria modelled itself in a religious sense on a somewhat later Rus'. In this respect, there is an interesting account in the "Nikon Chronicle" concerning the visit of four Bolgar princes to Volodymyr, and their baptism in Kyiv<sup>17</sup>. So, in Bulgaria, Islam's position was still weak. In this context, the previous visitations of the Moslem Bolgar missionaries to Volodymyr seem even more hypothetical.

Something similar could, however, have occurred. It is pertinent at this point to mention Prince Volodymyr's campaign against Volga-Kam Bulgaria in 985, which resulted in a treaty between the two countries. In order to compile the treaty, the two sides would inevitably have had to exchange envoys. According to the chronological sequence of the Chronicle, Volodymyr's campaign and the drawing up of the treaty took place within a year of the chronicled choice of faith. In some chronicles, the same campaign is dated two years later. This is proof that the chronology of the chronicles is related to these events of long ago. But the chronicled accounts of events occurring in the last quarter of the 10th century were simultaneously related to these events. Several decades had passed before the events preceding the baptism of Rus' were committed to the pages of the Chronicle. Coupled with this, and after the compilation of the "Primary Chronicle", later transcribers and editors could introduce certain changes of text. So, without an authentic account of the events of 985-986, a later chronicler may have connected the episode of the treaty with the Bulgars, with the subsequent account concerning the choice of faith and evaluate it as the visit of Moslem missionaries

17. *PSRL*, vol. IX, *Letopisnyi sbornik, imenuemyi Patriarshey ili Nikonovskoy letopisiu*, 1965, pp. 62-63.

from Bolgaria and the despatch of Kyivan envoys to Bolgar in connection with religious matters. This is why there is no guarantee that the chronicler accurately described a given event and whether, indeed, it ever occurred. This applies particularly to epic, instructive passages, like the description of the choice of faith, where the chronicler figures not only as an historian, albeit in the role of a Christian moralist, but also with a retrospective opinion of the event.

It is impossible not to pay attention to certain discrepancies in the text of the Chronicle itself. The chronicled account of the choice of faith states that Prince Volodymyr rejected the Mohammedan religion on the basis of the tradition of circumcision and the prohibition of pork and particularly wine. Later, the Greek philosopher brought Volodymyr's attention to bear on other inimical attributes of Mohammedanism, which, according to the chronicler, brought out an aversion in the Prince to this religion. If it were really so, then there would have been no pressing need to despatch envoys to the Bolgars in order to acquaint themselves further with something which had already been rejected. However, according to the Chronicle, a legation was despatched to the Bolgars. This is a blatant contradiction, a nonsense which the chronicler did not notice or comprehend. Moreover, if the Kyivan envoys did indeed visit Volga-Kam Bolgaria,<sup>18</sup> then on their return they should have informed the Prince, the noblemen and other dignitaries, of everything they had seen in Bolgaria. But that was not the case. The chronicler tells us that, on their return from the Bolgars, the Prince instructed the envoys to go to the Germans and then on to Constantinople. There is no indication that the envoys immediately related their impressions of the visit to Volga-Kam Bolgaria. It was only after their return from Constantinople that the envoys related everything they had seen and heard, including their impressions of Bolgaria. This situation was not completely justified, which also undermines the authority of the chronicled account of the choice of faith, particularly in relation to the Bolgar-Mohammedan episode.

If Prince Volodymyr and his retinue truly wanted to familiarise themselves more closely with the Moslem religion, they would have looked not to the Bolgars, but to other recognised Moslem centres in the Arab world or to those lands dependent on the Arabs. Kyivan-Rus' had direct, mainly commercial, links with the Moslem East. This is confirmed by various written sources and archaeology. The Moslem merchants conducted their transitional trade with other countries across the territory of Kyivan-Rus'. In other words, ardent Moslems could always be found in Kyiv.

In the mid-10th century, the well-known Arab author Masudi wrote about the Slav Prince al-Dyr in whose capital Moslem merchants were to be found with their various goods<sup>18</sup>. This refers to the Kyivan Prince Dyr, who ruled

18. A. P. Kovalivskyi: "Abu-l-Khasan Ali al-Masudi as a student", *Academic Notes of Kharkiv University*, vol. 78, Kharkiv, 1957, pp. 179-180.

together with Askold until they were both killed by Oleh in 882. So, if need be, Volodymyr and the Kyivans could have become acquainted with Islam in Kyiv itself through the merchants who came there to trade and through their own traders upon their return from Moslem countries.

There was one other method of becoming more familiar with Mohammedanism — that was during the armed raids of Rus' on Moslem countries. While flirting with Moslem countries in the mid-10th century, the Khazar Kagan Joseph boasted that he was defending Islam from Rus', because if he left them to their own devices, they (the Rus') would destroy the land of the Moslems right up to Baghdad itself<sup>19</sup>. But the Khazars were not totally impenetrable to the Rus'. To this end, the Rus' used other routes.

Who these Rus' were — Varangians or Slavs — is a different matter, but they can be connected with Kyivan Rus'. One need only recall the campaigns of Kyivan Princes Oleh, Ihor and Sviatoslav. The Rus' got as far as Khorezm (Central Asia). There is an interesting note on this state of affairs in the *Collection of Anecdotes* of Mohammed al-Aufi (13th century): Prince Volodymyr despatched envoys to Khorezm for discussions concerning the intention to accept Islam, and the Moslem Imam was sent to Kyiv<sup>20</sup>. No other source, domestic or foreign, mentions this, and thus it is difficult to be sure of this religious contact. This Arab source lacks authenticity in that it dates from a far later date than the 10th century. If such a contact existed, then it confirms what has been said before: in the matter of becoming acquainted with the Moslem religion, more benefit would have been derived from approaching the more distant, but more authoritative Khorezm rather than Bulgaria. However, the reality could have been different. It is possible that a Varangian-Rus' band found itself in Khorezm with other, purely profitable, motives in mind, and that it behaved authoritatively, as though it were the Prince's legation dealing with religious matters. Under these circumstances, the "envoys" would have been well-received and generously endowed with gifts. Despite this, the Moslem religion was totally unacceptable to Rus'.

(To be continued)

19. P. K. Kokovtsev: *Yevreysko-khazarovskaya perepiska v X v*, 1932, p. 102.

20. *Zapiski Vostochnogo otdeleniya imperatorskogo russkogo arkhilologicheskogo obshchestva*, vol. IX, 1896, pp. 262-267.

*Ihor KYCHAK*

## WHO IS THE AUTHOR OF THE "TALE OF IHOR'S HOST"?

In 1986, we celebrated the 800th anniversary of the "Tale of Ihor's Host". People are intrigued by the identity of the author of this work and various hypotheses as to the authorship of the poem already exist. One is serious but unconvincing, another is convincing but not verified, yet another is false, that is, erroneous. It contains all sorts of conjectures and, it seems, even a great discovery, but a non-specialist in textology cannot be convinced of its accuracy.

Having carefully studied the "Tale" and the description of Ihor Svyatoslavych's march in the Kyivan Chronicles, we note the following passage in the Chronicle: "At that time Svyatoslavych Ihor, Oleh's grandson, travelled from Novgorod [Siverskyi]. . . , taking with him his brother Vsevolod from [the town of] Trubetsk and Svyatoslav Olehovych — his nephew from [the town of] Pulska and his son from Putyvl. . ."<sup>1</sup>. But in the finale of the "Tale", we read the following lines: "Having sung a song for the other princes, let us sing for the younger: Glory to Ihor Svyatoslavych, courageous (lit. wild bull) Vsevolod, Volodymyr Ihorevych!"<sup>2</sup>.

From the Chronicle, we learn that four princes took part in the march, but in the "Tale" the author sings praises only to three of them.

It is in the finale of the "Tale" that we find the key to the solution of the puzzle. If the "Tale" had been written by an impartial person who may or may not have taken part in the march, he would be bound to praise all four princes. Meanwhile, the name of the fourth prince — Svyatoslav Olehovych — one of the heroes of the march, is missing from the poem's finale.

Not long ago, I wrote in support of V. Hrabovskiy's hypothesis "Argument in favour of Svyatoslav Olehovych", pointing to the omission of the name of this prince in the finale of the "Tale" as proof of his being the author. The situation is possible only and exclusively when a piece is written by an author who cannot sing his own praises. An impartial author would have been obliged to praise all four of the princes participating in the march.

There are also the following long-established conclusions in support of Svyatoslav Olehovych's authorship:

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1. *Kyiv*, No. 8, 1984, pp. 127-128.

2. D.S. Lykhachev, "Slovo o polku Ihoreve", Moscow, 1982, p. 143.

- a) The author was a prince (the author refers to the princes as "brothers" five times).
- b) He took part in the march ("What clamour is that, what clanging is that?") and was held prisoner ("and we are now men-at-arms deprived of joy") where he began to write his book ("beyond the sula", that is, on the south, Polovtsian, side of the border river, where the army was preparing for the march to the north of the Sula River).

There is one interesting mistake attributable to the academician D.S. Lykhachev (repeated by V. Hrabovskiy). Its correction could become another new argument in favour of the author of the "Tale of Ihor's Host" being Svyatoslav Olehovych. Four princes, each leading his own regiment, are referred to as the "four suns" in the "Tale" (we know their names from the Kyivan Chronicles). In the commentary of his book *Slovo o polku Ihoreve* (Moscow, 1982, p. 58) D.S. Lykhachev explains that the "four suns" are the four princes: Ihor, Vsevolod, Oleh and Svyatoslav. The commentator did not explain why the author of the "Explanatory translation" of the "Tale" included Oleh in the foursome but not Volodymyr Ihorevych, who took part in the march with his own regiment as did the other three princes — Ihor, Vsevolod and Svyatoslav Olehovych. This may be insignificant, but the author of the "Tale" later calls this Oleh Ihorevych "young moon". And now we come to the main point: D.S. Lykhachev explains Oleh and Svyatoslav (p. 65 of the book) as "Oleh Ihorevych and Svyatoslav Rylskiy — the son and nephew of Ihor Svyatoslavych". This explanation needs to be analysed.

It is correct to say that Oleh is "young moon" — we insert Volodymyr Ihorevych in his place as the "fourth sun". This is as it should be. The "Two suns. . . both princely pillars" are correctly interpreted by D.S. Lykhachev as Ihor and Vsevolod, the two older participants of the march. But the author refers to Svyatoslav as another "young moon". Who could this be? Svyatoslav Rylskiy cannot be "sun" and "moon" simultaneously. Does the anonymous author mistakenly refer to Syatoslav Olehovych once as "sun" and elsewhere as "moon"? No. There is no mistake. We have to accept that in addition to Oleh, another son — Svyatoslav Ihorevych — took part in the march without his own army. And so everything falls into place: two "young moons" — these are the two younger brothers Oleh and Svyatoslav Ihorevych. It is not an anonymous author writing about Svyatoslav Olehovych as a "young moon", but Svyatoslav Olehovych referring to Svyatoslav Ihorevych. Svyatoslav Olehovych refers to himself only once, and then without naming himself: where he writes about the "four suns". He was also discovered by V. Medvedev, although he was not recognised as such.

On January 26, 1984, the Kyivan weekly *Literaturna Ukraina* published an interesting article by V. Medvedev entitled "The unknown and known author". In his article, V. Medvedev made the revelation of the century: he discovered the name of the author in the text of the "Tale of Ihor's Host".

V. Medvedev deciphered the most damaged and entangled passage in the "Tale" and thereby discovered the name of the author of the "Tale" — "Svyatoslav".

This discovery is of immense importance. Although it was sufficient, the author of the article did not stop there. He made a further attempt to prove that the author of the "Tale of Ihor's Host" was the great Kyivan Prince Svyatoslav Vsevolodovych, which resulted in the failure of the final analysis of his hypothesis. Other investigators have shown that the essence of it lies in the fact that the author of the "Tale" was a participant of Ihor Svyatoslavych's march and spent some time as a captive of the Polovtsians. This indication is apparent in certain lines of the poem, such as "what is that clamour" [during battle] or "and we are now men-at-arms deprived of joy" [due to captivity].

This time, V. Medvedev is aware of another Svyatoslav who took part in the march and was captured by the Polovtsians. He wrote about this other Svyatoslav in his article: "Oleh's son — Svyatoslav of Rylsk — a participant of Ihor's march, is not named anywhere".

If V. Medvedev's discovery is correct, then is not the same absence of Svyatoslav Olehovych's name from the finale of the "Tale of Ihor's Host" proof in support of his writing the poem? Svyatoslav Olehovych could not praise himself if he was the author of the poem. It is possible that the substance of this single argument is still too little to convincingly confirm that the author of the "Tale of Ihor's Host" is Prince Svyatoslav Olehovych.

The following well-established facts allow the author of the "Tale of Ihor's Host" to be accurately named.

**Fact 1.** The author of the "Tale" is a prince. This is borne out by the five references to the princes as "brethren" by the author, which was the accepted term in royal circles of the time. Many researchers have already voiced their opinions that the author of the "Tale" was a prince. But all their research is subjective. For instance, in that of V. Medvedev it is "his diverse education, his detailed knowledge of the matter of royal connections, his great knowledge and experience in military affairs, and finally, as is very evident, an unprecedented freedom of thought". However, the writer Vasyl Shevchuk cast a doubt over things such as princely qualities because the author could have possessed these qualities without necessarily being a prince himself. As recently as June 1985, Vira Franchuk put forward a theory which attributed the authorship of the "Tale of Ihor's Host" to a Kyivan nobleman Petro Boryslavych, proposed by B. Rybakov in 1972. Until now, not enough attention has been paid to the five-fold use of "brethren" by the author in the "Tale", but no counter-argument against it exists.

**Fact 2.** The author of the "Tale" was a participant of the march. This is substantiated by two references in the poem "what clamour is that, what

clanging is that?" and "we are now men-at-arms deprived of joy". Stepan Pinchuk pointed this out in 1973.

**Fact 3.** The author began to write the "Tale" while in Polovtsian captivity. This is proved by his use of "beyond the River Sula" in the description of the army's preparation for the march, which took place to the north of what used to be the border river, that is, before the River Sula. This was picked up by the Russian researcher I. Novykov in 1956.

**Fact 4.** The author's name is "Svyatoslav". This was established by V. Medvedev, who in doing so, made the "revelation of the century" in 1984. It was not attacked by any of the researchers of the "Tale", but in fact confirmed by one of them — V. Hrabovskiy.

**Fact 5.** Two Prince Svyatoslavs took part in the march of 1185: Svyatoslav Ihorevych, known as the "young moon" in the "Tale", and Svyatoslav Olehovych, referred to in the Kyivan Chronicle, who is one of the "young suns" in the "Tale". D.S. Lykhachev in his "Explanatory translation" of the "Tale" mistakenly takes Svyatoslav Olehovych to be "young moon", and at the same time perceiving him to be among the "four suns". After V. Medvedev's revelation, and in particular noting the princely "brethren" among other mentioned facts, the search for the author of the "Tale" has been narrowed down to these two people, the two Princes Svyatoslav. Of course, it was not the younger Svyatoslav Ihorevych who called the older one "young moon" and then somehow forgot to praise him in the finale of the poem, but the older calling the younger — "young moon".

**Fact 6.** The absence of the name of Svyatoslav Olehovych from the point in the finale of the "Tale" where the author praises the princely heroes of the march. A situation such as this is possible only and exclusively in one instance — where it is impossible for the author to sing his own praises. Any objective author would be obliged to praise all four princes because by declining to do so would be to undeservedly and groundlessly offend the one left unmentioned. The three others would be placed in an awkward position beside their ignored, fourth friend.

Together these six facts form an integral whole from which, by a process of logical deduction, we obtain the unmistakable name of the author of the "Tale of Ihor's Host": it is the Prince of Rylsk, Svyatoslav Olehovych. The integrity of the calculated facts is so pronounced that it appears they do not constitute another hypothesis but something of a greater magnitude. It seems that during a discussion of the author of the "Tale of Ihor's Host" the summaries can be rejected.

*Translated by Darka Martyniuk*



## **A RUSSIAN IN DEFENCE OF THE MILLENNIUM OF THE CHRISTENING OF UKRAINE**

**(An open letter by Emilia Ilyina to A. Sakharov, Y. Orlov and A. Solzhenitsyn)**

Most Honourable Andrey Dmytrovych, Yuri Fedorovych  
and Alexander Isayevych!

Circumstances force me to turn to you, inasmuch as in the modern civilised world you are, after the Lord God, the highest moral authorities.

I am a Russian Orthodox born in the former province (gubernia) of Viatka. My father and my mother came from religious families. I write this for the information of my future opponents.

The issue with which I have dared to trouble you is of a moral nature and bears on our national conscience.

For some years now, one continually finds, on the pages of the Russian émigré press, headings such as "The Millennium of the Christening of Russia", "The Millennium of the Christening of the Russian people", "The Millennium of the Christening of Rus'". Now one finds these same headlines being printed by Soviet printers on the orders of the Muscovite Patriarchate.

Committees for the celebration of the Millennium of the Christening of Rus' are being formed by noteworthy Russian princes, professors and priests. Already gold and silver coins for the "Millennium of the Christening" have been issued.

But the question at hand is: the millennium of which Rus'? On what historical foundation is this anniversary campaign based? Is there at least a hint of truth or historical accuracy in these pretences?

The word "Rus'" is linked to Russia and is being used as a highfaluting comparison — and not without irony.

The historically documented word "Rus'" belongs to Ukraine. Ukraine, in the middle ages, was called Kyivan Rus' or simply Rus'. At that time not only was there no Russia, as in the time when Peter I adopted the imperial name and our country began to be called Russia, but there was even no Muscovy at the time of Kyivan Rus'. They say that at that time there was a small village called Moskva on the River Moskva. There was also Pskov and Novgorod, and obviously other city-states, not as eminent as Kyivan Rus', but "I would not want to have another history, other than the history of our ancestors which was given to us by God". There was no Novgorodian, nor

Pskovian, nor Suzdalian, nor Vladimirian Rus'. There was the Kyivan Rus' and the Galician Rus'.

"Rus'" is a nice word and erudites in Moscow and Petersburg began to use it to describe their own homeland. Nevertheless, when we, Russians, say Rus'-mother, we have in mind Russia in its boundaries from Smolensk to Ural, and from Archanhelsk to Astrakhan.

Kyivan Rus' was an ancient, blossoming state, the jewel of mediaeval Europe. We had no such glory in our Russian history, but then we know very little about our Russian history before the 14th century. The blossoming mediaeval Kyiv was a neighbour of the cities of our forefathers. The names of these cities are known to us, but what do we know about how are forefathers lived in those cities? We know nothing and obviously we do not want to know. For our history up to the 14th century, we do not use the history of the Russian people, but the history of Ukraine, the history of Kyivan Rus'.

Some say that we have common roots, a common history, a common culture. No, we only share a common misery. We had in common the princes of the dynasty of Rurik who fought for the rule of the Kyivan throne, and even uniting Chernihiv and Novgorod armies. Common was Peter the Great, who covered Finnish swamps with Russian and Ukrainian bones. Common was Nicholas II, who sent Russians and Ukrainians to the hills of Manchuria. Much of this was common and much time is needed to enumerate all these commonalities. Common were Lenin, Stalin, Khrushchev and Brezhnev. But each of our peoples has its own history, as well as its own language, its own grammar, literature, its own customs, folklore and culture.

One cannot compare the "barynia" with the "hopak", or the "Eneida" with "Evgeni Onegin", Yevhen Sverstiuk with Belinsky or Pomerants, or anyone else in the world, and it is not seemly to talk about such commonality.

The Slavic family is larger, so why do we not speak about the commonality between Russians and Bulgars, Czechs or Poles? Perhaps because they are far and the Russian force was unable to reach them. Stalin tried but did not succeed in finishing the work begun.

Not too long ago, on October 7-11 [1987], at the University of Munich, Professors Wolfgang Kasak and Gunter Shtekl presented papers, the general theme being reflected in two headings: "The Millennium of the Russian Orthodox Church" and "The Millennium of the State and Church in Russia".

Only in the headlines one can find two big errors. A Ukrainian who attended the lecture of Professors Kasak and Shtekl said: "So much falsehood harmful to my people has been said". It is worth noting that in other post-secondary institutions of the world similar papers are being read with the coming of the millennium "of the State and Church in Russia".

Professors-slavists, specialists in Russian history, do not know that Russia

celebrated its Millennium in the last century in 1862. In commemoration of the event, the famous Mikyeshin built a monument "The Millennium of Russia", erected in Novgorod, 120 years ago. In the USSR every fifth grader knows this, and yet German professors do not.

Do professors know (especially Prof. Kasak) that there exists an historical, geographical and ethnographic unit, Ukraine; do they know where it was; where the Zaporozhian Sich was?

As far as the Millennium of the Russian Orthodox Church is concerned, that which the Germans say, is also wrong. In a sound, scientific study, the work of German scholars of the 19th century, published in St. Petersburg in 1896 under the title "*Istorica chelovechestva*", it is written in the fifth volume: ". . . Yet centuries passed before all of Rus' (?) became Christian. . .".

On page 458, we read the following footnote: "When an archbishopric was founded there (in Novgorod) in the 12th century, then an archbishop was also elected at a public gathering".

In the encyclopaedia of Yuzhakov (Petersburg edition) we read on p. 750: "Viatychi, a Slavic tribe, that in ancient times lived in the region which included today's Smolensk, Moscow, Kaluga, Tula, Orel gubernias. . . Christianity began to spread among them no sooner than the 12th century, from the times of the preaching of St. Kuksha, one of the first illuminators of the country". Obviously, such information about when the Russian people were christened, when the Russian Orthodox Church was formed and when our state was formed is readily available in different historical documents and publications, and professors-slavists should know about this. And yet they do not know this and state, and publicly at that, that the christening of the Russian people, the formation of the Russian Orthodox Church and Russian state took place a thousand years ago.

In 988, St. Volodymyr christened his army and the citizens of Kyiv, ancestors of today's Ukrainians. Kyiv was, and has remained, the capital of the Ukrainian state and people. The Ukrainian people exist and they live around Kyiv, having spread beyond the boundaries of Kyivan Rus' to Kuban, but we, Russians, have also spread significantly from the Baltic Sea to the Pacific Ocean.

In 1988, the Ukrainian people are celebrating the millennium of their christening. And we Russians — where do we fit in? We do not have the patience to wait another 200 years — the coins for the Millennium are ready. Do we want to celebrate already? No! There are larger, colonialist politics involved.

Notice: In the West, the issue of the Millennium of the Christening of the Russian people has been taken up by Russian patriots, émigrés from the time of the Revolution, in one word, anti-communists. But also in the USSR, following the instructions of the CC CPSU (there, as everybody knows, no one does anything without instructions), the same campaign is being con-

ducted — a rather odd unanimity between communists and anti-communists. Why is it so? Not too long ago in a little unknown Bavarian city, known only to its neighbours, Tutzing, the Millennium of the christening of the Russian people has already been celebrated. From the USSR alone, there came six bishops, the seventh one being Filaret, exarch for Ukraine, and with him 30 scholarly workers from Moscow and Kyiv. And how much did this cost the Soviet budget, the Soviet people? But obviously it was worth the investment. The celebration was officially sponsored by the Evangelical Academy in Tutzing and the rector of the Academy had the great honour of receiving the Order of Sergei Rodonyezhsky. And so it was revealed — that in an atheistic country the Order of St. Sergei Rodonyezhsky was created. In Tutzing, the Soviet archbishops spoke a great deal, yet in the USSR they keep quiet, not a word in defence of their flock, let alone any human rights activists. [Orthodox] believers sit in psychiatric prisons and concentration camps, where they are tortured. And has at least one exarch-metropolitan spoken on their behalf? And yet Christ said: the ill need a physician. Was it not with religious banners that the Russian Orthodox Soviet Church led the Soviet army into Afghanistan to our Afghan brothers? And it was not without good reason that Gorbachev sent militia in civil and clerical clothes to Tutzing. Obviously, under the guise of the Millennium of the christening of the Russian people, the CC CPSU has decided to organise its next trap for the naive Western world.

I protested against this premature Russian anniversary to Russian newspapers and journals, but apart from *Novoye Russkoye Slovo* nowhere was my protest printed.

Do we Russians not have enough national guilt? Afghanistan, Poland, the Caucasus, Central Asia, the Baltic states, Siberia, where the native population is dying away (is that not due to our fault?), Germans of the Volga region, Crimean Tartars, Meshky, the Chechen tribe, the Beliss case, pogroms, the ever-lasting national anti-Semitism, the artificial famine in 1933 in Ukraine. It is true that Ukraine with its three-hundred-year-long enslavement is so far not included on the list of our national guilt. All this was not done by us, but the tsar's satraps, or the Bolshevik-Stalinists, while we, the noble ones, stood to the side and kept quiet for self-protection. And now another historic evil is being perpetrated by Russians, who are presenting to the world a false historical Russian anniversary, that in light of historical truth belongs to the Ukrainian people, oppressed and nationally despoiled for 300 years.

And why do we keep quiet now?

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## **GREETINGS FROM THE PRIME MINISTER OF CANADA ON THE OCCASION OF THE UKRAINIAN MILLENNIUM**

I am delighted to extend my warmest greetings and sincere best wishes to Canadians of Ukrainian descent as you celebrate the Millennium of Ukrainian Christianity.

This anniversary commemorates an important event in Ukrainian history and is celebrated by Ukrainians around the world. For a thousand years, Christianity has provided Ukrainians with ideals and values that have strengthened through periods of strife and unrest.

This celebration honours the people of Ukraine and I am delighted to join with you in celebration of this important event.

*Brian Mulroney*

Ottawa, 1988

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## **DEBATE ON THE UKRAINIAN MILLENNIUM IN THE CANADIAN PARLIAMENT**

**HOUSE OF COMMONS  
CANADA**

**ANDREW WITER, M.P.  
Parkdale-High Park**

**House of Commons Debates  
Friday, January 22, 1988**

**HISTORIC EVENTS**

**Millennium of Christianity in Ukraine**

**Mr. Andrew Witer (Parkdale-High Park):** Mr. Speaker, today at 12 noon in the Rotunda of Parliament, the Deputy Prime Minister (Mr. Mazankowski), on behalf of the Right Hon. Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney), along with members of Parliament from all Parties, will join with Metropolitan Maxim of the Ukrainian Catholic Church and Metropolitan Wasyly of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church and representatives of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee in inaugurating the celebration in Canada of the Millennium of Christianity in Ukraine.

It is fitting that celebrations of this event be launched today in Ottawa, the day that in 1918 Ukrainians re-established their right to govern themselves by declaring the sovereignty and independence of Ukraine in Kiev.

In 988, St. Volodymyr the Great, the ruler of Kiev, adopted the Chris-

tian faith as the religion of his nation by baptising his people in the waters of the Dnieper River.

The acceptance of Christianity profoundly altered the entire further course of Ukrainian history, significantly determining the development of Ukrainian culture in all of its manifestations and giving rise to a wealth of spiritual and social values.

The struggle of the Ukrainian Orthodox and Catholic Churches, along with the Ukrainian Protestant denominations, to overcome Russian imperialist and Soviet systemic persecution and banning has been a symbol to Ukrainians across the world to maintain their own rich historical and religious legacy.

I am sure I can speak for all Members of the House, and indeed for all Canadians, in extending best wishes to Ukrainians throughout the world for the solemn observance and festive celebration of the millennium year.

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## **GREETINGS FROM THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER OF CANADA ON THE OCCASION OF THE UKRAINIAN MILLENNIUM**

On behalf of the Government of Canada and the Prime Minister, I am honoured to join with you in inaugurating the celebration in Canada of the Millennium of Christianity in Ukraine.

In 988 St. Volodymyr the Great, the ruler of Kiev, adopted the Christian faith as the religion of his state by baptising his people in the waters of the Dnieper River.

The acceptance of Christianity profoundly altered the entire further course of Ukrainian history, significantly determining the development of Ukrainian culture in all of its manifestations and giving rise to a wealth of spiritual and social values. The struggle of the Ukrainian Orthodox and Catholic Churches, along with Ukrainian Protestant denominations to preserve their faith has been a symbol to Ukrainians across the world to maintain their own rich historical and religious legacy.

In particular, Canadians of Ukrainian heritage have contributed significantly to the spiritual and material well-being of Canada while remaining cognizant of their rich thousand-year-old spiritual and cultural heritage.

I, therefore, sign this message in recognition of the Millennium of Christianity in Ukraine. In doing so, I extend best wishes for the solemn observance and festive celebration of this Millennium Year.

*Don Mazankowski*

Ottawa, 1988

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## THE CHRISTIAN HERITAGE OF UKRAINE



Jesus the Priest. Mosaic from the Cathedral of St. Sophia in Kyiv, 11th c.



Dmytro Solunskyi. Icon from Dmytriv, 11th c.

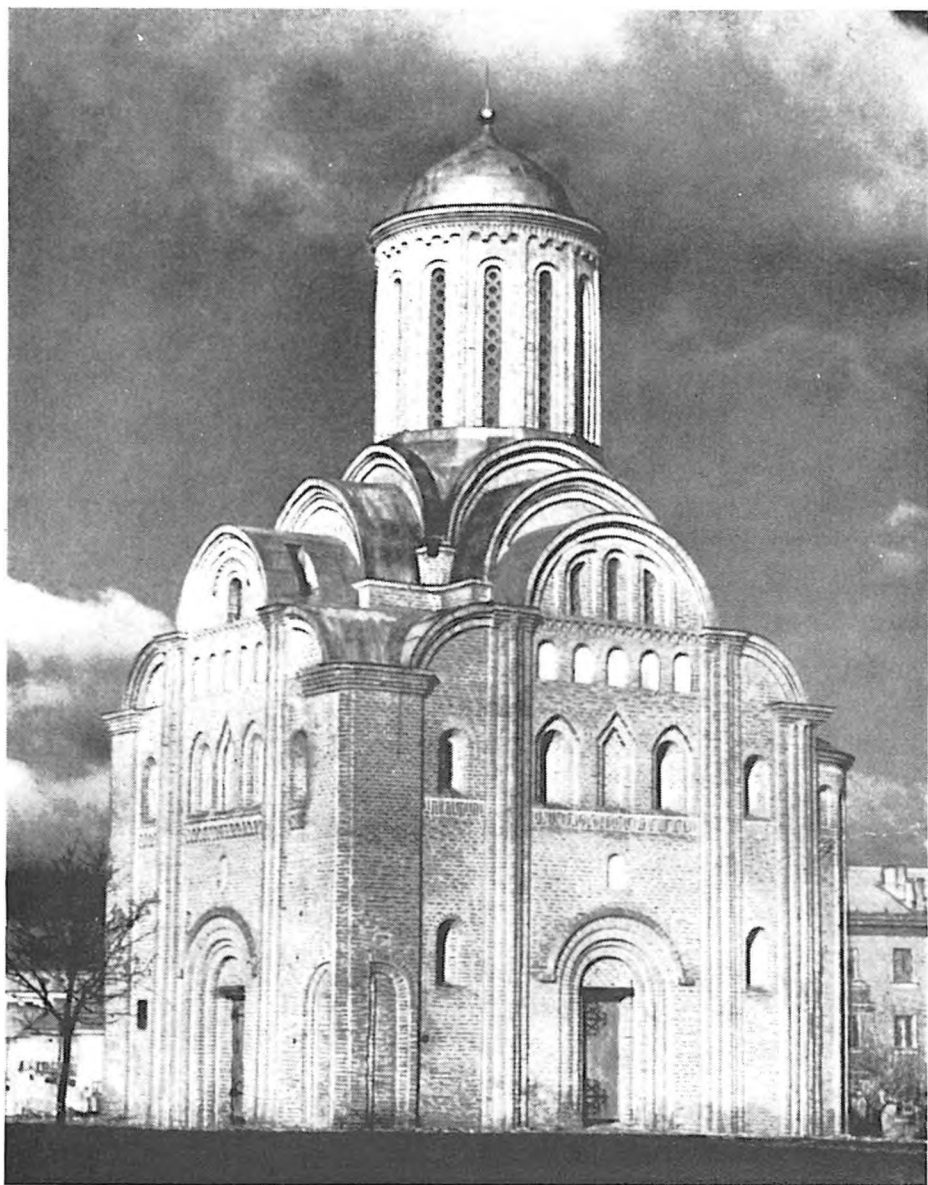




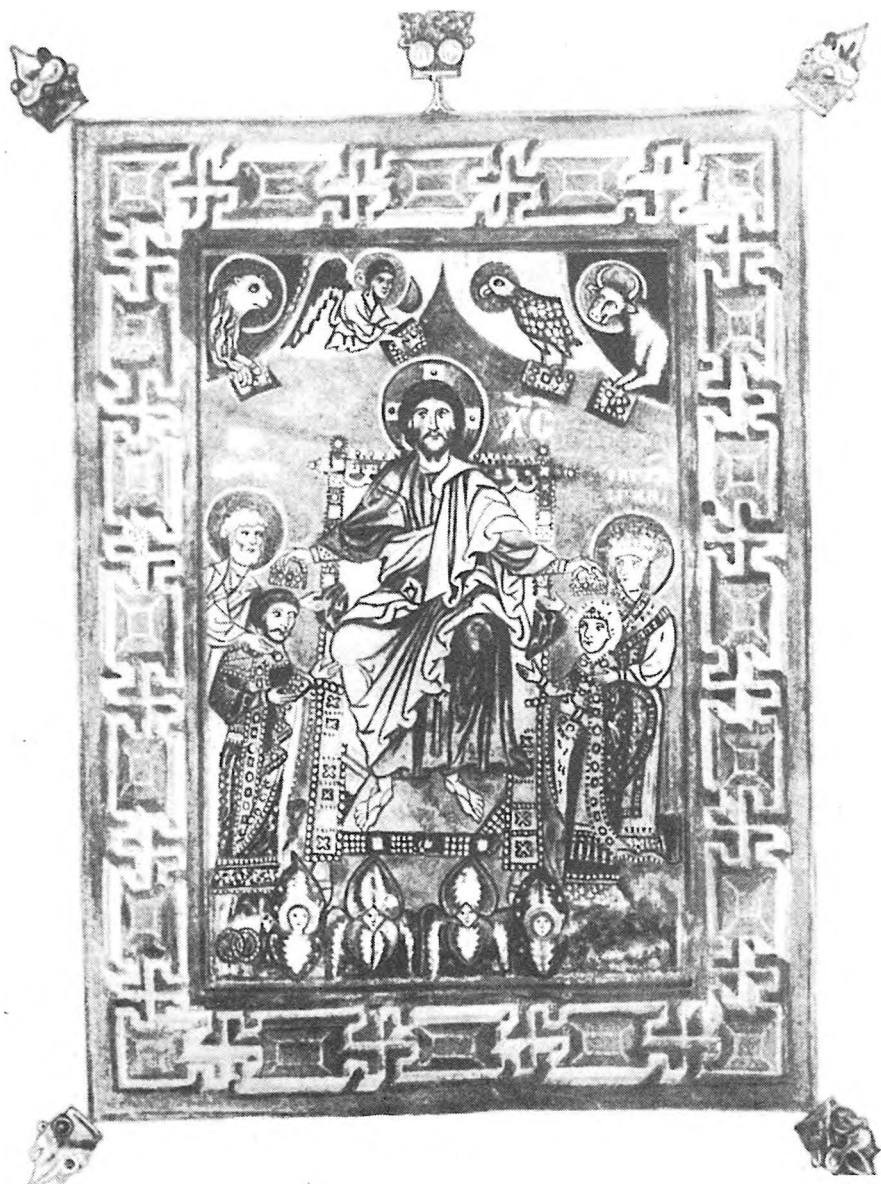
St. Gregory. Mosaic from the apse of the Cathedral of St. Sophia in Kyiv, 11th c.



**Church of St. Basil in Ovruch, end of the 12th c.**



Piatnytska Church in Chernihiv, end of the 12th c.



Christ in Glory crowning Prince Yaropolk and Princess Iryna.  
Miniature from the Trir Psalter, 1078-1087.



The Apostle St. Peter with Prince Yaropolk and Princess Iryna.  
Miniature from the Trir Psalter, 1078-1087.



Title page of the Ostrih Bible of 1581.



The Apostle St. Luke. From the Peresopnytsia Gospel, c. 1556-1561.





Golden ornament from the village of Kamianyi Brid, Zhytomyr region, 12-13th c.



Detail of a silver chalice from Chernihiv, 12th c.



News from Ukraine**UKRAINIAN POLITICAL PRISONERS IN THE USSR**

(UPA) The newly published *List of Political Prisoners in the USSR* edited by Cronid Lubarsky (Das Land Und Die Welt, Munich, 1988) gives the names of 454 prisoners as of 30 October 1987. Of these 112 are from Ukraine, representing approximately 25 percent of the total. Ukrainians in 1979 made up only 16.2 percent of the Soviet population. This list should not be regarded as a complete list of Ukrainian political prisoners in the USSR. Below we give those from Ukraine in Lubarsky's List:

Alexeyev Mykhailo

Andriyets Alexander

Andriyets Anatoliy

Antonov Ivan

Babych Serhiy

Badzyo Yuriy (According to recent information received by the Ukrainian Press Agency, Badzyo is currently in exile in Yakutia with his wife. They are both in a poor state of health. The extreme temperatures ( $-60^{\circ}\text{C}$ ) only make things worse. Y. Badzyo refuses to recant. His demands that all political prisoners should be released and rehabilitated have been ignored. His friends have requested that Ukrainians demand his release from exile).

? Batulin

Batyo Polanya Yu.

Belskyi Stefan

Berezovskyi Vasyl

Boychuk Yuriy

Boyko Mykola

Bondar Yaroslav

Chekalin Alexander

Chernyak Alexander

Dobra Vasyl

Dulskyi Yevhen

Gavlo Petro

Horbal Mykola

Hryhoryshyn Yevhen

Hrytsenko Vasyl

? Hryhorovych Kateryna

Hryhorovych Stefaniy  
Hudyma Petro  
Ivashchenko Yakiv  
Kalynychenko Vitaliy  
Kampov Pavlo  
Kandyba Ivan  
Kirichenko Serhiy  
Kislyak Petro  
Klebanov Volodymyr  
Klymchak Bohdan  
Klymoshenko Mykola  
Klymuk Pavlo  
Kobryn Vasyl  
Kolyshenko Viktor  
Kovalenko Ivan  
Kravets Yuriy  
Kraynyk Mykola  
Kruhovych Alexander  
Kryvko Mykhailo  
Kukharuk Oleksiy  
Kutsil Dmytro  
Kyryliuk Ivan  
Loboda Volodymyr  
Lukyanenko Levko  
Lunych Vasyl  
Lutskiv Vasyl  
Lyakin Trifon  
Lytovchenko Leonid  
Lyubinskyi Yevhen  
Makhovyk Stepan  
Mamay Anatoliy  
Mamus Mykola  
Mashynytskyi Petro  
Matusevych Mykola  
Mazur Dmytro  
Mazurak Vasyl  
Medvedev Ivan  
Melnik Afanasiy  
Motrya Ivan  
Mykhailenko Hanna  
Nakhodkin  
Napriyenko Valentyn  
Nechayuk Petro  
Nechiporenko Hryhoriiy

Novitskyi Serhiy  
Oliynyk Volodymyr  
Oros Olexander  
Osadchyi Mykhailo  
Ovsienko Vasyl  
Parasenkov Fedir  
Parubets Marko  
Pavlyuk Pavlo  
Pyrych Vasyl  
Pyvovarov Avhustyn  
Polishchuk Mykola  
Polishchuk Yevhen  
Potapchuk Mykola  
Prykhodko Hryhoriy  
Pushkov Yevhen  
Rozhko Vsevolod  
Ruban Petro  
Rybak Volodymyr  
Saranchuk Petro  
Selyuk Ivan  
Shchur Anatoliy  
Shysh Serhiy  
Skalych Semen  
Smetana Ivan  
Sokulskyi Ivan  
Soltys Hnat  
Spinenko Vasyl  
Spiridonov Alexander  
Sydorenko Vasyl  
Tulyupa Volodymyr  
Valkov Mykola  
Vlasenko Valentyn  
Vorona Alexander  
Vorozhko Vasyl  
Vyrsta Stepan  
Yermolenko Volodymyr  
Yudintsev Vasyl  
Yurkiv Mykhailo  
Zayats Vyacheslav  
Zazhitskyi Yaroslav  
Zinchuk Kyrylo  
Zinoviev Viktor  
Zorkaltsev Viktor

Although not included on Lubarsky's List, the Ukrainian Press Agency has received information about Oksana Popovych. She returned from exile in a very serious condition. She is 62 and has spent 24 years in imprisonment. She receives a mere 26 rubles a month pension and her apartment is in a poor state of repair. She urgently requires material assistance.

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## FATE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS IN KUCHINO CAMP 36-1

*In its journal, the Swiss institute "Glaube in die Zweite Welt" published information about the transfer of camp 36-1 in Kuchino.*

(UCIS) In December 1987, we received information that the Ural camps for political prisoners: 36, 36-1 (particularly severe regime), and 37, were transferred to Vsesviatskoe in Perm, where camp 35 is situated. There are presently 100 political prisoners in the camp, who are to be joined by 20-22 more political prisoners from Mordovia. Camp 36-1 was transferred in full, together with the guards, to its new location, where the prisoners continue to suffer the conditions of a particularly severe regime. Thus the hopes of various human rights organisations that the prisoners from this camp would be subjected to a more lenient regime (the so-called "severe-regime"), were shattered.

In camp 35, the political prisoners have been placed as follows: Mart Niklus and Ivan Sokulskyi are in solitary confinement. Petro Ruban, Hryhoriy Prykhodko, Mykhailo Alekseyev, and Borys Romazhov are in 4-man cells. Mykola Horbal, Ivan Kandyba, Gunars Astra, Enn Tarto, Vasyl Ovsienko and Vitaliy Kalynychenko are serving their sentence under a so-called "open regime", that is they are permitted to leave their cells.

The political prisoners from Kuchino camp 36-1 arrived in the Vsesviatskoe camp on December 8, 1987. The same day, Ukrainian lawyer Lev Lukianenko was sent into exile after 10 years of imprisonment in the camp. He is most probably serving his term of exile in the Tomsk region of Siberia.

All the prisoners of camp 36-1 are seriously ill: Hryhoriy Prykhodko is suffering from a serious case of tuberculosis. It is likely that Mykhailo Alekseyev and Borys Romazhov also suffer from tuberculosis. In recent months, Petro Ruban suffered two heart attacks, the last one on November 30, 1987. He is being treated with injections.

In October 1987, Ukrainian Catholic Semen Skalych, who suffers from a bone disease, was released from the camp. He was sentenced to 15 years of

imprisonment for writing religious poems. In December of last year, he returned home to Drohobych in Western Ukraine.

Out of the 12 political prisoners imprisoned under the conditions of a particularly severe regime are 7 Ukrainians, all members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, 2 Russians, 2 Estonians and 1 Lithuanian. They are all "recidivists", that is political prisoners who have served long sentences of imprisonment for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda".

On November 7, 1987, Petro Ruban made an official statement pointing out that he regarded himself as a political prisoner and that thereby he refused to do forced labour. Among other things, his 18-point statement demanded that he be transferred to a camp in Ukraine as he was sentenced by a court in the Ukrainian SSR. He also demanded the abolition of the severe restrictions on correspondence and visits, the abolition of forced labour, and the abolition of the compulsory shaving of heads and regulations forbidding the growing of beards.

In reply to Ruban's statement, the camp authorities transferred him to the cell, where he suffered his heart attack.

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## UKRAINIAN CULTURAL CLUB OPENS IN LVIV

(UPA) News has reached us that a Club called the "Levy Society-Club" opened in Lviv in the autumn of last year. The club was organised by a former Kyiv student, Konyk, and is interested in promoting Ukrainian culture and literature, as well as exploring the "blank spots" in Ukrainian history. Students involved with the Lviv Trust Group, an unofficial peace movement, have also expressed an interest in the idea of forming a Culturological Club in Lviv.

On 20 December of last year, the Club organised an evening devoted to the deceased young Ukrainian poet, Vasyl Symonenko, whose works were censored for many years. His poetry and songs were read out and talks were presented about his life. The young Bandura player, Ostap Stakhiv, played historical ballads, as well as music composed to Symonenko's songs.

During the same evening, the participants discussed the officially sponsored attacks upon the editors of the samvydav journal the *Ukrainian Herald*. Members of the *Ukrainian Herald's* editorial board also took part in the evening's events.

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## UKRAINIAN TRUST GROUP DEMONSTRATES AGAINST THE OCCUPATION OF AFGHANISTAN

(UPA) Leningrad, Moscow and Lviv, in Ukraine, were the scene of wide-scale demonstrations against the war in Afghanistan in late December last year. On 22 December Ukrainian Trust Group members, Alexander Baldin and Alexander Ovchinnikov were detained in Lviv by the militia. They were searched and all Trust Group documents and leaflets were confiscated from them. The Lviv Trust Group, an unofficial peace movement, decided to stage a demonstration on 26 December at 17.00 hours. The night before, Trust Group members, Mykola Margorin and Dmytro Kaminskyi, tried to paste up leaflets advertising the demonstration. They were detained and taken to the headquarters of the Department of Internal Affairs in Lviv. Kaminskyi was allowed to go, but Margorin was sent to Lviv regional psychiatric hospital where he was kept until 29 December on no grounds.

On 25 December officials of the Lviv Procuracy visited several members of the Lviv Trust Group and suggested they write warnings about the criminal liability for taking part in the demonstration. People who tried to go to the demonstration on the 26 December were detained by the militia as they left their homes, including Oleh Olysevych. The square where the demonstration was due to take place was cordoned off by police and KGB officials, which prevented any demonstration. S. Gura, a member of the Lviv Trust Group, demonstrated in Moscow and was arrested. He went on a hunger strike. His trial began on 28 December. Gura asked for an interpreter and his guard acted as one. He was fined 50 roubles (approximately £50).

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## YURIY SHUKHEVYCH RELEASED FROM EXILE

(UCIS) On January 11, two months before the completion of his sentence, Yuriy Shukhevych was released from exile after 35 years of imprisonment.

The 55 year-old Ukrainian political prisoner, who lost his sight as a result of the camp regime, was serving a term of exile in a camp invalids' home in Tomsk (Siberia).

Yuriy Shukhevych was first arrested in 1948 at the age of 15, on the basis of art. 58 of the RSFSR criminal code (treason). After his release in 1968, he married and became the father of three children. Shukhevych was again arrested in 1972 and sentenced on the basis of art. 70 of the RSFSR criminal code to 10 years of imprisonment and 5 years of exile for writing his memoirs. After a year in a camp of particularly severe regime, he was again

sentenced to 15 years of imprisonment for attempting to smuggle his new notes out of the camp, thereby adding an additional year of imprisonment to his previous sentence. Yuriy Shukhevych was due to be released in March 1988.

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## UKRAINIAN COMMUNIST PARTY PLENUM ATTACKS WRITERS FOR DEFENCE OF LANGUAGE

(UPA) A plenum of the Communist Party of Ukraine took place in Kyiv on 22-23 January where one of the keynote speakers, M.O. Shybyk, the editor of the daily *Robitnycha Hazeta*, publicly attacked members of the Writers' Union of Ukraine. In particular, he singled out Oles Honchar, a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine and one of the most prominent Ukrainian writers, for his actions in defence of the Ukrainian language.

The problems that have been raised by writers in the press, according to Shybyk, are that some writers have lately become enamoured by a strange and uncharacteristic of this group of people writing of resolutions. The tone of these resolutions is often stretched, bad and the approach is one-sided, limited and unobjective, he claims. This is particularly evident, states Shybyk, when one reads publications by writers on the language question. He does not deny that the problem exists and that it has to be dealt with. But he criticises the "tone" of the arguments of a "certain group of writers, our intelligentsia and very respected people like comrade Oles Honchar".

During the plenum the first secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine, Volodymyr Shcherbytskyi, also criticised the newspaper of the Writers' Union of Ukraine, *Literaturna Ukraina*, which has been in the forefront of the campaign for greater concern for the dreadful state of Ukrainian language and culture after decades of russification. This newspaper has also been one of the strongest supporters of glasnost in Ukraine.

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## SEMINAR ON THE "MILLENNIUM OF CHRISTIANITY" HELD IN KYIV

According to the independent journal *Express-Chronicle* published in Moscow, the Ukrainian Culturological Club held a seminar on the millennium of Christianity in Ukraine in Kyiv on January 24 of this year. The seminar was

organised by the Club's section on philosophy and theory of culture. Ukrainian Catholic, Valentyn Matiash, and Ukrainian Orthodox, Larysa Lokhvytska, spoke on theological issues. The participants of the seminar discussed the letter of Archbishop Feodosiy to General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev demanding the return of the ancient Monastery of the Caves in Kyiv to the Orthodox Church. The Ukrainian Culturological Club is preparing its own statement regarding the fate of the monastery. The Club is presently gathering signatures with the unofficial Moscow group "Memorial". The group is concerned with the protection of historical monuments. It also organised the gathering of signatures for a petition to the Soviet leadership demanding the return of the remains of Vasyl Stus, a Ukrainian poet who died in a Soviet Russian labour camp (36-1) in 1985, to Ukraine.

To counterbalance the Ukrainian Culturological Club, the Soviet authorities formed an official club with similar aims called "Heritage", which holds its meetings at the Academy of Sciences of the UkSSR. The first meeting of this club took place on January 27.

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### **OKSANA MESHKO ARRIVES IN THE WEST: REPORTS GRAVE CONDITION OF LEV LUKIANENKO**

(UPA) The External Representation of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group has reported that on February 24 a founding member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, Oksana Meshko, arrived in Australia on a 90-day visa for eye treatment. Oksana Meshko is 83 years old and a long-time inmate of the Gulag: 1947-1955, 1980-1981 and internal exile from 1981-1986. Her letter in defence of the Ukrainian Culture and Ecology Club was recently published in Kyiv's evening newspaper. Before leaving Moscow she met with the family of Lev Lukianenko, another long-term political prisoner. His wife told Meshko about the new place of exile that he was sent to from January 30:

646014, TOMSKAYA oblast,  
PARABELSKYI rayon, pos. BEREZOVKA.

Lukianenko has already served a total of 25 years of imprisonment. Although he is a pensioner he has been forced to undertake hard physical work which has landed him in hospital on previous occasions. In letters to his family Lukianenko is reserved, although his family note that he is suffering from the conditions that have been imposed upon him. Lukianenko has expressed the fear that he **will not** survive the five-year term of internal exile under these conditions.

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### Documents & Reports

## LETTER FROM UNOFFICIAL CULTUROLOGICAL CLUB IN DEFENCE OF THE MOHYLA ACADEMY

To the Academy of Culture of the Ukrainian SSR,  
To the Kyiv Civic Committee,  
To the Ministry of Defence of the Ukrainian SSR

Ukrainians are very concerned by the actions of the Military-Political Group on the grounds of the Brotherly school and the Mohyla Academy which were established 355 years ago. It would seem that we should be used to everything, but this suppression of culture, which calls itself the Military-Political Group, is insulting and intolerable.

In this atmosphere of sorrow we ask — the reason being presented to enlightened people for the razing of a cemetery in order to erect a buffet, is insulting and intolerable — should'n't the Military-Political Group be teaching our children from the beginning: to interest them in their land and teach them to value it? This value and respect cannot be taught without any regard for their ancestors' graves.

What kind of pedagogical system is the basis for the Military-Political Group which gives its students a symbolic lesson — to throw away the remains of our respected forefathers, and set up a buffet in their place? If no arguments evoking history, tradition or culture work on these hypnotised beings, then we must admit that our core is rotting, our branches dying and less fruit is growing.

Usually, the matter should be brought before the courts and other authorities to be judged as a matter of protecting historical monuments and culture. Archaeologists and historians need to look at who was buried by the walls of the Kyiv Mohyla Academy. We know that Hetman Sahaidachnyi and the scholar Petro Barskyi lie buried there.

The Military-Political Group should be excluded from these areas and cultural institutions should take charge of them. Finally, we view as imperative the establishment, with the Military-Political Group, of a burial site for the remains of the ruined tombs by the Kyiv Mohyla Academy in one common grave with a monument, a project which will come out of sincere discussions.

Kyiv, 4 September 1987

*Yevhen Sverstiuk, Oles Shevchenko, Stepan Khmara, Vitaliy Shevchenko,  
Olha Matusevych.* (The signatures continue for 4 more pages — UPA).

## MINISTRY OF EDUCATION ANNOUNCES CLOSURE OF FACULTIES OF UKRAINIAN LANGUAGE

(UPA) The literary weekly and organ of the Writers' Union of Ukraine, *Literaturna Ukraina*, has published a letter from a doctor of philology at Kharkiv pedagogical institute in which he criticises the recent decree of the Ukrainian Ministry of Education dated 15 November 1987. In a curious move, the Ministry has liquidated the faculties of Ukrainian language and Ukrainian literature as separate units at six pedagogical institutes. They are the Voroshilovhrad, Drohobych, Kirovohrad, Rovensk, Sumsk and Kharkiv pedagogical institutes.

According to the author, the move is strange in the light of the decision taken at the 26th Party Congress (January 1987) to increase implementation of Lenin's nationalities policy and to combat significant shortcomings in the cultural sphere. Of particular importance was the question of the study of the Ukrainian language and literature in schools and the need for radical restructuring in these areas.

The Ukrainian Ministry of Education claims that the move was in response to requests from principles of various Ukrainian pedagogical institutes. However, the author states that if some principles of the colleges were not aware of the significance of such a step then the Ministry, which is responsible for formulating educational policy, should have understood the likely consequences.

The author states that the number of students in departments of Ukrainian language and literature has increased in recent years and therefore no justification can be provided for the closure. At Kharkiv pedagogical institute the number of students studying Ukrainian subjects has doubled in recent years from 200 to 400.

It is important to emphasise that the level of Ukrainian language study at many institutes leaves much to be desired and the number of such faculties should be increased rather than cut, claims Dr. M. Hetmanets, the author of the letter.

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## APPEAL TO GORBACHEV ON THE EVE OF THE SUMMIT FOR THE RELEASE OF UKRAINIAN POLITICAL PRISONERS

(UPA) On the eve of the meeting in the USA with President Reagan, we would like to draw your attention to the fact that to this day in Camps and Psychiatric Hospitals there are prisoners of conscience, who have been sentenced for their beliefs and religious convictions. Most of them are Ukrainian. The evidence that this category of prisoners exists puts doubt upon assurances made by the (Soviet) government to carry out consistent and far-reaching democratic changes. This is important because a return to the period of stagnation in Ukraine (a reference to the Brezhnev years) has been noticeable in recent weeks. This prevents the political activity of many citizens. The release of prisoners of conscience would be an act of humanity, justice and proof of the irrevocable democratic renewal of our country. It would find a warm welcome in the hearts of people of good will throughout the world. We turn to you with the request to fulfil this important task.

5 December 1987

The Ukrainian Initiative Group for the Release of Prisoners  
of Conscience.

Head of the Initiative Group: *M. Horyn*.

Members of the Group: *V. Barliadianu, I. Hel', M. Horyn, Z. Popadiuk,  
O. Serhienko, S. Khmara, V. Chornovil.*

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## UKRAINIAN DISSIDENT REPLIES TO ATTACKS IN OFFICIAL PRESS

(UPA) A 14-page letter by Mykhailo Horyn, a member of the editorial board of the samvydav journal *Ukrainian Herald* was sent to approximately 200 political officials and cultural personalities in Ukraine and Moscow in response to attacks upon him and V. Chornovil in the official press. The author also talks about the interview between himself and Chornovil with a correspondent from New York, M. Kolomyets. *Radyanska Ukraina* accused both members of defending émigré political centres and their activities. M. Horyn replies in his letter that the discussion was about cultural and academic

work of various Ukrainian communities that work and live abroad, such as the Shevchenko Scientific Society, which succeeded in publishing an Encyclopaedia of Ukraine 10 years before the authorities in Kyiv managed to do so. On 17 December, *Literaturna Ukraina* published an extended interview with H. Grabovych, a professor from Harvard, who expressed support for the cultural activity of Ukrainians in the West. M. Horyn is also of the same mind and says that it is unfair to throw accusations against him. Those who do so would like to keep Ukraine in a state of provincialism where fear and silence reign, as they did in past decades.

Below we give an extract from Horyn's letter:

"I consider the publication of the article 'Interview from the Underground' in the newspaper *Radyanska Ukraina* as a serious retrograde attack against people, who strive for renewal and democracy. As has happened more than once before, the author has tried to silence the journal (the *Ukrainian Herald*) on the pages of the newspaper by means of a welcome that is well known since Stalin's days of anarchy. The attack contains accusations of corruption, slander, investigation of personal details and makes use of twisted KGB information and other similarly trivial details.

The Soviet press has much experience in this. The head of the government, Bukharin, was in his own time classed as an agent of a foreign intelligence organisation. This sort of welcome is routine and has prepared readers for more. However, it characterises the period and the people who present this material. Not so long ago, the appearance of such an article would have been a signal for legal repressions against the accused, who for a while, or for ever, disappeared. His neighbours, fatally stricken by fear, would not dare to check on his family. There would be no protests nor complaints — just silence and no news. There would only be the nervous review of the newspapers to find out who was next. Those were the infamous days of black journalism. They were also the fertile years of Stalin's henchmen.

However, time does not stand still. It is now increasingly difficult to create a death zone of fear and silence around the repressed. But you do not stop trying, although you do not have any other methods in reserve. You could count my silence as coming to terms with the situation, but that would be a mistake. This is the reason: I'm convinced that the political climate in the country is not just a product or the will of the 'leadership', but is the original agreement of those who dictate with those who are prepared to accept the orders. It has no real meaning whether it is voluntary or given under pressure. Its responsibility is on both sides, while the difference is in the measure

and the initiative. If you succeed in brainwashing the readers with such articles so that they are prepared to return to the old days without any opposition, then this means that they deserve it and are unworthy of anything better. I consider that a return to the old ways is a crime and therefore do not want to support it by being silent. . .”.

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## **APPEAL TO WESTERN GOVERNMENTS BY UKRAINIAN DISSIDENTS**

(UPA) In August 1987, the independent journal the *Ukrainian Herald*, which previously appeared in the 1970s, was relaunched. After the first issue appeared, the security services began to intimidate and harass members of the editorial board: Vasyl Barliadianu, Mykhailo Horyn, Vyacheslav Chornovil and Pavlo Skochok. Articles attacking them, began to appear in the daily Soviet Ukrainian newspapers and they were arrested for short periods of time.

On 30 December, members of the editorial board declared themselves to be members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, which had existed in the 1970s but was subsequently repressed by the authorities. Their journal has now become the official organ of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group. Recently, the authorities have been threatening to deport both Horyn and Chornovil from the USSR. In connection with this, Horyn and Chornovil have written an open letter to Western governments which we give below.

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### **OPEN LETTER TO HEADS OF GOVERNMENT WHO ARE SIGNATORIES TO THE HELSINKI AGREEMENT**

We ask that you familiarise yourselves with the appeal to the World community, sent by the editorial board of the independent (samvydav) journal the *Ukrainian Herald*, which has now become the official organ of the (Ukrainian) Helsinki Group, on the 30 December 1987. In connection with the real threat of forced deportation from our country of two members of the editorial board of the journal, Vyacheslav Chornovil and Mykhailo Horyn, we declare that as patriots of our fatherland — Ukraine — we do not wish to leave our country despite threats of imprisonment for our human rights activities.

If the Soviet government turns to you with a request concerning our depor-

tation to your country, we plead that permission will not be granted. In such a case we ask that you draw the Soviet government's attention to the total incompatibility of such actions with the Final Act of the Helsinki Agreement, which the Soviet government has signed.

Lviv, Ukraine

31 December 1987

*Mykhailo Horyn  
Vyacheslav Chornovil*

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**UNOFFICIAL UKRAINIAN CULTUROLOGICAL CLUB SENDS  
OPEN LETTER TO WEST GERMAN TELEVISION STATION  
— AUTHORITIES COMPARE CLUB TO ANTI-SEMITIC  
RUSSIAN NATIONALIST ORGANISATION "PAMIAT"**

(UPA) Glasnost is still making little headway in Ukraine, where it has come up against the conservative and Brezhnevite leadership of V. Shcherbytskyi. The Party leadership in Ukraine recently exploited the Culturological Club for external propaganda, suggesting to a West German television audience that there is "democracy" in Ukraine, showing the "Open Letter" written by the Club on 3 January to the directors of the Köln television company — "Westdeutscher Rundfunk". Below we give excerpts from the letter.

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**OPEN LETTER TO THE DIRECTOR OF KYIV TELEVISION AND THE  
DIRECTORS OF THE KÖLN TELEVISION COMPANY IN CONNECTION  
WITH THE TELE-BRIDGE BETWEEN KÖLN-KYIV FROM THE  
COUNCIL OF THE UKRAINIAN CULTUROLOGICAL CLUB**

"We feel it is our obligation to inform you and your viewers that during the airing of the 'Telebridge between Köln-Kyiv' in German, the Ukrainian audience was misinformed by the Kyiv producers. It would seem that the German television workers are doing a good job opening the world to all. Yet, the smiles and words have to be sincere.

Unfortunately, the organisers of the programme were not sincere on the question of whether Ukrainian society was as free as German. The Kyiv representative answered yes to this question using the example of the Ukrainian Culturological Club and comparing it to the Moscow 'Pamiat' to illus-

trate his point. 'Although we don't like it, they are free to voice their views', he said.

We don't know much about the Moscow 'Pamiat', but we do know about the Kyiv administration's memory, and it is short. It seems they need to be refreshed. After our first Club meeting entitled 'Ukrainian Culture — façade and reality', the Komsomol bureaucracy experienced alarm. Only 2 or 3 years ago people were arrested for talking about the decline of Ukrainian culture, and some of those people are still in prison.

Then the Komsomol took to its old methods, and at the next Club meeting the members found the door locked with a sign on it saying 'Sanitary Evening'. When we organised a public debate on ecological problems we discovered microphones all over the room. Regardless of this, the protests against Chornobyl, the building of more nuclear reactors in populated areas and ecological abuses went on. Our protests were heard in the Ministry of Health.

We had to find a new meeting place as the Club had grown so much. Everyone looked favourably at our ideas about glasnost, democracy and opposition to national intolerance. Meanwhile, the storm brewed. The Ministry of Culture was annoyed with us raising the question of preserving historic monuments. Our letter calling for the protection of the first Eastern Slavonic University, the Kyiv Mohyla Academy, which was turned into a buffet, was especially annoying. We were labelled 'Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists'. The latest chapter in our persecution occurred during our Club meeting devoted to the blank spots in Ukrainian history, which attracted over 400 participants. The local press called our Club 'the spreaders of violent news'. This was a call to the media for an all-out attack against us. The newspaper which initiated this attack would not allow us to reply. The head of the Ministry of Culture said that the Club does not officially exist. Yet, despite this, the Club does exist, has different sections and is increasing its membership. In November and December the literary section admonished people not to forget Ukrainian poets and writers. The language section raised its grievances against russification and the secondary role allotted to the Ukrainian language. The history section raised history. All the sections began an ongoing lecture series on the millennium (of Christianity in Ukraine).

Yet, all the forms of pressure developed under Stalin and Brezhnev have been used against us, and the old establishment remains. A student explaining the Club to a German was called over by two men dressed in civilian clothing and brutally beaten. This is our addition to the television programme".

Kyiv, 3 January 1988

*Oles Shevchenko, Serhiy Naboka, Olha Matusevych, Larysa Lohvytska, Tetiana Bitchenko, Anatolii Bitchenko, Hryhoriy Minailo, Leonid Miliavskiy, Volodymyr Fedko, Oleksa Burkivskiy, Vadym Halynovskiy, Taras Chornovil*

## KYIV UNIVERSITY KOMSOMOL LEAFLET: DEMANDS FOR NATIONAL RIGHTS

(UPA) Below we give the full translation of the leaflet distributed by the Kyiv University Komsomol on the anniversary of the nuclear disaster at Chernobyl and publicised by Sergei Grigoryants. The translation is from the Paris-based Russian-Language newspaper *Russkaya Mysl*.

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### AN OPEN LETTER TO THE CITIZENS OF KYIV ON THE FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF THE TRAGEDY AT CHORNOBYL FROM THE KOMSOMOL GROUP "PERESTROIKA" AT THE KYIV STATE UNIVERSITY OF T. SHEVCHENKO

Dear Comrades,

One year ago, the nuclear power station at Chernobyl experienced the most serious and deadly accident in history. An untold number of people were killed, numerous others wounded, and we still do not know the future of this accident, the numbers of people who will die from cancer and other diseases relating to the accident.

What was the response of our Party and Komsomol to this tragedy? On the express orders of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, we were told that an accident had occurred. This openness was welcomed by all Soviet peoples. However, too many local lords still refuse to follow the direction set by the 27th CPSU Congress and without consulting the people, insist upon continuing the spread of nuclear reactors in Ukraine and other republics of the USSR! They speak in glowing terms of the safety of our nuclear energy programme and continue to fool people with complacent words. If we are experiencing inadequate safety precautions in such places as the Donbas mines, how can we continue speaking of safety in nuclear energy?

Comrade M.S. Gorbachev has stressed the need for Glasnost in our everyday lives. We have seen positive examples of this in certain aspects, such as the release of Academician Sakharov from exile, the freeing of some political prisoners, the newspaper reporting the demonstration in Alma-Ata, the openness at the Congress of the Writers' Union of Ukraine, where some of our most revered writers and critics openly called for greater respect towards the Ukrainian language and for the need to have measures passed to legalise the status of the native tongue. These are important measures which we support.

But is this enough? This year we witnessed how tens of thousands of Chi-



nese students went to the streets, legally demanding greater democracy in China, demanding the need to have a free press, open discussion. Is it not ironic that we have fallen behind not only the Americans, but even the Chinese in such matters. When was the last time that the student body of Kyiv University demanded free speech, a free press, the right to openly discuss the decisions of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine? When did we support the calls of the Writers' Union for greater use of the Ukrainian language in the schools and VYZ's (Institute of Higher Education) of the republic, even within our own Kyiv University?

Comrades! If this is the era of Glasnost, then let us become the standard bearers of this era. If not us, then who shall lead the nation in the years to come? Is it not distressing that Ukraine has not been able to deliver enough grain to even feed herself, not to mention the thousands of tons which are exported from our homeland to feed the Vietnamese, the Cubans and the Afghans! Who is responsible for this policy? Why do we read in *Radyanska Ukraina* that everything is "solved" in the national question when during the Writers' Congress we hear that everything is on the brink of disaster in this aspect? Were the riots in Alma-Ata another sign that "druzhba narodiv" (friendship of peoples) had triumphed?

For eight years now, our brothers and husbands have been fighting an undeclared war in Afghanistan. Over 30,000 Soviet young men have died, among them many former graduates of Kyiv University. What is our position on this war? Gorbachev wants to withdraw the Soviet troops, but from what we know, there are forces within the Party and Army who cynically use this war to test new weapons systems and the battle readiness of our young soldiers, with total disregard for their lives. They are the ones who are prolonging the war and it is our duty to support an immediate total withdrawal from Afghanistan.

We are constantly being urged by the Party, as the Komsomol organisation of the University, to be the future leaders of our country. This is the purpose of this leaflet. In the spirit of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress, we are urging the citizens of Kyiv, the hero city, to openly voice their concerns for the future of our homeland.

As the Komsomol organisation with a long and glorious revolutionary past, we ask you to consider the following questions:

1. For glasnost to be implemented in a meaningful way, there has to be political freedom and not only economic reform. Under political freedom we mean the right to full and unhindered expression in the press and by word of mouth. This must apply to full criticism of the CPSU and its role in society.

2. For us, the Komsomol of Ukraine, the national question is one of the pressing issues of our day. We are not isolated from Ukrainian society and we see the deep problems and divisions which exist in our everyday life. We therefore believe that glasnost will provide us with an honest discussion of the state of the Ukrainian nation under socialism. We cannot continue accepting the complacent proclamations of the CPSU that our nation is flourishing when we know for a fact that all the meetings of the Central Committee of the CP of Ukraine are conducted in Russian, and that 90 percent of the lectures in Kyiv University are held in Russian.
3. The state of ecology of Ukraine today is a disaster. The water resources of the republic are in a catastrophic state. The recent disaster on the Dnister has created unsolvable problems. Chornobyl has destroyed kilometres of farmland. Pollution from unchecked industrial gases in Donetsk and Dnipropetrovsk has been a health hazard which increases the danger to our children every day. Is the party capable of doing anything to stop this danger? We are asking for a total revamping of our ecological policy.
4. Ukraine today is the territory where a large percentage of Soviet nuclear based rockets are stationed. This means that the republic is a target for Western missiles. In case of a war, Ukraine would be destroyed in a matter of minutes. We ask that an open discussion of our defence policy be undertaken immediately with the full participation of our and other organisations. We recommend that Ukraine be declared a nuclear free zone, in the same way as our government is suggesting that the South Pacific be nuclear free. What is good for the Fiji Islands is also good for Ukraine.
5. We demand a public discussion in the press and on radio and television on the possibility of having a multi-party system in our country to insure the fullest participation of our nation in deciding the destiny of our country. After 70 years of the power of the CPSU, we feel that this one party has led the country into a situation where we have fallen into economic and technological backwardness. We are not asking that the social system of our country be changed, but an examination of the role of the CPSU in our everyday lives. As Ukrainians, we want to see a full discussion on the real role of the CP Ukraine and its responsibility towards the Ukrainian nation.
6. Citizens and comrades! We have lived under Mukha and his unchecked power too long. (The chief of the KGB of Ukraine who was removed

about a month ago<sup>\*</sup>). The removal of the head of the KGB in Voroshilovgrad this year was a positive step. It was done on the initiative of M.S. Gorbachev and we hope this tendency will continue. But we must support this type of action. For the past few months, the Kyiv Chekists have been spreading rumours that "We shall get Gorbachev". For the process of socialist renewal to continue in a positive direction, it is our duty, as citizens, to demand a complete investigation of the KGB and to redefine its role in our society.

Comrades! On this first anniversary of the Chornobyl tragedy, we believe that it is time to have our voices heard. The political apathy of Soviet people is well known to all of us. The corrupt bureaucrats in Kyiv and Moscow are counting on this apathy so that they may remove Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev from office and return to their old ways. We cannot allow this to take place.

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### **APPEAL FROM THE ALL-UNION COMMITTEE FOR THE DEFENCE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS TO THE GOVERNMENT OF THE USSR**

(UCIS) On January 12-14, 1988, a meeting of the representatives of the Armenian, Georgian and Ukrainian sub-committees of the "All-Union Committee for the Defence of Political Prisoners" took place in Erevan, Armenia. The Ukrainian sub-committee was represented by Mykhailo Horyn and Vyacheslav Chornovil, members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group and the editorial board of the unofficial journal the *Ukrainian Herald*.

The participants of the meeting accepted three documents: a communiqué on the aims and agenda of the meeting, an Appeal from the All-Union Committee for the Defence of Political Prisoners to the Government of the USSR, and an appeal to human rights activists of all the nations of the Soviet Union, calling upon them to form national sub-committees and to unite their forces in the All-Union Committee for the Defence of Political Prisoners. The next conference, scheduled for this month, is to be held in Tbilisi, Georgia, and the subsequent one in Ukraine two months after that.

The full text of the Appeal to the Soviet Government is given below.

\* \* \*

"The national composition of political prisoners in the prisons, camps, and

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\* May 1987.

special psychiatric hospitals of the USSR has never corresponded to the ratio between Russians and the other nationalities of the union. This was true under Stalin and Brezhnev, and is, unfortunately, still the case today, as the question of political prisoners in the USSR has still not been finally resolved. For example, out of the 13 political prisoners held in the particularly severe regime camp, known to the whole world as the death camp [36-1], there are only two Russians.

The fact that the national problem in such a multi-national centralised state as the USSR has not been resolved is a constant source of oppositional feelings and possible repressions, as it is impossible to suppress the natural aspirations of every nation to a broad self-determination (in cultural and economic matters) and later to national statehood. Unfortunately, the new leadership of the country has so far not displayed a desire to extend the idea of perestroika to national problems, but rather, on the contrary, the centralisation of economic and state life is becoming even more intensified. Characteristic of the attitude towards the national aspirations of the non-Russian nations at the public seminar on humanitarian issues which recently took place in Moscow, was the fact that the authorities did not permit the section on national relations to carry out its work, resorting even to preventative arrests and fabrications in the spirit of the times of stagnation.

Taking into consideration the direct connection between the repressive policies of the authorities and the fact that the national problems have not been resolved, the meeting of the representatives of the Armenian, Georgian and Ukrainian sub-committees of the All-Union Committee for the Defence of Political Prisoners, which took place on January 12-14 in Erevan, puts the following minimal demands before the Government of the USSR:

1. To introduce into the constitution of every union republic a clause whereby the native language of each republic would become its state language, and to strictly adhere to this principle, that is to guarantee the invaluable function of national languages in all walks of state and social life of the republics without exception, leaving the Russian language outside the borders of Russia with the sole function of a means of communication between the inhabitants and institutions of the various republics;
2. To guarantee the national and cultural needs of small stateless nations (and representatives of other union nations which live on the same territorial area or in significant numbers among other nations, including the Russian minority in non-Russian republics): pre-school and school education in the native language, a national press national culture and educational institutions, and so on;
3. To repeal the discriminatory clauses in the USSR's law on schools, still

in force, and to introduce the compulsory learning by all inhabitants of the language of their republic on a scale which would guarantee the full participation of all citizens, regardless of nationality, in the work of state and social institutions and in the attainment of professional and higher education in the state language of each particular republic;

4. By law and in practice to put an end to the consequences of Stalin's "solution" to the national-territorial question — to return to their native land and renew the statehood of forcibly deported nations, and to establish the borders of the national republics and regions justly and from the national viewpoint;
5. To guarantee the rights of national minorities, the majority of whose population lives outside the Soviet Union, where they have their statehood, to become united with their nations (regardless of the existence of family ties);
6. Not to permit the further construction (and in some cases to dismantle those already constructed) atomic power stations, chemical works, large hydrotechnical structures in republics with a small territory or those that are densely populated or industrially overburdened already (Armenia, Moldavia, Estonia, Georgia, Ukraine and others);
7. During industrial planning and construction to take into account the local work-force in order to prevent the deliberate alteration of the ethnic composition of the population of the non-Russian republics, and also the forced migration of large groups of a particular nationality beyond its republic.

While examining these demands, which are generally regarded as minimal and in complete conformity with the All-Union legal norms established by the Soviet Union, we reserve the right to draw up and send you a more detailed document which would take into account all the aspects of the national problem in the Soviet Union".

The All-Union Committee for the Defence  
of Political Prisoners in the USSR

12.1.1988 Erevan

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## UKRAINIAN SCIENTISTS REJECT PLANS TO EXPAND NUCLEAR POWER IN UKRAINE

(UCIS) In a letter to the Soviet Ukrainian newspaper *Literaturna Ukraina* (No. 3, 21.1.1988), which was published under the heading "And what prognosis for tomorrow? Atomic power in Ukraine", 13 Ukrainian scientists, economists and engineers were bitterly critical of the further expansion of nuclear power in Ukraine, particularly of plans to expand the Rivne, Khmelnytskyi and South-Ukrainian nuclear power stations. Their arguments and criticisms were based on a series of pressing ecological, social and economic problems ignored by the Ministry of Atomic Energy of the USSR in its plans to develop and expand the nuclear industry in Ukraine. The authors of the letter (Messrs. Alymov, Amosov et al) paid particular attention to the problems and dangers of amassing high concentrations of nuclear power in one place, especially in densely-populated areas.

First and foremost, they point out that the territory of Ukraine has the highest level of economic production in the USSR and that the high level of concentration of industry and agriculture in Ukraine already exceeds the permitted levels of air and water pollution. In addition, the overall density of the population in the republic is today 10 times greater than the average anywhere else in the Soviet Union and Ukraine is an important recreational area for 22% of the population of the USSR every year. "The saturation of the territory of the republic with a dense network of atomic power stations will inevitably lead to the increase of background radiation. In the conditions of the intensification of power it is unavoidable that an increase in the pollution of agricultural produce in Ukraine by radiation, which threatens not only its population, but also the population of the whole country [USSR], will occur".

A no less important series of problems arises in connection with the shortage of water and ground resources, which is rapidly becoming more acute. Eight nuclear plants (including the nearby Kursk and Smolensk plants in Russia and Byelorussia) with an annual consumption of some 1.5 billion cubic metres of water — an irretrievable loss to the republic's water supplies — are being built on those regions, which provide the water resources for the whole of Ukraine. Such a concentration of large energy sources in areas deficient in water resources will inevitably result in the thermal and chemical pollution of water, as the water used for cooling the nuclear reactors flows into nearby rivers. This will be particularly disastrous in times of drought when the water for cooling the reactors will be in insufficient supply. "It is also no secret", write Messrs. Alymov, Amosov et al, "that the authorities' demands for the control and protection of water at both functioning nuclear plants and those under construction, are being ignored, which causes a marked deterioration of the ecological conditions that have arisen".

To back their arguments they give three specific examples — the Rivne,

Khmelnyskyi and South-Ukrainian nuclear plants. The water used for cooling the Rivne power station flows into the River Styr, its temperatures exceeding regulations by 5 degrees centigrade. The Khmelnyskyi plant is situated on the upper reaches of the River Horyn, which is the main source of water for the population and industry of the whole Rivne region. Today, however, the river has become so shallow that below the point where water is pumped to the power station it has completely dried up. During the construction of the South-Ukrainian nuclear power station a system of water supply that threatens the water in the River Buh and the Dnieper-Buh estuary with pollution was put into operation. The construction of reservoirs for the Oleksandriiv and Kostiantyniv plants has been delayed. There are no prognoses for the effect on sub-soil water and bedrock.

In the planning stage, the fact that the water reserves in the Rivers Horyn and Styr were insufficient even to assure the perceived power output of the Rivne and Khmelnyskyi power stations was taken into consideration. Plans were elaborated for three types of water supply for the nuclear power plants. Two of them proposed to supply the plants with water from the Dnister and Western Buh by means of pipelines. The third proposed the utilisation of sewer water from Lviv. Although the latter type would appear to be the most up to date and ecologically expedient method of supplying water to the power stations, the Ministry of Atomic Energy of the USSR decided that it was best to supply the plants with water from the Dnister through an underground pipeline 240 km. long and a series of pumping stations. The main argument for this decision, according to Messrs. Alymov, Amosov et al, appears to be that construction companies have acquired experience in building large-diameter underground pipelines and have promised to build the pipeline in question for 100,000 karbovantsi within five years. "Thus the department is once again trying to push through the policy of the quantitative expansion of the bulk of construction, instead of a qualitative argued approach, to say nothing of ecology", write the authors of the letter. "Obviously it is easier to dig up half the republic than to utilise these costs for the development and construction of purification systems for the utilisation of sewer water from Lviv. But what will be the consequences of removing more than 100 million cubic metres of water from the Dnister on the border with Moldavia or a disastrous breakdown of the pipeline? It is difficult to foresee. It is of vital importance to ask the opinion of scientists and experts of the Moldavian SSR".

As the authors point out, discussions, such as those held on August 25, 1987, on the issue of the expansion of nuclear power in Ukraine, have revealed certain problems, which have not been adequately resolved. Social, geological and economic questions, as well as the problem of the perceived utilisation of the nuclear plants have not been seen through to the end. "So", they ask, "how can one explain the fact that the cost per kilowatt at the

nuclear power stations, which are planned and built in Ukraine, is two to three times lower than in developed capitalist countries? Such marked differences in cost point only to the fact that much has not been taken into consideration in the calculations of our experts, including the cost of nuclear waste disposal and the dismantling of power stations that have used up all their resources". In their opinion, it is now time to "review these calculations, in particular taking into account the long-term social-ecological factors".

With the increase in seismic activity in the western and southern regions of Ukraine — manifestations of karstic processes and flooding — the Ministry of Atomic Energy of the USSR has no reasonable geo-ecological arguments for its siting of the nuclear plants. Today, the dangerous geological processes (the karstic process, flooding and landslides) are present in between 40 and 70% of the territory of the regions adjacent to the plants and have a tendency to increase under the effects of the nuclear power stations — the outflow of water, the heating up of the ground and water, the huge constructional and mechanical overload, and others. It was only recently that experts from the Academy of Sciences and the Ministries of Geology and State Construction of the Ukrainian SSR rejected plans for the construction of a reservoir at the Rivne nuclear plant because of the very imminent danger of the activation of karstic processes. The effects of radiation on the ecological features of the geological surroundings (soil and subsoil water) have not been studied and there is no prognosis for the radio-chemical and geo-chemical effects of the nuclear plant on the environment as a whole.

It is "completely unclear" to Messrs. Alymov, Amosov et al why "the experts of the Ministry of Atomic Energy ignore a concept such as the ecological spaciousness of the environment, which does not allow the established levels of power of the atomic power stations as a whole throughout the republic to be exceeded. . .". As far as they are concerned, this is not a theoretical concept, but a practical one measured by quantitative indices of the balance between land and water and the levels of the pollution of the environment by thermoelectric and nuclear power stations, as well as the mining, metallurgical, chemical and other branches of industry. It is also "very difficult to comprehend the sceptical attitude of the Ministry of Atomic Energy to the ecological aspects of the construction of nuclear power stations in Ukraine".

They go on: "And how can one explain the invariable goal of certain officials to attain the ratification of their departmental ambitions whatever the cost, their aspirations to ignore the warnings of scientists and experts and the bitter lessons of Chernobyl? By only one possible explanation", they say, "the desire to maintain the system of the dictatorship of the manufacturer over the consumer, to preserve his privilege of unquestionable authority — a system that is slipping away! The problems of the development of atomic power still remain a forbidden issue for public analysis and discussion in the press".



Despite the arguments of scientists and experts and the unanimous conclusion of the members of the many institutes of the Academy of Sciences of both the Ukrainian SSR and the USSR that nuclear plants with a capacity of more than 4 million kilowatts should not be built, the Ministry of Atomic Energy of the USSR persists in its plans to expand nuclear power in Ukraine. Deputy Minister of Atomic Energy, O.L. Lapshyn, explained that although in the initial projects nuclear power stations with an output of up to 4 million kilowatts were built, time dictates its own conditions. "Why should we look for new sites for nuclear power stations, build on empty spaces", he said, "when we already have bases for further construction and assembly, settlements, communications and experts at existing ones? People settle down and make themselves at home. What will we do with them once the construction of the planned reactors has been completed?". This is probably the Ministry's strongest argument.

As far as the Ministry is concerned, the well-founded approach of the scientists, a precise study of the socio-ecological and economic issues involved and the expediency of such a huge concentration of power are not essential. The main thing is to secure the ratification of its plans. "But where are the guarantees", ask the authors of the letter, "that in five years the Ministry of Atomic Energy will not demand the expansion of power to 8, 10 or 20 million kilowatts? There are no such guarantees".

These are the serious problems, which greatly perturb scientists and experts in Ukraine today. But, inspite of the persistent attitude of the Ministry of Atomic Energy, the authors of the letter believe that the times are changing. "It is not so easy to wave aside reform", they say. "Everyone needs to reform". In their opinion the time has come to review "the very concept of the development and siting of atomic power in places which consume electricity, that is in densely-populated districts with fertile agricultural land and close to big cities. Today, one can very clearly point out the flaws of the theory of 'guaranteed safety', with which certain renowned physicists, leaders and experts from particular departments have lulled public opinion over the last 20 years, and pushed through this economically and ecologically unsound concept, completely rejecting the possibility of siting the nuclear power stations in more distant regions of the country, with energy supplied to places of consumption by means of high-voltage electric powerlines".

Messrs. Alymov, Amosov et al believe that the time has come for a thorough reform of all the levels of the national-economic complex of Ukraine, with the aim of the reduction of the allocation of ground resources away from agriculture, and so on. Because the potential for the development of thermoelectric power, especially with the exploitation of new high-yield coalfields in Donbas, is far from exhausted, they suggest the construction in Ukraine of specific types of thermoelectric power stations with highly-effective modern means of purifying the fumes from various kinds of debris, nitrous and sul-

phur oxide. Finally, the authors of the letter point out that one cannot fail to take into consideration the moral-economic consequences of the disaster at the Chornobyl nuclear plant and to ignore its psychological effects on the population of Ukraine.

The letter is concluded with a firm rejection of the Ministry of Atomic Energy's plans: "Therefore, we deem it necessary to reject the plans for the expansion of the Rivne, Khmelnytskyi and South-Ukrainian nuclear power stations and appeal to the Council of Ministers of the USSR to hear out our opinion and to examine the whole complex problem of the development of nuclear power on the territory of the Ukrainian SSR".

The letter was signed: *O.M. Alymov*, member of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR, Doctor of Economics; *M.M. Amosov*, member of the Academy of Sciences of the UkSSR, corresponding-member of the Academy of Medical Sciences of the USSR, Doctor of Medicine, Hero of Socialist Labour; *A.M. Hrodzynskiyi*, member of the Academy of Sciences of the UkSSR, Doctor of Biology; *D.M. Hrodzynskiyi*, corresponding-member of the Academy of Sciences of the UkSSR, Doctor of Biology; *Ye.P. Dyban*, corresponding-member of the Academy of Sciences of the UkSSR, Doctor of Technology; *S.I. Dorohuntsov*, Candidate of Economics; *H.O. Klymenko*, Candidate of Technology; *A.M. Panov*, engineer; *V.V. Zorin*, Doctor of Technology; *O.O. Rusynov*, engineer; *V.M. Shestolapov*, Doctor of Geological and Mineral Sciences; *O.M. Shcherban*, member of the Academy of Sciences of the UkSSR, Doctor of Technology; *Ye.O. Yakovlev*, Candidate of Geological and Mineral Sciences.

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### **"KAPHEDRA" — NEW SAMVYDAV PUBLICATION FROM UKRAINE**

(*UCIS*) In January of this year, the first issue of a new samvydav publication, *Kaphedra* (The Cathedral), 120 pp., appeared in Ukraine under the aegis of the Ukrainian Association of Independent Creative Intelligentsia (*UANTI*). *Kaphedra* publicises the works and activities of the members of the Association.

A permanent feature of this new literary and cultural journal is a section entitled "Problems and Discussions".

In the section "Works" we find "Franko", a philosophical poem by notable Ukrainian literary critic Yevhen Sverstiuk, "Autumn Magdalene", an emotional poem by Ihor Kalynets, and a selection of poetry by Stepan Sape-liak from Kharkiv.

Mykhailo Osadchyi's "Intermezzo" and "Aureola", Vasyl Barladianu's story "Mykola's Son", as well as an extract from Mykhailo Horyn's reminiscences about Ukrainian political prisoner Yuriy Lytvyn, who died in a Soviet Russian labour camp in 1984, also appear in this issue of *Kaphedra*.

The new publication features an article entitled "The Mind" by Vyacheslav Chornovil, editor of another samvydav journal the *Ukrainian Herald* (issue 9-10 of which has now reached the West), about genuine commentary and commentary written to the taste of the authorities, from his book *Literary study behind barbed wire*, written in Yakutsk in 1983, as well as selected works of several authors, who joined UANTI after it was founded. For instance, Athena Pashko's "Cranberry Rubies", a collection of lyrical poetry, Bohdan Horyn's reminiscences about his meeting with Vasyl Symonenko (notable Ukrainian poet of the 1960s), and Valentyn Stetsiuk's impressions of the almanac *Yevshan-Zillia*, appear in the publication, as well as the short stories of Vasyl Rozlutskyi, a new literary figure in Ukraine.

Under a separate heading, "Ukraine in defence of the exaltation of its ancient national language", there is a review of the local central Ukrainian and Donbas press on the situation of the Ukrainian language in these regions.

The chronicle "Activities" features addresses by members of UANTI, as well as other information.

The section "Literary Apocrypha" acquaints the reader with *Chukhrayintsi*, a little-known work by Ostap Vyshnia (notable Ukrainian writer, satirist and humorist), published some 60 years ago.

*Kaphedra* is illustrated with photocopies of the paintings of Panas Zalyvakha, featuring a condensed review of this notable artist's works, as well as photos and autographs of the contributing authors. The photographs were taken by Zinoviy Krasivskyi.

The first issue of *Kaphedra* was compiled and published by Mykhailo Osadchyi.

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**PRESIDENT RONALD REAGAN'S GREETINGS**  
**on the 70th Anniversary of the**  
**Proclamation of Ukrainian Independence**

**THE WHITE HOUSE**

**WASHINGTON**

**January 27, 1988**

I am proud to extend warm greetings and congratulations to everyone gathered with the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America to observe the 70th Anniversary of the proclamation of Ukrainian Independence by the Central Council in Kiev.

Ukrainian Independence Day salutes the determination of the people of Ukraine to live in freedom, and honors Ukraine's ancient, rich heritage of faith, liberty, and cultural achievement — a heritage you have done much to preserve.

I join you in commemoration of the heroism and countless sacrifices of the Ukrainian people in the face of communist oppression. In this Millennial Year, the Soviets continue to persecute those who speak in defence of their God-given human rights and religious freedoms. Members of the Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox Churches continue to be harassed and denied access to religious literature. Soviet treatment of prisoners of conscience such as Ivan Kandyba, Lev Lukianenko, and Hanna Mykhailenko typifies the harsh treatment and long terms of imprisonment accorded Ukrainians who strive for basic liberties and national self-determination. Russification of Ukraine continues to affect family, church, and education in an attempt to eradicate national consciousness and traditional values.

We look with you to the day when the Ukrainian people will again be free to realize their national aspirations. God bless you, and God bless Ukraine.

*Ronald Reagan*

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## **UKRAINIAN DISSIDENT CALLS FOR RELEASE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS IN LETTER TO "LE MONDE"**

(UPA) Pavlo Skochok, on the editorial board of the unofficial journal the *Ukrainian Herald* has written a letter to the French newspaper, *Le Monde*, criticising the continuing detention of political prisoners during the new policy of glasnost. "It is shameful that during perestroika writers are being kept in concentration camps for their works", he says.

He criticises a recent article in *Moscow News* which wrote about life in notorious prison camp number 389/36-1, claiming that the wives of prisoners in the camp referred to the article as pure propaganda. One, the wife of the Ukrainian dissident Ivan Sokulskyi, claimed that she has not heard from her husband for over 6 months. Skochok downplays the importance of any mention about the closure of prison camp number 36. The camp, he states, was merely transferred, together with its entire compliment of notorious guards, to camp number 35. Contrary to the *Moscow News* article, this transfer has not made life easier for the prisoners. It was the camp personnel of the notorious camp 36 which, not so long ago, caused the deaths of four Ukrainian writers and poets: Valeriy Marchenko, Oleksa Tykhyi, Vasyl Stus and Yuriy Lytvyn.

According to Pavlo Skochok, Ivan Sokulskyi is the only Ukrainian in the new camp who is being kept in isolation and is urgently in need of support. He was recently forced to sign a confession, which, instead of bringing him freedom, added another 3 years to his sentence. In November, Sokulskyi's wife, Orysia, was stopped by the authorities from attending the international conference on human rights. She had intended to tell delegates the fate of her imprisoned husband. It seems that Orysia has little chance of freeing her husband if she remains in the USSR. Her only hope is to emigrate and continue the struggle from the West with the help of émigré organisations and the newspaper *Le Monde*. She is prepared to do this and has appealed to *Le Monde* for help.

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## **TO SOVIET SOLDIERS AND OFFICERS: UKRAINIAN DEFECTOR IN AFGHANISTAN CIRCULATES A LEAFLET OPPOSING THE WAR**

(UPA) A Ukrainian defector from the Soviet army in Afghanistan, Taras Derevlyanyi, has written a powerful leaflet opposing the war which he has entitled "To Soviet Soldiers and Officers". He calls upon soldiers and officers to, "refuse to take part in this senseless and shameful war, stop fighting and annihilating the Afghan people". He asks, "what do common Soviet people

have to gain from this (war)?" In Afghanistan Soviet troops are "fighting against the entire people and. . . there are no foreign mercenaries except yourselves". During the eight years of Soviet occupation, "more than 50,000 Soviet soldiers have been killed, and over one million Afghans. . . have died in the war".

"How many Soviet people have lost their sons, brothers, their husbands and their friends! How many children are now fatherless, and how many brides have lost their grooms!". As a former Soviet soldier who, "has gone over to the side of the Afghan resistance" he calls upon all Soviet personnel serving in Afghanistan to, "refuse to take part in this madness" and to, "let their land be free". He specifically calls on Soviet soldiers and officers stationed in Afghanistan to:

"Refuse to serve in this country, start collecting petitions in your platoons, in your companies, and battalions, under the heading 'Stop the War and Withdraw Soviet Forces From Afghanistan'. Remember that you are needed to defend your own country. . . and not to suppress other nations. . . Everyone cannot be put in prison, and that will be real perestroika. How can you have perestroika without glasnost?"

Taras also discusses Soviet Russian policies towards their own non-Russian population and Eastern Europe:

"Just think, aren't the peoples of the USSR exploited, aren't Soviet people subjected to violence and repressions? Haven't all of the peoples of the USSR, without exception, lost their cultures, their religions, their customs and national independence? Why is there so much hostility among Soviet soldiers in the Soviet army?"

He continues:

"Remember Stalin's policy of forcible mass exile of various peoples. Even now Armenians, Chechens, Crimean Tartars, Kazakhs, Ukrainians, Balts, the people of Central Asia and others cannot return to their homelands. How many innocent people who have raised their voices and have stood up for their rights are now sitting in prison, labour camps and psychiatric hospitals. Remember Chernobyl — the peaceful atom can also be dangerous!"

Taras does not believe in Mr. Gorbachev's peace posturing: "The Soviet Union speaks out against the arms race and against war, and says that it supports peace, but then it itself violates these very same concepts".

The leaflet was supported by all those who have defected from the Soviet army and are now living in the West:

Switzerland: Yury Povarnitsyn; USA: Mykola Movchan, Aleksei Peresleni, Yuriy Shapovalenko, Sergei Zhigalin; Canada: Sergei Busov, Ihor Kovalchuk, Vladislav Naumov, Vadim Plotnikov, Nikolai Golovin.

**OVER 5000 UKRAINIAN CATHOLICS PETITION FOR THE  
LEGALISATION OF THE UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC CHURCH:  
ANNOUNCE PUBLICATION OF NEW  
UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC SAMVYDAV JOURNAL —  
“KHYRYSTYANSKYI HOLOS” (CHRISTIAN VOICE)**

(UPA) Spectacular celebrations are being planned for the summer of this year by Ukrainian Christians in the USSR in honour of the Millennium of Christianity in Ukraine, according to a report in the Italian newspaper *Il Messaggero* (18 February 1988). The newspaper published a report by its Moscow correspondent, who said that the head of the Committee for the Defence of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, Ivan Hel, had presented a new petition to the Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, A. Gromyko, on 17 February. It was signed by 5451 believers with a demand to: “renew the legal position of our Church because the existence of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the catacombs contradicts article 52 of the Soviet constitution”. The Ukrainian Catholic Church has been illegal since 1946, but still has a large following.

According to *Il Messaggero*, Ivan Hel was reported as saying: “on 21 December 1987 we presented a petition signed by 2000 believers, which was accepted by the Presidium. On this occasion the petition signed by 5451 believers has not been accepted. We were told that this was an affair administered by the Ministry of Cults, but they replied that as far as they were concerned we did not exist and should, therefore, disband ourselves”. When questioned by journalists what further steps Ukrainian Catholics will be taking, Ivan Hel replied: “We will gather even more signatures and will pass our demands to the Pope through diplomatic channels. From January we began publishing a monthly journal and are preparing big open celebrations for the month of June”.

The report quotes Ivan Hel as saying that despite interference by the police Ukrainian Catholics are mobilising themselves. In the Lviv area alone, there are 300 priests. Most work in the Ivano-Frankivsk, Ternopil, Transcarpathia, Volyn and Chernivtsi regions. In Lviv there is a secret seminary with 25 candidates. Three bishops have emerged from the underground, among them Bishop Volodymyr Terniuk, who is regarded in Lviv as the assistant to the head of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, Cardinal Lubachivskyi, who lives in Rome. The other 5 bishops are still active in the underground.

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## OPEN LETTER TO THE BRITISH FOREIGN SECRETARY

(UCIS) During his visit to the Soviet Union, Sir Geoffrey Howe went to Kyiv, the capital of Ukraine, where he was a guest of Filaret, the Metropolitan of Kyiv and Halych. In Kyiv, the Foreign Secretary was presented with a letter, the translation of which we give below, from representatives of the Ukrainian dissident community.

\* \* \*

**To the Foreign Secretary of  
Great Britain, Geoffrey Howe**

We, representatives of the independent Ukrainian community, turn to you with a request to discuss the following points within the framework of the 35 participating countries of the Helsinki Agreement:

- 1) It is necessary to immediately release from prisons, camps and exile members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group: Mykola Horbal, Ivan Sokulskyi, Vitaliy Kalynychenko, Vasyl Ovsienko, Ivan Kandyba, Levko Lukianenko, Mykola Matusevych, and Ukrainian political prisoners: Yuriy Badzio, Bohdan Klymchak, Hryhoriy Nechiporenko, Petro Ruban, Hryhoriy Prykhodko, Pavlo Kampov, and other prisoners of conscience.
- 2) It is necessary to guarantee genuine freedom of the spoken and printed word and to halt provocations against independent community groups and publishing centres (The Ukrainian Culturological Club, the *Ukrainian Herald*, etc.).
- 3) Please arrange for centres for foreign journalists to be established in Kyiv.
- 4) Please examine the issue of opening a British consulate in Kyiv.
- 5) The establishment of a Ukrainian section of the BBC would be a very significant step in the exchange of information.
- 6) We ask for help in abolishing the ban on the existence of the Ukrainian Catholic Church.
- 7) We ask for assistance in renewing the function of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church and other religious groups.



- 8) We ask for assistance in our aspirations for the free development of Ukrainian culture and primarily in guaranteeing the right for the free function of the Ukrainian native language in all walks of life.

*Vyacheslav Chornovil  
Mykhailo Horyn  
Yevhen Sverstiuk  
Pavlo Skochok  
Oles Shevchenko  
Olha Matusevych  
Serhiy Naboka  
Stepan Sapeliak  
Vitaliy Shevchenko  
Stepan Khmara*

Kyiv, 17 February 1988

---

### STALIN'S CRIMES ON THE PAGES OF A LEADING SOVIET UKRAINIAN NEWSPAPER

(UPA) Although much has been written about the new revelations of the Great Terror under Stalin in the Moscow-based press, the most damning report yet on Stalin's reign of terror, and the effect it had in the Ukrainian republic, has appeared on the pages of the organ of the Writers' Union of Ukraine, *Literaturna Ukraina* (18 February 1988).

In a speech delivered to a recent meeting of the Writers' Union of Ukraine, O. Musienko spoke about the great terror which began to take its toll in Ukraine with the suicides of two prominent national-communists, M. Skrypnyk and M. Khvylovyi in 1933, the same year that an artificial famine claimed seven million lives in Ukraine. The suicide of Skrypnyk, who was one of the founding members of the Communist Party of Ukraine and a close friend of Lenin was, at the time, condemned as "an act of cowardice unbecoming of any communist let alone of a member of the Communist Party". Skrypnyk's obituary accused him of becoming so involved with Ukrainian bourgeois nationalist elements that suicide was the only way out for him.

However, Musienko reveals that one of the real reasons for the suicide was Kaganovich's accusations levelled against the Communist Party of Western Ukraine that its members were, "a mob of spies acting on behalf of Pilsudski". Skrypnyk, as one of the leaders of the Comintern, was in charge of the Party. Furthermore, Musienko reveals that relations between Stalin and

Skrypnyk were extremely antagonistic. The tension centered around Stalin's theory on "autonomy", that is the incorporation of each national Soviet republic into the Russian Federation. Skrypnyk was openly opposed to this and, instead, supported Lenin's concept of the "voluntary union" of Soviet republics on the principle of "equality".

There were also divergencies of opinion in areas of the nationalities question and forced collectivisation in the villages, which, says the author, led to a "massive famine" in the autumn of 1932. According to the author, during Lenin's lifetime open discussion was regarded as absolutely normal and even necessary. Soon after 22 January 1924 [after Lenin's death] the rules laid down by Lenin began to be ignored. There was a lack of respect to collective thought and a move towards autocracy was detected. "Anyone who dared to harbour his own opinion and expressed doubt about the 'Stalin's genius thoughts', immediately became his fatal enemy. . .".

In the light of these events, Musienko continues, Skrypnyk's colleagues, recalling Lenin's harsh warnings about Stalin to the Party in his secret testament, knew that Stalin would not forgive Skrypnyk for his criticism of his theory of "autonomy" and criticism in other areas. This is why Skrypnyk's suicide in July 1933 was not seen by his close colleagues in the Party as an act of cowardice, but as a warning and as a "democratic protest against the introduction of idolatry before Stalin".

Following Skrypnyk's suicide, any mention of him was always in a negative context. The author expresses genuine surprise that, save for a short article published in 1967, in half a century nothing else has been published about Skrypnyk. His own works, which number approximately 600, have not been published. Musienko lists the names of ten people, all closely involved with Skrypnyk in the early years of the revolution who have been "forgotten", but who should in fact be remembered by Ukrainian writers.

Focusing on Stalin's rise to power, Musienko states that the General Secretary:

"did not have the talent of a genuine leader, capable of gathering around him like-minded people, convincing his opponents by his strength of logic and avoiding disagreements and differences by means of democratic principles which were natural to Lenin. For this reason, as a way of strengthening his authority and personal power in the central committee, he resorted initially to illegal then openly criminal methods".

As a consequence, towards the end of the 1920s Party members began to notice with some surprise that many old Bolsheviks who were close to Lenin, were suddenly accused of opportunism, oppositionism and duplicity. At the

same time, they noticed that the ranks of the Central Committee were being swelled by people, who willingly praised Stalin. According to them, all the achievements were due, not to the Leninist party and not to its collective genius, but to the, "unsurpassable and most intelligent leader of all times and all nations".

"Having concentrated in his hands unlimited power, Stalin abused Lenin's laws. He destroyed Lenin's style of collective leadership and was beyond the control of the Politburo. He became above the party and the Central Committee", Musienko states. The result of this, claims Musienko, was that the position of every citizen and his fate was totally dependent on the goodwill of the leadership, which in actual fact meant Stalin himself. Stalin, having chosen repression as the most effective method of struggle against potential opponents of his own personality cult, developed his own anti-Leninist and deeply antagonistic theory: that every step closer to socialism, class war becomes more intensified. This provided Stalin with the basis for unleashing the purges onto the people.

As an indication of the atmosphere of fear that reigned in those years, Musienko describes how the former secretary of the Kyiv regional party, Kudriavtsev, used to attend party meetings at factories and institutions. He had a habit of asking people the question: "Have you written a report on anybody?". As a result of such agitation in the year 1937 alone reports were written on one half of the total Party membership of Kyiv. "It was revealed later that the majority of these reports were slanderous and provocative, however, they resulted in mass arrests and executions" — adds Musienko. The purges did not spare everybody, involving all levels of the population. However, stresses the author, in particular they effected party cadres of Lenin's generation:

"They were the highly qualified people like scientists, artists and literary figures, commanders and political workers of the Red Army and the Navy. It has been precisely established today that between May 1937 and September 1938, when the dark cloud of fascist occupation hung over Europe, approximately one half of regimental commanders, almost all commanders of brigades and divisions, all army corps commanders and commanders of army districts and approximately one third of army commissars were repressed by Stalin's guards. Out of 733 senior commanders and political workers 579 were executed. The commander cadre never experienced such astronomical losses in its entire history!"

Musienko then proceeds to name 14 of the "most talented and experienced" Soviet army chiefs who became just some of Stalin's victims. The report states that the purges affected Ukraine with particular ferocity. The majority of regional and oblast secretaries, and the whole of the leading body

of republican institutions, were executed. Included among these victims were hundreds of "honoured heroes of the revolution".

"Father" Stalin not only deprived these people of their lives but tried to erase all traces of their existence. Any mention of them in a positive context would cost the people, if not their lives, then at least many years in prison. Musienko adds that the Ukrainian intelligentsia met a particularly tragic fate, the dimensions of which are still not known to this day. However, he expresses the hope that one day the fate of the first generation of Soviet teachers, doctors, engineers, agronomists, scientists and others will be made public. In those tragic years, out of 193 full and candidate members of the Ukrainian Writers' Union over 97 were repressed. Musienko proceeds to name 23 Ukrainian writers who were repressed because they "presented the biggest threat to Stalin's regime".

"One thing can be said with absolute certainty: the repressions clipped the wings of the emerging Soviet Ukrainian literature, covering it with blood and destroying its soul and heart. . . Not without reason honest people from neighbouring republics called this period of our history a 'Rozstriliane Vidrodzhennya' (Executed Renaissance)".

The political thaw introduced by Khrushchev saw public criticism of the cult of personality. Many questions were asked but the most important one was why was Stalin allowed to remain in the Party after the highest Party forum had stated that it was Stalin who had instigated the murder of millions of Soviet people. "Wasn't it sacrilegious to tolerate such a monster in Lenin's party?" asks Musienko.

After the author had graduated from University he set himself a task to write about the illegal persecution of Lenin's comrades. However "it turned out that to fulfil this objective was as difficult as it was to fly into space. Archival material was locked away as before. The question was why?". Musienko mentions other "paradoxes" of Khrushchev's thaw. He reports that towards the end of the 1950s many of Stalin's victims began drifting back from the Gulag. Despite the fact that when they were dispatched they were accompanied by convoys of soldiers, when they began returning there was nobody to meet them "no representatives from the authorities, nobody was there to offer public apologies and they were quietly forgotten". The author mentions other paradoxes such as why, when the cult of personality was being officially criticised, were people who had taken an active part in Stalin's purges not put on trial, "thus providing an example to future potential recruits of provocation".

Finally Musienko analyses the role of writers during the period of reconstruction (perestroika). He sees them as being responsible for equipping the reader of today with the real facts of the past and fighting for the removal of "blank spots" in the nation's history and culture.

## SECOND MEETING OF THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE NATIONAL SUB-COMMITTEES FOR THE DEFENCE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS IN THE SOVIET UNION

(*UCIS*) The second conference of the representatives of the All-Union Committee for the Defence of Political Prisoners in the USSR took place in Tbilisi, Georgia, on March 19-20 of this year. The meeting was attended by representatives of the Armenian, Georgian and Ukrainian sub-committees. The first meeting of the All-Union Committee took place in Erevan, Armenia, on January 12-14.

During the conference, an appeal to the Soviet government and a press release about the meeting and its participants, who exchanged information about the situation in their republics, were compiled. The All-Union Committee has deemed the struggle for the release of political prisoners to be its principal task.

The participants of the meeting resolved the following:

- 1) to gather signatures for an appeal for the release of political prisoners;
- 2) to establish contacts with Amnesty International;
- 3) to ratify the indefinite hunger strike declared by Georgian human rights activists;
- 4) to exchange printed materials of the sub-committees; arrangements have to be made for their translation into Russian;
- 5) to continue compiling more precise lists of political prisoners.

The next conference is to be held in Lviv, Western Ukraine, in June 1988.

The meeting in Tbilisi was attended by Zviad Hamsakhurdia, Mykhailo Horyn, Mirab Kostava, Pavlo Skochok, Ara Stepania, Irakli Tsereteli and Heorhiy Kanturia.

On his journey home, Mykhailo Horyn was arrested at the airport and spent 13 hours in solitary confinement. His materials from the meeting were confiscated.

\* \* \*

## APPEAL TO THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT

The second meeting of the All-Union Committee for the Defence of Political Prisoners, which took place in Tbilisi on March 19-20, states that the course of political events in the last two months was not conducive towards the realisation of the humanitarian demands put forward by the Committee on January 12, 1988, in Erevan.

Political camps have, as yet, not been closed down, and Georgian and Ukrainian political prisoners continue to suffer in them; Ukrainian patriot, Hanna Mykhailenko, is still in a psychiatric hospital and Georgian constitutional rights activist, B. Kakubava, remains in a concentration camp. Pressing national problems are being realised irrespective of the national will.

The recent events in Armenia, in Nagorno-Karabakh, have shown that, instead of an operative just resolution of the problem by an honest and candid discussion with the people, the authorities in Armenia have indulged in prophylactic measures against national manifestations, in inducement and threats. The local authorities labelled the Armenian demands as nationalist, and the central press as extremist, which led to international enmity and the unjustified casualties.

The Meshech, deported from Georgia in 1944, and the Tartars, deported from the Crimea, have not yet been returned to their native homeland. In Ukraine, the leading officials of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine (Secretary Yelchenko) have refused to support the demands of the community to abolish the anti-national law on parents' choice of the language of education of their children in the schools, which is still the most efficient instrument of the russification of the Ukrainian people, terrorised and made despondent by the bugbear of nationalism. Some heads of educational institutions in Ukraine are obstructing the gathering of signatures for an appeal for the declaration of the Ukrainian language as the state language of the Ukrainian republic; in those republics where the national language already has that status, measures to introduce it into all walks of national life are being blocked.

In Armenia, Georgia and Ukraine, the authorities are callously interfering in religious affairs, against the will of the religious communities, utilising church buildings as storehouses, libraries and theatres and morally corrupting the clergy. In Ukraine, the persecution of religious believers is continuing: the local authorities initiate the plunder of churches that have been closed down in Western Ukraine and the central leadership in Kyiv is proposing to extend its experience throughout the whole republic.

The ancient churches of Georgia are destroyed by explosions and the exercises of supersonic aircraft. The Ukrainian (catacomb) Catholic Church,

which, despite the signatures of thousands of faithful and the support of the world community, has not succeeded in attaining legalisation, is suffering a particularly severe attack.

The decision of the lay and church authorities to begin the jubilee celebrations to mark the millennium of the christianisation of Rus' in Moscow and not Kyiv, where this notable historic event actually took place, is regarded by the Ukrainian people as the next slap in the face.

In its ecological policy, including the ecology of culture, the authorities disregard the interests of the nation, as a result of which their decisions are often anti-national. In spite of the bitter experience of Chornobyl, the leadership in Ukraine has not desisted from building a new nuclear power station in the very heart of Ukraine, in the cultural and historical preserve, in the town of Chyhyryn — the former capital of Bohdan Khmelnytskyi.

The decision to build the Danube-Dnieper canal, which portends ecological disaster for the south of Ukraine, has not been rescinded. The *Rekminaze* and *Khudonhes* projects and the construction of the transcaucasian railway line in Georgia have not been halted. Everywhere we come across violations of international declarations, pacts and the Final Act of the Helsinki Accords, ratified by the USSR, particularly the right of free movement within the borders of the USSR, the right of the inviolability of the individual, the right for the defence of one's dignity in the courts and the press, the right for the defence of national values, which compelled Georgian human rights activists to declare an indefinite hunger strike, initiated on March 11 of this year by Zviat Hamsakhurdia.

If, in the near future, thorough changes in the nationalities policy are not made, then the fact that the present model of the USSR is incapable of securing a normal and equal development of nations as well as guarantees against assimilation and genocide, will have to be recognised. Regardless of the present state of nations, the All-Union Committee for the Defence of Political Prisoners is of the opinion that possibilities for the rectification of the situation of nation building in the USSR are not yet completely exhausted inasmuch as it does not involve wide public participation. Taking into account the fact that the defence of the language, religion, the environment and legal democratic norms is an important component of the defence of nations, the fact that their disregard will give rise to constant opposition and in reply to repression and the possibility of a new wave of political prisoners, the All-Union Committee for the Defence of Political Prisoners appeals to the government of the USSR with the following demands:

1. To abolish the concentration camps and release all political prisoners (a list is included), including those who are imprisoned in regular concentration camps and have been fully rehabilitated.

2. Until the camps are abolished, to halt the strict isolation of political prisoners and allow them to meet representatives of the community, official and independent, as well as the foreign press.
3. In the resolution of the fundamental national problems, the various manifestations of the national will are to be regarded as the basic factors, taking into consideration the interests of the world community from the point of view of international justice, based on the following principles:
  - a. to justly resolve the question of Nagorno-Karabakh;
  - b. to return the Meshech to Georgia and the Tartars to the Crimea;
  - c. to abolish the law on the free choice by parents of the language of education of their children in school, in Ukraine;
  - d. to grant national languages the status of state languages of the republics, and where this is already in existence to introduce the languages into all walks of national life.
4. To uphold the law on the separation of Church and State, to permit free religious propaganda, to halt the interference of the authorities in the life of church communities, to legalise the Ukrainian Catholic Church, to put a stop to the pogrom against the Churches in Western Ukraine, as well as the explosions and exercises of supersonic aircraft close to the ancient Georgian churches. To reinforce churches of religious communities and secure them against destruction.
5. To base ecological policies on the national interests of every nation, taking into consideration the perspectives and consequences of the realisation of every large-scale construction project. To stop the construction of the transcaucasian railway line, the Danube-Dnieper canal, to cancel the *Rekminaze* and *Khudonhes* projects, as well as the Chyhyryn nuclear power station, as projects that do not correspond to the interests of both nations.
6. To secure adherence to the provisions of international legal documents on the freedom of movement, the right for the defence of individual dignity in court and in the press, and the manifestations of the national will on the important questions of the vital activity of the nation.



It is the opinion of the All-Union Committee for the Defence of Political Prisoners that the realisation of the above demands will extend the process of democratisation to include the national problem, and will thus make it more thorough.

Tbilisi, 20 March 1988

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**BOOK ON THE MILLENNIUM OF UKRAINIAN CHRISTIANITY**

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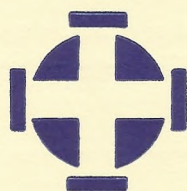
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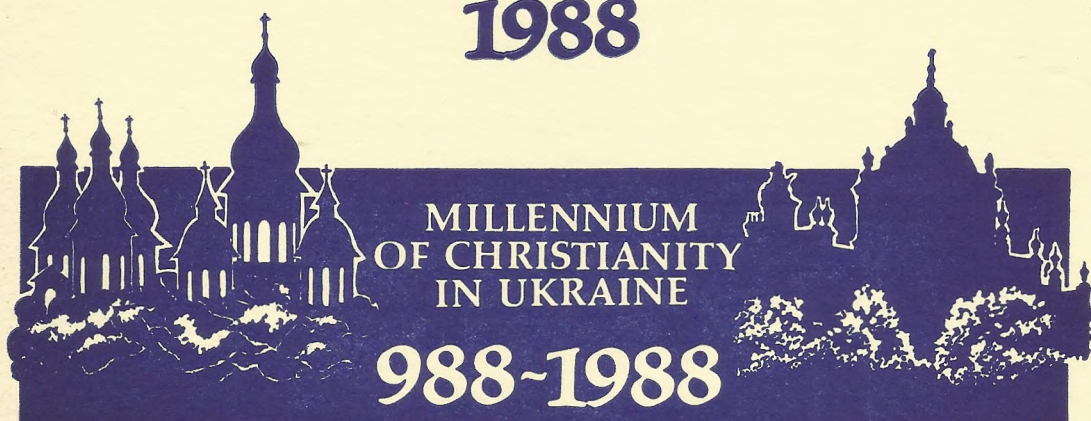
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# THE UKRAINIAN REVIEW



3

1988



MILLENNIUM  
OF CHRISTIANITY  
IN UKRAINE

988-1988

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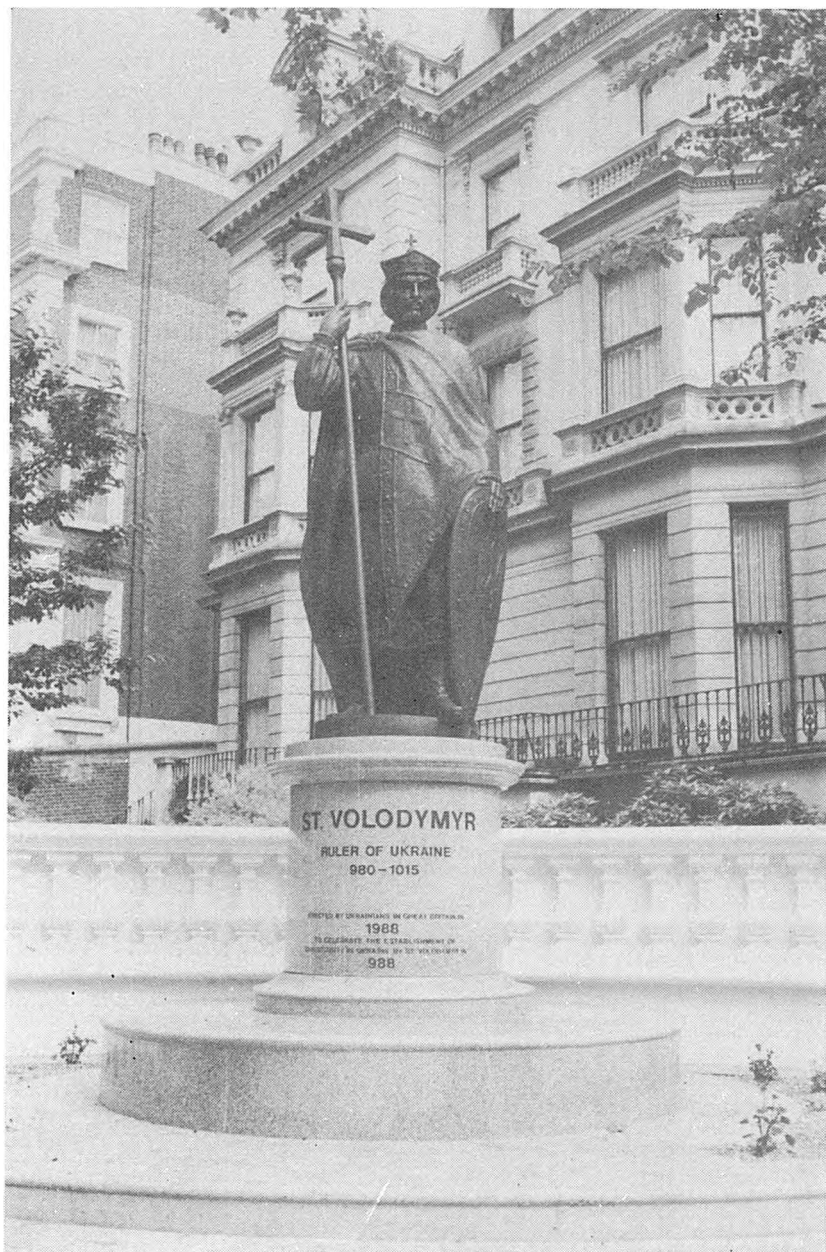
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*The Millennium of Christianity in Ukraine*

## **SOVIET MILLENNIUM PROPAGANDA MISLEADS MILLIONS**

High-ranking members of the Patriarchate of Moscow call it the "Millennium of Orthodoxy". For proponents of Russia in the West, it is "1000 years of Holy Russia". For both, the 1000th anniversary of the baptism of Kyivan Rus' is an occasion to carefully neglect those whom this jubilee concerns first and foremost: Ukrainians — Catholic, Orthodox or Protestant — in whose capital city, Kyiv, the 1000 years began in 988.

The Millennium of the conversion of Kyivan Rus' to Christianity has been transformed from a religious and historical observance into a political event and, as such, is being used for political declarations.

In this context the Soviet government has developed a special role for the leaders of the state-run Russian Orthodox Church. They are to present Kyivan Rus' as the forerunner of the Soviet Union, in which, according to the highest ranking Russian Orthodox official in Kyiv, Metropolitan Filaret of Kyiv, "There were no national differences among the consanguineous relatives, the Russian, Ukrainian and Byelorussian people".

Such explanations are lost on the West because, beyond the borders of the Soviet Union, the Kyivan state is equated to Russia without any qualifications.

Despite all its declarations of war on religion, the Soviet government has never hesitated to ally itself with the Russian Orthodox Church when it felt this was politically opportune. The unchanged internal political goal of every Kremlin politician is in the preservation of the USSR. In practice this means the eradication of all autonomous and nationalistic ideas in the non-Russian republics.

Because of a similarity to Russia in language and geographical proximity, the Ukrainian Soviet Republic is supposed to be the first to embody this "melting down of a nation". The Millennium offers another welcome opportunity to reinforce the concept of the "unity of the Russian, Ukrainian and Byelorussian peoples", as the late Metropolitan Nikodym of Lviv described it.

### **The Kyivan State — A Forerunner of the USSR?**

Actually, no nations existed in 988 when Prince Volodymyr had his subjects baptised in Kyiv on the banks of the Dnieper River. His empire, Kyivan Rus', was inhabited by at least a dozen different Slavic tribes. Quite logically, a Soviet-Ukrainian anniversary article states: "One cannot speak of the existence of a Russian, Ukrainian or Byelorussian nation in Kyivan Rus'".

Whoever does so is promptly reprimanded for "nationalism" — if he is Ukrainian or Byelorussian. Only Russians may claim that already in the 10th century a "Russian" culture or "Russian Orthodoxy" existed. In doing so, they take advantage of easily misunderstood technical terms.

In modern Russian the adjective derived from Rus', "ruskiy", also means Russian; in the Ukrainian language, the same word can have the same meaning. It is only in literary Ukrainian that "rus'kyi" refers to Kyivan Rus', whereas "rossiyskyi" is used to denote Russian. The Russian language overlooks such nuances. In connection with Kyivan Rus', it unqualifiedly uses the adjective "ruskiy". Thus, on the level of language, Russia appropriates exclusive heritage to the Kyivan state. The claim to "1000 years of Russian Orthodoxy" is slightly less subtle. It is obvious misinformation.

### **Was St. Volodymyr Orthodox?**

In 988, when Prince Volodymyr, who was later declared a saint by the Catholic Church, proclaimed Christianity the state religion of his empire, the Universal Church was still undivided. But the fact that the Universal Church did not divide until 1054 does not deter the Patriarchate of Moscow from celebrating the Millennium under the motto "1000 years of Orthodoxy" and to proclaim the jubilee year 1988 as "the Year of Orthodoxy".

In truth, Kyivan ties to Rome had existed since its citizens were baptised in 988. When its Metropolitan, Isidore, participated in the Council of Florence (1439), he was definitely not the first Ukrainian Church leader to have looked for closer ties with Rome. The dynastic, trading and cultural ties of the western territory (Halych-Volyn) of Ukraine with central European countries fostered the idea of a Church union with Rome — an idea that became a reality in 1596 with the Union of Brest-Litovsk.

Moscow princes had no interest in a union with Rome because their Church's submission to papal authority would have curtailed their own power. After Ivan III married the granddaughter of the last Byzantine emperor he proclaimed himself Tsar and elaborated the theory of Moscow as the "third Rome". This theory claims that Moscow is the direct spiritual heir of the Byzantine Empire. From then on, the Tsars considered themselves the final defenders of Orthodoxy.



The Russian claim to leadership among the eastern Slavs began in the 15th century when Moscow assumed for itself the heritage of the Kyivan state which collapsed under the Tatar invasions of the 13th century. The princes of Moscow consolidated their kingdom by conquering the eastern and central portions of Ukraine. The western territory fell to Polish rule after the death of its last prince.

### **The Ukrainian Catholic Church hinders Assimilation**

Thus began the history of the occupation of Ukraine by its Polish and Russian neighbours — a foreign domination which the Ukrainian nation has withstood despite all attempts at forced assimilation. In the Ukrainian territories that fell to Poland, assimilation was impeded by the Ukrainian Catholic Church, which proved itself capable of preserving an independent Ukrainian national identity. All contemporary Soviet attacks against this Church trace their roots to this fact — just as the purely political “unification” of the Ukrainian Catholic Church with the Russian Orthodox Church in 1946 was desired in equal measure by both the Soviet government and the Russian Orthodox Church leadership. Assimilation in Eastern Ukraine was hindered by the Ukrainian Orthodox Church until it was abolished by Joseph Stalin in the 1930s.

### **Just an Orthodox Anniversary?**

The 1000 years of Christianity in Ukraine includes the dramatic period of the Catacomb Church in Siberia in the 1940s and 1950s, when Catholic priests, who had refused to convert to Orthodoxy, put genuine ecumenism into practice in penal camps and in exile by providing pastoral care to Roman Catholic co-prisoners as well as to Orthodox Russians. It includes the profound piety of the country. Every second church in the Soviet Union is actually found in Ukraine, and again many of these are in the western part of Ukraine which was forced into Russian Orthodoxy in 1946. Many believing communities and sects, and the millions of Ukrainian Orthodox and Evangelical Christians in the country, also belong to the 1000-year history of Christianity in Ukraine.

All these believers have a right to the jubilee: The Millennium is neither an exclusively Orthodox feast nor an exclusively Russian anniversary, despite the efforts of the Russian Orthodox hierarchy to organise it as such.

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**JOINT STATEMENT**  
**of the Heads of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church**  
**and the Ukrainian Catholic Church on the Occasion of**  
**the Millennium of Christianity in Ukraine**

In this glorious jubilee year — the Millennium of Christianity in Rus'-Ukraine — the Ukrainian community assembled here in London, Great Britain, on the occasion of the dedication of the monument to St. Volodymyr the Great, Equal to the Apostles, to offer prayers of thanks to the Holy Trinity for the sacred gift of Christian faith which has blessed our nation with the grace of new life.

We pay homage to our Saints, Martyrs and Confessors of the Faith and — as Primates of the two Ukrainian Churches, Orthodox and Catholic, the inheritors of Volodymyr's legacy — call the Ukrainian people to spiritual renewal, to unity and love, in the grace of the Holy Baptism with which we were blessed one thousand years ago.

We reflect on the historic past of our nation through the glorious Millennium — a path on which the great witnessing of the faith has been intertwined with suffering, ruin and oppression and, in recent times, the destruction of the Hierarchy of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, the terrible famine of 1932-1933, the banning of the Ukrainian Catholic Church together with modern catacombs into which our Christianity entered in the 20th century. Yet nothing could destroy the living faith of our people. The spontaneous revival of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in 1941-1942 in Ukraine and the present resurgence of the Ukrainian Catholic Church testify to this.

The living faith of the Ukrainian nation has not perished and no one has been able to suppress it. On the ruins of atheism blossoms the word of God in the hearts of the people. And although our nation is deprived of the right to celebrate the anniversary of her baptism freely in our native land — while someone is usurping this right — the witnessing of the faith by our confessors of the faith in Ukraine, as well as our celebrations in the Free World, testify to the glorification of Christ, who "has taken shape" (Galatians 4, 19) in us one thousand years ago.

The Ukrainian Churches and nation, persecuted and presently

deprived of freedom, give thanks to God for the grace of the Holy Baptism.

Therefore we appeal to the Christian nations of the world and all people of good will to demonstrate their Christian solidarity with our Churches and our nation and thus help to ensure that the Word of Christ's truth may once again shine brightly in freedom in the land of our Ukraine.

May the blessing of our Lord be upon you.

Devoted in Christ

† *Mstyslav Skrypnyk*  
Archbishop — Metropolitan  
Head of the Ukrainian  
Autocephalous Orthodox Church

† *Myroslav Ivan Lubachivsky*  
Archbishop Major and Cardinal  
Head of the  
Ukrainian Catholic Church

London, on the Feast of the Pentecost,  
May 29, 1988

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## UKRAINIAN MILLENNIUM CELEBRATIONS IN LONDON

Sunday, May 29, 1988

The Ukrainian Millennium celebrations began on Thursday, May 19, 1988, with the first of a series of seminars on "Ukraine and the Millennium of Christianity in Kyiv" held at The School of Slavonic and East European Studies, London University. Andrew Sorokowski of the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute and Keston College presented a paper on "The Millennium: the Ukrainian Perspective".

The following Thursday, a press conference was held in the hall of the London Branch of the Ukrainian Catholic University. The members of the panel included Mr. Jaroslaw Hawrych, Chairman of the Ukrainian Millennium Committee, Mr. Andrew Sorokowski, Rev. Dr. Ivan Dacko, Chancellor to Cardinal Myroslav Ivan Lubachivsky, Patriarch of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, and Mr. Stephen Oleskiw, editor of *The Ukrainian Review*. They spoke about the celebrations in London, the Church in Ukraine today and presented the Ukrainian perspective of the Ukrainian Millennium. That same evening, the second millennium seminar was held at SSEES. Rev. Dr. Dacko spoke about "The Millennium of Christianity in Kyiv and the Ukrainian Church today".

But the main day of celebrations marking the 1000 years of Christianity in Ukraine was Sunday, May 29. The day began with Mass at the Ukrainian Catholic cathedral in London, celebrated by Cardinal Myroslav Ivan Lubachivsky, Head of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, and the Ukrainian Orthodox cathedral, celebrated by Metropolitan Mstyslav Skrypnyk, Head of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church.

At 1.00 p.m., Ukrainians from all over the country, as well as many representatives of Ukrainian communities around the world, gathered outside the Ukrainian Catholic University in London for the unveiling and dedication of a monument to St. Volodymyr, ruler of Ukraine (980-1015), who established Christianity as the religion of the land in Kyiv in 988. The monument, designed by Leo Mol, a notable Ukrainian sculptor from Winnipeg, Canada, was unveiled by Mr. Ernest Tomlin, the Mayor of The Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea. The dedication was conducted by both Heads of the Ukrainian Church. The ceremony was followed by addresses by Cardinal Lubachivsky and Metropolitan Skrypnyk, as well as the Mayor, Petro Sawaryn, Head of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians, Mr. J.R. Hawrych, the Chairman of the Ukrainian Millennium Committee and Mr. W. Oleskiw, Chairman of the Monument Sub-committee.

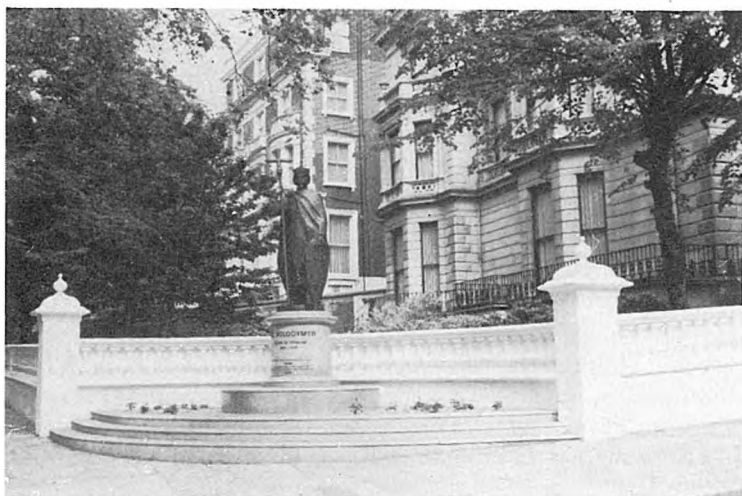
The jubilee celebrations ended with a presentation of Ukrainian choral church music of the 17th-20th centuries at the Royal Albert Hall. The Programme included works by Ukrainian composers Mykola Dyletsky (1630-1690), Maksym Berezovsky (1745-1775), Dmytro Bortniansky (1751-1825), Artem Vedel (1767-1808) and others, including some contemporary works. It was performed by combined choirs from this country, the United States, Canada and Holland, in all over 400 voices. Mr. Richard Baker introduced the programme and provided a commentary.

The Millennium celebrations were also attended by notable members of the British community — Members of Parliament, politicians and churchmen, as well as representatives of foreign embassies.

As part of the celebrations, the Ukrainian Millennium Committee published a book entitled *A Millennium of Christian Culture in Ukraine*. The book, illustrated by some 187 colour and black and white plates, consists of essays on "The History of Ukrainian Church Architecture", "Reflections on Icons", "The Religious Literature of Rus'-Ukraine" and "Ukrainian Culture Through the Ages".

In all, the Millennium celebrations, particularly the erection of the monument to St. Volodymyr — a lasting symbol of the resilience of the Christian religion in Ukraine, despite several decades of persecution by the Soviet Russian authorities — were a fitting tribute to this important historic event and a worthy culmination of several years of hard endeavour by members of the Ukrainian Millennium Committee in this country. More than 5000 people gathered in London to mark the Millennium of Ukrainian Christianity.

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**The Monument to St. Volodymyr in perspective**



**Mr. Ernest Tomlin, the Mayor of the Royal Borough of Kensington & Chelsea, addressing the participants of the unveiling and dedication ceremony of the Monument to St. Volodymyr**



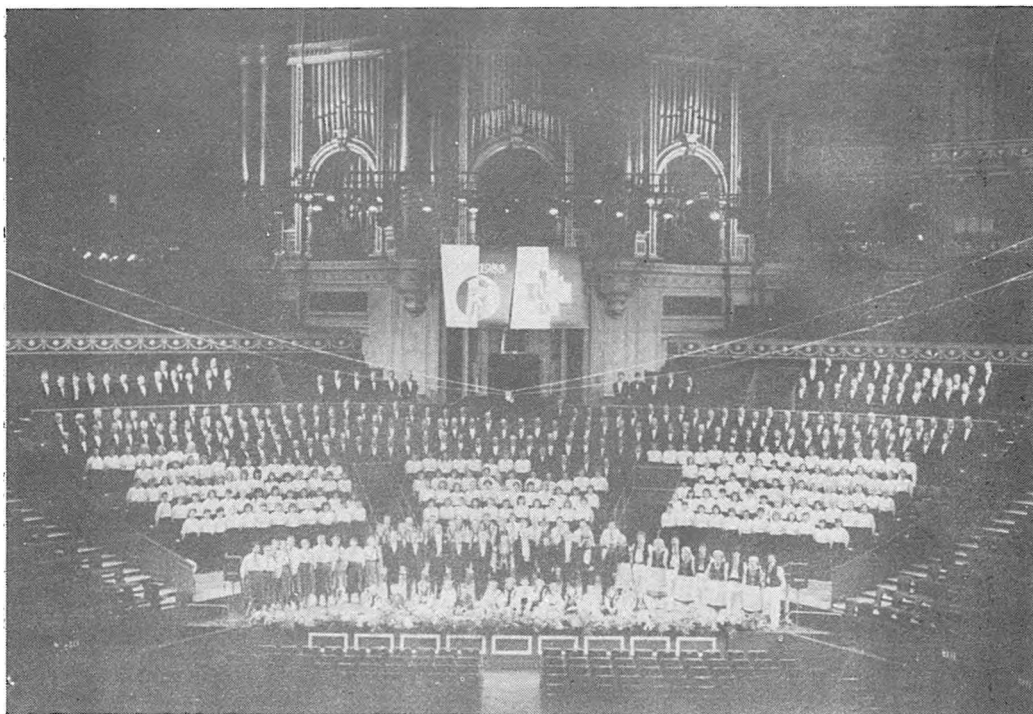
**His Beatitude Metropolitan Mstyslav Skrypnyk, Head of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church at the Millennium celebrations in London**



**His Beatitude Patriarch Myroslav Ivan Cardinal Lubachivsky, Head of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, accompanied by Bishop Michael Hrynchyshyn at the Millennium celebrations in London**



Some of the participants of the unveiling and dedication ceremony of the  
Monument to St. Volodymyr



**The combined choirs from the UK, the US, Canada and Holland, which performed the programme of Ukrainian choral church music at the Royal Albert Hall, and the “Oriyk” Dance Ensemble from Manchester**



*Volodymyr MYKULA*

## **THE CHRISTIANISATION OF RUS'-UKRAINE AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF CHRISTIANITY IN THE KYIVAN STATE**

*(Part 1)*

The acceptance of Christianity as the state religion of Rus'-Ukraine in 988 is one of the most important events in the history of the Ukrainian people and of the whole of Eastern Europe — a watershed in the life of the Kyivan state, which had an immense influence not only on the spiritual, but also on the material life of Ukraine and the other East European nations. It is no wonder then that Ukrainians throughout the world are celebrating the thousandth anniversary of this crucial date and Ukrainian scholars are involved in extensive research into the circumstances in which Ukraine joined the family of Christian nations in order to understand the influence of Christianity on the further historical development of our nation.

The further back through the ages we look, the facts become more scarce, the gaps in our knowledge become greater, and the picture of the life of our forebears and the historical fate of Ukraine become less clear. Information on the spread of Christianity throughout Ukraine before the times of Volodymyr the Great fares no better. All the same, we know that the spread of the Gospel along the shores of the Black Sea began as far back as the times of the Apostles. In his history of the Church, based on reliable sources — a note by the Christian writer Origen, who lived in the 3rd century — Eusebius Caesarius, who lived in the 4th century, notes that the Apostle St. Andrew was sent to Scythia, that is the land to the north of the Black Sea, to spread the word of God. From other sources we learn that he made Sinope, a town on the southern shores of the Black Sea, in Asia Minor (present-day Turkey), his main base. From there, together with his disciples, St. Andrew could travel to towns which lay on the southern shores of the Black Sea, in Kolchida (present-day Georgia), the Kingdom of the Bosphorus on the shores of the Sea of Azov, and the Greek colonies in the Crimea, particularly Kherson (Korsun), and the northern shores of the Black Sea, such as Olvia on the mouth of the River Boh. This may have given rise to the legend about St. Andrew's journey up the Dnieper, during which he is said to have erected a cross on the Kyivan hills and blessed the spot where the future city of Kyiv was later built. As we are aware, for many centuries the borders of the Roman Empire ran along the Danube and for a long time also along the

Carpathians. Kherson, the western parts of the Crimea and the north-eastern shores of the Black Sea belonged to the Roman state. There were many Christians in the ranks of the Roman legions and among the people exiled to these colonies by the Romans for various misdoings. There was even an eparchy in the town of Toma (present-day Dobrudja) at the time of Diocletian, at the end of the 3rd century. Earlier still, at the end of the first century, the fourth pope, St. Clement the martyr, was exiled to Kherson, where he converted many people to the Christian faith for which he was put to death. Later on eparchies were created in the Crimea and the Kingdom of the Bosphorus.

The invasion of the Goths from Scandinavia in the 3rd century led to the destruction of most of the Greek colonies on the Black Sea as well as the Kingdom of the Bosphorus on the Sea of Azov. Only Kherson in the Crimea (situated near the present-day port of Sevastopol) and the capital of the Kingdom of the Bosphorus, Panticapeum, situated near to the present-day town of Kerch, survived the invasion. Christianity soon began to spread among the Goths — the true faith among the eastern Goths and arian heresy among the western Goths. The bishop of the eastern Goths, Theophilus, even participated in the first Universal Council in Nicaea in 325. The arian bishop, Ulphilas, translated the Gospel into the language of the Goths. This is the oldest Germanic relic from the 4th century. During the invasion of the Huns in 375, part of the Goths remained in the Crimea, but the overwhelming majority retreated beyond the Danube onto the territory of the Roman state. The Crimean Goths preserved Christianity and their eparchy for many centuries despite the fact that its ethnic composition went through several changes. The Huns also compelled the Slavic tribes to take part in their invasion of Europe as their reluctant allies or vassals. Behind the Huns, the Slavs moved southwards into the Black Sea steppes — to the areas vacated by the Goths — as well as the Danube Basin. After the fall of Attila's empire, the eastern Slavic tribes became known as the Antes — the forebears of the Ruthenians — Ukrainians — forming large tribal unions. Some of these tribes fought against the Eastern Roman empire — Byzantium — while others became its temporary allies in the struggle against other barbarians. The Chronicle mentions that the founder of Kyiv, the Prince of the Polianians, Kyi, went to Constantinople where he "received a great honour from the emperor", that is he entered into friendly relations with Byzantium. Historians believe this may have happened around the year 560. It is also believed that around the same time he founded the town which later became the city of Kyiv.

All traces of the Antes disappeared some time in the 7th century after the attack of the Avars crushed the Antean-Dulibian tribal union in Volyn, referred to by Arab writers as the principality of "Valinana". A small part of the Antes wandered as far as the mouth of the River Kuban beyond the Sea of Azov, where a diverse population dwelt on the ruins of the former King-

dom of the Bosphorus. The first references to the marauding bands of "Rus'" who raided the wealthy towns on the shores of the Black Sea, mainly the Crimean settlements of Byzantium, originate from here. One such raid was that of Prince Bravlin on the town of Sugdaea (known as Surozh in the Chronicle; present-day town of Sudak), on the southern shores of the Crimea, some time at the beginning of the 9th century. *The Life of St. Stephen of Surozh*, mentions that Bravlin looted the Church of St. Sophia, which housed the tomb of St. Stephen. He immediately became gravely ill and recovered only when he accepted Christianity. His boyars accepted the Christian faith with him. Historians cannot say for certain who this Bravlin was, whether he was a Slav or a Varangian, or where he came from and where he went. We are told in *The Life of St. Stephen of Surozh* that Bravlin came from "Novahrad" (Novgorod), but we are not certain whether he came from Novgorod the Great in the north, or whether he gathered his armies around Scythian Neapol (Novgorod), near present-day Simferopol in the Crimea, or from some other Novgorod, of which there were several.

In the first half of the 9th century references to a Rus' kaganate (principality) in the region of the Sea of Azov began to appear. Historians believe that its centre was located on the Taman peninsula near the mouth of the River Kuban and that was the forerunner of the mystical principality of Tmutorokan, known to us from the chronicles and referred to as Tamatarkha by the Byzantines. According to Prof. Chubaty, this marauding state was formed at the end of the 8th century and was probably headed by Varangians from a mixed population which initially also included Antean Slavs. In 860, a large Rus' army launched a surprise attack on Constantinople destroying some parts of the city. Although tradition has it that this raid was connected with the rule of Askold and Dyr, today some historians believe that it was the Tmutorokan Rus' that carried out this raid. Shortly after, this Rus' accepted Christianity and from then on, it is believed, Tmutorokan had a bishop and later even an archbishop until the end of the 12th century. For this reason, some historians believe that the first Rus'-Varangian and Slav-Antean eparchy was formed there, in Tmutorokan, in the Kuban area. However, due to the terrible devastation suffered by Tmutorokan, we know almost nothing about its history.

Of immense significance to the spread of Christianity among the Slavs was the missionary work of Sts. Cyril and Methodius. In 858-860, they went on a mission to the Khazars and stayed in the Crimea. In Kherson St. Cyril learnt Hebrew, for many Khazars were adherents of the Jewish faith. He also found a book of the Gospel and a psaltery written in "Rus' characters" and a man who spoke this language in Kherson. What these "characters" were we do not know. We can only guess.

In 863, on the request of the Prince of Great Moravia (Czechoslovakia), Rostyslav, Sts. Cyril and Methodius began to preach in Great Moravia. Even

earlier they translated the Gospel and various liturgical literature into the Macedonian-Bulgarian dialect of the Slavonic language, very close to the language of the forebears of the Ukrainian people. The Slavonic alphabet is based on Greek capital letters with additional letters for the sounds which do not appear in the Greek language. The discovery of Slavonic writing in its two forms — "hlahollic" and "cyrillic" — and the translation of liturgical literature from the Greek language into Slavonic had an immense significance for the Slavic nations. It greatly facilitated their christianisation and inclusion into the early sources of the highest existing universal culture of that time. The second half of the 9th century was the period of the development and prosperity of the Great Moravian state, which comprised not only the territory of present-day Czechoslovakia, but also significant areas to the north of the Carpathians — the area around Cracow and even part of Halychyna — the lands of the White Croats. There are also several grounds on which to base the assumption that it was not only the introduction of the Slavonic ritual language and rite into the Great Moravian Church that helped bring Christianity to Rus'-Ukraine, but also the creation of an eparchy in Pere-myshl, in the land of the White Croats, from where Christianity spread to western parts of Ukraine. It is interesting to note that after the Second World War, Polish archaeologists discovered traces of the foundations of a church in Peremyshl which had the characteristic features of early Western pre-Romanesque architecture dating to the time of Sts. Cyril and Methodius.

Thus, at the beginning of the 860s, at the time when Askold and Dyr, princes of the Slavic Dnieper tribes which worshipped Perun, Dazhboh, Veles and other pagan gods, ruled in Kyiv, Christianity was already taking root in the far-off borderlands of Ukraine — in the south-east in Tmutorokan, in Kuban; and in the west, in Peremyshl, in the land of the White Croats — and the word of God was being spread among the population in a language comprehensible to the people. The spread of Christianity was also assisted by trade which was conducted mainly along the waterways between the pagan countries of Eastern Europe and Christian Byzantium, particularly along the main waterway "from the Greeks to the Varangians" down the Dnieper and other rivers, from Scandinavia to Constantinople, down which sailed not only trading parties, but also military bands of Varangian adventurers. The first Kyivan princes, Askold and Dyr, Oleh, Ihor and Sviatoslav, sailed down these waterways on their campaigns. Some of the experienced Rus' and Varangian soldiers served as mercenaries in the Byzantine army and became Christians. It was also rumoured that Princes Askold and Dyr became Christians since a church was later built on the spot where they were buried. Whereas all of Oleh's envoys swore by Perun to uphold his treaties with the Greeks in 907 and 911, a large part of Ihor's legation were already Christians when he made his treaty with the Greeks in 944, and swore a Christian oath in the Church of St. Elijah in Constantinople, which was a church designated

for Varangians and Khazars who had accepted Christianity. At the time of Ihor, there was probably a Church of St. Elijah in Kyiv as well.

An important step in the preparation of the population of Kyivan Rus' for the general acceptance of Christianity was the baptism of Princess Olha. According to several sources, Princess Olha was half Slav. Her father was a Slav and her mother a Varangian, and she is supposed to have been born in the village of Vybuty, near Izborsk (near present-day Pskov) on the River Velyka, where her father was the ferryman. Prince Ihor found her there while collecting tribute from the Sovenes and Krivichians. Another tradition has it that Olha was from the family of Hostomyilo, the last Slav prince of the Slovene tribe.

She, like her parents and husband, Ihor, was a pagan and avenged the death of her husband in 945 at the hands of the Derevlianian tribe with particular cruelty. In practice, Olha was a better state administrator than her husband. She was a wise and prudent ruler who sought to develop the huge empire not by wars, but through peaceful means. It was probably in Kyiv that she came into contact with the Christian faith from Christian Varangians or missionaries who travelled to Kyiv even from as far away as Ireland.

On the basis of many sources, it appears that Princess Olha was probably baptised in Constantinople in the year 955 or 956 by the Byzantine Patriarch, and the emperor himself is said to have been her godfather. Some historians believe that she came to Constantinople again in 957. It was Olha's political intention to raise the prestige of the Kyivan throne to the level of Byzantium. However, she was disillusioned by Byzantine plans regarding Rus'. She must have realised that her visit to Constantinople was fruitless, for on her return to Kyiv Olha's relations with Byzantium became cooler and she contacted German Emperor Otto I to send a bishop and Latin-rite priests and missionaries to Rus'. A group of missionaries from Germany headed by Bishop Adalbert was sent to Rus' only in 962 after a period of long delay. They returned to Germany having achieved nothing for in the meantime Olha had stepped down in favour of her son, Sviatoslav, who refused to become a Christian, who mocked Christianity and supported traditional paganism, and who sought personal glory in campaigns to conquer the surrounding territories. The pagan reaction came with even greater force after the internecine struggles between Sviatoslav's sons, Yaropolk and Oleh, who were probably Christians, on the one hand, and the pagan Volodymyr, on the other, particularly after Volodymyr's victory over Yaropolk in 979. Volodymyr realised that in order to consolidate the extensive empire, which comprised a number of different ethnic tribes with various tribal gods and beliefs, it was necessary to have a single state religion. He made attempts to introduce such a common religion based on a synthesis of religious beliefs of the Slavic tribes, mainly the Polianians, and possibly with some Varangian elements. He ordered that idols of Perun, Khors, Dazhboh, Simargl and other gods were to be erected

in Kyiv and other towns to whom offerings, including human sacrifice, were to be brought. The Chronicle mentions the martyrdom of two Christian Varangians, St. Theodore and his son, Ioan, who lived in Kyiv. They were killed by a mob, stirred up by the pagan sorcerers, when the father refused to hand over his son who was to be sacrificed to the gods in celebration of Volodymyr's victory over the Yatvigiens in 983. The Tithe Church was later built on the spot where their house had stood.

What inspired Volodymyr to accept Christianity a mere few years after this incident? There were several reasons for his conversion. Firstly, the good example of his grandmother, Princess Olha, and possibly grief for the loss of his brothers, Yaropolk and Oleh, who were Christians. Secondly, it is possible that he was influenced by some of his wives, one of whom was a former Greek nun, whom he took from the dead Yaropolk; or the Bulgarian mother of his sons Borys and Hlib; or even a Christian Czech woman. He may even have been influenced by the stories of widely-travelled merchants, envoys and soldiers about the beneficial influence of Christianity on life in other countries. In 981 Volodymyr conducted a campaign against the "Liakhy" (Poles), who were already Christians, and took from them the towns of the Cherven region including the town of Peremyshl. There he may well have come into contact with Christians of the Slavic rite. One should also remember that Rus' shared a border with the Bulgarian empire, along the Danube, where the Slavonic rite, literary writing and art already flourished for over 120 years. Thus Bulgarian influences through linguistic similarities must have been very strong. Finally, the influence of Christian Varangians of both eastern and western rite, who surrounded Volodymyr and who were his friends, must also have been a marked one. As written in the Icelandic saga about Olaf Tryggvason, from an early age Olaf, the son of the Norwegian King Trygve, was, together with his mother, forced to take refuge at the court of Prince Volodymyr, who was then in Novgorod the Great, where they became friends. When he grew up, Olaf went into the world in search of adventure and became a Christian in Byzantium. He returned to Kyiv to persuade Volodymyr to accept Christianity. Although it was initially difficult to persuade Volodymyr, in the end, according to the saga, he was convinced of the righteousness of the Christian faith by his wife, a Varangian called Olava or Adlohia, "the wisest of all Volodymyr's wives". In addition, Volodymyr's dying mother Malfa (Malusha) foretold that Olaf would convert her son to Christianity. Although some of the facts in this story are muddled, it probably does contain some grain of truth.

The *Povist vremennykh liu* (The Story of Bygone Years), a chronicle written more than a hundred years after these events, gives a long description of how Volodymyr made his decision about which faith and rite to accept. In 986, after discovering Volodymyr's intentions to change his faith, neighbouring countries sent envoys to Kyiv to persuade the Prince of Rus' to accept their

faith. The first to arrive were Muslim envoys from the Volga Bulgars. But Volodymyr found their custom of circumcision and abstinence from alcohol disagreeable, and is said to have uttered these words: "Drinking is the joy of the Rus'. We cannot exist without that pleasure". Next to arrive were Christian missionaries from the Germans of the Latin rite. To them Volodymyr said: "Our fathers did not accept this [your faith]". Then came envoys from the Jewish Khazars. When they told him that for their sins God took them from Jerusalem and scattered them around the world, Volodymyr replied: "If God loved you and your faith, you would not be thus dispersed in foreign lands. Do you expect us to accept that fate also?". Finally, a Greek monk and "philosopher" came to Rus' from Byzantium. The Chronicle records his whole long speech in which the Greek explained to Volodymyr how God created the world; how He cares for mankind; how He sent down His Son Jesus Christ for the salvation of the world; about the life and death of Christ; and about Christ's second coming and the Day of Judgement, whose picture he vividly painted before Volodymyr explaining what reward awaits the righteous and what penalty awaits the sinners. Although this story made quite an impression on Volodymyr, he decided to wait before making his final decision. He sent envoys to the Muslims (Volga Bulgars), to the Latin rite Germans and to Constantinople, to the Greeks, to observe their particular faith. When they returned to Kyiv, the envoys described with the greatest enthusiasm what they had seen in Constantinople, particularly the solemn Divine Liturgy in the Cathedral of St. Sophia, celebrated by the patriarch himself assisted by clergy, faithful and beautiful choral singing. "We knew not whether we were in heaven or on earth" they said, and advised Volodymyr to accept the Greek faith. The boyars, the prince's advisors, approved the same decision, saying: "If the Greek faith were evil, it would not have been accepted by your grandmother Olha who was wiser than all other men". When Volodymyr asked them where they should all accept baptism, they replied that the decision rested with him. Despite the fact that this story may have been a later fictional addition to the Chronicle invented by adherents of Byzantine eastern orthodoxy, it does, nevertheless, describe the fundamental decision of Volodymyr and his council of boyars to accept Christianity from Byzantium, and not from Rome through the mediation of Germans of the Latin rite. The reason for this was not only that at that time Byzantium was still an influential cultural centre in Europe, but also because the people of Rus' found the gentler, more artistic and poetic Greek spirituality more acceptable than the strict legalistic spirituality of the Latin, and particularly the German, world.

There was already a long tradition of relations between Rus'-Ukraine and the Greek world going back some one and a half thousand years, whereas relations with Rome and Western Europe were weaker and merely occasional. But what was more important was that whereas Byzantium did not ob-

ject to the spread of the Gospel in a language native to the Slavs, and even assisted in the formation of a Slavonic rite based on the Byzantine-Greek rite, the Roman empire of the German people opposed the creation of a Slavonic rite and the use of the language in church, and suppressed it wherever it could — in Czechia, Moravia, Slovakia, Poland, Hungary, Slovenia and Croatia. And although some popes looked favourably on the Slavonic rite, the local hierarchy and German authorities were forcibly rooting out the rite introduced by Sts. Cyril and Methodius and their disciples, and enforcing all-around Latinisation.

By allowing the Slavonic rite Byzantium wished to achieve its political aims. This way it wanted to conciliate and subordinate the “barbarian” Slavonic peoples. For this reason Byzantium tried to delay as long as possible the creation of autonomous or independent national Churches of the Slavonic peoples and only with great reluctance appointed bishops and metropolitans for these newly-created Churches. Bulgarian attempts to preserve independence from Byzantium and create its own Church (Bulgaria accepted Christianity in 860) led to a series of wars between Bulgaria and Byzantium. During the heyday of the power of the Bulgarian state at the time of Emperor Simeon, who reigned at the beginning of the 10th century, Bulgaria even managed to get its own patriarchate. Later the Bulgarians were harshly punished for their attempts at independence by Emperor Basil II, their country being almost completely subjugated by Byzantium.

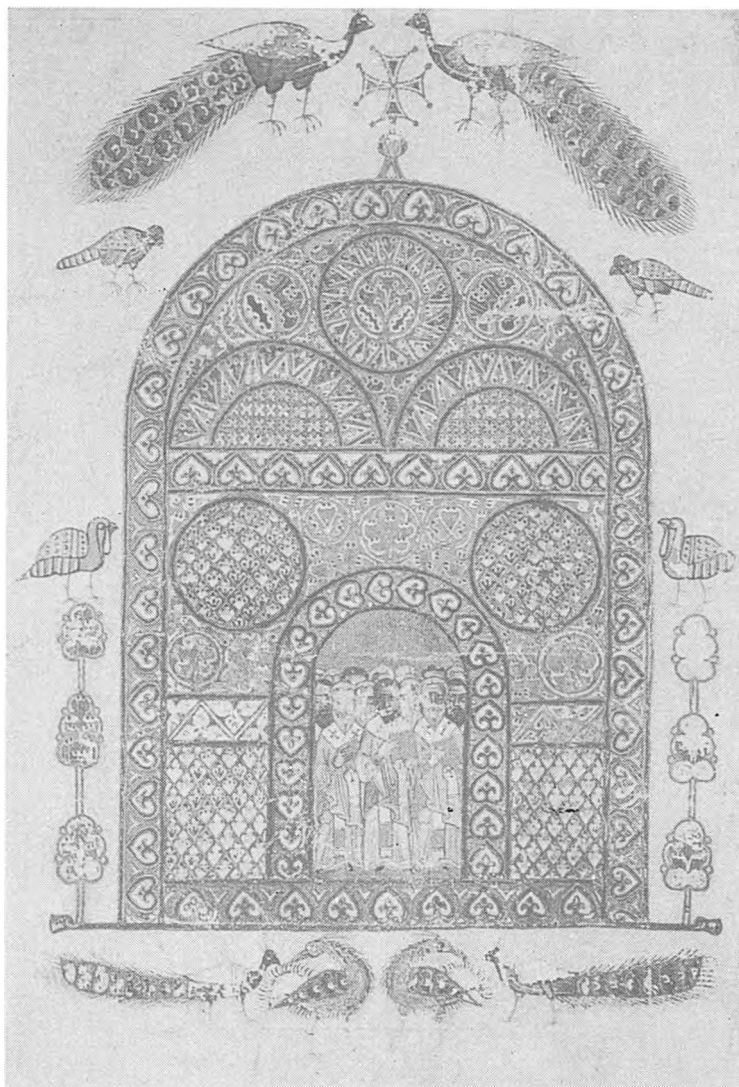
*(To be continued)*



## THE CHRISTIAN HERITAGE OF UKRAINE



**Bible, 1581, Ostroh**



The Codex of Svyatoslav, 1073, Kyiv, parchment, miniature 33,5 × 25,5 cm.



The Khysevyeh Gospels — St. Luke, 1546, miniature



Academic Thesis dedicated to the Metropolitan of Kyiv Raphael Zabrovskiy, 1739,  
copper engraving by H. Levytskyi

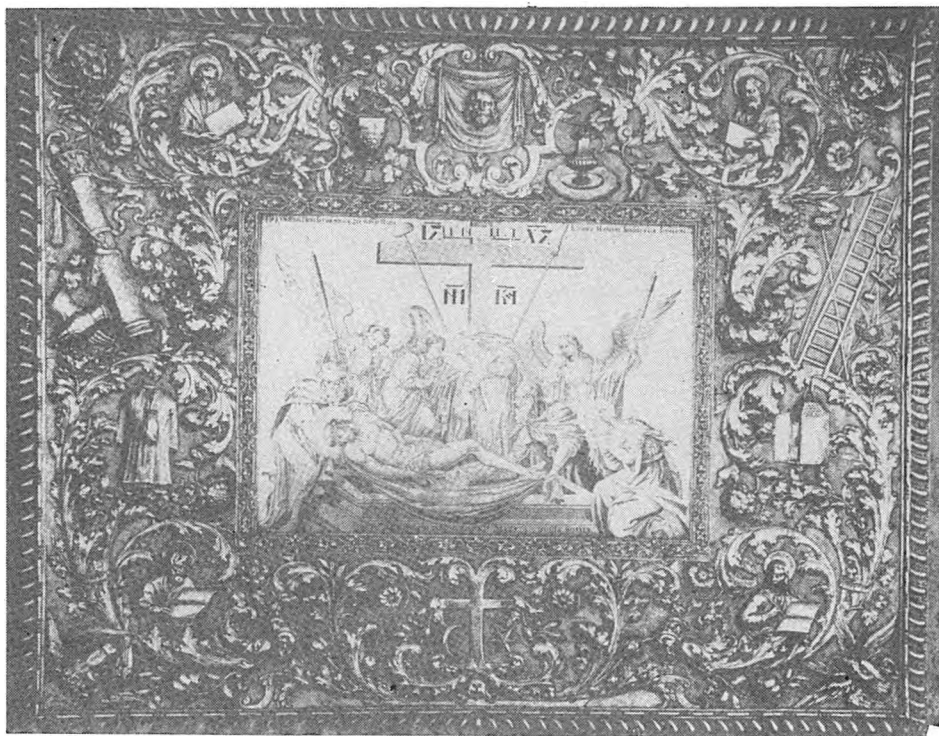


**The Lavra of Pochaiv — Cathedral of the Dormition, 1771-1783**



The Trinity Cathedral, 1773-1779, Novomoskovsk, built by J. Pohrebniak,  
drawing by O. Slaktion





**Epitaphion, 17th c. presented by Hetman Ivan Mazepa to the Basilica  
of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem**



Hlib from Tmutorokan, 11th c. the stone icon, Taman Island



*Yevhen KRAMAR*

## **THE QUESTION OF PRINCE VOLODYMYR'S RELIGIOUS CHOICE**

*(Part 2)*

Volodymyr had already conveyed this to the Moslem Bolgar missionaries. The concern was not of one prince or even his court, but that of a whole nation. So, it was necessary to register his possible reaction to the Moslem religion, and this reaction would probably be negative.

The Moslem religion promises paradise in the next world for the wealthy. The Chronicle informs us that whoever was rich on earth would be equally rich in the next world, and the poor would remain poor. But ordinary people obviously expected a better life, albeit after death. The Moslem religion put paid to such hopes. According to this parameter alone, Mohammedanism could not compare with Christianity which, we know, admits into paradise the righteous irrespective of their earthly social status, favouring the poor and so on. So, for most of the population of Kyivan-Rus', Mohammedanism was unacceptable. It contradicted the traditional customs, moral principles, even the disposition and character of the population of Kyivan-Rus'. Islam was conceived by, and rooted itself in, the environment of Arab warrior tribes and they, on accepting Islam, carried it further afield on their conquering swords. This religion educates its faithful in a spirit of intolerance to people of other beliefs ("non-believers") and breeds a state of constant hostility, aggression towards them. In Rus' there was no suitable basis for this.

During this era, subordination to a particular religious centre signified an equivalent political dependence. Islam's authoritative religious and political centres were too far from Kyivan-Rus', if Volga-Bolgaria which could in no way be classed as an important Moslem centre of the time is disregarded. It could not be a centre of political orientation for Kyivan-Rus' either. As regards the Moslem East, not only was it geographically far from Kyivan-Rus', but an enormous, already Christianised, territory lay between them. Kyivan-Rus' was a European state although neighbouring with various tribes of Asian origin to the east and south. This stipulated its general European orientation, whereas Mohammedanism would lead it in another direction. In a word: the recorded account of Prince Volodymyr's contacts with the Bolgar Moslems is uncertain. The Moslem religion did not stand a chance of becoming the official religion in Kyivan-Rus'. This conclusion is reached not only on the basis of the above considerations, but is also based on the important fact that the

Mohammedan religion could not compete with Christianity which already had an ancient strong tradition in Rus'. It is not difficult to deduce that Mohammedanism could not have taken part in the recorded choice of faith, and the episode in the Chronicle about the Moslem Bolgar missionaries' visit to Kyiv and the despatch of envoys from Kyiv to the Bulgars with the aim of becoming acquainted with Mohammedanism in situ, do not correlate with the facts. Under these circumstances, the entire recorded narrative of the choice of faith really loses its authenticity.

Even so, it is premature to draw general conclusions without examining other episodes. The "Primary Chronicle" states that German envoys of the Pope visited Prince Volodymyr after the Bolgar Moslems. But it is necessary to focus initially on the Jewish missionaries for a more detailed study of this exploration. This transposition of events will not harm the investigation of the subject, which is dictated exclusively by methodical deliberation. The question of succession of the various religious missions which are said to have visited Prince Volodymyr almost does not arise, inasmuch as, did these missions take place at all and were they really necessary? So, we take the episode of the visit of the Khazar Jews to Kyiv with the intention of leaning Prince Volodymyr towards Judaism.

As already mentioned, according to a different version, these Jews came from Korsun (Kheronesus). It is not very important whether they came from the Khazar Kaganate or from the Crimean Kheronesus which was dependent on the Byzantine empire. Hebrews also lived in the Crimea, particularly in Korsun (Kheronesus). They found themselves there when part of the Crimea belonged to the Khazars, and the Khazar Kagan himself and the upper social classes accepted Judaism. A simple Judaistic centre probably existed in Kheronesus. It is sufficient to merely mention such an episode. When the elementary teacher of the Slavs, Constantine (monastic name — Cyril), led a Byzantine delegation to the Kheronesus Kaganate around 860, he remained in the city of Kheronesus for a lengthy period of time. In conjunction with other matters, he spent his time learning the Hebrew language and literature<sup>21</sup>. However, in the period the "Primary Chronicle" is concerned with — c. 986 — the city of Kheronesus belonged totally to Byzantium. Therefore it is not very plausible that the Korsun (Kheronesian) Jews, who were themselves in a difficult position in the Christian, Byzantine empire, endeavoured to convert Prince Volodymyr to their faith. So, it appears that the version of the "Primary Chronicle", that the Jewish missionaries came from the Khazar Kaganate, must be used as a basis. However, the noted disparity in the origin of the Judaic missionaries immediately casts doubt on the very fact of the visits of Hebrew missionaries to Kyiv. The doubt has a deeper source. The fact is that Judaism did not take part in missionary activities at all. It is a solely mono-ethnic religion, the faith of the Hebrews and only theirs. Cer-

21. See A. T. Teodorov-Balan: *Kiril i Metodiy*, ch. I, Sofia, 1920, stor. 17.

tainly, there was the example of the Khazars, when Judaism became attached to a nation other than the Hebrew. But there was an interesting ethnic metamorphosis. Hebrew theologians had somehow been able to trace back the Judaic<sup>22</sup> origins of the Khazar Kagan and his retinue, who later adopted Judaism. However, these same theologians did not recognise various multi-ethnic tribes which constituted the Khazar Kaganate as Jews. That is why the situation arose in the Khazar Kaganate that the governing élite accepted Judaism, but the sleeping masses of the nation confessed to Mohammedanism or Christianity. In addition, Judaism came to a section of the Khazars not from foreign preachers — from Jerusalem, for example — but from their own Jews living in the Kaganate.

It was impossible for Prince Volodymyr and our ancestors — Ukrainians of the time — to undergo a metamorphosis such as the Khazar élite had undergone. So, the very attempt to graft the faith of the Jews on Rus' would have contradicted the dogmas of a faith, which does not allow foreigners to become real Jews. The rabbis knew this full well, so the idea of converting pagan Rus' to the faith of the Jews could not have even been conceived.

There is one more thing. Judaism held out in the Khazar Kaganate for nearly 200 years. At the time when the Hebrew preachers from Khazaria supposedly visited Prince Volodymyr, important changes had taken place in the Kaganate. The great Khazar state formation was disintegrating. The Kyivan Prince Sviatoslav even contributed to its downfall with a destructive campaign against the Kaganate in 965. The downfall was completed by the Hun tribes who utterly exhausted the once mighty Kaganate. Under these circumstances the Khazars looked towards the Moslem Khorezm. The people of Khorezm came to their aid on the condition that the Khazars adopt the Moslem faith. The Kaganate was compelled into it. The Arab author Mukadeci wrote at the end of the 10th century that the population of the Khazar capital was not Jewish any more, but Moslem<sup>23</sup>. Not only did the nation, which was already markedly Islamicised, convert to Mohammedanism, but also the Kagan himself. So, Judaism ceased being the official religion in the last days of the Khazar Kaganate. Thus, during the period of the reported choice of faith, the Khazar Jews did not play a role significant enough to enable them to export their political and religious authority to the shores of the Dniro. If there was a desire on the part of Volodymyr to familiarise himself with Judaism, as in the case of Islam, he could have done without the help of specific leaders from Khazaria.

Up to the formation of the Kyivan state, some of the tribes belonging to the Ukrainian group, formed part of the Khazar Kaganate. This was the period when Judaism was blossoming in Khazaria. In their official and busi-

22. S. A. Pletneva: op. cit. p. 62.

23. *Sbornik materialov dla opisannia mestnostey i plemen Kavkaza*, 1908 vpr. XXXVIII, stor. 5.

ness capacities, the Khazar Jews happened to be on territory dependent on the Kaganate. Original Jews from the Kaganate also happened to be there in the same capacity. The "Primary Chronicle" under 945 plainly states the presence of a Khazar colony in Kyiv. The chronicler had Khazar-Christians in mind, but obviously there were also Khazars of the Jewish faith. Ethnic Jews from other countries could equally have done likewise. Jewish merchants played an important role in the trade of Rus' with the countries of Europe, particularly Germany and Czechia<sup>24</sup>. Later, during the reign of Yaroslav the Wise, one of the city gates of Kyiv was called the Jewish gate. This proves the existence of a separate Jewish quarter, obviously established at a much earlier date. So, in order to become acquainted with the Jewish faith, it was possible to have made do with the service and information of those Jews or Khazar-Jews living in, or passing through, Kyiv and other towns of the Kyivan state.

If, according to the Chronicle, Prince Volodymyr rejected Moslem circumcision and the prohibition of pork, so, by the same token, the Jewish faith must have been rejected, because it too prescribed circumcision and forbade the consumption of pork. But the Prince went further in the analysis of this faith, quite rightly reproaching the Jewish preachers: if the Jews experienced the wrath of God (the loss of their own land and dispersal throughout the world) for their sins, then they had no moral right to convert others to their faith. In this way, the historical fate of the Jews (diaspora) turned other pagan religions away from the religion of the Hebrews. But, as has already been said, the main obstacle lay in the dogmas of that same religion — Judaism is only for the Jews. In these circumstances, it is extremely difficult to believe that Judaism participated in the choice of faith as described in the Chronicle.

Since the chronicler assures us of the visit of the Jewish missionaries from Khazaria to Kyiv, then that is where Prince Volodymyr's envoys should have gone to acquaint themselves further with this religion in situ. The noblemen and elders acted reasonably and correctly: the visiting preachers praised their own religions and condemned the faith of their opponents, competitors, so it was proper to dispatch experienced people into the world, so that they could see for themselves. The Chronicle points out that Volodymyr's envoys visited Bulgaria, Germany and Byzantium, but for some reason were not interested in the Jews. This is a logical contradiction. The Prince, the noblemen and the city elders immediately took a prejudiced and negative stance to the faith of the Jews, which, using the logic of the chronicler, should not have occurred. Volodymyr did not take a liking to Islam, but if the chronicler is to be believed, he sent his envoys to the Bolgar-Moslems all the same.

It is more plausible that the stance taken by the Prince and his retinue

24. I. Yu. Brutskus: "Pershi zvistky pro yevreyiv u Polshchi ta na Rusi", *Naukovyi Zbirnyk istorychnoyi sektsiyi UVAN*, t. 26, 1927.

towards Judaism was prescribed by a later tradition. Later chroniclers may be the cause, evaluating or construing events retrospectively, from a Christian position. In that case, the visits to Prince Volodymyr of Jewish preachers from Khazaria can be treated not as facts, but as a later literary construction of a Christian author. There are sources which enable this to be stated authoritatively. It is useful to remember the answer the Jewish preachers gave the Prince in reply to his question about the Hebrew native country: "And our land was handed over to the Christians". So, in the words of the Jewish envoys (or perhaps the chronicler himself), Christians then ruled over Jerusalem and all of Palestine. This allows this literary creation — written narrative — to be dated more or less accurately, to the time when Christians ruled over the native land of the Jews<sup>25</sup>.

In 636, the Arabs raided Palestine. After 969, it fell into the hands of the ruling dynasty of the Egyptian Pharaohs. So, in 986-988, Jerusalem, together with the whole of Palestine, belonged to the Moslems. Jerusalem itself became a holy centre of Judaism, Christianity and Islam. In 1096-1099, Christian Europe organised the first Crusade with the aim of freeing God's grave and the entire Holy Land (Palestine) from the Moslems. In 1099, the Crusaders conquered Jerusalem and set up the Jerusalem monarchy on the territory of Palestine, which existed until 1187. As the "Primary Chronicle" (The Story of Bygone Years) ends in 1113, it is obvious that the information concerning the right of Christians to Jerusalem and Palestine could not have been entered after this date. It could not have found its way into the "Primary Chronicle" even before 1099 because Jerusalem and Palestine were in Christian hands at the time.

An obvious, but extremely important, conclusion can be drawn. The recorded account of the Jewish preachers in Kyiv could have appeared on the pages of the Chronicle between 1099 and 1113 and not at the time of the recorded choice of faith. The monk Nestor was working on the Chronicle at about this time, so it is probably due to him that the episode of the Jewish preachers in Kyiv appeared in the "Primary Chronicle". In that case, the episode of 986-987 could not possibly have been a historical fact after 1099, because there could not have been a choice of faith at that time.

All four episodes of the recorded account of the choice of faith are closely interrelated and their combination creates one entity. So, if one part of this totality is doubtful, then obviously doubt is cast upon the entirety.

Up till now, the recorded narrative of the choice of faith (testing of religions) gets rid of two of its episodes: the Bolgar-Moslem and the Hebrew-Judaic. Two episodes are left: the visits of the German missionaries and the Greek philosopher, and the despatch of envoys to Germany and Byzantium. The German preachers and the Greek philosopher were not representatives

25. S. M. Soloviev: *Istoria Rossiya s drevneshnikh vremen*, ch. III, 1-2, 1959, stor. 316, prim. 241.

of different faiths (religions). They represented one Christian religion, but with somewhat differing rites and dogmas. These differences could have caused the Western (Roman) and Eastern (Byzantine) Christian theologians to cross swords, but Prince Volodymyr and his court, not having yet become Christians, obviously did not and could not have taken part in such prevarication. Besides, in the 10th century there was no official ecclesiastical division between Rome and Constantinople, which occurred only in 1054. In a word, at the end of the 980s, Christianity appeared as one monolithic religion for Rus'. As was mentioned earlier, Islam and Judaism, on the strength of their dogmas and various other conditions, were clearly unacceptable alternatives to ancient Ukrainian paganism, and the recorded account about the part played by these religions in the choice of faith is open to doubt. A note has been made of the fact that, as a result of its long, strong tradition in Ukraine, Christianity did not fear competition from Islam or Judaism. So, at the time when Prince Volodymyr and his court considered the problem of religion, in Kyivan-Rus' of the time there were only two religions which were brought face to face: ancient paganism and Christianity.

There is no need to repeat the deliberations on the meaning of the faiths and the inequalities of the two religions in the further development of Volodymyr's state. Paganism was already waning when Christianity was gaining strength. But under these circumstances the concept of the "choice of faith" (testing of religions) is totally unjustified, unfounded: there was no possibility of a question of a choice between paganism and Christianity. In this context, one can only talk about a change from paganism to Christianity.

This change was determined by all previous historical, social, moral and cultural development. Before further examination of the recorded account, it is worth digressing into the history of Christianity on the territory of present-day Ukraine prior to the time of its official baptism in 988. In this respect, there is a quantity of serious literature of high quality with an abundant source of facts<sup>26</sup>. The author of this work has also touched upon this question<sup>27</sup>.

In general terms, the history of the spread of the Christian religion across the territory of Ukraine looks like this. The "Primary Chronicle" links the spread of Christianity with the Apostle Andrew, saying that he went north from Korsun (Khersonesus), rested at the probable future position of Kyiv, blessed this land and forecast good prospects for the future city. The mission of the Apostle Andrew to the banks of the Dnipro is said to have taken place in the middle of the 1st century. Researchers admit that the recorded account

26. Makariy: *Istoriya khristianstva na Rusi*, t. I, 1846; E. E. Holubinskiy: *Istoriya Russkoy tserkvy*, t. I, h. I, 1917, I.I.-ch. II, 1904; V. Parkhomenko: *Nachalo khristianstva na Rusi IX-X vv.*, Poltava, 1913; M. Chubaty: *Istoria Khrystyianstva na Rusy-Ukraini*, t. I (do r. 1353), Rome-New York, 1965.

27. Yevhen Kramar: "Dosvitky epokhalnoyi podiyi", *Vyzvolnyi Shlach*, 1987.

of Saint Andrew is, to all intents and purposes, a legend. Nevertheless, in this case it is an apotheosis of the memory of ancient Christianity in these parts<sup>28</sup>.

It is evident that during the establishment of Christianity on the territory of present-day Ukraine, particularly along the shores of the Black and Azov Seas, old Greek colonies could be found which were directly dependent on the Roman empire. The Christian religion began to establish itself in the eastern provinces of this enormous state, and in time reached all of its regions, including those on Ukrainian land. During the first centuries, Christianity had many sympathisers in the Greek settlements along the Black and Azov Seas. Byzantine and other sources inform us of the spread of Christ's teaching among the various tribes which then populated the southern-Ukrainian steppes. The Greeks traditionally called this territory Scythia, and the Romans — Sarmatia (from the ancient settlements of the Scythians and Sarmatians). Ancient Christian authors mention the spread of Christianity in Scythia or Sarmatia. The Cherniakhiv archaeological culture was widespread on most of the territory of Ukraine from the 2nd to the 5th centuries. Artefacts of this culture indicate that its proponents were partially christianised. This is evident from the cross-like designs depicted on Cherniakhiv tombstones and also in the custom of a twofold type of funeral. Both the cremation of corpses and the burial of bodies, which is known to be innate in Christians were practiced. The Christian religion obviously became rooted initially on land which was geographically closer to the Byzantine empire and its colonies with whom ties were already close. Christianity steadily spread from Christian Byzantium and its colonies into the heart of pagan territory, in time reaching Kyiv itself.

There is an interesting account of the Christianisation of the Ros, which is said to have taken place in the 860s, during the time of the Constantinople Patriarch Photius. Researchers unanimously agree that "Ros" refers to no other than the Rus' of Kyivan Prince Askold (862-882). The Patriarch of Constantinople, Photius, was a fervent opponent of Rome, and it was actually during his term, and because of him, that the schism between the two Christian centres — Rome and Constantinople — was initiated. In 867, Photius was replaced by Patriarch Ignatius who was a papal sympathiser. During his term of office, an archbishop was despatched to the "Ros" (Rus'), who baptised them and their Prince again. So, during the reign of Prince Askold, a second baptism of the Rus' is said to have taken place, but this time it was initiated by Rome or by a pro-Roman authority and dates from around 874<sup>29</sup>. We do not hear about Christianity in Rus' during the reign of Oleh (882-912). The reign of Oleh was probably the time when paganism reigned supreme. However, Christianity was legalised during the time of his successor, Prince

28. *Istorichiskie monografiyi i issledovanie Nikolaya Kostomarova*, t. I, 1863, stor. 65.

29. M. de Taube: *Le Prince Askold, L'origine l'état de Kiev et la première conversion des Russes, 852-882*, Paris, 1947.

Ihor (912-945). There were many Christians in Ihor's retinue. When the treaty with Byzantium was being drawn up, Prince Ihor and the pagans swore their oath of allegiance the pagan way, but the others — Christians — swore theirs according to the Christian style. Under the year 945, the "Primary Chronicle" states the following. The chronicler emphasised that there were already many Christians in Kyiv, particularly Varangian and Khazar, who had a cathedral — the Church of St. Elias. The term cathedral means a principal church, so during Prince Ihor's reign there were at least several churches in Kyiv. After Ihor, his wife Princess Olha ruled as regent instead of their young son Sviatoslav. During her reign, Christianity became even more widespread in Kyivan-Rus'. The Princess herself, in the company of a substantial retinue, set out to Constantinople around 957, where she was baptised, adopting the Christian name Olena. Having accepted the new faith, Princess Olha (Olena) was naturally guided not solely by personal interests, but by stately-political and other general concerns. Something, however, was not working well in contacts with Byzantium and she sought a relationship with Otto I, King of the Roman empire, who, in the religious context, was the Pope's subordinate.

Domestic sources know nothing of this relationship, but mention is made of it in foreign chronicles. They tell us that in 959, the King received envoys sent by Olha (Helena)<sup>30</sup>. Libutius was to have gone, but he died suddenly. Adalbert went instead, but failed in his mission. The contacts between Princess Olha and Otto I in the matter of the organisation of a Church in Rus' were actually contacts with Rome, with the Pope. Although Rus' officially had not adopted Christianity in an organised fashion, the Constantinople Patriarchate deemed it to be within its sphere of influence. Kyivan-Rus', as a Metropolitane, figured in sixty-first place on the register of the Patriarchate during Prince Oleh's reign, but was sixtieth during the reign of Ihor. Olha's son and successor, Prince Sviatoslav, left an evil reputation behind him as a persecutor of Christians. The "Primary Chronicle" is silent on this matter, but foreign chronicles include accounts of his actions: he destroyed churches, killed Christians and so on. The very fact of the treatment of Christians proves that they did not merely exist, but that they were numerous. After the death of Sviatoslav (972), his elder son Yaropolk became the ruler of Kyiv (actually Kyiv was assigned to him earlier on). Prince Yaropolk was not personally baptised, but sympathised with Christians and allowed them a great deal of freedom. Although the "Primary Chronicle" does not record this, it is mentioned in the so-called "Joachim Chronicle".

Proof of the merit earned by Yaropolk in his attitude towards Christianity can be served by the fact of his posthumous baptism — more than sixty years after his death. Western sources of the 11th and 12th centuries touch on some sort of baptism of Rus' during the reign of Yaropolk, although without

30. *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, ed. Patz. SS. Hannoverae-Berolini, 1826, vol. I, p. 624.



actually naming the Prince and without referring to specific conditions<sup>31</sup>. This is described as some sort of initiative on the part of Rome (via Germany) as a continuation of the contacts established by Yaropolk's grandmother, Princess Olha. There is some information concerning the visit of the Roman Emperor Otto I in 973 by the Rus' envoys<sup>32</sup>. Domestic sources do not mention these contacts between Prince Yaropolk and Rome (the Pope) and Germany. However, under the year 979, the "Nikon Chronicle", has a brief note on the visit of papal envoys to Yaropolk. Some kind of contact between Kyiv, Germany and the Pope during Yaropolk's reign actually existed. Concern was initially expressed about religious matters, about the inclusion of Rus' within the sphere of the Pope's influence. Otto I himself held the idea of creating two eparchies in the East: one in Poland, the other in Rus', which would extend his political influence over these countries.

The above is only a bare skeleton, the general scheme of the history of Christianity in Ukraine up to the time of Prince Volodymyr. But through it we are convinced that Volodymyr did not live and rule in a completely pagan environment — that there were Christians close to him. It is true, that at the beginning of his reign, the life of Christians in Kyiv and the state was difficult, but in time the situation changed. Christianity was making an impression on the Kyivan state on all fronts. Without doubt, the primary motivator was the Byzantine empire, with which Kyivan-Rus' had a variety of traditional contacts. In 863, Bulgaria, with whom Kyiv also had many ties, adopted Christianity. The Bulgarian liturgical language of the time, in its Macedonian dialect, was understood by all Slavs. An appropriate literary language was based on this language. Earlier still, Moravia accepted Christianity of the Byzantine rite. It was in Moravia that the monks Constantine (Cyril) and Methodius created the Slavonic alphabet in 863, which facilitated the translation of ecclesiastical books into the Slavonic language. Later, Moravia succumbed to the Roman sphere of influence. Its successor, the Czech state, became Catholic. In fact, the territory of Western Ukraine at the time bordered with the Great Moravian and Czech states, and even came under their political influence, which led to the spread of the Christian religion from these countries onto Ukrainian territory. Poland also adopted Christianity before Kyivan-Rus'. So, when in 987 many western territories became incorporated into the Kyivan state, Kyivan-Rus' became a direct neighbour of Christian (Catholic) Czechia and Poland. Moreover, territories which had become considerably christianised were incorporated into Kyivan-Rus' in 987. In addition, Christianity was taking root more firmly in Scandinavia, with which Kyivan-Rus' had friendly relations. In time, the Scandinavians officially accepted Christianity of the Roman rite. Prince Volodymyr personally experienced Christianity as already mentioned.

31. I. P. Miane: *Partologiae cursus completus*, seria latina, Vols. I-CCXXI, Paris, 1844, vol. CXLIV, pp. 977-979.

32. *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, SS, p. 789, *Annales Akthenses majores*.

It is worth adding the following. An eminent Varangian Olaf Tryggvason served under Prince Volodymyr. He had accepted Christianity during his extensive travels and had a great influence over the Kyivan Prince, pushing him towards the Christian religion. This is narrated in the saga of Olaf Tryggvason. Moreover, this Olaf subsequently became the Norwegian King and officially adopted Christianity of the Roman rite. According to the "Primary Chronicle" and other sources composed under its influence, Prince Volodymyr, having already decided on Christianity, marched on Korsun (Kheronesus) and threatened to march on Constantinople itself, demanding that the Emperors gave him their sister in marriage. The conflict was resolved: the Emperors persuaded their sister Anna to go to Kheronesus, to Volodymyr. It was in Kheronesus that the Prince is said to have been baptised and married the Empress soon after. The "Primary Chronicle" dates this as 988. But there are researchers who consider this account to be a legend. They think that Prince Volodymyr was baptised in Kyiv before the march on Korsun (Kheronesus). This complicates the recorded account of the choice of religion even more, because if Volodymyr was already baptised in 987, then there was no need for a subsequent choice of faith.

The account of the spread of the Christian religion in Ukraine long before its official adoption in 988 given above, also casts doubt on the recorded choice of faith because Christianity with its distant, deep roots in Ukraine was in fact beyond rivalry. Moreover, the episodes of the recorded account which relate the visits of the German missionaries and Greek philosopher to Kyiv and the despatch of envoys from Kyiv to Germany and Constantinople need more careful assessment in the light of what has just been said.

The German missionaries gave Volodymyr a very short description of the basis of the Christian faith, without giving any specific attributes of the Roman rite. Thus, the Pope did not propose a variety, or a Christian rite, but the religion as a whole. There was nothing objectionable in the words of the missionaries, at least this was not apparent from the Chronicle. It is strange that so little was said by the missionaries about their faith. But Rome and Germany had eminent preachers who were capable of speaking no less and no less convincingly than the Greek philosopher. So, an obvious assumption can be made: that everything the Pope's envoys supposedly said is not attributed to them, but to the chronicler who maintained an Orthodox pro-Byzantine, that is, anti-Roman position. He could not assign all the wisdom and convictions to his opponents and so leave the Greek with nothing to say. In this episode, there is a contradiction which is similar to the example of the Bolgar missionaries. The Prince supposedly sent the papal envoys away with the excuse that he could not adopt their faith because his ancestors had not. As already mentioned, the Chronicle does not explain why the Prince drove the papal envoys away. If, according to the "Primary Chronicle", this is what he did, then after this there was no need to despatch envoys to Germany in

order to become acquainted with a rejected faith. But, according to the Chronicle, envoys were still despatched. So, something is not quite right. During the time of the recorded choice of faith, the Pope would certainly have sent letters to Volodymyr. If mention of this had not been made in the "Primary Chronicle's" account of the choice of faith, then in the context of a sceptical attitude towards the Chronicle, this recorded information would also have been received with scepticism. The "Nikon Chronicle" also confirms the Papal envoys' visit to Kyiv. Under the year 986, it notes that "Germans from Rome and the Pope"<sup>33</sup> visited Volodymyr. Under 988, there is again a laconic announcement: "Papal envoys came from Rome bringing relics of saints to Volodymyr"<sup>34</sup>.

Exchanges of envoys took place between Rome and Kyiv. The "Primary Chronicle" is very sparing in its account of this exchange and knows only of the visit of the German preachers at the time of the choice of faith and of the despatch of envoys from Kyiv to Rome in 1001. However, the "Nikon Chronicle" gives a more detailed description. Under 991, it notes that "Papal envoys from Rome came to Volodymyr in love and respect", under 994, that "Volodymyr's envoys travelled from Kyiv to Rome to visit the Pope", under 1000, that "Envoys came from the Roman Pope", and under 1001, that "Volodymyr sent his merchants as envoys to Rome" (this last event also appears in the "Primary Chronicle"). It is clear, therefore, that relations between Volodymyr and Rome were very intense and not restricted to those accounted for by the "Primary Chronicle" in the narrative of the choice of faith.

*(To be continued)*

33. *PSRL*, t. IX, stor. 42.

34. *Ibid.*, stor. 57.

Maurice TUGWELL<sup>1</sup>

## POLITICAL WARFARE IN THE ERA OF GLASNOST

### Introduction

In his recent writing about the Soviet leader, George Urban noted that Mikhail Gorbachev "is the Soviet Union's most potent single weapon in its contest with the Western world"<sup>2</sup>. Urban considers it likely that the Soviet leader requires the Western world to accept the USSR as a moral as well as a military equal; that we are to acknowledge Marxism-Leninism as a system to be admired.

A friend in Toronto who is a retired senior army officer and president of a strategic institute was surprised earlier this year to receive an invitation to visit Moscow. His invitation, of course, was part of the Moscow policy of courting moderates and conservatives. During his visit he was told by Georgii Arbatov that the Soviet Union was "taking away the enemy image".

Soviet political warfare is undoubtedly undergoing a face lift. It is too soon to say with assurance how it will develop, but here are some ideas based on the Soviet Union's past performance, and current indications.

### The Asymmetries

If we were fighting a nuclear or conventional war, which thank goodness is not the case, East and West would be playing to roughly the same rules, if only because there are scarcely any rules when survival is at stake. In political warfare, that is diplomacy, propaganda, economic competition, subversion and "active measures", the rules by which the West must play are quite different from those governing the USSR. The difference arises from the asymmetries between our two systems. Although these are well known, I question whether we look at them hard enough and appreciate their **operational** significance. Perhaps I may summarise them as follows:

● In the USSR, foreign and defence policies are decided in absolute secrecy

1. Maurice Tugwell is the Director of the Mackenzie Institute for the Study of Terrorism, Revolution and Propaganda in Toronto. His book on the peace movement, *Peace With Freedom*, will be published this fall.

2. George Urban, "Gorbachev: Can the Revolution be Remade?", *Occasional Paper No 33* (London: Institute for European Defence and Strategic Studies, 1988), p. 13.

by the top party leaders; even quite senior officials are kept in the dark. The outside world, including the West, has rarely had the slightest inkling of the Politburo's plans and intentions.

In the democracies, such policies are openly debated. Actual operational plans are graded secret, but security is often so sloppy that even these find their way into the media. Because of the open nature of Western societies, agent penetration has been relatively simple.

The asymmetry here brings obvious results: the West is always guessing at Moscow's real intentions; the East knows with fair certainty what we have in mind. Thus Soviet planning is soundly based, while ours has to rest on hypotheses. In addition, Eastern secrecy provides the Kremlin with a firm base for deception, consisting of dissimulation, or hiding the real, plus simulation, creating a false picture of reality. Having the first as a given, the Soviets enjoy great powers to deceive.

- In the East, publics have no influence whatsoever over foreign and defence policies. Glasnost has not altered this, as the Party, the KGB, defence and foreign affairs are all off limits for debate. In any case, there is no possible way for public opinion to make any impact, as there are no real elections and Party leaders have no need to please their constituents. Moreover, glasnost notwithstanding, Western statesmen, spokesmen, and the like have very limited and tightly controlled access to Soviet publics; they cannot hope to influence them to any great extent. So it is that the Politburo can pursue its aims free of domestic considerations.

In the West, our publics are open targets for Soviet influence, both overt and covert, factual and deceptive. Suitably primed, these publics can influence and ultimately decide their countries' foreign and defence policies. Thus, through propaganda and deception, Moscow could come to control the West's agenda.

- Communist ideology provides the East with a clearly stated mission — to convert the world to Marxism-Leninism. Thus the Kremlin has only to address one question — how? The single-minded pursuit of power, coupled with the dogma that "history" is on the side of revolution, making eventual victory inevitable, results in an open-ended commitment that is impervious to argument, amendment or compromise. Perestroika carefully preserves the historical imperative (indeed it is stressed), while providing to the West the illusion of fundamental change.

Democracy is an idea that can succeed only by community endorsement; consequently it cannot be an ideology, nor can it express itself through propaganda<sup>3</sup>. A flourishing democracy is bound, by its very nature, to attend primarily to domestic needs, looking to its defences only to the extent of minimum safety and not always that.

3. For a discussion, see Jacques Ellul, *Propaganda; the Formation of Men's Attitudes* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1965), Vintage edition, 1973, pp. 232-258.

The East can accordingly devote to its armed forces, secret police, propaganda apparatus and other instruments of foreign policy as many resources as the leadership considers necessary; the West typically devotes only what is left over when all competing claims on the budget have been met. While there are exceptions in time of war and mortal danger, over the long haul defence is difficult for democracies to maintain. As for a god-given mission in the world, each and every one of us in the West is free to find his or her own.

- Lenin's legacy absolves communists from any moral complaint in the history-given cause; the good end justifies all means<sup>4</sup>. Restraints developed over the centuries that separate mankind from a brutal past were dismissed by Lenin as "bourgeois morality".

The West, conversely, subscribes to these moral codes and is constrained by them — even to the point of finding it objectionable to question the good faith of communists. When individuals or groups in the West act in disregard of the norms, retribution is severe. Moreover, the guilt generated by these transgressions tends to paralyse national wills and to stimulate self-hatred. Because they have become subliminally accustomed to the idea that the Soviets are exempt from moral restraint, Western publics tend to adopt a double standard, judging the West against its best traditions and absolving the East because it does not share its heritage.

- The commitment to world revolution led, immediately after October 1917, to the creation of the Communist International, comprising communist parties with overt and covert members throughout the world. Although the name has changed, this huge apparatus of treason and subversion — the greatest Trojan Horse the world has ever known — is now stronger and tightly controlled from Moscow than ever before. The asymmetry is total; the West has no equivalent organisation in Eastern countries.
- The USSR and clone nations possess dual power structures — the Party, which rules, and the State, which executes party orders. Moscow operates on two fronts: the party, secret police, clandestine front which uses the international traitor network as its web; and the state-to-state relations of the civilised world.

Democracies only have the second apparatus, although from time to time private enterprise, secret services, and maverick individuals or groups within the public service have created frail and short-lived images of the Soviet party front, Oliver North's private army being a recent example. This asymmetry provides the Soviets with additional flexibility.

- Truth, for communists, must submit to the same test that judges other behaviour — if it advances the cause it is good; if not, it is bad. Good

4. Vladimir Bukovsky, *To Build a Castle; My Life as a Dissenter* (New York Viking, 1978), passim.

truth is called "objective truth", or in these days of glasnost, "constructive truth". Bad truth cannot be truth at all and is suppressed<sup>5</sup>. Under glasnost, the categories of truth that are deemed to serve the cause have been substantially widened and a great deal of ideological confusion has resulted. The basic rule, however, has not changed. The fact that the Soviets were researching a system equivalent to the US. Strategic Defence Initiative was bad truth for many years, and denied by Gorbachev<sup>6</sup>. When in December 1987 the Soviet leader decided that the cause would be better served by admitting the research, the same fact became objectively good for communism, thus earning the title of truth<sup>7</sup>.

- Lenin's precondition for "real peace" is in the victory of communism; "peace" in a world divided into socialist and capitalist camps can only be a truce or interlude<sup>8</sup>. There is no evidence that Gorbachev has tampered with this golden rule, which underpins the whole structure of party legitimacy. A book published in 1986 by the USSR Ministry of Defence stated that "Communists never have been pacifists and they cannot be pacifists... Socialism and peace are indivisible"<sup>9</sup>. It follows that in the current period of undeclared war, no "peacetime" restrictions limit Soviet behaviour, and for all practical purposes, the words "peace" and "victory" are synonymous for Moscow.

The West views war and peace as distinct conditions and feels constrained in its activities unless there is a state of war. If constraints are kicked aside, as in the US action in Grenada, France's in Chad, or Britain's in the Falklands, there is heart-searching and domestic political opposition. The usual outcome is that while the democracies seek peace through negotiation and compromise, the Soviets see no contradiction in the phrase "fighting for peace". All Soviet treaties are therefore necessarily tactical in purpose and deceptive in character. For the Soviets, the treaty banning medium-range missiles is a step toward victory; for the West, a step toward a more peaceful world. Only in the communist lexicon are the two ambitions the same<sup>10</sup>.

5. See Alex de Jong, *Stalin and the Shaping of the Soviet Union* (London: Collins, 1986) Fontana edition, pp. 135-136.

6. In a 5 July letter to the Union of Concerned Scientists, Gorbachev denied that the USSR was developing a large-scale ABM system or laying the foundations for one.

7. Quoted *Washington Times*, 1 December 1987, p. 1.

8. V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 26 (Moscow: Progress Publishers, Third Printing, 1977), p. 386; J. A. Emerson Vermaat and Hans Bax, "The Soviet Concept of 'Peace'", *Strategic Review*, Fall 1983.

9. S. A. Tiuškevič, *Vojna i sovremennost* (Moscow: Nauka, 1986), pp. 203, 210, cited François Thom, "Moscow's 'New Thinking' as an Instrument of Foreign Policy", *Mackenzie Paper No 4*, 1987.

10. The asymmetries appear in Maurice Tugwell, *Peace With Freedom* (Toronto: Key Porter Books, forthcoming, September 1988).

These, then, are the uneven terms under which we have to conduct political warfare in the age of Glasnost. What form is the Soviet political offensive likely to take ?

### Lessons from Soviet History

Marx observed that war was the midwife of change, but he did not insist that such wars need always be between communists and capitalists. The war that enabled Lenin to seize power was, in his terminology, an imperialist war. It created a fluid situation in Russia that made change easy. To consolidate the change, Lenin made peace on the enemy's terms: otherwise, the Bolsheviks would have suffered the same fate as the social democrats.

It seems at least possible that Gorbachev has noted that communism has made slow progress during periods of overt antagonism towards the West — the post-World War I attack on Poland, the post-World War II hostility, Khrushchev's adventures over Berlin and Cuba, Third World revolutions relying too heavily on Soviet or proxy forces, Afghanistan. In contrast, he may be more impressed by periods when the USSR seemed no longer to menace the West and was seen as progressive — the New Economic Policy, the initial impact of "Socialism in one country", the antifascist "popular front", Khrushchev's early days, detente, and, most striking of all, the Grand Alliance of 1941-1945.

A Soviet military historian has recently written of the war period:

"as an extremely important consequence of the second world war, a rapid shift in the correlation of forces took place, an unprecedented reinforcement of the world's progressive forces occurred. . . The world socialist system was created. . . in capitalist countries the communist movement was significantly reinforced"<sup>11</sup>.

Françoise Thom has pointed out in this regard that Gorbachev asked at the 70th Anniversary of the October revolution: "If in the past when faced by the fascist threat an alliance between a socialist state and a capitalist state was possible, is this not a lesson for today, . . . ?"<sup>12</sup>. Gorbachev went on to mention the nuclear threat, but the words quoted are the significant ones.

In World War II, Hitler's Germany was, through Western eyes, a totalitarian menace motivated by national socialism, a mutation of Leninism. It was on the same side as the USSR — the wrong side — so far as democracy was concerned. But to the Kremlin, Nazi Germany was part of capitalist imperialism, a part that had fallen out with its neighbours. Although Stalin hoped to stay out of the war while the Axis and the Allies destroyed each other, Hitler

11. Ju. Ja. Kiršin, V. M. Popov, R. A. Savuskin, *Politicheskoe sodержanie sovremennykh vojn* (Moscow: Nauka, 1987), p. 243, quoted Thom, cited Thom, cited, p. 13.

12. Thom, cited, p. 13.



decided otherwise. The German attack nearly destroyed communism, but when with Western assistance the USSR prevailed, she emerged as victor over far more than the original enemy.

What sort of alliance, we may ask, has Gorbachev in mind today?

### New Antagonists

Gorbachev is quite openly dividing the world into two classes that equate to, but in propaganda terms eclipse, the old exploiting and exploited classes. These are the peace forces and the classes that "benefit by war". Additionally, by "removing the Soviet threat" from the minds and literature of the Western world, he may hope to transmogrify into warmongers and oppressors all in the democracies who continue to support strong defences, who doubt the good will of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and who refuse to accord moral equivalence to the USSR. These are not new ambitions, Ponomarev and his like have been trying them for ages. But in the aftermath of the 1980s peace offensive, in the age of "New Thinking", and under the new prince of peace, Gorbachev, they just might lift off.

If they did, there could be severe internal divisions within democracies — conceivably a sub-revolution situation in some. Additionally or instead, the United States might be isolated as the new "fascist" enemy, a proper object of hate to justify a new Grand Alliance of antifascist forces, this time led by the USSR.

This alliance might be strengthened by Third World "peace" forces. Here, disaffected West European nations could be instrumental in mobilising communist support for the new crusade. The campaign might not take an overtly warlike form, but the conditions for political warfare would be much improved, from the Soviet viewpoint. Alternatively, the campaign might hinge on an ideological struggle — a latter day Spanish Civil War — and there are plenty of candidate countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America where the new international brigades could be called into being.

While communist and near-communist peace movements would play important roles in generating hatred and division in Western societies, at the same time **fear** and an **awareness of helplessness** would be relied upon to paralyse the wills of the élites who would be persuaded to seek security **within** the Soviet power structure, not against it.

Such strategy seems quite possible, but cannot be proven as yet. Given the severe domestic difficulties facing Gorbachev, and the Soviet aptitude for removing the mask just as some victim strays within reach, its chances of success are modest. The outline is worth considering, however, as a yardstick against which to measure future events.

## Current Developments

Already, in Canada, we see the peace movement expanding its operational area into support for Stalinist "Just Wars" throughout the world. During the big seven Economic Summit meeting in Toronto, the Alliance for Non-Violent Action, backed by all the usual suspects, hosted a rival summit called "Crimes of the Official Terror Network".

Guenter Lewy's analysis of communist deception during the Vietnam War<sup>13</sup> identifies three primary deceptions that were instrumental in defeating United States policy in the region. In the first, the communist role in the war in the south was denied and the National Liberation Front was presented to international audiences as a nonaligned, non-communist, nationalist group. Second, United States military operations in Indo China were presented as **deliberate, sustained** genocide, relying on massacre and terror for their effect. These two deceptions effectively deprived the American war effort of legitimacy. When the United States was looking for a way out, the third deception came into play. This provided the illusion of a benign North Vietnam that had no ambitions in the South, would permit the NLF to govern a separate non-communist state, and did not ill-treat its prisoners of war. Thus, it was safe as well as wise for the US to pull out and abandon the Saigon government, because no ill could come of it. The Congress and many Americans bought this one too.

"Crimes of the Official Terror Network" may not be an important demonstration in its own right, but it is noteworthy that it echoes the second Vietnam deception, particularly the part in it played by the Bertrand Russell War Crimes Tribunal. Meanwhile, of course, the first Vietnam deception — the one denying the existence of a communist threat — forms the main theme of current Soviet propaganda. If the West, or parts of it, can be persuaded that communism as now practised under Gorbachev is now benign, the pattern could be repeated.

## Deception

One of the most depressing consequences of studying propaganda and deception is to know that, however many times a trick has been pulled and subsequently exposed, its chance of working the next time is never diminished. Indeed, it is the deceiver who gains experience and confidence. As one wag wrote many years ago, expanding on Walter Scott:

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13. In David Charters and Maurice Tugwell (eds), *Deception Operations in the East-West Context* (London and New York: Pergamon-Brassey's, forthcoming, 1989).

elections held, while maintaining security through a defensively oriented Warsaw Pact and a Finland type of bilateral relationship. Subsequently, to observe the clause in the Soviet Constitution that permits republics to separate from the USSR, should they wish to.

- To abolish the International Department and all its front and subversive organisations, and sever links between Moscow and non-ruling communist parties throughout the world.
- To permit citizens of the USSR to emigrate if they want to, and if they have somewhere to go. In this respect, Bukovsky has suggested removing an article from the Soviet Penal Code that makes it a crime no different from military desertion in the face of the enemy for a civilian to leave the USSR without authorisation. Bukovsky considers this implies a state of "war" between Soviet citizens and the rest of the world<sup>15</sup>.

These are fruitful areas for action. If the Soviets refused, they would have no further claim to be considered even remotely equivalent in the moral sense. If they complied (and there would have to be verification), then we would be getting somewhere.

Without action by the Soviets in these areas, there is little purpose in pursuing arms control; by their own admission, so to speak, the Soviets would have told us it was all a sham. If the Soviets really did correct these abuses, arms control would overnight become unnecessary, because, with neither side threatening the other, who would want arms? Disarmament would simply happen.

I would like to leave you with the idea that it is in the political and ideological arena that today's crucial battles are being fought. To borrow a military phrase, the West must fight on ground of its own choosing.

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15. *Encounter*, January 1988.

Bertil HÄGGMAN

## GLASNOST AND PERESTROIKA AS TACTICS — CONTINUING SOVIET PRESSURE IN EUROPE

The Soviets are attempting to sell “peaceful coexistence”, that well known strategy, in a new shape calling it glasnost and perestroika. But the subjugated nations and their people know what peaceful coexistence means in reality: continued occupation of Ukraine, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and all other peoples in the prison of nations that have a rightful claim to independence, freedom and cultural heritage. How evident is this subjugation in 1988 — the year the Millennium of Christianity in Ukraine is being celebrated. Moscow is using the heritage of subjugated Ukraine to claim for itself a christianisation that took place not in the outlying regions around Moscow, but in the heartland of Slavic culture, in Ukraine.

In Russian, perestroika means restructuring, and it is the restructuring of the Soviet military that is of greatest importance. The Soviet plan in the event of a war in Western Europe is to drive deep into European territory with conventional forces, at the same time using Spetsnaz commando units to attack rear bases and destroy command, control and communications. A rapid occupation of Western Europe is the purpose of “restructuring”.

Detente, as we know, is a means to psychologically disarm the leaders of Western Europe and the United States. Heading this disarmament is a new type of leader, “the new Soviet man”. But Gorbachev is trained by the old guard, by Mikhail Suslov and Yuri Andropov, make no mistake about that. Behind the smiling face is the mask of the Chekists in the Dzerzhinskiy tradition. Mr. Gorbachev has no personal memories of the man-made famine in Ukraine that cost almost ten million lives or of the Stalinist purges in the 1930s.

In his recent best-seller, *Perestroika*, Mr. Gorbachev attempts to have the reader in the West believe that there was never a Lenin doctrine of imposing communism throughout the world or conquering the whole of Europe. He may fool some naive people, but he can never fool those who have experienced Soviet aggression — the Soviet peoples and their relatives in the free world and one country in Scandinavia that managed to survive the onslaught of the Red Army in 1939, a nation of four million, Finland. The Finnish people withstood the military might of the Stalinist empire.

What can we expect from perestroika? There will be a concentration on strategy and tactics, on deception and on “active measures”, the last one

being the least costly and pays the highest dividends, and where Western vulnerability is at its greatest: subversion, agents of influence, the front organisations and propaganda. One is almost afraid that Mr. Gorbachev is a likely candidate for the Nobel Peace Prize. That would be the ultimate insult to those peoples who continue to be subjugated in the Soviet Russian colonial empire.

Let us dwell shortly on an area where there is little glasnost and perestroika: Scandinavia, the newest Soviet target. Since World War II, the Soviet Union has accepted the so-called Nordic Balance in Northern Europe, the tacit agreement that Sweden and Finland remain neutral while Norway and Denmark have a limited participation in NATO in return for Soviet restraint. During the 1980s, Sweden and Norway have been the subject of an active, provocative Soviet policy. The Russian navy is testing the reflexes of Scandinavian defence in the Baltic and in the Norwegian Sea in the North Atlantic with its submarines. The Soviet navy wants to demonstrate the futility of resisting Moscow's military might. Another possible purpose of the submarine provocations is intelligence gathering to find suitable landing places for the Russian murder squads, the Spetsnaz troops, as well as extended mine-laying probes. The Soviets have always laid heavy emphasis on mine warfare, a cheap fighting system. Under these circumstances, how could the Scandinavian peoples believe in glasnost and perestroika with Moscow's preparatory activities in their back-yard.

Another side of the new strategy and tactics used by Soviet Russia is the spread of economic dissension among the capitalist countries. Let me quote from a Soviet source: "A certain community of interests may exist between socialist countries and small capitalist countries, in the struggle against big imperialist states". Examples of such countries mentioned by Soviet sources are: Sweden, Finland, Switzerland, Belgium and the Netherlands. All these countries, according to Moscow, are leaning towards neutralism. Other European possibilities among so-called "less developed capitalist countries" are also mentioned as targets: Greece, Ireland, Portugal and Spain\*. This classification of countries is communist. I myself would restrain from such classifications.

In each area of the world Soviet Russia is identifying "weak spots" where the balance of power can be overturned in favour of communism.

Gorbachev's foreign policy includes an important innovation: using the tactics of communist front organisations in the field of international relations. The system of interplay between nations is to be subverted in the same way as the United Nations, for instance, is being subverted by the Soviets and their client states. Proposals put forward in this spirit are: the creation of nuclear-free zones. Northern Europe is a special target. Since the 1950s Moscow or its clients have made continued proposals to create a Scandinavian

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\* *Kommunist Vooruzennykh Sil*, January 1987.

nuclear-free zones. Northern Europe is a special target. Since the 1950s, Moscow or its clients have made continued proposals to create a Scandinavian nuclear-free zone. Naturally, this zone would only exclude nuclear weapons from Scandinavian territory not the massive nuclear weaponry in Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia and the Leningrad military district, not to mention the Murmansk area in the far north, where the new Soviet submarines the awesome Typhoon floating arsenals are stationed 30 miles from the Norwegian-Soviet border in the Arctic. Another of Moscow's tactics in the perestroika spirit is the support of refusals to pay debts and accept recommendations of the International Monetary Fund by Third World nations. The campaign against the so-called "nuclear élitism" and American protectionism are other examples of these innovative tactics. Typical is the Delhi declaration, which was signed by two European countries, non-aligned Sweden and NATO-member Greece, both governed by socialist parties. India — a country close to Moscow — was an "initiator".

"Democratisation of international relations" is another example of the new Soviet tactics. Moscow is suggesting that neutral and non-aligned European countries should take part in the solution of disarmament problems. Similarly, Moscow is suggesting that small countries should have a say in the decision-making process of NATO. Hungary's leader Kadar has declared in *Pravda*: "We consider that small and medium countries can do a lot to maintain dialogue and to reinforce trust". The Polish communist leader Jaruzelski's plan contained "trust building measures" in Poland, West Germany, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, the Benelux countries and Denmark. The purpose: to isolate the nuclear powers in Europe, England and France. Bulgaria is promoting the idea of a "denuclearised" Balkans.

Moscow has instructed communist parties in Western Europe to:

- use a strategy of "openness" towards other left-wing forces and the centre using slogans of peace, ecology, anti-racism, etc.
- to return to conspiratorial practices and infiltrate, for instance, trade unions, immigrant organisations etc.

In 1986, the communist party in France instructed activists to campaign locally with "apolitical candidates. In Portugal, in 1987 the communist party advocated a "large coalition of democratic union". In West Germany, the communist party declared its desire to campaign in the elections with a "peace list" instead of presenting their own list for the Bundestag. The Italian communist party is popular in Moscow because it is to be used to infiltrate the European left. The small West German communist party is also popular in the Kremlin. It is a model conspirational organisation.

Direct city-to-city contacts are also a favoured model. Odessa is the twin city of Vancouver, Canada. Vancouver was one of the first cities to proclaim itself a "nuclear-free zone" and "city of peace". Soviet contacts on the Faroe Islands, the small Danish group of islands in the Greenland-Iceland-United

Kingdom Gap (GIUK-gap), six years ago resulted in a Faroe Islands-Soviet Friendship Society. Now, *Pravda* is boasting, the inhabitants have declared the islands a "nuclear-free zone". Similar events have taken place in Portugal, in the strategically important Azores, and in Greece.

The purpose:

- to persuade Washington, D.C. that containment is no longer valid and that it is necessary to cooperate with Moscow,
- to encourage American isolationism and agitate against the United States in all other countries where there is a US presence.

Let me present an incomplete list of disinformation and deception used by the Soviets to make us believe the lie that Gorbachev is a liberal in the Western sense:

- Gorbachev is trying to free himself from the Soviet military-industrial complex,
- sometimes Gorbachev has to be "hawkish" to calm down the so-called conservatives in the Kremlin,
- if perestroika fails it will be terrible for all of us, there will be a new "cold war",
- trust must be built immediately, not step by step. If the USSR makes a goodwill gesture the West must answer,
- the conservatives in Western Europe and the United States have to be removed from positions of power. They are hindering the process of perestroika towards trust between West and East,
- the Soviets have given up their attempts to rival the West in the Third World. There should be cooperation instead of competition.

Personally, I don't know if I am to laugh or cry when reading or hearing such nonsense. The reality is that the Western world is entering a very dangerous period. Gorbachev is inviting chaos into the Soviet Union and the West must have a clear policy to cope with the new situation. There may be a split in the CPSU, the voices of the nationalities will be heard like in Armenia and Azerbaidjan, but the Baltic states and Ukraine are a potential boiling pot not speaking of the East European countries, where the recent strikes in Poland could be the first signs of the volcano erupting. The road open to Gorbachev is to try to force Western Europe to finance and feed the communist empire by intimidating the small countries.

We must accept Soviet deception for what it really is. European freedom depends on a firm American commitment to aid and defend Europe together with the Europeans against Soviet expansionism. The tactics may be "peaceful coexistence" or "glasnost" or "perestroika", but the goal remains unchanged — to dominate the world.

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Iryna CHALUPA

## UNREST IN UKRAINE

In 1986 news from Ukraine was dominated by the catastrophe at the Chornobyl nuclear power plant; 1987 on the other hand, was dominated by the formation of many independent, unofficial groups. Nationally conscious Ukrainians have been taking advantage of the present limited thaw to raise such important issues as Russification, blank spots in history and most importantly, the national question, all of which boldly challenge the limits of "glasnost". This renewed activism falls into four categories: a renaissance of activity by Ukrainian intellectuals, the nationalist movement, criticism within the Communist Party of Ukraine and religious activity

The activism of Ukrainian intellectuals takes the form of open letters from individuals and the formation of independent associations and clubs. One such letter, written by the poet Ivan Sokulskyi to Gorbachev in 1986 somehow got beyond the concentration camps and reached the West in the fall of 1987. The letter is filled with numerous examples of premeditated persecution and torture of Sokulskyi himself and other political prisoners by camp authorities and guards at the Chystopol prison and the Kuchino special regime concentration camp. According to Sokulskyi, the abominable cruelties of camp guards and authorities is completely authorised by the KGB and surpass Buchenwald and Majdanek. He continues, "My conviction is love for Ukraine, with all the consequences which stem from that love. I believe that Ukrainians have the same right to an independent state of their own as do the Russians or Africans. National interests can only be safeguarded by having our own state. Our own state is the only thing that can rescue Ukrainians from total Russification and from their disappearance as a nation by the year 2000. . . I have no pretensions to the infallibility of my thoughts, but this is what my convictions are comprised of, for which I am being killed".

Born in 1940, Ivan Sokulskyi was sentenced in 1980 to 10 years imprisonment and 5 years exile for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda". Having been imprisoned in the Kuchino death camp, Sokulskyi along with the other prisoners, was transferred to camp No. 35 in Vsesviatsk, Perm, where he remains in solitary confinement.

Yuriy Badzio, a Ukrainian national rights activist and political prisoner is presently serving a term of exile outside Ukraine. He wrote an appeal "To Everyone who is Capable of Hearing the Cry of Human Suffering" dated August 31, 1987, which reached the West in the fall of that same year. In his



appeal, Badzio recounts the psychological terror being used by the Soviet Russian authorities who first granted, and then refused him permission to visit his very ill 82-year-old mother whom he has not seen for 8 years. He goes on to discuss the tragic plight of Ukraine and the real reason why he was arrested, those being his public statements in defence of the rights and interests of the Ukrainian people. He wrote a documentary work about the subjugation of Ukraine entitled *The Right to Live*, for which he was arrested in April 1979 and sentenced to 7 years imprisonment and 5 years internal exile.

He assesses the treatment of Ukraine by the political public, politicians and media in the West as follows: ". . .they treat us as no more than material to be used for propaganda purposes. They 'forget' that we are a nation, a separate and self-contained subject of history, with our own legitimate historical needs and interests. Ukraine of the 1960s-1980s has proved itself in a fitting and honourable manner; it has suffered perhaps the harshest repressions and the largest human losses. The reaction of the world to our situation has been and remains outrageously indifferent and self-serving".

Badzio goes on to say that international life cannot be improved without "a complete and genuinely revolutionary democratisation in the Soviet Union, and the democratisation of the Soviet Union is impossible without democracy for Ukraine, without a democratic resolution of the Ukrainian question, that is, in practical terms, without the attainment by the Ukrainian people of national independence, of real and complete control over its historical existence".

On August 5, 1987, a 30-page open letter was submitted to Gorbachev by Vyacheslav Chornovil, a Ukrainian Helsinki Group member, Ukrainian national activist and former political prisoner. In the letter Chornovil discusses how former political prisoners are not being published by the official party press, thus being forced to find other methods of communication with readers. This void is to be filled by the renewed publication of the the *Ukrainian Herald*, an unofficial independent journal suppressed in the early 1970s.

Chornovil is very clear in his letter that the publication of the *Herald* is the reaction to the failure of "glasnost" and "perestroika" as far as the national question is concerned. He states: "Today the national question, the most important question for a multi-national country that has proclaimed a union of sovereign socialist states, finds itself in a most obscure blind alley of restructuring" and proposes that a special plenum of the Central Committee be convened to deal with this issue.

After resuming publication of the *Herald*, the editorial board announced that the journal is to serve as the official organ of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group and that all the editors were joining the Ukrainian Helsinki Accords Monitoring Group. Chornovil, together with Mykhailo Horyn, Vasyl Barladianu and Pavlo Skochok, the other editors have become targets of an inten-

sive disinformation and harassment campaign conducted by the Soviet Russian authorities in the official press. They have been subjected to blackmail, physical attacks, arrests and slander in the press and at public meetings and other forms of harassment. In particular, the authorities have been threatening to forcibly deport Vyacheslav Chornovil and Mykhailo Horyn. In reaction, the editors wrote an open letter to the heads of governments that signed the Helsinki Accords stating unequivocally that they wish to remain in Ukraine and appealing to the free governments to support them.

On November 30, 1987, V. Chornovil and P. Skochok wrote a letter to the international press appealing that they stand up in their defence against the official threats and attacks. The two editors state that they will continue to defend their independent publication despite the campaign against them in the official media.

Another informal group intended to serve as a vehicle for nationally minded Ukrainian citizens, is the Ukrainian Culturological Club formed in August 1987 in Kyiv. Organised by former Ukrainian political prisoners, the club has held several meetings dealing with Ukrainian historic and cultural issues, ecological problems, the preservation of Ukrainian historical and cultural monuments and blank spots in the history of Ukraine.

The club has come under official attack in the Soviet Ukrainian press in several articles in which the goals of the club and the club members personally are slandered and defamed. The club's leadership responded with an official letter of protest, but the attacks continue. However, members of the club have refused to yield to this pressure and harassment and they continue to meet in smaller groups. A branch of the club has also been formed in Lviv and both clubs continue to function.

Another new organisation is the Initiative Group for the Release of Ukrainian Prisoners of Conscience. In a statement dated October 7, 1987, the 5 founding members, Mykhailo Horyn, Vasyl Barladianu, Ivan Hel, Zorian Popadiuk, Vyacheslav Chornovil, all former Ukrainian political prisoners, call upon the government of the USSR to: 1) remove from the Soviet Ukrainian Criminal Code and other national republics the constitutionally discriminatory articles which were used to imprison those struggling for democratisation; 2) fully rehabilitate prisoners of conscience and compensate them for the wrongs done to them and 3) return the bodies of those prisoners of conscience who have died in concentration camps to Ukraine.

The Initiative Group subsequently joined with the Armenian Committee and the Georgian Committee to form an All-Union Committee for the Defence of Prisoners of Conscience. The aim of the joint committee is the release of all political prisoners in the USSR and the creation of guarantees to halt political repression in the future. This announcement was published in the September 1987 issue of the independent journal *Glasnost*.

The committee has held three conferences, the first in Yerevan, in January 1988, the second in Tbilisi in March 1988, and the third in Lviv in June of this year. The meeting in Tbilisi yielded a statement calling for the liquidation of concentration camps and the release of all political prisoners, and the separation of church and state. Since the meeting in Tbilisi, it has been reported that Paruir Airikian has been arrested and other members of the committee were harassed and detained while en route to the conference.

In October 1987, the Ukrainian Association of Independent Creative Intelligentsia was formed. The association's inaugural declaration was signed by 14 well-known Ukrainian dissenters, the majority of them, former political prisoners, for the most part poets, writers and artists. Expressing firm conviction that "the official unions for writers, artists, theatre workers and cinematographers of Ukraine do not represent the fullness of the spiritual, literary, cultural and public processes that are spreading and gathering momentum among the intelligentsia of Ukraine" the association is being formed to "support all those who desire to put their talent and civic courage at the service and the spiritual development of the Ukrainian people and the national life of Ukraine".

One of the first actions of the association was an appeal to the president of the International PEN Club to observe the 50th anniversary on January 6 of the birth of the Ukrainian poet Vasyl Stus, who died in September 1985 in the Kuchino death camp (36-1).

In January 1988, the association's publication *Kaphedra* (The Cathedral) appeared in Ukraine, featuring the works and activities of its members.

The second anniversary of the Chornobyl nuclear accident was commemorated by a demonstration in Kyiv organised by the Ukrainian Culturological Club. Some 500 people demonstrated, carrying placards reading "Atomic stations out of Ukraine" and "Glasnost and democracy — to the end". The placards were confiscated by the militia and the KGB and some 30 demonstrators were arrested.

In connection with the increased ecological awareness resulting from the Chornobyl tragedy, a group called Zelenyi Svit (Green Earth) has been formed, dedicated to saving the Ukrainian environment and its natural resources. They called for a mass demonstration in defence of the environment and against nuclear power and the exploitation of Ukraine's natural resources on June 4, 1988.

The Ukrainian nationalist movement has continued to exist underground. In the early 1960s, the Ukrainian National Front declared that it was the continuation of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists. The UNF published several underground publications among them, *Homeland and Freedom* and *The Avenger*. The UNF further appears in *The Chronicle of the Ukrainian Catholic Church*. In 1984, in a declaration with a Rumanian revival

group, the UNF called for an armed uprising against the Soviet Russian regime. More recent nationalist activity was reported in the Soviet Ukrainian press in November 1987. Two young nationalist groups were discovered by the authorities in Western Ukraine. According to the article, the young nationalists were distributing anti-Soviet literature and had displayed the blue and yellow Ukrainian flag. The youths were released after being arrested and given an official reprimand.

Despite the limited thaw presently taking place in Ukraine, and despite the work of numerous groups for the release of political prisoners, the results have not been encouraging. The Kuchino 36-1 special regime camp continued to be the cruelest of camps until December 8, 1987, at which time, together with the guards, it was transferred in full to camp No. 35 in Vsesviatsk in Perm. Out of the 11 political prisoners subjected to the special harsh regime treatment, 7 are Ukrainians and members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group. They are Ivan Sokulskyi, Mykola Horbal, Ivan Kandyba, Vitaliy Kalynychenko, Vasyl Ovsienko, Yevhen Polishchuk and Hryhoriy Prykhodko. All are "recidivists" — prisoners who have already spent many years incarcerated for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda". All are in poor health due to the harsh conditions. With all the recent attention given to the policies of "glasnost" and "perestroika", concentration camp No. 35 remains a prototype of KGB repression and cruelty, where death is the only way out.

Levko Lukianenko, having served a 10 year term in Kuchino, is now in exile in the Tomsk oblast. His wife reports that he is gravely ill. Semen Skalych, after serving a 15 year sentence for writing religious poems, has been released and in December 1987, arrived in his hometown of Drohobych completely worn out and physically deteriorated.

1988 is a special year for Ukrainians both in the diaspora and in Ukraine. It marks the Millennium of Christianity in Ukraine. The Ukrainian Catholic Church which was liquidated by Communist Russia in 1946 is thriving in Ukraine. From 1980 *The Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Ukraine* has been published by the Initiative Group for the Rights of Believers and the Church in the underground. Edited by Yosyp Terelya, some 21 issues of *The Chronicle* have reached the West to date. Terelya was allowed to travel to Canada for medical treatment with his family in 1987 and he was subsequently denied return. As a further test of "glasnost", a part of the Catholic Church hierarchy has come out of the underground and issued an appeal in defence of the Church to Pope John Paul II.

Although Christianity was adopted in Kyiv as the state religion by Prince Volodymyr the Great in 988, and despite the communist regime in the USSR being officially atheist, the millennium is to be celebrated in Moscow by the Russian Orthodox Church. As much as religion is an anathema to the Kremlin, it and the Russian Orthodox Church are using the millennium celebration

to promote Russia in the world, thereby reaffirming their imperialist tendencies.

Ukrainian history in the 20th century has been marked by two previous thaws. Every time a limited degree of freedom is allowed, Ukrainians have risen to meet the challenge to attain individual and national liberty. We have seen this in the 1920s and the 1960s. We have also been witness to the fact that Moscow's plans are in no way intended to help Ukraine in any way, but on the contrary it intends to weaken and destroy the Ukrainian nation. The relaxations of the 1920s were followed by the purges and the state-sponsored famine under Stalin, which claimed almost 20% of the Ukrainian population. Similarly, the political renaissance of the 1960s was followed by practically a complete annihilation of Ukrainian national and intellectual life as a result of widespread arrests, imprisonment, and destruction of the intelligentsia.

The 1980s once again reflect this historic reality. Any recognition of "glasnost" and "perestroika" as an indication of Moscow's attempt to revitalise and democratise the USSR are totally unfounded. These are merely ploys to maintain the status quo. As recent developments in Ukraine and other republics and satellite states have proven, genuine personal and national freedom will not be attained through slick and fancy slogans produced by the Kremlin and aimed at the West, but rather, through the complete dismantling of the USSR and its puppet governments. Only this will guarantee peace and freedom for all subjugated nations.

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## News from Ukraine

### WORKER DISCONTENT AND MINING CONDITIONS IN UKRAINE

(UPA) The Ukrainian Press Agency has received a samvydav document from the unofficial "Free Interprofessional Association of Workers" (SMOT) in Moscow detailing the precarious conditions in the Donbas coalmines of Ukraine. The Donbas region has long been a hotbed of worker discontent, and was the base from which Volodymyr Klebanov and Aleksei Nikitin formed their Association Free Trade Unions (AFTU) in 1978, two years prior to Solidarity. Nikitin has since died in imprisonment, whilst Klebanov has been incarcerated in a psychiatric hospital for more than 8 years. SMOT was formed after AFTU was crushed with members in Ukraine, linking human and socio-economic rights.

Since December 1986, there have been accidents reported in the Donbas mines, although the majority are not covered by the Soviet press. Early in 1981, the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences noted that the number of accidents had tripled over the last decade. *Komsomolskaya Znamya* last year dwelt on the dangerous situation, which had emerged at a coalmine in the Donbas, but glorified "the courage, humaneness and friendship" which led to no loss of life in various accidents that had recently happened.

After sending a correspondent to investigate these claims, SMOT reports that in the coalmines in the town of Makeevka, Donbas region of Ukraine, there have been unreported accidents which have caused the deaths of tens of coalminers. These accidents happened at two pits. (Chaikino and the deep Evsenev mines). At the Chaikino pit the incident was reportedly "an accident" and caused the deaths of 36 miners. This happened in the summer of 1987. In the other pit, the accident was due to violations of security measures which were ignored because of the need to fulfill the plan. Forty-two miners lost their lives in that disaster.

In Donetsk and Makeevka, another 50 people have died during other mining accidents. This is not even considered a "serious accident", as usually industrial accidents are considered normal by the Soviet authorities. At that stage there were no demonstrations or strikes. However, there were petitions to the trade unions demanding better wages. Just before 7-8 November of last year, there were outbreaks of demonstrations by the students of the 2nd grade of the colleges and the universities in the city demanding student self-government and reorganisation of the educational process. There were also

demonstrations by the new conscripts because the authorities, having conducted an anti-alcohol campaign, completely banned the sale of spirits.

The situation is like this: there is only piece-wage, miners are paid by the cubic metre worked, coal hewers by the amount of coal brought to the surface. The main problem is there is no compensation for the unexpected delays caused by faults.

Detectors which show the presence of CH<sub>4</sub> (at 2% CH<sub>4</sub> becomes an explosive mixture) are deliberately turned off or damaged in order that the miners may work their shift, which lasts 6 hours — otherwise they earn nothing. Normal working conditions do not exist in the pits. Miners work in temperatures of 60-80 degrees centigrade. The seams are not always properly supported and even when they are the quality of the work is poor. Often equipment and even the people remain under the debris after a collapse.

The technical side of the work in the pit is very poor; there is a shortage of spare parts. In particular machine components corrode even though they are made of special steel.

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### **FURTHER LAWLESSNESS IN DONETSK LEADS TO DEATHS**

(UPA) Evidence of state approved lawlessness in the Ukrainian city of Donetsk has again emerged in an article published in issue number 11 of *Glasnost*, the unofficial journal of the Press Club Glasnost. The article describes how one evening in 1985, two students were set upon by members of the MVD (Ministry of Internal Affairs, riot police). The group was led by a captain and a sergeant, both of whom took an active part in the beating, which led to the death of one of the victims. Medical assistance was summoned only 45 minutes after the murder.

The author of the article was the mother of the murdered youth who is protesting at the subsequent cover-up by the authorities. The autopsy revealed that the victim, Alexander Chaliy, aged 22, died from asphyxiation. There were behind the scenes attempts to prevent a second autopsy, demanded by Evgenia Ratnikova, the victim's mother. When it was finally carried out, the cause of death was changed to: "death due to extreme shock".

At the institute to which the boys had belonged, students were warned not to attend the funeral and were threatened with expulsion if they did so. the subsequent inquiry into the tragedy was, according to the article, preceded by threats and harassment of witnesses. It came to the conclusion that the affray was due to the drunkenness and the guilty men remained in their jobs.

However, Evgenia Ratnikova's persistence led to the eventual arrest of two members of the guilty party in 1986. The subsequent judicial enquiry revealed distortion of events and an attempt to protect one of the accused, who was the son of a high ranking official in the Ukrainian MVD. Witnesses complained of psychiatric pressure by the investigators. The team of MVD riot police who had carried out the murder, had earned themselves the nickname "Black Battalion", because of their guaranteed disregard for the law, claimed the court.

However, the case was subsequently transferred to the Kyiv military district court, which accused Ratnikova of "deliberately spreading false evidence, which discredits the state". As a result, she was expelled from work and the intimidation of witnesses continued. In this long letter to *Glasnost*, a sign that she did not trust the information to the official press, Ratnikova has appealed to the "progressive world community for support in her struggle against lawlessness in her country".

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## ECOLOGICAL COMMISSION FORMED IN UKRAINE UNDER AUSPICES OF WRITERS' UNION

(UPA) Ivan Drach, the newly-appointed first secretary of the Kyiv branch of the Writers' Union of Ukraine, has reported the formation of an ecological commission in an interview with a recent edition of the magazine *Ukraina*. The commission comprises writers and scientists and is led by the writer Yuriy Shcherbak. It will work closely with the newly-formed Ukrainian Association "Zelenyi Svit" (Green Earth), which is chaired by Serhiy Plachynda.

The Ukrainian party newspaper, *Pravda Ukrainy* reported in March that "Zelenyi Svit" was formed recently under the auspices of the Republican Committee for the Defence of the Earth and includes among its members journalists and writers. The association has been very active in campaigning against the pollution of the River Dnister, reports this same issue of *Pravda Ukrainy*.

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## UKRAINIAN CULTURAL-ECOLOGICAL CLUB OPENS IN KHARKIV

(UCIS) The constitution of the newly-founded Cultural-Ecological Club, which came into being in Kharkiv, was published in the tenth issue of the independent journal *Glasnost*. According to the constitution, the club is an independent voluntary community organisation devoted to the promotion of



the development of public initiatives for the protection of nature, historical and cultural monuments. Membership is open to anyone willing to take an active part in the work of the club, geared towards the resolution of current cultural and ecological problems.

Talks, exhibitions, excursions and publications will form part of the club's work.

The club is based on the following fundamental principles: voluntariness, concrete work, collective decisions, individual responsibility and discipline, glasnost and the equality of its membership.

The highest organ of the club is the Annual General Meeting of its members, who will meet once a month. Between AGM's, the work of the club will be directed by the initiative group, composed of members responsible for various aspects of its work. The constitution also lays down the rights and obligations of the club members, who have the right to express their thoughts and opinions before and after a decision has been made and are obliged to strive towards the protection of the environment, the community and Ukrainian culture.

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## SECOND ISSUE OF THE JOURNAL "KAPHEDRA"

(UCIS) The second issue of *Kaphedra* (The Cathedral), the journal of the Ukrainian Association of Independent Creative Intelligentsia (UANTI), appeared in Ukraine on March 22.

The journal opens with an article by Vasyl Halych, "Speaking another language — the death of spirituality", based on a little-known article by Ivan Franko, ("Two languages — two faces"), published some 83 years ago, in which the author explains the reasons why a complete transition to a foreign language has a negative effect on the harmonious development of the individual.

The section "Ukraine in defence, glorification and immortalisation of her native language" features a letter from long-term political prisoner, Lev Lukianenko, entitled "Let us establish a fund for the encouragement of teachers of the Ukrainian language". In the letter, dated March 1988, Lukianenko tackles the fundamental problem of raising the prestige of the Ukrainian language — a particularly burning issue in Ukraine today. Other materials on this theme also appear in the journal.

A piece by Yevhen Sverstiuk, in which he urges writers to return to their natural sources of national-patriotic creativity as their sole perspective for their spiritual accomplishment, is published in the section entitled "Works".

There is also a poem by Ivan Svitlychnyi, a selection of poems by Mykola

Danko from Sumy, whose works have been banned for 20 years, as well as a story by Iryna Stasiv-Kalynets, a founding member of UANTI.

This issue features excerpts from the novel by Volodymyr Yavorskyi, a new name in Ukrainian literature, entitled "The joy and torment of Boris Shtotskyi".

"The struggle of two forces" is a report by Stepan Sapeliak about the Kharkiv branch of the Writers' Union of Ukraine. Several poems read by Sapeliak during an evening devoted to his works are also published in the journal.

The section "On the crossroads" contains a day-to-day account of Bohdan Horyn's meetings with writer Denys Lukianovych 30 years ago. This issue of the journal contains a new section — "UANTI in the context of world literature" — which features excerpts from the correspondence between notable West German and British literary figures and Mykhailo Osadchy, a founding member of the association.

In a section on "Art", artist Oleksandra Mahinska-Slobodniuk published a review entitled "My friend artist Valeriy Hnatenko". This section also contains "The visual recreation of Shevchenko's 'Haydamaky' through drawings used as book illustrations", an article by Vasyl Barladianu.

The chronicle contains a report on cultural reports in Ukraine in which the members of UANTI took part, e.g. Valentyn Stetsiuk's report: "Hnat Khotkevych — composer".

This issue is illustrated with 22 photocopies of paintings and drawings by Valeriy Hnatenko, and was compiled by Stepan Sapeliak who lives in Kharkiv. *Kaphedra* is compiled and published by Ukrainian literary figures who work outside the official Writers' Union of Ukraine.

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## UKRAINIAN CULTUROLOGICAL CLUB MARKS SHEVCHENKO ANNIVERSARY

(UCIS) In March of this year, the Ukrainian Culturological Club held a meeting in Kyiv dedicated to the life and works of Taras Shevchenko (1814-1861), Ukraine's greatest poet and political thinker of the 19th century. The meeting was held on the anniversary of the poet's date of birth. Below follows a report by Oles Shevchenko, a member of the council of the Ukrainian Culturological Club:

For the first time since 1971, a meeting unsanctioned by the authorities, dedicated to the anniversary of the date of birth of the Ukrai-

nian poet and genius, Taras Shevchenko, was held in Kyiv on March 4. Around 150 representatives of the independent public gathered at the square opposite Kyiv University. A wreath of red guelder-roses and wheat, with the inscription "To the Great Kobzar (Bard) from the Ukrainian Culturological Club", as well as dozens of bouquets of flowers, were laid at the foot of the statue of Shevchenko. In their address, Ihor Bondar and Serhiy Naboka stressed the particular significance of the person and the works of the poet-martyr and his humanitarian ideas for the Ukrainian nation. Their words were received with bitterness and grief for the tragic state of our native culture today. They urged all patriots to strive towards the renaissance of national values in brotherly unity and Christian love.

Oles Shevchenko urged the public to boycott the official decision to transfer the "Shevchenko commemoration" from the Ukrainian capital to each of the regional centres in turn, to be held two months after the actual date of the anniversary. During the meeting, the Kobzar's poems were read out and songs composed to his words, particularly "Dumy moyi" (My thoughts) and "Zapovit" (The Testament), as well as various national songs, were sung.

The head of the council of the Ukrainian Culturological Club, Serhiy Naboka, announced that, in accordance with tradition, the next "Shevchenko commemoration" will take place at the same venue on May 22, 1988.

People in civilian clothing and militia officers, who were observing the meeting, stood aside and did not interfere. After the meeting, however, which lasted half an hour, they escorted the participants away.

The next day, it became clear that rumours were already circulating around some ideological institutions that members of the Ukrainian Culturological Club were supposedly urging the people, before the monument of Taras Shevchenko, to "kill the Russians". Well, what can one say? I'll just quote the poet's own words: "Had you learnt as you should have, then knowledge would have been ours too. . .". But it appears that he heard the bell, yet he does not know where it is. How many times now have they incriminated the poet's work "The plundered grave", read out by an honest Ukrainian girl in national attire.

Oles Shevchenko  
Member of the Council  
of the Ukrainian Culturological Club.

Kyiv, 10.3.1988

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The Ukrainian Culturological Club held the next Shevchenko anniversary commemoration on March 13 in Podol, in a private house in Oleh Street, where a meeting dedicated to the memory of the poet, Vasyl Stus, had been held last January.

Around a hundred people had gathered there to mark the Shevchenko anniversary. The opening address was delivered by notable Ukrainian Literary critic, Yevhen Sverstiuk. His interpretation of the life and works of Shevchenko was completely different to the officially accepted interpretation of the poet. During the evening, Shevchenko's poems were read out and independent artists sang several of his songs. Oles Shevchenko reminisced about his childhood in the Zhytomir region, when schools still marked "Shevchenko Day" and the "Shevchenko tradition" was still very much alive. Sverstiuk quoted a piece from the Kyiv newspaper *Prapor komunizmu* in which a reporter gave an account of his visit to Kyiv high school no. 109 named after Shevchenko. He asked the pupils and teachers what day it was, but no one had remembered that it was the poet's birthday. Oles Shevchenko concluded his address with these words: "So this is what the national-nihilists have led to".

Also present at the Shevchenko commemoration were: the first secretary of the Podillia district committee of the party, Ivan Saliy; head of the department of culture of the region, Kateryna Volynets; secretary of the district committee of the party, Nadia Petrenko, as well as reporters, Ludmyla Byeletska from *Komsomolke znameno* and Serhiy Todma from *Vechirniy Kyiv*.

The head of the council of the Ukrainian Culturological Club, Serhiy Naboka, asked the district first secretary to say a few words. Saliy said very little and asked the members of the club's council to remain behind after the commemoration of Shevchenko's anniversary. The first secretary expressed his disapproval of Yevhen Sverstiuk's address at which point Oles Shevchenko asked the fifteen members of the council to express their approval by a show of hands. The result was unanimous. Shevchenko then stated that if the Ukrainian Party functionaries toed the line set by the Politburo of the CC CPSU, the Soviet government and Gorbachev, who had underlined on several occasions that democratisation is the basis for reform and free discussion is the basis of democratisation, then the club could have any form of meaningful discussion with them. However, he said, as they were all, from the first secretary of the CC Communist Party of Ukraine down to the first secretaries of district organisations, reactionaries and Brezhnevites, then no discussion of consequence could be held with the local authorities.

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## LARGE-SCALE ECOLOGICAL DEMONSTRATIONS IN UKRAINE

(UPA) According to a recent report from the Moscow based unofficial journal *Glasnost*, the residents of the Black Sea port of Odessa have taken to the streets in protest at construction work being carried out along the waterfront. It is the first time that a mass demonstration has ever been recorded in the city. In support of the protests, the local evening newspaper *Vechirna Odessa* published the opinions of the engineers, doctors and biologists, all of whom condemned the reconstruction work as "barbaric", claims the report.

The residents, including their children, were protesting about the way in which trees, which line the waterfront, were carelessly chopped down to enable construction work on a road to go ahead. The demonstrators reportedly held placards with the slogans: "Children, save Odessa!"; "We will not allow it to die"; "Odessa survived the occupation. Even when the Germans were here the trees were not harmed"; "Down with Mironenko, Simonenko and Nachyotkin". According to the report, the party leader of Odessa tried to diffuse the situation by condemning the architects and the regional party chief and called a free meeting to discuss the implications of the project. The meeting was to take place on 22 March at 6pm.

The same issue of *Glasnost* also reported that in the western Ukrainian city of Lviv the unofficial club "Lev" held a meeting with members of the Lviv Trust Group in protest at continuing environmental pollution. The meeting had been sanctioned by the executive committee of the city council. Over 100 people were present at the meeting. The report claims that the local television filmed the meeting and interviewed several of the participants.

Another demonstration was reported by the Ukrainian workers' newspaper, *Robitnycha Hazeta* — this time in the city of Kremenchuk. The protesters were demonstrating against the chemical plant, specialising in the production of vitamin concentrates. According to the account, on 6 March some 800 people gathered in a square near the party headquarters of the town. Some carried placards demanding the closure of the plant, others held placards with the slogans: "The vitamin concentrate — Chornobyl for Kremenchuk" and "We don't want our children to be poisoned". The first secretary of the party and a representative from the city soviet went out to meet the crowd and held a two hour meeting after which it was agreed to form an initiative group.

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\* Mironenko — the chief architect of the project; Simonenko — a party official; Nachyotkin — the first secretary of the local party committee.

## INFORMAL YOUTH GROUPS IN UKRAINE UNDER FURTHER OFFICIAL SCRUTINY

(UPA) The Soviet Ukrainian press has again returned to the theme of informal youth groups. The Komsomol newspaper *Molod Ukrainy* reported recently on studies which showed that:

- 60 percent of Komsomol members are members of informal youth groups in the age group 17-20. 80 per cent of them are male.

- 40 percent of the Komsomol leadership do not know that their members belong to these groups.

- The majority, and in some cases all, of these members of informal youth groups listen to Western radio stations.

- 50, 70 and 30 per cent of hippies, punks and heavy metal fans believe that their conflicts with the Komsomol are "irreconcilable".

- Only 50, 25 and 90 per cent of heavy metal fans, hippies and Komsomol members believe that glasnost will improve their situation.

Since 1985, there has been a big increase in informal youth groups, which now account for between 7-8 per cent of the population, although informal youth groups have been around much longer. The sociological study quoted in the interview in *Molod Ukrainy* asked representatives of 12 groups in Kyiv, Dnipropetrovsk, Kherson, Voroshilovgrad and Dniprodzherzhinsk. These included those with "negative" views (such as punks, heavy metal music fans and hippies) as well as those with "positive" views (such as the socio-political club "Horyzont" in Kherson and the Tolstoy moral-perfectionist club "Etyk" in Voroshilovgrad). Interestingly, those groups the authorities regarded as "positive" included larger numbers of **older** members. Clearly, there are greater problems with young people. Another interesting aspect is that these groups do not exist in rural areas, whilst only 20 percent of their members are workers.

The study admitted that these groups perceived government policy and the Komsomol as less important than other issues, such as individualism, music, fashion, sex, ecology and morality. In the press until recently they were described as "anti-social" and "asocial". "It is worth remembering that informal youth groups often developed as a protest against official structures", states *Molod Ukrainy*. They believed that within official structures there was no room for their groups. The authorities have now changed their attitudes and distinguish between those promoting "anti-Soviet" and "healthy criticism".

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## UNOFFICIAL ORGANISATIONS AND PUBLICATIONS IN UKRAINE

**Danko.** Unofficial group of teenagers based in Kyiv. Source: report in *Radianska Ukraina* and *Kultura i Zhyttia*.

**Etyk.** Tolstoy moral-perfectionist club based in Voroshilovgrad.

**Free Initiative.** An unofficial peace movement organised by the hippy movement.

**Hippy Initiative Committee** of Moscow, Lviv and other cities. Initiative Committee of the hippy movement.

**Horyzont.** Socio-political club in Kherson.

**Independent Club of Political Discussion.** Meeting in Lviv on March 31 of this year. Source: The samvydav journal *Express-Chronicle*.

**Initiative Group for the Release of Ukrainian Prisoners of Conscience.** Formed on Saturday, October 3, 1987. Activists: Vyacheslav Chornovil, Mykhailo Horyn, Zorian Popadiuk, Vasyl Barladianu.

**Lev Society.** Organised by Kyiv student Konyk. The society is based in Lviv. Interests: ethnography, architectural-monumental art, culture, literature, ecology. Leader: Orest Sheika.

**Metalisty** (The Metalists). Rockers, rebels, non-conformists. The Soviet Ukrainian press has reported that unofficial youth groups exist on a large scale. Since 1985, there has been a large increase in informal youth groups, which account for 7-8% of the population.

**Kaphedra** (The Cathedral). Samvydav cultural and literary journal of the unofficial Ukrainian Association of Independent Creative Intelligentsia.

**Khrystyianskyi Holos** (Christian Voice). New Ukrainian Catholic samvydav newspaper, complement to the existing *Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Ukraine*. Began publication in January 1988.

**Roksi.** Samvydav journal of the hippy movement.

**Smorchok.** Samvydav journal of the hippy movement.

**Svichado.** Independent unofficial journal of Ukrainian Christian youth in Poland.

**Ukrainian-Armenian Committee for Defence of Political Prisoners in the USSR.** Now known as the **All-Union Committee for Defence of Political Prisoners in the USSR**. The committee held its first meeting in Yerevan, Armenia, on January 12-14, 1988. Its second meeting took place in Tbilisi, Georgia, on March 19-20. The subsequent meeting was held in Lviv, Western Ukraine, in June.

**Ukrainian Association of Independent Creative Intelligentsia (UANTI).** Formed in early October 1987. UANTI publishes proscribed works of its members, literary cultural periodicals and organises art exhibitions. It is an unofficial cultural association. Activists: Ihor and Iryna Kalynets, Mykhailo

Osadchyi, Yevhen Sverstiuk, Iryna Senyk, Panas Zalyvakha, Vasyl Barladianu, Stefania Shabatura, Mykhailyna Kotsiubynska.

**Ukrainian Culturological Club.** Based in Kyiv. Its membership consists of individuals who are active in Ukrainian literary life: Serhiy Plachynda, Mykhailo Braichevskyi, M. Sahaidak, V. Satsenko, former political prisoners Stepan Khmara, Yevhen Sverstiuk and Oles Shevchenko. Leadership: Chairman — Serhiy Naboka; Secretary: Olha Matusevych; Members: Vadem Halenovskyi, Tatiana and Anatoliy Bitchenko, Hryhoriy Miniailo, Oles Shevchenko. Similar clubs, based on the one in Kyiv, have sprung up in Lviv, Odessa, Kharkiv, Dnipropetrovsk.

**The Ukrainian Herald.** Continuation of a samvydav publication of the same name published in the 1970s. The first issue appeared in August 1987. Editorial board: Vyacheslav Chornovil, Ivan Hel, Mykhailo Horyn and Pavlo Skochok.

**Ukrainian Trust Group.** Ukrainian branch of the Moscow Trust Group. Unofficial peace group, which came into being in Lviv in 1987. It is headed by Oleh Olysevych and Dmytro Tyshchenko. Source: report in issue No. 9 of *Day by Day*, the journal of the Moscow Trust Group.

**Yevshan Zilia.** Launched in November 1987. Editor: Iryna Kalynets. Source: report in issue No. 9-10 of the *Ukrainian Herald*.

In addition to the above-mentioned unofficial organisations, an **Ecological Commission** has been set up under the auspices of the Writers' Union of Ukraine. Its membership consists of writers and scientists led by Yuriy Shcherbak. Source: Interview with Ivan Drach, the new first secretary of the Kyiv branch of the Writers' Union, in the magazine *Ukraina*.

**Zelenyi Svit** (Green Earth). A new Ukrainian association chaired by Serhiy Plachynda. Zelenyi Svit was recently formed under the auspices of the Republican Committee for the Defence of the Earth, which consists of journalists and writers. Source: report in *Pravda Ukrainy* in March 1988.

This list is by no means complete. These are the organisations and publications, which have become known in the West. In Kyiv alone, there are some 30 different unofficial organisations.

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## CONSECUTIVE CHAIN OF HUNGER STRIKES ANNOUNCED BY RIGHTS ACTIVISTS

(UCIS) At its third conference held on June 10-12, 1988, in Lviv, Ukraine, the International (All-Union) Committee for Defence of Political Prisoners in the USSR (ICDPP), announced that a consecutive chain of hunger strikes will be undertaken to demand the release of all political prisoners in the Soviet Union. The conference was attended by representatives of the Ukrai-



nian, Armenian and Georgian sub-committees of the ICDPP. The first two conferences were held in Yerevan, Armenia, in January, and Tbilisi, Georgia, in March 1988.

The defence action will be conducted in the form of a relay. Each Ukrainian rights activist will hold a 24-hour hunger strike, and then pass on the mantle to other activists, forming a chain of solidarity throughout Ukraine.

This action was initiated by the Ukrainian sub-committee of the ICDPP, under the leadership of Vyacheslav Chornovil, a former political prisoner who met President Reagan during the Moscow summit.

It is also fully supported by the Ukrainian Culturological Club in Kyiv, and was scheduled to begin on June 13 in Dnipropetrovsk, Ukraine, by Orysia Sokulska, wife of political prisoner Ivan Sokulskyi. On June 14, Olya Stokotelnia in Kyiv joined the chain of solidarity. On June 15, a host of Ukrainians in Lviv consecutively linked up with the series of hunger strikes. The action then reverted back to Kyiv and is continuing on to other national centres.

According to Oles Shevchenko, spokesman for the Ukrainian Culturological Club in Kyiv: "This defence action was initiated because everyone expected President Reagan's meeting with General Secretary Gorbachev to bring about the release of all people who were in fact imprisoned for the very ideas encompassed by the concept of perestroika, namely, reform and restructuring. For their efforts, they were sentenced to terms in prisons and concentration camps. This is a paradox! It is barbaric that these individuals continue to languish behind bars. We have decided that our defence action is necessary to direct world attention to this inhumane situation. How long can we be expected to suffer in this way? It is as though the world has grown accustomed to this barbarism and accepts it as the norm. Either there is to be restructuring and democracy, or there is no reason to continue to deceive society".

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*Documents and Reports*

## **“THE UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC CHURCH: THE CATACOMBS AND ALTERNATIVES”**

(UPA) This is the title of a new samvydav document dated December last year and signed by the Committee in Defence of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. The document traces the adoption of Christianity in Ukraine and the fight for survival of the Ukrainian nation against both her Polish and Russian neighbours. The subordination of the Russian Orthodox Church to the Tsar compelled Ukrainian Church leaders to look for a way out to Rome. The Ukrainian Catholic Church therefore preserved Ukrainians from the impact of colonisation and ethnocide. Hence the strong national consciousness in Western Ukraine. But “where the mastery of the Ukrainian Catholic Church did not seize the people — in Eastern Ukraine — a spiritual wilderness grew to immense proportions: godlessness on a massive scale, national nihilism and totalitarian russification”.

In Western Ukraine, the Catholic Church is one of the main factors in the national revival. The document discusses the role of the Russian Orthodox Church, which took part in the decimation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, continuing to help “the repressive authorities to arrest and condemn priests and Ukrainian Church activists”. Repression continues in the form of blackmail, searches, detentions, confiscations and slander in the press. They condemn the use of collective guilt against all Ukrainian Catholics accused of “collaboration” for the alleged “crimes” of a few in World War II, which has been used by the authorities to justify the continued illegality of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. The document places the destruction of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in 1946 squarely within the crimes of Stalinism: “Having organised the man-made famine in 1932-33 and having destroyed the roots of the Ukrainian intelligentsia and defaming everything Ukrainian, Stalin continued his policies after the war... having set as his aim to deprive us of historical memory and national feeling, Stalin decided to destroy first and foremost the Ukrainian Catholic Church”.

The 1946 “Sobor” is canonically illegal, they assert, and was merely another example of Stalin following his predecessors in submitting Church to State. The Ukrainian Catholic Church continues to play a leading role in the history of the Ukrainian nation and is an integral part of its legacy. Because it was a Ukrainian national Church it was destroyed by Stalin, “as a continuation of the policy of genocide against the Ukrainian people, initiated by Stalin in the 1920s and beginning of the 1930s”. Despite official criticism of Stalinism

today, the continued illegality of this Church shows that his legacy is still allowed to live.

The most interesting and novel demand of the document is to legalise the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, which would control all Orthodox parishes in Ukraine. After its legalisation, the Ukrainian Catholic Church would then unite together with it "as it was a thousand years ago" and declare a Kyiv-Galician patriarchate. They appeal to the Pope to help them legalise their Church in their own buildings, and not the catacombs, in order that they may celebrate mass in the Ukrainian language. The petition they have begun to collect has already 10,000 signatures and it is envisaged that "not less than 100,000 signatures will be collected... It will not be a problem as there are ten times more believers".

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### UKRAINIAN HELSINKI GROUP RELEASES NEW STATEMENT

(UPA) In a statement dated March 11 and released by the External Representation of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group they state that despite severe repression their group, unlike the Moscow Helsinki Group, never disbanded. The Ukrainian Helsinki Group "was subject to a more devastating pogrom during the Brezhnev years of stagnation than any other Helsinki Group in the USSR". All the members of the group served lengthy sentences and four died in the Gulag. Repression against individual members continues. The newly formed group will continue to base its activities on the Helsinki Final Act and other International Human Rights agreements. It has joined the International Helsinki Federation and confirmed the long-term political prisoner Lev Lukianenko as the new head of the group. A constitution will be drafted by the executive committee for approval by the majority and a general declaration of principles will be released, "which will take into account the new circumstances in Ukraine and the world..."

Since December last year, the samvydav journal *Ukrainian Herald* is the organ of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group. Additional extra editions of the journal will be "wholly devoted to the Ukrainian Helsinki Group materials". The following are members: Lev Lukianenko, Oksana Meshko, Mykola Matusevych, Zinoviy Krasivskiy, Vyacheslav Chornovil, Bohdan Horyn, Petro Rozumnyi, Petro Sichko, Josyf Zisels, Yaroslav Lesiv, Olha Matusevych, Vasyl Striltsiv, Vasyl Barladianu, Pavlo Skochok, Vitaliy Shevchenko, Stepan Sapeliak and Mykola Muratov.

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## **“REFERENDUM” CALLS FOR LEGALISATION OF UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC CHURCH**

(UPA) The unofficial-Moscow based journal *Referendum*, in its sixth issue has published an article entitled “Will the Ukrainian Catholic Church be legalised?” by a priest named Georgiy Edelshtein. In the article, he examines the role of the Ukrainian Catholic Church within the framework of the Soviet constitution and says that if the Soviet theory corresponded with practice then the many local party chiefs would have to stand trial for violating article 143 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code, because, for many years, they have been preventing Ukrainian Catholics from practising their religion and have tried to force them to Orthodoxy.

According to the article, the religious situation in Western Ukraine is complicated: “There are those who have emerged from the underground...there are Catholics who go to Orthodox churches but include ‘...and the Son’ in the Credo and use the greeting: ‘Praise be to God — laudatur Iesus Christus’... However, there isn’t a single Ukrainian Catholic ‘group’ in the whole country”.

This situation, he says, is due to the fact that the state will not recognise the existence of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. This has been the case since the officially sponsored Council in Lviv (1946) “liquidated” the Ukrainian Catholic Church. The article questions the validity of this council.

“The unlawful persecution of the Ukrainian Catholic Church had two consequences; first a favourable climate was set up for nationalist propaganda, secondly it facilitated the development of sectarian groups, which were in a better position to gather illegally than the other Catholic or Orthodox believers”, the author claims. The report points out that while article 52 of the 1977 constitution states: “It is forbidden to incite animosity and hatred in connection with religious beliefs”, in reality official publications of the last forty years have invariably created a belief that Ukrainian Catholics are “agents of world imperialism and fascism” and that during World War II they were German agents and policemen. . .”.

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## **SAMVYDAV JOURNAL “GLASNOST” COVERS UKRAINIAN CULTUROLOGICAL CLUB**

(UPA) “If you’d like to take a break from perestroika — come to Ukraine”, reports an article in the latest issue of the samvydav journal *Glasnost* (No.10) to have reached the West. According to the article by Semen Chupryna, people who have written letters of protest against nuclear energy and

about the destruction of historical Kyiv have been persecuted by the authorities. Articles written in defence of the Kyiv Monastery of Caves have been described by the authorities as "ideologically harmful literature".

The author casts doubt about the sincerity of perestroika in Ukraine and compares it to the brief cultural revival of the 1960s, which was ruthlessly suppressed in 1972. Chupryna is quoted as referring to perestroika as "tricks from Moscow", with a reference to "one of the creators of glasnost, Vitaliy Korotych, who previously was known in his own republic, to put it mildly, for his dull-witted orthodoxy".

Chupryna reports that the climate in Ukraine is rapidly changing, with the appearance of the *Ukrainian Herald* and the founding of the Ukrainian Culturological Club, which has had five meetings to date. A recent meeting about the Ukrainian philosopher, Skovoroda, was "sabotaged" by the local authorities, who padlocked the doors of a cafe where the meeting was scheduled to take place. Nevertheless, the meeting took place elsewhere. Other topics that have been discussed are "Ecological Issues", which included a protest against the Chyhyryn nuclear power plant, "Problems of defending Ukrainian cultural monuments" and "Blank spots in Ukrainian history, during which the 400 participants stood and held a minute's silence in memory of the "Ukrainian patriots", Yuriy Lytvyn, Oleksa Tykhyi, Valeriy Marchenko and Vasyl Stus all of whom died in the Mordovian camps in 1984-1985.

The author claimed that the Culturological Club is developing in two directions; above all it seeks to discuss openly and honestly all contemporary issues, which "did not exist" until recently. It also attempts to discuss and analyse material which, until recently, was beyond criticism. For this reason, the authorities have labelled the club an "anti-Soviet gathering of bourgeois nationalists and Jewish zionists". The main aims of the club, Chupryna claims, "are to reawaken national consciousness, to cleanse the national spirit from detrimental effects, distrust and national nihilism". Areas of interest which are being developed are historical-archaeological (by the restoration group), literature, folklore and the ethnographic and the arts group. Members of the Writers' Union of Ukraine, scientists, researchers and journalists are amongst some of the members of the Culturological Club.

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### **OPEN LETTER TO VIENNA HELSINKI REVIEW CONFERENCE BY COMMITTEE FOR THE DEFENCE OF THE UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC CHURCH**

(UPA) The Ukrainian Press Service (Rome) has received an open letter addressed to the representatives of the states participating in the Vienna Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe from a group campaigning

for the legalisation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. They state that "Today Stalin's policies are officially rejected. But only on paper. Look at us, for almost half a century we have been forced to live underground...". They add that "A well worked-out policy of ethnocide is being implemented" against them, which resorts to immoral and illegal methods: provocation in the press, radio and television, dismissal from work, fines; at the same time we are exposed to sordid defamation as well as questioning, imprisonment and exile".

The authors of the letter point to the "infamous role" played in this policy by the Russian Orthodox Church "which is an instrument of orthodoxation and russification". They remind conference participants that the Ukrainian Catholics "have never ceased their struggle...And they will never abandon the struggle". The illegality of the Ukrainian Catholic Church violates Soviet and international law, whilst at the Vienna Conference human rights should be the "dominant concern" and therefore they call upon participating states to:

- include a discussion on the situation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church;
- not to sign any joint documents before the Ukrainian Catholic Church is legalised;
- in the event of a refusal, decline to hold the next conference in Moscow.

In this millennium year of Christianity, which will be celebrated by all Ukrainians, they ask the Pope to also intercede on their behalf and "call upon the participants of the Vienna Conference, as well as on all men of good will to promote with all possible means the legalisation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church". The document is signed by the President of the Committee — Ivan Hel, Secretary — Fr. Hryhoriy Budzinskyi and eight committee members.

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### **UKRAINIAN PRIEST CALLS FOR LEGALISATION OF UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC CHURCH IN LETTER TO GORBACHEV**

(UPA) The Ukrainian Press Service (Rome) has received a copy of a letter from a Ukrainian Catholic priest, Father Petro Zeleniuk, addressed to M. Gorbachev. Zeleniuk is involved with the new Ukrainian Catholic samvydav publication *Khrystianskyi Holos* which began appearing in January of this year. He appeals to M. Gorbachev to allow Ukrainian Catholics to freely practise their religion, which is guaranteed by the Soviet constitution.

In the letter, Father Zeleniuk outlines the tragic history of the Ukrainian Catholic Church since it was outlawed by Stalin in 1946: "All the bishops who did not submit to the Lviv council were liquidated and the churches were

taken away from the faithful. Everything is being done to ruin the Ukrainian Catholic Church. Our Church was forced into the Underground”.

With regard to the new policy of glasnost proclaimed by Gorbachev, he believes that it should also include the Ukrainian Catholic Church: “Bearing this in mind, some bishops, priests and believers of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in August last year emerged out of the underground. Among those who signed the declarations, which were written to you and the Pope, was I, an ordinary priest”.

Since signing this declaration, Father Zeleniuk has been celebrating mass in his village of Kalinivka. However, since November 1987, the authorities have been harassing him and his family. They threatened him with imprisonment unless he stopped his religious activities. The same threats have been issued against all priests who signed the declaration.

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## RESURGENCE OF RELIGIOUS FEELINGS ARE ADMITTED BY SOVIET UKRAINIAN PRESS

(UPA) *Radyanska Ukraina* recently reported that a survey had been conducted among pupils of the sixth grade on the subject of “Atheistic Upbringing”, which claimed that 82 per cent had a “negative” attitude towards religion. The remainder either refused to reveal their attitudes towards religion or answered with the words “I believe a little, but don’t know why?” In answer to the question “What is your attitude towards your friends who wear crosses or Stars of David around their necks”, only fifty per cent replied “negatively”. Meanwhile, 25 per cent replied that they saw nothing unusual about it. Further questions indicated that 20 per cent thought that religion was not socially harmful. According to the survey, the uncertain attitudes of many pupils towards religion was partly due to the fact that some families still practise religious functions at home, such as decorating their Easter eggs, baking traditional Easter cakes and Christening their children. Often non-believers also participate in these traditions, the survey added.

The eighth issue of the samvydav journal *Ukrainian Herald* also discussed the findings of a similar (or the same) survey. According to the *Ukrainian Herald*, last year at the suggestion of the Plenipotentiary for Religious Affairs within the Council of Ministers, the Institute of Social Sciences carried out a survey in Ukraine entitled “An analysis of the general ideas people have on religion and atheism” which was to be only for “internal use”. The questionnaires answered in Western Ukraine revealed that in one region alone, Ternopil, up to 20 per cent of respondents stated that they were members of a Church that does not officially exist — the Ukrainian Catholic Church. The editors of the *Ukrainian Herald* stated that “If one takes into account that

many people are afraid to openly state their religious confession, one could easily triple this number". In a letter received from Ukraine by the Ukrainian Press Service of Rome, the author also believes that "All declarations of the Ukrainian Catholic Church would be signed by millions of people were it not for the fear of reprisal, dismissal from work or worse things that are rooted here".

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### **UKRAINIAN HISTORIANS DISCUSS "BLANK SPOTS". MYKHAILO HRUSHEVSKYI WILL BE RE-PUBLISHED IN UKRAINE**

(UPA) In a broadcast by Radio Kyiv on 11 February it claimed that in conjunction with "work eliminating blank spots in the history of this country", readers will soon have "free access to works by Mykhailo Hrushevskiy". The broadcast also admitted that Hrushevskiy had an "unusual political biography. He was the head of the counter-revolutionary Central Rada in Ukraine". The Central Rada was established in 1917 and declared Ukrainian independence from the Russian empire in January the following year. Despite initially recognising the right of all nationalities in the Empire to independence, in practice the Red Army was used to incorporate the territories back within the newly-formed Soviet state. Although Radio Kyiv now states that Hrushevskiy "constitutes a valuable source for studying the history of Ukraine", since Stalin's day he has been depicted by Soviet propaganda, in the words of one publication, as "providing the ideological source for Ukrainian-German nationalism".

It is therefore with great interest that the Ukrainian Party daily *Radyanska Ukraina* recently reported a "Round-Table conference held in the Ukrainian capital city of Kyiv on the subject of more glasnost in the study of history. Among the 300 participants were members of the Historical Institute of Kyiv University, as well as academics from other Universities. The field of historical research has been one of the least responsive to any perestroika in Ukraine. Perhaps for the first time in recent Soviet history, the historians called for greater access to archives in the USSR, as well as in foreign countries. They believe that Soviet sociologists should have "maximum information", including books published abroad. The historians were reported as saying that foreign literature often does not arrive at its intended destination, and an example they cite is in the Ukrainian émigré *Ukrainskyi Istoryk*.

The historians criticise the fact that not a single Soviet library has the diary of Volodymyr Vynnychenko published in the West, a figure also associated with the Central Rada of 1917-1918. Radio Kyiv (24 February) returned to this subject and admitted that "A few weeks ago, quite a lot of periodicals were gathering dust at the news-stands. Now people are really hunting for



fresh issues of the magazines which now publish acute stories by modern writers and those stories which were written a long time ago but did not manage to reach the readers". People especially dashed for two journals after they published Vynnychenko and Mykola Khvylovyi, a Ukrainian national communist who committed suicide in 1933 at the height of the famine in Ukraine.

According to *Radyanska Ukraina*, there was general agreement among the historians that "blank spots" in the history of Ukraine, such as the study of "bourgeois parties", the "bourgeois-nationalist Central Rada" and the "national-liberation movement" of the 1940s should be conducted on all levels in an honest manner. They condemned Hrushevskyi's politics, but paid credit to him as a historian of Ukraine. In early February, *Izvestia* also advised its readers that the works of Hrushevskyi, "stored away for many years", are now again available to readers at the Academy of Sciences in Kyiv. The informal Ukrainian Culturological Club has also pushed for the rehabilitation of Hrushevskyi.

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### UKRAINIAN SAMVYDAV JOURNAL — "UKRAINIAN HERALD" No.9-10 (1987) — ARRIVES IN THE WEST

*"In Ukraine the situation is not like in Moscow, perebudova (reconstruction) has not even begun here..."*

*(An anonymous member of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Ukrainian republic, as reported in this issue of the "Ukrainian Herald").*

(UPA) The latest issue of the *Ukrainian Herald*, dated October-November last year and numbered 9-10, has arrived in the West. The editorial notes the sustained official campaign against the editors who have supported the national revival and democratisation in Ukraine. They have collected much material and have, therefore, decided to publish a double issue whilst, at the same time, publish a special publication entitled *Express Herald*, which will be shorter and appear more frequently. They admit to receiving many letters and commentaries about their journal, which has become the organ of the relaunched Ukrainian Helsinki Group. The editorial states that they began their work during a time of deep repression, chauvinism and bureaucratic corruption in Ukraine during the Brezhnev era. "During the last three months the number of our authors, sympathisers and helpers has greatly increased", they report.

The section entitled "Literature and Art" includes poetry by Vasyl Barla-dianu, Mykola Rudenko, Dmytro Hrynkyv, Yaroslav Lesiv, Yevhen Sverstiuk, Stepan Sapeliak, Ivan Sokulskyi and Iryna Senyk. An interview with the editor, Iryna Kalynets, of the new literary samvydav journal *Yevshan Zillia* is also included. There is an extract from a novel by Hanna Koval entitled

"From the life of one Podillia village, 1919-1933", as well as poetry entitled "The executed mortals" by Volodymyr Sosiura, with a commentary by Mykhailo Osadchyi. Sosiura's diary, entitled "Tretya Rota", which includes excerpts on the famine, is also included. Another section devoted to the Ukrainian poet-dissident Vasyl Stus includes an appeal to International Pen and his translations from German poets. This section includes memoirs by Bohdan Horyn, Dmytro Kaliuzhnyi and others of Stus.

The next section covers historical and political topics, including a commentary on the leading members of the Writers' Union of Ukraine, "Blank Spots" in Ukrainian history, replies to the attacks launched in *Vechirniy Kyiv* against the Ukrainian Culturological Club in Kyiv, unofficial pacifist Trust Group documents, calls for the release of Mykola Horbal and Lev Lukianenko, a list of Ukrainian political prisoners and documents of the All-Union Committee for the Release of Political Prisoners.

The third section is devoted to "Religion in Ukraine" with articles about the beginnings of Christianity in Ukraine, Vitaliy Shevchenko's letter to *Izvestiya* calling for the legalisation of Ukrainian Churches, Baptists in Ukraine, conversations with members of the Council on Religious Affairs, calls for the legalisation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church by Mykola Horyn, documented religious persecution and an appeal to Metropolitan Filaret of Kyiv and Galicia. This issue includes a report of a conversation between a Barcelona journalist and Metropolitan Filaret where he displays strong anti-Uniate emotions and refuses to give back a single church to the Ukrainian Catholics. The historical documentary section includes the secret protocols of the Nazi-Soviet non-aggression pact of 1939.

In the letters section there are commentaries by Semen Chupryna, Vasyl Sichko, Ye. Hrytsiak, F. Anadenko, V. Chornovil and the family Vezhbytskyi. The editors report that they have close contact to the Culturological Club, the Committee for the Defence of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, the Lviv unofficial peace Trust Group, Press-Club Glasnost and *Glasnost* journal in Moscow, the samvydav *Express Chronicle* in Moscow and the All-Union Committee for the Release of Political Prisoners. Their reported foreign contacts include the BBC, the *Economist* and a Barcelona journalist. The *Ukrainian Herald* ends with a list of financial donations and a note to show they have representatives in Kyiv, Lviv, Donetsk, Dnipropetrovsk and Kharkiv. The *Herald* is distributed free of charge.

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## **"LITERATURNA UKRAINA" PUBLISHES LETTERS CRITICISING NUCLEAR POWER**

(UPA) The Ukrainian Writers' Union literary newspaper *Literaturna Ukraina* has published readers' letters in response to an earlier critical letter from a group of 13 scientists. The letter attacked the nuclear energy programme in Ukraine and called for alternative sources of energy to be explored.

Interestingly, all of the 12 letters published support the conclusions of the scientists. Many have been signed by more than one person, although in all cases only one name has appeared. One letter, signed by 19 people, stated that it was fully in support of the scientists adding that "it is imperative to also publish a letter in the central press in order to make more people aware of the critical state of nuclear energy in Ukraine". Other letters were from people living close to nuclear reactors, who expressed their fears that a "second Chornobyl" could easily happen. They questioned the decision to site the reactors in populated areas.

The fear of those living near nuclear reactors has been labelled by the editors of the newspaper as the "Chornobyl Syndrome". Many readers have written in from the town of Rivne, which was singled out by the scientists as one of the plants whose capacity is planned to be increased. One letter asks "how can one talk about increasing the capacity of the Rivne and Khmelnytskyi plants when our town is situated between them? We would very much like this issue to be reviewed by the Ministry of Atomic Energy".

Several letters are very clear as to the future course of nuclear energy; they would like a complete halt to the further development of nuclear plants in Ukraine. They say that alternative forms of energy should be exploited. The letters include one from a geophysicist, who criticises the safety measures of existing plants in the USSR. In particular, he points at the "primitive" seismic and geological studies conducted at nuclear and other sites, which have often proved to be flawed. He also criticises the way the River Dnister is being utilised for the nuclear energy programme, although over 20 million people depend on it as a source of water. This figure is certain to raise, he claims.

The responses continued in a subsequent issue of *Literaturna Ukraina*, on this occasion from a group of mathematicians. They agreed that the decisions to build atomic power stations often ignored reports about the dangers to densely populated areas. The group was much troubled by the fact that the Ministry of Atomic Energy was not concerned with the ecological issues and criticised the opinion that the plants were absolutely safe. They claimed that the possibility of an accident can never be discounted and, therefore, the decision to build atomic plants should be decided by the presidium of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. The planning should be discussed by a very wide circle of experts and not just by a small group picked by the project planners. The letter also called for a referendum to decide the future construction of atomic plants. It also questions reports that there is no alternative to atomic energy and calls for more resources to be put into alternative forms of energy, for example solar energy.

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## MOSCOW SAMVYDAV JOURNAL "REFERENDUM" REPORTS THAT NATIONALITY QUESTION IS THE LARGEST PROBLEM FACING GORBACHEV

(UPA) The sixth issue of the Moscow-based samvydav journal *Referendum* has commented on the recent nationalist unrest in Armenia and Azerbaijan, as well as in other parts of the USSR, by declaring that the nationalities question is the most pressing problem facing Soviet society. Disturbances in Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and the press campaign against unofficial Ukrainian samvydav journals shows that the pride in the history and culture of each nationality in the USSR contradicts the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of the Soviet state, which has always claimed that national features disappear as society moves towards communism.

The only way to avoid further violence, *Referendum* claims, "is to heed the voice of independent social opinion". *Referendum* goes on to publish a list of the demands made by the "All-Union Committee for the Defence of Political Prisoners". A summary of these demands is given below:

- 1) To guarantee that the language of every republic is the state language and ensure that it becomes the official language.
  - 2) To guarantee the national and cultural requirements of small stateless nations, which should include education in their mother tongue and access to newspapers in their own language.
  - 3) To abolish discrimination in the Soviet education system and introduce obligatory study of national languages by everybody living in each republic.
  - 4) Abolish the legacy of Stalinism regarding territorial disputes, return deported nationalities to their native lands and clarify the borders of republics.
  - 5) Guarantee the rights of national minorities living outside the USSR.
  - 6) Halt the further construction of nuclear-power stations, chemical plants and hydroelectric construction in republics with limited capacity or in those with large populations (Armenia, Moldavia, Estonia, Georgia and Ukraine).
  - 7) Ensure that the local population is used during the planning of industrial enterprises, in order to avoid any deliberate changes in the composition of the non-Russian republics.
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## V. CHORNOVIL FORCED TO RESIGN FROM PLACE OF WORK AND ASKS "THE SUNDAY TIMES" FOR HELP

(UPA) The Ukrainian Press Agency has received a letter from the editor of the unofficial journal the *Ukrainian Herald*, Vyacheslav Chornovil, addressed to the London based newspaper, the *Sunday Times*. The letter spells out the reason for Chornovil's resignation from work and asks the editors of the *Sunday Times* to accept him as their own correspondent. Unless Chornovil, who received the Nicholas Tomalin award in 1975 from the *Sunday Times*, finds work, he runs the risk of being arrested for parasitism.

According to Chornovil's letter, and other reports coming from Ukraine, other members of the *Ukrainian Herald* are being subjected to harassment at their place of work. In Odessa, another member of the editorial board, Vasyl Barladianu, is being harassed at work. In addition, the editor of the unofficial journal *Kaphedra*, Mykhailo Osadchyi, was summoned to the KGB and told that both *Kaphedra* and the *Ukrainian Herald* are "anti-Soviet" publications.

Chornovil has written a statement to the director of the school where he is employed as a stoker. The statement was in reply to a meeting, called by the director, during which Chornovil's behaviour was severely criticised. Chornovil was not informed of the meeting and is critical at the way it was organised. He also threatened to sue the editors of two Ukrainian Communist Party newspapers, *Radyanska Ukraina* and *Vilna Ukraina*, for slandering him in public.

According to the reports, there is continuing harassment of persons in Lviv, who read the *Ukrainian Herald*. Recently, a teacher who was spotted with a copy of the *Ukrainian Herald* was told to hand it over to the procurator's office by the KGB.

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## ANOTHER UNOFFICIAL JOURNAL APPEARS IN UKRAINE

(UPA) The unofficial journal the *Ukrainian Herald* No. 9-10 has reported the launch of yet another Ukrainian unofficial journal, called *Yevshan Zilya* in November last year. The journal has been named after a magic herb, which is supposed to restore the memory of one's own native land by its particular scent. The editorial explains that the years of stagnation have had a negative effect on the country's historical and cultural monuments and have resulted in the loss of belief in the future. It will publish articles by the writers who are being ignored by the official press.

The contents of the first issue of the journal, which has been divided into eight sections, include works by Uliana Kravchenko, Olena Kulchytska, unpublished works by Ostap Vyshnia, Yaroslav Dashkevych, Iryna Kalynets,

Vasyl Stoletskyi, Vasyl Stus, Ihor Kalynets, Roman Fihol, Andriy Tsybko and many others.

In an interview with members of the *Ukrainian Herald*, Iryna Kalynets, the editor of *Yevshan Zilya* explained the purpose of the journal: "Yevshan Zilya, reaches into the depths of forgotten names, examines facts of the historical past, and looks at unpublished works of well known and not so well known activists of our culture."

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### **NEW UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC SAMVYDAV NEWSPAPER — "THE CHRISTIAN VOICE"**

(UPA) The Ukrainian Press Service (Rome) has received the first issue of a new Catholic samvydav newspaper which began publication in January of this year. It will compliment the existing *Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Ukraine*, which has over 30 issues to date. Under the heading "Millennium of Christianity in Ukraine" the first issue contains an invitation to the Pope to visit Ukraine, a letter to the Vienna Helsinki Review conference, an article on the introduction of Christianity to Ukraine, a response to the December 1987 attack in *Izvestiya* on the Ukrainian Catholic Church, the speech by Ivan Hel which was to have been given at the Moscow Human Rights seminar in December and a summary of the destruction of Ukrainian churches in the Carpathian mountains. The section "News from parishes" details the persecution of faithful and priests in Ukraine. There is a section thanking those who have given donations.

The first issue of *Khrystianskyi Holos* (Christian Voice) also contains a letter from Father Petro Zeleniuk to M. Gorbachev asking that changes affecting Soviet society should also apply to them. Dated November last year, the letter ends with the words: "In whose way does the Ukrainian Catholic Church stand? Is it not a disgrace that in our day, at the end of the twentieth century, we are provoked, oppressed and robbed of one of the most elementary human rights — the right to religious freedom?"

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### **UKRAINIAN NEWSPAPER INTERVIEWS LEADER OF THE UNOFFICIAL CLUB "LEV"**

(UPA) The Ukrainian Komsomol newspaper *Molod Ukrainy* has published an interview conducted with the leader of the unofficial youth group "Lev", based in the western Ukrainian city of Lviv. According to the interview,

members of the club were active as early as spring of last year and are mainly concerned with the promotion of Ukrainian culture and literature.

The leader of the club, Orest Sheika, is reported as saying that the club grew from a group of young people, who began by restoring the Luchakivskyi cemetery, and progressed into a larger organisation, which became interested in ethnography, architectural-monumental art and ecology. The name of the club is derived from the name of the mediaeval Prince of Lviv, called Lev and was also influenced by a poem by the Ukrainian poet, Vasyl Symonenko, called "Ukrainskyi Lev" (Ukrainian Lion).

According to O. Sheika, the future activities of the club will highlight the dangers of environmental pollution, with particular emphasis on the River Dnister. To this end, a scientific expedition will be organised which will study the river, which "following the accident at the Stebnikivskiy calcium works, is in a very grave situation". Sheika also expresses his fear about the planned construction of a reservoir near the village of Dovhe in the Drohobych region, which "will submerge a large area on which there are many architectural monuments connected with the memory of important figures of our country".

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### UNOFFICIAL CHRISTIAN BULLETIN PUBLISHES UKRAINIAN RELIGIOUS SAMVYDAV

(UPA) Issue number 3-4 of the unofficial religious journal *Bulletin of the Christian Community* edited by Alexander Ogorodnikov, has appeared in the West. Its 12 sections deal with the religious situation in the Soviet Union with particular emphasis on the Ukrainian Catholic Church. Section 3 contains a declaration by a priest from the west Ukrainian town of Ivano-Frankivsk regarding the religious atmosphere there. The declaration by the Russian Orthodox priest, Rev. Sas-Zhurakovsky, is critical about restrictions periodically imposed on believers by the authorities before Easter and Christmas.

The journal also contains a report on the vision of the Virgin Mary in the Ukrainian village of Hrushiv, which has reportedly attracted pilgrims from as far away as Georgia, Moldavia and the Baltic republics. Approximately 10,000 people visit the shrine every day. Initially, the militia attempted to prevent people from visiting the area, however, due to the large numbers of pilgrims arriving each day, it resorted to directing traffic and maintaining public order and "behaved well", claims the report. Money, which was collected from the pilgrims, was later confiscated by the authorities and "given to the peace fund". This was followed by attacks in the local press against Uniates. The Russian Orthodox clergy supported the authorities in their condemnation of the apparition. An interview with a pilgrim indicates that many of those who

are visiting Hrushiv are young people, some under the age of 18. According to the report, the Virgin Mary has appeared in Hrushiv before. The Church, above which the apparition was seen, used to be a Greek Catholic Church, but has been closed since 1959.

The journal also includes a protest issued by the Armenian branch of the Armenian-Ukrainian Committee for the Defence of Political Prisoners in the USSR, in defence of the unlawful arrest of Sirvald Avakian. Sirvald Avakian was sentenced to 3 years of imprisonment for his religious convictions and after his release was again imprisoned in 1987.

The ninth section of the journal deals with the situation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the USSR. An article by Vasyl Barladianu, entitled "Return the Churches to Ukraine!" which has been republished from the *Chronicle of the Ukrainian Catholic Church*, deals with an article which appeared in *Sobesednik* by a member of the Komsomol. The article also justifies the existence of the Ukrainian Catholic Church and explains the difference between it and the Orthodox Church, which has always been subordinated to the state.

Another article by Ivan Khmara, addressed to the Patriarch of the Russian Orthodox Church, examines the Lviv Synod of 1946, which outlawed the Ukrainian Catholic Church. Questioning the validity of the Synod, Khmara proceeds to make a series of demands, one of which is that the Russian Patriarch ought to stand in defence of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, particularly in the Millennium year of Christianity. The same section also deals with repression and harassment of believers in Western Ukraine, by the authorities. Several other articles touch upon the theme of the Lviv Synod of 1946. In the article, "Ecumenism, the Union and Orthodox Megalomania", Josyp Terelya, the Ukrainian Catholic activist now living in the West, examines the role of the Russian Orthodox Church towards ecumenism and its relevance to the Ukrainian Catholic Church, which "is surviving in the underground". The article is followed by a list of conditions, drawn up by the Ukrainian Catholic activists, which should form the basis of legalisation. They include the annulment of the Lviv Synod and official apologies for past and present repressions against Ukrainian Catholics.

The situation of Catholics in the Russian republics examined in an article by Rev. M. Havryliv entitled "The History of Catholics in Russia". He describes how in the 1960s the attitudes of certain Orthodox priests began to change towards the Catholic Church.

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## UKRAINIAN HERALD PUBLISHES LIST OF UKRAINIAN PRISONERS OF CONSCIENCE

(UPA) The following incomplete list was compiled by the Ukrainian Initiative Group for the Release of Prisoners of Conscience, formed at the end of last year, and was published in the samvydav journal the *Ukrainian Herald*, numbers 8 and 9-10. The list is incomplete the compilers state, because it does not include many prisoners falsely convicted on criminal charges and religious prisoners scattered about the Gulag.

The first list was compiled as of 25 September 1987, and was published in the *Ukrainian Herald*, number 8.

**BADZIO Yuriy:** Arrested in April 1987 and received 7 years camp and 5 exile. Currently serving his term of exile. His family's address is — Kyiv-6, Chervonoarmiyska vul.93, kv.16, tel. 2-68-76-97.

**BATYO Polanya:** From Carpathian Ukraine. Arrested for religious activity and currently serving her sentence in a labour camp.

**BOYECHKO Vasyl:** Pentacostalist from Lviv. No information available.

**HORBAL Mykola:** Member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group from Kyiv. Re-arrested when he was due to be released in 1984 and sentenced to 10 years strict regime camp and 5 years exile.

**KAMPOV Pavlo:** From Carpathian Ukraine. Sentenced in 1981 to ten years strict regime camp and 5 years exile.

**KALYNYCHENKO Vitaliy:** Member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group from Dnipropetrovsk. Arrested in 1979 and sentenced to 10 years strict regime camp and 5 years exile.

**KANDYBA Ivan:** Member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group. Arrested in 1979 and sentenced to 10 years strict regime camp and 5 years exile.

**KHMARUK Petro:** From Kyiv. Sentenced for religious activity.

**KYRYCHENKO Serhiy:** Falsely arrested on charges of "espionage" and sentenced to 10 years strict regime camp.

**KLEBANOV Volodymyr:** From the Donetsk region of Ukraine. Arrested in 1979 on charges of organising Free Trade Unions. Most of his term has been spent in a psychiatric hospital.

**KLYMCHAK Bohdan:** From the Ternopil region of Western Ukraine. Sentenced to 15 years strict regime camp and 5 years exile for trying to defect from the USSR.

**KOBRYN Vasyl:** Ukrainian Catholic activist, sentenced to 3 years camp. Should have been released at the end of last year.

**KORNIENKO Serhiy:** From Kyiv and former lieutenant of the Soviet army. Sentenced to 5 years strict regime camp.

**LUKIANENKO Levko:** Member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group. Arrested in 1977 and sentenced to 10 years strict regime camp and 5 years exile. He refused to write a plea for clemency and recantation in order to be released during the amnesty.

**MAKSYMOVA Halyna:** From Uzhhorod. Sentenced for religious activity.

**MAMUS Mykola:** Sentenced to 8 years for religious activity.

**MYKHAILENKO Hanna:** From Odessa. Since 1960 she has been imprisoned in various camps and since 1980 in psychiatric hospitals in Kazan and Odessa.

**MAHYNYA Anatoliy:** A baptist from the Kuban region. Arrested in 1986 and placed in a psychiatric hospital.

**OVSIIENKO Vasyi:** From the Zhytomir region and a member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group. Sentenced on false criminal charges in 1979 and re-sentenced in the camps in 1981 to 10 years strict regime and 5 years exile.

**POLISHCHUK Yevhen:** Sentenced to 15 years strict regime camp for his activities in the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists.

**PRYKHODKO Hryhoriy:** From Dnipropetrovsk. Sentenced in 1980 for membership of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group to 5 years strict regime camp, 5 years prison and 5 exile.

**RUBAN Petro:** Arrested in 1976 and sentenced to 6 years strict regime and 3 years exile. In 1985 he was re-arrested and sentenced to 9 years strict regime and 4 years exile. Released.

**SKALYCH Semen:** Previously sentenced for his activities in the nationalist underground. Resentenced in 1980 to 10 years strict regime and 5 years exile.

**SOKULSKYI Ivan:** From Dnipropetrovsk. Member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group. Sentenced in 1980 to 5 years strict regime, 5 years prison and 5 years exile. An additional sentence was given whilst he was in the camps because of his protest actions.

**TYTARENKO:** From the Poltava region. Sentenced to 10 years imprisonment?

**VINNYTSKYI Mykhailo:** Ukrainian Catholic priest from Lviv. Received 5 years camp and 5 years exile.

**VOROZHKO Vasyi:** Arrested for his activities in the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists. Sentenced to 15 years strict regime camp.

The second list was published in the *Ukrainian Herald*, number 9-10 and was true as of 15 November 1987. The compilers state that V. Kobryn, V. Klebanov, M. Vinnytskyi and S. Skalych have since been released. They also state that although they know that Hare Krishna followers have been arrested in Odessa, Chervihiv and Vinnytsia, they have no information about their sentences. This material was prepared by Mykhailo Horyn. The following prisoners should be added to the first list:

**ANDRIYETS Anatoliy:** Evangelical-Baptist from Dnipropetrovsk. Sentenced in 1985 to 3 years camp. Released.

**ANDRIYETS Oleksa:** Evangelical-Baptist sentenced in 1985 to 3 years camp. Released.

**ALEKSEEV Mykhailo:** Sentenced in 1986 to 10 years strict regime camp. In his trial he was accused of circulating Western video cassettes.

**KRAVECH Yuriy:** Evangelical-Baptist from the Kyiv region. Sentenced in 1986 to 3 years imprisonment.

**KRAVCHENKO Pavlo:** Evangelical-Baptist from Chernihiv. Sentenced in 1986 to 3 years imprisonment and 3 years exile.

**MATUSEVYCH Mykola:** Arrested in 1977 for membership of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group and sentenced to 7 years camp and 5 exile.

**MAKHOVYK Stepan:** Evangelical-Baptist from Chernihiv. Sentenced in 1986 to 5 years camp and 5 years exile.

**SARANCHUK Petro:** A long-term prisoner for his activities in the Ukrainian underground. Currently serving a sentence on false criminal charges.

**VLASENKO Valentyn:** An Evangelical-Baptist sentenced in 1986 to 2.5 years.

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## **ABN Conference, Washington, D.C.**

### **POST CONFERENCE COMMUNIQUÉ**

From May 13-15, 1988, the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations hosted an international conference in Washington, D.C., entitled "Will the Soviet Union survive?". The primary aim of the conference was to underscore a profound concern over the continued imposition of colonial policy by the Soviet Russian regime both in the non-Russian countries subjugated within the USSR and the so-called satellite states of Eastern and Central Europe, to protest the extension of Moscow's domination over nations in Asia, Africa, Central America and the Caribbean.

In light of President Reagan's visit to Moscow, the conference's 300 delegates and observers, representing 24 member nations from 4 continents, sent an open letter to the US President, urging him to express the abhorrence of all Americans towards the Kremlin's refusal to end its subjugation of the nations held captive by Moscow.

The letter insisted that the President demand concrete deeds from the Kremlin, including:

1. The release of all political prisoners;
2. The termination of Moscow's anti-religious campaign of annihilation; and

3. The removal of all vestiges of Moscow's policy of russification which seeks to destroy the national consciousness of all the non-Russian peoples currently imprisoned by Moscow's colonial rule.

The conference was held under the patronage of Church leaders, numerous United States Senators and Congressmen, as well as parliamentarians from Canada, Great Britain and Europe.

The conference received the support of President Ronald Reagan who issued a special greeting to the conference participants in which he echoed a promise to recognise the aspirations of ABN for freedom and national independence for all subjugated nations.

The programme of the conference addressed various aspects of the conference theme: "Will the Soviet Union survive?" including national reports, discussions of East-West relations, and analysed the myths and realities of "glasnost" and "perestroika". The conference also presented practical solutions to contemporary geopolitical problems and made long term projections for the future.

Among the guest speakers who addressed the conference were experts in strategic studies, academics, journalists and military officers. Arnaud de Borchgrave, the editor of the *Washington Times* addressed the topic "Glasnost and Perestroika from a Western Perspective". Dr. Maurice Tugwell, the director of the Mackenzie Institute for the Study of Terrorism, Revolution and Propaganda in Canada spoke on "Political Warfare in the Era of Glasnost". In a panel entitled "Current developments in the Countries under Soviet Russian and Communist Domination", 13 representatives of subjugated and "satellite" nations presented national reports in which they assessed the latest developments in their native countries.

On Friday evening, May 13, a congressional reception was held which provided the delegates with an opportunity to meet informally, exchange ideas and develop new contacts.

Several conference panels as well as individual addresses were devoted to the examination of the myths and realities of glasnost and perestroika. One such panel, chaired by Mr. Evdokim Evdokimoff, a member of the ABN Central Committee discussed this topic as it pertains to the USSR and the "satellites". Representatives from Afganistan, Georgia, Lithuania, Turkestan and Ukraine all agreed that glasnost and perestroika as such do not exist, they are merely the latest ploys designed to maintain the Soviet Russian empire. Tengiz and Eduard Gudava, recently released Georgian political prisoners and activists who had recently testified before the American CSCE Commission in October 1987 called the new policies of Gorbachev a travesty, while the Soviet Russians are taking advantage of the world's desire to see humanity in the Soviet beast, they are at the same time forbidding Georgian and other activists to bring these policies to life.

The second part of the panel examined "Glasnost and Perestroika vis-à-vis the Free World", and was chaired by Dr. Manfredo Borges of the Ethnic American Council. The panelists, Reed Irvine, Chairman of Accuracy in Media spoke about communist infiltration of the media, Les Csorba from Accuracy in Academia discussed the topic "Communist Infiltration in Colleges and Universities" and Dr. Robert Morris analysed Soviet Russian penetration on the global scale.

Four distinguished speakers presented individual addresses under the general theme of "Perspectives and Projections in Future Soviet-West Relations". Mr. Herbert Romerstein of the United States Information Agency spoke on the topic of "Soviet Active Measures in the Era of Glasnost". John Wilkinson, a member of the House of Commons in Great Britain and President of the European Freedom Council addressed the topic of "Securing Freedom and Security in Europe after the INF Accords". Mr. Bertil Häggman, member of the European Freedom Council Executive Board and a writer and expert on psychological warfare addressed the topic "Glasnost as Tactics: Continuing Soviet Pressure in Europe", and Captain Jerry Burke from the Pentagon spoke on Soviet military might.

A banquet was held on Saturday evening, May 14. Led by Prof. Yarema Kalebay of Montreal, Canada, as master of ceremonies, the banquet featured a tribute to the late Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko, president of ABN, delivered by Mr. Bertil Häggman. Dr. Robert G. Grant, National President of the American Freedom Coalition delivered the keynote address. Other addresses were presented by General George Keegan, former Chief of Air Force Intelligence and present Chairman of the Congressional Advisory Board and by Mrs. Slava Stetsko, the President of ABN. The message of the greeting of President Ronald Reagan was read and warmly received by the banquet guests. John Wilkinson, M.P., delivered a greeting from the European Freedom Council and Dr. Osami Kuboki from Tokyo, Japan, greeted the conference on behalf of the Asian People's Anti-Communist League. The banquet also featured cultural entertainment by a Ukrainian Bandura Ensemble.

On Sunday, May 15, 1988, Dr. Algis Barauskas from AF ABN in Detroit, Michigan, chaired a panel entitled "New Frontiers in National Liberation". Representatives from 6 countries presented reports about the resistance movements in their countries.

Dolf M. Droge, a freelance lecturer and consultant on national and international affairs presented a speech on the topic "New Frontiers in National Liberation". David Finzer, the Secretary General of the World Youth Freedom League addressed the topic of "Civil Rights as a Tool of National Liberation". Both speakers stressed the importance of grass roots work. It is only when enough individuals raise their voices in protest that a strong united front is created.

General John Singlaub, Chairman of the US Council for World Freedom

and long time friend of the ABN presented a luncheon address on the topic: "Legal Terrorism — The Latest Communist Weapon". As a token of gratitude, all guest speakers were presented with an impressive new publication, *The Millenium of Ukrainian Christianity*.

Conferences such as the one we have just had are important for many reasons. They provide us with an opportunity to establish new contacts, exchange ideas and strategies, form networks and consolidate energies in our common struggle for freedom. They provide us with a forum to the media and they enable us to lobby prominent and influential political leaders. It took many people to make this conference a success, the organisers, the delegates, the guest speakers, the patrons, the financial and moral supporters. Mrs. Slava Stetsko thanked all these persons in her concluding remarks and underscored the importance of all of us continuing our work in our cities, work which the conference has made more vital and which it has provided with fresh new ideas and goals.

24 participating member nations were represented at the conference. The representatives who spoke in the panels on behalf of their countries were as follows:

Afghanistan — Habib Mayar, Ghulam Wardak, Linda Shapiro,  
Henry Kriegel, Zalmay Aziz  
Angola — Marcos Samondo  
Bulgaria — Evdokim Evdokimoff  
Byelorussia — Constant Mierlack  
Croatia — Dr. Srecko Psenicnik  
Cuba — Dr. Manfredo Borges  
Estonia — Toomas Trei  
Georgia — Tengiz Gudava, Eduard Gudava  
Hungary — Dr. Hoka  
Iran — Shapoor Ardalan  
Latvia — Dr. Gunas Subins  
Lithuania — Dr. Jack Stukas, Dr. John Genys  
Mozambique — Dr. Antonio Zengazenga  
Poland — Marek Ruszczynski  
Romania — Dr. John Halmaghi  
Slovakia — Dr. Oktav Bazovsky  
Slovenia — Dr. Ciril Mejac  
Turkestan — Nimet Begis, Rusi Nasar  
Ukraine — Dr. Anathole Bedriy, Roman Zwarycz, Prof. Wolodymyr  
Zarycky, Irena Chalupa  
Vietnam — Dr. Do Van Hoi

The conference was organised by two preparatory committees: a US committee under the leadership of Roxolana Potter and a Canadian committee under the leadership of Orest Steciw.

## IVAN SOKULSKYI'S LETTER FROM PERM CAMP 35

Ivan Sokulskyi, Ukrainian poet and journalist from Dnipropetrovsk, who is serving a 15-year term of imprisonment in a labour camp in Perm, refused to carry out forced labour and declared that he had gone over to the status of a political prisoner. This is regarded as a violation of the camp regime by the Soviet authorities. In May, Sokulskyi's family received a letter from Perm camp 35. This letter is given below.

Good day!

I have not written to you for a long time, as the camp officials regarded the letter I wrote in February, when I was no longer in the punishment cell, as the one to which I was entitled in April.

I thought about complaining, but unlawfulness alone is not the case here! I regard the fact that, although I was sentenced for political reasons I am incarcerated in a regime for common criminals, as the most serious unlawfulness. Even in this time of reconstruction, I decided not to come to terms with this, not to wait for relevant instructions to come from above, but to make demands and make use of my legal rights. In doing so, I refuse to carry out forced labour, which in itself is inadequately paid, etc. I have a moustache. It is like having my own face back again.

I have written to the procurator general about the reasons behind this decision. I uphold only those requirements of the regime that do not contradict the status of a political prisoner. This is not anarchy or anti-social activity. The fact that I am no criminal, but am being held here unlawfully also compelled me to take this decision. In the case against me, there is no proof of any guilt on my part, even when going by the criteria of the years of stagnation. I am also basing my decision on the Geneva accords (26.4.1987) on the non-implementation of terror and other means of punishment and humiliation, ratified by the Soviet Union.

No notice was taken of any of my letters, and I was thrown into the punishment cell (solitary confinement) immediately after submitting my declaration (6.4.1988), where I remained for 23 days. So, the punishment cell has not forgotten me, even though the last time I was there was almost a year ago (Sokulskyi spent almost a year in solitary confinement).

This is all the news I have. I think you will understand that I had no other choice.

They continue to write injunctions against me and promise to go on punishing me. . . I spent Easter in the punishment cell, although not by myself. We receive letters in the cell, so I could read all your letters in good time.

Goodbye. I have to break off here. I have no time to finish. My kisses to you.

Ivan

4.5.1988

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## STATEMENT OF THE EDITORIAL BOARD OF THE UKRAINIAN HERALD

To:

The participants of the CSCE Conference in Vienna,  
International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights,  
International Federation of Journalists

The announcement of the policy of restructuring and glasnost by the new leadership of the USSR gave birth to hope for real democratic changes in our country as well as for a healthy international atmosphere. However, positive changes in the USSR are being halted, and furthermore, recently a reversal has been noted. This is particularly noticeable in Ukraine, where the leadership, unchanged since the times of Brezhnev, is attempting to turn the republic into a bastion of opposition to restructuring.

In recent years this has been further corroborated by the unprecedented campaign of provocation and repressions against the first independent press publication in Ukraine — the uncensored journal *The Ukrainian Herald*.

The details of this pogrom are already known to the international community. We would merely reiterate that uninterrupted slanderous attacks on us on the pages of inter-republic and local press, radio, television, at meetings and gatherings organised by the government, have continued unabated for several weeks. Stooping to lies and all sorts of fabrications, they are attempting to set the Ukrainian people against us, by depicting us as agents of foreign intelligence, and sympathisers of fascism and terror. They do not hesitate to use blackmail and threats toward the editors and authors, threats of beatings, murder, detainment, short-term arrests (from several hours to several days) under the pretext of possession of weapons or narcotics, suspicion of murder, etc. It seems that the recent past is returning, when members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group and other human rights activists were placed in psychiatric hospitals or imprisoned under trumped-up criminal charges. We feel that the corrupt Soviet party bureaucracy of Ukraine is maliciously settling scores with us under the smokescreen of "ideological struggle", in an attempt to hide its crimes before society.

With relation to the recent threats of arrest and deportation beyond the



boundaries of Ukraine of the editorial board of the journal, which have appeared on the pages of official press organs, we appeal to the democratic society of the world, first and foremost to the activists in the Helsinki movement and to fellow colleague journalists, do not allow the suppression of the first independent press organ in Ukraine.

For our part, we denounce the slander and defamatory accusations directed at us, and affirm that the platform of our activity has been and will continue to be the principles and ideals of the international Helsinki Movement. The Ukrainian Helsinki Group, even during times of severest repression, never announced nor did it cease its activity, even though many of its members are, to this day, either in strict regime camps, in exile, or were forced to leave their homeland.

With the aim of stimulating the weakened activity of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, we declare that the editorial board of *The Ukrainian Herald*, individual members of which have been members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, now are all joining the Ukrainian Helsinki Group and we declare our journal the organ of the Group.

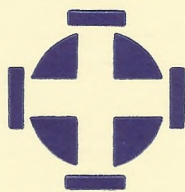
The world can judge from the official Soviet attitude towards us, the Soviet leadership's real attitude to the Final Act signed in Helsinki.

We hope, that in the midst of the complex situation in Ukraine, where the forces of stagnation and reaction are attempting a counterattack, the Ukrainian Helsinki Group and its journal will not be left alone.

Vasyl Barladianu  
Mykhailo Horyn  
Pavlo Skochok  
Vyacheslav Chornovil

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# THE UKRAINIAN REVIEW



4

1988



**THE UKRAINIAN REVIEW**  
**A Quarterly Magazine devoted to the study of Ukraine**

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# THE UKRAINIAN REVIEW

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**Pope John Paul, Cardinal Lubachivskyi and the hierarchy of the Ukrainian Catholic Church during the Divine Litany at the Cathedral of St. Sophia. Saturday, July 9, 1988**

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## **The Millennium of Christianity in Ukraine**

*Andriy WASKOWYCZ*

### **MILLENNIUM CELEBRATIONS IN ROME**

*7,000 Ukrainians arrive in the Eternal City to celebrate  
the Millennium of Christianity in Ukraine*

The culminating Millennium celebrations of Christianity in Ukraine were held in Rome from July 8-12, 1988, with the participation of His Holiness Pope John Paul II. Around 7,000 Ukrainians, including 1,000 Ukrainian pilgrims from Poland, came to the Eternal City to participate in these celebrations. The presence of the Pope, who had not gone to Moscow for the celebrations of the Russian Orthodox Church, served as an expression of solidarity with the Ukrainian nation, and with her persecuted Ukrainian Churches.

The official celebrations began on Friday, July 8, with a Divine Liturgy in the Church of Santa Maria Maggiore, celebrated by His Beatitude Patriarch Myroslav Ivan Lubachivskyi of the Ukrainian Catholic Church and other Ukrainian Bishops and clergy. In the evening, a Litany was celebrated at the tomb of St. Cyril, co-patron of Europe and Apostle of the Slavs.

### **Before the Cathedral of St. Sophia**

Around 6,000 Ukrainian faithful gathered at the Ukrainian Cathedral of St. Sophia on the following day to await the arrival of Pope John Paul II. The Pope, the Ukrainian hierarchy, all the bishops of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the diaspora, priests and clergy, celebrated a Divine Litany before the Cathedral, after which the Holy Father addressed the crowd in Ukrainian. This was the second time that the Pope had visited the Cathedral of St. Sophia. The first time he came to this "plot of Ukrainian land in Rome" was in September 1984 to pay his last respects to Patriarch Josyf Slipyj. This time it was a joyous occasion that brought the Pope to St. Sophia — the Millennium of Ukraine's Christianity. After His Holiness' address, Ukrainian youth ensembles greeted the Pope with gifts, as well as with their singing and dancing.

### **Before the Basilica of St. Peter**

On Saturday evening, around 7,000 Ukrainians gathered in St. Peter's Square for a Divine Litany to Christ the Saviour in honour of the baptiser of Ukraine, St. Volodymyr the Great. A great impression was made by 400 members of the Ukrainian Youth Association marching across St. Peter's Square to the sound of the youth orchestra from Montreal. The Litany was celebrated by all the Ukrainian Catholic bishops in the presence of the head of the Italian Bishops' Conference and Papal Vicar, Ugo Poletti, who addressed the faithful in Italian. Sermons in Ukrainian were delivered by Patriarch Myroslav Ivan Lubachivskyi and Bishop Innocent Lotockyi of Chicago. After the service, the faithful formed a human cross carrying candles across the square as a symbol of the persecution of the Ukrainian Churches in Ukraine. Then Pope John Paul II appeared at the window of the papal residence, spoke to the faithful in Ukrainian and blessed them.

### **Divine Liturgy in St. Peter's Basilica**

The culminating point in the Millennium celebrations in Rome was the Divine Liturgy celebrated by His Holiness the Pope in the Ukrainian rite together with the hierarchy of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in St. Peter's Basilica on Sunday, July 10. Several Ukrainian choirs from all parts of the world sang the Liturgy, while Ukrainians from the diaspora joined in a communal prayer with their homeland to express their gratitude to Almighty God for granting them the Light of Truth 1,000 years ago. Particularly moving words were expressed by Patriarch Myroslav Ivan on the persecuted Church in Ukraine, and his greeting to representatives of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church and Ukrainian baptists.

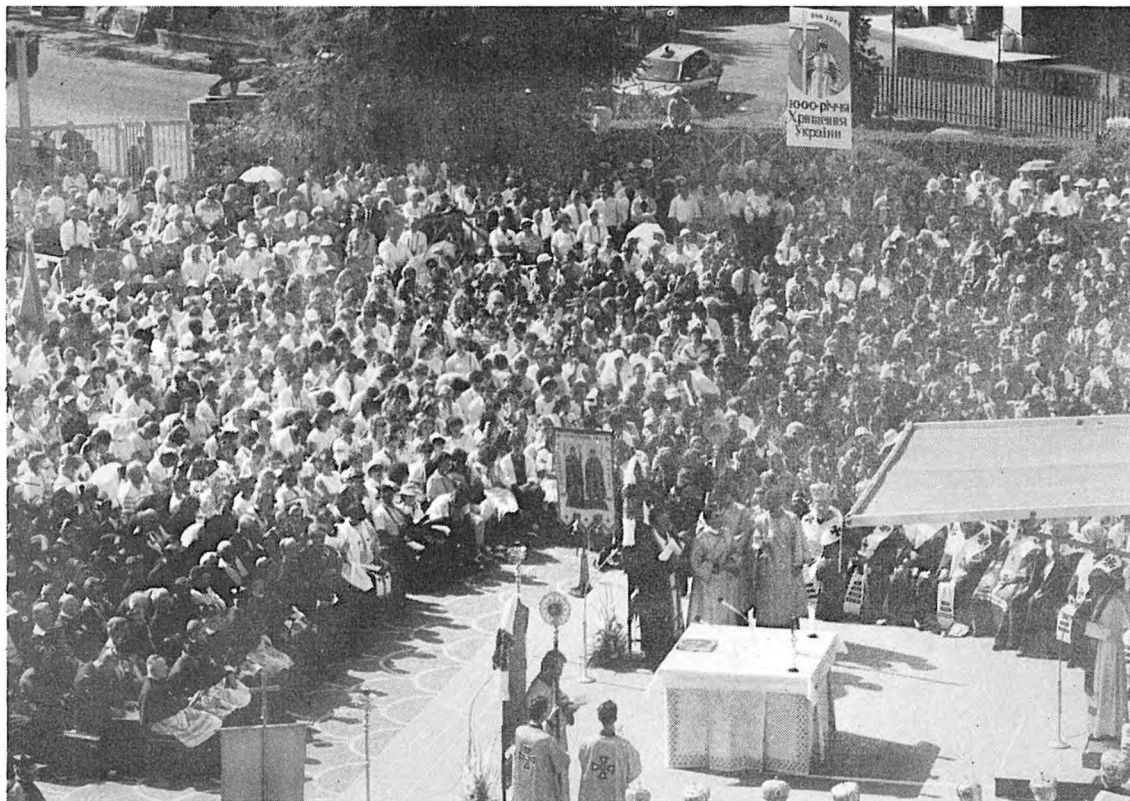
The Pope then gave a long sermon in Italian, which he ended in addressing the faithful in Ukrainian.

Part of the Divine Liturgy was heard over loudspeakers across St. Peter's Square, where thousands of faithful began to gather to receive the Apostolic blessing, which the Pope gives every Sunday while in Rome.

### **The Apostolic Blessing in St. Peter's Square**

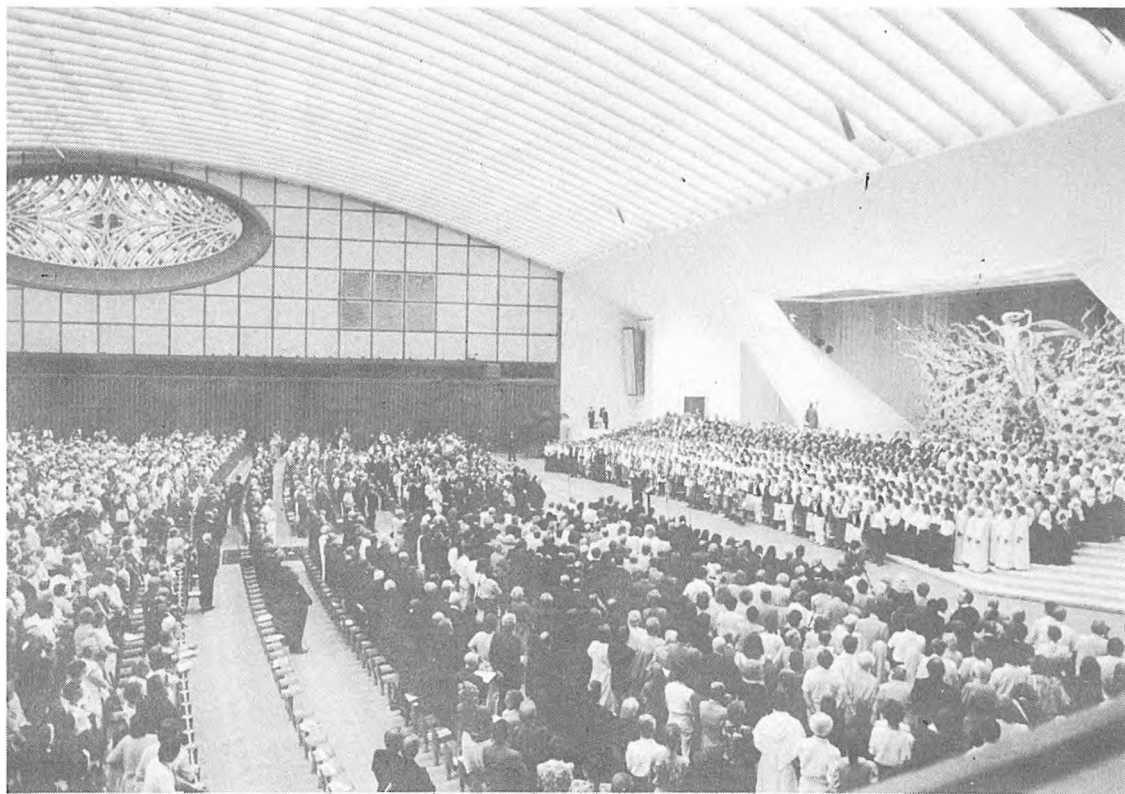
After the Divine Liturgy, the faithful went out into St. Peter's Square to await the Apostolic blessing. The brass band of the Ukrainian Youth Association greeted the Pope with church music as he appeared at the window of his residence. Among other things, the pope said in Italian: "On this day I am





**Pope John Paul addressing the participants of the Divine Litany at the Cathedral of St. Sophia. Saturday, July 9, 1988**





**Finale of the concert of Ukrainian spiritual music in the Vatican's Papal Hall. Behind the joint choirs assembled on the stage is the statue of St. Volodymyr presented to the Pope by Cardinal Lubachivskyi and the Ukrainian Catholic hierarchy. Sunday, July 10, 1988**

going on a spiritual pilgrimage once again to the holy city of Kyiv and to that land where the protection of the Mother of God has not ceased". In Ukrainian, the Pope said: "I turn with special greetings to our brethren in Ukraine. The Pope, a Slav, your brother, embraces you to his heart and blesses you".

### **Festive Concert in the Papal Hall**

The new papal hall seats about 6,000 people. On Sunday evening, July 10, it was filled to capacity by Ukrainians, who came to listen to a concert of masterpieces of Ukrainian spiritual music, performed in the presence of the Pope by various Ukrainian choirs and ensembles. Patriarch Myroslav Ivan greeted the Pope and a statue of St. Volodymyr the Great from the Ukrainian faithful was presented to the Holy Father (the same statue as recently erected in London, Great Britain).

The culminating point during the concert was the joint performance of all the choirs (around 600 singers), who sang a greeting to the Pope and a prayer to Almighty God. After the concert, the Pope spoke in Italian, and in Ukrainian he thanked all the performers, assured all present of his prayers for the whole Ukrainian nation and conveyed his blessing.

### **The End of the Celebrations**

On Monday morning, Patriarch Myroslav Ivan Lubachivskyi celebrated Divine Liturgy together with the bishops of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in St. Paul's Cathedral. That same evening a concert of religious music was held in St. Andrew's Church, which was performed by Ukrainian choirs from Poland, Canada and the USA. The celebrations ended on Tuesday, July 12, with a service held at the tomb of St. Josaphat in St. Peter's Basilica. The sermon was delivered by the Secretary of the Congregation for Eastern Churches, Archbishop Myroslav Marusyn.

These celebrations of the Millennium of Christianity in Ukraine, which took place in Rome, served almost as a pledge for a better future for Ukraine, when the Ukrainian people would once again be able to pray in freedom in their homeland and live according to their 1000-year Christian tradition in an independent and sovereign Ukrainian state.

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*Volodymyr MYKULA*

## **THE CHRISTIANISATION OF RUS'-UKRAINE AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF CHRISTIANITY IN THE KYIVAN STATE**

*(Conclusion)*

Volodymyr had a very clear idea of Byzantine plans, but they were not as dangerous for Rus' as they were for Bulgaria. The huge distance between Constantinople and Kyiv, the Black Sea and the dangerous steppes isolated them to a great extent. On the other hand, however, aware of his own power, Volodymyr wanted to secure Byzantium's recognition of Kyiv's political independence and religious autonomy. He waited for a suitable moment. It came in 957. Byzantine Emperors Basil and Constantine found themselves in grave danger. They were faced with a rebellion of the Commander-in-Chief Bardas Scleros in alliance with the Arabs in Asia Minor, and the military commander Bardas Phocas on the other side of the Empire — on the border with Bulgaria. Volodymyr listened to the Emperors' pleas and sent an army which helped to crush the rebels. As a reward for his services, Volodymyr demanded that the Emperors gave their sister Anna to him in marriage, thereby recognising him as their equal. Although this was not the usual practice of the Byzantine Emperors, who regarded themselves as emperors of the whole Christian world, and their predecessor John Tsymiskhius allowed his distant relative, Theophano, to marry the German Emperor only because she was not of imperial stock, one can assume that in these difficult times the Emperors Basil and Constantine reluctantly agreed to Volodymyr's demand, but only under the condition that he became a Christian. When the danger was over, they conveniently "forgot" about their promise, and Anna herself did not wish to leave Constantinople and go to a foreign land to marry some barbarian prince. Then, according to the Chronicle, Volodymyr led a campaign against the Crimea in 988, and after a long siege he took the town with the help of the Khersonian priest Anastasius, reminded the Emperors of their agreement and threatened to take Constantinople if they did not allow Anna to marry him. The Emperors became frightened and persuaded Anna to sacrifice herself to save the Empire. "It is as if I were setting out into captivity", lamented Anna, "it would be better for me to die at home". All the same, she sailed to Kherson accompanied by Greek dignitaries and priests (among whom was Michael, the first Metropolitan of Rus'). The people of Kherson came out to greet their new princess and settled her in the palace. The Chronicle describes how in a strange run of events Volodymyr was at that time suffering from a disease of the eyes and could not see anything. He

listened to the advice of Princess Anna that when he became a Christian his sight would be restored. "If this proves true, then of a surety is the God of the Christians great", said Volodymyr, and allowed himself to be baptised. The Bishop of Kherson and the Princess's priests baptised Volodymyr. As the Bishop laid his hand upon him, Volodymyr's sight was restored, and he said: "I have now perceived the one true God". When his followers saw this miracle, many of them were also baptised. Volodymyr was baptised in the Church of St. Elias, which stood in the middle of the town near the market square and received the Christian name of Basil. The Chronicle goes on to say that "The palace of Volodymyr stands beside this church to this day, and the palace of the Princess is behind the altar". Some historians, including Hrushevskyy and Chubaty, maintain that Volodymyr was baptised before the campaign of Kherson, probably in 987, in Rus', for which there are some logical arguments, and that only his close associates and followers were baptised in Kherson, where some kind of bigger ceremony was held to mark Volodymyr's official acceptance of Christianity. This issue is therefore open to debate. However, I believe that the tradition of the Chronicle should not be so easily discarded, as there is currently no conclusive proof which would contradict it. The chronicler describes the baptism of the people of Kyiv in the following way:

"Hereupon Volodymyr took the Princess and Anastasius and the priests of Kherson, together with the relics of St. Clement and of Phoebus his disciple, and selected also sacred vessels and images for the service. In Kherson he thus founded a church on the mound which had been heaped up in the midst of the city with the earth removed from his embankment; this church is standing to the present day. Volodymyr also found and appropriated two bronze statues and four bronze horses, which now stand behind the Church of the Holy Virgin, and which the ignorant think are made of marble. As a wedding present for the Princess, he gave Kherson over to the Greeks again, and then departed for Kyiv.

When the Prince arrived at his capital, he directed that the idols should be overthrown, and that some should be cut into pieces and others burned with fire. He thus ordered that Perun should be bound to a horse's tail and dragged down Borychev to the stream. He appointed twelve men to beat the idol with sticks. . . while the idol was being dragged along the stream to the Dnieper, the unbelievers wept over it, for they had not yet received holy baptism. After they had thus dragged the idol along, they cast it into the Dnieper. But Volodymyr had given this injunction: 'If it halts anywhere, then push it out from the bank, until it goes over the falls. Then let it loose'. His command was duly obeyed. When the men let the idol go, and it passed through the rapids, the wind cast it out on the bank, which since that time has been called Perun's sandbank, a name that it bears to this very day.

Thereafter Volodymyr sent heralds throughout the city to proclaim that if any inhabitant, rich or poor, did not betake himself to

the river, he would risk the Prince's displeasure. When the people heard these words, they wept for joy, and exclaimed in their enthusiasm: 'If this were not good, the Prince and his boyars would not have accepted it'. On the morrow, the Prince went forth to the Dnieper with the priests of the Princess and those from Kherson, and a countless multitude assembled. They all went into the water: some stood up to their necks, others to their breasts, and the younger near the bank, some of them holding children in their arms, while the adults waded farther out. The priests stood by and offered prayers. There was joy in heaven and upon earth to behold so many souls saved. But the devil groaned, lamenting, "Woe is me! How am I driven out hence! . . . my reign in these regions is at an end".

When the people were baptised, they returned each to his own abode. Volodymyr, rejoicing that he and his subjects now knew God, himself looked up to heaven and said: 'Oh God, who has created heaven and earth, look down, I beseech thee, on this my new people, and grant them, oh Lord, to know thee as the true God, even as the other Christian nations have known thee. Confirm in them the true and inalterable faith, and aid me, oh Lord, against the hostile adversary, so that, hoping in thee and in thy might, I may overcome this malice'. Having spoken thus, he ordained that wooden churches should be built and established where pagan idols had previously stood. He thus founded the Church of St. Basil on the hill where the idol of Perun and the other images had been set, and where the Prince and the people had offered their sacrifices. He began to found churches and assign priests throughout the cities, and to invite the people to accept baptism in all the cities and towns.

He took children of the best families, and sent them for instruction in book-learning. The mothers of these children wept bitterly over them, for they were not yet strong in faith, but mourned as for the dead".

Here it should be noted that the people of Kyiv were "baptised by the priests of the Emperor and the priests from Kherson", that is, Greeks from Byzantium and Kherson, some of whom knew the Slavonic language and among whom, according to Prof. Chubatyi, there were also priests from Tmu-torokan, where the Rus' were already Christians. Obviously the conversion of the population of such a large state as Rus' to Christianity happened neither overnight nor even in the space of a single year. It was a gradual process initiated first in the towns and only then in the villages, where paganism or dualistic beliefs survived for a long time. On the territory of Rus' proper, that is present-day Ukraine, the process of christianisation developed much faster for here the population was already familiar with Christianity and the pagan religion did not have such deep roots as among the Byelorussian and Moscovite tribes in the north. In the northern territories christianisation was a long and sluggish process which faced much opposition from the population. Roused by the pagan sorcerers, the people often drove priests out of their

settlements. In Novgorod the Great Volodymyr was compelled to use force. His military commander, Putiata, had to fight the population of Novgorod on the streets of the city and Volodymyr's uncle and representative in Novgorod, Dobrynia, ordered several buildings to be set on fire in different parts of the city. This gave rise to the saying: "Putiata baptised with the sword, and Dobrynia with fire". As late as 1071, eighty years later, the pagan sorcerers were still able to rouse the population of Novgorod and Rostov to such an extent that paganism was restored for a short time. It was particularly difficult to convert the non-Slavic Finnish tribes, which populated the major part of present-day Russia. The Slavic tribe of Viaticians, who lived in the forests between the Chernihiv area and the lands of the Rostov-Suzdal on the river Oka in present-day southern Russia, accepted Christianity only some time towards the end of the 11th century. Such strong opposition to the introduction of Christianity did not exist among the Ukrainian tribes although elements of paganism were preserved alongside the official state religion despite lasting importunate attempts by the Church and the Prince to root out persisting remnants of the pagan beliefs. In time some of these elements of paganism became tied with Christian festivals, rites and customs, surviving in some cases to this day. One need only mention Ukrainian Christmas or Easter traditions, such as the decoration of Easter eggs.

Ukrainians generally accept August 1 (old style), 988, as the date of the baptism of the people of Kyiv, after the Chronicle. A detailed study of the Chronicle, however, which, as already mentioned, was written some 100 years later, makes certain historians doubt whether this was the actual date of the christianisation of Kyiv. In other sources there are facts which appear to contradict the Chronicle. Many historians, therefore, believe that the Christianisation of Kyiv must have occurred in 989 and not 988 as has been accepted until now. Whatever the case may be, it has no substantial meaning. In my opinion these evident contradictions would probably be explained if the available facts were not so scarce.

With the zeal and enthusiasm of a neophyte, Volodymyr set out building churches in every town and village of his realm — wooden ones at first for these could be built faster. In Kyiv and the more important towns of Rus', he also began to build stone churches.

The following is a report in the Chronicle about the building of the Tithe Church, which appears under the year 989: "With the intention of building a church dedicated to the Holy Virgin, he sent and imported artisans from Greece. After he had begun to build, and the structure was completed, he adorned it with images, and entrusted it to Anastasius of Kherson. He appointed Khersonian priests to serve in it, and bestowed upon his church all the images, vessels and crosses which he had taken in that city". Seven years later, under the year 996, the Chronicle has this to say about the completion of the building:

"Volodymyr, upon seeing his church completed, entered it and prayed to God, saying 'Lord God! Look down from heaven, behold

and visit thy vineyard, and perfect what thy right hand has begun. Make these new people, whose heart thou has turned unto wisdom, to know thee as the true God. Look upon thy church which I, thine unworthy servant, have built in the name of the Ever-Virgin mother of God who bore thee. Through the intercession of the Immaculate Virgin, hear the supplication of whosoever will pray in this church'. After he had offered this prayer, he added: 'I bestow upon this church of the Holy Virgin a tithe of my property and of my cities'. Then he wrote out a donation and deposited it in the church, declaring: 'If anyone violates this promise, may he be accursed'. So he gave the tithe to Anastasius of Kherson, and made a great festival on that day for the boyars and elders of the people, distributing also much largess to the poor".

Because neither the Primary Chronicle nor other early sources mention anything about the organisation of the Church at the time of Volodymyr — about its hierarchy, about where eparchies were created — and we are not even sure who the first Kyivan metropolitans were, one can only guess and form various assumptions about many of these issues. Thus on the basis of the reference to the Tithe Church and other facts, Prof. Chubatyi believes that Volodymyr the Great in actual fact appointed his trustful adviser Anastasius of Kherson as the administrator of the Church in Rus', entrusting him with a tenth of his wealth for the upkeep of this church. Chubatyi also believes that initially there was no metropolitan in Kyiv and that the Archbishop of Tmutorokan was the overseer of the whole Church in Rus'. I believe that, as far as possible, one should take the Chronicle literally and draw the conclusion that Anastasius of Kherson was, in actual fact, Volodymyr's closest adviser in church, and possibly even in secular matters of the state, and that he was the administrator of the main cathedral, which was at that time the Tithe Church, together with its school and library, as well as the tithe as an indispensable fund for the needs of the Church.

We cannot say with any certainty when the Kyivan metropolitanate was created and who was appointed the first metropolitan for Rus' by the Patriarchate of Constantinople. There are many contradictory thoughts and assumptions about these issues. According to ancient tradition, written down in the Nikon (patriarchal) Chronicle of the 15th century, the first metropolitan of Kyiv was Michael, whom the Church canonised and who is remembered on September 30 (old style). Metropolitan Michael is said to have died in 992. Tatishchev maintains that he was not Greek (he was probably a Bulgarian). Some historians, however, believe that he lived some 130 years earlier at the time of Askold and Dyr, and in Tmutokoran and not Kyiv and that the first metropolitan of Kyiv was Leontiy who died in 1004. He was succeeded by Ioan (John, possibly a Greek) who died in 1034, that is already at the time of Yaroslav. Prof. Chubatyi believes that both of them were archbishops of Rus', but that they lived in Tmutorokan and not in Kyiv. However, there is inadequate evidence to back these statements. The first metropolitan clearly identified by the Primary Chronicle was the Greek Theotemptus (1039), who lived

at the time of Yaroslav. This curious failure of the chronicles to mention the first princes of the Church in Rus'-Ukraine is explained by some historians in the following way. They believe that the Kyivan metropolitanate was at that time independent from the Patriarchate of Constantinople, whereby the first metropolitans of Kyiv did not have the full recognition of the Patriarch, and that all references to them in the Chronicle were removed in later years by adherents of Byzantine orthodoxy. But, whatever the case may be, in addition to the Kyivan metropolitanate, other eparchies were created in Rus' due to the vast territorial expanses of this newly-converted Christian state. Tatishchev, who lived in the 18th century, the first Russian historian who was able to make use of the chronicles, which were later destroyed, mentions that in the year 991 "Michael, the [first] Kyivan metropolitan, travelled through the land of Rus' to Rostov with four bishops sent by the Patriarch. With the permission of the Great Prince, Dobrynia, Volodymyr's uncle, and Anastasius went with them, assisted by distinguished boyars and officials. Other bishops remained in Kyiv, teaching the people the Christian faith. And he appointed Joachim as Bishop of Novgorod and Feodor as Bishop of Rostov. That same year, the Pope's envoys came to Volodymyr, who received them with love and honour and sent his own envoy to the Pope. Having learnt of this, the Patriarch of Constantinople wrote to Volodymyr and Metropolitan Michael saying that: 'It is bad to agree with the Pope, for the Roman faith is no good. . .'. In 992, "Volodymyr went to the Dnister with two bishops, teaching and baptising many people, and built a town in the Cherven land which he named Volodymyr after himself and the Church of the Holy Mother of God, where he left Bishop Stephan and returned home rejoicing". "Also that year, Metropolitan Michael died, which caused much grief to Volodymyr and to all the people. And Volodymyr sent envoys to Constantinople, to the Patriarch, to ask for a new metropolitan. He sent Leontiy, a most learned man, who radiated with piety. Having arrived, he appointed bishops in the following towns: Joachim from Kherson for Novgorod the Great and Pskov; Neophytus for Chernihiv; Feodor for Rostov; and Stephan for Volodymyr, the latter two were appointed there previously, and Nykyta, a Bulgarian, that is a Slav, for Bilhorod". Thus, from this story, it appears that Metropolitan Leontiy was a well-educated Greek from Constantinople, the Bishop of Novgorod was from Kherson, that is, most probably a Greek from the Crimea, and that the other four bishops were Slavs (Bulgarians). Prof. Chubatyi claims that, at that time, there must also have been an eparchy in Tmutarokan, with an archbishop, and Peremyshl, with a bishop. However, there is no mention of this in the historical sources and one should regard this theory with some doubt for the time being. Prof. Ivan Vlasovskyi, the Ukrainian church historian, believes that, at the time of Volodymyr, eparchies were also created in Turiv, in Polissia, and Polotsk, in Byelorussia. Thus, at the time of Volodymyr's death (1015), there must have been between 8-10 eparchies, each with its own bishop, in the Kyivan state. The metropolitan was usually a Greek, appointed by the Patriarch of Constantinople. Of all the 22 or 24



Kyivan Metropolitans up to the Tartar invasion in 1240 and the decline of Kyiv, only two were natives of Rus'. They were elected by the local Ukrainian eparchy with the support of the Great Prince against the will of the patriarchs of Constantinople and opposed by the majority of bishops and princes of the northern lands of Byelorussia and Rostov-Suzdal. One of the two Rus' metropolitans was Ilarion, author of *Word on Law and Grace*, a eulogy of Prince Volodymyr. He was elected metropolitan in 1051 with the active support of Prince Yaroslav the Wise, and his goal was very clear — the independence of the Kyivan metropolitanate. Ilarion was metropolitan up to the death of Yaroslav in 1054. The second Ukrainian metropolitan was Clement Smoliatych, elected by the Council of Ukrainian Bishops in 1147.

The acceptance of Christianity by Volodymyr and the people of the Kyivan state bore great significance for the spiritual, cultural and material development of the Ukrainian and other East European nations. Having been enlightened by the teachings of Christ about the love for God and one's neighbour, the Ukrainian people entered onto the path of spiritual perfection, magnanimity and cultural and material elevation. As far as Rus'-Ukraine was concerned, the grain of Christ's teaching fell on fertile ground. It helped to develop the noble qualities of the Ukrainian people which existed even before the acceptance of Christianity, in pagan times, inoculating it with even haughtier ideals. Christianity introduced writing to Rus'-Ukraine, adapted to the Slavonic language, which led to the development of academic study, literary writing and general education, spreading literacy throughout the land. Christianity also gave a great impetus to the building of churches and monasteries, secular architecture, and art in all its forms — painting, engraving, jewellery, music and song. With the organisation of church life came the system of canon law which bound all people connected with, and all those in the care of, the Church. With the acceptance of Christianity, Rus'-Ukraine joined the civilised nations of Europe, and entered into closer dynastic, cultural and economic relations with them. According to Metropolitan Ilarion of Kyiv, Volodymyr reigned in a land known to all nations of the world. Due to the salutary influence of Christianity, at the time of Volodymyr's successor and son, Yaroslav, the Kyivan state developed at an even faster rate. In Kyiv and all the more important towns in Rus', beautiful churches were being built and adorned with works of high artistic value, which rivalled the works of Byzantine and other artists, at a time when, to a large degree, Western Europe lacked artistic works of such high quality.

The largest and finest of these churches was the Cathedral of St. Sophia in Kyiv, which has survived, although in a somewhat altered form, to this day, testifying to the high level of culture attained by Rus'-Ukraine in the period of its development. Church and secular literature developed on a wide scale. Church life was filled to the brim with a spirit of particular piety, love for the native land and people, and harmonious collaboration between the Church and the secular power. In Rus'-Ukraine there were no attempts by the state to subordinate the Church under its own power, as in Byzantium and later on

in Moscow, or indeed, any attempts on the part of the Church hierarchy to interfere in the conduct of secular state affairs without adequate reasons for this. In this way Kyivan Christianity also differed from Western Christianity, which had periods when the Church meddled far too much in affairs of the state. At this point, one should briefly mention the relations between the Kyivan metropolitanate and the Kyivan state with Byzantium and Rome. Rus'-Ukraine accepted Christianity of the Greek rite, but with the Church Slavonic language, from Constantinople, although there had been previous attempts to introduce Christianity in Rus' through the mediation of the Latin West. These, however, were unsuccessful, for the ruler and people of Rus' preferred to hear the word of God and to worship God in their own native Slavonic language. This is not to say that either the secular power or the Church hierarchy of Rus' did not respect the great authority of the Pope, the successor of St. Peter. History has shown many attempts beginning in the reign of Princess Olha, to forge closer relations with Rome and the Latin West, in order to secure Rome's recognition for the Kyivan Church and rite. The discord between the Patriarch of Constantinople and the Pope, which had become obvious already in the 9th century, and which led to the split of the Church in 1054 into the Eastern Orthodox and the Western Catholic Churches, obstructed ecumenical unity. Kyiv stood aside from these misunderstandings, possibly in the hope that they were only temporary and that Christian unity would be restored in the future. This hostility towards Rome and Catholicism so clearly seen in Byzantium could not be seen in Kyiv. The numerous envoys and cordial relations with the Holy See, as well as the attempts at union, at the time of King Danylo of Halych and later years, also testify to this. However, although the Kyivan metropolitanate acted independently, in the final count it was subordinate to the Patriarch of Constantinople and was obliged to tow his line in the most crucial issues, particularly since the patriarch appointed Greeks as metropolitans. In this way Byzantine Orthodoxy was finally consolidated in Kyiv until the attempts at union with Rome in a later period of history (16th century).

Although the Kyivan state declined and finally crumbled during the invasion of the Tartars (1240) and other hostile powers, the Christian faith, introduced by Prince Volodymyr has survived to this day. It animates the spirit of the Ukrainian nation and leads it along the particular path that God's providence has destined for it in the history of mankind.

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*Yevhen KRAMAR*

## THE QUESTION OF PRINCE VOLODYMYR'S RELIGIOUS CHOICE

*(Conclusion)*

It is necessary to note the following. In 999-1003, the learned philosopher, Sylvester II, was Pope. He clearly understood the significance of Kyivan-Rus' in political and religious terms and so attempted to draw it into the bosom of the Western (Roman) Church. The exchange of emissaries between Rome and Kyiv had a place after Rus' had been christianised with the aid of Byzantium. This leads us to the conclusion that for Prince Volodymyr, the Eastern (Byzantine) religious-ecclesiastical orientation was not absolute and he did not pay a substantial amount of attention to certain theological, ceremonial and ecclesiastical differences between Rome and Constantinople. At first it seems strange that the "Primary Chronicle" does not speak of the relationship Volodymyr had with Rome as does the "Nikon Chronicle". But the "Primary Chronicle" was compiled at a much later date, in Russia. The essence of this is that the later "Nikon Chronicle" could call upon sources which the author (compiler) of the "Primary Chronicle" did not have. Furthermore, following the christianisation of Rus', it was dominated by Byzantine Greek clergy. It created an appropriate version, which resulted in the chronicle rejecting, or not including, anything which would cast a favourable light on Rome and its relations with Kyiv. The Chronicle was left with (included in it) accounts of an unattractive nature. The "Nikon Chronicle" was spared this type of editing.

This chronicle is deserving of trust because of another aspect. It was compiled in Orthodox Moscow by an earnest adherent of Orthodoxy. Therefore it could not contain a purposeful, invented account in favour of Rome (the Pope). There is not just the one, but many facts which are portrayed in such a way that does not substantiate disbelief.

After this retreat, the comprehension of the chronicled choice of faith is facilitated, particularly its German-Papal episode. It is not difficult to deduce that Prince Volodymyr's words had been attributed to the Papal envoys. Someone had made the chronicled envoys of Volodymyr in Germany look at things not with their own eyes but with foreign eyes, listen with foreign ears and subsequently report back to Kyiv with foreign words. Perhaps it would not be right to correct the situation totally and explain everything as purposeful falsification. But the fact remains that the chronicled account of the choice of faith, including the German episode, underwent an appropriate system of editing. As to the chronicler Nestor, he could have had this account ready in an almost complete form as a wandering legend with all its contradictions,

obscurities and lack of knowledge. For example, Prince Volodymyr is said to have referred to the authority of his ancestors when rejecting the German (Papal) preachers — “. . . for our forefathers did not accept it”. But this sort of statement contradicts the above set of facts concerning the contacts of our ancestors with Rome and Germany. These contacts were initiated during the reign of Prince Askold, and continued by Olha, Yaropolk and Volodymyr himself. So the person who attributed the above words to Volodymyr was, to put it mildly, uninformed and wove words into the chronicled account which contradict the facts.

Now to turn to the impressions formed by the envoys' German visit, which they related to Volodymyr. Nothing worthy of disbelief (of the religion) could have been related to the envoys, whereas in Constantinople, the envoys accepted everything unreversedly, enthusiastically, but Byzantine Orthodoxy was composed of the same unworthiness, because the religion was the same. So, if the envoys did not believe areas of the Christian religion, then this doubt would arise in Germany and Constantinople. Instead, on the one hand, things were unworthy of belief in Germany, but in Constantinople — it was the holy truth. It was only after Volodymyr had accepted Christianity with the help of Byzantium and everything Roman (Catholic) was condemned that such a differential, unobjective stance was taken, not by Volodymyr's envoys but by someone at a later date.

What must surely have been apparent to any bystander was the language of the Catholic Mass. It is conducted in a language which is dead and uncomprehensible to the faithful, and this was the case then. Rome acknowledged only three languages — Roman, Latin and Greek which were used to write the first ecclesiastical texts for Mass. The various languages of other nations were not permitted. In fact, this was not a minor obstacle in the further spread of the Christian religion. The Eastern Church was, in this respect, more amenable. It is clear that in 863, at the request of the Great Moravian Prince Dostyslav, the Byzantine Emperor and the Patriarch of Constantinople sent the brothers Constantine (later known as Kyril) and Methodius to his country for the purpose of propagating Christianity in the Slavonic language. The brothers were very successful because, after creating the Slavonic alphabet, they translated holy books and communicated with the population in the language they comprehended. Whereas in Constantinople, which Volodymyr's envoys visited after Germany, Mass was celebrated in Greek, understood by the Greeks, but unintelligible to the Slavonic peoples. Therefore Mass in Constantinople should have been as objectionable as Latin in Germany. However, the ecclesiastical language between Byzantium and Rus' was an obstacle of lesser significance. This was so because Bulgaria with its Slavonic-tongued clergy and literature could become and in fact did become an intermediary. The Kyivan churches, already in existence prior to the official adoption of Christianity, were served by Bulgarian clergy using the Slavonic language aided by Slavonic texts. In a word, the Latin language of the Western (Roman) Christian rite services was a problem for Rus'. But this problem was not unearthed by Prince Volodymyr and his court in 986-987. They were certainly aware of it previously. It was possible to find all this out in Kyiv

itself, where traders and other adherents of Roman rite Christianity lived or passed through. Besides, Rus' already bordered with Catholic Poland and Czechia, where Latin was the Church language.

Now, a few words concerning the cult of the Pope in Catholicism. Insofar as, according to the dogma of Catholicism, the Pope is the Vicar of Christ on earth, successor to the apostle Peter, then by the same token, the Pope is independent of any world power, even to the extent of being above it. This is just the place where the scythe can hit stone. It is enough to remember the beginning of the chronicled entry of 980: "And Volodymyr began to rule in Kyiv himself"<sup>35</sup>. This does not only concern the rule of a Prince in as much as the nature of this reign is the embryo of autocracy. Really Volodymyr conquered and destroyed his brother Yaropolk, physically destroyed the Polotsk Prince Rovholod and his family, and subsequently extended his rule over the Polotsk territory. He pacified the insubordinate Vyatychians, took over Cherny, Peremyshl and other cities and lands, marched victoriously on the Yatvigiens, then on the Bulgarians and so on. All this and much more besides was accomplished within the plan of strengthening and extending the Kyivan state. Then suddenly, on accepting Christianity from the West, he would be the Pope's subordinate. Probably this prospect did not appeal to such a prince. The more so, because there was a different, Byzantine, alternative which gave the emperor priority over the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Volodymyr obviously found this situation more to his taste. But the Prince and his court could know this without despatching specific envoys. So, if the German missionaries really explained to Volodymyr the basis of their faith, they would have divulged to him the status of the Pope in Catholicism.

Finally, the appearance of churches and the form of Mass, from the words of the envoys, did not appeal to Volodymyr. Obviously, this does not apply to the basis of the faith, but simple, naive people really do pay more attention to form rather than content. To this extent, all the attributes of the Byzantine Mass and the internal decor of the churches could in fact have had greater appeal to the ancient Ukrainian soul, to its criterion of beauty. All the more so, that the Rus' people frequented Byzantine churches and could see and hear it all in Kyiv. Moreover, insofar as the Prince later accepted Christianity through Byzantium, then, as already stated, everything Byzantine had to be better than the Roman retrospectively.

Next comes the final Byzantine episode of the chronicled account about the choice of faith. The preacher from Constantinople is called a philosopher in the chronicles. This was probably understood as being a learned theologian not a civil sage. In the "Primary Chronicle" he is not named, but elsewhere he is called Kyr or Kyril. But this could be a special anthroponymic case: the Greek word "Kyr" is not a personal name, but a title of respect — Mr. Because of the lack of understanding of this Greek word, later interpreters could have translated it as a personal name — Kyr, and later — Kyril<sup>36</sup>.

Some ancient authors call this Greek philosopher Michael and believe him to be the Metropolitan Michael, who became the Metropolitan in Kyiv after

35. *PSRL*, t. I, p. 42.

36. V. N. Tatishchev: *op. cit.* p. 231, parag. 177.

the Christianisation of Rus'<sup>37</sup>. However, there is no reason to identify this Greek philosopher-preacher with the first Kyivan Metropolitan Michael, because if this was the case, neither the oral narrations nor the chroniclers would have forgotten the name of the Greek philosopher who visited Volodymyr, and the later sources would not contain inaccuracies on this score. Whatever the name of this philosopher, Byzantine state and Church sources are not acquainted with the despatch to Kyiv of any such person with the aim of inclining the Prince towards Christianity. Neither do they know of the visit to Constantinople of Volodymyr's envoys. These are not unimportant occurrences and the Greeks definitely would have fixed them in their annals. This touch itself casts doubt as to the authenticity of the chronicled account, about the choice of faith in general and the Byzantine episode in particular.

Scepticism and doubt in this part are magnified by the fact that the chronicler knocked at an open door, so to speak: in order to become acquainted with Christianity in its correct rite, it was not necessary to listen to the Greek philosopher's protracted sermon, nor to despatch a specific ten-member mission to Constantinople, because all this could be obtained from their own Kyivan Christians, and also as a result of frequent visits to Byzantium.

According to the "Primary Chronicle", the Greek philosopher was quite effective in influencing Prince Volodymyr, by showing him the picture depicting the Last Judgement. This would be unremarkable if it were not for the fact that the showing of the picture of the Last Judgement figures in other episodes which distance them from Kyiv in terms of time and territory. This sort of picture is said to have been shown to the Bulgarian Prince Bohorys before his baptism (865): according to other sources, one of the first teachers of the Slavs, Constantine, revealed the picture of the Last Judgement to the Great Moravian Prince Rostyslav<sup>38</sup>. Either Byzantine missionaries in various places and situations used the same tactics over a period of more than a hundred years — showed the same or a similar picture of the Last Judgement — or there is possibly a different explanation. It is known that after the christianisation of Rus', a large quantity of Bulgarian literature appeared in Ukraine. The Bulgarian language of the time became the Church and literary language in general. Insofar as the episode of the revelation of the scene of the Last Judgement to Prince Bohorys figured in Bulgarian tradition, this tradition in current Bulgarian literature found its way to Kyiv, where in time it was connected with Prince Volodymyr. Researchers have been drawing attention to the fallibility of such a borrowing for some time. There are other factors which support this idea. In all editions of Prince Volodymyr's "Statute", his baptism is to have taken place during the term of the Patriarch of Constantinople, Photius, for example: "I, Volodymyr, baptised Vasylii, accepted the Christian faith from the Greek Emperor and from Patriarch Photius, and accepted the first Metropolitan for Kyiv from him, who baptised the whole land of Rus' with holy baptism"<sup>39</sup>.

As to the first Kyivan Metropolitan, he is known by different names in

37. Ibid.

38. V. N. Tatishchev: op. cit. vol. I, 1962, pp. 105-106.

39. *Drevnerusskie kniazheskie ustavy XI-XV vv.*, p. 30.

various editions of this "Statute": Leon (Leont), Michael. The text of the "Statute" was compiled not during Volodymyr's reign, but much later. It has a name — "Statute of Holy Prince Volodymyr" — but he was beatified long after his death.

This is not the only factor. The name of the Patriarch of Constantinople testifies to a blatant anachronism. Photius was Patriarch in 858-867 and 877-886. So he did not have any connection whatsoever with the baptism of Prince Volodymyr and Rus' in the 980s. It was during Photius' term that Bulgaria accepted Christianity in 865. So once again, the trail leads from the Bulgarian Prince Bohorys (Borys) to the Kyivan Prince Volodymyr. The reality connected with the baptism of this Bulgarian Prince is transferred to Volodymyr. And this probably occurred after the christianisation of Rus' when there was a rapid flow of a variety of literature from Bulgaria, and later when the canonised "life portrait" of Saint Volodymyr was being created.

Further: the contradiction in the name of the first Kyivan Metropolitan. The hierarch Michael figures in the information about the christianisation of the Ros (Rus'), which took place during the reign of the Kyivan Prince Askold, Leon (Leont) — the first Metropolitan of Christian Bulgaria (865). So researchers quite rightly conclude that the names of these Metropolitans wandered into Rus' together with the tales of the christianisation of Askold's Ros (Michael) and the Bulgarians (Leont)<sup>40</sup>.

Finally there is the following situation. In the Chronicle and other sources, this great missionary who visited Prince Volodymyr, has the title philosopher. One of the brothers of the first converter of the Slavs — Constantine (Kyril) — in his "life portrait" is called a philosopher<sup>41</sup>. He is also said to have brought up the scene of the Last Judgement. There is evidence that in the "Primary Chronicle", in the narration of the Greek philosopher and his portrayal of the scene, the echo of the philosopher Constantine (Kyril) is preserved. This philosopher is a contemporary of Photius, the Patriarch of Constantinople, but the misunderstood tradition connected him with Prince Volodymyr and inserted him into the narration of the choice of faith. It is no wonder that in some sources the Greek philosopher who visited Volodymyr is allocated the name Kyr, Kyril. As in the case of Patriarch Photius, there is an apparent anachronism, which contradicts the documentary aspect of the chronicled account of the choice of faith. And, generally, everything that is said by the Greek philosopher to Prince Volodymyr (according to the "Primary Chronicle") can easily be analysed as elements of a literary complication from the memorabilia of translated Church-Slavonic literature. It is insufficient to suppose that this relates to the "Zapys" of that period (980s)<sup>42</sup>. The lengthy chronicled sermon of the Greek philosopher contains points which are not in the Bible, but researchers explain where they are borrowed from<sup>43</sup>. So, this sermon is not attributable to the true Greek preacher, but arises from the

40. See A. E. Presnyakov: *Lektsii po russkoy istorii*, t. I, Moscow, 1938, p. 108.

41. P. Petrov, V. Hyuzelev: *Khrestomatiya po istoriya na Bolharya*, vol. I, Sofia, 1978, pp. 276-288.

42. A. E. Presnyakov: op. cit., p. 104.

43. M. I. Sukhomlinov: *O drevney russkoy letopisi, kak pamyatke literaturnom — ucheny zapisi II, otdelenie imperatorskoy Akademii nauk*, Kn. III, 1856.

complications created from the various sources and respectively directed at the fictitious philosopher.

This retrospection, as an apparent pro-Byzantine orientation of this part of the chronicled account, is also evident from the following. Volodymyr's envoys should have observed and listened and then objectively presented everything to the Prince, the noblemen and elders. Instead, they clearly went beyond the bounds of the authority invested in them, because, according to the Chronicle, they themselves adopted Christianity of the Eastern rite while in Constantinople. Moreover, the envoys are said to have issued the Prince and the whole assembly with something akin to an ultimatum and if the Prince and others did not become baptised into the Byzantine rite and did not allow them, the envoys, to remain baptised and live in Kyiv, then they would emigrate to Byzantium. Obviously, after this, if it were true, the Prince had no alternative but to follow the example of the envoys, who appeared to be most experienced, knowledgeable, respectable people. At this point in the Chronicle, there is an apparent feeling of eulogy towards the Byzantine rite, such multifaceted features of Christianity which, in time, crystallised out as Orthodoxy. This laudatory discourse was formed much later, after the christianisation of Rus', initiated by the Byzantines. After the choice of faith, the chronicler under the year 988 writes about Prince Volodymyr's march on Korsun (Khersonesus), which was a dependency of Greece and his dealings with the Byzantine Emperors, Constantine and Basil, concerning the baptism of the Prince and his marriage to the Byzantine Princess. In answer to the Emperor's proposition to become baptised, Volodymyr is said to have replied: "Your faith and your Mass please me. For I have learnt of these from my envoys"<sup>44</sup>.

This is an echo of a previously chronicled account of the despatch of a special mission from Kyiv to various countries and about its impression on visiting Constantinople. But this is neither a separate nor a single piece of evidence of the despatch of envoys to Constantinople concerning the choice of faith. The author or the compiler of the Chronicle has already previously described the visits of missionaries and the despatch of envoys from Kyiv with information about what was seen and heard, and he repeated this version in the following section. One more thing. According to the Chronicle, on the return of the envoys from Constantinople, the Prince and other participants of the conference in Kyiv made the final decision to become baptised. But after this, while in occupied Korsun, when the Princess had already arrived for her marriage to Volodymyr, he, according to the chronicler, was still hesitant. It needed a miracle to heal a disorder of his eyes in order for Volodymyr to at last agree to baptism. If the authoritative conference had truly taken place in Kyiv before the march on Korsun, together with a firm decision concerning baptism in the Byzantine rite, then the hesitation in Korsun would not have occurred. The Korsun march really did take place. But in the Chronicle, this march is connected with a range of other circumstances, in particular the baptism in Korsun of Prince Volodymyr. These various other conditions in literature were attributed with the name of the Korsun legend.

44. *PSRL*, t. I, p. 110.



That the Korsun legend totally or in some of its episodes created a whole with the legend concerning preachers and testing of faiths is not excluded<sup>45</sup>. There were several legends about the baptism of Volodymyr. The chronicler chose one of them — the Korsun legend. According to others, Volodymyr was baptised in Kyiv or Vasyliv, or elsewhere. In fact, even the Korsun legend, which the chronicler obviously regarded as the true one, is known in a modified version. The "Primary Chronicle" is deficient in the following: "He marched on and took Korsun, where he killed the Prince and Princess. He did not send back his army, but sent the voyewoda (military commander) Oleh together with Zhydbern to Constantinople, to the Emperors, to ask them for the hand of their sister"<sup>46</sup>.

Insofar as there were several versions about the christianisation of Prince Volodymyr, there is insufficient evidence to believe only that which was favoured by the chronicler, all the more so, because his version was appropriately worked on and upgraded to a later Byzantine concept. If the choice of faith had anything to do with Prince Volodymyr's baptism, in its chronicled apparel, then this would have been mirrored in ancient Ukrainian memories which are woven into the "Primary Chronicle". But this is not so. One of the first ancient Ukrainian memories was compiled about fifty years after the christianisation of Rus' — the *Word on Law and Grace* of Ilarion. This author, the first indigenous Metropolitan (1051), demonstrates the superiority of Christianity over the law of Moses and praises Prince Volodymyr for adopting Christianity. This would be an appropriate place to mention this choice of faith, and, in particular, the Greek philosopher and the despatch of envoys to Constantinople. But Ilarion said the following: "He often heard of, and knew about the righteous land of the Greeks, and how the people, who worshipped Christ, and were strong in faith, believed in one God in three images and worshipped him"<sup>47</sup>.

That Prince Volodymyr heard about the faith of the Greeks from various people at various times is a different, completely practical fact. But neither Ilarion nor other authors who wrote sections of the "Primary Chronicle" know of the choice of faith as a separate campaign with the receiving of various missionaries, the despatch of envoys and so on. Ilarion's words, therefore, do not support the later chronicled account. If Prince Volodymyr constantly heard about the faith of the Greeks, then he would have, and indeed did, hear of other faiths without organising a special dramatic choice of faith in the manner portrayed by the Chronicle. With due respect to the "Primary Chronicle", and its author (compiler), the account of the choice of faith cannot be taken literally. And there are no other accounts of this matter apart from the chronicles. Researchers are more or less agreed in their appraisal of the chronicled account of the choice of faith — that it is a legend. It is true that some are inclined towards the belief that the account of acquaintance

45. S. M. Soloviev: op. cit., p. 316.

46. See A. Kh. Vostakov: *Opisanie russkikh i slovenskikh rukopisey Pumyantsevskogo Muzeuma*, MCCCCXXXV, p. 687.

47. *Slovo Ilariona, mitropolita kievskogo*. Pribavlenie k tvoreniam svyatykh otsov, ch. II, Moscow, 1844, p. 240.

with the various faiths is a completely probable fact<sup>48</sup>. But really, the concern is not with the probable fact, but with generalised literature prepared using the epic formula, whose basis could have been formed by separate, chronologically totally different facts of missions of foreign faiths and numerous tales on this theme. As to the episode with the Greek philosopher, this is also a narration, a legend, albeit of literary origin<sup>49</sup>.

The interpretation of this chronicled choice of faith can be agreed with. It is well-known that Kyiv had religious contacts with Rome at various times. There is evidence of such contacts being initiated with Moslem Khoresm.

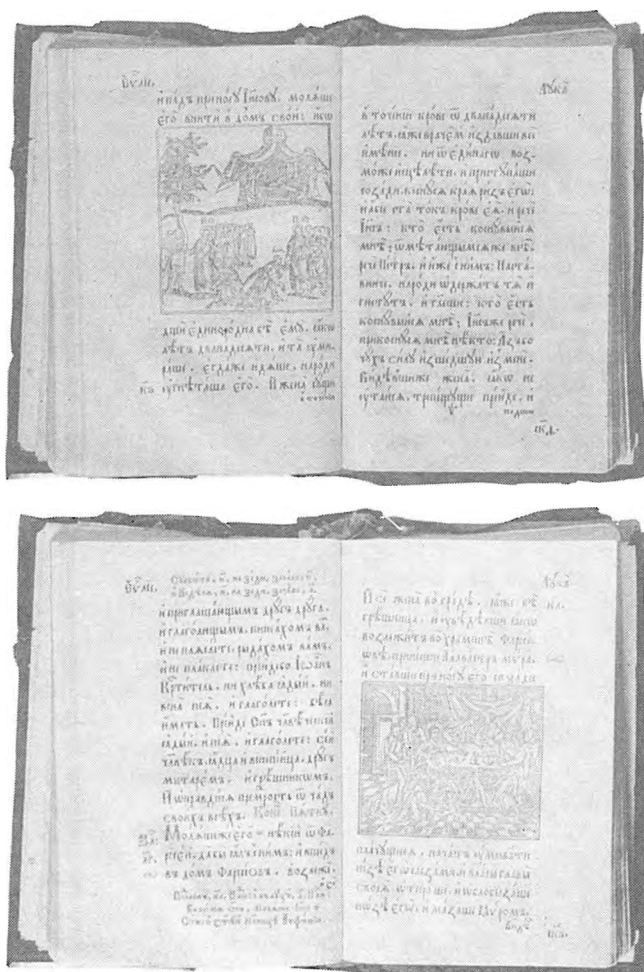
Although there are no direct written testimonies, religious contacts with Byzantium are an undisputed fact. The author of the *Word on Law and Grace* generally spoke of this. There certainly was some sort of contact, acquaintance with Judaism either during the dependence of some Ukrainian lands on the Khazar Kaganate or at a later time. If all these facts had been fixed immediately at source, then they would have remained in their natural factual appearance. But there is no written record from the pre-Christian era. All the pre-Christian events were usually preserved in the national memory, which elaborated on it, without paying attention to concrete facts, nor with time, nor with any other items appertaining to reality, as in the case with stories, narrations and so on. In fact, the dramatised account of the choice of faith reminds one of certain popular folk tales, which recount the story of three sons who roam the world in search of truth and happiness and return home to relate everything they had seen. That the chronicled choice of faith probably did not occur, is not due to the lack of other sources, but because of the improbability of the actual fact, the situation of the religious choice in Rus' in the 980s. The very concept of "choice" anticipates a clear predominance of a subjective volitional factor. This did not and could not have occurred. There was a "choice" without choice, a change from ancient Ukrainian paganism to the only alternative — Christianity. Prince Volodymyr solved his and his state's painful religious question with the only possible variant compatible with previous experience, with the situation in reality, the international position with Rus', with the character of Christianity, particularly in the Byzantine rite. But the chronicler passed on a folklore legend in a dramatised form, appropriately elaborated and retrospectively passed through the prism of pro-Byzantine Orthodox consciousness. But in parallel with its epic and legendary character, the named chronicled account deserves attention as an example of folklore, brought into the Chronicle and so retained for future generations.

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48. B. D. Grekov: *Kievskaya Rus'*, Kyiv, 1951, p. 463.

49. A. E. Presnyakov: op. cit., p. 104.

## THE CHRISTIAN HERITAGE OF UKRAINE



PAGES FROM THE GOSPEL, 17th c. printed at the Monastery of the Caves, Kyiv.  
(Courtesy of Taras Shevchenko Library and Museum, London)



**THE KHYSHCHIV GOSPELS — ST. LUKE, 1546, miniature**



**THE BAPTISM OF VOLODYMYR SVYATOSLAVYCH,**  
 miniature from the Radziwill Chronicle

**THE ARRIVAL OF PRINCESS ANNA TO KYIV,**  
 miniature from the Radziwill Chronicle

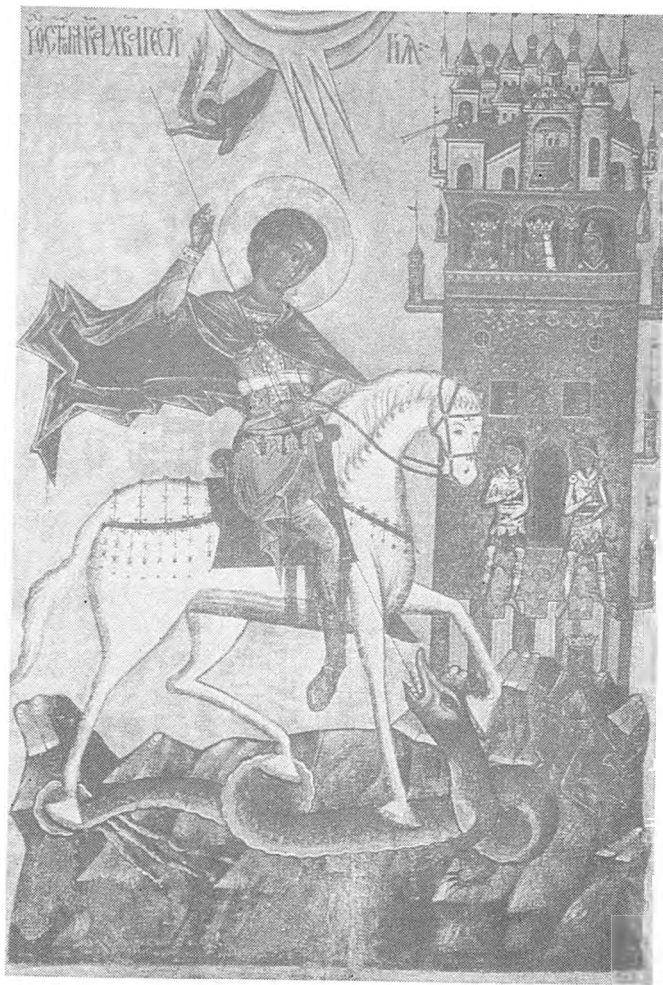




**THE CONSECRATION OF THE TITHES (DESYATYNNA) CHURCH,**  
miniature from the Radziwill Chronicle

**CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITUS RECEIVES OLHA,**  
miniature from the Radziwill Chronicle





**ST. GEORGE AND THE DRAGON,**  
15th c. egg tempera on wood, 114 × 79 cm. Zvyzhen

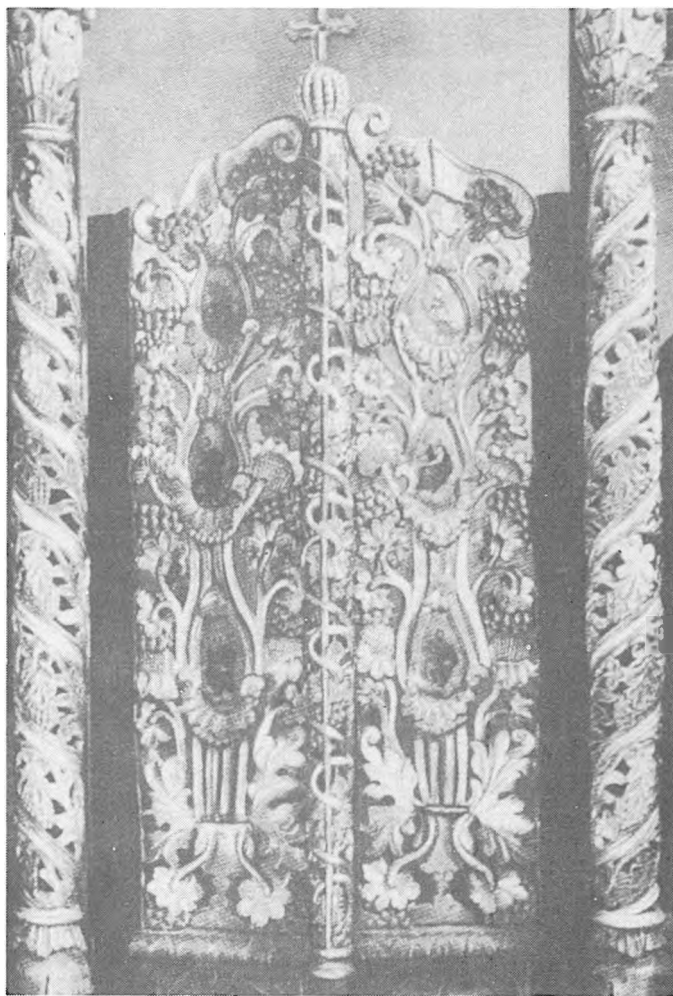


ARCHANGEL MICHAEL, late 15th c. egg tempera on wood, 93 × 50 cm. Drohobych





**ST. STEPHEN**, 12th c. mosaic, St. Michael's Cathedral of the Golden Domes, Kyiv



**THE CHURCH OF ST. MICHAEL — DETAIL OF ICONOSTASIS,**  
17th c. Skoryky



**THE CHURCH OF ST. NICHOLAS, 17th c. Serednye-Voddyane**



**THE WOODEN CHURCH OF THE ELEVATION OF THE CROSS,  
17th c. Drohobych**

### News from Ukraine

## **ADDITIONAL INFORMATION ABOUT THE KYIV DEMONSTRATION ON THE SECOND ANNIVERSARY OF CHORNOBYL**

(UPA) The Ukrainian Press Agency received the following information about the demonstration organised in Kyiv to mark the second anniversary of the Chornobyl disaster.

Ten days before 26 April, members of the Culturological Club approached the authorities for permission to hold a demonstration on that date, but received no reply. Instead, 3 members of the Club were invited to the procurator's office where they were warned not to engage in "anti-Soviet activities". Of the 100 members of the Club, 60 turned up at 18.30 with placards which read: "No more Chornobyls", "Turn Ukraine into a nuclear-free zone", "We do not need death zones" and "The Ukrainian Culturological Club is against nuclear death". The square where they demonstrated was the scene of unusual activity. A part of it was cordoned off by the militia behind which there were rehearsals for May Day demonstrations. Other sections of the square were being "renovated" and were also cordoned off.

Members of other ecological organisations, such as the official "Green World", took part although no senior figures attended. The demonstration lasted one hour and was eventually dispersed by the militia, the KGB and "Afgantsi" (Afghan veterans). According to Oles Shevchenko, one of the organisers, 50 people were detained. This included Culturological Club members Oles Shevchenko, Klym Semeniuk and Vasyl Hruzana. Before being arrested, Oles Shevchenko read aloud the article in the Soviet constitution which "guarantees the right to demonstrate".

After the demonstration, articles appeared immediately in the local Kyiv newspaper *Vechirniy Kyiv* entitled "The Shameful Provocation of the Culturological Club". Another local newspaper *Prapor Kommunizmu* also joined in the campaign, whilst the party daily *Radyanska Ukraina* published a large two-part article in May. The campaign was reminiscent of "Stalin-Brezhnev days", stated Oles Shevchenko, with "fabricated letters" written by "concerned citizens" to the newspapers against the Club. Oles Shevchenko commented that: "This all looks like a well-prepared campaign which has always taken place since the 1970s before widescale judicial processes, where the community is prepared beforehand with articles in the press. And, meanwhile, they are already deciding upon their dirty deeds".

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## Ukrainians meet President Reagan in Moscow

(UPA) The delegation which attempted to travel to Moscow to meet President Reagan on May 28 was partly detained by the local authorities and prevented from reaching their destination. Shortly before the train reached Ternopil, in Western Ukraine, the militia ordered the delegation out of its compartments and into the corridor where a check of identity papers was made. Five persons were removed from the train: Ukrainian Catholics — Bishop Pavlo Vasylyk, Fathers Mykhailo Havryliv, Mykola Simkailo, Hryhoriy Simkailo and Zinoviy Krasivskyi, a prominent dissident and former member of the underground Ukrainian National Front. They were taken back to Lviv to the Procurator's office and afterwards were released.

Six persons continued on to Moscow: Vyacheslav Chornovil, Mykhailo Horyn and his wife Olya, Ivan Hel and Petro Ruban. Ruban had just been released from imprisonment and arrived in Kyiv on May 25.

At the US Embassy reception, V. Chornovil sat next to President Reagan and told him that the nationality question was the most important problem facing the USSR and the new Soviet leadership. He also discussed the legalisation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, which had already been raised by President Reagan in discussions with M. Gorbachev. Later, when President Reagan visited the Danilov Monastery near Moscow, he called for freedom for all religious denominations in the USSR, citing the Ukrainian Catholic Church as an example.

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## Formal "Socio-Political Club Democratisation" formed in Poltava

"A time will come when the Neformalni will take the government into their own hands".

(UPA) The Kyiv Komsomol newspapers *Molod Ukrainy* recently reported on the activity of the unofficial youth "Socio-Political Club Democratisation" which is active in the city of Poltava. The Club had been known for some time, and had been formed well before the newly established official counterweight "Dialog", a Club which is tied to the Komsomol. The report states that there is open conflict between the two Clubs, with the "Democratisation" Club circulating leaflets calling for discussions on the theoretical questions of democratisation and perestroika. Those who were interested in the activities of the "Democratisation" Club were given the phone number of their leader, Hennadiy Zakharov. At meetings organised by the artificially created "Dialog" Club, those who had a different viewpoint were not allowed to speak.

The article describes the programme of the unofficial "Democratisation" Club as "oozing with open extremism". The main proposals of their programme, according to *Molod Ukrainy*, lie in "Taking up several general positions, propositions, wishes, appeals and slogans. But once you get down to important details, then they do not have anything organised, with little economic understanding". One of the most controversial points, the newspaper believed, was the call for "the struggle by community organisations for political rights in the media". "The socio-political crisis is worsening. And when the day arrives we will deal with the bureaucracy. Then all our leaders will have to undertake physical work", states the Poltava committee for "Democratisation" in a leaflet. H. Zakharov was quoted as saying that he believed that popularity of his Club was growing all the time. He also believed that, "a time will arrive when the unofficials (neformalni) will take the government into their own hands".

The newspapers criticised the inability of the "Dialog" Club to successfully challenge unofficial clubs, because they only believed in, and allowed, one viewpoint.

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### NEW OPPOSITION POLITICAL PARTY — DEMOCRATIC UNION — DISCUSSES THE NATIONAL QUESTION. NEW BRANCHES FORMED IN 3 UKRAINIAN CITIES

(UPA) From May 7 to May 9, more than 100 representatives of "informal groups" from Moscow, Leningrad, Siberia and Ukraine gathered in Moscow for the founding conference of the "new alternative political party — the Democratic Union — which aims to challenge the monopoly of the Communist Party. The main aims of the Democratic Union are: the establishment of free trade unions and the introduction of a market economy, the establishment of a multiparty system and the launching of a free press. More importantly they called for the **withdrawal of Soviet troops from Eastern Europe, the Baltic republics and Western Ukraine**, which they described as territories "occupied by the Soviet Union". The main dissident groups behind the Democratic Union are the Trust Group, Perestroika-88, Democracy and Humanism and the Free Trade Union SMOT. In the opening statement they state: "We define the contents of our activity as political opposition to the present order. Freedom is the right to be against, and we have been deprived of this right since 1917. The whole source of party autocracy has become the main source of people's troubles during the last 70 years. No one has the right to decide for the people what direction to follow".

The Ukrainian Press Agency has received information that Yuriy Skubko, a leading Democratic Union activist, has established branches in Kyiv and Lviv. We also know of a branch in Sumy.

In a packet of Democratic Union documents received by the Ukrainian Press Agency, there is a section devoted to the "Principles of nationality politics" under the heading "Political Reforms". This begins by saying that the federal system described by the Soviet constitution has proved to be fictitious. The monopolist governing party is based on federal, but not centralist principles, which is but a continuation of the old Tsarist imperial policies. It proceeds to highlight some of the mistakes made during the last 70 years from the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact to the occupation of the Baltic republics, Bessarabia, Bukovyna, deportations of Crimean tatars and the events in Nagorny Karabakh. It then proceeds to identify 8 groups of problems in the nationalities sphere:

- 1) Preservation of national independence through the development of national cultures and traditions.
- 2) Realisation of cultural-national autonomy for nationalities living outside their ethnic borders.
- 3) Recognising the right of deported nations to settle in their historic motherland.
- 4) Grant nationalities a national statute.
- 5) Change current administrative borders in accordance with the actual ethnic composition.
- 6) The right to return to an historic motherland outside the USSR, and vice versa.
- 7) The granting of national statutes to individual territories that have compact national populations.
- 8) Guarantee the national existence of separate national state bodies.

The Democratic Union states that it is fully in support of the right of state secession based on the principle that everyone is equal. The Democratic Union will strive towards a just solution of the nationalities problem on the basis of:

- 1) complete freedom to self-determination for every republic by means of a referendum;
- 2) the right of every nationality to declare its language and state language;
- 3) the right of nationalities living in national districts to declare themselves culturally autonomous; the granting of the right to publish in their own language, transmit films and radio broadcasts in their native language; the right to organise their own schools, libraries etc.;
- 4) the right of every republic to form its own military sub-units.

As an alternative state system, the Democratic Union supports the transformation of the USSR into a democratic federation. (This is similar to what the Coordinating Committee of Patriotic Movements of the Peoples of the USSR suggested at its founding Lviv meeting in June).

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## Ukrainian "Greens" formed in Kyiv

(UPA) Further information on the formation of the Ukrainian Association Green World is provided by the Ukrainian Press Service (Rome). The association is composed mainly of intellectuals, scientists and artists concerned about the poor state of the environment in Ukraine. Its founding conference was held in the Kyiv building of the Writers' Union of Ukraine on 29 March. The chairman is the well-known author Yuriy Shcherbak, who has contributed many articles about Chornobyl.

In the over-crowded hall, various reports were presented about the ecological threat to generations: "in the past 7 years, a total of 7 billion cubic metres of untreated waste water were released into rivers and lakes in Ukraine, while 60 million cubic metres of pollutants were blown into the atmosphere". The main concern of the association is the Chornobyl nuclear disaster, because radiation counts and the genetic effects of radiation are still regarded as "state secrets".

Yuriy Shcherbak stated that the radioactivity stretches as far as 300 kilometres into Byelorussia where the population should be evacuated. In the Poltava and the Zhytomyr regions, radiation levels are higher than around the burnt reactor. The speakers criticised the slow evacuation after the disaster, whilst the devastated Block 4 of the plant is still emitting radiation and could explode any time, "but the state has no plan on how to close it". The water in the entire region is contaminated, whilst all fish in the Dnipro river are unedible because of their exposure to contamination.

The association is particularly angry that nuclear plants are still being built and they demand that a referendum be held before work on each plant begins. They also demanded that the authorities publish textbooks about ecology and an ecological newspaper.

June 5 was proclaimed as "Environment Protection Day" and the association called for a large demonstration in Kyiv.

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## Ukrainian attends second conference of independent journals in USSR

(UPA) The second conference of samvydav journals took place on 7-8 May in Moscow in the apartments of the editors of *Express-Chronicle*. The first conference was held last year in October in Leningrad. Representatives of over 30 samvydav journals attended from Moscow, Leningrad, Pskov, Kyubishev and Riga. In addition, the Moscow-based representative of the Ukrainian

Helsinki Group, Mykola Muratov, attended as a representative of the *Ukrainian Herald* and *Khrystianskyi Holos*.

At the end of the two-day conference, a communiqué was released which stated that, "We regard the guarantee of freedom of speech as the most important issue in our country today". They also wanted to create "publishing cooperatives" which "should be legalised". In addition, "Social groups should be created that would exchange information with unofficial publications. Samvydav archives and samvydav libraries should be created". There should be mutual help among unofficial publications in areas such as circulation and distribution.

The conference agreed to create an "Independent Press Club". Notwithstanding ideological differences among writers and journals, the conference considers it imperative that there be cooperation among their journals, the Independent Press Club and Independent Union of Journalists. The third conference was scheduled to be held in Moscow in October this year.

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### **NON-RUSSIAN REPRESENTATIVES FORM "COORDINATING COMMITTEE OF PATRIOTIC MOVEMENTS OF THE PEOPLES OF THE USSR" AT LVIV MEETING**

(calls for) ". . . the complete political and economic decentralisation of the USSR, which we envisage in the future as a confederation of separate sovereign states".

(UPA) Representatives of 6 non-Russian national movements met in Lviv, Western Ukraine, between June 11-12 and founded a "Coordinating Committee of Patriotic Movements of the Peoples of the USSR". This new Committee is supported by Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, Georgians and Armenians. The Lviv meeting was the third such meeting of non-Russian representatives, and the first to include Baltic representatives — Lagle Parek and Matu Villu from Estonia, Antanas Terleckas and Eugenijus Krikovskis from Lithuania and Ivars Zhukovskis from Latvia. The first meeting was in January in Yereven and the second in March in Tbilisi, where an "All-Union Committee in Defence of Political Prisoners" was established. The non-Russians assembled in Lviv considered themselves to be representatives of nations that have "been forcibly made part of the USSR".

The Lviv meeting issued an appeal demanding the release of all political prisoners and their full rehabilitation, investigations into the circumstances of the death in recent years of the dissidents in the Gulag and announced the holding of hunger strikes from June 13 until the start of the Party conference on June 28 to pressure the authorities to release remaining prisoners. The "Coordinating Committee of the Patriotic Movements of the Peoples of the

USSR" criticised the inability of the Soviet authorities to resolve the national question and stated as its objectives:

— to exchange experiences between the non-Russian "national democratic movements".

— coordinate activity between meetings.

— establish a common programme.

— hold a follow-up meeting in Riga, Latvia, in September.

— issue quarterly bulletins.

The Committee also called upon all other "democratic" national movements in the USSR to support them. They criticised the fact that many Russian democratic oppositionists still do not fully understand the meaning of democracy: "nations cannot be genuinely free if they oppress other nations, or if they serve as instruments of such oppression. . .".

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### **Ukrainian Culturological Club holds unofficial demonstration in Kyiv on the Millennium**

(UPA) The Ukrainian Press Agency has received information that the Culturological Club, an unofficial Club which was formed last year and has already organised a number of demonstrations dealing with taboo cultural issues, organised an unofficial celebration of the millennium of Christianity in Ukraine-Rus', in Kyiv on June 5. Official celebrations had begun in Moscow — not Kyiv, the site of the introduction of Christianity — on Saturday, June 4, by the Russian Orthodox Church. Around 200 people gathered around the statue of Grand Prince Volodymyr who introduced Christianity in 988.

The meeting began with recordings of Church bells followed by choir chants from a tape recorder. Two young Ukrainian girls dressed in national costume read poetry by Taras Shevchenko, Pavlo Tychyna and Skovoroda, whilst flowers were laid upon the statue. Short speeches by Oles Shevchenko and Serhiy Naboka, which included excerpts from Pope John Paul's 1985 Appeal to Bishops of the Fourth Synod of the Ukrainian Catholic Church on the millennium were read. Oles Shevchenko also called for the legalisation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, and expressed the Culturological Club's delight of the millennium celebrations quoting Pope John Paul about repression of the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

An official from the Ministry of Religious Affairs protested when the demonstrators tried to light candles at the statue, claiming that it constituted an illegal service. The militia and the KGB filmed the demonstration on camera and video, but made no attempt to interfere. Yevhen Sverstiuk gave a longer speech which began with the words, "Dear Brothers and Sisters. We are celebrating the millennium on our holy land by the River Dnipro. This is not

only a date, but a festive, universal and all-national day. We should bless this occasion with all of Kyiv's Church bells".

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## GREATER STATE TOLERANCE TOWARDS RELIGION IN THE USSR DOES NOT INCLUDE TWO ILLEGAL UKRAINIAN CHURCHES

"In Ukraine nobody is persecuted for their religious beliefs. This is just a figment of bourgeois-nationalist and Church propaganda in an attempt to discredit the situation of believers and the Church".

(Klym Dmytruk, *Lyudyna i Svit*, № 5, 1988)

(UPA) In an interview with Konstantin Kharchev, Chairman of the Council for Religious Affairs, in *Ogonek* (№ 21, 1988) by the writer Aleksandr Nezhny his questions called into doubt Kharchev's repeatedly expressed belief that past sufferings were no more than what the USSR had suffered as a whole under Stalin: "The Church was not subject to any special persecution. The attitude towards it was determined by Stalin's thesis on the intensification of the class struggle which accompanied the success of the building of socialism". Kharchev did admit though that, "the contemptuous and dismissive attitude towards anything connected with the Church, which has been drummed into us over the decades, still controls our consciousness".

But in a speech to lecturers at the Higher Party School and leaked to the West, where it was reprinted in the Paris-based *Russkaya Mysl*, Kharchev states that the number of believers in the USSR is 115 million, whereas in *Ogonek* he stated it was only 70 million. If we assume the former to be true, then this represents 41 per cent of the Soviet population. Although Kharchev calls for greater toleration towards religious believers in both the interview and the speech, in the latter he explains the reasons for this: "Which is more useful to the party — a man with no beliefs or a strong believer? It is harder to rule a man with no beliefs".

But when discussing crimes committed during Stalin's rule against the Church, Kharchev and other Soviet officials, do not include the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church (destroyed in the early 1930s) and the Ukrainian Catholic Church (destroyed in 1946). In addition, crimes against the Church are only discussed during the Stalin period — not during Lenin's or Khrushchev's day. In addition, the return of the Kyiv Monastery of the Caves (Pecherska Lavra) was to the Russian Orthodox Church — not to the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox.

The growing chorus of those demanding the legislation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church now includes Andrei Sakharov who, during a remarkable

and unofficially sponsored press conference on June 3, condemned the "archaic" ban on this Church, stating that it both violated the rights of Ukrainian believers as well as damaged the international prestige of the USSR. Sakharov declared that it was time for the Russian Orthodox Church to show initiative in securing the legalisation of this Church that "would correspond on the statements on the equality of all religions which it (the Moscow Patriarchate) has made".

The legalisation of both Ukrainian Churches is further complicated by the potential loss this would entail to the Russian Orthodox Church. On May 3 of this year, the Soviet news agency Tass stated there are 4,000 Russian Orthodox churches open in Ukraine (see also *Radyanska Ukraina*, March 27, 1988). The total number of Russian Orthodox Churches open throughout the USSR, according to Konstantin Kharchev, is 6,800. Therefore, Ukraine holds 60 per cent of the total number of Churches that the Russian Orthodox could potentially lose. In addition, out of the total figure, 1,006 are in the largest Russian Orthodox eparchy — Lviv and Ternopil. Thus, 15 per cent of the total number of Orthodox churches are open in the heartland of Ukrainian Catholicism (see *Sotsiologicheskie Issledovaniya* [№ 4, 1987] and *Lyudyna i Svit* [№ 5, 1988])

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### **Unofficial Millennium celebrations in Kharkiv. Organisers are threatened with deportation to Chornobyl**

(UPA) On 19 June, people gathered next to the Cathedral of Our Lady of Perpetual Succour to celebrate the millennium of Christianity, organised by the newly-formed unofficial "Friends of the Ukrainian Language of Slobozhanshchyna in the name of Vasyl Stus" Club. The leaders of this new group are former political prisoners Vitaliy Kalynychenko and Stepan Sapeliak. Sapeliak told those gathered that only poetry of a religious and historical nature, together with the history of the Ukrainian Church, would be read.

Individuals in civilian clothes came up to Sapeliak and demanded that he speak in Russian. Both the KGB and the militia tried to disrupt the proceedings, but the participants supported their continued use of Ukrainian. The KGB tried to physically provoke the participants telling them to break the meeting up. Before the meeting ended, they discussed the "blank spots" in Ukrainian history.

The newly-formed unofficial club "Friends of the Ukrainian Language of Slobozhanshchyna in the name of Vasyl Stus" has the following members — Stepan Sapeliak, Vitaliy Kalynychenko, Marina Vohaydenko, Ihor Kravtsiv, Valeriy Bondar, Father Maliar, Oleksandra Kovalova, Iryna Kalynychenko, Yevhen Zaharov and Oleksander Kryvoruchko.

In reply to the June 19 celebrations, the authorities threatened Stepan

Sapeliak with deportation to Chornobyl. Sapeliak was placed under house arrest from June 21 for his participation in the "nationalist re-awakening of the people", as the KGB described it. Sapeliak began a hunger strike on June 22 in protest against the threats made against him.

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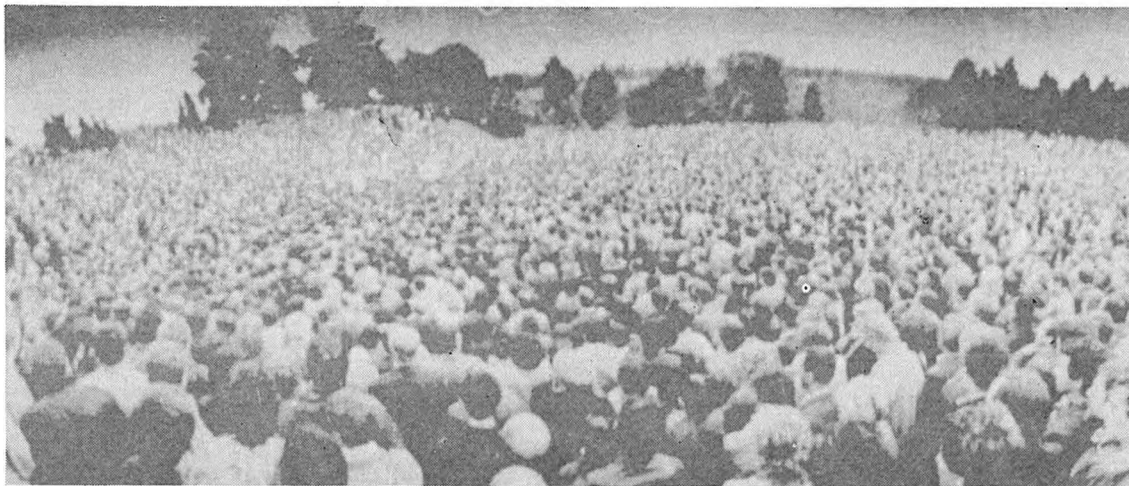
## **IN WESTERN UKRAINE CROWDS OF 50,000 HEAVILY CRITICISE PARTY DELEGATES TO 19th PARTY CONFERENCE**

(UPA) The Ukrainian Press Agency has received reliable information that two mass meetings were held in Lviv, Western Ukraine, on June 16 and 21, where the selection of delegates to the nineteenth party conference in Moscow came in for heavy criticism.

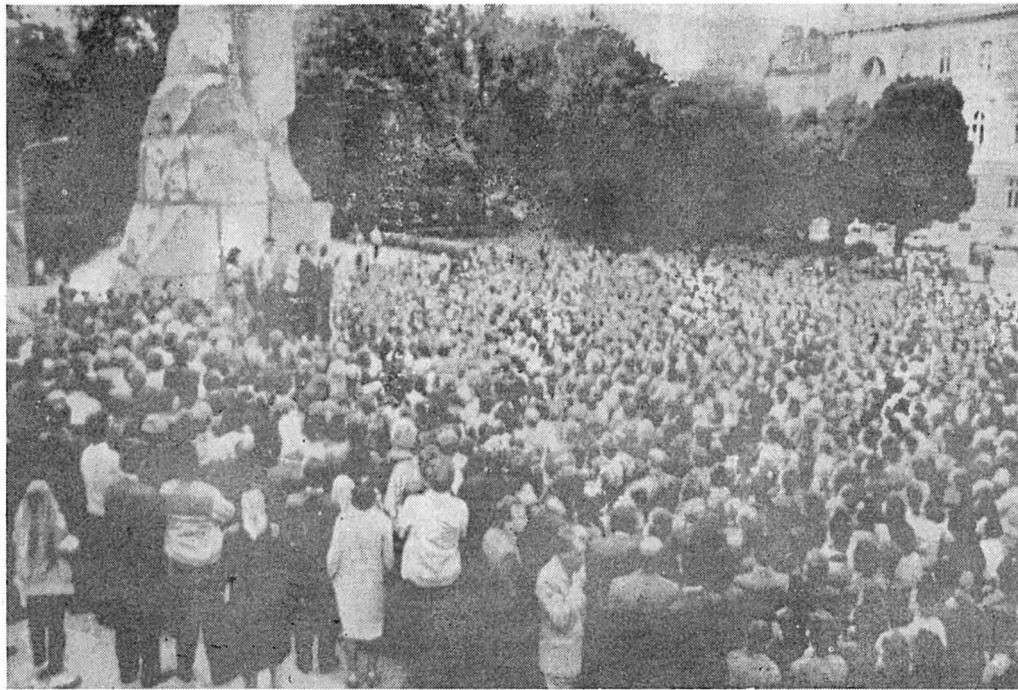
The June 16 meeting was initiated by the *Ridna Mova* (Native Language) society which had been denied access to the local House of Culture for their regular meeting 3 days earlier. The June 16 meeting was attended by between 6,000 and 8,000 people and turned into a broad debate about the selection of delegates to the Moscow party conference. The first speakers were prominent national rights campaigners — Vyacheslav Chornovil, Mykhailo Horyn (members of the editorial board of the *samvydav* journal and organ of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group the *Ukrainian Herald*) and Bohdan Horyn. They were introduced to warm applause by the crowd. Chornovil argued that delegates to the Party conference from the Lviv region could not represent the local population because they were involved during the Brezhnev period in repression and russification policies in Western Ukraine.

Mykhailo Horyn spoke to the crowd about the fate of political prisoners, conditions in the Gulag Archipelago today and the double standards on freedom of speech applied to party leaders on the one hand, and ordinary citizens on the other. Bohdan Horyn declared that the entire period from 1929 to the 27th party congress in 1985 should be described as "counterrevolutionary" and "anti-Soviet", because this same period witnessed the demise of the local councils (soviets). He also demanded that each Union republic be accorded genuine power as state bodies, that the USSR become a true union of autonomous states, that the privileged status of communist party members be abolished and that KGB properties be handed over to civic needs. These remarks were greeted with applause from the crowd on many occasions.

Delegates found it hard to reply to these criticisms and were often heckled when they could not come up with suitable answers. The crowd also proposed that two members of the local Writers' Union — Roman Ivanychuk and Roman Lukivskyi — be added to the list of delegates because no members of the local Writers' Union had been selected as delegates. *Ridna Mova* and



The 50,000 strong demonstration in the Western Ukrainian city of Lviv outside the "Druzhba" sports stadium on June 21, 1988. During the gathering various demands directed towards the 19th Party Conference were made.



Demonstration next to the statue of Ivan Franko in Lviv, Western Ukraine, on June 16, 1988, in which around 8000 Ukrainians took part. This gathering was initiated by the "Ridna Mova" (Native Language) society. Prominent national rights campaigners Vyacheslav Chornovil, Mykhailo and Bohdan Horyn spoke at the gathering. They were introduced to warm applause by the crowd. The participants of the gathering decided to continue holding regular meetings to discuss current problems.



those present decided to continue meeting every first Thursday of the month by the Ivan Franko statue to continue to discuss these issues. Delegates told the crowd that they would be prepared to meet them again on June 21. But on the evening before the gathering, leaflets were put through many letter-boxes in Lviv calling upon the population not to attend it and "not to succumb to agitation". Unofficial sources believe that the authorities were behind their printing and distribution.

Despite these warnings, an estimated 50,000 people came to the Stadium on June 21, but were denied entry. Some of them then gathered by the Lenin statue where a verbal confrontation ensued between supporters and critics of the Lviv authorities. The two main Lviv newspapers — *Lvovskaya Pravda* and *Vilna Ukraina* — published denunciations of these meetings in their June 21 issues.

Participants in the day's events carried placards with slogans in support of the Ukrainian language, for the legalisation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church and for the re-election of delegates to the Party conference. Members of the independent publication the *Ukrainian Herald* did not take part in the June 21 debates, as they had on June 16. However, the Moscow-based representative of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, Mykola Muratov, did so. Muratov also wrote a statement about the illegal nature of the temporary instructions concerning demonstrations imposed by the authorities in Lviv after the June 16 demonstration. Further articles denouncing the June 21 demonstration have appeared in the Lviv local newspapers *Lvovskaya Pravda*, *Vilna Ukraina* and *Leninska Molod* in their June 23 and 25 editions.

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## **UNDERGROUND UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC CHURCH ORGANISES SERVICES FOR VICTIMS OF STALINISM AND UKRAINIAN PRISONERS OF CONSCIENCE WHO DIED IN THE GULAG**

(UPA) The Ukrainian Press Agency has received information that on June 23 the Committee in Defence of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, active for over 5 years in defence of the illegal Ukrainian Catholic Church, organised a requiem service in the main Luchakivskyi cemetery of Lviv. This service came only 2 days after the large demonstration on June 21 in the same city amid other reports of another large gathering on July 7. Calls were heard at the June 21 demonstration for the legalisation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church which was attended by crowds estimated between 30,000-50,000. For many days after this demonstration, the entire population of Lviv was in a state of "euphoria", according to reports reaching us.

The requiem service on June 23 was organised by the head of the Com-

mittee in Defence of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, Ivan Hel, a long-term national and religious activist. A crowd of 3,000 attended this service from all regions of Western Ukraine, representing all walks of life and age groups. A large number of those who attended were reportedly plain-clothes security personnel. The requiem service was held in memory of the "victims of Stalinism" by two underground Ukrainian priests, one of whom is the well-known Father Zeleniukh. Prayers were said for the seven million victims of the Ukrainian artificial famine of 1933, leading cultural figures murdered in the 1930s, the thousands of political prisoners murdered by the retreating NKVD in 1941 in the prisons of Western Ukraine, Ukrainian prisoners of conscience who died and suffered imprisonment in the Gulag in Brezhnev's day (including Vasyl Stus, Yuriy Lytvyn, Valeriy Marchenko and Oleksiy Tykhyi) and for those still imprisoned.

After the requiem service, which lasted 1 1/2 hours, patriotic songs were sung. Then the crowd moved along to Volodymyr Ivasiuk's grave. Ivasiuk was a young popular composer from Chernivtsi, Western Ukraine, who was murdered by the KGB in 1979 because of his outspoken national sentiments. This allowed the priests and organisers to escape the clutches of the waiting security officials. Although the security officials did not interfere with the requiem service they photographed those who attended. They also lay in wait at the homes of leading dissident figures. When one member of the editorial board of the literary samvydav journal *Yevshan Zillia* returned home, he was approached by 2 men who asked him for a cigarette then tried to beat him up. He managed to escape from them, but did not return home for 2 days. Meanwhile, his telephone was being constantly called by anonymous individuals.

These requiem services are significant in that the Committee in the Defence of the Ukrainian Catholic Church has openly combined national and religious sentiment in a large public display of patriotism and anti-Soviet sentiment. In addition, we know that during the last month Lviv has been the site of 4 large demonstrations which the authorities have been powerless to stop.

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### STUDENT MEETING IN DEFENCE OF KYIV-MOHYLA ACADEMY

(UCIS) On Sunday 26 June, the students of Kyiv University held a large demonstration in the Ukrainian capital in defence of the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy founded in the 17th century. The Hromada society, the student association of Kyiv University, played a particular role in the organisation of the meeting.

Around 1,000 people gathered in Kyiv around the statue of the 18th cen-

ture philosopher, Hryhoriy Skovoroda, to demand the removal of the city's military-political school from the premises of this historical and cultural monument. The students carried placards with the following inscriptions: "The mechanism of destruction doesn't stop by itself. It is operated by opponents of restructuring"; "We won't let our monuments be destroyed"; "We will save our monuments"; "City Council! Stop trading with the interests of the Kyivans", and others.

Few militia were present and made no attempts to interfere. The protesters were controlled by people in plain clothes.

The authorities decided to disrupt the meeting and organised a "youth festival" on the other side of the square where the demonstration was taking place. Boys and girls in evening dress were made to do ballroom dancing in front of the Slavutych Palace of Culture to the sound of loudspeakers erected on the palace. The protesters were invited to take part in this "festival". No one came. Eventually, the authorities had to announce that due to the fact that a meeting was being held on the opposite side of the square the "cultural part" had to finish. This attempt to disrupt the meeting ended in failure. To save themselves from embarrassment, the authorities drove their bus to where the meeting was being held and offered the protesters the use of their loudspeakers for 10 minutes saying that it had not been their intention to disrupt the gathering. After 10 or so minutes, they took back their loudspeakers and left.

Bohdan Horyn, who was present at the meeting, read out the Ukrainian Culturological Club's appeal to the 19th CPSU conference stating that the fundamental question at this time is not the preservation of Ukraine's monuments, but with whom power really lay — with the party bureaucracy and the KGB or with the council of peoples' deputies. The fundamental issue is to wrest this power from the usurpers and transfer it to democratically elected deputies of the people.

The students then decided to present their own petition to the director of the military school. The full text follows below:

**"To the Director of the Kyiv higher military-political school,  
Admiral Korovin.**

**We are deeply angered by the violation by your school of the law on the protection of historical monuments, also by the fact that, irrespective of public protests, the school continues to act directly towards the destruction of the monuments of the Ukrainian people.**

**We demand that the construction of a swimming pool on the premises of the Kyiv Academy be stopped. We demand that work which causes damage to the buildings and cultural decor of the Academy be stopped. The Kyiv Academy is not the place to have a military school.**

**The public meeting on June 26, 1988  
Kyiv".**

The protesters then walked over to the entrance of the military school and began to knock on the door calling for the duty officer to come out and receive the petition. No one came out. The demonstrators began to shout "Shame! shame!" after which 10 people, including the cultural representative of the Podil district (Kyiv) executive committee, Petrenko, went to the rear of the building. After 15 minutes, they rejoined the main group of protesters which then returned to the original assembly point. The meeting continued until 10 p.m.

Members of Hromada plan to deliver the petition to Admiral Korovin by other means.

Before the demonstration the following leaflet was circulated:

**"The Academy is a prominent monument of our culture. The Academy is the cradle of higher education of the Eastern Slavs. In the years of Stalinist unlawfulness, outside institutions took over the Academy. The very fact that they were there dishonoured our history and culture. One of these institutions is the Kyiv military-political school, which is today openly destroying the monument. It built a dining hall on the remains of our historical and cultural activists. Now the executive committee of Kyiv city council has allowed the school to build a swimming pool. This monument of our history is being destroyed. The Hromada society of Kyiv University is planning to hold a meeting in defence of the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy if the following demands are not met:**

**We urge everyone who cherishes the history and culture of his native land to join our ranks! We condemn all actions which destroy or are instrumental in the destruction of the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy. For the preservation of this important monument of our history and culture we believe it is necessary to stop the construction of a swimming pool in the military school and any construction work on the premises of the Academy whatsoever, which violates its status of monument. All outside institutions, including the Kyiv military school, must be removed from the premises of the Academy. The Kyiv-Mohyla Academy must be turned into a historical and cultural monument or a museum.**

**Ratified by the General Meeting of the Hromada Society**

**8 June 1988**

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### **BAPTIST PRESBYTER FINED — SIMILAR PRACTICES CONTINUE**

(UCIS) According to the Press Service of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union, the number of cases when registered Baptist communities have been fined for their religious activities dropped in July. This practice is nevertheless continuing against unregistered Baptist communities.

Chernivtsi remains a bastion of the old order. On 14.6.1988, the administrative commission of the Lenin district executive committee headed by V. M. Petryk, fined the presbyter of an unregistered community of Evangelical Christians-Baptists, Ivan Hryhorovych Danyliuk, 50 karbovantsi for conducting a religious meeting. The meeting was held in a private residence in Chernivtsi, Stryi Street, № 6.

The people's district court, presided by A. V. Baratsakov, dismissed Danyliuk's complaint about the unlawful fining. Higher legal organs informed him that he had no right to complain about this and any fines he may be ordered to pay in the future. Similar cases are numerous.

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### **AUTHORITIES PREVENT UKRAINIAN "GREEN" DEMONSTRATION**

(UCIS) A demonstration planned by "Zelena Varta" (Green Guard), the radical branch of the Ukrainian Association "Zelenyi Svit" (Green World), for June 28 of this year, was prevented by the authorities. Notices about the demonstration were torn down and ripped up, and Anatoliy Lupynis, former political prisoner who spent over 20 years in camps and psychiatric hospitals, the leader of "Zelena Varta", was arrested in Kyiv on 28.6.1988, held for 3 hours and then released. During that time, the authorities managed to prevent the demonstration from taking place.

The aim of the demonstration was to have been a mass ecological movement of the youth against the misuse of nuclear power, the construction of chemical plants without a referendum, and the general disregard for the environment.

"Zelena Varta" plans to take more decisive steps towards the protection of the environment, demonstrations etc., as the leadership of "Zelenyi Svit" is mainly concerned with letters and petitions to the authorities.

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## **UKRAINIAN CULTUROLOGICAL CLUB HOLDS LATEST MILLENNIUM SEMINAR**

(UCIS) The Ukrainian Culturological Club held its latest seminar on the theme — The Millennium of Christianity in Ukraine — on Monday, June 27, 1988.

The seminars were initiated at the end of last year and since then about 7 have already been held. During the seminars, the participants learn about religious history, religious rites and traditions, and study the history of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox and the Ukrainian Catholic Churches.

Initially, these seminars were attended by up to 500 people. But since the club was forced to hold them in private residences after being deprived of official premises for refusing to introduce into its constitution a paragraph to the effect that its activities are based on Marxist-Leninist methodology, only about 30 people can attend.

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## **IVAN SOKULSKYI RELEASED FROM IMPRISONMENT**

(UCIS) We have received information that long-term Ukrainian political prisoner, Ivan Sokulskyi, has been released.

Sokulskyi was born on 12.7.1940. He is a poet and journalist by profession. He was first imprisoned from 1969-74 for authorship of the samvydav "Letter of the creative youth of Dnipropetrovsk" in which he exposed the severe russification of the Dnipropetrovsk region.

Ivan Sokulskyi was again arrested on 11.4.1980 and sentenced to 10 years of imprisonment (5 years in prison and 5 years in exile) for participation in the work of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group.

He was re-arrested in camp on 12.3.1985 and sentenced to an additional 3 years of special regime imprisonment on top of his original sentence. Mr. Sokulskyi is from Dnipropetrovsk.

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**FORMATION OF "DEMOCRATIC FRONT IN SUPPORT OF  
PERESTROIKA" BY UNOFFICIAL GROUPS.  
20,000 ATTEND FOURTH MASS DEMONSTRATION  
IN ONE MONTH IN WESTERN UKRAINE**

(UPA) On July 7, the fourth demonstration in less than one month took place in Lviv, Western Ukraine, attended by 20,000 people next to the monument to the nineteenth century poet, Ivan Franko. Prior to the meeting, the local Communist Party organised numerous meetings of activists and party members in order that they should not lose control of the meeting and establish how they should react? The main instruction to party activists was to prevent at all costs dissident and unofficial groups from taking the platform, including making noises, shouting and whistling.

Although the demonstration was scheduled to begin at 7 p.m., Party activists took up their positions next to the monument an hour earlier. The meeting began at 6.30 p.m. and the first to speak was a journalist from the local newspaper *Leninska Molod*, author of an earlier article attacking the June 16 demonstration. When Ivan Makar arrived at 7 p.m. he declared that what had been said until then was null and void, as the meeting did not officially begin until 7 p.m. The authorities demanded that the sole purpose of the demonstration should be to decide the location in Lviv of the new monument to Ukraine's nineteenth century bard, Taras Shevchenko. After half an hour, the crowd realised that within the audience were individuals whose sole purpose was to disrupt the meeting and they proceeded to ostracise them. When a local University Professor came to the microphone, Ivan Makar introduced him as one of those who during the 1970s attended trials of dissidents as an expert, the entire crowd refused to allow him to speak and shouted "Shame!, Shame!" at him.

The demonstration had turned into a spontaneous gathering against the local Communist Party and bureaucratic "mafia". In the same manner as the crowd had greeted the University Professor, when the local Komsomol secretary appeared Ivan Makar introduced him as the one who, at an earlier meeting of the Political Discussion Club, had stolen the list of signatures to an appeal by the "Ukrainian Committee in Defence of Political Prisoners" addressed to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR demanding the release of prisoners still in the Gulag. He was also greeted with shouts of "Shame! Shame!" by a 20,000 strong crowd.

The authorities and the local Communist Party were completely compromised, losing any measure of authority among the populace they may have possessed. As to the location of the monument, the authorities had decided on a place earlier, out of town, which was not to the liking of Lviv's inhabitants. The inhabitants, on the other hand, believed that the monument

should stand in the centre of Lviv as the "symbol of Ukrainian national identity".

When two editors of the samvydav journal the *Ukrainian Herald*, Bohdan Horyn and Vyacheslav Chornovil, organ of the re-launched Ukrainian Helsinki Group, together with Mykhailo Horyn began to tell the crowd that there was a need for such a "Democratic Front" because in Lviv and Western Ukraine perestroika had made little headway, party activists tried to drown them out with megaphones. The crowd agreed to organise a "Democratic Front" and the core will be comprised of all unofficial groups in Lviv who, in turn, formed an "Organising Committee for the Democratic Front".

All the unofficial groups that have joined the "Democratic Front" have complete autonomy in a federation of groups which support the principles of the Front. Among those who have joined the "Democratic Front" are the local Political Discussion Club, the Trust group (an unofficial peace group), the Committee in Defence of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, the Society Lev (a semi-official ecology and cultural group), the Society "Ridna Mova" (Native Language), the Society for Jewish Culture and Literature and others.

The "Democratic Front in Support of Perestroika" outlined its main aims as follows:

- 1) To support perestroika, citizens' control of the democratisation process taking place in Soviet society and the Communist Party and education of citizens in the democratic spirit.
  - 2) The "Democratic Front" should strive to take part in elections and ensure that they are held democratically.
  - 3) Membership is open to all those who agree with the principles of the "Democratic Front". Collectively members of the "Democratic Front" can organise their own programmes on political, social and national problems.
  - 4) Members of the official organisations cannot join the "Democratic Front" because they should be already involved in supporting perestroika anyway.
  - 5) The "Democratic Front" is organised as a collective of various groups and individuals.
  - 6) The "Democratic Front" should have influence upon the process of perestroika with the help of citizens commissions, the press and other democratic processes.
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### **Christian seminar dedicated to the Millennium of Christianity calls for the legalisation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church**

(UPA) Members of various Christian denominations gathered in Moscow between 7-9 July and held a seminar devoted to the millennium of Christianity. Organised by the samvydav journal edited by Alexander Ogorodnikov, *The Bulletin of the Christian Community*, they discussed the new conditions facing the Church in the USSR. In their view, there are few positive changes even within the Russian Orthodox Church. The most important problems facing the Church in the USSR are:

- the impossibility for the Church hierarchy to speak openly about Church problems;
- inability of the Church to influence the release of prisoners of conscience;
- the subordination of the Church to the 1929 law on cults;
- isolation of the clergy from the faithful;
- religious illiteracy of the people.

They also called upon the Church to take a more active stand against persecution, for an increase in religious literature and the legalisation of samvydav. The Ukrainian Catholic Church, together with other banned denominations, should be legalised.

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### **Authorities try to break up unofficial Millennium celebration in Hrushiv**

(UPA) According to Mykola Muratov, the "legal consultant" to the Committee in Defence of the Ukrainian Catholic Church based in Moscow, the Russian Orthodox Church joined forces with the KGB and local party authorities to break up an unofficial millennium celebration in Hrushiv, Western Ukraine, on July 10. Two days earlier, the Russian Orthodox Church reopened the church in Hrushiv, closed more than 40 years ago as a Catholic church. Hrushiv became famous last year on the anniversary of Chornobyl when it was the site of pilgrimages to an apparition of Our Lady. Orthodox priests began to conduct services from July 9 in an attempt to prevent Ukrainian Catholics from gathering, with the militia blocking roads to the village.

Nevertheless, 8,000 Catholics managed to gather and erect an 8 metre high

carved cross as a symbol of the persecution of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. The leader of the Committee in Defence of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, Ivan Hel, spoke about the authorities' actions, their interference in Church matters, despite the policy of glasnost and the continued persecution of Ukrainian Catholics. During the gathering, Ivan Hel and Rev. P. Zele-niukh's son received blows from people dressed in civilian clothes. The crowds prevented further violence from taking place, whilst the attackers only just escaped themselves after being beaten. Fathers M. Havryliv, P. Zele-niukh and N. Kuz celebrated the occasion with a traditional requiem ("mole-ben") service. The petition in support of legalisation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church received another 1,000 signatures.

On July 11, plain clothes men arrived in a truck and removed the cross. Ivan Hel sent telegrams of protest to M. Gorbachev, the general secretary of the United Nations, the Lviv party secretary and Keston College. The telegram reads as follows: "On July 11, 1988, an act of violence and vandalism was committed against the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the village of Hrus-hiv, Drohobych district, Lviv region. A cross which was erected on July 10 in the presence of 8,000 members of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in honour of the millennium celebrations of Rus'-Ukraine was dug up and destroyed".

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### Ukrainian national rights activists meet journalists in Lviv

(UCIS) A meeting between accredited journalists of the Soviet republican and All-Union press and representatives of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union, Vyacheslav Chornovil, Mykhailo and Bohdan Horyn and Ivan Makar, was held in Lviv on July 15. The meeting began at 4.00 in the afternoon and lasted till 9.00 in the evening. It was held on the initiative of the journalists.

Fifteen representatives of the official press *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, *Sovietskaya Kultura*, *Trud* and the Ukrainian press *Kultura i Zhyttia*, the journal *Ukraina*, and *Molod Ukrainy* took part in the meeting. Lviv television was also present.

During the meeting, Vyacheslav Chornovil read out the "Declaration of Principles" of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union. Mykhailo Horyn talked about the negative coverage of the public meetings in Lviv, the *Ukrainian Herald*, as well as individual activists, basing his arguments on a whole series of examples.

During the meeting, the correspondents became acquainted with the unofficial journal the *Ukrainian Herald* and received a copy of the "Declaration of Principles" of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union.

Whether this material will be used against members of the Union, or whether it will receive objective coverage in the press, remains to be seen.

### MILLENNIUM CELEBRATIONS IN HOSHIV

(UCIS) Around 5,000 people took part in millennium celebrations organised by Rev. Mykhailo Havryliv and the Committee in the Defence of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Hoshiv, Ivano-Frankivsk region, on Saturday, 16 July.

Paying no attention to the heavy rain that night, thousands of people stood outside listening to the sermon by Rev. Havryliv, who explained the interrelationship between problems of the Church and those of the Ukrainian people.

After this, the participants took part in a "way of the cross". At every station, the organisers showed part of a film on the "way of the cross" which they had acquired.

By 2.30 a.m., the rain had become so heavy that the proceedings were interrupted and everyone walked to the top of the hill where an old monastery, which had been converted into a rest house, was situated. The people opened the doors to the monastery's church after which Mass was celebrated inside. The celebrations went on until 5.00 in the morning.

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### 15,000 Ukrainian Catholics celebrate the Millennium in Zarvanytsia, Western Ukraine

(UPA) The Ukrainian Press Agency has received the text of an anonymous samvydav document which reports that 15,000 Ukrainian Catholics gathered in Zarvanytsia, Ternopil region, on July 17 in the largest public gathering of Ukrainian Catholics since 1945. Believers travelled to Zarvanytsia from all over Western Ukraine, some beginning their journey the day before. Buses bringing some believers were halted by militia roadblocks and ordered to turn back. They had to then make the last leg of their journey on foot. The pilgrims then set up camp next to the village the night before, with the militia touring the campsites and ordering them to return home. The following morning, more militia, party officials and Komsomol activists arrived trying to disperse the crowds.

Despite these threats and heavy rain, young women led a procession bearing religious banners especially embroidered for the occasion. They made their way to a site where a tall wooden cross had been erected. Signatures on the petition to legalise the Ukrainian Catholic Church, sponsored by the Committee in Defence of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, were collected. The spring waters were blessed and then high mass was sung by 15,000 people, with 4,000 receiving Holy Communion. Underground Bishop Vasylyk deli-

vered the sermon where he outlined the sufferings of his Church through four decades, and their joy at being able to celebrate the millennium.

A Reuters report dated July 27 quoted Father Kenneth Olsen, a Ukrainian Catholic priest from Canada who had just returned from a visit to Western Ukraine, as saying, "At one point the police interrupted the service, saying it was an illegal gathering, and told us to disperse. But when no one responded they backed off". Father K. Olsen told Reuters that, "I have been a priest for 15 years, but beleive this I did not know what faith was. This has changed my life".

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### CRIMINAL PROCEEDINGS LAUNCHED AGAINST UKRAINIAN DISSIDENTS ACCUSED OF ORGANISING DEMONSTRATIONS IN LVIV

(UPA) On Saturday July 23, local Lviv television announced that criminal proceedings had begun against a group of local dissidents who have been instrumental in organising the "Democratic Front to Support Perestroika" in Western Ukraine. The Lviv dailies (unattainable outside the USSR) — *Vilna Ukraina* and *Lvovskaya Pravda* — on July 24 published the announcement from the city's procurator's office referring to "numerous angry letters and appeals from the citizenry" demanding that steps be taken to put an end to the "activities of these extremists". The announcement claimed that "citizens, workers' collectives and public organisations" in Lviv and the environs have complained that these dissidents have "abused glasnost" during the course of these demonstrations. "Under the cover of criticism, they engaged in slanderous and insulting attacks on party and Soviet leaders and Soviet reality as a whole: expressed ideas aimed at inflaming national enmity and nationalistic feelings: and instigated the violation of public order".

The 5 dissidents named in the announcement are: Vyacheslav Chornovil (former political prisoner, winner of the *Sunday Times* Nicholas Tomalin Award in 1975 and editor of the samvydav journal the *Ukrainian Herald*, organ of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union), the brothers Mykhailo and Bohdan Horyn (both former political prisoners and active in the "All-Union Committee in Defence of Political Prisoners"), Ivan Makar and Ya. Putko (who are new political activists). Ivan Makar is a design engineer at the Institute of Applied Problems of Mechanics and Mathematics of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences.

Mykhailo Horyn and Vyacheslav Chornovil were summoned to the prosecutor's office in December 1987 and warned to end their "illegal activities" or else face charges. On December 31, they addressed an appeal to the "Heads of Government who are signatories to the Helsinki agreement" where they stated that "in connection with the real threat of forced deportation from our

country. . . we declare that as patriots or our Fatherland — Ukraine — we do not wish to leave our country despite threats of imprisonment for our Human Rights activities". They requested that all countries who signed the Helsinki Agreement refrain from accepting them as deportees.

In the wake of the deportation of the Armenian activist, Paruir Airikyan, from the USSR for also organising demonstrations, the same fate could befall the 5 Ukrainian dissidents who have now had criminal charges brought against them! In addition, although the authorities in the 3 Baltic republics have allowed similar popular fronts to be organised (where unofficial groups have also played a significant role) the Communist Party in Ukraine, still under the leadership of the Brezhnevite Volodymyr Shcherbytskyi has refused to countenance such a large organisation.

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### NEW WAVE OF REPRESSION AGAINST UKRAINIAN ACTIVISTS

(UPA) The authorities have adopted new measures to thwart planned demonstrations by groups such as the Culturological Club. On July 24, sixteen members of the Culturological Club were seized and forcibly deported beyond Kyiv. The leader of the Club, Serhiy Naboka, was the first to be taken. He was beaten and driven to a village outside Kyiv. Yevhen Proniuk was dragged from his home along with a recently released prisoner Hryhoriy Prykhodko. Proniuk was driven to the Chernihiv region and abandoned in a deserted place, whilst Prykhodko has disappeared without trace. Leonid Milyavskiy was deported 70 kilometres from Kyiv. One member, Laryssa Lakhvytska, was given an injection which caused her great pain and was abandoned by the side of a lake. Oles Shevchenko was taken to the Dnipro River and forced to climb into a ravine. Some local fishermen began to take an interest in what was going on and so the KGB hastily departed.

In telegrams to M. Gorbachev, signed by the Culturological Club and the Kyiv branch of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union sent on the same day, they stated that:

"On July 24, in Kyiv, Brezhnevite conservatives fulfilled an unprecedented punishment in brutal fashion on a group of activists of the democratic movement. In broad daylight, in front of people in various parts of Kyiv, they were brutally seized and without explanation thrown into vehicles. This was accompanied by violence and offensive remarks. This was done by people in civilian clothes who took their victims 20-30 kilometres beyond Kyiv and left them in woods and fields. They were threatened with murder.

A young mother, Laryssa Lakhvytska, was given two injections and then thrown out of the car in a deserted area. This is how perestroika is progressing in the party leadership in Ukraine. In April, an ecological demonstration to mark the tragedy in Chernobyl, was brutally broken up and 3 months later the reason given for the breaking up of this small meeting was the suspicion that it was about the release of political prisoners. I repeat, it was only a suspicion. Accept our sympathies".

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### LES TANYUK REMOVED AS DIRECTOR OF KYIV YOUTH THEATRE — A VICTIM OF GLASNOST?

(UPA) Les Tanyuk has been removed from the position of director of the Kyiv Youth Theatre after only a few years. Les Tanyuk was first known to have been rehabilitated when *Kultura i Zhyttya*, in October 1986, identified him as the chief director of the Kyiv Youth Theatre. This was after a period of 20 years "internal exile" in Moscow, because he was refused work in Ukraine during the mid 1960s. Meanwhile, his innovative style was welcomed and received high acclaim in Moscow. Les Tanyuk outlined in *Ukraina* (№ 45, 1986) that he was planning to stage Lina Kostenko's *Marusia Churay* and Oles Honchar's *Sobor*, both works written in the Ukrainian national spirit (*Sobor* was banned during the 1970s and early 1980s). Tanyuk, a follower in the Les Kurbas famous school of theatre from the 1920s, had been trying to raise the standards of the Kyiv Youth Theatre and to Ukrainianise it. His efforts were thwarted by both the actors, who refused to learn and did not know Ukrainian, and the russified audience who were not interested in anything other than Russian-Language theatre.

An article in the newspaper *Kultura i Zhyttya* outlines problems of Russification in the Ukrainian theatre. The author, who is the director of the Chernihiv theatre company, states that there is a lack of Ukrainian language use in Ukrainian theatre. Past policy he claims has ensured that Ukrainian theatre has always taken second place and that this was as a result of pressure from above. Directors, who tried to preserve Ukrainian theatre found themselves isolated. The author was spared this fate by a sympathetic party secretary. Although he advocates a return to roots, he adds that this in itself is a problem because many theatre companies, have over the years, recruited non-Ukrainian speaking actors or actors who speak the Ukrainian language poorly. The question is what to do with such people?

In April, *Sovetskaya Kultura* published an article in Tanyuk's defence, which was followed by many letters of support. This is contrasted to the Kyiv

based *Kultura i Zhyttya* which did not support him when he was thrown out of his position. Meanwhile, *Ogonek* (№ 21, 1988) has published a sympathetic article by Maria Dementseva entitled "Conflict in the Theatre". She stated that the Kyiv intelligentsia remembered Tanyuk as a great "Shestydesiatnyk" (a member of the generation of the "generation of the 1960s" and its national revival) and as a great lover of Ukrainian culture. He spoke openly about the problems afflicting the Kyiv theatre and was seen, and regarded himself as a follower of Les Kurbas. His troupe welcomed him from Moscow and supported his ideas for a revival of Ukrainian theatre. His first shows were completely sold out.

But *Ogonek* described how Tanyuk came into conflict with the local Kom-somol organisation because he was in the forefront of the campaign for perestroika in Ukrainian theatre, although he was supported by the literary intelligentsia. With the support of the Writers' Union and Ministry of Culture he succeeded in obtaining premises (his troupe did not have anywhere to rehearse). After one unsuccessful play there were disagreements about Tanyuk's style of directorship. He also became involved in social activity outside the theatre, which led to the troupe splitting into two groups, those favouring his style and those who did not. With the abolishment of the Arts Council, organised by Tanyuk, the trouble began. The authorities were opposed to his outside activities and tried to put a stop to them.

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### **Ukrainian dissident protests against removal of Tanyuk**

(UPA) Yuriy Badzyo, a Ukrainian dissident currently serving a term of exile, responded to Tanyuk's removal with a letter in which he says he considered his expulsion as a move by "anti-democratic forces in the republic's leadership, a continuation of the destruction of the Ukrainian spirit and relegation of our culture to a provincial level. . . we demand the removal of our Minister of Culture who has lied and Tanyuk's reinstatement". In addition, Yuriy Badzyo sent the following letter to *Literaturna Ukraina*:

"We have learnt about the Tanyuk affair. We consider this to be an anti-Ukrainian attack by the Ukrainian Ministry of Culture equal to the mockery of the removal of the memory of Les Kurbas. We have protested to the Ukrainian government and demanded the removal of the Minister of Culture and Tanyuk's reinstatement. **Why have Ukrainian writers not said anything? Why is *Literaturna Ukraina* keeping silent? Shame!**

Yuriy Badzyo"

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## FURTHER NATIONALIST DEMONSTRATION IN LVIV CALLS FOR "FREEDOM FOR UKRAINE"

(UPA) The Ukrainian Press Agency has learned that on the evening of August 4, 3,000 people defied the decree of the Supreme Soviet, which called for an end to spontaneous street protests, by taking part in an unannounced demonstration in the west Ukrainian city of Lviv, the scene of previous large scale protests in June and July.

According to a leading figure in the Ukrainian Helsinki Union, between 30-40 people were determined on gathering by the statue of the Ukrainian poet, Ivan Franko, in Lviv. This was despite the fact that the authorities had recently bulldozed part of the square and erected a wooden barrier around the monument. Within minutes, militia vans, which were standing in a nearby street, had descended on the square and started to warn the protesters that they should disperse. However, by 7 o'clock in the evening the small crowd of people had swelled to approximately 3,000. By this time, the crowd began shouting "Freedom for Ukraine!"

The militia then decided to disperse the growing crowd using batons, dogs and much violence. A young girl was reported to have had her head repeatedly beaten against a police car until she finally succumbed, and was pulled into it by her hair. Dogs were used to attack members of the crowd. When the chief of the militia asked the demonstrators why they would not disperse, they replied: "Free Makar, free Makar". Ivan Makar, a leading activist, played a central role in past protests, which attracted crowds of 50,000. According to Bohdan Horyn, Ivan Makar was taken away from the hostel where he lives early in the morning of July 4 by the militia.

As the militia began to lead people away, the crowds started singing the "International", others joined with Ukrainian patriotic songs. Others shouted "fascists, fascists!" at the militia. More than 25 people were detained. Some were fined, others received up to 15 days imprisonment. One of those held was Iryna Kalynets, a member of the editorial board of the samvydav journal *Yevshan Zillia*, who also took an active part in the June demonstrations.

On July 5, Lviv radio broadcast that the demonstration had been hijacked by "extremist elements". The Ukrainian Helsinki Union spokesman stated that the demonstrations were unlikely to stop in Western Ukraine, which has witnessed the largest demonstrations in the Ukrainian republic, and would continue to be held despite the harsh reaction of the authorities.

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## GLASNOST IN UKRAINE — YURIY RUDENKO ARRESTED FOR RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

(UCIS) The Ukrainian Central Information Service has received information that Ukrainian Catholic activist, Yuriy Rudenko, was arrested in Kalushi, Western Ukraine, on 8.8.1988 for violation of the law on religious activities. The legal consultant of the Committee in Defence of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Moscow, Mykola Muratov, informed the press agency Reuters that Yuriy Rudenko had taken part in religious services, but was not involved in their organisation. He is the son of prominent Ukrainian writer and former political prisoner, Mykola Rudenko, who arrived in the West last year.

The Ukrainian Catholic Church was forcibly incorporated into the Russian Orthodox Church in 1946. Since then, it has existed as an underground catacomb Church. Recently, part of the Ukrainian Catholic hierarchy and faithful came out into the open and are leading an active campaign for the legalisation of their Church.

In an interview for foreign correspondents, underground Bishop Pavlo Vasylyk stated the following: We hope that our people can finally rest after so much persecution and suffering, although our suffering is an honour for us”.

On Tuesday, 9 August, in a telephone conversation, the head of the Committee in Defence of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, Ivan Hel, told a correspondent of the Associated Press that the militia has recently intensified the persecution of the outlawed Ukrainian Catholic Church: church services have been disrupted and a warning to the effect that religious groups will be fined for illegal meetings was issued. During the recent millennium celebrations in the village of Hrushiv, Western Ukraine, the local authorities attempted to set the Russian Orthodox Church against the Ukrainian Catholic Church by organising parallel celebrations of the Russian Orthodox Church in order to disrupt the Catholic celebrations. Furthermore, Hrushiv was the scene of the latest act of violence and vandalism against the Ukrainian Catholic Church: an oak cross, erected on July 10 before a crowd of 5,000 people, who had gathered in Hrushiv to mark the millennium, was dug up and destroyed.

In the meantime, the official Soviet Commission on human rights, headed by Fedir Burlatskyi, has appealed to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR to issue an amnesty for those who are currently imprisoned for violation of laws on religious activities.

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## Documents and Reports

M. R. WORONYCZ

### GORBACHEV'S DILEMMA

Since Gorbachev assumed the reins of power in the USSR there has been much praise of his policies of "glasnost" and "perestroika". The system he inherited did not succeed in snuffing out dissent, but it has succeeded in producing a sluggish economy and an inefficient bureaucracy. Without a strong economy and efficient administration Gorbachev will find it increasingly difficult to maintain his multi-national empire with its vast apparatus of officialdom, army and police. Many commentators in the West believe that the source of all the USSR's woes lies in its defence spending and inefficient practices in industry, agriculture and commerce. This is only partly true. It is the imperial and totalitarian nature of the USSR which lies at the heart of its social and political as well as economic problems.

Gorbachev believes that more openness from Moscow will increase its credibility and support at home and abroad. Indeed, the Soviet media has become more forthcoming with news of natural disasters, accidents and cases of corruption and incompetence. However, whilst criticism of the way the USSR is run is permitted, criticism of the system itself, of whether Moscow should continue to direct the affairs of the non-Russian nations have not been aired. A good example of this was the presentation of the ethnic feud between Armenia and Azerbaijan over Nagorno-Karabakh. Once this ethnic issue arose, foreign journalists were kept away from the area and had to rely on information supplied by local nationalists. This has been even more so with anti-Russian protests. This year's demonstrations in the Baltic states were not reported in the Soviet press, foreign journalists were refused permission to travel to these countries. "Glasnost" has meant a better presentation of Gorbachev's views of possible reform, not the introduction of alternative ideas.

As for the much-used word "perestroika", Gorbachev hopes that some liberalisation will produce greater private enterprise and trade. He hopes that an upturn in the economy, reduced defence spending and an increase in living standards will ease the fiscal burdens of state and increase tolerance of the system. Gorbachev's criticism of inept and corrupt bureaucrats has been well publicised. However, he is well aware that Soviet officials are traditionally chosen for their obedience rather than their initiative. He also realises that economic reform would necessitate greater economic and political independence for individuals and for non-Russian republics. He knows that the re-

publics most likely to gain from liberalisation would be Ukraine and the Baltic countries — the most nationalist states in the USSR. Their growing economic power would in turn produce greater political self-confidence and independence, a trend feared by Gorbachev's Russian friends and foes alike. The last thing even Gorbachev wants is a Dubček-type administration in every Soviet republic working with Solidarity-type trade unions.

Brezhnev had found a *modus vivendi*. He turned the USSR into a number of fiefdoms distributed to his closest supporters. In return, they kept a tight lid on the nationalist, religious and social pressures in their republics, even if this meant a high economic price. Indeed, the Brezhnevite hack Volodymyr Shcherbytskyi has been so successful in suppressing dissent he has earned the nickname of "Butcher of Ukraine". Gorbachev is now wondering how to reduce the economic price and simultaneously keep the lid on nationalist and religious feeling. In Kazakhstan he replaced the corrupt Brezhnevite Dinmukhammed Kunayev with a Russian. The anti-Russian riots which ensued could only have reminded him that national identity can mean more to non-Russians than bureaucratic efficiency.

It is because of the nationalities question that the possibility of multiple candidates at elections is likely to flourish. Gorbachev realises that to gain votes, candidates would have to court the nationalist and religious sentiment in their constituencies. It must be remembered that when he first spoke of reform, he made it a rule to attack also the growing nationalist tendencies in the non-Russian republics.

In both the economic and administrative fields, Gorbachev faces the problem of promoting personal initiative, flair and enterprise in commerce whilst discouraging independent thought in politics, and of nationalism in particular. This is where he faces his dilemma. Without democratisation, the USSR will face continued economic and social stagnation, to become "an Upper Volta with rockets". With it, he may well fuel the forces pulling the Soviet Russian empire apart. A similar nationalities problem was faced by the Austrian Empire towards the end of the last century. Within a few decades that empire ceased to exist.

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## V. CHORNOVIL OUTLINES THESIS ON SOVIET NATIONALITY PROBLEM

(UPA) The Ukrainian Press Service reported that on 14 April a public discussion was scheduled in the Lviv City Hall. Although 100 guests turned up the event was cancelled by the authorities because they were unable to find anybody to put forward the party position on the nationality question.

V. Chornovil, the editor of the *samvydav* journal and organ of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union, the *Ukrainian Herald*, believed that the nationality question is the most serious facing the USSR, "ranking ahead of social and

economic problems". The failures in Soviet nationality policy cannot be blamed upon "single practical mistakes made by Stalin or Brezhnev, because they are grounded in the ideology of Marxism-Leninism itself". "The feeling of a common historical fate is being destroyed by the entire propaganda apparatus of the state and its educational system. National cultures are being reduced to a trivial level. It is Marxism which produced the infamous 'Theory about the fusion of nations' at some unspecified time in the future ('fusion', 'total unity', 'a single Soviet people'): it has been adopted in various versions by all party programmes of the CPSU and has caused much damage — for without waiting for the 'future' it is being carried out today", the thesis reads.

V. Chornovil believes that Stalin's policies were "definitely not a deviation from Marxist-Leninist theory". . . it was just carried out with inhuman and despotic methods, whereby Stalin wiped out "national peculiarities" and built a classless and nationless society". Chornovil regards both Khrushchev and Brezhnev as worthy successors to Stalin, whilst "one of its most zealous adherents in Ukraine was and is Ukrainian party leader Shcherbytskyi".

Chornovil finds little change with regard to these policies under Gorbachev, who has introduced greater centralisation and denationalisation. "Despite the policy of glasnost, transformation and democratisation which the new leaders of the CPSU have proclaimed and despite the voices raised in the individual republics in defence of their national sovereignty (language, culture, self-determination of individual regions, etc.) no legal or practical steps whatsoever have been taken to change Stalinist nationalities policy", the thesis states.

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## SOVIET UKRAINIAN PRESS CONTINUE TO CRITICISE NUCLEAR POWER IN UKRAINE

(UPA) The debate surrounding nuclear energy in Ukraine continues to receive wide coverage in the Soviet Ukrainian press. In mid-May, *Literaturna Ukraina* published a letter from the Soviet Deputy Minister for Atomic Energy, O. L. Lapshin, in response to earlier critical letters from scientists, academicians and mathematicians. He quoted a recently aired television programme entitled "The Lessons of Chornobyl" as providing answers to questions posed by the scientists. The scientists also took part in the televised debate, but their arguments were allegedly disproved by the Soviet Ministry for Atomic Energy.

The same issue of the newspaper published a reply from the scientists which had originally appeared in *Moscow News* entitled "It is not right", signed by a member of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, Alexander Alymov. The letter is strongly critical of the way in which the televised debate was edited. The television debate was a public response to an open letter by 13 Ukrainian scientists published in the January 21 *Literaturna Ukraina*. The

scientists were quoted as saying that: "there was no discussion on the television screen, with the help of a little editing, we were turned into schoolchildren. . . our statements resembled those of incompetent and emotionally unstable individuals". The scientists proceed to reinforce their assertion that Ukraine does not require any expansion in its nuclear power capacity, because its economy is "oriented towards an overall reduction in the level of its unit's energy consumption". He stresses that "because of the high concentration of industry and agriculture in Ukraine the soil, water and air pollution levels have been exceeded. . .". To compound the problem the letter reveals that Ukraine "suffers from an acute deficit of water. . ." and therefore "the construction of additional atomic power generating units which use large amounts of water is bound to have grave ecological consequences".

Academician Alymov stated that, "it will not do to ignore the moral and economic consequences of the Chornobyl APS accident or take its psychological impact on the Republic's population lightly. We propose a review of the concept which allows for the location of the APS in densely populated areas, in areas with fertile and valuable land, or near large urban centres". The way that the discussion was edited led Alymov to state it was unethical, "And, in any event, it isn't of much of use".

In another issue of *Literaturna Ukraina* the debate surrounding the suspension of construction work at the Chyhyryn nuclear power station continues with the revelation that work has been resumed at the plant. Work was suspended in February by a special state commission, but states the newspaper, "there have been rumours from Cherkassy that builders are supposedly working at full steam. . .". That the authorities are still undecided about the future of the plant was made clear by the screening on Soviet television on May 11 of a debate entitled "Chyhyryn Nuclear Power Station: For and Against".

*Literaturna Ukraina* reports that it has received many letters from readers supporting the suspension of the Chyhyryn plant. One letter was signed by 97 people. All these letters, according to *Literaturna Ukraina*, "confirm yet again that social conscience should not be permitted to remain silent until the authorities take a firm decision — not to proceed with the Chyhyryn nuclear power station".

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**New issues of "Ukrainian Herald",  
"Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Ukraine"  
and "Khrystianskyi Holos" appear in Ukraine**

(UPA) Number 11-12 of the samvydav journal the *Ukrainian Herald*, organ of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, is now circulating in Ukraine. It includes a lengthy article entitled "Lenin on chauvinism — the task of perestroika in solving the national question" written by a high-ranking party worker under

the pseudonym "Kyivan". The author analyses the nationality question from a national communist point of view. The issue also includes a new rubric entitled "Literature in the Dock", which is devoted to writers who were sentenced during the 1960s and 1970s. Under the heading "Literature of Martyred Ukraine" there are writers who perished during the Stalinist terror of the 1930s. The "Cultural Chronicle" reports on activities that have taken place in Kyiv, Lviv and Kharkiv. There is a lengthy article describing the destruction of Arkhypenko's works in the Lviv national museum, during the 1940s. The section entitled "Perspectives for the Ukrainian Catholic Church" describes the destruction of churches in the Chernihiv region of Ukraine, as well as the mass movement in defence of the Catholic Church.

Numbers 32-33 of *The Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Ukraine* and number 2 of *Khrystianskyi Holos* are also circulating in Ukraine. They include an article entitled "Marxism, the New Testament and the National Question", and the religious prose of Iryna Stasiv, Ihor Kalynets, Yaroslav Lesiv and Ostap Lapskyi. An article by Father Hryhoriy Budzinskyi entitled "One more time about another big lie" is a reply to a smear campaign against the former Ukrainian Catholic Metropolitan Sheptytskyi. There are also replies by Father Mykhailo Havryliv to attacks upon Ukrainian Catholics in the Soviet press, a survey by Yaroslav Lesiv entitled "The heroic faith of the Church and her sacrifices", as well as a report about the destruction of Ukrainian Catholic Churches in the Ivano-Frankivsk region.

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## CONTINUING CONCERN FOR THE DEPLORABLE STATE OF THE UKRAINIAN LANGUAGE — AUTONOMOUS CLUBS TO PROMOTE RESPECT FOR THE UKRAINIAN LANGUAGE FORMED THROUGHOUT UKRAINE

(UPA) *Literaturna Ukraina* recently reported that posters had appeared in Poltava inviting people along to meetings of the Club to Promote Respect for the Ukrainian Language and Culture, also called "Ridne Slovo", in the local House of Culture. In a letter to the newspaper, a member of "Ridne Slovo" asks other readers if there are similar Clubs in other Ukrainian cities? He then outlines their work in all branches of Ukrainian culture with meetings, seminars, literary evenings and tourist outings to collect information about regional language dialects for a forthcoming dictionary.

In a further article in *Literaturna Ukraina*, the Kyiv Club to Promote Respect for the Ukrainian Language, already active for over a year, suggested holding a "Ukrainian Language Celebration". The Ministry of Culture, Higher and Specialist Education, as well as the Writers' Union of Ukraine and various Institutes of Language and Literature were also involved in these preparations. Such a celebration would be a great opportunity, "to educate

young people in the internationalist spirit on the basis of the rich Ukrainian culture", stated Ivan Yushchuk in an article in *Literaturna Ukraina*.

In another letter to the same newspaper, 60 members of various social strata in the city of Lviv signed a letter in support of the formation of Societies for the Ukrainian Language. The 60 included "workers and engineers, students and academics, communists and non-party members, people of different age groups and nationalities — Ukrainians, Russians and Poles". They stated that they are all potential activists of the Lviv branch of this Society in the campaign to improve the status of the Ukrainian language. They also suggested the formation of a Society of Taras Shevchenko on the occasion of the 175th anniversary of the publication of his epic work, the *Kobzar*. The editors of *Literaturna Ukraina* added that since they had received this letter, they had received another 596 signatures on a petition circulating in Lviv calling for the establishment of Societies for the Ukrainian Language.

In *Literaturna Ukraina*, another letter complained that the publishing house "Vyshcha Shkola" (Higher Education) is Ukrainian in name only as it publishes books mainly in Russian, including textbooks. Of the 100 titles scheduled for publication this year only 40 are in Ukrainian. *Radyanska Ukraina* has written that the dramatic decline in interest in Ukrainian-language books is precisely due "to the contracting sphere in use of the Ukrainian language". Another letter in *Literaturna Ukraina* discusses the city of Vynnytsia where out of 31 schools, 21 use the Russian language. The majority of Ukrainian language schools are in the suburbs or outskirts of town. A new school which is being built is also going to use the Russian language and the author asks if the Writers' Union can help them change it to Ukrainian? Dmytro Pavlychko, a prominent member of the Writers' Union, believed that the letter shows that not everybody was disinterested in which language their children would be taught in? He claims that the current education laws, which allow the father to decide the language of instruction their children should receive their education in, leads to situations like in Vynnytsia, a Ukrainian city that has a majority of Russian schools. Only if the state decides the language of instruction in schools will this be both "in line with Leninist nationality policy", as well as being "authentically democratic".

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### UKRAINIAN CATHOLICS APPEAL FOR THE LEGALISATION OF THEIR CHURCH

(UPA) Thirty-four Ukrainian Catholics, including 2 underground Bishops and 18 priests have signed an appeal dated 15 May to Pope John Paul II, Cardinal Lubachivskyi and Patriarch Pimen. They draw on historical facts detailing their direct lineage back to Prince Volodymyr of the medieval state of Kyivan Rus'. Accusations of "bourgeois nationalism" are groundless and "immoral", they claim. The Catholic Church, they wrote, has nothing in common with politics and all its dealings with the state are on behalf of the spiritual needs of the believers. In refuting all the Soviet government's

charges against it, the Ukrainian Catholic Church is supported by leading figures in the Russian Orthodox Church.

The letter expresses sorrow that Pope John Paul did not include members of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the official delegation to Moscow. It reports that during the last few months more and more people are signing petitions to legalise their Church. "Despite this, there are no changes in our situation and persecution continues", it reads. The call for the Ukrainian Catholic Church to hold millennium celebrations in Kyiv with Pope John Paul. Continued refusal to legalise the Ukrainian Catholic Church goes against the spirit of glasnost, they believe.

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## NEW UNOFFICIAL JOURNAL BEGINS PUBLICATION IN UKRAINIAN CAPITAL

(UCIS) The first issue of a new samvydav publication, *Dzvin* (The Bell), appeared in Kyiv in May of this year. This journal is the organ of the "Hromada" Society, the student association of Kyiv University, created for the propagation and realisation of the Society's goals. Its 17 typewritten pages cover such issues as cultural, national and ecological problems in Ukraine.

In the leading article, the editors state the following: "One must understand, as soon as possible, once and for all, that the state is incapable of resolving its problems and goes on creating new ones. Ukrainian problems cannot be reviewed in any context other than that of world problems, particularly the democratisation of our society. And they [the problems] are piling up sufficiently enough to give rise to some anxiety. We are taking firm steps towards ecological disaster. Each new scientific discovery leads to new problems and new dangers — a continuation of the string of hereditary illnesses. . . The main task at hand at this moment is the formulation of an alternative to the present development and the erroneous and outdated theories which are guiding and shielding it". In their opinion, ". . . any 'green', any cultural programme cannot be realised without a wide-scale radical cultural-ecological, national-democratic movement".

This is followed by an article entitled "The Class Structure of Soviet Society". Its author, Severyn Khoma, discusses such problems as 1) state ownership or public ownership? 2) the bureaucracy — the ruling class 3) socialism or capitalism? 4) reconstruction and revolution, and draws the conclusion that "Economic democracy should be the prototype of political democracy".

Next in line is an article about "Kruty", the site of a battle which took place on January 29, 1918, in which 300 Ukrainian students were killed while defending Kyiv against the Red army. This is an historic analysis of one of the first tragedies of the Ukrainian war of independence (1917-1920). "In order that the Ukrainian idea may receive due importance", writes Zenon



Stefaniv (a former officer in the Ukrainian Galician Army formed in WWI), the author, "then blood must be spilt. For us, at the present time, the significance of the Ukrainian idea is measured in the amount of valuable blood which has been spilt to attain it". The "Hromada" Society is currently working towards the erection of a monument to those who fell at Kruty and is looking after their graves.

This article is immediately followed by a short poem on the same theme by the Ukrainian poet Pavlo Tychyna, published in Kyiv in 1918.

On a slightly different theme is the article "The Fleet". This is a review of the Ukrainian movement in the Black Sea fleet of the former Tsarist empire, after the October Revolution, and its takeover by the Central Rada (Council) of the newly-created Ukrainian National Republic in January 1918.

This is followed by a poetic tribute, in Byelorussian, to the "dead" language by Karaskevych, a story translated from Byelorussian, by an unknown author, and a poem entitled "The end of the world", also by an unknown author.

The next section is a chronicle of the "Hromada's" activities. The Society was formed on March 23, 1988. Its membership consists of students, young professionals and young workers. According to *Dzvin*, the Society's goals are the expansion and realisation of the principles of democracy and glasnost in Ukraine, the preservation of national culture, the spread and popularisation of the Ukrainian language, a campaign for the improvement of ecological conditions in Ukraine, the rebirth of Ukrainian national consciousness and the preservation of historical and cultural monuments.

The creation of the Society was preceded by a Shevchenko evening on March 9, discussions about the philosophical theories of 18th century Ukrainian philosopher and humanist, Hryhoriy Skovoroda, on March 15, and the organisation of a campaign to collect signatures for a petition to the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR about the halting of the construction of the Chyhyryn, Kharkiv and Crimean nuclear power stations and new reactors at the Rivne, Khmelnytskyi and South-Ukrainian plants.

Every Wednesday, "Hromada's" historical group holds open meetings at which the participants discuss the history of the Ukrainian Cossacks. They have also discussed Mykhailo Braichevskyi's article "Annexation or Reunification?", which deals with the annexation of Ukraine by Tsarist Russia after the military treaty of Pereiaslav between Hetman Khmelnytskyi and Tsar Alexis of 1654, which Russian historians regard as the reunification of the Russian and Ukrainian peoples, as well as the works of Mykola Zerov and Pavlo Fylypovch, Ukrainian poets of the 1920s and 1930s.

An initiative group of "Hromada" is working on the issue of the construction of new buildings of no historical value on the site of the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy (17th C) in Kyiv.

On April 8, letters were sent to the Institute of Archaeology of the Academy of Sciences of the UkSSR and the UkSSR Council of Ministers concerning the removal of the military political school from the premises of the former Kyiv-Mohyla Academy.

Members of "Hromada" have also been looking after the graves of prominent Ukrainian academics and cultural figures M. Hrushevskyi, V. Antonovych, B. Hrinchenko and Lesia Ukrainka.

The first issue of *Dzvin* concludes with a chronicle of life in Ukraine, compiled by Vyacheslav Ometsynskyi, a student of Kyiv State University. It is mainly concerned with the way the authorities dealt with the demonstration organised by the Ukrainian Culturological Club on April 26 of this year. Both he and his mother, a lecturer at one of Kyiv's institutes, were detained and released only during the night.

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### NEW ISSUE OF SAMVYDAV JOURNAL "KAPHEDRA" IS PUBLISHED

(UPA) The third issue of the literary samvydav journal *Kaphedra* was published on 1 June with the announcement that from now on it will become a quarterly publication. The editorial board has been announced as Vasyl Barladianu (Odessa), Mykhailo Osadchyi (Lviv), Stepan Sapeliak (Kharkiv) and Volodymyr Yavorskyi (Lviv). *Kaphedra* will continue to publish proscribed literary works that are not accepted by the official writers' establishment.

The third issue includes the announcement by its publishers, the Ukrainian Association of National Creative Intelligentsia (UANTI), of a literary prize in honour of Vasyl Stus. The issue opens with an article by Vasyl Barladianu which discusses the theoretical problems of solving and dealing with the national question in the USSR. Ivan Franko's granddaughter, Zinovia, has given a copy of a letter she wrote to *Ogonek* which concerns the rehabilitation of Ukrainians persecuted during Brezhnev's day. She also deals with her recantation in 1972. In an open letter to the Lviv official journal *Zhovten* Ihor Kalynets polemicalises with the head of the Lviv Writers' Union, Roman Lubkivskyi concerning his speech in Moscow at the Writers' Union plenum. He also deals with the hypothetical situation of whether one can be published in the official press.

The largest feature in this section is devoted to the poetry of Mykhailo Osadchyi, Stepan Huryi, Iryna Stasiv-Kalynets, Taras Romaniuk, Yaroslav Lesiv, Mykola Surma, Stepan Sapeliak and Oleksandra Kovalov. There is a prose section by a young Ukrainian student from Warsaw as well as excerpts from Bohdan Horyn's diary under the rubric "At the Crossroads". Other sections are "Critical Reviews", "What has Passed", "From the Minute Microcosm", "From the Archives", forbidden art and photograph exhibitions. The Archives section points out that 102 publications appeared in inter-war Lviv in both Russian and Ukrainian (together with another 150 Polish language publications) compared to today's 6, which do not meet public demands, which therefore inevitably leads to the appearance of unofficial publications.

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## UKRAINIAN HELSINKI UNION ISSUES "DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES"

(UCIS) *Below is a translation of the "Declaration of Principles" of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union. The 21 sections propose various political, constitutional, linguistic, economic and educational reforms, placing particular emphasis on the defence of national rights and the right of nations to self-determination. The principles call for a "confederation of independent states", which are to exist without all-union ministries and central control.*

*The Ukrainian Helsinki Union was re-launched in March of this year, on the basis of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group of the 1970s. Its organ is the unofficial literary journal the **Ukrainian Herald**, edited by prominent human rights activists Vyacheslav Chornovil, Ivan Hel, Mykhailo Horyn and Pavlo Skochok. Twelve issues of the **Herald** have so far appeared.*

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### UKRAINIAN HELSINKI UNION DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

#### Preamble

The Ukrainian Helsinki Union, as a federative union of self-governing human rights groups and organisations in the provinces, districts and towns of Ukraine and beyond its borders, is being formed on the basis of the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords and affirms its loyalty to the human rights principles of the group's declaration of November 9, 1976.

The Ukrainian Helsinki Union considers it vital to define as the principle aim of its activity the defence of national rights, first and foremost the rights of a nation to self-determination, provided in Article 1 of the international pact ratified by the Soviet Union on civil and political rights ("all peoples have the right to self-determination. On the strength of this right they can freely establish their political status and freely safeguard their economic, social and cultural development"), for without the freedom of a nation, it is impossible to obtain true human security. If a person is not a means for the realisation for some or other ideological concept but the aim and crown of creation, then a nation is the only natural social environment in which a person can completely open up his talents and accomplish his destiny on earth.

As experience has shown throughout the 66 years of Ukraine's existence as part of the USSR, neither the government of the Ukr. SSR, which has never

been a sovereign government, but only an executive organ of the central authorities, nor the Communist Party of Ukraine, which is merely a regional subdivision of the CPSU, were able or wished to protect the population of Ukraine from complete starvation, from the barbaric destruction of productive forces and the intellectual potential of the nation, from denationalisation of Ukrainians and non-Russian minorities, from the artificial transformation of the ethnic composition of the population of Ukraine. These facts of real genocide and the continuous ethnocide of the indigenous population of Ukraine even in conditions of current democratisation, confirm the indisputable truth that no party dares to monopolise the right of resolving crucial problems, which touch on the very existence of nations. Without alternative, (in general or in separate questions) oppositional organisations to the governmental policy and the ruling party, a real guarantee of human rights is impossible.

Not being a political party and not aiming to take over power, the Ukrainian Helsinki Union considers as its task the thorough activation of the popular masses producing in them a mechanism of peoples' participation in governing the state and a reliable control of the state apparatus.

By supporting all constructive ideas of the authorities with regard to perestroika and democratisation of Soviet society, the Ukrainian Helsinki Union reserves the right to democratic opposition as an active form of stimulating democratic processes within the society.

The Ukrainian Helsinki Union is not a political party with an obligatory programme for each member, and it allows for pluralism of views and membership in other political parties and organisations. Instead of a programme, the Ukrainian Helsinki Union proposes a Declaration of Principles, which could become the basis of uniting democratic forces in the struggle for restructuring society, for human and national rights (non-acceptance of separate clauses of the Declaration, yet with the adoption of its general direction, does not exclude participation in the work of one of the sections or local organisations of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union).

### **Basic Principles**

1. The Ukrainian Helsinki Union believes that the re-establishment of Ukrainian statehood, which exists today only on paper, would be the principal lasting guarantee of safeguarding the economic, social, cultural, civic and political rights of the Ukrainian people as well as those of the national minorities, living on the territory of Ukraine.

2. The Ukrainian Helsinki Union believes that under the guise of a Union of sovereign Soviet republics Stalin built an absolute centralised, authoritarian state, the character of which has not changed in essence to this day. Therefore, for a real democratisation of Soviet society, not so much individual

changes are required, but a radical restructuring of the state order. We imagine a possible future coexistence of peoples in the USSR in a form of a **confederation of independent states**, a transitional stage to which could be a **federation** of sovereign democratic republics where the term "Union of Soviet Socialist Republics" would imply the true contents with the help of a maximum political, economic and cultural decentralisation.

3. By supporting these legislative changes introduced by the ruling party of the USSR, the democratic character of which will not raise any doubts, the Ukrainian Helsinki Union will also propagandise the necessity of a complete annulment of anti-democratic, centralised, Stalin and Brezhnev-style constitutions and call for the **drawing up on a new basis of a constitution of the USSR and the constitutions of the republics**.

4. The new federal constitution of the union only has to guarantee, without the current discriminatory limitations, the basic rights of citizens, set out in international UN human rights pacts and ratified by the USSR, and in the Final Helsinki agreement in 1975, as well as constitute the general principles of federal ties between the union republics, but without unifying and regulating the organisation of economic, political and cultural life in the republics, as it is done in the existing constitution of the USSR. Instead of all-union committees, ministries and other social-central administrative organs, we propose the establishment on a union level of only consultative and coordinating organs, having directly handed over complete leadership of economic, political and social life to the sovereign republics. After the transfer of all current legislation to the republican parliaments (Supreme Councils), the federal legislative organ could be a unicameral parliament (Federal Council) with an equal representation of republics, regardless of the amount of population and the administrative-territorial order. The centre of the union, where the permanent federal organs will be located, cannot simultaneously be the capital of one of the equal republics, and the sessions of the federal parliament (Federal Council) should be convened in each of the capitals of the republics in turn. There can be no place in the new constitution for the imperialist term "Soviet people", but this should read "peoples of the USSR".

5. We propose to introduce an Article on **Ukrainian citizenship** into the new constitution of Ukraine, which should also include the principles of international documents on human rights, as well as experience of national and customary law of the people. This Article gives the right to elect or to be elected to the Councils, as well as to be employed in state institutions of the Ukrainian Republic. Anyone can be a citizen of Ukraine with obligatory and adequate knowledge of the state language of the republic and who lived on this or on other Ukrainian territory before its inclusion into the USSR, as well as their descendants at least from one side; Ukrainian emigrants and re-emigrants from other republics and outside the Ukr. SSR., all other persons, who always lived on the territory of the republic for no less than ten years and who recognise the state language and constitution of the republic.

6. Without establishing any restrictions for non-citizens of Ukraine, except for the above mentioned, we are at the same time opposed to an artificial intermixing of the population of the Union with the aim of changing the ethnic composition of the republics through means of incessant transfer of "cadres", centralised planning of industrial construction, and not including local labour resources and others. While opposing closed borders such as those between the socialist countries of eastern Europe, we nevertheless propose to introduce as a precautionary measure against the long term Russification policy certain **limitations on entry for permanent residence in the republic with the aim of obtaining citizenship.**

7. We demand the immediate **constitutional recognition of the status of Ukrainian as the official language of the republic** and its introduction in all spheres of social life of the republic — in the state and economic apparatus, pre-school education, school education, higher and professional education, in the military and other schools, thus supporting the nationwide movement, which today has encompassed wide strata of Ukrainian society.

8. At the same time we support all guarantees on the rights of national minorities in Ukraine (Russians, Jews, Poles, Byelorussians, and others), as well as national-cultural autonomy (national associations, schools, theatres, museums, press, the Church, etc.). In cases of compact settlement (of Hungarians, Greeks, Gaganzis, Rumanians, Bulgarians, Russians, etc.) we also support the establishment of national-territorial administrative units in villages, urban boroughs and districts. We call for the immediate re-establishment as part of the Ukrainian SSR of the Crimean ASSR settlement, and the organised return of the population of the autonomous republic, which had been persecuted by Stalin, to its place of former settlement.

9. The Ukrainian Helsinki Union is extending its activity onto the territories, populated by **Ukrainians beyond the borders of the Ukr. SSR**, while demanding protection from the government of the republic over ethnic Ukrainians in the RSFSR, Kazakhstan, Byelorussia, Moldavia, and others, as well as beyond the borders of the USSR (in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Yugoslavia). Within the borders of the Union only the complete guarantee of the national-cultural needs of Ukrainians from Beresteyshchyna<sup>1</sup>, Voronizhchyna<sup>2</sup>, Kuban and the regions along the banks of the River Dnister in the Moldavian SSR will remove the painful question of reviewing the borders of the republic according to ethnic principles from the daily agenda. The Ukrainian Helsinki Union will attempt to reach a constructive dialogue of widespread cooperation on all levels (from governmental to personal contacts) with the Ukrainian emigration in the West instead of carefully sustained hatred by ideological dogmatists, which emerged under Stalin's conditions.

10. The Ukrainian Helsinki Union will raise the question before the government of the Ukr. SSR and the governments of countries which signed

1. Brest region — BSSR.

2. Voronizh region — RSFSR.

the Helsinki Declaration, on the full **representation of Ukraine as a sovereign state on international arenas**, on the establishment of diplomatic relations with other countries on the level of embassies and consulates, on mutual representation (organs of mass information, international agencies, firms, corporations), on a separate representation of Ukraine at international scientific conferences, Olympic Games, art festivals and other international events.

11. The Ukrainian Helsinki Union supports the transfer of the present authority in the republic from the hands of the communist party to the **Council of peoples' representatives elected democratically**. Elections to the Councils at which one candidate will be nominated for one position should be regarded as invalid. This situation should also extend to the elections of the President (Head of the Supreme Council) of the federation and President of the Supreme Council of the republics, who should be elected directly by the electorate for no longer than two consecutive terms. All parties, unions, unofficial societies and even initiative groups of citizens should have the right to put forward candidates as deputies, if beforehand they manage to collect a stipulated amount of signatures from electoral districts in support of their candidate (for instance, 1,000 signatures). The Ukrainian Helsinki Union intends to put forward its candidates from as many electoral districts as possible at the elections of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR in the spring of 1989.

12. The Ukrainian Helsinki Union considers that the people of Ukraine should become the real **masters of their natural wealth and resources**, and strengthen ties with other republics of the Federations and with other states on the principles of mutual benefits. The basis of the national economy of Ukraine should be the republican economic budget and self-financing. All-Union ministries should be abolished and replaced by coordinating committees with limited functions of review, mediation and exchange of economic information.

For stimulating the economic prosperity of the republic, the Ukrainian Helsinki Union considers it imperative to encourage private initiative as much as possible, which can manifest itself in the conversion of some state industrial enterprises into joint-stock companies and cooperatives, in the voluntary withdrawal of peasants from membership in collective farms with land for private farming or the creation of various types of cooperatives, run by elected individuals, and of cooperatives and unions for acquiring means of production. The state may only intervene in economic life by economic stimulation (credits, tax reductions etc.), and not by pure administrative measures. Market economy should prevail with a free price list formation. In conditions of republican economic budget, it will become impossible to continue to increase industrial potential by extensive means in economically over-saturated districts and the government of the Republic, being independent from the centre [Moscow] will on the other hand have the means to stimulate the economic development of backward districts with concealed unemployment, thus allowing for neither the loss of population on a significant scale beyond the borders of the Republic, nor the organised centralised planning of the economy from the

deliberate flow of the population from other republics (first of all from Russia) in order to reduce the ethnic composition of the population of Ukraine. Industrial enterprises, corporations and cooperatives should have the right to economic ties with foreign enterprises and corporations. It would be useful to attract material means and the economic experience of the Ukrainian emigration.

13. In protecting the **social-economic rights of the individuals**, the state should guarantee minimal material welfare for those who need it (setting the poverty line, helping the unemployed). Voluntary work by community organisations and individuals should be encouraged. However, attempts to even introduce a relative equality in wages and income would lead to the stagnation and regression of the society.

The Ukrainian Helsinki Union does not see the revival of social justice in wage-equalisation, which was one of the main reasons for the economic depression, but in a harsh reduction of the bureaucratic apparatus ("of the new class"), which is nothing more than a parasite on the peoples' necks, in the abolition of all social privileges, without exception, of the Soviet party bureaucratic apparatus (special shops of products and industrial goods, special hospitals, special health resorts and relaxation zones, personal cars, trips abroad paid by the state, privileges for children and relatives on acquiring an education and getting a job, obtaining housing by not waiting for one's turn, and others).

The Ukrainian Helsinki Union will try to obtain a just system of social security (pensions for workers and invalids — not below the average wage in the Republic and with the additional proportional level of inflation; equalise the right to guarantee pensions to citizens of all professions and from all social strata according to age and length of service, including the army, militia, security organs, with exceptions only for workers employed in particularly strenuous and harmful jobs; as well as adding to the length of service work in concentration camp complexes). The health care system requires complete restructuring, which is currently a reason for the high death rate, in particular that of babies and shortened life expectancy.

14. The Ukrainian Helsinki Union believes that in connection with the malevolent centralised policy of the Union government and Union ministries, which did not take into consideration the interests of the population of Ukraine, the Republic is now confronted by the **threat of ecological genocide (ecocide)**. We will strive not only to halt the construction of nuclear reactors, but also to reduce the already constructed atomic power plants in Ukraine and exchange them for alternative sources of power and discontinue the export of electrical energy from the territory of Ukraine. We wish to review the structure of Ukrainian industry, with a gradual abolition of harmful products (first of all chemical products) in zones of industrial oversaturation, halt the construction of ecologically dangerous hydrotechnical works, to present every larger project of industrial construction for a nationwide discussion.



15. The Ukrainian Helsinki Union will defend the strict compliance with the general declaration on human rights, the UN pacts and the Final Helsinki Agreement on the basic rights and freedoms of citizens, first of all the freedom recognised by the whole civilised world of expressing one's own views and the spreading of ideas irrespective of the borders. This axiom of democracy which should be guaranteed by constitutional law which would persist the creation of independent public organisations, including organisations opposed to the government and the ruling party, and endowed with the right to constantly make use of mass information by state means, produce own independent publications, which guarantee the necessary material base; the right to organise meetings, gatherings, discussions; and the right to free access to all information (excluding clearly outlined matters of military secrets), but including access to archive materials, all statute acts, diplomatic documents, which are presently hidden away in special safes; the right to have access to radio broadcasts, books, periodicals from other foreign countries, which inform about problems and events from different ideological viewpoints.

16. The Ukrainian Helsinki Union recommends a **review of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR** and the exclusion of anti-democratic articles from it, namely: Article 62 ("anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda"), Article 187 ("slandorous fabrications against the state system"), articles which result in punishment for religious activity, for so-called "dawdling", the violation of passport regulations and others, for a harsh reduction in punishment with regard to imprisonment, for the abolition of the death sentence. The Ukrainian Helsinki Union will strive to obtain the release of all political prisoners, the complete rehabilitation of all those who had been sentenced for their convictions, the liquidation of special psychiatric prisons. The KGB must be dissolved or curtailed and reorganised with the removal of all its functions as political police. **Court proceedings must be re-organised** and the three-man law-court should be replaced by democratic forms of legal proceedings (for instance, by a jury). Legal defence should be taken up from the moment charges have been brought. It is imperative to humanise the corrective labour system. Prisoners should serve their sentences at the place where the crime was committed and the transfer of prisoners beyond the borders of the Republic is prohibited.

17. The Ukrainian Helsinki Union supports the reduction of military forces to reasonable limits, necessary only for defence, and direct the savings towards raising the welfare of the people. Military service should take place on the territory of the Republic in **own republican military formations**. We foresee the transformation of military service on a voluntary and paid basis, as in some democratic countries in the world.

18. The right to work is required in the creation of proper conditions and its valuable realisation. Compelling someone to work with threats of conviction is a form of slavery, which contradicts international legal norms. The Ukrainian Helsinki Union supports the creation of **independent trade unions**

as the most efficient organ of social security of a person (the achievement of normal conditions at work, proper wages, etc.).

19. The Ukrainian Helsinki Union defends the unrestricted rights of believers to establish religious communities of their religious creed and supports the legalisation of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church and the restoration of the destroyed Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church. We demand an end to the persecution of Evangelical Christians-Baptists, pentacostals, disciples of Krishna and other religious denominations. The Council on Religious Beliefs and its local sections, which will be instrumental in persecuting the faithful, should be abolished. A right should be guaranteed, not only for anti-religious, but also religious propaganda.

20. The Ukrainian Helsinki Union will strive to make the authorities effectuate human rights guaranteed by international documents, which were ratified by the USSR, the right of **free choice of residence**, (abolition of the passport system and obligatory travel permits), of **free entry and exit** into and out of the Republic, with this applying to other Union republics and any other country in the world.

21. The Ukrainian Helsinki Union believes that in most important matters concerning the interest of the whole population of Ukraine, or a significant part of it, it is necessary to conduct **nationwide referendums**, reserving beforehand the necessary time and possibilities for solving the problem and free propaganda.

\* \* \*

The Declaration of Principles, as well as the additional Statute of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union have been drawn up by the Ukrainian Helsinki Group which has existed since 1976, and which hands over its mandate and joins the Ukrainian Helsinki Union with its full membership.

The Declaration of Principles of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union and the Statute are operative for the time being until their ratification at the Constituent Assembly of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union, which will take place after the organisation of provincial councils of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union. Future changes in the Declaration of Principles and Statute can be introduced by the All-Ukrainian Coordinating Council of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union and on submission by the provincial organisations.

July 7, 1988

Ukrainian Executive Committee of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union

## STATUTORY PRINCIPLES OF THE UKRAINIAN HELSINKI UNION

The Ukrainian Helsinki Union (Ukrainian Helsinki Federation or Union), was founded on the basis of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, which has existed since 1976 to this day. In its activity, the Ukrainian Helsinki Union keeps to

the principles recognised or ratified by the government of the Ukr. SSR which had been initiated by international documents on human rights — declaration on human rights, UN agreements on economic, social and cultural rights, as well as civic and political rights, the Final Helsinki Agreement on security and cooperation in Europe of 1975, and also the declaration of principles of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union elaborated on the basis of these legal documents.

While promoting the viability of these positive processes of democratisation, which have begun in the USSR, the Ukrainian Helsinki Union also simultaneously strives to deepen and disseminate them, criticises the inconsistency and conservatism of the organs of authority and ruling party on resolving concrete matters of restructuring and positions of constructive democratic opposition to the administrative-bureaucratic system, which formed and became consolidated into the USSR.

The Ukrainian Helsinki Union functions on the territory of Ukraine, defending political, social and economic rights of the Ukrainian people and other nationalities, who live permanently on the territory of the republic. The Ukrainian Helsinki Union can create groups or organisations beyond the borders of the Ukr. SSR on territories of mass Ukrainian population, and also among the Ukrainian emigration, where there exists an external representation of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union. The Ukrainian Helsinki Union is formed on the principles of federalism with a wide self-government of autonomous organisations. Each of these organisations may have its own statute, drawn up with the inclusion of these statutory principles and specifications of its work.

It is recommended that members of the autonomous organisations of the Union should be citizens of different nationalities from 16 years of age, who are basically in agreement with the declaration of principles of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union and want to work in human rights activities, which they have chosen themselves. Disagreement with individual points in the declaration of principles upon the approval of its general direction does not exclude membership or work from the autonomous organisations of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union except for its leadership. The Ukrainian Helsinki Union is established on the basis of individual and collective membership. Separate individuals can be accepted into the Union, for instance those who can unite in territorial (village, district and regional) organisations as well as informal societies (clubs, associations, unions, societies of national minorities, etc.), who share the basic directives of the Declaration of Principles of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union. Membership in any other party or organisation in such a case cannot be an impediment for membership of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union.

The rights and duties of members of the Union are determined by the statutes of local autonomous organisations. Abidance by the basic democratic principles is the only rule equally obligatory for everyone (the right to elect and be elected to leading positions, the right to express one's thoughts or positions of the minority, or others).

With regard to the increase of members in the Union, local coordinating councils are to be established, which comply with the Declaration of Principles of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union and the statutory principles, draw up the statutes of regional organisations of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union. Such coordinating councils (CC) are established on territories with a considerable Ukrainian population beyond the borders of the Ukr. SSR (for instance the Kuban council, Moscow council, and others). Collective members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union (informal clubs, etc.), who operate within the borders of the region, elect their representatives to the regional Coordinating Council, and informal inter-regional and All-Ukrainian organisations elect their representatives directly to the All-Ukrainian Coordinating Council (ACC).

Members of the All-Ukrainian Coordinating Council are: one representative from each regional organisation of the union of All-Ukrainian informal societies — collective members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union elected at the All-Ukrainian Conference of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union. The first body of the All-Ukrainian Coordinating Committee, after the establishment of the Union, also includes members of the initiative group for the creation of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union from members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group.

The principal sections of the Union could be: state and legal section, sections on human rights, economics, social security, international, ecological, youth, linguistic, cultural-educational, religious problems, Ukrainians in the diaspora, and if necessary, others. The number and names of sections are determined by the regional organisations.

The All-Ukrainian Council appoints from its membership a permanent executive committee comprising three executive secretaries and section leaders.

The All-Ukrainian Coordinating Council is elected at the conference of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union for three years. The ACC appoints from its membership an executive committee also for three years with successive leadership of the secretaries (that is, no longer than one year in succession). To avoid authoritarianism in a position, we also recommend a change in leadership (no more than three consecutive years) for regional coordinating councils and sections.

The All-Ukrainian Conference of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union will be convened no more than once every three years, and necessary decisions on important questions will be made by three quarters of the vote of the members of the ACC.

The task of the coordinating councils, executive committee of the ACC and other elective organs is only consultative (collection of information, etc.). It is not compulsory for all members of the Union to comply with their decisions.

Financial means of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union are made up from compulsory membership fees of Union members, donations, possible profits from

publications or other activities. The membership fees and other means of receiving and distributing expenses are determined in the statutes of the autonomous organisations of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union. Ten per cent of the income received by the regional organisations is submitted for disposal of the executive committee and the ACC, the rest is kept.

The tasks and activities of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union are the following:

- a wide collection of information on all aspects of human rights activity, set out in the Declaration of Principles, and making use of the collected material by passing it on to the regional coordinating council;

- appeal on behalf of the regional and other autonomous organisations of the Union to the local and republican organs of authority;

- appeal by the All-Ukrainian Coordinating Council and its executive committee to the government of the USSR and the Ukr. SSR demanding legislative and other decisions;

- appeal by the All-Ukrainian Coordinating Council in agreement with all the regional organisations to the governments of the countries who signed the Helsinki Agreements, on all serious cases, at a time when in spite of an appeal to the government of the USSR, basic human and national rights continue to be violated;

- we are making the same appeals to the world public and the international Helsinki Federation, whose members we consider ourselves to be;

- a wide propaganda of ideas and demands of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union by means of mass information (if possible), meetings, gatherings, demonstrations, signed letters, leaflets, independent press, information agencies and the press of countries which signed the Helsinki Agreements, and others. For a more operative review of the activities of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union and on demands of the Union at the Executive Committee of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union a press service of the UHU is being established, which will operate on the basis of the journal, *The Ukrainian Herald*.

These statutory principles, together with the Declaration of Principles of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union, are put into effect for the time being until they are ratified at the constituent assembly of the Union, which will take place after organising the regional councils of the UHU. Further changes in statutory principles and Declaration of Principles of the UHU can be proposed by the Union conference, or by a unanimous vote of the All-Ukrainian Coordinating Council on the request of the regional organisations.

The agenda of the elections at the conference and its procedure will be fixed at the constituent assembly of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union.

July 7, 1988

Executive Committee of the  
Ukrainian Helsinki Union

**As a supplement to the above documents of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union, the Ukrainian Information Service provides the following information and excerpts from documents of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists:**

After the Russian Revolution in 1917, Ukrainians established the Ukrainian Central Rada (Council) (17.3.1917), convened a Ukrainian National Congress (17.4.1917) and proclaimed autonomy (23.6.1917). The Russian provisional government acknowledged Ukraine's autonomy on July 16, 1917. Shortly after the takeover of power by the Bolsheviks in Russia on November 16, 1917, Ukrainians took over complete power in Ukraine and on November 20, proclaimed the establishment of the Ukrainian National Republic. Soviet Russia recognised Ukraine and its right to independence on December 16, 1917. However, at the same time Lenin gave an ultimatum, which was rejected by the Ukrainians. On December 20, 1917, war broke out between Russia and Ukraine. Having established a Soviet government in Kharkiv in opposition to the Ukrainian government, Soviet Russia conducted its war against Ukraine under the guise of helping this "Soviet government of Ukraine".

In the middle of November 1920, the Ukrainian army and government were forced to leave Ukrainian territory. The period of Ukraine's independence had come to an end.

In December 1922, the Russian Communist Bolshevik Party with the aid of local communists decided to establish a Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which also included the Ukr. SSR which was occupied by the Soviet army. It should be stressed that the USSR was formally established on the basis of an agreement whereby the parties concerned — Soviet Russia, Ukrainian SSR, Byelorussian SSR and the Transcaucasian Federation — had reserved the right to voluntarily secede from the USSR. This point in the agreement was entered into the Constitution of the USSR and simultaneously into the Constitution of the Ukr. SSR. However, even today, any kind of hint on the right of the Ukr. SSR to secede from the USSR and become a separate state, is severely punished by the Soviet Russian authorities. Persons who refer to this right are prosecuted.

After Nazi Germany's attack on the Soviet Union in June 1941, Ukrainians took advantage of the situation and on June 30, 1941, proclaimed the reestablishment of the Ukrainian independent state. However, the German occupational authorities proceeded with harsh repressions, imprisoned Ukrainian leaders and suppressed the Ukrainian liberation movement by all possible means. The Ukrainians organised a resistance, and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, created in October 1942, fought against the occupants until the withdrawal of the German army. It continued the struggle for the independence of Ukraine against Soviet Russian occupation until 1952.

The initiator and leader of this struggle was the Organisation of Ukrainian

Nationalists, whose main principles of struggle are elucidated in the following documents:

(. . .)

9. The condition, which secures a nation's constant active participation in the world arena, is a political organisation most adapted to the complete interests of national life, namely, a sovereign state. (. . .)

13. The main postulate for the Ukrainian Nation in its state of political enslavement is the creation of a legal political organisation, defined as the Ukrainian Independent Sovereign State. (. . .)

(From the resolutions of the  
Supreme Assembly of the OUN,  
28.1-2.2. 1929)

(. . .)

e) We stress the ideas of an Independent Sovereign Ukrainian State, which is an absolute necessity in life, and the eternal yearning of the Ukrainian Nation, taking into consideration that only a just solution to the Ukrainian question can balance the power in Eastern Europe and condition the free life of peoples subjugated by Moscow. (. . .)

(From the resolutions of the  
2nd conference of the OUN,  
April 1942)

(. . .)

1. The current war in the East, which was started in the name of imperialist interests of German national socialism and Russian Bolshevism, is being conducted for anti-national reactionary aims, the transformation of countries and peoples into objects of colonial exploitation and plunder, which carries with it spiritual-moral, social-economic and national-political exploitation and oppression, that is, into the complete subjugation of nations and the individual. In the first place this is a war for Ukraine, which both imperialisms treat as a central problem of their imperialist policy in Eastern Europe in their colonial plans, and as a coincidental basis for further conquests. (. . .)

6. Presently Ukraine is lying between the hammer and the anvil of two hostile imperialisms — Moscow and Berlin — both of which treat it as a colonial object. In its liberation struggle for independence, the Ukrainian nation comes across a series of obstacles in the scope of its international actions, which is a result of other countries' lack of information about Ukrainian matters, counter activities of Ukraine's historical enemies, and a result of the fact that the current war is being conducted in the interests of great imperialist states, which subject other nations to their aims and disregard their right to national and state independence. Therefore, it appears to be an inevitable demand for the Ukrainian nation to continue the struggle against

both imperialisms with the support of its own forces, and place as the basis of its cooperation with other nations their recognition of our right to our own state and in this field seek the common interests of western and eastern nations in a common struggle against German, Russian and other imperialisms. (. . .)

(From the resolutions of the  
3rd conference of the OUN,  
February 1943)

(. . .)

1. The USSR, as a new form of Russian imperialism, subjugates, exploits and destroys Ukraine and other non-Russian nations in all spheres of life, having surpassed in this all previous examples. Communist Bolshevism serves the Russian empire as its current doctrine and system for the total subjugation and exploitation of captive nations and as a diverse instrument among other nations in preparation for future conquests. The communist party has become the most brutal organisation of despotism in history and a ruthless realiser of Russian imperialism. (. . .)

(From the resolutions of the OUN,  
April 1951)

(. . .)

We acknowledge that:

a) Every nation has the right to national independence and statehood, on its own ethnographic territory.

b) Every person should be guaranteed human rights, assigned to him by laws of nature and God.

c) Every nation has the right to manage its own life according to its own taste, own decision and own expression of freedom.

d) The sovereignty of a nation demands all the attributes of this right and privilege, and their realisation in practice by its own army, own diplomatic representations, legislative organs, elected by the people's free expressions of freedom; complete independence from any imperial centre and the removal of all occupational forces from its territory.

e) All kinds of violent state inventions, such as "unions", "alliances", "federations" — are historical anachronisms. In their place independent national states must arise. We reject the idea of self-determination in a sense of a choice between independence and its substitute in the form of a "federation", "confederation", "union" or "alliance" as a feigned slogan of the imperialists aimed at deceiving peoples.

f) Without the sovereignty of a nation there are no human rights. Only the



dissolution of any empire can realise human rights, when a subjugated nation becomes a sovereign and democratic state.

g) Every imperialism, colonialism, chauvinism and racism, every "big-brotherhood", subjugation, exploitation — must be abolished.

h) The UN Charter, the UN Resolution on decolonisation and the Universal Declaration on human rights must be put into practice throughout the world. (. . .)

15. A national state is the "principle right of every nation". The Ukrainian state must be a sovereign state and completely independent from Russia — the Russian state and Russian unique indivisible influences. (. . .)

The OUN is fighting against the Russian empire, and not against the state of the Russian people on its ethnographic territory. The OUN does not exclude from the common front against Russian imperialism and communism those Russian forces, which will be fighting for a Russian national state within its ethnographic borders. We consider that the natural allies of Ukraine are in the first place nations subjugated in the USSR and the satellite states, in particular neighbouring states both near and far. (. . .)

(From the resolutions of the  
5th Supreme Assembly of the OUN,  
Autumn 1974)

(. . .)

At that which concerns the sovereignty of the so-called Ukr. SSR with its membership in the United Nations is nothing to boast about, for the delegation of the Ukr. SSR in this international institution is a blind executor of orders coming from the imperial ministry of foreign affairs in Moscow and does not represent the interests of the Ukrainian people. Ukraine owes its membership in the UN first and foremost to the struggle of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), whereby Stalin wished to have legitimation before the world, that Ukraine was a sovereign state and therefore there was no need for its liberation. Furthermore, there was also the matter of extra votes in the UN for the Soviet Russian empire. (. . .)

(From the resolutions of the  
6th Supreme Assembly of the OUN,  
Autumn 1981)

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## **DEMONSTRATORS VIOLENTLY DISPERSED IN LVIV, WESTERN UKRAINE**

The following is a press release of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union of August 5, 1988, which recently reached the West.

*(UCIS)*

### **Brutal Reckoning**

Scarcely had the inhabitants of Lviv begun to feel what glasnost and a lawful state where, when a cold nothern wind began to blow, and the local authorities began to extinguish the local activity of the people of Lviv with the iron grip of the state. Disregarding the several reports in the press about a ban on the meeting, announced by the Public Initiative Committee, several thousand people gathered at the Lviv State University of Ivan Franko on August 4, at 7 pm. This time they were not allowed to the tight barricade prudently erected by the Ivan Franko monument. The whole university street was occupied by the militia, and the civilians were squeezed onto the pavements along the 17th September and Mickiewicz Streets. The violence began at 7 pm. Well-trained soldiers from the sixth special task force threw themselves among the people, snatched a predetermined victim and dragged him off to a car. One woman, who desperately resisted, was grabbed by the head and bashed against the edge of the car. Another woman was dragged off to the militia car by her braids. Another was pushed against a car with such force that she fell to the ground and fractured her knees. A youth was carried away by his legs and hair. A teenage boy, who clicked his camera, was dragged away while his mother wept fervently. Incited dogs tore the shirts and dresses off people's backs. A dense row of militiamen and soldiers began to forcefully shove the people of Lviv in the direction of 17th September Street. Several thousand people were huddled there. "Why don't you disperse? What do you want?" a militia colonel demanded. "Meeting! Meeting! Meeting! Release Makar!". The chairman of the Initiative Committee, Ivan Makar, had been detained that same day at 9 am. "There won't be any meeting!" the colonel decisively retorted. Someone cried "Freedom for Ukraine!" and the crowd of several thousand began to chant "Freedom! Freedom!" And suddenly the special task force came down upon the crowd and was met by several thousand voices shouting "Shame! Shame!"

Squeezing the people from the pavement, the dense rank of militia forced them into a single column, and the people, taking each other by the hand, started to head in the opposite direction — towards the opera house and

Lenin's monument, singing the cossack song "The reapers are reaping up on the hill". The crowd came to a stop on the boulevard opposite the opera house. Somebody began to sing again, and the others joined in. They sang "The old Dnipro roars and groans", "An old oak tree stands by a tall castle", and other songs. But as soon as the demonstrators sang "The International", they were assaulted by the trained storm troopers in grey uniforms — the sixth special task force. The soldiers skilfully beat people in the liver and kidneys, punched and kicked them. After several punches, a tall man with thick grey hair collapsed and was dragged away by his feet with his head hanging. And all this was happening before thousands of people. The defenceless crowd cried out "Fascists!" in despair and scattered in all directions away from the furious attack of the special task force. The barking of dogs, the wailing of children, the desperate cries of women added the final touches to the picture of "Democracy and restructuring Ukrainian-style". The criminals swept away all the traces. Twisting the arms of a girl holding a camera, they dragged her away to a car. Noticing a boy taking photographs of the carnage, they attacked him. Unceremoniously, they snatched away cameras and exposed the negatives. Among those taking photographs was a member of the Initiative Committee of the meeting, the communist Yaroslav Putko. On his way home, he was attacked by three people, who dragged him to his porch and took away his camera.

Thus, on August 4, 1988, for the first time in many years, the first drops of blood fell on a Lviv boulevard, and together with them the last illusion of the people, whom the authorities had treated as enemies. Everything fell into place: the people had demanded their legal rights — the authorities had answered them with their bloody Thursday. The violence committed on the participants of the meeting, which turned into a demonstration, gave the results of the first stage of restructuring in Ukraine. It is not difficult to predict what the second stage will be.

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### TELEGRAM

The Kremlin, Moscow  
To the General Secretary of the  
Central Committee of the CPSU  
M. S. Gorbachev.

On Thursday, August 4, 1988, the organs of the militia, KGB and 6th special task force violently and cynically dispersed a meeting by the Lviv University. They set dogs on the people, dragged them off to cars by their hair and feet, beat many of them including women and teenagers. Such suppression of expressions of freedom of citizens, who have reached out for civil life after 60 years of silence, reminds us of methods of reckoning used by the

most reactionary regimes. We protest the violation of the most elementary human rights. We demand the guilty persons of this anti-democratic pogrom be brought to justice.

On behalf of the Executive Committee of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union:

V. Barladianu, B. Horyn, M. Horyn, O. Shevchenko, V. Chornovil.

Lviv-Kyiv, August 6, 1988

Press Service of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union

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## THE UKRAINIAN HELSINKI UNION ISSUES PRESS RELEASE

(UCIS) *The Ukrainian Central Information Service has received an urgent press release from the Press Service of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union, relaunched in March of this year on the basis of the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group of the 1970s.*

*Dated July 26, 1988, the press release reveals that the Ukrainian activists have once again become victims of new harassment and persecution on the part of the repressive organs for their participation in a peaceful meeting in the capital of Ukraine, Kyiv.*

*Below we give the full text of the press release.*

\* \* \*

July 26, 1988

### PRESS RELEASE OF THE UKRAINIAN HELSINKI UNION

The meeting planned for 8:00 p.m. on July 24, 1988, by the Ukrainian Culturological Club in the October Revolution Square in Kyiv was not widely advertised and had no pretensions to loud publicity. The organisers of the meeting wanted to bring to mind once more the definitively unresolved issue of political prisoners — a real blind spot on the side of perestroika; we wanted to gather a number of signatures under an appeal for the immediate release of all prisoners of conscience. That was all. The latest effort of the members of the Kyiv Culturological Club gained loud resonance only through the reaction to it by the security organs.

One or two days before the announced meeting, the KGB began to summon Club activists, began to persuade and threaten them and even promise that in one or two weeks all Ukrainian political prisoners would be free even

without our meetings. But such preventive measures were not enough for the KGB men and they resorted to measures unprecedented in Ukraine in recent years.

On July 24, 1988, from 4:00 p.m., on a single order, the apprehension of the activists of the Ukrainian Culturological Club throughout the whole of Kyiv began. People were hunted down by their own homes, on the streets, outside stores, they were forced into cars and were driven to various regions of the Kyiv and Chernihiv province, where they were forced out of the automobile and left in the middle of forests and fields, far from populated places. The man-hunt worked: the hunters did not cite violation of any statutes, did not identify themselves, did not enter into conversations, did not react to protests; and refusals to get into an automobile were met with fists (as happened to Anatoliy Bytchenko). A particularly violent act was committed against Larysa Lokhvytska, whom they injected twice with strong doses of the halopyridol drug, the effects of which were reminiscent of the notorious use of psychoactive hallucinogenic drugs in psychiatric prisons. In this state Lokhvytska was thrown out of the car close to the Kyivan village of Osokorky. Others, upon being driven to deserted places, were threatened with murder (Oles Shevchenko, Anatoliy Bytchenko, the minor Omechynskyi, Serhiy Naboka). Others were cruelly mocked: Arkadiy Kyryev was thrown out on a country road by the Kyivan village of Chabany five kilometres from the highway. His belt was taken away from him and all the buttons on his trousers were cut off.

Among the people who were hunted down and driven out of Kyiv were those who had not intended to go to the meeting, who happened to be in the October Revolution Square by coincidence. The victims of this attack on Kyiv tried to return to Kyiv as best they could, some only succeeded in returning to the city the following day. To date the fate of Hryhoriy Prykhodko, former political prisoner recently released from a severe regime camp, is unknown. Prykhodko was picked up together with Yevhen Proniuk on Bauman Street and thrown into a police automobile, licence plate number 3842 KUP. Besides the aforementioned persons, it is known that the following persons were also rounded up and driven to deserted, unpopulated places as far as 100 kilometres away:

- Leonid Millanovskyi, driven into the Kaharlytskyi region of the Kyivan province;
- Orysia Sokulska, the wife of political prisoner Ivan Sokulskyi, was driven into the Roketnianskyi region and thrown out at night in the middle of a field;
- Demil Tolicha, whose philosophical articles prepared for official publication were confiscated;
- Tetyana Bytchenko;
- Pavlo Skochok;
- Marian Hel.

Altogether, 16 persons.

These KGB man-hunters naively tried to present themselves as "informal hunters", who were settling accounts with "dissidents" on their own initiative. But the real initiators and perpetrators of this attack were betrayed by the well organised character of this action, by the walkie talkies visible under the clothing of the hunters as well as specific code words used by them, and by the adamant unwillingness of the militia and the KGB to take any measures to help when approached by the families and acquaintances of the captured persons, despite the fact that they were able to name witnesses and some licence plate numbers.

In this arbitrary violence only a "sovereign" initiative on the order of Shcherbytskyi and Halushka, who are attempting to rescue the huge tower of bureaucracy shaken by restructuring in this manner? Or is this a new "post Karabakh" policy of Gorbachev himself with regard to non-Russian Republics who want to have equal rights? Maybe the reaction to the appeal to Mikhail Gorbachev and General Procurator of the USSR Sukharev by these last victims will become the answer to this disturbing question.

Press Service of the Ukrainian  
Helsinki Union

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## **MEETING OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE NATIONAL-DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENTS OF LATVIA, LITHUANIA, UKRAINE AND ESTONIA**

(UCIS) A meeting of the representatives of the national-democratic movements of Latvia, Lithuania, Ukraine and Estonia ended on July 10 of this year. The meeting was held in the town of Abrahtsiems, some 100 kilometres outside the Latvian capital, Riga.

Around 40 delegates from the four republics took part in this meeting: 20 from Estonia, 2 from Lithuania and 2 from Ukraine. The Ukrainian delegation consisted of Mykhailo Horyn and Pavlo Skochok, prominent national rights activists.

Initially, the meeting took on a predominantly Baltic character. The walls of the club where the meeting was being held were decorated with large national flags of the Baltic states. Although the Ukrainian representatives were originally invited as observers, they were asked to take an active part in the proceedings and the meeting evolved into discussions of the representatives of all four republics.

The discussions revolved primarily around an exchange of information.

Each delegation reported on the recent activities of the democratic movements in their republic. Horyn and Skochok discussed the formation of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union as well as the various meetings and demonstrations which took place in Ukraine in the last few months. The representatives of the Baltic republics outlined their campaign for the release of political prisoners, pointing out that their organised picketing had proved particularly effective in bringing about the release of Mart Eklus.

The participants of the meeting issued two short joint statements, a translation of which we give below.

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### **Statement of Representatives of the Meeting of the National Democratic Movements of Latvia, Lithuania, Ukraine and Estonia**

The meeting notes that reports about the events in Transcaucasia are presented by the official means of mass information in a very deficient and detrimental light. Considering the importance of events taking place there, as well as the fact that the government of the USSR has not employed all possible measures to politically regulate the conflict, has sent in troops in preparation for a state of war and uses them as a means of oppression against the peoples' expressions of freedom, we protest the use of military force for such aims. We demand a halt to repressions against political leaders in Armenia, the arrest of Paruir Ayrikyan and call for his immediate release. We appeal for a decision to resolve the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh by political means including the freedom of its population.

10 July 1988

Abrahtsiems, Latvia

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|-----------|--|
| Latvia    | — representative of the Helsinki '86 Group   |
|           | — Yuris Vidimkh  |
| Lithuania | — representative of the national democratic movement                                     |
|           | — Povilas Pyecheliunas   |
| Ukraine   | — representative of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union   |
|           | — Mykhailo Horyn   |
| Estonia   | — representative of the constituent party committee of national independence for Estonia |
|           | — Yuri Adams   |

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## **Final Statement from the Meeting of the Representatives of the National Democratic Movements of Peoples in the USSR**

We, the representatives of national democratic movements of peoples in the USSR, the peoples of Latvia, Lithuania, Ukraine and Estonia, having discussed the effects of the political struggle for democracy and the national self-determination of individual republics assert that within the last few months the evident growth of a mass movement has taken on peaceful democratic forms.

The meeting notes that the communist authorities have not ceased their attempts to prevent expressions of freedom of our peoples using illegal means and even resort to provocations and acts of repression.

As a result of the existing political situation, the meeting sets the following tasks for the national democratic movement:

1. To enact the existing political pluralism.
2. To demand reforms for an electoral system based on real democracy.
3. To enact international pacts in their full context, with regard to human rights, eliminate political concentration camps, prisons and psychiatric hospitals, exclude articles from Criminal Codes of the republics on anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda and slander, eliminate the repressive apparatus of political persecution.
4. Regard the Church as an important integral part of the national democratic movement, reform its legitimate relations with the state by safeguarding the Church's conditions on accomplishing missions on the moral recovery of nations.
5. The meeting resolved that real cooperation between the national democratic movements safeguards and brings closer the attainment of set goals.
6. Taking into consideration the specific conditions of the Baltic region, a regional consultative committee was formed at the meeting, which is a member of the international coordinating committee of national democratic movements of peoples in the USSR.

10 July 1988

Abrahtsiems, Latvia

Latvia	— representative of the Helsinki '86 Group	
	— Yuris Vidimkh	
Lithuania	— representative of the national democratic movement	
	— Povilas Pychelionas	
Ukraine	— representative of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union	
	— Mykhailo Horyn	
Estonia	— representative of the constituent party committee of national independence for Estonia	
	— Yuri Adams	—————



## **20,000 SIGN PETITION TO HALT CRIMEAN NUCLEAR PLANT CONSTRUCTION**

(UPA) The newspaper *Sotsialisticheskaya Industriya* reported on 14 July that more than 20,000 people had signed petitions calling for a halt in the construction of a nuclear power plant in the Crimea, Ukraine. According to the report, people are concerned about the power plant because there is a possibility, by no means remote, that the plant could be situated in an area renowned for earthquakes.

The director for the geophysical institute has stated that the geological composition of the area makes it prone to earth tremors and earthquakes. No separate study was made when the project to build the nuclear power station was approved. Meanwhile, a commission had been formed to look into the earthquake risks. But, the Crimean population were not told the results of the findings because it had been decided "not to worry them", according to the newspaper report.

The commission's preliminary report did not find any convincing arguments to halt the construction of the plant, therefore work had continued on the project. However, public protests eventually forced the Ministry of Atomic Energy to hold a public debate on the subject. Many specialists and journalists were invited to the debate, which agreed to hold a second meeting which would be televised.

The commission is to present a report in 1990, even though the first energy unit will start operation by the end of 1989. When *Sotsialisticheskaya Industriya* spoke with the deputy minister of Atomic Energy, A. Lapshyn, he said that the plant would be able to withstand earthquakes, but if the commission reports that stronger earthquakes could be expected then the construction would have to be strengthened.

The report concludes by saying that the debate about the Crimean nuclear power stations concerns all those who want to be convinced that there will not be another Chernobyl.

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## **LETTER TO ANDREI GROMYKO, CHAIRMAN OF THE SUPREME SOVIET PRESIDIUM, FROM POLITICAL PRISONER MYKOLA HORBAL**

(UPA) Mykola Horbal, currently imprisoned in the Perm "death camp" 35 [he has since been released in August 1988 — Ed.] has written an appeal to Andrei Gromyko, chairman of the presidium of the Supreme Soviet, in which he questions the continued imprisonment of himself and 22 others. He quotes

M. Gorbachev, who, when in the USA, claimed that only those who committed a "crime" were still imprisoned in the USSR. Mykola Horbal also criticised the demands made by the authorities that the political prisoners should recant, as they were punished for merely taking part in activities which correspond to changes now taking place in the USSR. According to Mykola Horbal, the demands for recantation serve only to legitimise their arrests and thereby cover-up acts of lawlessness on the part of the authorities during Brezhnev's day.

When Mykola Horbal wrote to the General Procurator with a request to review his case, the reply was the standard one received during Brezhnev's day: "There is no basis for a review of your case". Yet, Horbal outlines how "evidence" was fabricated against him, a practice since admitted to by the Soviet press. The former head of the Chernihiv KGB, for example, "not only fabricated cases, but also forced others to do likewise". Although *Pravda* described his removal from office for fabricating evidence, that two political prisoners who were convicted by him, Lev Lukianenko and Petro Ruban\*, have not been rehabilitated. Their only "crimes" were to describe the catastrophic state of the Ukrainian language and culture, issues which today are readily admitted to by the official press.

In addition, articles 70 and 190-1, which have been used to convict dissidents, have been described in *Ogonek* as both "outdated" and "anti-democratic". Finally, Horbal states that he is only prepared to remain imprisoned if "slandorous material" or "calls to violence" are found in his poetry?

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## **"AN HONEST DISCUSSION ABOUT SORE PROBLEMS"**

**Lev Lukianenko writes from exile about Russian attitudes  
to the national question**

(UPA) A letter from the political prisoner, Lev Lukianenko, currently serving a term in exile, and sent to the Moscow-based samvydav journal *Referendum* has addressed the issue of political independence for the non-Russian republics and the "undemocratic views" of the Russian prisoners. Lev Lukianenko recalls, when serving his terms of imprisonment between 1961-1976, coming across many Russian prisoners who stated that they regarded themselves as "democrats". This, in their eyes, meant multiparty free elections, free trade unions and the end of one party rule. In the Gulag, the Russians met for the first time non-Russian members of the national movements.

This meeting of Russian democratic oppositionists and non-Russian nationalists presented the former with a dilemma. Democracy would mean the end of the empire, whilst the preservation of the empire meant dictatorship and

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\* Petro Ruban has since been released.

lawlessness. For many Russians the dilemma was resolved by choosing the second alternative, "so the former democrats became defenders of the Union and enemies of democracy".

Exceptions were individuals like Igor Davidov and Vladimir Bukovsky. Their sincerity gave rise to the possibility of friendly relations between Ukrainians and Russians. Unfortunately, adds Lukianenko, there are only a few Russians capable of reforming their views on this question. Lukianenko felt compelled to remark on this question because, "on past experience, notwithstanding to relegate it to the background, this question always comes to the fore".

Nevertheless, positive Russian initiatives on the national question are welcomed by Lukianenko, as this would lead to Russians becoming perceived as friends — and not enemies by non-Russians.

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### **"PRESS CLUB GLASNOST" ISSUES STATEMENT ON KGB HARASSMENT OF V. CHORNOVIL**

(UPA) The Moscow-based dissident "Press Club Glasnost" reported that on 20 July V. Chornovil, just prior to departing from Kyiv, was invited to the Lviv headquarters of the KGB. There he was officially warned not to organise mass demonstrations. He was also told that the KGB considers the Ukrainian Heksinki Union to be an opposition political party. During the meeting, they discussed the question of the "Democratic Front in Support of Perestroika", as well as certain demands that were made at the demonstrations regarding russification and making Ukrainian the state language.

The KGB major told Chornovil that there was enough evidence to arrest him. However, they decided not to do so out of "humanitarian reasons". But he should accept the warning, otherwise the next step would be his arrest. Chornovil refused to sign the protocol and instead wrote a statement to the effect that "patriotism should not be considered as nationalism", that the struggle for national rights for Ukrainians are just and that the Lviv demonstrations are mass gatherings by the people, and not intrigues by individuals. Chornovil refuted charges that he passed evidence to "subversive elements", but stated that he had passed information to the mass media.

"Press Club Glasnost" feared that V. Chornovil, like Paruir Ayrikyan, could be deported from the USSR for his activities.

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