

J. BIRCH

LECTURER IN SOVIET POLITICS
UNIVERSITY OF SHEFFIELD

**THE UKRAINIAN NATIONALIST MOVEMENT
IN THE U.S.S.R. SINCE 1956**

**The Ukrainian Information Service
London, 1971**

AS FIRST PUBLISHED

IN "THE UKRAINIAN REVIEW" No. 4, Vol. XVII

*Printed in the United Kingdom by Ukrainian Publishers Ltd.
200 Liverpool Rd. London, N 1 1LF*

J. BIRCH

(Lecturer in Soviet Politics, University of Sheffield)

THE UKRAINIAN NATIONALIST MOVEMENT IN THE U.S.S.R. SINCE 1956

The Ukrainian nationalist movement has, since 1917 and the beginning of the Soviet era, taken upon itself a variety of shapes and forms, and yet it remains to this day a politically significant force.

A precise, fully-binding definition of Ukrainian nationalism is, however, impossible for a number of reasons. In the first place, there are varying shades of nationalistically oriented thought manifested within the Ukraine, ranging from demands for the increased use of the Ukrainian language, to complete secession from the USSR and a rejection of Communism. Then again, there are the obvious difficulties of assessing opinions within the Ukraine in any depth, and hence the common factors of nationalist aspirations. Finally, there are the traditional differences within the Ukraine itself (such as in the nature of religious affiliation, in the extent of the ties with the Great Russians, and in the time span of membership of the Soviet Union and hence of ingrained allegiance to that regime), which make for divergences in the nature of nationalist aims¹.

Soviet practice, however, has been to refer to virtually all such manifestations as 'Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism', thereby indicating a recognition of a certain degree of unity of ends (a community of spirit manifesting itself by a desire for greater independence for the indigenous occupants of the Ukraine in one or a variety of spheres), if not of means (that is, through armed resistance, political resistance, complete secession or through a socialist, as opposed to a communist, self-governing or independent republic). If any single factor may be regarded as the root inspiration of all demonstrations of Ukrainian nationalism, it is perhaps opposition to Russification²,

1) See e.g. F. C. Barghoorn's Introduction to V. Chornovil, *The Chornovil Papers*, McGraw-Hill, London, 1968, pp. xii-xiii; and *The Economist*, London, 25 January, 1969.

2) On the various forms of Russification considered to be taking place in Ukrainian culture and life, see *The Ukrainian Review*, Vol. VI, No. 4, 1959, pp. 31-5 and 36-8; Vol. VII, No. 3-4, 1960, pp. 13-23; Vol. XIII, No. 4, 1966, pp. 8-16; Vol. XIV, No. 2, 1967, pp. 2-16; and *A.B.N. Correspondence*, Munich, Vol. XVIII, No. 6, 1967, pp. 18-22.

but, as has been stated and will be seen again, Ukrainians themselves are divided in the nature and extent of opposition to what are seen as the Russification policies of the Moscow authorities.

While not underestimating these problems of precise definition, the continued existence of a quite broad-based movement seeking, primarily by peaceful means, to attain a greater or lesser degree of independence of action for the Ukraine from the Russian Republic and/or Russian domination, is by now an entity well documented both in Soviet and Western sources relating to the period since 1956. In addition, a considerable number of trials of O.U.N. and U.P.A. members continue to take place in connection with war-time and immediate post-war activities (and possibly more recent activities, although the secret nature of most trials makes any such assessment difficult), presumably at least partly 'pour décourager les autres'³. That this may indeed be the case is indicated by the fact that for at least one of those tried (former U.P.A. member Oleksa Hryha) it was his second sentence, this time to death, following the annulment of his first conviction⁴; while Yuri Shukhevych-Berezynskyi served some twenty years in prison, until his recent release, apparently for committing no other offence than being the offspring of Roman Shukhevych, former Commander-in-Chief of the U.P.A., and for having refused to sign condemnations of the O.U.N.⁵.

It is proposed here to examine collectively a number of the more important recent instances of this nationalist activity in terms of their structure, membership, programme or aims, methods and results. These various manifestations, although often related and possessing some degree of overlap with respect to the individuals involved, are nevertheless quite self-contained in most aspects — their disparate nature revealing the essentially non-organised and largely uncoordinated character of the 'movement' as a whole, as compared with the former O.U.N.

³) See e.g. *Radyans'ka Ukraïna*, Kyïv, 24 April, 1959; *Vil'na Ukraïna*, Lviv, 17, 21, 22 and 23 July, 1959; *Trud*, Moscow, 11 December, 1959, and *Robotnycha Hazeta*, Kyïv, No. 925, 1959; *The Ukrainian Review*, Vol. XIII, No. 3, 1966, p. 80; *Visti z Ukraïny*, Kyïv, 12 March, 1967; *Vil'ne Zhyttia*, 3 July, 1968; *Khronika tekushchikh sobytii*, No. 5, 25 December, 1968, Possev-Verlag edition, Frankfurt, p. 53; *Khronika*, No. 6, 28 February, 1969, Possev ed., pp. 62-3, and No. 8, 30 June, 1969, pp. 37-8; and *Le Monde*, Paris, 6 December, 1969.

⁴) *A.B.N. Correspondence*, Vol. XVIII, No. 5, 1967, p. 42.

⁵) See the 28 July, 1967 letter from Shukhevych-Berezynskyi to the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian S.S.R. in *Ukraïns'ka Dumka*, London, Vol. XXIV, No. 8, 15 February, 1968; *Vyzvolnyi Shlachh*, London, Vol. XXI, No. 3 (240), March, 1968, pp. 387-90; *Anglo-Ukrainian News*, London, No. 26-27 Spring-Summer, 1968; *A.B.N. Correspondence*, Vol. XIX, No. 3, 1968, pp. 25-8; *The Ukrainian Quarterly*, New York, Vol. XXIV, No. 3, 1968, pp. 206-11; and *East-West Digest*, London, Vol. IV, No. 4, April 1968, pp. 116-7; S. Karavanskyi makes reference to it in his petition to the Chairman of the Ukrainian Journalists Union, in *A.B.N. Correspondence*, Vol. XIX, No. 3, 1968, pp. 16-7.

Specifically, the instances to be analysed will concern:

- (a) three nationalist groups briefly active in the late 1950s and early 1960s;
- (b) a reported nationalist protest by a number of lawyers in 1964;
- (c) the Ukrainian intellectuals tried in 1966 and subsequent in support of them;
- (d) a further group active in the mid 1960's;
- (e) the developments ensuing from the publication of Honchar's novel 'Sobor', particularly those in Dnipropetrovsk in 1968.

In addition, a number of other, frequently individual, manifestations of Ukrainian nationalism will be referred to insofar as they illustrate aims or methods.

Structure and Scope

As was noted above, the nationalist movement in the Ukraine no longer appears as a co-ordinated whole but has rather manifested itself in a variety of forms, the structure of which may nevertheless be usefully examined to reveal the shape of the entity at the present time.

In at least four known instances, the nationalist aspirations have in fact taken on a formally organised character, albeit of a rather piecemeal type. Various these were known as the United Party for the Liberation of the Ukraine (1958-9), the Ukrainian Workers' and Peasants' Union (1959-60), the Ukrainian National Committee (?-1961)⁶ and the Ukrainian National Front (1964-1967)⁷.

Kandyba claimed, with reference to these groups, that, "There are many but smaller cases . . . in various regions of the Ukraine"⁸, while Lukyanenko referred directly not only to the Ukrainian National Committee, but also to a group of six from the Khodoriv region who were tried in Lviv in 1962 (one of whom, Mykhailo Protsiv, was

⁶) Information on these three is to be found almost exclusively in an appeal from Ivan O. Kandyba, a member of the Ukrainian Workers' and Peasants' Union, to the First Secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine (in which Kandyba cites his own case, his appeal against sentence and its rejection, and calls for a review of the case). The letter itself was undated, but was written not earlier than 1966, as that date is mentioned in reference to events. See the full text in *Suchasnist'*, Munich, Vol. 12, December 1967, pp. 49-71; or in *The Ukrainian Review*, Vol. XV, No. 4, 1968, pp. 2-23. A short extract appeared in *The Times*, London, 7 February 1968.

A few other details of the investigation, trial and imprisonment are given in the May 1967 appeal of Lev H. Lukyanenko to the Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian S.S.R., published in *Ukrains'ka Dumka*, Vol. XXIV, Nos. 9, 10 and 11, 22 and 29 February, and 7 March, 1968; and in *The Ukrainian Review*, Vol. XV, No. 4, 1968, pp. 24-36.

⁷) Apart from a brief report of arrests (see the *Anglo-Ukrainian News*, No. 26-7, Spring-Summer, 1968), all detail on this case is to be drawn from a Samizdat document on this group and other arrests of Ukrainians, published in *The Ukrainian Review*, Vol. XVI, No. 2, 1969, pp. 9-12, from the original in the March 1969 edition of *Suchasnist'*.

⁸) Kandyba appeal op. cit., *The Ukrainian Review* edition, p. 18.

executed)⁹, to the Mykola Apostol group of five sentenced by the Ternopil oblast' court in 1961, and to the Bohdan Hohus' group of five similarly sentenced in 1962 (with Hohus' receiving the death penalty)¹⁰.

The documentation by Kandyba, provides only sparse indications of their structure and but little of their emergence and size. The United Party for the Liberation of the Ukraine (O.P.V.U.) is known to have emerged for its brief existence in December 1958. Organisationally, it appears to have been merely a small-scale, formalised association of a number of Ukrainians localised in Ivano-Frankivsk in the western Ukraine.

The organisation of which Kandyba himself was a member, the Ukrainian Workers' and Peasants' Union (U.R.S.S.), while not only in a somewhat different part of the western Ukraine (being centered around Lviv), cast its membership net more widely to embrace inhabitants of a number of other towns. Again small, the organisation traced its origins, according to the trial charges referred to by Kandyba, to the formation of the idea of a separate Ukraine in the mind of Lev H. Lukyanenko (who, at the time of his arrest, worked in Hlyniany district) in 1957. The latter was said to have then worked in the Lviv area to this end and to have entered into a 'criminal' relationship with Stepan M. Virun (at the time of arrest, a staff propagandist in the Radekhiv district party committee, Lviv oblast', where Lukyanenko had previously worked, and quite close to the latter's subsequent area of Hlyniany), the two having formed the organisation itself in February, 1959. Thereafter, the other members were recruited, and, from the backgrounds of the accused, the organisation would appear to have developed in roughly the following manner: Vasyl S. Luts'kiv (from Pavliv, in Radekhiv district) worked in the same district as had Lukyanenko and as did Virun, with one or the other of whom he presumably came into contact and was thereby recruited. Oleksandr S. Libovych (working in the Lviv district farming administration at the time of his arrest), on the other hand, was in a position to travel and may thus have been able, along with Lukyanenko and Virun, to maintain contact between Luts'kiv and the two members in Lviv — Kandyba himself (an inhabitant of Lviv and lawyer in Peremyshlyany) and Ivan Z. Kipysh (a worker in the militia organs at Lviv at the time of arrest). Kandyba, in turn would have had regular contact with the last known member of the group, Iosyf Yu. Borovytskyi (working, like Kandyba, in Peremyshlyany). In fact, at the retrial of the group in July, 1961, it was claimed that Kandyba had recruited Borovytskyi, although, in reply, the former pointed out that the court had not claimed that Borovytskyi had been a member but merely a recipient of the group's programme. A further person, Kozyk, who was referred to, in the findings of the retrial, as

⁹) Lukyanenko appeal op. cit., *The Ukrainian Review* edition, p. 26.

¹⁰) *Ibid.*, p. 27.

a recruitee of Kandyba's, was declared by the latter to have had nothing to do with the case.

On the structure of the group itself once decided upon, Kandyba, in his appeal, denied the organisational finality of the movement at the time of the arrests, declaring it to have been merely contemplated. He further claimed that no oaths had been taken and no fees paid, that no established discipline existed, and no leading body or post had been created. Everyone was free in all respects. He claimed that even the programme had not yet been finally formulated, and that Lukyanenko, Virun, Luts'kiv, Kandyba and Mykola Vashchuk (who was studying at a higher party school and who denounced the group to the K.G.B.) had come together in Kandyba's flat to establish the permanent structure (and to discuss the draft programme) — notes on the meeting subsequently being drawn up by Lukyanenko. As a result of the discussions, a second meeting was planned for 22 January, 1961, to finalise the changes suggested for the programme, and thereby formally establishing the organisation and binding its members. While these statements may be true, and certainly they provided Kandyba with a form of defence, it is clear that a group existed, consisting of like-minded persons who were fully aware of the community of their thoughts — this Kandyba did not deny, although his appeal was apparently rejected.

As for the structure of the Ukrainian National Committee (UNK), little or nothing is known save that it was again a localised group in the West Ukraine, specifically formed among factory workers in Lviv.

The final formal organisation to appear, the Ukrainian National Front, while at present sparsely documented, has revealed something of its structural and organisational aspects. It appears to have been organised, again in the West Ukraine, among a small group, towards the end of 1964, actually becoming active from 1965. The leader and organiser, who subsequently took on the main responsibility for its activities on his arrest, was Dmytro Kvets'ko. Vasyl' Diak was also reported as having taken part in its formation. Presumably the other seven known members were subsequently recruited.

Besides these varying degrees of formal organisation, the movement has been characterised for the most part by the appearance of a number of largely ad hoc, unorganised, expressions of nationalist aspirations. There have variously been the minimal organisation level found in the petitions and appeals of a group of lawyers of 1964, and those concerned with the charges and trials of 1965-6; and the almost independent, individual manifestations, related only by a common cause, as were found in the case of those arrested in 1965 and in the Dnipropetrovsk case of 1968, where expressions of nationalist views, while probably in no sense unconscious, may have been put forward with a variety of levels of discretion and virulence.

As a result of the more or less simultaneous nature of the arrests over a wide area of the Ukraine, the complexity of the case, and the

extensive documentation, something must briefly be said of the background to the 1965 arrests and the subsequent response to them.

A number of events were, in all likelihood, set in motion by the speech of Ivan Dzyuba, the literary critic, on 10 January, 1965, at the Republican Building of Literature in Kyiv¹¹, commemorating the birth of Vasyl Symonenko, the young Ukrainian poet who died in 1963; and by the publication of Symonenko's diary and some of his poems in the West¹². As a consequence of quite openly nationalist sentiments in some of his writings¹³, Symonenko has become something of a focal point for some nationalist adherents and many younger Ukrainians.

The outcome was the detention probably of Dzyuba and certainly of his friend, accomplice and fellow critic, Ivan Svitlychnyi¹⁴, while almost simultaneously, around September, 1965, a wave of similar arrests of Ukrainian intellectuals took place over wide areas of the country, including Kyiv, Odessa, Lviv, Lutsk, Ternopil, Ivano-Frankivsk and Feodosiya¹⁵. These formed but part of a more widespread cultural repression by the new leadership of the country, the effects of which were shortly to be witnessed in Moscow at the celebrated trial of Sinyavsky and Daniel, the difference being that many of the arrested in the Ukraine were to be specifically charged as Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists.

With regard to the nature of the persons so arrested, the subsequent documentation on the cause¹⁶ has given little indication that they in any way comprised a distinct group. Indeed, comparatively few connections appear to have existed directly between individuals, who lived variously in the towns already cited, although a number of them did in fact live in the same towns at the time of arrest. Indeed, apart from Dmytro Ivashchenko (from Lutsk), Mykhaylo Masyutko (Feodosiya), Anatoliy Shevchuk (Zhytomyr) and Svyatoslav Karavansky

¹¹ See *East West Digest*, Vol. III, No. 3, 1967, p. 70. The speech was published in full, *ibid.*, pp. 73-9, and in *The Ukrainian Review*, Vol. XIV, No. 1, 1967, pp. 43-9. In this, Dzyuba said of Symonenko's national idea: "It is real for us today, and it represents the concept of a fully sovereign state and cultural existence for the Ukrainian socialist nation".

¹² See *Suchasnist'*, January, 1965, pp. 13-18. The authenticity of the document was confirmed by Symonenko's mother.

¹³ See for instance that quoted in Dzyuba's speech, *op. cit.*

¹⁴ See below under Results.

¹⁵ *The Ukrainian Review*, Vol. XIII, No. 4, 1966, p. 90.

¹⁶ Principally the collection of materials compiled by Vyacheslav Chornovil originally published in the West, in Ukrainian, as *Lykho z Rozumu (Portrety Dvadtsyaty 'Zlochyntsyv')*, Paris, 1967; and subsequently published, along with appeals by Chornovil to the Public Prosecutor of the Ukrainian S.S.R. et al., and to the First Secretary of the CP of Ukraine as *The Chornovil Papers*, McGraw-Hill, Toronto and London, 1968. The materials received considerable attention in the press at the time of publication: see *The Times*, 7 February, 1968; *The Observer*, 11 February, 1968; *The New Statesman*, 23 February, 1968; *The Sunday Telegraph*, 25 August, 1968; and *The Economist*, 25 January, 1969.

(Odessa), the geographical distribution of others known to have been involved was as follows:¹⁷

Kyiv:

Ya. Hevrych
M. Hryn'
Ye. Kuznetsova
O. Martynenko
I. Rusyn
I. Dzyuba
I. Svitlychny
Morhun
Vorbut

Lviv:

I. Hel'
B. Horyn'
M. Horyn'
M. Zvarychevs'ka
Ye. Menkush
M. Osadchy
Baturyn
Kosiv
Sadovs'ka
O. Horyn'

Ivano-Frankivsk:

P. Zalyvakha
V. Moroz
M. Ozerny
Ivanyshyn

Ternopil:

I. Hereta
M. Chubaty

Whether any mutual awareness of the presence of others existed is not always clear.

Similarly, some of the figures were subsequently tried together: Kuznetsova, Martynenko, and Rusyn in Kyiv, 21-5 March, 1966¹⁸; Ivashchenko and Moroz in Volyn oblast' court, January 1966¹⁹; the Horyn' brothers, Osadchy and Zvarychevs'ka in Lviv, April 1966 (Masyutko was tried in the same case, although he was, according to Chornovil, dealt with separately)²⁰; and Hereta, from Ternopil, appeared as a witness at the trial of Ozerny in Ivano-Frankivsk²¹, and although it is clear that the two had had contact prior to arrest²², the prosecutor in the Ozerny case was reported to have stated that, "The cases of Ozerny, Hereta, and so forth are isolated instances"²³.

Pre-arrest contacts between a number of the others may be established from the available data. For instance, Ivashchenko and Moroz at one stage worked together at the Lutsk Pedagogical Institute²⁴, while Ivashchenko wrote from prison to N. Svitlychna²⁵, as did Zalyvakha²⁶. The latter's letters from the prison camp reveal

¹⁷ From details in, V. Chornovil, *The Chornovil Papers*.

¹⁸ Chornovil's appeal to the Public Prosecutor of the Ukrainian S.S.R. et al. in *The Chornovil Papers*, p. 40.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 60.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 25 and 24.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 46.

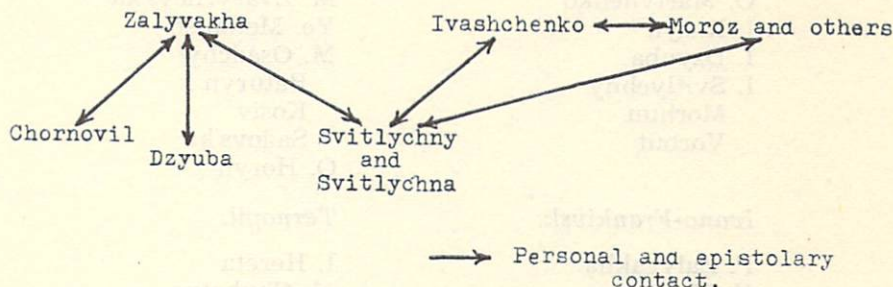
²³ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

²⁴ See the biographical data in *The Chornovil Papers*, pp. 131 and 150.

²⁵ See the text of the letter, *ibid.*, pp. 131-3.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 124.

a number of other links, being addressed to I. Svitlychny (his "dear friend") — letters in which other friends of Svitlychny's, presumably among the inmates of Camp 11 in Mordovia, were said to convey their greetings²⁷, and in which Zalyvakha sent thanks and greetings to Dzyuba²⁸ — and also to V. Chornovil (although it is not entirely clear from the information available whether the two were previously acquainted)²⁹. Thus a pattern of contacts appears as follows:



Closer contacts were clearly established in the post-trial situation, for M. Horyn' and Osadchy journeyed together to their camp of detention³⁰, while Moroz, Karavans'ky, M. Horyn' and Masyutko were reportedly all placed in the camp prison in December 1966 for writing complaints to higher authorities³¹, and a November 1966 letter from Hevrych gave details of Zalyvakha, B. Horyn', Ozerny, Hel', Osadchy, Masyutko, and Moroz³².

Nevertheless, on the whole, one is inclined to agree with Chornovil's assessment that, "in various regions of Ukraine, there were arrests of a large group of people, the majority of whom were not acquainted with one another and were not in any way associated"³³.

It was, furthermore, subsequently reported that a number of Ukrainian writers and scientists had lent their support to the accused by interceding on their behalf³⁴, while Dzyuba himself was similarly

²⁷) *Ibid.*, p. 120.

²⁸) *Ibid.*, p. 124.

²⁹) *Ibid.*, p. 125.

³⁰) *Ibid.*, p. 99.

³¹) See Zalyvakha's letter to Svitlychny in *The Chornovil Papers*, p. 126. Chornovil's own data on Moroz (*ibid.*, p. 151) rather surprisingly named L. Lukyanenko rather than Karavans'ky as one of the offenders — certainly an interesting alliance, but not altogether improbable, since a May 1967 appeal by Lukyanenko to the Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian S.S.R., gave his address not merely as Camp 11 (the same as that of the others) but also as the Central Isolator (*The Ukrainian Review*, Vol. XV, No. 4, 1968, p. 36). It seems possible therefore that both were so interned.

³²) In V. Chornovil, *The Chornovil Papers*, p. 99.

³³) In his appeal to the Ukrainian Public Prosecutor et al., *loc. cit.*, p. 20.

³⁴) See *The New Statesman*, 16 December, 1966, and A.B.N. *Correspondence*, Vol. XVIII, No. 5, 1967, p. 12. Chornovil (in *The Chornovil Papers*, pp. 2, 4-5, 80

reported to have protested at the arrests³⁵. Other demonstrations of protest and solidarity with the accused by young people followed at the court during the trials in Kyiv and Lviv³⁶.

There was, however, a further protest, which was eventually to have profound effects on the documentation of these cases. This took the form of an open, collective, appeal of 27 September, 1966 (to the editorial board of the journal *Perets*, to the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party, to the editor of *Radyans'ka Ukraïna*, to the Union of Soviet Writers, to the editor of *Literaturna Ukraïna*, and to the Union of Ukrainian Journalists)³⁷ from three journalists — V. Skochok, Vyacheslav Chornovil and L. Sheremetyeva — who were working at the Ukrainian Academy of Science. These latter, whilst specifically defending Dzyuba from the attack of *Perets*, defend the freedoms of Ukrainian literature and culture, and backed his "Internationalism or Russification"³⁸.

and 90), and Dzyuba (in his appeal to the First Secretary of the CP of Ukraine, attached to and published along with his *Internationalism or Russification*, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London, 1968, p. 2), referred to enquiries, intercessions and appeals to the highest Ukrainian authorities concerning the arrested, specifically naming the following as having called for an open trial and publicity on the case:

Lenin prize winner — M. Stel'makh, Shevchenko prizewinners — A. Malys'ko and H. Mayboroda — Signatories of an enquiry to the Central Committee of the CP of Ukraine.

Aircraft designer — O. Antonov, Film Producer — S. Paradzhanov, Composers — P. Mayboroda and V. Koreyko, Writers — L. Serpilin, L. Kostenko and I. Drach.

Chornovil also referred among others, to an appeal to the Chairman of the K.G.B. of the Ukrainian S.S.R. from 78 persons (writers, scientists, students and workers) seeking to be present at the trials of their friends, acquaintances and relations (*The Chornovil Papers*, p. 4).

Other individual appeals included the April 1966 telegram of N. Svitlychna to the 23rd Congress of the CPSU on behalf of her brother (see Chornovil's appeal to the Ukrainian Public Prosecutor in V. Chornovil, *The Chornovil Papers*, p. 5, and *Ukraïns'ka Inteligentsiya pid Sudom KGB*, Munich, 1970, pp. 190-1).

³⁵ See protest letter by V. Chornovil et al. to the journal *Perets* — sources cited in footnote 37 below — in *The Ukrainian Review*, edition, pp. 35 and 38; and Dzyuba's appeal to the First Secretary of the CP of Ukraine, loc. cit., pp. 2-8, and details thereof in *Anglo-Ukrainian News*, No. 26-7, 1968 — in which he stated: "every day more and more people will, in various ways, here and everywhere, in this or that way, express their dissatisfaction with many aspects of the present-day nationality policy. They continue to care about the fate of Ukrainian culture, the Ukrainian nation, and will search for the ways and means to improve the existing state of affairs".

³⁶ *The Ukrainian Review*, Vol. XIII, No. 4, 1966, page 92; and V. Chornovil, *The Chornovil Papers*, pp. 2, 41-2 and 80.

³⁷ Text in *Ukraïns'ke Slovo*, Paris, 22 October, 1967, and in *Shliakh Peremohy*, No. 43, 29 October, 1967; No. 44, 5 November, 1967; and No. 45, 12 November, 1967. Also published in *Ukraïns'ka Dumka*, Nos. 47, 48 and 49, 1967; *A.B.N. Correspondence*, Vol. XIX, No. 2, 1968, pp. 23-9; and *The Ukrainian Review*, Vol. XV, No. 3, 1968, pp. 32-9.

³⁸ *Op. cit.* See also *The Daily Telegraph*, 27 June, 1968.

Chornovil (an ex-Komsomol official, before he became a journalist)³⁹ who attended two of the trials, as a correspondent of Radio Kyiv (being called as a witness at the closed trial in Lviv of four of the intellectuals — M. and B. Horyn', M. Osadchy and M. Zvarychevs'ka — but refusing on the grounds that a closed trial was illegal), followed up this petition with the open appeal of his own to the Public Prosecutor, the Chairman of the Supreme Court and the Chairman of the K.G.B. of the Ukrainian S.S.R.; and with a further note of 22 May, 1967, to the First Secretary of the CP of Ukraine, P. Yu. Shelest, in which he again came out in defence of the imprisoned intellectuals (centring his attack on the illegality of the trials on the basis of constitutional provisions)⁴⁰.

Apart from the collective letter of the three journalists (itself only a loosely structured group manifestation), these pre-trial, trial and immediate post-trial appellants appeared as non-organised sympathisers. Later appeals (concerning both these trials and the subsequent one of Chornovil) to the Ukrainian authorities, including Shelest (the link-man with the central Soviet authorities, in his capacity as a national Politburo member), illustrated a similarly loose structure, the appellants primarily being united only with respect to their joint signature of one of the three known petitions⁴¹.

³⁹ For biographical details of Chornovil, see *A.B.N. Correspondence*, Vol. XIX, No. 3, 1968, pp. 29-30; and *The Ukrainian Review*, Vol. XV, No. 1, 1968, pp. 3-4, which shows him to have protested at the arrests in 1965.

⁴⁰ The texts of these appeals have variously appeared in full in *Suchasnist'*, October, 1967; *Shliakh Peremohy*, No. 45, 12 November, 1967; *Vyzvolnyi Shliakh*, London, Vol. 20, No. 11-12, 1967; and in V. Chornovil, *The Chornovil Papers*, pp. 2-75. Extracts have also appeared in *Anglo-Ukrainian News*, No. 24-5, 1967 (appeal to Shelest); *Ukrains'ka Dumka*, Vol. XXIII, No. 49, 30 November, 1967 (appeal to the Public Prosecutor); *A.B.N. Correspondence*, Vol. XIX, No. 1, 1968, pp. 4-8 (appeal to Public Prosecutor); *The Ukrainian Bulletin*, New York, Vol. XXI, No. 3-4, 1968 (appeal to Shelest); *The Times*, 7 February, 1968 (appeal to Shelest); *The Ukrainian Review*, Vol. XV, No. 3, 1968, pp. 25-31 (appeal to the Public Prosecutor); and *Problems of Communism*, Washington, Vol. XVII, No. 4, 1968, pp. 73-82. See also *The New York Times*, 8, 9 & 10 February, 1968; and *L'Est Européen, Problèmes Actuelles-Notes Historiques*, Paris, No. 69, January, 1968.

⁴¹ The three were:

a) Appeal of April 1968, from 139 persons, to the General Secretary of the CPSU, the Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and the Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet (text in *The Ukrainian Review*, Vol. XV, No. 4, 1968, pp. 27-9 and 97; see also *The New York Times*, 3 May, 1968; and *The Economist*, 25 January, 1969).

b) Appeal of May-June, 1968, from four persons, to the First Secretary of the CP of Ukraine, with copies to the Chairman of the KGB of Ukraine, the Chairman of the Writers' Union of Ukraine, the Chairman of the Artists' Union of Ukraine, the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian S.S.R. and two deputies (text in *The Ukrainian Review*, Vol. XVI, No. 1, 1969, pp. 43-5).

c) Appeal of July (?) 1968 from five persons in response to *Literaturna Ukraina* article of 16 July, 1968 against the 139 in (a) for defending the condemned intellectuals (text in *The Ukrainian Review*, Vol. XVI, No. 4, 1969, pp. 66-7).

However, although the three appeals were essentially protests at the conduct and procedure of the trials (or, in one case, at the press reaction to the first petition), indications of some sympathy with the defendants were to be found in the texts⁴², a likelihood reinforced by the overlapping participation of the signatories and the presence among them of Ivan Dzyuba. In fact, Dzyuba and the poetess Lina Kostenko signed all three, while Svitlychny, Yevhen Sverstiuk (litterateur), Mykhailyna Kotsiubyn's'ka (literary historian) and Victor Nekrasov (the writer) were signatories of two. It is thus highly probable that Dzyuba, Kostenko and, at least, Svitlychny, constituted the hard-core motivating force of the petitions, acting in concert in a campaign, albeit informally structured, but with distinct links with those arrested.

Not unlike the 1965-6 incidents, the Dnipropetrovsk case appears to have involved a number of isolated, or at most loosely connected, individuals, primarily sharing in common their residence in the Dnipropetrovsk region. Briefly, the case arose out of the publication of Oles' Honchar's novel "Sobor" (The Cathedral)⁴³ which, after initial praise⁴⁴, became the subject of a mass reversal of the former policy line and the target of attack for its defence of the historical past against the present⁴⁵.

Thereupon anyone coming to the support of, or expressing favourable attitudes towards, the novel and the issues it raised, laid them-

⁴² See below under Grievances and Programme.

⁴³ In which the hero is eventually killed in a struggle for a Ukrainian cathedral (a symbol for Ukrainian national culture) being pulled down by the state.

⁴⁴ It was acclaimed by a reader of *Vitchyzna*, the literary journal in which it appeared in January 1968; was favourably reviewed by L. Novychenko in *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, 20 March, 1968; and by the Dnipropetrovsk local paper *Zoria and Prapor Yunosti*, et al. — see the open letter from Young Creative Intellectuals in Dnipropetrovsk to the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian S.S.R., Shcherbyts'kyi; to Alternate Member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, Ovcharenko; and to the Secretary of the Writers' Union of Ukraine, Pavlychko, in *Suchasnist'*, February 1969; and in *The Ukrainian Review*, Vol. XVI, No. 3, 1969, pp. 46-52 (specifically p. 46). This letter was probably written at the end of 1968 — see review in *Radio Liberty*, Russification and Socialist Legality in the Dnipropetrovsk Area, *Research Paper USSR/39*, Munich, 10 March, 1969. See other details in *Khronika Tekushchikh Sobytyi*, No. 7, 30 April, 1969, Possev edition pp. 16-17 and No. 10, 30 October, 1969, *ibid.*, p. 17.

⁴⁵ The turnabout in Dnipropetrovsk, having proceeded from a conference of secretaries of local Party branches in that region (see the open appeal of Young Creative Intellectuals, *loc. cit.* — page references being henceforth to *The Ukrainian Review* edition — p. 46), included three critical reviews and supporting letters in *Zoria* (*ibid.*, p. 47), a ban on the celebration of Honchar's fiftieth birthday, at Dnipropetrovsk University, along with a similar ban on debate of "Sobor" (*ibid.*, p. 47). Copies of the novel were also reported to have been seized from a bookshop in Kharkiv by Komsomol members and destroyed in the streets to the tune of anti-Ukrainian slogans before an inactive militia, while other meetings condemned the work for its negative descriptions and idealisation of the past — *The Ukrainian Bulletin*, Vol. XXI, No. 13-6, 1968.

selves open to punitive sanctions⁴⁶, and "Sobor" was described by a regional Party secretary as a "Whirlpool around which everything that is ideologically harmful and hostile to our reality is rallying itself"⁴⁷. Exaggerated as this may have been, it is clear that a considerable number of individuals became the subject of various recriminations on these grounds⁴⁸, while the authors of the appeal showed sympathy for their cause by uniting to express concern at the treatment of the latter.

This case thus illustrated both the non-organised and loosely organised aspects from the range of forms taken on by Ukrainian nationalism — aspects at the opposite end of a continuum from the formally organised conspiratorial form, and representing a microcosm of the lack of organisation in the movement as a whole.

Membership

The nature of the membership, or at least those known to have been involved, in these various nationalistic manifestations, reveals a considerable degree of continuity and community of type, while indicating a wider basis to various nationalist aspirations than has previously been attributed to them.

Although Szamuely has drawn a comparison that, "Whereas the national movement of the 1940's acquired most of its impetus, together with its leaders, from the western regions — the historical Galicia — which had never been part of the Russian Empire and regarded all things Russian with incomprehension and hatred, the present generation of nationalist Ukrainian intellectuals are products of a Soviet education and of a newly homogeneous Ukrainian nation"⁴⁹, it is felt by the present writer that this is not a very meaningful analogy, comparing as it does, two different factors — that is, west Ukrainian backgrounds and Soviet education. Indeed, it remains true that a very large proportion of those persons under investigation here were born and/or worked in the western areas of the Ukraine, an area which, moreover, in addition to the features cited by Szamuely, had not had a pre-war experience of communist rule, a factor which may go some way towards explaining the anti-communist or non-socialist/communist content of the programmes of some of the groupings from the area⁵⁰. Furthermore, of the six, from the group actually arrested in 1965, who were domiciled in Kyiv, three are known to have had

⁴⁶) Open Appeal, *loc. cit.*, p. 47.

⁴⁷) *Ibid.*, p. 47.

⁴⁸) *Ibid.*, pp. 47-8.

⁴⁹) T. Szamuely, "The Resurgence of Ukrainian Nationalism", in *The Reporter*, reprinted in *Interstate*, Aberystwyth, No. 5, 68/69, p. 37.

⁵⁰) See below under Grievances and Programme.

their origins in the western Ukraine⁵¹, and the lawyers involved in the 1964 case were reportedly drawn from Kyiv and Lviv⁵².

Nevertheless, it is significant that a considerable number of nationalistic aspirations appear to have been voiced in other areas — notably in Kyiv (by at least three of the 1965 group, who had their origins in the north-east or east Ukraine⁵³ — including Dzyuba, from the Donbas⁵⁴, and in Dnipropetrovsk.

The extreme nature of the claims or demands made does appear to vary to some extent (as will be seen) with the geographical factor — complete secession or a non-communist regime being advocated seemingly exclusively in the west, on the basis of the available information.

As for the nature of the support for the various claims in the different manifestations, background data on the individuals involved is assembled in the tables below from which a number of general conclusions can be drawn:

Table 1: *Members of the United Party for the Liberation of Ukraine — 1958-9*

<i>N a m e</i>	<i>Date of Birth</i>	<i>E d u c a t i o n</i>	<i>O c c u p a t i o n</i>
Bohdan Harmatiuk	1939	Specialised secondary	Construction technician
Yarema S. Tkachyk	1933	Secondary	Turner
Bohdan I. Tymkiv	1935	Incomplete higher	Student
Myron Ploshchak	1932	?	Worker
Ivan I. Strutynskyi	1937	Secondary	Conductor of factory amateur choir
Mykola Yurchyk	1933	?	Worker
Ivan Konevych	1930	?	Worker

Source: Kandyba's appeal, *loc. cit.*

⁵¹) V. Chornovil, *The Chornovil Papers*, pp. 97, 116 and 161.

⁵²) *Ibid.*, pp. 133 and 137.

⁵³) See biographical details on cover of *Internationalism or Russification*.

⁵⁴) *The Ukrainian Review*, Vol. XII, No. 3, 1965, p. 17. Indeed, the lawyers of Lviv have gained something of a reputation as innovators — see, on the question of administrative responsibility, D. D. Barry, *The Specialist in Soviet Policy-Making: The Adoption of a Law*, *Soviet Studies*, Vol. XVI, No. 2, 1964, pp. 155 and 160.

Table 2: *Members of the Ukrainian Workers' and Peasants' Union 1959-60*

<i>N a m e</i>	<i>Date of Birth</i>	<i>Origin</i>	<i>Educa-tion</i>	<i>Family</i>	<i>Occup-ation</i>	<i>Party Member-ship</i>
Ivan O. Kandyba	1930	Peasant	Higher	Single	Lawyer	—
Lev G. Lukyanenko	1927	Peasant	Higher	Marr-ied	Lawyer	X
Stepan M. Virun	1932	Peasant	Un-finished higher	Marr-ied	Party propa-gand-ist	X
Oleksandr S. Libovych	1935	Peasant	Higher	Marr-ied	Agric. specia-list	—
Vasyl S. Lutskiv	1935	Peasant	9th grade	Single	Club manag-er	X
Yosyp Yu. Borovnytskyi	1932	Worker	Higher		Prosec-utor's invest-igator	X
Ivan Z. Kipysh	1923	Peasant	8th grade	Marr-ied	Milit-iaman	—

Source: Kandyba's appeal, *loc. cit.*



Table 3: *Members of the Ukrainian National Committee — 1961*

<i>N a m e</i>	<i>Date of Birth</i>	<i>Education</i>	<i>Occupation</i>
Ivan T. Koval	Young	?	Worker
Bohdan Hrytsyna	Young	?	Worker
Volodymyr Hnot	?	?	Locksmith at Polytechnic Institute
Roman Hurnyi	1939	?	Factory worker
Hryhorii Zelymash	?	?	Kolkhoz worker
Oleksii Zelymash	?	?	Kolkhoz worker
Melekh	?	Higher	Philologist
Vasyl Kondrat	Young	?	?
Kurylo			Mainly workers from Lviv factories
Mashtaler			
Stepan Soroka			
Pokora			
Yovchyk			
Kaspryshyn			
Mynko			
Tehyvets			
Mykola Melnychuk			
Khomiakevych			
+ two others			

Source: Kandyba's appeal, *loc. cit.*

Table 5: *Others subsequently detained in the 1965 case*

<i>N a m e</i>	<i>Occupation at time of detention</i>
Ivanyshyn	Physical education teacher in village, Ivano-Frankivsk oblast'
Baturyn	Book-keeper of Lviv Regional Consumers' Cooperative
Kosiv	Head of literary institute, Lviv University
Sadovs'ka	Engineer in Lviv Project Institute
Morhun	Artist of Franko Theatre, Kyiv
Perediyenko	Electrician
Ol'ha Vorbut (or Vorbst)	Student at Kyiv University
Ol'ha Horyn'	? from Lviv
N. Svitlychna	(Ivan Svitlychnyi's sister, from Donetsk)

Source: Chornovil's appeal to the Ukrainian Public Prosecutor, *loc. cit.*

Table 4: Intellectuals detained in 1965

<i>N a m e</i>	<i>Date of Birth</i>	<i>Origin</i>	<i>Education</i>	<i>Family</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Party Membership</i>
Ivan Dzyuba	1931	Peasant	Higher	?	Literary critic	—
Ivan Svitlychny	1922	?	Higher	?	Professor	?
Mefodiy Chubaty	1938	Peasant	Sec. school of music	?	Unemployed	—
Ivan A. Hel'	1937	Peasant	Incomplete higher	Married 1 child	Locksmith	—
Ihor P. Hereta	1938	Priest	Higher	?	Museum assistant director	—
Yaroslav Hevrych	1937	Peasant	Incomplete higher	Single ?	Medical student	—
Bohdan M. Horyn'	1936	Peasant	Higher	?	Art research worker	—
Mykhaylo M. Horyn'	1930	Peasant	Higher	Married 1 child	Industrial Psychologist	—
Mykola Ye. Hryn'	1928	?	Higher	?	Senior geophysical research associate	—
Dmytro Ivashchenko	1922	?	Higher	Married children	Lecturer	—
Svyatoslav Y. Karavans'ky	1920	Engineer	Partial Higher	Married	Writer	—
Yevheniya F. Kuznetsova	1913	Worker	Higher	?	Chemical Laboratory Worker	—
Oleksandr I. Martynenko	1935	Worker	Higher	?	Senior Geological Engineer	—
Mykhaylo S. Maslyutko	1918	Teacher	Higher	Married	Retired teacher	—
Yaroslava M. Menkush	1923	Peasant	Spec. Secondary	Widow with daughter	Designer	—
Valentyn Ya. Moroz	1936	Peasant	Higher	Married 1/ch	Lecturer	—
Mykhaylo D. Ozerny	1929	Peasant	Higher	Married	Teacher	—
Mykhaylo H. Osadchy	1936	Peasant	Higher	2 children	Senior University Lecturer	X
Ivan I. Rusyn	1937	Peasant	Higher	Married 1/ch	Geodesic Engineer	—
Anatoliy O. Shevchuk	1937	Worker	Tech. Sch.	Married 1/ch	Linotypist	—
Panas I. Zalyvaka	1925	Peasant	Higher	Single ?	Artist	—
Myroslava V. Zvarychevs'ka	1936	Peasant	Higher	Single ?	Literary Editor	—

Sources: V. Chornovil, *The Chornovil Papers*, particularly pp. 52-3; and I. Dzyuba, *Internationalism or Russification* (introd.)

Table 6: *Members of the Ukrainian National Front 1964-7*

<i>N a m e</i>	<i>Date of Birth</i>	<i>Education</i>	<i>Occupation</i>
Dmytro Kvets'ko	1937	Higher	?
Vasyl' Diak	?	Higher	Senior Lieutenant, Stanyslaviv militia
Ivan Krasivs'kyi	1939	Higher	Philologist-publicist
Yaroslav Lesiv	1945	Higher?	Teacher
Vasyl' Kulynyn	1943	Secondary	Turner in factory at Stryy, Lviv oblast'
Hryhorii Prokopovych	?	Higher	Linguist
Ivan Hubka	?	Higher	Economist
Myron Melen'	?	?	Conductor of amateur chorus, Morshyn, Lviv obl.
Mykola Kachur	?	?	?

Source: Samizdat document, *loc. cit.*

The 1968 Petitioners

Table 7: *The 139 Petitioners of April, 1968*

Workers in the Arts: Film producer, Artists, Sculptors, Writers, Litterateurs, Composers, Singer, Historians	50
Scientists: Physico-Mathematicians, Biologists, Chemists, Geologists, Mathematicians	34
Engineers	11
Doctors	3
Lawyers	1
Teachers	3
Students	6
Manual workers	26
Others	4

Source: Appeal of the 139, *loc. cit.*

Many of these petitioners were, moreover, senior figures in their fields, including 6 professors, 5 corresponding members of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, and a Lenin prize winner.

Table 8: *The Petitioners of May-June and July (?) 1968*

<i>N a m e</i>	<i>Date of Birth</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Signatories of both</i>	<i>Signatories of above petition</i>
I. Dzyuba	1931	Literary critic	X	X
I. Svitlychnyi	192?	Writer	—	X
N. Svitlychna	?	?	—	—
L. Kostenko	1930	Poetess	X	X
Ye. Sverstiuk	?	Litterateur	—	X
M. Kotsiubyns'ka	1931	Literary historian	—	X
V. Nekrasov	1911	Writer	—	X

Sources: Introduction to the petitions in the sources cited and *Who's Who in the U.S.S.R.*, Scarecrow Press, New York.

Table 9: *Those involved in the Dnipropetrovsk case*

<i>N a m e</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Party membership</i>
S. Yu. Shyinin	Member of Propaganda and Agitation Dept. of Dnipropetrovsk newspaper	?
M. T. Skoryk	Journalist on same paper	X
V. Zaremba	Journalist (probably same paper)	—
I. P. Opanasenko	Journalist on same paper	—
R. Stepanenko	Theatre producer	X
H. Prokopenko	Teacher	X
S. Levenets'	Secretary of local branch of Ukrainian Theatrical Society	—
I. Sokul's'kyi	Poet, writer for factory newspaper	—
M. Dunin (or B. Dubinin)	Editor of same factory newspaper	—
V. Sirenko	Poet	Dismissed earlier
V. Kapysh	Writer	X
M. Chkhan	Poet	—
V. Korzh	Poet	—
V. Cheremys	Poet	—

Source: Appeal of the Young Creative Intellectuals, loc. cit., and *Khronika Tekushchikh Sobytyi*, No. 7, Possev ed., pp. 16-7.

From this material — insofar as the incomplete data permits any satisfactory conclusions — it is noticeable that:

- (a) the support for the various nationalistically oriented themes is drawn from across the entire occupational spectrum — Dzyuba has in fact referred to, "This constantly growing circle of people [who] have expressed their alarm openly, publicly and on principle..."⁵⁵
- (b) the intellectual element with higher education predominates (of 52 persons whose education is known, 39 have received some higher education), but notably less so in the cases involving the expression of the most extreme views.
- (c) membership has been drawn almost exclusively from among industrial or agricultural workers in certain instances, such as the localised O.P.V.U. and the U.N.K. (although information is inadequate to relate this to the radicalism of their programmes).
- (d) insofar as it is known, the participants were born predominantly in the 1930's and thus, for the most part, had little or no involvement with the earlier violent nationalism (the incomplete data on the Ukrainian National Front indicates even younger support).
- (e) a number, albeit small, were surprisingly Party members⁵⁶.

Additionally, it is known that a number of those involved had had previous connections with the Ukrainian nationalist movement in one or another of its forms. Svyatoslav Karavans'ky, for instance, had, around 1942-3 joined a youth group connected with the O.U.N., had been arrested in Odessa in 1944, and (in spite of having conducted neither armed nor propaganda activities against the Soviet government during a few days only spent in liberated Odessa) sentenced to 25 years imprisonment on 7 February 1945⁵⁷. He was only released, under a 1955 amnesty, in December 1960⁵⁸. Similarly, the majority of the members of the members of the Ukrainian National Front were reported to have been previously imprisoned⁵⁹.

Leaving aside the question of membership, attention may now be turned to the goals sought after by those involved.

⁵⁵ Dzyuba's appeal to the First Secretary of the CP of Ukraine, *loc. cit.*, p. 5.

⁵⁶ C. f. Chornovil's portrait of a typical member solely of the group he analyses — in *The Chornovil Papers*, pp. 80-1.

⁵⁷ V. Chornovil, *The Chornovil Papers*, pp. 166-7. Karavans'ky himself does deny this — see his appeal of 16 January, 1966, to the People's Court of the Odessa October District, in *The Chornovil Papers*, p. 189.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 167.

⁵⁹ Samizdat document on The Ukrainian National Front, *loc. cit.*, p. 9.

Grievances and Programme

The programme or ends of the nationalists in recent times have varied considerably, although there has naturally existed a good deal of congruity in the grievances underlying them.

The organised groupings, particularly, have illustrated one extreme end of the programme spectrum, namely an uncompromising demand for greater political independence for the Ukraine.

As far as can be seen, the most extreme standpoint (that is, in the Soviet political context) was taken by the Ukrainian National Front, which published its programme in its journal⁶⁰. Besides calling for the consolidation of Ukrainian forces around the organisation, the group had as its aim complete liberation of the country from the Soviet Union, basing its programme and activities on those of the former O.U.N. The Front regarded itself as the heir to the O.U.N.

In a similar vein, Kandyba declared the aim of the short-lived O.P.V.U. to have been, "the national liberation and the establishment of an independent, sovereign Ukraine"⁶¹, while the U.N.K. similarly sought, "the secession of the Ukrainian S.S.R. from the U.S.S.R."⁶². The planned lawyers protest of 1964 was also reported as having been based on a protest against oppression and a call for the separation of the republic from the U.S.S.R. on the basis of the constitutional provisions⁶³.

As for his own group, its aims are better documented by Kandyba, but not entirely clearly. The indictment and charges against the group (with reference to its specific programme, which was said to have falsified Ukrainian history and to have sought to justify the old O.U.N.) variously claimed that its aims were:

- (a) struggle against the Soviet state and social order, against the C.P.S.U. and the Soviet government;
- (b) the undermining of the authority of the C.P.S.U.;
- (c) the separation of the Ukrainian S.S.R. from the U.S.S.R.;
- (d) the establishment of a so-called "Independent Ukraine"⁶⁴;
- (e) treason to the fatherland⁶⁵.

Kandyba, on the other hand, denied the latter charge outright⁶⁶,

⁶⁰) *Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁶¹) I. Kandyba, *op. cit.*, The Ukrainian Review edition, p. 17.

⁶²) *Ibid.*, p. 17.

⁶³) *The Ukrainian Review*, Vol. XII, No. 3, 1965, p. 17, and Vol. XIV, No. 1, 1967, p. 13.

⁶⁴) I. Kandyba, *op. cit.*, The Ukrainian Review edition, p. 4 — Kandyba declaring that, "in order to betray it, it is necessary to have it, whereas we do not have it, since for centuries, while it has been groaning under a servile yoke, we have been deprived of a fatherland" (*ibid.*, p. 11).

⁶⁵) *Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁶⁶) *Ibid.*, p. 7ff.

and, while admitting the existence of a "Draft of the Programme of the U.R.S.S." (drawn up by Lukyanenko)⁶⁷, claimed that its contents could at most be regarded as "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda"⁶⁸, and that they were in fact a critique of official policy in the 1930's and of shortcomings in the post cult-of-the-personality period (such as the bureaucratic economic management, the centralised planning of industry and agriculture, limited rights of labour unions, and the policy towards the peasants), as well as an enumeration of grievances on the nationality issue. The grievances in this respect were declared to have been:

- (a) the mass accusation and execution of declared Ukrainian nationalists;
- (b) bans on many Ukrainian figures;
- (c) the restriction of the Ukraine in her political and economic rights;
- (d) the denial of her right to relations with other countries;
- (e) the fact that Ukrainian had not become a state language and its absence in various state organs and higher educational institutions (indeed the very investigation of the accused was carried out in Russian)⁶⁹;
- (f) her status as an appendage to Russia;
- (g) the removal of two-thirds of her wealth from the area of the Ukraine;
- (h) the omni-presence of Great Russian chauvinism⁷⁰.

On the basis of these grievances and the concomitant conclusion that there was no chance for the Ukraine to develop along a self-determined line, the programme of the group had been put forward, with the following as its aims:

- (a) the secession of the Ukraine from the U.S.S.R., for the purpose of normal development, in accordance with Articles 14 and 17 of the Ukrainian and U.S.S.R. constitutions;
- (b) its establishment as a fully sovereign and independent state;
- (c) the creation of an organisation to work for the democratic freedom necessary for the organisation of the whole Ukraine for the struggle for independence, and peacefully to conduct propaganda and agitation to this end, both among the people and by placing the question before the organs of government;
- (d) the organisation would dissolve itself if not receiving the support of the majority of the Ukrainian people;

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁶⁹ I. Kandyba, *op. cit.*, in *The Ukrainian Review* edition, p. 11.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 7 and 8-9.

- (e) if successful, the political order of the independent Ukraine would be Soviet in nature, and the economic order, socialist, working in the direction of communism;
- (f) the new state would remain in friendship with other socialist states;
- (g) all citizens would have political freedom and would determine the direction of the economic and political development⁷¹.

Kandyba, having stressed the constitutional nature of the claims, throughout, summarised the programme as a defence of their native tongue, the defence of their rights, their nation and its statehood⁷²; and Lutsiv, in a declaration to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, concerning his false testimony, confirmed the peaceful nature of the aims⁷³.

It seems clear enough that a demand was made in this case for sovereign independence for the Ukraine⁷⁴ — a demand all the more surprising in view of its articulation by party functionaries (notably Lukyanenko), but nevertheless one retaining the socialist/communist element and thereby representing a more moderate, or at least less extreme, tendency than that voiced in some of the other cases (from the regime's point of view).

An interesting and not altogether dissimilar programme appears to have been proposed by an individual, one Anton Koval, in an April, 1969 open letter to the deputies to the Soviets (sic.) of the Ukrainian Republic. Koval in fact called for:

- (a) implementation of the general right of the Ukraine to state sovereignty;
- (b) the setting up of a Ukrainian Ministry of Defence;
- (c) the right to existence for various parties on a basis of equality;
- (d) increased wages and consumer goods for the lower paid;
- (e) the right to leave collective farms and rent the land;
- (f) decentralisation and deconcentration of economic control from Moscow;
- (g) the abolition of the K.G.B.;
- (h) restriction of police powers;
- (i) the creation of a separate constitutional court (to determine the accordance of laws with the constitution; to accept complaints from citizens concerning infringements of civil rights; and to prepare a new constitution);

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 13.

⁷³ See Lukyanenko's appeal, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

⁷⁴ C. f. Karavans'ky's petition to the Chairman of the Union of Journalists of Ukraine of 10 May, 1966, in *A.B.N. Correspondence*, Vol. XIX, No. 3, May-June, 1968, p. 17 (also in *The Chornovil Papers*, p. 210).

- (j) the release of all political prisoners;
- (k) the abolition of censorship;
- (l) the right to belong to different political parties;
- (m) the Ukrainisation of the school system in the Ukraine;
- (n) restoration of the validity of all decrees concerning Ukrainisation of the state and social life which were enforced in the 1920's;
- (o) cessation of all discrimination against Ukrainian culture (particularly with respect to banned works);
- (p) minority rights for Ukrainians outside the Ukraine;
- (q) equal rights for minorities inside the Ukraine⁷⁵.

As regards those involved in the 1965 arrests, the claims, suggestions, demands or viewpoints expressed are to be seen as a good deal more obscure, save for those revealed by the letters and appeals after the trials; less coherent; and far from constituting a clear cut programme as such. Nevertheless, they seem on the whole to have been far less radical protests against the destruction or withering away of Ukrainian culture and/or calls for an end to Russification of the Ukraine, variously in the fields of economics, politics, civil liberties, and culture.

Charges against those eventually brought to trial concerned offences of anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda under article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian S.S.R.⁷⁶

Clearly such an article has serious implications for even non-formally organised nationalist groups, but, more specifically, the accused were variously charged with reading, copying and disseminating prohibited literature, articles and pamphlets, dealing with the condition of Ukrainian literature, language and art under the Soviet regime; with reading and disseminating works on Ukrainian history (including pre-revolutionary items), essays on the situation of Ukrainian culture, the statement of emigré cultural workers on the unveiling of the Shevchenko monument in Washington, ex-President Eisenhower's speech at the unveiling, a speech by Pope John XXIII and a work on the rights of the Ukraine⁷⁷. Additionally, at least one

⁷⁵ See *Anglo-Ukrainian News*, No. 30, September, 1969.

⁷⁶ Cited in *The Ukrainian Review*, Vol. XIV, No. 1, Spring, 1967, p. 41. The article provided that: "agitation or propaganda carried out with the aims of undermining or weakening the Soviet regime or committing certain particularly dangerous crimes against the state, the dissemination of libellous inventions with the same aim which denigrate the Soviet state and social order, as well as the spreading or production or keeping of literature of the said contents with the same aim — are punishable with deprivation of liberty for a period of from six months to seven years, or deportation for a period from two to five years. The same acts committed by a person previously sentenced for particularly dangerous crimes against the state, as well as those committed in wartime — are punishable by deprivation of liberty for a period of from three to ten years".

⁷⁷ *The Ukrainian Review*, Vol. XIII, No. 4, Winter, 1966, p. 91, and V. Chornovil's appeal to the Public Prosecutor of the Ukrainian S.S.R., *loc. cit.*, pp. 46, 54, and 56-7, and, in the text of *The Misfortune of Intellect*, p. 143.

figure appears to have been dealt with for declared opposition particularly to educational policies smacking of Russianisation.

Chornovil has pointed out, with reference to the cases of Ozerny⁷⁸ and Hevrych⁷⁹, that the dissemination merely involved two or three close friends, while M. Horyn' (similarly charged) claimed, in his final speech of 16 April, 1966, at the trial, that not only were the items read only by two or three persons at most, but that it was not established that he shared the views of the tracts he possessed⁸⁰. In fact, he declared that he read them because they raised questions which interested him, but that he did not quite agree with the interpretations⁸¹.

In Zalyvakha's case, the accused claimed (in an appeal of 5th April, 1967 to the Chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Court) that, on the evidence of a commission of experts who examined the document, he was charged with possession of an anti-Soviet nationalistic work by an unknown author, when in fact it was a poem by the 19th century Ukrainian national poet, Shevchenko⁸². Masyutko, furthermore, was, according to Chornovil, declared by the KGB to be the author of at least 10 anonymous anti-Soviet articles, including one entitled 'The Programme of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement'⁸³. However, Masyutko makes no reference to the latter in his listing of materials seized from him⁸⁴, all of which he denied as being anti-Soviet⁸⁵, though whether he was seeking to hide this matter or whether it had not in fact been taken from him is unclear.

In addition to the general anti-Soviet charges, seven were in fact specifically charged with offences constituting anti-Soviet nationalist propaganda and agitation — that is, Hevrych, Martynenko, Masyutko, Menkush, Ozerny, Chubaty and Karavans'ky. Indeed, of Ozerny, his defence counsel is reported to have said, 'It is strange that such a phenomenon as a manifestation of nationalism still exists. It would be easier to understand if it were right after the war'⁸⁶, while Hevrych's counsel responded to the latter's friends with an outburst that, 'You are all nationalists and anti-Soviet individuals. All of you deserve the same treatment as Hevrych'⁸⁷.

⁷⁸) In Chornovil's appeal to the Public Prosecutor of the Ukrainian S.S.R., *loc. cit.*, pp. 55-6.

⁷⁹) *Ibid.*, p. 57.

⁸⁰) See V. Chornovil, *The Chornovil Papers*, pp. 105-6.

⁸¹) *Ibid.*, p. 106.

⁸²) *Ibid.*, pp. 129-30.

⁸³) Chornovil's appeal to the Public Prosecutor of the Ukrainian S.S.R., *loc. cit.*, p. 59.

⁸⁴) See his appeal of October, 1965, to the Public Prosecutor of the Ukrainian S.S.R., in V. Chornovil, *The Chornovil Papers*, p. 143.

⁸⁵) *Ibid.*, p. 144.

⁸⁶) Chornovil's appeal to the Public Prosecutor of the Ukrainian S.S.R., *loc. cit.*, p. 47.

⁸⁷) *Ibid.*, p. 49.

In Karavans'ky's case, the charge essentially concerned his appeal to the Public Prosecutor of the Ukrainian S.S.R. calling for the prosecution of the Minister of Higher and Specialised Secondary Education of the Ukrainian S.S.R. for permitting anti-Leninist features to enter into the field of nationality education⁸⁸ — a petition which had fallen into the hands of a Canadian Ukrainian communist⁸⁹ — and provided a convenient opportunity to reactivate the old conviction against him.

Karavans'ky, moreover, revealed, in one of his appeals (to Gomulka), that, 'Dzyuba was dismissed from work at a publishing house, charged with "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism" and denied the right to engage in ideological work'⁹⁰, but, in reference to rumours that those arrested wanted separation of the Ukraine from the USSR, claimed that, 'the publication of I. Svitlychny do not even contain an allusion to such views'⁹¹, which claim in any event would be constitutionally legal⁹².

Doubt as to the credibility or rationality of these charges was cast even by a Canadian Communist Party delegation, which accused the authorities of the Ukrainian S.S.R. of condemning those charged as bourgeois nationalists simply for demanding greater use of their language⁹³. Dzyuba himself dismissed the KGB charges of bourgeois nationalism against those arrested as 'Philistine twaddle' comprising 'any deviation from the Russified norm'⁹⁴, pointing out that, 'From past and recent history it may be seen that in the Ukraine it was permissible to label as "nationalist" anyone possessing an elementary sense of national dignity, or anyone concerned with the fate of Ukrainian culture and language, and often simply anyone who in some way failed to please some Russian chauvinist, some "Great Russian bully"⁹⁵. Dzyuba, much later in a letter of 26 December, 1969 to the Ukrainian Writers Union, furthermore claimed that, 'as a Soviet literat I have taken and now take the position of a citizen, which has nothing in common with the ideology of Ukrainian bourgeois natio-

⁸⁸) See below.

⁸⁹) Chornovil's appeal to the Public Prosecutor of the Ukrainian S.S.R., loc. cit., pp. 66-7.

⁹⁰) See text of his appeal of 27 September, 1965 to Gomulka (which also appears in *Problems of Communism*, Vol. XVII, No. 4, July & August, 1968, pp. 82-84), in V. Chornovil, *The Chornovil Papers*, p. 183.

⁹¹) *Ibid.*, p. 183.

⁹²) *Ibid.*, p. 184.

⁹³) See text of the report in *Zhyttia i Slovo*, Toronto, 1 January, 1968; see also *The Sunday Telegraph*, 25 February, 1968. A Soviet reply to the charges, from 28 political and cultural leaders, was also subsequently published in *Zhyttia i Slovo*, 22 September, 1969. See also on this, Radio Free Europe Research, *Polemics Between Canadian and Ukrainian C.P.s.*, *Research Papers*, USSR/0355, 28 October, 1969.

⁹⁴) I. Dzyuba, *Internationalism or Russification*, p. 203.

⁹⁵) In Dzyuba's 1965 appeal to the First Secretary of the CP of Ukraine, published in *Internationalism or Russification*, p. 5 — the phrase "Great Russian bully" being drawn from Lenin, of course.

nalism or any sort of concepts of animosity towards peoples or with human hate⁹⁶, going on to declare that his approach to the nationalities policy was based entirely on Leninist principles.

Chornovil, too, condemned the charges on the grounds that, "Tried as bourgeois nationalists are people who do not remember the bourgeois system, whose grandfathers or fathers suffered privation in their rich native lands. And no-one even thought of looking for a deeper reason instead of talking idly about the influence of the bourgeois ideology and bourgeois nationalism"⁹⁷.

Similarly hinting at the possibility of some underlying factors, as Dzyuba had also done⁹⁸, Zalyvakha, in fact, appears to have pinpointed the essential character of the charges in stating that, "I have been accused of "falling under the influence of hostile nationalistic propaganda", of having read literature not examined by Soviet censorship, and of having expressed my views"⁹⁹.

Given what seems reasonably clear (that the charges did not adequately reflect reality), what is to be understood by Zalyvakha's last phrase? What was significant about the views expressed by these individuals in general? Some indications may be extracted from the documentation assembled by Chornovil in support of their cause — documentation which nevertheless provides pointers to both the grievances and the proposals of those concerned.

By far the most coherent and complete elucidation of the grievances felt or expressed by the group of '65 are to be found in the copious writings of Karavans'ky and Dzyuba.

On a general plane, Karavans'ky pointed, with reference to the manifestation of what he regarded as so-called nationalism, to its derivation from the anti-Leninist nationality policy carried out in the previous thirty years, with its three principal elements of:

- (a) Russification of the population;
- (b) mass transfer of Ukrainians from the Ukraine to Siberia, Kazakhstan and elsewhere;
- (c) settlement of non-Ukrainians, mainly Russians, in Ukrainian towns¹⁰⁰.

Dzyuba likewise, in declaring it no secret that a growing number of persons in a variety of professions (but particularly among the young) had been coming to an awareness of such grievances, professed them to be that, "there is something amiss with the nationalities policy

⁹⁶) *Literaturna Ukraïna*, Kyïv, 6 January, 1970.

⁹⁷) In his appeal to the Public Prosecutor of the Ukrainian S.S.R., *loc. cit.*, p. 72.

⁹⁸) I. Dzyuba, *Internationalism or Russification*, p. 203.

⁹⁹) In his appeal of 5 April, 1967, to the Supreme Court of the Ukrainian S.S.R., in V. Chornovil, *The Chornovil Papers*, p. 128.

¹⁰⁰) Karavans'ky's appeal of 27 September, 1965, to Gomulka, *loc. cit.*, pp. 184-5, charges also found in his appeals to the Polish and Czech consuls in Kyïv.

in the Ukraine, and the actual national and political position of the Ukraine does not correspond to its formal constitutional position as a state... that the condition of Ukrainian culture and language gives cause for great alarm etc. — all this resulting from perpetual, flagrant violations of Marxism-Leninism on the nationalities question, and the abandonment of scientific principles in communist national constitution¹⁰¹.

Although couching his critique in terms of a Marxist-Leninist position, shared in common even with some of the more extreme groups and certainly genuine in view of the background of Chornovil and Dzyuba¹⁰², the latter spared no quarter in stating that, 'If all the facts were to be amassed, the resultant picture of an indefatigable, pitiless and absurd persecution of national cultural life would frighten the very stage managers of this campaign themselves and would force a great many people to do some thinking'¹⁰³.

More concretely, Dzyuba specified his grievances as concerning:

- (a) the gradual but progressive loss of territorial sovereignty 'through mass resettlement... of the Ukrainian population to Siberia, the North and other regions, where it numbers millions but is quickly denationalised';
- (b) the loss of a common historic fate 'as the Ukrainian nation is being progressively dispersed over the Soviet Union, and as the sense of historic national tradition and knowledge of the historic past are gradually being lost due to a total lack of national education in school and in society in general'¹⁰⁴;
- (c) the maintenance of Ukrainian national culture 'in a rather provincial position', its treatment 'as "second-rate"', and the situation whereby 'the Ukrainian language has been pushed into the background and is not really used in the cities of the Ukraine';
- (d) the circumstance that, 'during the last decades the Ukrainian nation has virtually been deprived of the natural increase in population which characterises all present day nations'¹⁰⁵.

Karavans'ky, on the other hand directed his attention particularly towards conditions and Russification in the field of education, indicating, as grievances, mistakes he considered to have been the responsibility of the Minister of Higher and Specialised Secondary Education of the Ukrainian S.S.R., Dadenkov, namely that:

¹⁰¹ In Dzyuba's appeal to the First Secretary of the CP of Ukraine, *loc. cit.*, p. 5.

¹⁰² See the biographical details on Chornovil cited below and on Dzyuba in the Introduction to *Internationalism or Russification*.

¹⁰³ In Dzyuba's appeal to the First Secretary of the CP of Ukraine, *loc. cit.*, p. 6.

¹⁰⁴ I. Dzyuba, *Internationalism or Russification*, p. 14.

¹⁰⁵ I. Dzyuba, *Internationalism or Russification*, p. 14.

- (a) 'people of Ukrainian nationality, whose native tongue is Ukrainian do not enjoy the same rights in entering the Vuzy [higher education institutions] as do those whose native tongue is Russian. Russian language and literature are a compulsory part of the Vuzy entrance examinations, and so the graduates from Russian schools are more successful in passing this examination with higher marks than the graduates from Ukrainian schools. Furthermore, entrance examinations for special disciplines are also conducted in Russian, and this, too, makes it difficult for graduates from Ukrainian schools to pass special subjects... As a result... Ukrainians comprise a considerably lower percentage in comparison with the percentage of Ukrainians in the production of material amenities on the territory of the Ukr. (sic.) S.S.R.');
- (b) 'in most higher and secondary specialised institutions of learning Kyïv, Kharkiv, Odessa, Dnipropetrovsk, and other cities, the instruction is still not in the Ukrainian tongue. The ministry [of higher and specialised secondary education]... continues to tolerate the elimination of Leninist norms in the organisation of higher education in the Ukr. S.S.R.'.
- (c) 'The cadres of lecturers at the Vuzy of the Ukr. SSR "do not understand" the Ukrainian language', while:
 - (i) text-books required in Ukrainian were not being published;
 - (ii) no cadres of national teaching intelligentsia were being trained.
- (d) 'As a result of the "relegation" of the Ukrainian language to a secondary position in the system of higher education, graduates of universities and pedagogical institutes have no command of the Ukrainian tongue'¹⁰⁶.

M. Horyn', furthermore, while declaring nationalistic views to be alien to him and denying being anti-Soviet¹⁰⁷, nevertheless went on to claim that, 'When I criticised, I did not criticise the Soviet legislation, but the violation of that law in everyday life; I did not criticise the Soviet social system, but the separate aspects of socio-political and economic life of our country'¹⁰⁸, and that, 'I consider that the nationality policy towards the Ukrainian people is being distorted. The State Prosecutor stated here that the nationality problem is solved. I wish it were true, State Prosecutor'¹⁰⁹. Thereafter, he indicated three grievances, closely related to, or overlapping, those of Dzyuba and Karavans'ky:

¹⁰⁶ In Karavans'ky's appeal of 24 February, 1965, to the Public Prosecutor of the Ukrainian S.S.R. calling for action against the Minister of Higher and Specialised Secondary Education, in V. Chornovil, *The Chornovil Papers*, pp. 170-3. Similar grievances were expressed by him in another general appeal of 1965 entitled 'About One Political Error', *ibid.*, pp. 168, and, for text, 174-9.

¹⁰⁷ In his final trial speech of 16 April, 1966, in V. Chornovil, *The Chornovil Papers*, pp. 106-7.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 107.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 108-11.

- (a) 'Can the nationality problem be considered solved, for instance, in the Russian Federation, where hundreds of thousands Ukrainian children have no opportunity to obtain at least grade eight education in their native language? Yet Russians do have such an opportunity in Ukraine'.
- (b) 'The progress of the development of the national language in Ukraine is unsatisfactory... every patriotic citizen of Ukraine is especially grieved by the current violations of Leninist principles in linguistic development'.
- (c) 'The losses to Ukrainian culture during Stalin's despotism... I stated that remnants of Stalinism still exist in our public and political life, that this spirit ought to be rejected... Which was worse for the Ukrainian culture — the years of war or the time of peace?'.

Far less coherent elucidations of grievances are available in the cases of the others involved in the 1965 arrests, ranging from condemnations of apparent Russification in a number of specific fields, to attacks on what they consider to be the prevailing anti-Leninist practices in the nationality sphere and discrimination against Ukrainians. Masyutko, in the course of the post-arrest investigation of his case, wrote an essay on deviations from Leninist norms in the nationality policy practised in the Ukraine, which he despatched to the Presidium of the 23rd Congress of the C.P.S.U.¹¹⁰; while Moroz, at his trial in Lutsk, spoke of Russification and the unequal status of the 'sovereign republic' of the Ukraine¹¹¹; and Hel', in a later appeal, referred to the 'many tragedies in the history of the Ukrainian people's struggle for their elementary rights, national dignity and the right to existence'¹¹². Zalyvakha, in a similar appeal after his conviction, declared that, 'In the Russian Federation alone, Ukrainians number over four million, yet there are no Ukrainian schools, no Ukrainian social and cultural life', adding that, 'as soon as I... came to consider myself as a Ukrainian and joined the cultural life in Ukraine, I immediately attracted the close attention of the KGB. It is dangerous to be conscious of one's own nationality'¹¹³. Furthermore, he went on to claim, 'Over the centuries the oppressors tried in vain to destroy the Ukrainian culture and language, but the people withstood the onslaught and they cannot be frightened now by any repressions, not by the burning of libraries, nor by the destruction of the monuments of Ukrainian culture'¹¹⁴.

¹¹⁰ In V. Chornovil, *The Chornovil Papers*, p. 140.

¹¹¹ See Chornovil's appeal to the Public Prosecutor of the Ukrainian S.S.R., et al., *ibid.*, p. 30.

¹¹² In his appeal of 23 February, 1967, to the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian S.S.R., *ibid.*, p. 101.

¹¹³ Declaration of 5 April, 1967, by Zalyvakha to the Supreme Court of the Ukrainian S.S.R., *ibid.*, p. 129.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 130.

Whatever the precise nature of her previous statements, Kuznetsova showed no remorse in an appeal from her prison cell when she declared that, 'in analysing the situation in Ukraine prior to our imprisonment, we see that we are not guilty'¹¹⁵.

Of the petitioners who subsequently rose to the defence of those convicted, it is clear that Chornovil himself bore at least some sympathy towards such grievances, saying of Karavans'ky that he 'was disturbed by the state of the Ukrainian language in the Ukr. SSR (as it worries many others!)', and that, 'he properly criticised Khrushchev's law authorising the parents of children living on the territory of a sovereign national republic to decide themselves whether the children are to learn the language of that republic'¹¹⁶. The later petitioners, although concerned with the procedural illegalities of the trials of 1966, including Chornovil's, declared that the indictments were for the views expressed by the accused, and that the actions taken were becoming a form of 'suppression of civic activity and social criticism absolutely necessary for the health of society' in the Ukraine, 'where the violations of democracy are augmented and aggravated by the distortions in the nationalities question'¹¹⁷. At the same time, they attacked distortions concerning Chornovil and Karavans'ky which appeared in a press attack on them¹¹⁸.

Proceeding then from these grievances, it is possible to establish the principal elements of the 'programme' of these persons, varying as it does from general recommendations to specific policy proposals, yet united essentially in some form of spirited defence of Ukrainian culture and nationality identity.

In perhaps its simplest and most direct form, we may find indications of their line of thought in Ozerny's claim that, 'I am far removed from Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism. I am equally far removed from pseudo-patriotism'¹¹⁹; and Osadchy's statement to the effect that, 'In spite of all blows and tribulations of fate, I will be led by, my guiding star will be, my desire to be of service to my people. This was written once by Ivan Franko, and I will repeat it to my last days'¹²⁰. More concretely, Moroz was reported to have declared, at his trial, 'that he is in no way a bourgeois nationalist, that he does not subscribe to any bourgeoisie or to nationalism; he merely wants Ukraine to have the same rights as her socialist sisters — Russia,

¹¹⁵) Chornovil's appeal to the Public Prosecutor of the Ukrainian S.S.R., *ibid.*, p. 66.

¹¹⁶) Letter from Kuznetsova, *ibid.*, p. 136.

¹¹⁷) Petition of the 139, *loc. cit.*, p. 38.

¹¹⁸) Petition of the 5, *loc. cit.*, pp. 66-7.

¹¹⁹) In Ozerny's letter to the Prosecutor of Ivano-Frankivsk region, in V. Chornovil, *The Chornovil Papers*, p. 153.

¹²⁰) In Osadchy's October 1966, letter from the prison camp, *ibid.*, pp. 156-7.

Poland, Czechoslovakia¹²¹ — this perhaps coming nearest to a call for some form of political independence (albeit it of a socialist character), although, according to Dzyuba on the idea of such independence, "The "nationalists" who are now under arrest were also far removed from it"¹²².

Zalyvakha came closest to directly identifying a viewpoint of the group as a whole when, speaking of himself and fellow camp inmates Moroz, Karavans'ky, M. Horyn', and Masyutko, he stated that, "We all believe that love of our fatherland is not a crime but the sacred obligation of a citizen"¹²³. As a personal viewpoint, Zalyvakha elsewhere declared, with reference to the Ukraine, that, "nations have the right to ensure their own way of development without detriment to others, on the basis of equality and not guardianship"¹²⁴, and that, "being a Ukrainian conscious of his national dignity is not a "harmful influence", but the duty of an honest man"¹²⁵.

Again, the most comprehensive proposals and programmes available are to be found in the writings of Karavans'ky and Dzyuba. The latter, under the general umbrella of a call for a return to the supposed standards of Lenin's nationality policy, specifically called for:

- (a) the correction of the actual inequality or lagging behind of the smaller nations in various spheres of material and spiritual life;
- (b) concessions from the larger nations to the smaller ones;
- (c) the inadmissibility of any one nation, language or culture being more highly privileged than others within the USSR;
- (d) observance of the sovereignty of the Republics and their protection from the encroachments of centralisers on no matter what specious grounds;
- (e) the maximum national — cultural development of all republics on the basis of national languages, cultures and traditions;
- (f) a resolute struggle against Russian Great-Power chauvinism as the main threat to communism and internationalism;
- (g) development of a communist self-awareness in all nations;
- (h) internationalist education in the spirit of brotherhood and mutual assistance¹²⁶.

This programme, clearly and admittedly based as it was on a Leninist model, and on communist principles, doubtless accounted for the comparatively light treatment dealt to Dzyuba by way of a response¹²⁷.

¹²¹ In Chornovil's appeal to the Public Prosecutor of the Ukrainian S.S.R., *ibid.*, p. 30.

¹²² I. Dzyuba, *Internationalism or Russification*, p. 56.

¹²³ In his letter from the camp to Svitlychny, in V. Chornovil, *The Chornovil Papers*, p. 127.

¹²⁴ In his declaration of 5 April, 1967, to the Supreme Court, *ibid.*, p. 129.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 130.

¹²⁶ I. Dzyuba, *Internationalism or Russification*, pp. 212-3.

¹²⁷ See below.

Karavans'ky, on the broadest level, somewhat similarly called for:

- (a) an exchange of ideas on the nationality question among the world communist parties;
- (b) the calling of an international conference of C.P.s to facilitate the exchange;
- (c) the working out, at the conference, of the practical principles of a Marxist-Leninist nationality policy to guide the parties in their work;
- (d) the condemnation of anti-Semitism, Ukrainophobia, national discrimination and other manifestations of bourgeois ideology which occur in the practice of individual socialist parties; and particularly investigation of the discrimination against Kuban' Ukrainians, deprived since 1937 of Ukrainian cultural and educational institutions;
- (e) study of the expediency of changing the ethnic composition of populations and mass transfers from native territories (clearly referring to Ukrainians, among others);
- (f) study of the permissibility, and condemnation, of unfounded repressions¹²⁸.

Further general proposals by Karavans'ky, in another appeal, included a number similarly directly relating to the Ukraine:

- (a) 'To repatriate the people of the Baltic region, Western Ukraine, Byelorussia, and Moldavia who were unjustly deported to Siberia'.
- (b) 'To release the women martyrs — Kateryna Zaryts'ka, Halyna Didyk, and Odarka Husyak' (three women imprisoned since the war for providing Red Cross aid to the OUN).
- (c) 'To examine the discriminatory attitude towards the Ukrainian population of the Kuban', Bilhorod, and Starodub areas and to apply measures to eliminate this attitude'.
- (d) 'To end all forms of educational discrimination against nationalities in Ukraine, Byelorussia, Moldavia, and other republics'.
- (e) 'To condemn the practice of deporting the inhabitants of the national republics to Siberia and of populating their lands with Russians'.
- (f) 'To revise the boundaries of the national republics for the purpose of establishing exact ethnographic boundaries'¹²⁹.

Related to point (d) above, on education, Karavans'ky had further specific proposals in his article 'About One Political Error', among which those directly pertaining to the Ukraine were:

- (a) an immediate revision of Article 9 of Khrushchev's education reform permitting parental choice of education in the republic's

¹²⁸ In Karavans'ky's appeal to Gomulka, in V. Chornovil, *The Chornovil Papers*, pp. 185-6.

¹²⁹ In his appeal to the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian S.S.R., *ibid.*, p. 206.

national language (which favoured Russian as a result of the advantages entailed in a knowledge of the latter);

- (b) transfer of higher and specialised secondary teaching to Ukrainian language;
- (c) establishment of a coordination committee between the Ukrainian Ministries of Education and Higher and Specialised Secondary Education to achieve 'normal' conditions for the training of graduates from Ukrainian secondary schools in higher education;
- (d) removal of chauvinistic teachers — presumably Russian as well as Ukrainian;
- (e) decisive measures to end discrimination against Ukrainian language and nationality;
- (f) selection of teachers for Ukrainian schools, who 'can instil love for the native tongue and culture';
- (g) cessation of the establishment of Russian classes leading to Russification of national schools;
- (h) special attention should be given in higher educational establishments to training of national teaching cadres¹³⁰.

It appears that similar educational viewpoints were shared by a group of Ukrainian intellectuals in Karaganda, Kazakhstan, including one Yu. Dolishny, who were reported to have been sentenced for their attempt to put theory into practice by opening a Ukrainian school for their children, as guaranteed by the constitution¹³¹.

The petitioners against the trials expressed no programme directly related to any form of Ukrainian nationalism, merely seeking rectification of the grievances already discussed.

Although there is at present no means of discovering the grievances and aims of those directly attacked in the Dnipropetrovsk case, and no certainty that the authors of the protest appeal were among them, the appeal itself does reveal something of the grievances felt by some intellectuals in that region in its sympathy with those condemned 'for any kind of care about the fate of the Ukrainian language and Ukrainian culture in the crazily Russified Dnipropetrovsk'¹³², and in the reference to 'the extremely abnormal, anti-Leninist and anti-Marxist state of our native Ukrainian language in Dnipropetrovsk'¹³³. The document also claims that, 'Ukrainian workers have become almost ignorant of their own Ukrainian language, their own culture, because they are forced all their lives to undergo grinding between

¹³⁰ In V. Chornovil, *The Chornovil Papers*, pp. 179-80.

¹³¹ In Karavans'ky's appeal of 10 May, 1966, to the Chairman of the Union of Journalists of Ukraine, *ibid.*, p. 210.

¹³² The open appeal of Young Creative Intellectuals, *loc. cit.*, p. 48.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

the reliable ... millstones of Russification'¹³⁴. Generally, the authors were opposed to those who attacked the supporters of Honchar's novel 'Sobor'¹³⁵, the culmination of what had apparently been a longer campaign against the supporters of Ukrainian culture and language. Thus, the programme of the authors, such as it was, may be construed as one of support for the views expressed by those attacked, a position asserted in this manner: 'A man with an ordinary and not a twisted sense would see in all this only a feeble birth of elementary concepts of national dignity, of national integrity, and not infrequently also of a feeling of national insult, and finally, of ordinary human dignity'¹³⁶. The persons involved were condemnatory of the attitude that the preservation of Ukrainian characteristics and even antiquities represent manifestations of bourgeois nationalism¹³⁷, and sought a response from the authorities to the question, 'Who gave them [so-called friends of the Ukraine i.e. Russian and the Russified] the right to trample on the national dignity of the Ukrainian people with their dirty Russificatory boot'¹³⁸, declaring that, 'We ... demand that they and all those who stage brutal Ukrainophobe campaigns ... be made to answer'¹³⁹.

Thus the Dnipropetrovsk case may be equated to a large extent with the 1965-6 events, with its essentially defensive character devoid of any aggressive chauvinism, and its apparently regime-supporting outlook at root. The attack was concentrated on specific failings of the regime and not on the regime itself as such.

The range of viewpoints of the nationalist manifestations thus has clearly been both broad and diverse in nature sharing in common a support for a Ukrainian identity and a branding by the authorities as bourgeois nationalism, in spite of the evident support by a number of Party members.

Methods

As has been indicated above, the methods utilised by the Ukrainian nationalists vary according to the type and intensity of the feeling and aspirations, but the available data reveals the use of at least the following techniques for putting forward their grievances and pressing them upon the authorities:

- (a) the formation of the various organisations themselves, to further the ends envisaged;

¹³⁴) *Ibid.*, p. 49.

¹³⁵) See Radio Liberty Research, "Ukrainian Novel Raises a Storm", *Research Paper USSR*, 1 July, 1968.

¹³⁶) The open appeal of Young Creative Intellectuals, *loc. cit.*, p. 50.

¹³⁷) *Ibid.*, p. 51.

¹³⁸) *Ibid.*, p. 52.

¹³⁹) *Ibid.*, p. 52.

- (b) the dissemination of their ideas through open appeals circulated as samizdat (such as Karavans'ky's 'About One Political Error'), through compilations of evidence on the grievances similarly distributed (including Dzyuba's 'Internationalism or Russification', and Chornovil's materials on the 1965-6 case), and even through published organs of their own. In this latter respect, the Ukrainian National Front (whose printing shop was purportedly discovered in an underground bunker in the Carpathians, along with a typewriter, paper, and carbon paper) was reported as having produced several score issues of its journal *Bat'kivshchyna i Svoboda* (Motherland and Freedom) in 1965-7 — containing theoretical articles by members, along with reprints from another journal *Ideya i Chyn* (Idea and Deed) and from preserved archives of the OUN — as well as a collection of artistic works entitled *Mesnyk* (The Avenger)¹⁴⁰;
- (c) demonstrations with a nationalist content, including those at trials¹⁴¹;
- (d) lobbying of the authorities, mainly at a local level in Kyiv¹⁴²;
- (e) petitioning, either of the central Moscow authorities or more locally in Kyiv (nevertheless including state leaders represented there — such as Shelest) by both participants in many of the manifestations and by protesters against the arrests of the participants, several instances of which have already been cited. The 1964 group of lawyers were in fact variously reported as having planned to lobby the Supreme Soviet in Moscow¹⁴³, the United Nations¹⁴⁴, and/or the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian S.S.R.¹⁴⁵. Even at least one of the organised secessionist groups, the Ukrainian National Front, did not refrain from drawing attention to itself by sending a memorandum to the 22nd Congress of the CPSU (containing an evaluation of the economic, social and political situation in the Ukraine, demanding independence, and calling for the reading of the memorandum at the Congress) and a similar document to Shelest¹⁴⁶.

¹⁴⁰ Samizdat document on the Ukrainian National Front, *loc. cit.*, pp. 9-11. A further source mentions another journal — *Zemlia i Volia* — but there is no other confirmation of this (see *ABN Correspondence*, Vol. XIX, No. 4, 1968, p. 46).

¹⁴¹ Chornovil, moreover, claimed that, 'Young people used every available means to demonstrate their solidarity with the accused. During the trials in Kyiv and Lviv there were spontaneous demonstrations of protest' (Chornovil's introduction to *The Misfortune of Intellect*, in *The Chornovil Papers*, p. 80).

¹⁴² E. g. Rusyn's wife (in the 1965-6 group) obtained an interview with Shelest in November 1965 concerning her husband — see Chornovil's appeal to the Public Prosecutor of the Ukrainian S.S.R., *ibid.*, p. 72.

¹⁴³ *The Ukrainian Review*, Vol. XII, No. 3, 1965, p. 17.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, and *ABN Correspondence*, Vol. XVI, No. 3, p. 43.

¹⁴⁵ *The Ukrainian Review*, Vol. XIV, No. 1, 1967, p. 13.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. XVI, No. 2, 1969, p. 11.

- (f) individual direct action, most probably including the suicides by Mykola Didyk (by self-immolation outside the KGB headquarters in Moscow in 1966)¹⁴⁷; Kresenkov (possibly a Ukrainian, who blew himself up with a hand-grenade near the Lenin mausoleum in Moscow in 1967)¹⁴⁷; Vasyl Ye. Makukh (previously imprisoned for OUN and UPA activities and latterly a teacher in Dnipropetrovsk oblast' — by self-immolation, in the Khreshchatyk, Kyiv, on Constitution Day, 5 December, 1968, reportedly shouting 'Long live free Ukraine')¹⁴⁷; and the attempted suicide by Mykola Beryslavsky (a former prison camp inmate — on 10 February, 1969, in Kyiv, by self-immolation, reportedly in protest against Russification)¹⁴⁸.

These varied methods, in their differing ways, have served to focus some of the attention of the authorities on Ukrainian problems and affairs, and it is through a continuation of such activities that they may be made aware of the feelings of at least some sections of the Ukrainian population.

Results

The direct results of all these activities have again been largely in the shape of a negative response, although this has not produced any appreciable diminution of the various efforts. For the most part, the negative response to the demands made has consisted of reprimands; reduction in status; dismissals from work, Komsomol or Party; or imprisonment; only in a few cases, already cited, going beyond this to the point of physical liquidation.

The OPVU was responded to with closed trials from 4-10 March, 1959, in which the seven members were given sentences ranging from 7-10 years under Article 54 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian S.S.R., while an eighth received 2 years for not denouncing his brother¹⁴⁹.

The URSS was similarly treated following the arrest of its members. All were sentenced — in Lviv after a five day closed trial in the KGB isolator prison — on 20 May, 1961, under Articles 56 and 64 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian S.S.R. (relating to illegal organisations), receiving the following sentences:

¹⁴⁷ See *Anglo-Ukrainian News*, No. 30, September, 1969, for a compilation of these first three cases, widely reported at the time in the Western press. On the Makukh case, see also *Khronika Tekushchikh Sobytyi*, Posev editions, No. 6, 28 February, 1969, p. 63, and No. 10, 30 October, 1969, p. 21.

¹⁴⁸ He was subsequently sentenced to 2 years, 6 months camp imprisonment. See on this case *Khronika Tekushchikh Sobytyi*, Posev eds., No. 8, 30 June, 1969, pp. 28-9 and 44 (which also claimed — p. 29 — that in March, 1969, in the course of an interrogation in Kyiv, V. Sirenko, formerly of the Dnipropetrovsk case, was called upon to sign a declaration condemning Berislavskiy, but refused — a curious link between the various cases) and No. 10, p. 21.

¹⁴⁹ Kandyba's appeal, *loc. cit.*

¹⁴⁹ Kandyba's appeal, *loc. cit.*

Table 10: Sentences imposed on members of URSS — May 1961

N a m e	S e n t e n c e	Articles of Ukrainian Criminal Code
Lukyanenko	Death and confiscation of property	56
	15 years concurrently	64
Kandyba	15 years with deprivation of civil rights and confiscation of property	56
	12 years concurrently	64
Virun	11 years with confiscation of property	56
	10 years	64
Lutskiv	10 years with confiscation of property	56
Libovych	10 years	56

Source: Kandyba's appeal, *loc. cit.*, and *Khronika Tekushchikh Sobytyi*, No. 11, Posev ed., p. 32.

In Lukyanenko's case, it was taken into consideration that he was working as an employee of the Party propaganda machine while playing his second role, although his death sentence was later commuted¹⁵⁰. Appeals by Kandyba and Lukyanenko were not successful¹⁵¹.

The UNK group was tried in Lviv, from 16-23 December, 1961, standing accused of creating and being members of an illegal organisation¹⁵², although the sentences are unknown.

Such apparently unmitigated lack of success nevertheless did not discourage others, notably the similarly oriented Ukrainian National Front, the members of which were arrested in 1967 and probably tried in late 1967 or 1968 in Ivano-Frankivsk, under Articles 56(1), 62 and 64 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian S.S.R.¹⁵³. All received six years hard labour and five years banishment except for Kraviv'skyi (12 years, with five years in closed prison), Diak (13 years, with 1 closed) and the leader, Kvetsko (15 years, with 5 closed)¹⁵⁴.

¹⁵⁰ See Lukyanenko's appeal to the Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian S.S.R., *loc. cit.*, in which he defended himself on the basis of constitutional rights. Details of the group members in the Dubravlag prison camps, in addition to those in Kandyba's appeal, are contained in Karavans'ky's appeal to the Presidium of the Union of Journalists of Ukraine, in V. Chornovil, *The Chornovil Papers*, p. 210 (also in *ABN Correspondence*, Vol. XIX, No. 3, 1968, p. 17). Kandyba, Lukyanenko and M. Horyn' later petitioned the United Nations on the grounds that the camp authorities were attempting to poison them — *The Sunday Telegraph*, 14 September, 1969.

¹⁵¹ Appeal, *loc. cit.*

¹⁵² *Ibid.*

¹⁵³ *ABN Correspondence*, Vol. XIX, No. 4, 1968, p. 46.

¹⁵⁴ Samizdat document, *loc. cit.* See also *Khronika Tekushchikh Sobytyi*, No. 11, Posev ed., p. 32.

As for the lawyers' plan, whatever its precise nature, it was, however, apparently betrayed, or, in some way, revealed to the KGB, and the lawyers were arrested. Their fate is unknown but some were reported (although unconfirmed) executed, some placed in mental institutions and the remainder in labour camps¹⁵⁵.

The intellectuals arrested in 1965 fared a little better, but did not escape lightly. The outcome of their activities was that Dzyuba appears to have been detained or questioned, but not arrested, in late 1965 (probably in September of that year)¹⁵⁶, and accused of having sent Symonenko's unpublished manuscripts (in which the poet made attacks on Soviet cultural policy) abroad for publication, where they could be used against the Soviet regime. He was subsequently reported to have been released under surveillance as he had contracted an incurable tuberculosis¹⁵⁷. He was moreover — having been dismissed from his former post in a publishing house¹⁵⁸ — given a minor appointment on the staff of the scientific magazine *Bio-khimichnyi Zhurnal*, presumably in an attempt to stem his demands for greater Ukrainian cultural independence¹⁵⁹.

Later, a satire appeared in the Soviet press ridiculing Dzyuba as a 'bourgeois nationalist' martyr, and connecting his views with those of emigré nationalist leader Yaroslav Stetsko¹⁶⁰. Dzyuba, however, published something of a reply in a Slovak Ukrainian newspaper¹⁶¹, in which he praised the 'universal achievements of Ukrainian thought and creative work, 'condemned' the slanderous allegations [of Perets] which are beyond all moral and judicial norms', and stated that, 'Elementary human contempt will not permit me to pay attention to it'.

Along with Dzyuba was arrested his friend, 'accomplice', and fellow critic, Prof. Ivan Svitlychny¹⁶², who had been denounced (whether voluntarily or not is unclear) by Symonenko's mother as having taken

¹⁵⁵) *The Ukrainian Review*, Vol. XIV, No. 1, 1967, pp. 13-14.

¹⁵⁶) See *The Ukrainian Review*, Vol. XIII, No. 4, 1966, p. 90 — which, it seems, incorrectly claimed that he was arrested however.

¹⁵⁷) *The Ukrainian Review*, Vol. XIII, No. 2, 1966, p. 70 and No. 4, 1966, p. 90 — later confirmed in the letter by Chornovil et al., to Perets, loc. cit.

¹⁵⁸) See the petition by Karavans'ky to Gomulka, in V. Chornovil, *The Chornovil Papers*, p. 183, and in *ABN Correspondence*, Vol. XIX, No. 3, 1968, p. 22.

¹⁵⁹) *East-West Digest*, London, Vol. 3, No. 3, 1967, p. 72.

¹⁶⁰) *Perets* (Pepper), Kyiv, No. 17, September, 1966.

¹⁶¹) *Nove Zhyttia*, Priashiv, No. 2 (990), 14 January, 1967. This article was referred to in the 24 February, 1967 letter from prison from A. Shevchuk to his brother, cited in V. Chornovil, *The Chornovil Papers*, p. 165.

¹⁶²) *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, Zurich, 2 April, 1966; *The Times*, and *The New York Times*, 7 April, 1967. The detentions and investigations were confirmed in an interview with officials of the Ukrainian Writers' Union, including the vice-Chairman, Yuriy Zbanatskyi — *The Daily Telegraph*, 22 April, 1966. See also *The New York Times*, 7 and 22 April, 1966; and O. Zinkevych, *Svitlychny and Dzyuba — Ukrainian Writers Under Fire*, Toronto, 1966.

the manuscripts¹⁶³. Svitlychny was variously reported as having been sentenced to seven years hard labour at a trial in Kyiv¹⁶⁴, and as having been released, without being formally charged, after almost nine months, although after he was said to have been accused of spreading subversive literature and having contact with anti-Soviet organisations¹⁶⁵. A further source however, claimed that Svitlychny had 'confessed to assisting western Ukrainian nationalist groups and arranging for the publication of anti-Soviet literature in European emigré journals. One of his literary colleagues said he had been released with a warning against continuing his anti-Soviet activities'¹⁶⁶. A still later source confirmed that Svitlychny spent eight months in prison¹⁶⁷, and it thus seems that he did escape with a warning¹⁶⁸.

About the same time as these events, and perhaps as early as July, 1965, the action spread to the broader 'group' of Ukrainian intellectuals in a move characterised by Karavans'ky as illustrating that, 'Representatives of the Ukrainian intelligentsia are accused of bourgeois nationalism systematically every five to ten years'¹⁶⁹. Chornovil claimed that scores of domiciles were searched (with documents being confiscated), hundreds questioned, many dismissed from jobs and subjected to administrative fines¹⁷⁰. Dzyuba too, claimed that, 'Dozens of people have been punished by dismissal from their jobs, by expulsion from establishments of higher education, by disciplinary action from the Party or the Communist Youth League for participation or involvement in some affairs or other arbitrarily and malevolently qualified as nationalism'¹⁷¹. Chornovil further admitted that there existed unverified data for actual arrests¹⁷², and, indeed, the precise number of those arrested is still unknown, but it has been somewhat tentatively suggested that as many as sixty intellectuals, students and cultural workers were detained, some of whom were released without trial¹⁷³. Probably nearer the truth, Karavans'ky

¹⁶³) *Radyans'ka Ukraïna*, and *Literaturna Ukraïna*, Kyiv, 15 April, 1965.

¹⁶⁴) *Münchener Merkur*, Munich, 3 April, 1966.

¹⁶⁵) *Le Monde*, Paris, 29 May, 1966.

¹⁶⁶) *The New York Times*, 2 June, 1966.

¹⁶⁷) See the appeal of Chornovil et al. to *Perets*, loc. cit., and his appeal to the Public Prosecutor of the Ukrainian S.S.R., loc. cit., p. 12.

¹⁶⁸) On a March, 1969 search of his house, see *Khronika Tekushchikh Sobytyi*, No. 7, 30 April, 1969, Posev ed., p. 19.

¹⁶⁹) In his petition to Gomulka, loc. cit., p. 184.

¹⁷⁰) In his appeal to the Public Prosecutor of the Ukrainian S.S.R., loc. cit., p. 53.

¹⁷¹) In his appeal to Shelest, in *Internationalism or Russification*, p. 6.

¹⁷²) In his appeal to the Public Prosecutor of the Ukrainian S.S.R., loc. cit., p. 53.

¹⁷³) *The Ukrainian Review*, Vol. XIII, No. 4, 1966, p. 90.

claimed twenty-eight¹⁷⁴, and Chornovil twenty-six¹⁷⁵, of whom twenty-one were subsequently convicted¹⁷⁶.

A number of closed trials ensued in the towns mentioned above, commencing in January, 1966, and terminating towards the end of April, with the final trial in Lviv¹⁷⁷. In spite of the apparent attempts at secrecy surrounding these cases, the arrests were actually confirmed by the Soviet Ukrainian poets, Ivan Drach and Dmytro Pavlychko, in New York while there as part of the Ukrainian delegation to the United Nations. Pavlychko declared that twenty-three persons had in fact been arrested on charge of anti-Soviet activity¹⁷⁸; while Drach stated that, 'This question is very painful for us and for me personally, because among those arrested were my friends'. Furthermore, he went on to say: 'The point is that among these people were persons who had earlier been connected with underground nationalist organisations which used to exist in the Ukraine; they had even been connected with the German Gestapo... They started to spread a blunt propaganda against our system, against our order; they spread, re-typed and sent out, as well as carried, all over the Ukraine, documents attacking the character of our system, its 'hostility to Ukrainian matters', the "Red fascism" dominant in our country...¹⁷⁹. While this statement may contain distortions, it is certainly revealing on the matter and nature of the officially perceived Ukrainian nationalist challenge; although Drach also declared his belief that it was not necessary to bring the accused to trial — a significant fact in view of his later participation in the early appeals and the protest petition of the 139.

The subsequent trials were also confirmed in a Kyiv Radio broadcast for emigré Ukrainians¹⁸⁰.

Details of the arrests and the trials are contained in the tables below:

¹⁷⁴) Appeal to Gomulka, *loc. cit.*, p. 103.

¹⁷⁵) In the letter to *Perets*, *loc. cit.*

¹⁷⁶) See Chornovil's appeal to the Public Prosecutor of the Ukrainian S.S.R., *loc. cit.*, pp. 52-3.

¹⁷⁷) *The Ukrainian Review*, Vol. XIII, No. 4, 1966, p. 90. For documentation on the trials see *The Chornovil Papers* and the more recent *Ukrains'ka Intelligentsiya pid sudom KGB* (for a review of which see Radio Free Europe, Ukrainian Intellectuals Tried by the KGB, *Research Paper USSR 0680*, 4 August, 1970).

¹⁷⁸) In reply to a question at a reception on 24 September, 1966 — see *The Ukrainian Review*, Vol. XIV, No. 1, 1967, p. 92.

¹⁷⁹) In an address to a gathering of the Overseas Press Club on 11 November, 1966 — see *Prolog*, New York, 18 November, 1966. See also *The Sunday Telegraph*, 8 January, 1967, and *ABN Correspondence*, Vol. XVIII, No. 5, 1967, p. 12.

¹⁸⁰) On 12 April, 1968 — see details in *ABN Correspondence*, Vol. XIX, No. 4, 1968, pp. 46-7; and *Anglo-Ukrainian News*, No. 26-7, Spring-Summer, 1968. The arrests were also referred to in Karavans'ky's appeals to the Polish and Czech Consuls and to Gomulka.

Talbe 11: Arrests and Trials of those specifically charged
with Nationalist Activities — 1965-6

N a m e	Date of Arrest	Date and Place of Trial	Sentence
Yaroslav Hevrych	End of Aug. 1965	Kyiv, 9-11 March, 1966 (closed trial)	5 years severe hard-labour camp
Oleksandr Martynenko	28 Aug., 1965	Kyiv, 25 March, 1966 (closed trial)	3 years severe hard-labour camp
Mykhaylo Masyutko	1 or 4 Sept. 1965	Lviv, 23 March, 1966 (closed trial)	6 years severe hard-labour camp
Yaroslava Menkush	?	Lviv, 25 March, 1966 (closed trial)	2½ years severe hard-labour camp
Mykhaylo Ozerny	End of Aug. 1965	Ivano-Frankivsk, 7 February, 1966	6 years severe hard-labour camp, reduced by Supreme Court to 3
Mefodiy Chubaty	End of Aug. 1965	Ternopil, 25 February 1966	Suspended 4 years sentence
Svyatoslav Karavans'ky	13 November 1965	No retrial	8 years and 7 months re- maining from previous 25 year sentence

Source: V. Chornovil, *The Chornovil Papers*, pp. 52-3, 98, 137, 140, 150, 153, 161-2 and 169.

After two open trials, the remainder were held in secret¹⁸², and even after the trials it was claimed that some were further charged with preparation and dissemination of anti-Soviet materials in the prison camps¹⁸³.

While Chornovil's documentation does not hide the fact that the arrested were in possession of nationalistic Ukrainian poetry and of works dealing with actions taken against Ukrainian culture, and while it appears that these intellectuals were concerned about the Russification of the Ukraine, it is abundantly clear that the evidence of criminal liability, even that they held subversive views or aimed at positive action to rectify the situation, was, to all intents and purposes, to be found lacking. To Chornovil himself, the now infamous Article 62 'completely negates the freedoms guaranteed to the citizens by the Constitution of the USSR¹⁸⁴, while its conscientious enforcement 'will make it possible to raise the population of the camps to Stalin's levels, or even to exceed them'¹⁸⁵.

¹⁸²) See Chornovil's appeal to the Public Prosecutor of the Ukrainian S.S.R., *loc. cit.*, pp. 30-1.

¹⁸³) E.g. M. Horyn' — see V. Chornovil, *The Chornovil Papers*, pp. 105 and 151.

¹⁸⁴) Appeal to the Public Prosecutor of the Ukrainian S.S.R., *loc. cit.*, p. 7.

¹⁸⁵) *Ibid.*, p. 8.

Table 12: Arrests and Trials of the other Intellectuals — 1965-6

Name	Date of Arrest	Date and Place of Trial	Sentence
Ivan Hel'	24 Aug. 1965	Lviv, 25 March, 1966 (closed trial)	3 years severe hard-labour camp
Ihor Hereta	27 Aug. 1965	Ternopil, 26 February, 1966	Suspended 5 year imprisonment
Bohdan Horyn'	26 Aug. 1965	Lviv, 13 April, 1966, (closed trial)	4 years severe hard-labour camp
Mykhaylo Horyn'	26 Aug. 1965	Lviv, 18 April, 1966, (closed trial)	6 years severe hard-labour camp
Mykola Hryn'	End of Aug. 1965	Kyiv, March, 1966, (closed trial)	3 years severe hard-labour camp
Panas Zalyvakha	End of Aug. 1965	Ivano-Frankivsk, March, 1966, (closed trial)	5 years severe hard-labour camp
Myroslava Zvarychevs'ka	24 Aug. 1965	Lviv, 18 April, 1966, (closed trial)	8 months imprisonment
Dmytro Ivashchenko	End of Aug. 1965	Lutsk, January, 1966	2 years severe hard-labour camp
Yevheniya Kuznetsova	25 Aug. 1965	Kyiv, 25 March, 1966, (closed trial)	4 years severe hard-labour camp
Valentyn Moroz	End of Aug. 1965	Lutsk, end of Jan., 1966	5 years severe hard-labour camp ¹⁸¹
Mykhaylo Osadchy	28 Aug. 1965	Lviv, 18 April, 1966, (closed trial)	2 years severe hard-labour camp
Ivan Rusyn	28 Aug. 1965	Kyiv, 25 March, 1966, (closed trial)	1 year severe hard-labour camp
Anatoliy Shevchuk	23 May 1966	Zhytomyr, 7 Sept., 1966	5 years severe hard-labour camp
Ivan Svitlychny	September 1965	—	Served 8 months in detention

Ivanyshyn	} in prison after 5 months all released	Perediyenko	} All released after detention for several days
Baturyn		O. Vorbut	
Kosiv		O. Horyn'	
Sadovs'ka			
Morhun			

Sources: V. Chornovil, *The Chornovil Papers*, pp. 12, 52-3, 100, 102, 103, 105, 117, 118, 131, 133, 50-1, 154, and 161-3; and *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 2 April, 1966.

¹⁸¹ Following his release from Vladimir prison in September, 1969 (*Khronika Tekushchikh Sobytyi*, No. 10, Posev ed. p. 22), Moroz was again arrested on 1 June, 1970 (*ibid.*, No. 14), presumably in connection with a samizdat document authored by him in January 1970 on the Hutsul minority entitled 'A Chronicle of Resistance' (for details see A. Boiter, *The Hutsuls: Tribulations of National Culture in the USSR*, *Radio Liberty Research Paper* CRD 370/70, Munich, 22 October, 1970).

Numerous appeals from the convicted were subsequently sent from the prison camps, adding substantially to the documentation on the case¹⁸⁶.

As a result of his actions, prosecutor Antonenko and judge Rudyk decided to call Chornovil to judicial responsibility under Article 179 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian S.S.R. (refusal to testify), changing that decision on 19 April to one of calling Chornovil to responsibility under Article 62, as was the case with those already on trial¹⁸⁷. However, in May 1966, the Supreme Court of the Ukrainian S.S.R. annulled this decision of the Lviv regional court as being unfounded¹⁸⁸. It was at this stage that Chornovil wrote a second appeal in which he addressed Shelest as 'a Soviet citizen another Soviet citizen, as a Ukrainian another Ukrainian'¹⁸⁹. The letter contained a forceful condemnation of illegalities practised in the Ukraine and its courts, quite contrary to constitutional legality, from which he quoted extensively, in such terms as the following: 'I could not but take up my pen when I myself experienced how the lieutenants and captains of the KGB, the judges, and the prosecutors understand legality. When I made notes of the court proceedings, I had only one goal in view: to prevent a repetition (under different labels) of the terror of the thirties, which bled the Ukrainian people white and reduced Ukrainian Soviet Statehood to a fiction'¹⁹⁰.

These were formidable charges to come from an ex-Komsomol official. However, as a consequence of this and the other activities, Chornovil was in turn arrested on 5 August, 1967, after a search of his home by the KGB two days previously.

He was tried in the following November, and sentenced to three years hard labour in a strict regime camp in Mordovia¹⁹¹, although the precise reason for this is somewhat unclear (the Soviet press having maintained a complete silence on the matter), save that it was on grounds of anti-Soviet activity, and for the circulation of his

¹⁸⁶) A number have already been referred to — see also in V. Chornovil, *The Chornovil Papers*.

¹⁸⁷) See Chornovil's appeal to the Public Prosecutor of the Ukrainian S.S.R., *loc. cit.*, pp. 8-9.

¹⁸⁸) *The Ukrainian Review*, Vol. XV, No. 1, 1968, p. 3.

¹⁸⁹) *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁰) See text in V. Chornovil, *The Chornovil Papers*, pp. 74-5.

¹⁹¹) *Anglo-Ukrainian News*, No. 24-5, Autumn-Winter, 1967. See also *The Ukrainian Review*, Vol. XV, No. 1, 1968, pp. 3-4; *Anglo-Ukrainian News*, No. 26-7, Spring-Summer, 1968; and, on the trial, the November 1967 petition to the First Secretary of the CP of Ukraine from four Ukrainians, in *The Ukrainian Review*, Vol. XVI, No. 1, 1969, pp. 43-5. For Chornovil's final plea, see *The Ukrainian Review*, Vol. XV, No. 3, 1968, pp. 43-8. For Chornovil's appeal from the prison camp, see *ibid.*, Vol. XVI, No. 1, 1969, pp. 46-8; and on his prison hunger-strike see *Khronika Tekushchikh Sobytyi*, No. 5, 25 December, 1968, Posev edition, p. 53.

manuscript¹⁹². It was subsequently learned that his sentence had been reduced to eighteen months¹⁹³.

Of the petitioners against these trials, L. Kostenko and M. Kotsiubynska were reported to have been arrested, and Dzyuba to have been placed under house arrest¹⁹⁴, while others were also acted against in various ways¹⁹⁵.

The Dnipropetrovsk individuals were subjected to similar counter measures, but few are reported to have suffered arrest — a move possibly influenced in some small measure by unfavourable publicity in the West provoked by the earlier trials. The nature of these measures is summarised in Table 13 below:

Table 13: *Response to the Dnipropetrovsk Intellectuals*

<i>N a m e</i>	<i>R e s p o n s e</i>	<i>R e a s o n</i>
S. Yu. Shyinin M. T. Skoryk V. Zarembo	Dismissed from job ¹⁹⁶ Expelled from Party Expelled from Kom- somol & dismissed from job	Favourable review of Sobor Criticism of critique of Sobor
I. P. Opanasenko R. Stepanenko	Dismissed from job Expelled from Party & dismissed from job	Criticised critic of Sobor No explanation
H. Prokopenko	Severe Party reprimand	Produced a presumably unsanctioned play Called for reply to critics of Sobor and philosopher I Moroz ¹⁹⁷
S. Levenets' I. Sokul's'kyi	Dismissed from job Dismissed from Univ. course & job. Arrested in June, 1969	? ? Later attacked for Ukrain- ian bourgeois nationalism
M. Dunin (or B. Dubinin)	Severe reprimand	Published favourable response on Sobor from 2 workers, D. Semeniak and B. Uniyat
V. Sirenko	Dismissed from job	? Actions against him followed commencement of his writing in Ukrainian

¹⁹² *The Observer*, 11 February, 1968.

¹⁹³ *The Times*, 7 February, 1968. On his release from Lviv prison on 3rd February, 1969, see *Anglo-Ukrainian News*, No. 30, September, 1969; and *Khronika Tekushchikh Sobytyi*, No. 7, 30 April, 1969, Posev edition, p. 9. He subsequently signed the 'Action Group for the Defence of Human Rights in the USSR' petitions to the United Nations.

¹⁹⁴ *ABN Correspondence*, Vol. XIX, No. 5, 1968, p. 48. For later actions taken against Dzyuba, see *Kyiv Radio* broadcasts for abroad condemning his book, 2, 6, 9, 13, 16 and 20 September, 1969; *Radio Free Europe*, The Case of Ivan Dzyuba, *Research Paper USSR 0441*, 16 January, 1970; and *Khronika Tekushchikh Sobytyi*, No. 11, Posev edition, p. 50.

¹⁹⁵ See *Khronika Tekushchikh Sobytyi*, Posev edition, No. 5, pp. 49-50; No. 7, p. 19; and No. 8, 30 June, 1969, p. 37.

¹⁹⁶ *Khronika Tekushchikh Sobytyi*, No. 7, Posev ed., p. 16 claims he was also expelled from the Party.

¹⁹⁷ Conceivably P. Ya. Moroz — which would thus provide a link with the 1965-6 case.

V. Karapysh	Party reprimand	?
M. Chkhan	Condemned at Writers' Union meetings for Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism. Chemerys dismissed from work	
V. Korzh		
V. Chemerys		
<i>Later:</i>		
H. & O. Zavhorodnii		
O. Ovcharenko		
V. Semenenko		
P. Vakarenko	Punished for Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism	
M. Romanushko		
O. Vodolazhchenko		
M. Malovyn et al.	Arrested in Autumn, 1969	
Kulchytskyi		

Sources: Appeal of the Young Creative Intellectuals, *loc. cit.*; *Khronika Tekushchikh Sobytiy*, Posev editions, Nos. 7, pp. 16-17; 8, p. 41; 10, p. 21 and 11, p. 51; and *Anglo-Ukrainian News*, No. 32, May 1970.

Additionally, it has been reported that on 31 May, 1968, eight of the nine secretaries of the Writers' Union of Ukraine (including Honchar) were summoned to a meeting with Shelest, where they received a warning about their activities¹⁹⁸.

On a more positive plane, however, these various manifestations have caused considerable attention to be drawn to the problem of Russification, both within the Soviet Union and abroad, thereby adding some impetus to the demands.

Moreover, Dzyuba's book contributed further to the cause, by condemning the Russification policy on the basis of detailed documentation and argumentation supported by Soviet law¹⁹⁹. It was in fact reported that the essay was circulated among oblast' secretaries within the party requesting their comments²⁰⁰, although whether any action has been taken on its recommendations is not yet clear.

Karavans'ky himself claimed to have achieved some success with his appeal to the Prosecutor calling for the indictment of the Minister of Higher and Specialised Secondary Education²⁰¹ — an appeal apparently forwarded to the Minister. The latter thereupon, in 1965, substantiated the petition by implementing measures to remove the discriminatory rules of admission to schools of higher education and to Ukrainian secondary specialised training institutions, particularly

¹⁹⁸ *The Sunday Telegraph*, 25 August, 1968.

¹⁹⁹ I. Dzyuba, *Internationalism or Russification*; publication commenced previously in *Suchasnist'*, No. 1, 1968.

²⁰⁰ Introduction to I. Dzyuba, *Internationalism or Russification*, p. xvi.

²⁰¹ See Karavans'ky's petition to Gomulka in V. Chornovil, *The Chornovil Papers*, p. 182 and his appeal to the College of Advocates in Odessa region, *ibid.*, p. 188.

the provision of the opportunity to write the entrance examinations in Ukrainian. A conference, on 16 August, 1965, of rectors was also claimed by Karavans'ky to have considered the question of the transfer of most Ukrainian higher education institutes to instruction in Ukrainian²⁰². Karavans'ky thus claimed of his appeal that, 'since it helped to disclose shortcomings, it should be regarded as beneficial to the cause of communism'²⁰³.

Again, the developments caused some unrest and protest at the trials — perhaps all that can reasonably be expected of them — while the mass imprisonment in the Mordovian camps of Ukrainians, either nationalist or otherwise, would seem to have contributed in some measure to the spread of nationalist ideas of one type or another, or at least to the cementation of existing views²⁰⁴. Indeed, both M. Horyn' and M. Masyutko have been reported as having been placed in solitary confinement in Camp 11 at Yavas, purportedly for writing and distributing some kind of anti-Soviet literature and speeches while in the camp²⁰⁵. It is through such means that the unrest is able to spread, whatever its total extent.

Finally, one may conclude that while the various nationalist participants thus far have been largely unsuccessful in achieving the satisfaction of almost all their basic demands, the prospects for the immediate future appear, on the whole, equally unpromising. This, however, is unlikely, any more than previous repressions, to diminish the insistence with which nationalistically oriented aspirations have been demanded of the Soviet government²⁰⁶.

²⁰²) *Ibid.*, p. 188.

²⁰³) *Ibid.*, p. 182.

²⁰⁴) See the letter from Imprisoned Ukrainians, *loc. cit.*

²⁰⁵) See the Ukrainian Information Service, London, bulletin of 27 February, 1968, and V. Chornovil, *The Chornovil Papers*, pp. 105 and 151. Karavans'ky was similarly charged in Autumn 1969 — see *Khronika*, No. 11, p. 33. On his extended sentence see *The Times*, 28 April, 1970.

²⁰⁶) Indeed, a new trial of about ten people in Ternopil in September, 1969 on charges of distributing samizdat literature on the national question was reported in *Khronika*, No. 10, p. 21.

In English translation

REVOLUTIONARY VOICES

UKRAINIAN POLITICAL PRISONERS CONDEMN RUSSIAN COLONIALISM

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

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

Illustrations, 156 p. Price: \$1.50; £0.60 in Britain.

A book packed with hard facts and revealing disturbing secrets hidden behind the façade of the USSR

RUSSIAN OPPRESSION IN UKRAINE

Reports and Documents.

This voluminous book of 576 pages + 24 pages full of illustrations contains articles, reports and eye-witness accounts drawing aside the curtain on the appalling misdeeds of the Bolshevik Russian oppressors of the Ukrainian Nation.

Published by Ukrainian Publishers Ltd.,

200, Liverpool Road,

London, N.1.

Price: £ 1.80 net (in USA and Canada \$ 8.00)

LENIN

Creator of Russian Soviet Totalitarian State
Statement of Facts on Centenary of Russian
Dictator's Birth.

Published by World Congress of Free Ukrainians,
New York, April, 1970. 8 pp., 1/-

THE REAL FACE OF RUSSIA

**267 Pages of Essays and Articles by well-known
authorities on East European problems**

**PROBLEMS OF RUSSIAN COMMUNISM ASSESSED FROM
A COMPLETELY NEW PERSPECTIVE**

The book contains the following contributions:

THE SPIRIT OF RUSSIA — by *Dr. Dmytro Donzow*

ON THE PROBLEM OF BOLSHEVISM — by *Evhen Malaniuk*

THE RUSSIAN HISTORICAL ROOTS OF BOLSHEVISM —

by *Professor Yuriy Boyko*

THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM —

by *Dr. Baymirza Hayit*

BOLSHEVISM AND INTERNATIONALISM — by *Olexander Yourchenko*

THE "SCIENTIFIC" CHARACTER OF DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM —

by *U. Kuzhil*

THE HISTORICAL NECESSITY OF THE DISSOLUTION OF THE
RUSSIAN EMPIRE — by *Prince Niko Nakashidze*

UKRAINIAN LIBERATION STRUGGLE — by *Professor Lev Shankowsky*

THE ROAD TO FREEDOM AND THE END OF FEAR —

by *Jaroslav Stetzko*

TWO KINDS OF CULTURAL REVOLUTION — by *Jaroslav Stetzko*

Price: £1.25 cloth-bound, £0.90 paperback.

Order from: *Ukrainian Information Service,*
200 Liverpool Rd., London, N.1. Great Britain

