



USSR

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S E N T E N C E D

*On November 18, 1970, to Nine Years of
Imprisonment and Five Years of Exile.*

Upon his release on September 1, 1969, Moroz was unable to secure employment because of his "criminal record." He lived in Lviv and Ivano-Frankivsk with his son and wife, who was fired from her job because of Moroz's record. In spite of all the obstacles placed before him by the Soviet authorities, Valentyn Moroz continued to take an active part in the life of the Ukrainian community. During the first nine months after his release Moroz wrote three more essays: *A Chronicle of Resistance, Amidst the Snows, Moses and Dathan*. In these works he exposed the systematic Russification of Ukraine and described the Ukrainian cultural revival.

SENTENCED AGAIN IN 1970

On June 1, 1970, Moroz was again arrested by the KGB. News of his arrest spread very quickly across the Soviet Ukraine. Numerous resolutions of protest and letters in defense of Moroz were sent to various authorities of the Ukrainian SSR by writers, students, workers and peasants. These protests stated that the writings and beliefs of Valentyn Moroz were in no way "anti-Soviet"; that Moroz had merely defended human and national rights guaranteed by the Soviet Constitution but violated by the Soviet authorities themselves.

Disregarding all these protests, the Soviet authorities started court proceedings against Valentyn Moroz in the city of Ivano-Frankivsk on November 17, 1970. Because the trial was a closed one, therefore illegal, the defendant and witnesses refused to testify. Nevertheless, on November 18, 1970, Valentyn Moroz was sentenced to nine years imprisonment and five years of exile from Ukraine on charges of "anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation."

GRAVELY WOUNDED IN 1972

In November, 1972 *Amnesty International* ("Amnesty International Newsletter", Vol.II, No.II, London) reported that Moroz had been gravely wounded led by some criminal inmates of Vladimir Prison in the Russian SFSR where he had been incarcerated since the fall of 1970. At the beginning of October 1972 the seriously wounded Moroz was transported to a prison hospital in Kiev, Ukraine.

BELIEFS

OF VALENTYN MOROZ

Since 1965 the Ukrainian historian Valentyn Moroz has twice been arrested and imprisoned by the Soviet authorities on charges of "anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation." When one reads Moroz's works, however, it becomes evident that these charges have no substantiation. Valentyn Moroz does not advocate the destruction of the Soviet state or its social and economic systems; he simply asks the governments of the Soviet Union and the Ukrainian SSR to live up to their own constitutions and to the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the United Nations General Assembly.

The Soviet Constitution guarantees freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and freedom of assembly and meetings. As Moroz points out in his essays, however, these "human rights" are being violated or deliberately circumvented by the Soviet authorities. Moroz wants these rights to exist in reality, not merely on paper. He seeks to bring legality into the lives of Soviet citizens, thereby preventing a possible return to Stalinist practices and illegality. Can one call Moroz's humanistic beliefs and his legalistic approach "anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation"? Categorically no!

The Soviet Union and the Ukrainian SSR are both signatories of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Article 15 of this Declaration states:

- (1) *Everyone has the right to a nationality.*
- (2) *No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality.*

However, the Soviet government does not implement these human rights in the USSR. In practice, these rights are constantly violated. In the Ukrainian SSR, for example, the Soviet authorities are carrying out a policy of forcible Russification and destruction of Ukrainian culture. It is also against these practices of cultural genocide that Valentyn Moroz raises his voice.

SOCIETY OF ROBOTS

During his first imprisonment, from 1966 to 1969, Moroz wrote *A Report from the Beria Preserve*. The Report, a powerful indictment of police terror and the return to Stalinist practices, was smuggled out of the camp and distributed to deputies of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR. Moroz exposed the Soviet totalitarian system to be a society of robots governed by terror. He wrote:

The level of civilization of a society is determined by the extent to which this society is concerned with the well-being of its citizens. An accident in a Belgian coal mine killed a number of Italian emigrants. Italy erupted in protest, official notes, questions in parliament. Ukraine also has a parliament -- the Supreme

Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR. I do not know whether there are members there who remember their right to question the government. I do not know whether these people remember any other rights of deputies except the one which allows them to raise their hand during a vote. But I do know that according to the Constitution, the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR is the highest power in Ukraine. It has given the right to one of its subordinate institutions -- the KGB -- to arrest, put on trial, and decide the future fate of people accused of "anti-Soviet activities."

Further on in his Report from the Beria Preserve Valentyn Moroz wrote:

...People convicted for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" are people who think differently, or who think at all and whose spiritual world cannot fit into the Procrustean bed of Stalinist standards which the KGB defends so assiduously. They are men who dared to claim the rights proclaimed in the Constitution and who raised their voices against the shameful oppression by the KGB and against the violations of the Constitution. They are men who do not want to accept the two-sided wisdom of slavery which directs that the phrase in the Constitution, 'Ukraine's right to secede from the USSR,' be read as 'Keep quiet while you're still alive.'

UNLIMITED LAWLESSNESS

In this same essay the political prisoner Valentyn Moroz pointed out other illegalities existing in the Soviet Union today. He cites this example:

Articles 125-126 of the constitution of the USSR proclaim freedom of speech, press, manifestations and organizations. Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights ... proclaims the 'freedom to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.' Therefore, Article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR is nothing other than a violation of the above-mentioned documents, a left-over from Stalin's rule. The formulation of 'agitation or propaganda conducted with the aim to undermine or weaken the Soviet regime' on the condition that the KGB determines the degree of the 'undermining' nature of the materials, serves to allow an unlimited lawlessness.

AGAINST COMPUTERIZED MEN

According to Moroz, despotism begins when man stops thinking of compulsion from above as evil and begins to explain it as a normal state of affairs. He says that an empire of robots was built on the ruins of individuality. With the leveling of individuality by means of terror, Stalin created a society of computerized men. These processes, however, could not completely void the spiritual nature of man. They could not monopolize his reason, honor and conscience permanently. There emerged the new, present generation which realized that despotism is the beginning of the spiritual voiding of man.

This generation, of which Moroz is an integral part, believes in change--change which will take the Soviet society away from Stalinist principles and practices. But change does not come easily. Valentyn Moroz wrote:

In society there always have been and there always will be forces to whom progress is undesirable, for whom the maintenance of the status quo is the maintenance of their privileges. (A typical example: Stalin in the past and the Stalinist who survived him). therefore all standardizers... repeat the same thesis on various levels: 'Change destroys order; it destroys society.' ...But the whole point is in the fact that change does not destroy society at all. It destroys only those social norms which have become obsolete and thus a hindrance....Evolution is not the denial of tradition; it is its natural continuation, the life sap which prevents it from petrifying....When a man holds different opinions, he does not destroy the social norm; on the contrary, he enriches it....Uniformity is not at all essential for achieving unity. This is the point on which it is quite easy to trip up any despot at the reckoning when he tries to put an equals sign between unity and uniformity.

FOR HUMAN AND NATIONAL RIGHTS

Valentyn Moroz states that the present Soviet regime does put an equals sign between unity and uniformity and imprisons all those who do not want to be a part of the "Empire of Cogs." He writes that those who are being arrested are punished for their defense of individual human rights and for their defense of the rights of the Ukrainian nation.

In A Report from the Beria Preserve Valentyn Moroz described many instances of forcible Russification in Ukraine. He pointed out that in its Russification program, the regime's attitude toward Ukrainian culture follows a Stalinist directive: "Stifle whatever you can, and what you cannot stifle--falsify." Moroz also wrote, "Everything was done to insure that a young Ukrainian could find spiritual nourishment only in the Russian culture and thus would become Russified."

Moroz, however, believes that the new terror unleashed by the KGB will not succeed in achieving its goal of complete uniformity. He states this clearly in his Report from the Beria Preserve:

The present events in Ukraine are a turning point. The glacier of terror which had firmly bound the spiritual life of the nation for many years is breaking up. As always they put people behind bars and as always deport them to the East. But this time these people did not sink into obscurity. To the great surprise of the KGB, for the first time in the last decade public opinion has risen in Ukraine; for the first time the journalist Chornovil refused to give evidence at an illegal secret trial; and for the

first time the KGB felt powerless to stifle all this.

Valentyn Moroz concluded his Report which was distributed to deputies of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR with these words:

A crime is a crime and it is inevitably followed by retribution. For those who were shot and those who were killed by hunger, responsibility will have to be taken according to the Constitution which will someday become the law of the land...Deceit has short legs--this has been known for a long time. But that is only half the truth. Let no one forget: Truth has long arms!

FOR PRESERVATION OF CULTURAL HERITAGE

After his release from the political prisoners' camps in September 1969, Valentyn Moroz continued to write in defense of individual human rights and in defense of the rights of the Ukrainian nation. During his nine months of relative freedom (before he was again arrested by the KGB on June 1, 1970) he wrote three more essays: *A Chronicle of Resistance, Amidst the Snows* and *Moses and Dathan*.

In *A Chronicle of Resistance*, Moroz described how the destruction of Ukrainian cultural and religious symbols is deliberately plotted and carried out for political reasons by the Soviet authorities. By the destruction of the Ukrainian cultural heritage the Soviet regime is attempting to expedite the assimilation of Ukrainians into the Russian culture. To illustrate, Moroz cites the experience of the people of a Carpathian village, Kosmach. In 1963 the ancient *iconostasis* (the elaborate "wall of pictures" separating the altar from the worshippers) from the 18th century church of Kosmach was "borrowed" for use in making the movie, "Shadows of Forgotten Ancestors." The people of Kosmach were promised, in writing, the return of their *iconostasis*; but when they demanded that the promise be kept, the Soviet authorities refused. Most of the *iconostasis* wound up in the private collection of the director of the film. Thus the villagers of Kosmach had lost their *iconostasis*, which was their link to the traditions of their ancestors --a link to ancient Ukrainian culture.

In *A Chronicle of Resistance* Moroz gave other instances of the destruction of Ukrainian cultural heritage by Soviet authorities. He tells, for example, how in 1969 the works of Ukrainian artists Mykhaylo Boychuk, Alexander Archipenko and Yuriy Narbut were burned under the orders of Vasyl Lyubchuk, a Soviet official who was in charge of cultural monuments and libraries in the city of Lviv. At the same time Lyubchuk ordered the burning of the century-old Ukrainian graphics in the Lviv Museum.

After describing these atrocities, Moroz wrote:

This was followed by the burning of libraries in

Kiev, Tartu, Ashkhabat, Samarkand, but not one in Russia...They say it was all an accident and a coincidence.

Moroz cites still another example of the destruction of elements of Ukrainian cultural heritage:

In November 1969 three unknown persons wearing police uniforms entered the Uspenska Church in Lviv, carried out some very old books and burned them in the church yard. Again burning, and again of Ukrainian treasures.

Moroz claims that the destruction of cultural relics is not the only method used by the Soviet authorities to destroy the ties of the Ukrainian people to their ancient culture. He describes another means:

Lately there has been an attempt to 'create' new traditions...The 'creation' of traditions is just as ridiculous as promotion of 'cultural' revolution...Culture represents centuries old maturation which is impossible to speed up... You cannot create traditions. They are created by themselves through the centuries. You can call everyone to a clubhouse and announce some idiotic holiday of Pig Tenders or Milkmaids, instead of Easter, but it will never become a holiday.

AGAINST POLICY OF RUSSIFICATION

Still another method to speed up the assimilation of all the peoples of the Soviet Union into the Russian culture. Moroz writes:

The historians are puzzled to this day at the fantastic speed with which the Romans romanized their subjugated nations. The secret of the Roman method was intermixing. When a Gaul, an Egyptian and a Syrian were brought together they were compelled to talk in Latin. The son of an Iberian and a Frank, who was born in Sicily became a Roman just as the son of a Byelorussian and Chuvash who is born in the virgin lands (Kazakhstan) becomes a Russian. Furthermore, a German, a Ukrainian, and a Kazakh who are together in a frontier collective farm must speak Russian with each other.

Thus in his *A Chronicle of Resistance* Valentyn Moroz appeared as a vehement critic of the Kremlin's policy of Russification.

In another polemical essay, *Moses and Dathan*, also written by him during the nine months between his two periods of imprisonment, Moroz again concerned himself with the theme of Russification and with the loss of one's own national consciousness. This theme of national consciousness was developed even further by Moroz in his third essay, *Amidst the Snows*. The author directed this essay at prominent Ukrainians who had given in to official pressure. By submitting, states Moroz, these Ukrainians have taken away from the Ukrainian nation that which it

needed the most--some of its own "apostles."

Apostles! Apostles are needed for the present Ukraine and not satiated time-servers--'realists' with their arguments! Not one spiritual upheaval has taken place without apostles. The present Ukrainian renaissance is also impossible without them.

Moroz states that only "apostles", who are not afraid of arrests and prisons, can become an example to the rest of the Ukrainian nation. Only they can show the people how to defend their nation, culture and language against the KGB by using legal means and how to resist the Russification policies of the Soviet authorities.

FAITH AND DETERMINATION

It may be said that Valentyn Moroz himself became one of these "apostles." In June 1970 he was again arrested for his writings and sentenced to nine years imprisonment and five years of exile from Ukraine. Moroz anticipated the outcome of the trial. Instead of taking a stand in his own defense at this illegal closed trial, he distributed a written statement to the tribunal at the beginning of the trial. Copies of this statement were smuggled to his friends. The following is an excerpt from his statement:

...Since 1965 you have imprisoned several dozen persons. WHAT HAVE YOU ACHIEVED?...Instead of intimidating people, you have aroused their interest. You wanted to extinguish the fire, but you have only added fuel to its flames. Nothing could have revitalized the Ukrainian community life as effectively as your repressions. Nothing could have drawn as much public attention to the Ukrainian reawakening as did your trials. In fact, it was precisely these trials that demonstrated to the public that Ukrainian community life had been revived. You wanted to hide people in the forests of Mordovia. Instead you placed them on a stage for the whole world to see. It was precisely your persecutions that gave birth to the majority of the revival's activists...You introduced into this post-Stalinist stage of the Ukrainian renaissance that without which it was still immature and incomplete: you introduced the element of sacrifice...Faith and determination are born where there are martyrs and YOU have given them to us!

INSTEAD OF A LAST PLEA

/ Excerpts /

So Moroz will once again relish the taste of prison cabbage!WHAT WILL YOU GAIN? Only a submissive Moroz would prove useful to you, for by "confessing" he would repudiate himself - that would indeed deal a blow to the movement. But for a Moroz of that breed you would have to wait forever. By imprisoning me, you assume that you will create a vacuum within the movement - but this would at best merely demonstrate your vacuous judgement. You must realize once and for all that there will never again be a vacuum. The movement has acquired the potential to produce new leaders to replace these removed by you. It is equally inconceivable to expect that the significant Ukrainian re-awakening of the sixties will ebb in the seventies.

I shall be tried behind closed doors; but your secret trial will "boomerang" regardless of whether I am heard, or whether I remain silent, isolated from the world in a cell of Vladimir prison. There is a silence more deafening than thunder and it cannot be muffled, even should you destroy me. Liquidation is an easy answer, but have you ever considered the truth that the dead often count more than living? The dead become a symbol - they are the substance that nourishes the will and strenght of noble men.

You stubbornly insist that all those you imprisoned are dangerous criminals. You close your eyes while pretending there are no problems. You can afford to continue this absurd policy for, let us say, ten years. And then WHAT???

There is only one alternative: abandon your obsolete policies of repression and accept the developments that have permanently and irreversibly entrenched themselves in our society. This is the reality of the situation.

There will be a trial...Very well, we will fight. We need someone, especially now, to provide an example of courage and determination. To rot behind bars is not easy. Yet to have no respect for oneself, is even more difficult! And so we will fight!

Fresh fuel will be poured onto the fire - the very same fire you are trying to extinguish!

Even this statement is subversive. But do not blame me for this "crime". I was not the one to imprison Moroz. It was not I who threw the boomerang...

Ivano-Frankivsk, 1970

VALENTYN MOROZ

HOW CAN YOU HELP VALENTYN MOROZ ?

Express your concern about Valentyn Moroz, sentenced to fourteen years imprisonment by:

- Writing a letter to the Secretary General of the United Nation, Hon. Kurt Waldheim (United Nations, New York, N.Y., 10017, U S A);

- Writing letters to the President, Prime Minister, Congressmen, Senators or members of Parliament in your country, asking them to take a public stand in defense of Valentyn Moroz;

- Writing letters to the Government of the USSR (Mr. A. Kosygin, Chairman, Council of Ministers, Kremlin, Moscow, USSR), to the Government of the Ukrainian SSR (Mr. O.Lashko, Chairman, Council of Ministers, Ul.Ordzonikidze No. II, Kiev, Ukrainian SSR, USSR), to the Soviet Ambassador in your country;

- Asking historians, university and college professors, writers and civic leaders to sign petitions in defense of Valentyn Moroz;

- Writing a letter of concern to your local newspaper or college magazine;

- Sending copies of your letters or any replies to SMOLOSKYP - Organization for Defense of Human Rights in Ukraine.

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